

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 1

THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS WRITINGS

Volume 1

The Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr and the Earliest
Christian Writings

c. AD 50–170

S E R M O N I N D E X

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr and the Earliest Christian Writings

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CONTENTS

Introduction to This Volume	vii
PART ONE · THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.....	1
The Didache.....	3
The Epistle of Barnabas	11
1 Clement.....	39
2 Clement.....	81
The Letters of Ignatius	95
Polycarp to the Philippians.....	133
The Martyrdom of Polycarp.....	143
The Shepherd of Hermas.....	155
Papias of Hierapolis: Fragments.....	247
Epistle to Diognetus	267
PART TWO · EARLY APOLOGISTS AND FRAGMENTS	279
Quadratus of Athens: Fragments.....	281
Aristides of Athens: Apology.....	283
Aristo of Pella: Fragments	291
Hegesippus: Fragments.....	293
Claudius Apollinaris: Fragments.....	299
Dionysius of Corinth: Fragments	301
PART THREE · JUSTIN MARTYR	303
First and Second Apology.....	305
Dialogue with Trypho.....	371
Justin Martyr: Exhortation to the Greeks	553
Justin Martyr: On the Resurrection (Fragments)	587
Justin Martyr: On the Sovereignty of God	599
Justin Martyr: Shorter Writings	607
Sources and Credits	619
Scripture Index.....	625

INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

How this book is arranged

This is the first volume of a series that gathers the writings of the early Church in order of date, from the generation after the apostles down to the eighth century. This volume holds the earliest of them, written roughly between AD 50 and AD 170: the Apostolic Fathers, the first defences of the faith addressed to emperors and philosophers, and the works of Justin Martyr.

Within each work the text is divided into chapters and numbered sections, so that any passage can be found again and cited. The small bold figures in the text are the section numbers.

The translations

The text is in English only. Wherever a modern English version has been prepared for SermonIndex it is used here; otherwise the book prints an older public-domain translation. In both cases the wording is the translator's own: older translations have not been altered beyond dividing them into sections. The sources for every work are listed at the back of the book, together with the licence under which each text is released.

Short notes by the translator appear at the foot of the page. They explain a difficult word, name a person or place, point to a parallel elsewhere, or say where the modern English departs from the earlier translation. They are numbered afresh for each work.

Scripture references

Passages that quote or clearly echo the Bible are marked in brackets at the end of the section. These references are an aid to the reader, not a complete list: some parallels are not marked, and a marked passage may be a loose quotation or an echo rather than an exact match. The Scripture Index at the end of the book lists every reference and the pages on which it is found.

Dates and authorship

Dates for the earliest works are approximate and are debated by scholars. Several writings in this volume are anonymous, and some traditional titles are not strictly accurate: the Second Letter of Clement, for example, is probably not by Clement of Rome. Each work begins with a short introduction that states what is known and what is uncertain.

PART ONE

The Apostolic Fathers

*The earliest Christian writings outside the New Testament,
from a church manual to letters, a vision-book and the first ac-
count of a martyrdom.*

The Didache

c. AD 50–120 (debated)

The “Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,” an early Christian manual on how to live, worship and order the church. It is usually dated between the late first and early second century, and it was rediscovered in 1873.

CHAPTER 1

¹ There are two ways, one of life and one of death, and there is a great difference between the two ways. [Matthew 22:37–39; Mark 12:30–31; Leviticus 19:18] ² The way of life is this: first, you shall love the God who made you; second, your neighbor as yourself. And whatever you do not want done to you, do not do to anyone else. [Matthew 7:12; Luke 6:31] ³ The teaching of these words is this: Bless those who curse you, pray for your enemies, and fast for those who persecute you. For what credit is it if you love those who love you? Do not even the Gentiles do the same? But you must love those who hate you, and then you will have no enemy. [Matthew 5:44; Matthew 5:46–47; Luke 6:32–33] ⁴ Keep away from fleshly and bodily desires. If someone slaps your right cheek, turn the other to him as well, and you will be perfect. If someone forces you to go one mile, go two with him. If someone takes your cloak, give him your tunic too. If someone takes what is yours, do not demand it back — you could not anyway.¹ [1 Peter 2:11; Matthew 5:39; Matthew 5:41; Matthew 5:48; Luke 6:30]

⁵ Give to everyone who asks you, and do not ask for anything back, for the Father wants everyone to receive from the gifts he has freely given. Blessed is the one who gives according to the commandment, for he is without fault. Woe to the one who receives. If someone receives because he is in need, he is without fault; but the one who receives when he has no need will have to answer for why he took it and what he used it for. Put in custody, he will be questioned about what he has done, and he will not get out until he has paid back the last penny.² [Matthew 5:26] ⁶ But concerning this it

1. The last clause is literally “for you cannot even.” The sense is unclear, and Lake explains it away. We keep it close to the Greek.

has also been said: “Let your gift sweat in your hands until you know to whom you are giving.”

CHAPTER 2

¹ Now the second commandment of the teaching: ² You shall not murder. You shall not commit adultery. You shall not corrupt boys. You shall not engage in sexual immorality. You shall not steal. You shall not practice magic. You shall not make potions. You shall not kill a child by abortion, or put to death one who has been born. You shall not covet what belongs to your neighbor.³ [*Exodus 20:13-17; Matthew 19:18*] ³ You shall not swear falsely. You shall not give false testimony. You shall not speak evil of anyone. You shall not hold a grudge. ⁴ You shall not be double-minded or double-tongued, for a double tongue is a deadly snare. ⁵ Your word shall not be false or empty, but fulfilled in action. ⁶ You shall not be greedy, or a swindler, or a hypocrite, or malicious, or arrogant. You shall not plot evil against your neighbor. ⁷ You shall not hate anyone. Some you shall correct, some you shall pray for, and some you shall love more than your own life.

CHAPTER 3

¹ My child, flee from every evil, and from everything like it. ² Do not be quick-tempered, for anger leads to murder. Do not be jealous, quarrelsome, or hot-headed, for from all of these murders come.⁴ ³ My child, do not be lustful, for lust leads to sexual immorality. Do not be foul-mouthed or let your eyes wander, for from all of these adulteries come.⁵ ⁴ My child, do not practice divination by omens, for it leads to idolatry. Do not be a caster of spells, an astrologer, or a performer of cleansing rites, and do not even want to look at such things, for from all of these idolatry comes. ⁵ My child, do not be a liar, for lying leads to theft. Do not be a lover of money or a seeker of glory, for from all of these thefts come. ⁶ My child, do not be a grumbler, for it leads to blasphemy. Do not be self-willed or evil-minded, for from all of these blasphemies come.

⁷ Be gentle instead, for the gentle will inherit the earth. ⁸ Be patient, merciful, innocent, quiet, and good, and always tremble at the words you

2. “The last penny” is a Roman coin, the quadrans, as in Matthew 5:26.

3. Lake has “sodomy.” The Greek word means to corrupt a boy, that is, the sexual abuse of children.

4. Lake has “proud.” The Greek word means quick to anger, and the next clause (“anger leads to murder”) shows that is the sense.

have heard. [*Matthew 5:5; Psalm 37:11*] ⁹ Do not exalt yourself or let your soul become bold. Your soul shall not attach itself to the lofty, but you shall live among the righteous and the humble. ¹⁰ Accept as good whatever happens to you, knowing that nothing happens apart from God.

CHAPTER 4

¹ My child, remember day and night the one who speaks God's word to you, and honor him as you would the Lord, for where the Lord's lordship is spoken of, there the Lord is. ² Seek out the company of the saints every day, so that you may find rest in their words. ³ Do not cause division, but bring peace to those who fight. Judge fairly. Do not show favoritism when you correct wrongdoing. [*Deuteronomy 1:16; Proverbs 31:9*] ⁴ Do not waver in your mind about whether something will happen or not. ⁵ Do not be someone who stretches out his hands to receive but pulls them back when it is time to give. ⁶ If you have earned something by the work of your hands, give it as a ransom for your sins.⁶ ⁷ Do not hesitate to give, and do not grumble when you give, for you will know who is the good rewarder. ⁸ Do not turn away from anyone in need. Share everything with your brother, and do not say that anything is your own. If you share what is immortal, how much more what is mortal?

⁹ Do not take your hand away from your son or your daughter, but from their youth teach them the fear of God. ¹⁰ Do not give orders in bitterness to your male or female slave, who hope in the same God, or they may cease to fear the God who is over you both. For he does not come to call people by outward status, but those whom the Spirit has prepared. ¹¹ And you who are slaves, be subject to your masters as to a representative of God, with respect and fear. ¹² Hate all hypocrisy and everything that is not pleasing to the Lord. ¹³ Do not abandon the Lord's commandments. Keep what you received, neither adding to it nor taking from it. ¹⁴ In the assembly, confess your wrongdoing, and do not go to prayer with a guilty conscience. This is the way of life.

5. The Greek word is literally "high-eyed." Here it most likely means letting the eyes wander toward lust. Lake has "a lifter up of the eyes."

6. The Greek says "a ransom for your sins." Christians in different traditions read almsgiving language like this in different ways; compare Sirach 3:30 and Tobit 12:9, and read it alongside the New Testament teaching on Christ's sacrifice.

CHAPTER 5

¹ The way of death is this. First of all, it is evil and full of curses: murders, adulteries, lusts, sexual immorality, thefts, idolatries, magic, sorcery, robberies, false testimonies, hypocrisies, duplicity, deceit, pride, malice, stubbornness, greed, obscene talk, jealousy, recklessness, haughtiness, boasting.⁷ [*Romans 1:29-30*] ² They are persecutors of the good, haters of truth, lovers of lies. They do not know the reward of righteousness. They do not hold fast to what is good or to just judgment. They stay awake not for good but for evil. Gentleness and patience are far from them. They love worthless things and chase after payment. They have no mercy on the poor, do not work for the one crushed by hardship, and do not know the one who made them. They murder children and destroy what God has formed. They turn away the needy and oppress the afflicted. They defend the rich and judge the poor unjustly. They are utterly sinful. May you be delivered, children, from all of these. [*Romans 12:9; Psalm 4:2*]

CHAPTER 6

¹ See that no one leads you astray from this way of the teaching, since such a person teaches you apart from God. ² For if you can bear the whole yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect. But if you cannot, do what you can. ³ Concerning food, bear what you can. But be very careful about food offered to idols, for that is the worship of dead gods.

CHAPTER 7

¹ Concerning baptism, baptize this way: after you have taught all these things, baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, in running water.⁸ [*Matthew 28:19*] ² If you do not have running water, baptize in other water. If you cannot in cold, then in warm. ³ If you have neither, pour water on the head three times, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. ⁴ Before the baptism, let the one who baptizes and the one who is baptized fast, along with any others who are able. You must tell the one being baptized to fast for one or two days beforehand.

CHAPTER 8

¹ Do not let your fasts be at the same time as the hypocrites'. They fast on Monday and Thursday, but you should fast on Wednesday and Friday. ² Do

7. Lake has "witchcrafts, charms"; the Greek words are magic and the preparing of potions or poisons.

not pray like the hypocrites either, but pray as the Lord commanded in his gospel: “Our Father in heaven, may your name be kept holy. May your kingdom come. May your will be done, on earth as in heaven. Give us today our daily bread. Forgive us our debt, as we also forgive our debtors. And do not lead us into testing, but deliver us from the evil one. For yours is the power and the glory forever.”⁹ [Matthew 6: 9-13] 3 Pray this way three times a day.

CHAPTER 9

1 Concerning the Eucharist, give thanks this way: 2 First, for the cup: “We thank you, our Father, for the holy vine of David your servant, which you made known to us through Jesus your servant. To you be glory forever.”¹⁰ 3 And for the broken bread: “We thank you, our Father, for the life and knowledge which you made known to us through Jesus your servant. To you be glory forever. 4 As this broken bread was scattered over the hills and, when gathered, became one, so may your church be gathered from the ends of the earth into your kingdom. For the glory and the power are yours through Jesus Christ forever.” 5 But let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist except those who have been baptized in the name of the Lord. For concerning this the Lord has said: “Do not give what is holy to the dogs.” [Matthew 7: 6]

CHAPTER 10

1 After you have had enough to eat, give thanks this way: 2 “We thank you, holy Father, for your holy name, which you have made to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge, faith, and immortality which you made known to us through Jesus your servant. To you be glory forever. [Revelation 4: 11] 3 You, almighty Master, created all things for the sake of your name. You gave food and drink to people to enjoy, so that they would give you thanks. But to us you have freely given spiritual food and drink, and eternal life, through your servant.¹¹ 4 Above all we thank you that you are mighty. To you be glory forever. 5 Remember, Lord, your church. Deliver it from all evil and make it perfect in your love. Gather it, made holy, from the four winds

8. “Running water” is literally “living water.”

9. “The evil one” could also be read “evil.” The Greek form allows both.

10. “Servant” translates the Greek *pais*, which can mean “child” or “servant.” Lake has “child.” The same word is used of David and of Jesus.

11. Lake has “eternal light,” but the Greek text printed beside it reads “eternal life.” We follow the Greek. This needs checking against the manuscript.

into your kingdom, which you have prepared for it. For yours are the power and the glory forever. [Matthew 24: 31]

6 Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David! If anyone is holy, let him come. If anyone is not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen.”¹² [Matthew 21: 9; 1 Corinthians 16: 22] 7 But allow the prophets to give thanks as much as they wish.

CHAPTER 11

1 So whoever comes and teaches you everything that has been said above, welcome him. 2 But if the teacher himself turns aside and teaches another doctrine that tears these things down, do not listen to him. But if his teaching adds righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, welcome him as the Lord. 3 Now concerning the apostles and prophets, act according to the rule of the gospel. 4 Let every apostle who comes to you be welcomed as the Lord. 5 But he must not stay more than one day, or two if there is need. If he stays three days, he is a false prophet. 6 When an apostle leaves, he must take nothing except bread until he finds lodging. If he asks for money, he is a false prophet. 7 Do not test or pass judgment on any prophet who is speaking in the Spirit, for every sin will be forgiven, but this sin will not be forgiven.

[Matthew 12: 31]

8 But not everyone who speaks in the Spirit is a prophet, only the one who has the ways of the Lord. So by their conduct the false prophet and the true prophet will be known. 9 No prophet who orders a meal in the Spirit shall eat of it. If he does, he is a false prophet. 10 Every prophet who teaches the truth but does not do what he teaches is a false prophet. 11 But a prophet who has been tested and is genuine, and who acts out the earthly mystery of the church, but does not teach others to do all that he does himself, shall not be judged by you. His judgment is with God, for the prophets of old did the same.¹³ 12 But whoever says in the Spirit, “Give me money,” or anything else, do not listen to him. But if he tells you to give for others who are in need, let no one judge him.

CHAPTER 12

1 Let everyone who comes in the name of the Lord be welcomed. Then test him and you will know him, for you will have the discernment to tell right

12. “Maranatha” is Aramaic. It can be read either “Our Lord, come!” or “Our Lord has come.”

13. The phrase “the earthly mystery of the church” is very obscure, and scholars do not agree on its meaning. Lake has “a worldly mystery of the Church.”

from left.¹⁴ ²If the one who comes is only passing through, help him as much as you can. But he must not stay with you more than two or, if necessary, three days. ³If he wants to settle among you and has a trade, let him work and eat. ⁴If he has no trade, use your good sense to make sure that no Christian lives among you in idleness. ⁵If he will not do this, he is trading on Christ. Beware of such people.

CHAPTER 13

¹Every true prophet who wants to settle among you is worthy of his food. ²In the same way, a true teacher is also worthy, like a worker, of his food. ³So take the firstfruits of every product of the winepress and the threshing floor, and of cattle and sheep, and give the firstfruits to the prophets, for they are your high priests. ⁴But if you have no prophet, give to the poor. ⁵When you make bread, take the firstfruits and give according to the commandment. ⁶In the same way, when you open a jar of wine or oil, take the firstfruits and give them to the prophets. ⁷Of money, clothing, and every possession, take the firstfruits as seems right to you, and give according to the commandment.

CHAPTER 14

¹On the Lord's own day, gather together, break bread, and give thanks, after confessing your wrongdoing, so that your sacrifice may be pure.¹⁵ ²But let no one who has a dispute with his companion join you until they have been reconciled, so that your sacrifice is not defiled.¹⁶ [*Malachi 1:11; Matthew 5:23-24*] ³For this is what the Lord said: "In every place and at every time, offer me a pure sacrifice. For I am a great king," says the Lord, "and my name is wonderful among the nations."

CHAPTER 15

¹So appoint for yourselves overseers and deacons worthy of the Lord: gentle men, not lovers of money, truthful and tested. For they also carry out for you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. ²So do not look down on them, for they are the ones honored among you, together with the prophets and teachers. ³Correct one another not in anger but in peace, as you have it in

14. Literally, "you will have understanding of right and left," an idiom for telling true from false.

15. Literally, "on the Lord's of the Lord." "Day" is understood. Lake has "On the Lord's Day of the Lord."

16. The Greek text as digitized has garbled characters in this verse (probably a misprint of "until"). It needs correcting against the printed edition.

the gospel. And let no one speak to anyone who has wronged a neighbor, or let him hear a word from you, until he repents. ⁴ Do your prayers, your acts of charity, and all your actions as you have it in the gospel of our Lord.

CHAPTER 16

¹ Keep watch over your life. Do not let your lamps go out or your belts come loose, but be ready, for you do not know the hour when our Lord is coming. [*Luke 12:35; Matthew 24:42*] ² Gather often, seeking what is good for your souls. For all the time you have believed will be of no benefit to you unless you are made perfect at the final hour. ³ For in the last days false prophets and corrupters will multiply, the sheep will turn into wolves, and love will turn into hate. ⁴ For as lawlessness increases, people will hate one another, persecute one another, and betray one another. Then the deceiver of the world will appear, claiming to be a son of God. He will do signs and wonders, and the earth will be handed over to him, and he will commit lawless acts such as have never happened since the beginning of the world. [*Matthew 24:24; 2 Thessalonians 2:9*]

⁵ Then all humanity will come to the fire of testing. Many will fall away and be lost, but those who endure in their faith will be saved by the curse itself.¹⁷ [*Matthew 24:10; Matthew 24:13; Matthew 10:22*] ⁶ And then the signs of the truth will appear: first, the sign of the heavens opening; second, the sign of the sound of the trumpet; and third, the resurrection of the dead,¹⁸ [*Matthew 24:30-31; 1 Corinthians 15:22; 1 Thessalonians 4:16*] ⁷ though not of all, but as it was said: “The Lord will come, and all his saints with him.” [*Zechariah 14:5; Matthew 24:30; Matthew 26:64*] ⁸ Then the world will see the Lord coming on the clouds of heaven.

17. “The curse itself” is literal. Some readers take this to mean Christ, who became a curse for us (Galatians 3:13). Lake keeps the literal wording.

18. “Opening” translates a Greek word meaning a spreading out, as of a sign unfolding in the sky. Lake has “spread out.”

The Epistle of Barnabas

ANONYMOUS (ATTRIBUTED TO BARNABAS)

c. AD 70–135

An anonymous letter, traditionally ascribed to Barnabas the companion of Paul, written sometime between about AD 70 and 135. It reads the Old Testament as pointing to Christ, and it ends with the teaching of the Two Ways.

A note for readers. Most scholars doubt that this letter was written by Barnabas the companion of Paul. Its way of reading the Old Testament, and some of its claims about the Law, differ from the apostles' own teaching and from the later teaching of the church, so read it with care.

CHAPTER 1

Greeting and introduction

¹ Greetings, sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord who loved us, in peace. ² Since God's righteous decrees toward you are great and rich, I am overjoyed beyond all measure at your blessed and glorious spirits. So deeply implanted in you is the grace of the spiritual gift you have received. ³ That is why I congratulate myself all the more in my hope of being saved. For I truly see that the Spirit has been poured out on you from the Lord's rich fountain. So greatly did the sight of you, which I had longed for, amaze me.¹ ⁴ I am convinced of this, and I know within myself that since I spoke among you I understand many things, because the Lord has traveled with me on the way of righteousness. So I too am wholly compelled to love you more than my own life, because great faith and love live in you, in the hope of his life.

⁵ I have reasoned that if I take care to share with you something of what I have received, I will have a reward for serving spirits like yours. So I have hurried to write to you briefly, so that along with your faith you may have perfect knowledge.²

1. The author writes as one who has been among his readers ("having spoken among you," 1.4). Nothing in the letter says where they live.

The three doctrines

⁶ There are three teachings of the Lord. The hope of life is the beginning and end of our faith. Righteousness is the beginning and end of judgment. And love, shown in joy and gladness, is the witness of works of righteousness.

3

Prophecy

⁷ For through the prophets the Master has made known to us what is past and what is present, and he has given us a first taste of what is to come. As we see these things come about one by one, just as he said, we ought to draw near to him with fuller and higher reverence. ⁸ I am not writing as a teacher. I am one of you, and I will point out a few things that will cheer you now.

CHAPTER 2

The need of virtue

¹ The days are evil, and the one who works evil holds power. So we must pay attention to ourselves and seek out the Lord's requirements.⁴ ² Fear and endurance help our faith, and patience and self-control fight alongside us. ³ While these stay pure toward the Lord, wisdom, understanding, insight, and knowledge rejoice with them.

The abolition of Jewish sacrifices

⁴ For he has shown us through all the prophets that he has no need of sacrifices, burnt offerings, or gifts. He says in one place: ⁵ "What is the multitude of your sacrifices to me? says the Lord. I am full of burnt offerings. I do not want the fat of lambs, or the blood of bulls and goats, not even when you come to appear before me. For who asked for these things from your hands? You will no longer trample my courts. If you bring fine flour, it is worthless. Incense is an abomination to me. I cannot stand your new moons and Sabbaths."⁵ [*Isaiah 1:1-15*] ⁶ So he abolished these things, so that the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is free from the yoke of compulsion, might have an

2. "Knowledge" (gnōsis) is a key word for the author. He mainly means a right understanding of the Scriptures, especially how they point to Christ.

3. The Greek word is dogmata, "decrees" or "teachings." The sentence is compressed and its meaning is debated. The three are hope, righteousness and love.

4. The Greek says literally "the one who is at work," meaning the devil. Compare Ephesians 2:2, "the spirit that is now at work in the sons of disobedience."

5. The quotation is from Isaiah 1:11-13, in the Greek (Septuagint) form, shortened and reworded a little.

offering that is not made by human hands.⁶ 7 And again he says to them: “Did I command your fathers, when they came out of the land of Egypt, to bring me burnt offerings and sacrifices?”⁷ [Jeremiah 7:22-23]

8 “No, this is what I commanded them: Let each of you hold no grudge in his heart against his neighbor, and do not love a false oath.”⁸ 9 So if we are not foolish, we should grasp the kindly purpose of our Father. He is speaking to us because he does not want us to wander as those people did, but to ask how we may come to him. 10 So he says to us: “A sacrifice to the Lord is a broken heart. A fragrant offering to the Lord is a heart that glorifies the one who made it.” We must, then, be careful about our salvation, brothers, so that the evil one does not slip error in among us and fling us out of our life.⁹

CHAPTER 3

Concerning fasting

1 Again he says to them about these things: “Why do you fast for me, says the Lord, so that today your voice is heard in shouting? This is not the fast I chose, says the Lord: not a person humbling his soul,¹⁰ [Isaiah 58:4-5] 2 nor bending your neck like a hoop, nor putting on sackcloth and lying on ashes. Not even then will you call it an acceptable fast.” 3 But to us he says: “This is the fast that I chose, says the Lord: loosen every bond of injustice, undo the knots of violent contracts, send the oppressed away free, and tear up every unjust document. Break your bread for the hungry. If you see someone naked, clothe him. Bring the homeless into your house. If you see someone lowly, do not despise him, nor any of your own flesh and blood.”¹¹ 4 “Then your light will break out early, and your garments will quickly spring up. Righteousness will go before you, and the glory of God will surround you.”¹²

6. Here the author goes beyond the prophets. He says God abolished the sacrifices, not merely that God disliked sacrifice offered in the wrong spirit. Later (chapters 9–10) he argues that the Jews misread the Law from the start by taking it literally.

7. Jeremiah 7:22, quoted loosely. Jeremiah is usually understood as rebuking empty ritual rather than denying that God gave laws about sacrifice.

8. Compare Zechariah 8:17.

9. The first line echoes Psalm 51:17. The second line is not found in the Old Testament, and its source is uncertain.

10. Sections 3.1–3.5 quote Isaiah 58:4–10, in a form close to the Greek (Septuagint).

11. The author applies this passage to “us,” the Christians, as opposed to “them,” the Jews (compare 3.1).

12. Where the Greek Isaiah (58:8) has “your healing” (*iamata*), Barnabas’s text has “your garments” (*himatia*). The two words look alike, and the change may come from the author’s copy of Isaiah or from later copyists.

5 “Then you will cry out, and God will listen to you. While you are still speaking he will say, ‘Here I am.’ If you take away from yourself the chain, the pointing finger, and the word of grumbling, and give your bread to the hungry from your heart, and take pity on the humbled soul.”¹³ 6 So, brothers, the patient one foresaw that the people he prepared in his Beloved would believe in simple innocence. He showed us everything beforehand, so that we would not be shipwrecked by becoming converts to their law.¹⁴

CHAPTER 4

Warning that the final trial is at hand

1 We must therefore search carefully into the present, and look for what can save us. Let us flee completely from every work of lawlessness, in case the works of lawlessness overtake us. Let us hate the error of this present time, so that we may be loved in the time to come. 2 Let us not give our souls so free a rein that they can run with sinners and evil people, in case we become like them. 3 The final stumbling block is near. Scripture speaks about it, as Enoch says. For this is why the Master has cut short the times and the days: so that his Beloved may hurry and come into his inheritance.¹⁵ 4 The prophet also says this: “Ten kingdoms will reign on the earth, and a little king will rise up after them, who will humble three of the kings at once.”¹⁶ 5 In the same way Daniel speaks about this: “And I saw the fourth beast, evil and strong and more fierce than all the beasts of the sea, and how ten horns grew from it, and from them a small offshoot horn, and how it humbled three of the great horns at once.”¹⁷ [Daniel 7:7]

The covenant. Christian or Jewish?

6 You must understand this. And I ask you this as well, as one of you, and as one who loves all of you more than my own life: watch yourselves now. Do not become like certain people, piling up your sins by saying that the covenant is both theirs and ours.¹⁸ 7 It is ours. But they lost it completely, in this way, right after Moses had received it. For the Scripture says: “And Moses was

13. “The pointing finger” translates cheirotonia, literally “stretching out the hand.” The Hebrew of Isaiah 58:9 speaks of “the pointing of the finger,” a gesture of scorn or accusation.

14. “His Beloved” is Jesus. The word for “converts” (epēlytoi) means newcomers who join a people from outside, much like “proselytes.”

15. Compare Jesus’ saying that the days will be cut short (Matthew 24:22; Mark 13:20).

16. This is a loose paraphrase of Daniel 7:24, not Daniel’s exact wording. The author applies it to the end of the age.

17. A free quotation of Daniel 7:7–8.

on the mountain fasting forty days and forty nights, and he received the covenant from the Lord, tablets of stone written by the finger of the hand of the Lord.”¹⁹ 8 But they turned to idols and lost it. For the Lord says this: “Moses, Moses, go down quickly, for your people whom you brought out of the land of Egypt have broken the law.” And Moses understood, and threw the two tablets from his hands, and their covenant was shattered, so that the covenant of the beloved Jesus might be sealed in our hearts in the hope of faith in him.²⁰

Admonition to steadfastness

9 I would like to write much more. But I have hurried to write, not as a teacher but as befits someone who loves you and does not want to leave out anything we have. I am your humble servant. So let us watch ourselves in these last days. All the time of our faith will do us no good unless we stand firm now, in this lawless time and against the stumbling blocks to come, as befits sons of God, so that the Black One gets no way in.²¹ 10 Let us flee from all emptiness. Let us utterly hate the works of the evil way. Do not slip off by yourselves and live alone as though you were already justified, but come together and look into what serves the common good. 11 For the Scripture says: “Woe to those who are wise in their own eyes and clever in their own sight.” Let us be spiritual. Let us be a perfect temple for God. As far as it is in us, let us practice the fear of God and struggle to keep his commandments, so that we may rejoice in his requirements.²² [Isaiah 5:21]

12 The Lord will judge the world without favoritism. Each person will receive according to what he has done. If he is good, his righteousness will go before him. If he is evil, the wages of his evil are in front of him. 13 Otherwise, resting easy as people who are “called,” we might doze off in our sins, and the evil ruler might gain power over us and thrust us out of the Lord’s kingdom. 14 And understand this too, my brothers. You see that after such great signs and wonders were done in Israel, they were abandoned even so. So

18. Whether the covenant belongs to both Jews and Christians is a central question of the letter. The author’s answer is that it is “ours” alone, and that Israel lost it (4.7–8; 14.1–4).

19. This draws on Exodus 31:18 and 34:28, and most closely on Deuteronomy 9:9–11, which has both the forty days and nights and the tablets written by God’s finger.

20. See Exodus 32:7, 19 and Deuteronomy 9:12–17. The author claims the broken tablets mean Israel lost the covenant for good. The Old Testament itself records that God renewed the covenant with Israel after the golden calf (Exodus 34).

21. “The Black One” is a title for the devil. It appears again in 20.1.

22. Isaiah 5:21.

let us be careful, in case we turn out to be, as it is written, “many called, but few chosen.”²³ [*Matthew 20:16*]

CHAPTER 5

The reason for the Passion of Christ

¹ This is why the Lord endured handing over his flesh to destruction: so that we might be made clean by the forgiveness of sins, that is, by his sprinkled blood. ² For Scripture speaks about him, partly to Israel and partly to us. It says: “He was wounded for our lawless acts and made weak for our sins. By his bruise we were healed. He was led like a sheep to slaughter, and like a lamb silent before its shearer.”²⁴ ³ So we ought to give the Lord great thanks, because he has made known to us what is past and has made us wise in the present, and we are not without understanding about what is to come. ⁴ Scripture says: “Nets are not spread unjustly for birds.” It means this: a person deserves to perish if he knows the way of righteousness and yet keeps himself in the way of darkness.²⁵

⁵ Here is something more, my brothers. The Lord endured suffering for our souls, though he is Lord of the whole world. God said to him before the foundation of the world, “Let us make man in our image and likeness.” So how could he endure suffering at human hands?²⁶ ⁶ Learn this. The prophets, who received grace from him, prophesied about him. And since he had to appear in the flesh, he endured suffering, in order to put an end to death and show the resurrection from the dead, ⁷ and in order to fulfill the promise made to the fathers, and, while preparing the new people for himself, to show during his time on earth that he himself will raise the dead and then judge. ⁸ Moreover, he taught Israel and did such great wonders and signs, and preached to them, and loved them dearly. ⁹ But when he chose his own apostles, who were to preach his gospel, he chose men who were lawless beyond every kind of sin, to show that he “did not come to call the righteous but sinners.” It was then that he showed himself to be the Son of God.²⁷

¹⁰ For if he had not come in the flesh, people could never have been saved by looking at him. After all, when people look at the sun, which will one day

23. The quotation matches Matthew 22:14. Some scholars see it as the earliest quotation of a Gospel as “Scripture” (“it is written”), though Barnabas could be drawing on oral tradition.

24. Isaiah 53:5, 7.

25. Proverbs 1:17, quoted from the Greek Old Testament. The Hebrew says something different: it is useless to spread a net while the bird is watching.

cease to be and is the work of his hands, they cannot look straight into its rays.²⁸ 11 So the Son of God came in the flesh for this reason: to bring to completion the full measure of sins of those who persecuted his prophets to death.²⁹ 12 That is why he endured it. For God says that the wounding of his flesh came from them: “When they strike their own shepherd, then the sheep of the flock will perish.”³⁰ 13 He chose to suffer in this way, for he had to suffer on a tree. For the one who prophesies about him says: “Spare my soul from the sword,” and “Nail my flesh, for gatherings of evildoers have risen up against me.”³¹

14 And again he says: “See, I have set my back to the whips and my cheeks to blows, and I have set my face like solid rock.”³²

CHAPTER 6

Proofs from the Prophets

1 So when he had carried out the command, what does he say? “Who is the one who takes me to court? Let him stand against me. Or who is the one who seeks justice against me? Let him come near to the servant of the Lord.”³³ 2 “Woe to you, for you will all grow old like a garment, and the moth will eat you.” And the prophet says again that he was set as a strong stone to crush: “See, I will lay in the foundations of Zion a stone, precious, chosen, a cornerstone, honored.”³⁴ [*Isaiah 28:16; 1 Peter 2:6*] 3 Then what does he say? “And whoever hopes in him will live forever.” Is our hope then on a

27. The saying is from Matthew 9:13 (and Mark 2:17). The claim that the apostles were “lawless beyond every kind of sin” goes beyond anything the Gospels say.

26. Genesis 1:26. Barnabas reads “Let us make” as the Father speaking to the Son. This reading, that the Son was with God at creation, is common in the early Fathers.

28. The Greek verb for “saved” can also mean “kept safe.” So the author may mean that no one could have survived seeing him unveiled, just as no one can stare at the sun.

29. Compare Matthew 23:31–32 and 1 Thessalonians 2:15–16.

30. This is from Zechariah 13:7, but in a form that differs from the Greek Old Testament and from Jesus’ quotation in Matthew 26:31 (“I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock will be scattered”).

31. The first quotation is close to Psalm 22:20 (21:21 in the Greek). “Nail my flesh” comes from Psalm 119:120 (118:120 in the Greek), where the Greek reads “nail my flesh with the fear of you.” The rest echoes Psalm 22:16 (21:17 in the Greek). The author combines these lines and reads them as the voice of Christ.

32. Isaiah 50:6–7.

33. Isaiah 50:8. In Isaiah the line ends “let him come near to me.” The words “the servant of the Lord” (pais) are not in 50:8, though compare “his servant” in 50:10. The author reads the servant as Christ.

34. Isaiah 50:9 and 28:16. Peter quotes the same stone passage (1 Peter 2:6).

stone? Certainly not. He says this because the Lord has set his flesh in strength. For he says: “And he set me like solid rock.”³⁵ 4 And the prophet says again: “The stone that the builders rejected has become the head of the corner.” And again he says: “This is the great and wonderful day that the Lord has made.”³⁶

5 I am writing to you more plainly so you can understand. I am the humble servant of your love.³⁷ 6 What does the prophet say again? “A gathering of evildoers has surrounded me. They have circled around me like bees around a honeycomb.” And: “They cast lots for my clothing.”³⁸ 7 So, since he was about to appear in the flesh and suffer, his suffering was shown beforehand. For the prophet says about Israel: “Woe to their soul, for they have plotted an evil plan against themselves, saying: Let us bind the righteous one, because he is a nuisance to us.”³⁹ [*Isaiah 3: 9-10*] 8 What does the other prophet, Moses, say to them? “See, this is what the Lord God says: Go into the good land that the Lord swore to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and take it as your inheritance, a land flowing with milk and honey.”⁴⁰ 9 But what does knowledge say? Learn it. “Hope,” it says, “in Jesus, who is about to appear to you in the flesh.” For a human being is earth that suffers, since Adam was formed from the face of the earth.⁴¹

10 Then what does it mean: “Into the good land, a land flowing with milk and honey”? Blessed be our Lord, brothers, who has put wisdom and understanding of his secrets in us. For the prophet speaks a parable of the Lord. Who will understand it, except the wise and knowledgeable person who loves his Lord? 11 Since he renewed us by the forgiveness of sins, he made

35. Isaiah 28:16 (Greek) reads “whoever believes in him will not be put to shame”; the words “will live forever” are not in Isaiah. The last line adapts Isaiah 50:7, “I have set my face like solid rock.”

36. Psalm 118:22, 24 (117:22, 24 in the Greek). The psalm says simply “This is the day that the Lord has made.” The words “great and wonderful” are the author’s addition, though “wonderful” appears in the verse before.

37. The Greek word (*peripsēma*) literally means “scrapings” or “offscouring.” Paul uses it in 1 Corinthians 4:13. Here it is a conventional expression of humble devotion.

38. The author combines Psalm 22:16 (21:17 in the Greek), Psalm 118:12 (117:12), and Psalm 22:18 (21:19), and reads them as describing Christ’s crucifixion. John 19:24 applies the last line to the soldiers at the cross.

39. The quotation is from Isaiah 3:9–10 in the Greek form, which differs from the Hebrew. Wisdom of Solomon 2:12 is similar.

40. This is not a single verse. It is a summary of the land promise, closest to Exodus 33:1–3.

41. “Knowledge” is the author’s word for the spiritual understanding of Scripture. Barnabas reads “the good land” as pointing to Christ and to the new creation. This kind of reading is called allegory.

us into another pattern, so that we have the souls of children, as though he were forming us anew. ¹² For the Scripture speaks about us, when he says to the Son: “Let us make man in our image and likeness, and let them rule over the wild animals of the earth, the birds of the sky, and the fish of the sea.” And when the Lord saw how good our creation was, he said: “Increase, multiply, and fill the earth.” These things were said to the Son.⁴² [*Genesis 1:26; Genesis 1:28*]

¹³ I will show you again how he speaks to us. In the last days he made a second creation. The Lord says: “See, I am making the last things like the first.” This is what the prophet meant when he proclaimed: “Enter into a land flowing with milk and honey, and be master of it.”⁴³ [*Matthew 19:30; Matthew 20:16*] ¹⁴ See, then, that we have been formed anew. As he says again in another prophet: “See, says the Lord, I will take out of these people” (that is, the people the Spirit of the Lord foresaw) “their hearts of stone and put in hearts of flesh.” For he himself was going to appear in the flesh and live in us.⁴⁴ ¹⁵ For the dwelling place of our heart, my brothers, is a holy temple for the Lord. ¹⁶ For the Lord says again: “By what means shall I appear before the Lord my God and be glorified?” He says: “I will give thanks to you in the assembly of my brothers, and I will sing to you in the midst of the assembly of the saints.” So we are the ones whom he brought into the good land.⁴⁵

¹⁷ So what is the milk and the honey? A baby is first given life with honey, then with milk. In the same way, we too are given life by faith in the promise and by the word, and we will live as masters of the earth. ¹⁸ We said above: “Let them increase and multiply and rule over the fish.” But who is able to rule over animals, fish, or birds of the sky today? We should understand that ruling belongs to authority, so that someone gives orders and masters what is under him. ¹⁹ If this is not happening now, then he has told us when it will: when we ourselves have been made perfect and become heirs of the Lord’s covenant.

42. Genesis 1:26, 28. That God was speaking to the Son is the author’s interpretation.

43. The saying about “the last things like the first” does not match any known verse of Scripture. In the Greek, “be master of it” is the same verb God uses in Genesis 1:28 (“subdue it”). So the author links the promise of the land to the first creation and treats it as a promise of new creation in Christ.

44. Ezekiel 11:19 and 36:26.

45. The second quotation loosely adapts Psalm 22:22 (21:23 in the Greek), which Hebrews 2:12 also applies to Christ; Barnabas’s wording differs from the psalm.

CHAPTER 7

Fasting and the scapegoat

¹ Understand this, then, children of joy: the good Lord made everything clear to us in advance, so that we would know the one to whom we ought to give thanks and praise in all things. ² If the Son of God, who is Lord and is going to judge the living and the dead, suffered so that his wound might give us life, let us believe that the Son of God could not have suffered except for our sake. ³ But even on the cross he was given vinegar and gall to drink. Hear how the priests of the temple foretold this. There is a written commandment: “Whoever does not keep the fast will be put to death.” The Lord commanded this because he himself was going to offer the vessel of the Spirit as a sacrifice for our sins. This was so that the pattern given in Isaac, who was offered on the altar, might be fulfilled.⁴⁶

⁴ So what does he say in the prophet? “Let them eat of the goat offered at the fast for all their sins.” Pay close attention: “and let the priests alone, all of them, eat the entrails, unwashed, with vinegar.”⁴⁷ ⁵ Why? “Because when I am about to offer my flesh for the sins of my new people, you are going to give me gall mixed with vinegar to drink. So you alone are to eat, while the people fast and mourn in sackcloth and ashes.” This was to show that he had to suffer at their hands. ⁶ Pay attention to what he commanded: “Take two goats, good ones and alike, and offer them, and let the priest take one as a burnt offering for sins.”⁴⁸ ⁷ What are they to do with the other one? “The other one is cursed,” it says. Notice how the pattern of Jesus is made clear:⁴⁹ ⁸ “Spit on it, all of you, and pierce it, and put scarlet wool around its head, and so let it be thrown into the wilderness.” When this is done, the man who carries the goat takes it into the wilderness. He removes the wool and puts it

46. The author takes the Day of Atonement, Isaac’s offering, and the cross as one picture. This way of reading is called typology. Here, and in the verses that follow, Barnabas builds on details that the Old Testament itself does not contain.

47. Neither quotation is found in the Old Testament. In fact, Leviticus 16:27 orders the Day of Atonement sin offerings to be burned outside the camp, not eaten. Where Barnabas got this wording is unknown.

48. Compare Leviticus 16:7–9. Leviticus does not say the goats must be fine and alike, and it calls the Lord’s goat a sin offering, not a burnt offering. Later Jewish tradition did require the two goats to look alike (Mishnah, Yoma 6:1).

49. Leviticus 16 does not call the goat sent into the wilderness cursed. Compare Galatians 3:13, where Christ becomes “a curse for us.”

on a shrub called “rachē.” We also eat its shoots when we find them in the countryside. The fruit of the rachē alone is sweet.⁵⁰

⁹ What does this mean? Pay attention. One goat is for the altar, and the other is cursed. And note that the cursed one is crowned. For on that day they will see him wearing the long scarlet robe down to his feet, and they will say: “Isn’t this the one whom we once crucified, despised, pierced, and spat on? Truly, this was the one who then said he was the Son of God.”⁵¹

¹⁰ How is he like the goat? The goats are alike, good, and matched, so that when they see him coming then, they will be amazed at how he is like the goat. See, then, the pattern of Jesus who was about to suffer. ¹¹ And why do they put the wool among the thorns? It is a pattern of Jesus set before the church. Anyone who wants to take away the scarlet wool must suffer much, because the thorn is fearsome. Only through pain can he get hold of it. So he says: “Those who want to see me and take hold of my kingdom must receive me through affliction and suffering.”⁵²

CHAPTER 8

The sacrifice of a heifer

¹ What do you think this pattern means? Israel was commanded that men whose sins were complete should offer a heifer, slaughter it, and burn it. Then boys were to take the ashes and put them in containers, and tie scarlet wool and hyssop on a stick (see again the pattern of the cross and the scarlet wool). And so the boys were to sprinkle the people one by one, to purify them from their sins.⁵³ [*Numbers 19*] ² Notice how plainly he speaks to you. The calf is Jesus. The sinful men who offer it are the ones who brought him to be slaughtered. After that there are no longer men, and no longer the glory of sinners.⁵⁴ ³ The boys who sprinkle are the ones who announced to us the forgiveness of sins and the cleansing of the heart. He gave them the authority of

50. The “rachē” is probably a bramble, such as the blackberry, which explains the thorns mentioned in 7.11.

51. Barnabas has Christ’s return in mind. Compare Zechariah 12:10 (“they will look on me whom they pierced”) and Revelation 1:7. For the robe down to the feet (Greek *podērē*), compare Revelation 1:13.

52. These words are presented as Jesus’ own but are not found in the Gospels. Compare Acts 14:22: “through many hardships we must enter the kingdom of God.”

53. This is the red heifer of Numbers 19. Numbers says nothing about sinful men or boys. A man who is ceremonially clean gathers the ashes and does the sprinkling (Numbers 19:9, 18).

54. In Numbers 19 the one who burns the heifer is not described as sinful, so the identification is Barnabas’s own.

the gospel to preach. There were twelve, as a witness to the tribes, because there are twelve tribes of Israel.⁵⁵

⁴ But why are the boys who sprinkle three? As a witness to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, because these were great before God. ⁵ And why is the wool on the wood? Because the kingdom of Jesus is on the wood, and because those who hope in him will live forever.⁵⁶ ⁶ And why the wool and the hyssop together? Because in his kingdom there will be evil and filthy days, in which we will be saved. For a person with pain in the flesh is also healed by the filth of the hyssop.⁵⁷ ⁷ And because of this, the things that were done this way are clear to us, but dark to them, because they did not listen to the Lord's voice.

CHAPTER 9

The circumcision

¹ For again he speaks about the ears, and how he circumcised our heart. The Lord says in the prophet: "As soon as their ears heard, they obeyed me." And again he says: "Those far away will surely hear, and they will know what I have done." And: "Circumcise your hearts, says the Lord."⁵⁸ [*Isaiah 33:13*] ² And again he says: "Hear, Israel, for this is what the Lord your God says." And again the Spirit of the Lord prophesies: "Who is the one who wants to live forever? Let him listen closely to the voice of my servant."⁵⁹ ³ And again he says: "Hear, heaven, and listen, earth, for the Lord has spoken these things as a witness." And again he says: "Hear the word of the Lord, rulers of this people." And again he says: "Hear, children, the voice of one crying in the wilderness." So he circumcised our ears, so that when we hear the word we may believe.⁶⁰ [*Isaiah 1; Isaiah 1:10*]

⁴ But the circumcision they trust in has been done away with. For he said that circumcision was not to be of the flesh. But they went astray, because an

55. The twelve are the apostles. The "boys who sprinkle" come from Barnabas's retelling of the red heifer ritual in 8.1, not from Numbers 19 itself.

56. "The wood" here means the cross.

57. Barnabas links the "filthy" days to the "filth" of the hyssop by using related Greek words. What he means by the hyssop's "filth" is unclear. It may refer to its juice or sap, which was used as a remedy.

58. The quotations come from Psalm 18:44, Isaiah 33:13 and Jeremiah 4:4. Some are quoted closely and some loosely.

59. The second quotation is not found in this form in Scripture. It seems to blend Psalm 34:12 ("Who is the one who desires life?") with Isaiah 50:10 ("Let him obey the voice of his servant").

evil angel was deceiving them.⁶¹ 5 He says to them: “This is what the Lord your God says” (here I find a commandment): “Do not sow among thorns. Be circumcised to your Lord.” And what does he say? “Circumcise the hardness of your heart, and do not stiffen your neck.” Take this again: “See, says the Lord, all the nations are uncircumcised in the flesh, but this people is uncircumcised in heart.”⁶² 6 But you will say, “The people have been circumcised as a seal.” So has every Syrian and Arab, and all the priests of idols. Do they too belong to their covenant? Even the Egyptians practice circumcision.⁶³ 7 So learn fully about everything, children of love. Abraham, the first to give circumcision, circumcised looking ahead in the Spirit to Jesus, having received the teachings of three letters.

8 For it says: “And Abraham circumcised eighteen and three hundred men from his household.” What knowledge was given to him? Learn this: it mentions the eighteen first, and then after a pause the three hundred. The eighteen is I (ten) and H (eight): you have Jesus. And because the cross, in the letter T, was going to have grace, he also says “three hundred.” So he shows Jesus in two letters, and the cross in the other one.⁶⁴ 9 The one who planted the gift of his teaching in us knows this. No one has learned a more genuine message from me. But I know that you are worthy of it.⁶⁵

60. The sources are Isaiah 1:2 (Barnabas adds “as a witness”), Isaiah 28:14 (“rulers of this people”) and Isaiah 40:3. In the last one he adds “Hear, children” before “the voice of one crying in the wilderness” and leaves out the rest of the verse.

61. Here Barnabas departs from Scripture twice. Genesis 17:10–14 plainly commands circumcision of the flesh. The Bible also nowhere says that an evil angel misled Israel into practicing it. The New Testament does teach that true circumcision is of the heart (Romans 2:28–29; Colossians 2:11), and so does the Old Testament (Deuteronomy 10:16; Jeremiah 4:4). But these passages do not deny that God gave the physical command.

62. The quotations are from Jeremiah 4:3–4, Deuteronomy 10:16 and Jeremiah 9:25–26.

63. Paul also calls circumcision a “seal” (Romans 4:11). He calls it the seal of the righteousness Abraham had by faith.

64. Greek letters also served as numbers: iota (I) is 10, eta (H) is 8, and tau (T) is 300. The first two letters of Jesus’ name in Greek are IH, and the letter T is shaped like a cross. The number 318 comes from Genesis 14:14, where it counts Abraham’s trained servants in a battle. The circumcision of his household is a different story (Genesis 17:23–27), and it gives no number. Barnabas joins the two. The word-play works only in Greek letters, not in the Hebrew of Genesis. Clement of Alexandria repeated this reading, but it is a clever symbol, not a sound reading of the text.

65. “Planted” here translates the Greek adjective **emphytos** (“implanted”), which describes the gift. James uses the same word for “the implanted word” (James 1:21).

CHAPTER 10

The Food-law of the Jews

¹ Now when Moses said, “You shall not eat pork, or eagle, or hawk, or raven, or any fish that has no scales,” he had three teachings in mind.⁶⁶ ² Besides this, he says to them in Deuteronomy: “And I will make a covenant of my requirements with this people.” So God’s command is not about not eating. Rather, Moses spoke in the Spirit.⁶⁷ ³ He mentioned the pig for this reason. He means: do not associate with people who are like pigs. That is, when they are well off, they forget the Lord, but when they are in need, they acknowledge the Lord. In the same way, the pig does not know its master when it is eating, but when it is hungry it squeals, and once it has been fed it is quiet again.⁶⁸ ⁴ “Do not eat the eagle, the hawk, the kite, or the raven.” He means: you must not join yourself to or become like people who do not know how to earn their food by toil and sweat. Instead, in their lawlessness they seize what belongs to others. They lie in wait while seeming to walk in innocence, and they look around for someone to rob because of their greed. In the same way, these birds alone do not provide food for themselves. They sit idle and look for ways to eat the flesh of others, and they are pests in their wickedness.

⁵ “And do not eat the moray, the octopus, or the cuttlefish.” He means: you must not become like such people by joining yourself to them, people who are completely ungodly and already condemned to death. In the same way, these fish alone are cursed and swim in the depths. They do not swim like the others, but live on the ground at the bottom of the sea.⁶⁹

⁶ Moreover, “Do not eat the hare.” Why? He means, you must not become a corrupter of boys, or be like such people. For every year the hare grows another opening for its droppings. It has as many holes as it has lived years.⁷⁰

⁷ Moreover, “Do not eat the hyena.” He means, you must not become an

66. The list gathers items loosely from the food laws of Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14. In the passage that follows, Barnabas treats these laws as moral lessons only, not as real rules about food. This differs from the rest of the Bible. There the food laws are real commands given to Israel, and the New Testament explains that in Christ they no longer bind believers (Mark 7:19; Acts 10; Colossians 2:16–17).

67. No verse of Deuteronomy matches these words exactly. The language resembles passages such as Deuteronomy 4:1–14.

68. The Greek uses the same word (kyrios) for “the Lord” and the pig’s “master,” which makes the comparison sharper.

69. Leviticus does not name these creatures. Barnabas includes them as examples of water creatures without scales (Leviticus 11:10–12).

adulterer or a seducer, or be like such people. Why? Because this animal changes its nature every other year, and is sometimes male and sometimes female.⁷¹ ⁸ Moses also rightly hated the weasel. He means, you must not become like those who, we hear, do lawless things with their mouths because of uncleanness. Nor shall you join yourself to unclean women who do lawless things with their mouths. For this animal conceives through its mouth.⁷²

The explanation in the Psalter

⁹ Moses received three teachings about foods, and so he spoke about them in the Spirit. But they received them as though they were about eating, because of the desire of their flesh. ¹⁰ David also received knowledge of the same three teachings, and says: “Blessed is the man who has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly,” as the fish go in darkness into the depths. “And has not stood in the way of sinners,” like those who seem to fear the Lord but sin like the pig. “And has not sat in the seat of the pestilent,” like the birds that sit waiting for prey. Now you have the full teaching about food as well.⁷³

[*Psalm 1*] ¹¹ Moses says again: “Eat everything that is cloven-hoofed and chews the cud.” What does he mean? That the person who takes food knows the one who feeds him, and rests on him, and seems to rejoice. He spoke well, looking at the command. So what does he say? Join yourselves to those who fear the Lord, to those who meditate in their heart on the meaning of the word they have received, to those who speak of the Lord’s requirements and keep them, to those who know that meditation is a work of gladness, and who chew over the word of the Lord. And what does “cloven-hoofed” mean? That the righteous person walks in this world and also looks for the holy age to come. See how well Moses gave the Law.⁷⁴

¹² But how could they have grasped or understood these things? We, however, understand the commands rightly and speak of them as the Lord in-

70. The ban on eating the hare is in Leviticus 11:6 and Deuteronomy 14:7. The reason given here comes from ancient animal folklore; Pliny the Elder reports a similar claim. It is not true, and it is not in the Bible.

71. The hyena is not among the unclean animals in Leviticus 11 or Deuteronomy 14. The belief that it changes sex was ancient folklore; Aristotle already rejected it.

72. The weasel is listed as unclean in Leviticus 11:29. The idea that it conceives or gives birth through the mouth was ancient animal lore; Aristotle mentions it and rejects it. Barnabas seems to be speaking indirectly of oral sex.

73. Psalm 1:1. “The pestilent” follows the Greek Old Testament; the Hebrew has “scoffers.”

74. Leviticus 11:3; Deuteronomy 14:6.

tended. For this reason he circumcised our ears and hearts, so that we would understand these things.⁷⁵

CHAPTER 11

Baptism

¹ Let us ask whether the Lord took care to foretell the water and the cross. About the water, it is written concerning Israel that they will not accept the baptism that brings forgiveness of sins, but will build for themselves.⁷⁶ ² For the prophet says: “Be astonished, heaven, and let the earth shudder all the more at this, for this people has done two evil things: they abandoned me, the fountain of life, and dug for themselves a pit of death.”⁷⁷ ³ “Is my holy mountain Sinai a desolate rock? For you will be like the young of a bird, fluttering away with their nest taken from them.”⁷⁸ ⁴ And the prophet says again: “I will go ahead of you and level the mountains, and I will break bronze gates and snap iron bars, and I will give you treasures of darkness, hidden and unseen, so that they may know that I am the Lord God.”⁷⁹ [*Isaiah 45: 2–3*]

⁵ And: “You will live in a high cave in a strong rock.” And: “His water is sure. You will see the king in his glory, and your soul will meditate on the fear of the Lord.”⁸⁰ ⁶ And again he says in another prophet: “And the one who does these things will be like a tree planted beside streams of water, which will give its fruit in its season. Its leaf will not fall, and everything he does will prosper.”⁸¹ ⁷ “Not so the ungodly, not so, but like the chaff that the wind blows from the face of the earth. Therefore the ungodly will not stand up in the judgment, nor sinners in the council of the righteous. For the Lord knows the way of the righteous, and the way of the ungodly will perish.”⁸²

75. The claim that Israel never grasped the true meaning of the Law runs through this letter. Paul does speak of a veil over Israel’s reading (2 Corinthians 3:14–16). But he also says Israel was entrusted with the oracles of God (Romans 3:2) and that the Law is holy (Romans 7:12). He does not treat its literal commands as a misunderstanding.

76. Jeremiah 2:13 is behind this: they dug “broken cisterns” for themselves.

77. A loose quotation of Jeremiah 2:12–13. Where Jeremiah has “broken cisterns,” Barnabas has “a pit of death.”

78. Based on the Greek of Isaiah 16:1–2, where the mountain is Zion. Barnabas has “Sinai.”

79. Isaiah 45:2–3.

80. Isaiah 33:16–18.

81. Psalm 1:3.

82. Psalm 1:4–6.

The Cross

⁸ You see how he marked out the water and the cross together. This is what he means: Blessed are those who hoped in the cross and went down into the water. He speaks of their reward “in its season”: at that time, he says, I will repay. As for his saying now, “Its leaves will not fall,” he means that every word that comes out of your mouth in faith and love will bring conversion and hope to many.⁸³ ⁹ And another prophet says again: “And the land of Jacob was praised above every land.” He means that he glorifies the vessel of his Spirit.⁸⁴ ¹⁰ Then what does he say? “And there was a river flowing on the right, and beautiful trees grew up out of it. Whoever eats from them will live forever.”⁸⁵ [Ezekiel 47:1-12] ¹¹ He means that we go down into the water full of sins and filth, and come up bearing fear as fruit in our heart and having hope in Jesus in the Spirit. “And whoever eats of these will live forever” means this: whoever hears these things spoken and believes will live forever. [Ezekiel 47:9]

CHAPTER 12

The Cross

¹ In the same way he describes the cross again in another prophet, who says: “And when will these things be completed? says the Lord. When a tree is bent over and stands up, and when blood drips from a tree.” Here again you have the cross, and the one who was going to be crucified.⁸⁶ ² And he speaks again to Moses, when Israel was being attacked by foreigners. He did this to remind them, as they were being attacked, that they had been handed over to death because of their sins. The Spirit speaks to the heart of Moses to make a pattern of the cross and of the one who was going to suffer. Unless they hope in him, he says, they will be attacked forever. So Moses placed one shield on another in the middle of the battle, and standing higher than everyone, he stretched out his hands. In this way Israel again began to win. Then, whenever he lowered them, they began to be killed.⁸⁷

³ Why? So that they would know they cannot be saved unless they hope in him. ⁴ And again in another prophet he says: “All day long I stretched out

83. Barnabas reads the tree beside the water in Psalm 1 as the cross, and the water as baptism. Paul also links baptism with Christ's death (Romans 6:3-4).

84. In 7.3 Barnabas calls Christ's body “the vessel of the Spirit,” so the “land” here probably means Christ's flesh.

85. Based on Ezekiel 47:1-12. Compare Revelation 22:1-2.

my hands to a disobedient people who speak against my righteous way.”⁸⁸

⁵ Again Moses makes a pattern of Jesus, showing that he must suffer, and that he himself, whom they will think they have destroyed, will give life. This was shown by a sign while Israel was falling. (The Lord made every kind of serpent bite them, and they were dying, since the transgression came about through the serpent in Eve.) He did this to convict them that because of their transgression they would be handed over to the affliction of death.⁸⁹

⁶ Moses himself had commanded: “You shall have no cast or carved image as your god.” Yet he makes one himself to show a pattern of Jesus. So Moses makes a bronze serpent and sets it up in a place of honor, and calls the people by a public announcement.

⁷ So they came together and asked Moses to offer a prayer for them for their healing. And Moses said to them: “When any of you is bitten, let him come to the serpent that is set on the tree, and let him hope with faith that, though it is dead, it can give life, and he will be saved at once.” And they did so. Here again you have the glory of Jesus, for all things are in him and for him.⁹⁰ [*Numbers 21: 8-9*]

Joshua

⁸ Again, what does Moses say to Jesus the son of Nun, a prophet, when he gives him this name? Why should all the people listen to him alone? Because the Father reveals everything about his Son Jesus.⁹¹ ⁹ So Moses says to Jesus, the son of Nun, giving him this name when he sent him to spy out the land: “Take a book in your hands and write what the Lord says: the Son of God

87. This is the battle with Amalek in Exodus 17:8–13. There Moses stands on a hilltop holding the staff of God and raises his hands. Exodus does not mention shields. Early Christian writers such as Justin Martyr saw Moses’ outstretched hands as a pattern of the cross.

86. This saying is not in our Old Testament, and its exact source is unknown. The words about blood dripping from wood closely resemble 2 Esdras (4 Ezra) 5:5, a Jewish book from around the end of the first century.

88. Isaiah 65:2 (quoted also in Romans 10:21). The Greek Old Testament speaks of a people “who did not walk in a true way”; “my righteous way” is Barnabas’s own adaptation.

89. This is the bronze serpent of Numbers 21:4–9, which Jesus himself compared to his being lifted up (John 3:14).

90. The words “all things are in him and for him” echo Colossians 1:16–17 and Romans 11:36. In Numbers 21 the serpent is set on a pole, and the bitten simply look at it. Barnabas says “tree” (wood), the same word used for the cross in Acts 5:30, which makes the connection plainer.

91. In Greek, “Joshua” and “Jesus” are the same name (Iēsous). The Greek Old Testament spells Nun as “Naue.” Numbers 13:16 says Moses renamed Hoshea “Joshua,” and Barnabas sees this as a hint about Jesus.

will cut off the whole house of Amalek at the roots in the last days.”⁹² ¹⁰ See again Jesus: not a son of man, but the Son of God, revealed in the flesh by a pattern. Since they are going to say that the Christ is David’s son, David himself prophesies, fearing and understanding the error of sinners: “The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet.”⁹³ [Matthew 22: 42–49]

¹¹ And again Isaiah says: “The Lord said to Christ my Lord, whose right hand I took hold of, that nations would obey him, and I will break the strength of kings.” See how David calls him Lord, and does not call him son.

94

CHAPTER 13

Jews and Christians as heirs of the covenant

¹ Let us see whether this people or the first one is the heir, and whether the covenant is for us or for them. ² Hear what Scripture says about the people: “Isaac prayed for his wife Rebecca, because she was barren, and she conceived. Then Rebecca went out to inquire of the Lord, and the Lord said to her: Two nations are in your womb, and two peoples in your body. One people will be stronger than the other, and the greater will serve the lesser.”⁹⁵ [Genesis 25: 22–23] ³ You ought to understand who Isaac is and who Rebecca is, and about whom he has shown that this people is greater than that one. ⁴ And in another prophecy Jacob says more plainly to his son Joseph: “See, the Lord has not deprived me of your face. Bring me your sons, so that I may bless them.”⁹⁶ ⁵ And he brought Ephraim and Manasseh. He wanted Manasseh to be blessed, because he was the elder, for Joseph brought him to his father Jacob’s right hand. But Jacob saw in the Spirit a pattern of the people to come. And what does it say? “Jacob crossed his hands and put his right hand on the head of Ephraim, the second and younger, and blessed him. And Joseph said

92. Compare Exodus 17:14. There God tells Moses to write down that Amalek will be blotted out and to recite it to Joshua, after the battle with Amalek. Barnabas has Moses tell Joshua to write it when he sends him to spy out the land. The words “Son of God” and “last days” are also Barnabas’s own.

93. Psalm 110:1. Jesus uses the same verse in Mark 12:35–37.

94. Isaiah 45:1. In the Greek Old Testament the verse speaks of the Lord’s “anointed” (christos) Cyrus. By a slight change of one word (kyriō, “Lord,” for Kyrō, “Cyrus”), Barnabas makes the verse speak of Christ. The closing remark about David refers back to Psalm 110 in the previous section.

95. Genesis 25:21–23; Paul uses the same passage in Romans 9:10–12.

96. Genesis 48:11, 9.

to Jacob, ‘Move your right hand to the head of Manasseh, for he is my first-born son.’ And Jacob said to Joseph, ‘I know, child, I know. But the greater will serve the lesser, and this one will indeed be blessed.’”⁹⁷ [*Genesis 48:18-19*]

⁶ See in whose case he has laid it down that this people is the first and the heir of the covenant. ⁷ If, besides this, it was also spoken of through Abraham, then we have the full measure of our knowledge. So what does he say to Abraham, when he alone believed and was counted righteous? “See, I have made you, Abraham, the father of the nations who believe in God while uncircumcised.”⁹⁸ [*Genesis 15:6; Genesis 17:4-5*]

CHAPTER 14

The fulfilment of the promise to the Jews

¹ Yes. But let us see whether he has given the covenant he swore to the fathers to give to the people. He has given it. But they were not worthy to receive it, because of their sins. ² For the prophet says: “And Moses was fasting on Mount Sinai for forty days and forty nights, to receive the Lord’s covenant for the people. And Moses received from the Lord the two tablets, written by the finger of the Lord’s hand in the Spirit. And Moses took them and carried them down to give to the people.”⁹⁹ [*Exodus 24:18*] ³ “And the Lord said to Moses, ‘Moses, Moses, go down quickly, for your people whom you brought out of the land of Egypt have broken the law.’ And Moses understood that they had again made cast idols for themselves, and he threw the tablets from his hands, and the tablets of the Lord’s covenant were broken.”¹⁰⁰ [*Exodus 32:19; Deuteronomy 9:12-17*]

⁴ Moses received it, but they were not worthy. Now learn how we received it. Moses received it as a servant, but the Lord himself gave it to us, so that we would be the people of the inheritance, by enduring suffering for our sake.¹⁰¹

97. A free retelling of *Genesis 48:13–19*. The words “the greater will serve the lesser” do not come from *Genesis 48*. They come from the oracle about Esau and Jacob in *Genesis 25:23*, which the author quoted at 13.2.

98. Paul makes a similar point in *Romans 4:9–12*. Paul also insists that God has not rejected his people Israel (*Romans 11:1–2*), a point this author does not make.

99. A free combination of *Exodus 24:18*, *31:18* and *34:28* (compare *Deuteronomy 9:9–11*). Here “the prophet” is Moses. The words “in the Spirit” are the author’s own addition.

100. Compare *Exodus 32:7–19* and *Deuteronomy 9:12–17*. The author told this same story earlier, at 4.7–8.

101. Calling Moses God’s “servant” (θεράπων) comes from *Numbers 12:7*. *Hebrews 3:5–6* uses the same word to contrast Moses the servant with Christ the Son, though we cannot be sure the author knew Hebrews.

5 He appeared so that those people would reach the full measure of their sins, and so that we would receive the covenant through the Lord Jesus, who inherits it. He was prepared for this very purpose. He would appear and redeem from darkness our hearts, which were already consumed by death and handed over to the lawlessness of error. Then by his word he would make a covenant with us. 6 For it is written how the Father commands him to redeem us from darkness and to prepare a holy people for himself. 7 So the prophet says: “I, the Lord your God, called you in righteousness, and I will hold your hand and strengthen you. I have given you as a covenant for the people, a light for the nations, to open the eyes of the blind, to bring out of chains those who are bound, and out of the prison house those who sit in darkness.” So we know where we were redeemed from.¹⁰² [*Isaiah 49:6–7*]

8 Again the prophet says: “See, I have set you as a light for the nations, so that you may be for salvation to the end of the earth. So says the Lord God who redeemed you.”¹⁰³ 9 And again the prophet says: “The Spirit of the Lord is on me, because he has anointed me to bring good news of grace to the lowly. He has sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to proclaim release to captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to announce the year of the Lord’s favor and the day of repayment, and to comfort all who mourn.”¹⁰⁴

CHAPTER 15

The Sabbath

1 It is also written about the Sabbath in the Ten Words that he spoke on Mount Sinai face to face to Moses: “Keep the Sabbath of the Lord holy with clean hands and a clean heart.”¹⁰⁵ 2 And in another place he says: “If my sons keep the Sabbath, then I will put my mercy on them.”¹⁰⁶ 3 He speaks of the Sabbath at the beginning of creation: “And God made the works of his hands in six days, and he finished on the seventh day, and rested on it and made it holy.”¹⁰⁷ 4 Pay attention, children, to what “he finished in six days”

102. *Isaiah* 42:6–7.

103. *Isaiah* 49:6–7.

104. *Isaiah* 61:1–2. Jesus read this passage in the synagogue at Nazareth (*Luke* 4:18–19), but he stopped before “the day of repayment,” which this author includes.

105. The Ten Commandments in *Exodus* 20:8–11 and *Deuteronomy* 5:12–15 do not contain the words “clean hands and a clean heart.” Barnabas likely blends the commandment with *Psalms* 24:4.

106. These words are not found in our Old Testament. They loosely resemble the promises attached to Sabbath-keeping in *Jeremiah* 17:24–25 and *Isaiah* 58:13–14.

107. *Genesis* 2:2–3.

means. It means this: the Lord will bring everything to completion in six thousand years, for a day with him means a thousand years. He himself bears witness to me, saying: “See, the day of the Lord will be like a thousand years.” So, children, in six days, that is, in six thousand years, everything will be finished.¹⁰⁸ [2 Peter 3: 8]

5 “And he rested on the seventh day.” This means: when his Son comes and puts an end to the time of the lawless one, judges the ungodly, and changes the sun, the moon, and the stars, then he will truly rest on the seventh day. 6 Moreover, he says: “You shall make it holy with clean hands and a clean heart.” So if anyone can now make holy the day God made holy, by being clean in heart, then we are mistaken about everything. 7 See, then: we will make it holy at that time, when we truly rest. We will be able to do so when we ourselves have been made righteous and have received the promise, when lawlessness is no more and the Lord has made everything new. Then we will be able to make it holy, because we ourselves have first been made holy. 8 Moreover, he says to them: “I cannot stand your new moons and Sabbaths.” Do you see what he means? It is not the present Sabbaths that are acceptable to me, but the one that I have made, in which I will give rest to all things and make the beginning of an eighth day, which is the beginning of another world.¹⁰⁹

9 That is why we celebrate the eighth day with joy, the day on which Jesus also rose from the dead, and, after he appeared, went up into heaven.¹¹⁰

CHAPTER 16

The Temple

1 I will also tell you about the temple. These wretched people were misled and placed their hope in the building, and not in their God who made them, as if the building were God’s house.¹¹¹ 2 For they enshrined him in the temple almost as the pagans do. But learn how the Lord speaks when he sets it aside:

108. The quoted saying is close to Psalm 90:4 and 2 Peter 3:8 but matches neither exactly. Other early writers, such as Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 5.28.3), also read the six days of creation as six thousand years of world history.

109. Isaiah 1:13. In Isaiah, God rejects Sabbaths kept by people who practice injustice. Barnabas reads the verse as setting aside the Jewish Sabbath itself in favor of God’s future rest and “eighth day.” That reading is his own and goes beyond what Isaiah says.

110. Barnabas seems to link the ascension with Sunday as well. In Acts 1:3, Jesus appears to his disciples over forty days before he ascends.

111. The last phrase (ὡς ὄντα οἶκον θεοῦ) can also be read to mean that God himself is the true house of God; the masculine participle ὄντα may refer back to God, so the Greek allows either reading.

“Who has measured heaven with a span, or the earth with a handful? Was it not I? says the Lord. Heaven is my throne, and the earth is the footstool of my feet. What kind of house will you build for me, or what is the place of my rest?” You know that their hope was in vain.¹¹² [Isaiah 40:12] 3 Moreover, he says again: “See, those who tore down this temple will themselves build it.”¹¹³

4 That is happening now. Because they went to war, it was torn down by their enemies, and now the very servants of the enemies will rebuild it.¹¹⁴

5 Again, it was revealed that the city, the temple, and the people of Israel would be handed over. For Scripture says: “It will happen in the last days that the Lord will hand over the sheep of the pasture, with their fold and their tower, to destruction.” And it happened as the Lord said.¹¹⁵ 6 But let us ask whether there is a temple of God. There is, where he himself says he is making and completing it. For it is written: “And it will be that when the week is completed, a temple of God will be built in glory in the name of the Lord.”¹¹⁶ [Daniel 9:24–27] 7 So I find that there is a temple. Learn how it will be built in the name of the Lord. Before we believed in God, the dwelling place of our heart was decaying and weak, truly like a temple built by hands, because it was full of idol worship and was a house of demons, since we did all that was against God.

8 But it will be built in the name of the Lord. Pay attention, so that the Lord’s temple may be built in glory. Learn how. When we received forgiveness of sins and put our hope in the Name, we became new, created again from the beginning. So God truly lives in us, in our dwelling place.¹¹⁷ 9 How? By his word of faith, his call of promise, the wisdom of his requirements, the

112. Isaiah 40:12 and 66:1. Stephen quotes Isaiah 66:1–2 against trust in the temple in Acts 7:48–50.

113. This appears to be a loose form of Isaiah 49:17 in the Greek Old Testament, which says that Zion “will soon be built by those who tore you down.” The Hebrew reads differently. Barnabas applies the verse to the temple.

114. The Romans destroyed the temple in AD 70. This verse is a key clue for dating the letter, but its meaning is disputed. Many scholars connect it with the time of Hadrian, around AD 130, when a Roman temple was planned for the site. Others think of hopes for a Jewish rebuilding early in Hadrian’s reign, and some argue for an earlier date.

115. No Bible verse matches this quotation. It resembles 1 Enoch 89 (the “Animal Apocalypse”), where the Lord gives his sheep and their tower over to destruction, but the wording is not exact. Barnabas calls it “Scripture,” though it is not in the Bible.

116. The source of this quotation is not certain. It may draw on 1 Enoch 91:13, where a house is built “in glory” for the Great King at the end of a “week,” or on Daniel 9:24–27, the “seventy weeks.”

117. Compare the New Testament teaching that believers are God’s temple (1 Corinthians 3:16; 6:19; Ephesians 2:21–22).

commands of his teaching, he himself prophesying in us, he himself living in us. He opens to us, who were enslaved to death, the door of the temple, that is, the mouth. Giving us repentance, he leads us into the incorruptible temple. ¹⁰ For the person who longs to be saved looks not to the man but to the one who lives and speaks in him. He is amazed at him, because he has never heard the speaker say such words with his mouth, nor ever wished to hear them. This is a spiritual temple being built for the Lord.

CHAPTER 17

Summary

¹ As far as I was able to explain things to you clearly and simply, my soul hopes, as I desire, that I have left out nothing that bears on salvation. ² For if I wrote to you about the present or future, you would not understand, because these things are in parables. So much for that.

CHAPTER 18

The two Ways

¹ Let us now move on to another kind of knowledge and teaching. There are two ways of teaching and authority, the way of light and the way of darkness. There is a great difference between the two ways. Over one are stationed light-bringing angels of God, and over the other, angels of Satan.¹¹⁸ ² The one is Lord from eternity to eternity, and the other is ruler of the present time of lawlessness.

CHAPTER 19

The Way of Light

¹ The way of light is this. If anyone wants to travel the road to the appointed place, let him be diligent in his works. The knowledge given to us for walking in this way is as follows: ² You shall love the one who made you, fear the one who formed you, glorify the one who redeemed you from death. You shall be simple in heart and rich in spirit. You shall not join those who walk in the way of death. You shall hate everything that is not pleasing to God. You shall hate all hypocrisy. You shall not abandon the Lord's commands. ³ You shall not exalt yourself, but you shall be humble in every way. You shall

118. The Two Ways section (chapters 18–20) closely parallels the first part of the Didache (chapters 1–6), which speaks of the ways of life and death. Many scholars think both drew on an older Jewish teaching of the Two Ways. Barnabas's order and wording differ considerably.

not take glory for yourself. You shall not make an evil plan against your neighbor. You shall not let your soul become arrogant. ⁴ You shall not commit sexual immorality, you shall not commit adultery, you shall not corrupt boys. You shall not let the word of God go out from you among any who are unclean. You shall not show favoritism when you correct someone for a wrong. You shall be gentle, you shall be quiet, you shall tremble at the words you have heard. You shall not hold a grudge against your brother.¹¹⁹

⁵ You shall not be of two minds about whether it will be or not. You shall not take the Lord's name in vain. You shall love your neighbor more than your own life. You shall not murder a child by abortion, nor kill one that has been born. You shall not take your hand away from your son or your daughter, but from their youth you shall teach them the fear of God.¹²⁰ [*Deuteronomy 5:11*] ⁶ You shall not covet what belongs to your neighbor. You shall not be greedy. You shall not join yourself in soul with the proud, but you shall keep company with the humble and righteous. You shall accept the things that happen to you as good, knowing that nothing happens without God. ⁷ You shall not be double-minded or talkative. You shall be subject to your masters as an image of God, with respect and fear. You shall not give orders in bitterness to your male or female slave, who hope in the same God, in case they stop fearing the God who is over both of you. For he did not come to call people according to their outward standing, but those whom the Spirit prepared.¹²¹

⁸ You shall share everything with your neighbor and not say that anything is your own. For if you are partners in what is incorruptible, how much more in what is corruptible? You shall not be quick with your tongue, for the mouth is a snare of death. As far as you can, you shall be pure for the sake of your soul. ⁹ Do not be someone who stretches out his hands to take but draws them in to give. You shall love as the apple of your eye everyone who speaks to you the word of the Lord. [*Psalms 18*] ¹⁰ You shall remember the day of judgment night and day. Every day you shall seek out the company of the

119. "Quiet ... tremble at the words" echoes Isaiah 66:2 in the Greek Old Testament, which speaks of the one who is "humble and quiet and trembles at my words."

120. The wording is plain. The early church condemned abortion and the killing of newborns, including leaving unwanted infants out to die, which was common in the Roman world. The *Didache* (2.2) has almost the same words.

121. Compare Ephesians 6:5–9 and Colossians 3:22–4:1, and the very similar wording in the *Didache* (4.10–11). Slavery was a normal part of the ancient world, and this teaching asks both masters and slaves to answer to the same God.

saints. You may labor by speaking, going out to encourage others and striving to save a soul by the word. Or you may work with your hands for the ransom of your sins.¹²²

11 You shall not hesitate to give, and you shall not grumble when you give. You shall know who is the good payer of the reward. You shall keep what you have received, neither adding to it nor taking away from it. You shall completely hate evil. You shall judge justly.¹²³ 12 You shall not cause division, but make peace by bringing together those who fight. You shall confess your sins. You shall not come to prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of light.

CHAPTER 20

The Way of Darkness

1 But the way of the Black One is crooked and full of curses. For it is the way of eternal death with punishment, and on it are the things that destroy their souls: idolatry, recklessness, arrogance of power, hypocrisy, double-heartedness, adultery, murder, robbery, pride, transgression, deceit, malice, stubbornness, sorcery, magic, greed, and no fear of God.¹²⁴ 2 They are persecutors of the good, haters of truth, lovers of lies, not knowing the reward of righteousness, not joining themselves to good or to just judgment. They pay no attention to the widow and orphan. They stay awake not for the fear of God but for evil. Gentleness and patience are far from them. They love empty things, chase after rewards, have no mercy on the poor, and take no trouble for the one who is oppressed. They are quick to slander and do not know their Maker. They murder children and destroy what God has formed. They turn away the needy, crush the afflicted, defend the rich, are unjust judges of the poor, and are sinful in every way.¹²⁵ [Isaiah 1:23]

CHAPTER 21

Final exhortation

1 So it is good for anyone who has learned the requirements of the Lord, as many as are written, to walk in them. For the one who does these things will

122. The idea that good works and giving can “ransom” sins has roots in the Old Testament and in Jewish teaching (Daniel 4:27; Tobit 12:9); compare Didache 4.6. The New Testament says that Christ’s death is the ransom for sin (Mark 10:45; 1 Peter 1:18–19).

123. “Neither adding nor taking away” echoes Deuteronomy 4:2 and 12:32.

124. “The Black One” is the author’s name for the devil (also in 4.9).

be glorified in the kingdom of God. The one who chooses the others will perish with his works. This is why there is a resurrection. This is why there is repayment. ²I ask those of you who are in high positions, if you will take any advice offered in goodwill: keep among you people to whom you can do good. Do not fail in this. ³The day is near in which everything will perish together with the evil one. The Lord is near, and his reward.¹²⁶ ⁴Again and again I ask you: be good lawgivers for one another, remain faithful advisers to one another, and remove all hypocrisy from among you.¹²⁷ ⁵And may God, who is Lord of the whole world, give you wisdom, understanding, insight, knowledge of his requirements, and patience.

⁶Be taught by God, searching for what the Lord is asking of you, and do it, so that you will be found approved on the day of judgment.¹²⁸ ⁷If there is any memory of good, remember me as you meditate on these things, so that my desire and my watchfulness may come to something good. I ask this of you as a favor. ⁸While the good vessel is still with you, do not fail one another in anything, but keep seeking these things and fulfill every command, for they are worthwhile.¹²⁹ ⁹That is why I was all the more eager to write you what I could, to bring you joy. Farewell, children of love and peace. The Lord of glory and of all grace be with your spirit. The Epistle of Barnabas.¹³⁰

125. "What God has formed" most likely refers again to unborn or newborn children, linking back to the ban on abortion in 19.5.

126. Compare Isaiah 40:10 and Revelation 22:12, where the Lord comes with his reward.

127. The Greek can mean either "for one another" or "for yourselves."

128. The Greek says only "so that you may be found on the day of judgment"; "approved" is added to bring out the implied sense of being found acceptable.

129. The "good vessel" most likely means the body, that is, while you are still alive. The phrase is not certain, and some take it differently.

130. "Farewell" translates a Greek word that literally means "be saved." It was a usual way to close a letter, but here it may also carry its fuller meaning.

1 Clement

CLEMENT OF ROME

c. AD 95–96

A letter from the church at Rome to the church at Corinth, written about AD 95–96 to heal a division in which some of the congregation had removed their elders. Tradition names Clement, a leader of the Roman church, as its writer.

GREETING

Salutation.

The church of God living as a stranger in Rome, to the church of God living as a stranger in Corinth, to those who are called and made holy by the will of God through our Lord Jesus Christ: may grace and peace from almighty God be multiplied to you through Jesus Christ.¹

CHAPTER 1

Reason for delay in writing

¹ Because of the sudden and repeated troubles and setbacks that have come on us, dear friends, we think we have been slow to turn our attention to the matters being disputed among you. We mean especially the shameful and unholy rebellion, so foreign and strange to God's chosen people. A few reckless and arrogant people have fanned it into such a flame of madness that your name, honored, famous, and worthy of everyone's love, has been badly slandered.²

1. The letter does not name its author. Dionysius of Corinth (about AD 170) speaks of a letter from Rome written "through Clement" (quoted by Eusebius, *Church History* 4.23). Irenaeus (about AD 180) names Clement as the third bishop of Rome after the apostles, following Linus and Anacletus. He also mentions this letter.

2. Many scholars take these "troubles" to be a persecution at Rome under the emperor Domitian (about AD 95–96). Others think the author means other difficulties. How severe any persecution under Domitian was is debated.

The ancient fame of Corinth

² Who has stayed with you and not tested and approved your faith, so full of every virtue and so firm? Who has not admired your sensible and gentle devotion in Christ? Who has not proclaimed the splendid character of your hospitality? Who has not called your complete and sure knowledge blessed? ³ You did everything without favoritism and lived by the laws of God. You submitted to your leaders and gave proper honor to the elders among you. You taught the young to think moderate and serious thoughts. You told the women to do everything with a blameless, serious, and pure conscience, loving their husbands as they should. You taught them to keep to the rule of submission and to manage their households with dignity and great self-control.³

CHAPTER 2

¹ You were all humble and not at all boastful. You submitted rather than demanded submission, and you were happier giving than receiving. You were content with the provisions Christ gave for the journey. You paid careful attention to his words and stored them deep in your hearts, and his sufferings were before your eyes.⁴ ² So a deep and rich peace was given to all, along with a longing to do good that could never be satisfied, and the Holy Spirit was poured out in fullness on all of you. ³ Full of holy purpose, you stretched out your hands to almighty God with sincere eagerness and devout confidence. You begged him to be merciful if you had sinned in any way unintentionally. ⁴ You struggled day and night for the whole brotherhood, so that the number of God's chosen might be saved with mercy and conscience.⁵ ⁵ You were sincere and innocent, and you held no grudges against one another.

⁶ Every rebellion and every division was hateful to you. You mourned over the failures of your neighbors and counted their shortcomings as your own. ⁷ You never regretted any kindness you did, and you were ready for every good work.⁶ ⁸ Adorned with a way of life that was excellent and honorable,

3. "Elders" translates *presbyteroi*. Because the young are mentioned next, the word may here mean simply the older men. Later in the letter the same word is used for church officers.

4. "Happier giving than receiving" echoes the saying of Jesus quoted in Acts 20:35: "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

5. The phrase "with mercy and conscience" is obscure; some manuscripts read "fear" instead of "mercy," and translators render the second word in different ways, such as "compassion" or "conscientiousness."

you did everything in the fear of God. The Lord's commandments and requirements were written on the tablets of your hearts.⁷

CHAPTER 3

The troubles at Corinth

¹ Every honor and every kind of growth was given to you, and the Scripture was fulfilled: "The beloved ate and drank, and grew broad and fat, and kicked."⁸ ² From this came jealousy, envy, strife, rebellion, persecution, disorder, war, and captivity. ³ So the dishonored rose up against the honored, the unknown against the well known, the foolish against the wise, the young against the elders.⁹ ⁴ For this reason righteousness and peace are far away, since each person has abandoned the fear of God, and the eyes of their faith have grown dim. They do not walk by the laws of his commands, and they do not live as citizens in a way fitting for Christ. Instead, each follows the desires of his own wicked heart, having taken up an unjust and ungodly jealousy, through which death also entered the world.¹⁰

CHAPTER 4

Examples of jealousy. Cain and Abel

¹ For it is written like this: "And after some days, Cain brought an offering to God from the fruits of the earth, and Abel also brought from the first-born of the sheep and from their fat."¹¹ ² "And God looked with favor on Abel and his gifts, but did not pay attention to Cain and his offerings." ³ "And Cain was very sad, and his face fell." ⁴ "And God said to Cain, 'Why are you so sad, and why has your face fallen? If you offer rightly but do not

6. "Ready for every good work" closely resembles Titus 3:1 ("to be ready for every good work"); compare 2 Timothy 2:21.

7. This echoes Proverbs 7:3, which in the Greek Old Testament says literally "write them on the breadth of your heart." English Bibles have "the tablet of your heart."

8. The quotation is a free adaptation of Deuteronomy 32:15 in the Greek Old Testament, where "the beloved" stands for the Hebrew "Jeshurun," a poetic name for Israel. The author applies it to the Corinthians.

9. This echoes Isaiah 3:5. The Greek word for "elders" (presbyteroi) is the same word used later in the letter for church officers.

10. Compare Wisdom of Solomon 2:24: "through the devil's envy death entered the world." This book is part of the Catholic and Orthodox Old Testament. Protestants place it among the Apocrypha.

11. This verse quotes Genesis 4:3–4 from the Greek Old Testament (the Septuagint), and the quotation continues through Genesis 4:8 in the following verses. Its wording differs a little from English Bibles, which are translated from the Hebrew.

divide rightly, have you not sinned?”¹² 5 “Be still. His turning is toward you, and you will rule over him.” 6 “Cain said to his brother Abel, ‘Let us go out to the field.’ And when they were in the field, Cain rose up against his brother Abel and killed him.” 7 You see, brothers: jealousy and envy led to the murder of a brother.

Jacob and Esau

8 Because of jealousy, our father Jacob ran away from his brother Esau.¹³

Joseph

9 Jealousy caused Joseph to be persecuted almost to death and brought into slavery.

Moses

10 Jealousy forced Moses to flee from Pharaoh, king of Egypt, when he heard a fellow countryman say, “Who made you a judge or an arbiter over us? Do you want to kill me as you killed the Egyptian yesterday?”¹⁴ [*Exodus 2:14*]

Aaron and Miriam

11 Because of jealousy, Aaron and Miriam had to stay outside the camp.¹⁵

Dathan and Abiram

12 Jealousy brought Dathan and Abiram down alive into Hades, because they rebelled against Moses, the servant of God.¹⁶

David

13 Because of jealousy, David was envied not only by foreigners but was also persecuted by Saul, king of Israel.

CHAPTER 5

Peter and Paul

1 But let us leave the ancient examples and come to the champions who lived closest to our own time. Let us take the noble examples of our own genera-

12. The Greek Old Testament has “divide rightly” (*orthōs dielēs*), probably meaning dividing the sacrifice properly. This is very different from the Hebrew of Genesis 4:7, which English Bibles render “If you do well, will you not be accepted?”

13. See Genesis 27:41–45.

14. The quotation is from Exodus 2:14.

15. See Numbers 12. There Miriam and Aaron speak against Moses, but only Miriam is struck with leprosy and shut outside the camp for seven days. Clement’s statement that both were put outside goes beyond the biblical account.

tion. ² Because of jealousy and envy, the greatest and most righteous pillars were persecuted and struggled to the point of death.¹⁷ ³ Let us put the good apostles before our eyes: ⁴ Peter, who because of unjust jealousy endured not one or two but many hardships, and having borne his witness in this way went to the place of glory that he was due.¹⁸ ⁵ Because of jealousy and strife, Paul showed the way to the prize for endurance. ⁶ Seven times he was in chains. He was driven into exile and stoned. He became a preacher in both the East and the West and won the noble fame of his faith.¹⁹ ⁷ He taught righteousness to the whole world, and he reached the farthest limit of the West and bore witness before the rulers. In this way he was released from the world and taken up into the holy place, having become the greatest example of endurance.²⁰

CHAPTER 6

The Christian martyrs

¹ A great crowd of the chosen was gathered to these men who lived holy lives. Because of jealousy they suffered many insults and tortures, and they became the finest example among us. ² Because of jealousy, women were persecuted as Danaids and Dircae and suffered terrible and unholy abuses. They reached the secure end of the race of faith and received a noble reward, though they were weak in body.²¹ ³ Jealousy has separated wives from their husbands and changed what our father Adam said: “This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh.”²² ⁴ Jealousy and strife have overthrown great cities and uprooted great nations.

16. See Numbers 16, where the earth opens and swallows the rebels. Hades here translates the Greek Old Testament’s rendering of Sheol, the realm of the dead.

17. “Pillars” recalls Galatians 2:9, where James, Peter (Cephas), and John are described as pillars.

18. This is one of the earliest written references to Peter’s martyrdom. The letter does not say where or how Peter died. The next chapter speaks of a great crowd of martyrs gathered to Peter and Paul, which most scholars connect with the persecution under Nero at Rome.

19. Compare 2 Corinthians 11:23–27 and Acts 14:19. The New Testament does not give the number of Paul’s imprisonments as seven.

20. “The farthest limit of the West” is usually taken to mean Spain, as Paul planned in Romans 15:24, 28. Some scholars think it means Rome itself, since the author was writing from there. If Spain is meant, this is the earliest hint that Paul’s plans were carried out.

21. “Danaids and Dircae” are figures of Greek myth. The Danaids were the daughters of Danaus, punished in the underworld, and Dirce was tied to a bull and dragged to death. The text may refer to Christian women who were made to act out these myths in the arena, or the words may be a corruption of the original. This passage is difficult.

22. The quotation is from Genesis 2:23.

CHAPTER 7

Instances of repentance

¹ We are writing this, dear friends, not only to warn you but also to remind ourselves. For we are in the same arena, and the same contest lies ahead of us.

² So let us put away empty and pointless worries and turn to the glorious and honorable rule of our tradition, ³ and let us see what is good, what is pleasing, and what is acceptable in the sight of the one who made us. ⁴ Let us look closely at the blood of Christ and see how precious it is to his Father, because it was poured out for our salvation and brought the grace of repentance to the whole world. ⁵ Let us go through all the generations and learn that in every generation the Master has given a place for repentance to those who wanted to turn to him.

Noah

⁶ Noah preached repentance, and those who obeyed were saved.

Jonah and the Ninevites

⁷ Jonah announced destruction to the people of Nineveh. But when they repented of their sins, they won God's favor by their pleading and received salvation, though they were strangers to God.²³

CHAPTER 8

Repentance in the Prophets

¹ The servants of God's grace spoke about repentance through the Holy Spirit. ² And the Master of all things himself also spoke about repentance with an oath: "As I live, says the Lord, I do not want the death of the sinner so much as his repentance." And he added a kind word:²⁴ ³ "Repent, house of Israel, of your lawlessness. Say to the children of my people: Though your sins reach from earth to heaven, and are redder than scarlet and blacker than sackcloth, if you turn to me with your whole heart and say, 'Father,' I will listen to you as to a holy people."²⁵ ⁴ And in another place he says this: "Wash and become clean. Remove the wickedness from your souls before my eyes. Stop your wickedness. Learn to do good. Seek justice. Rescue the wronged. Defend the orphan and do justice for the widow. Come, let us reas-

23. See Jonah 3.

24. The quotation is from Ezekiel 33:11, with some changes in wording.

25. This passage combines Ezekiel 18:30 with ideas from Isaiah 1:18 and Jeremiah 3:19. The exact source is not known, and it may be a free combination or a lost text.

on together, says the Lord. Though your sins are like crimson, I will make them white as snow. Though they are like scarlet, I will make them white as wool. If you are willing and listen to me, you will eat the good things of the land. But if you are unwilling and do not listen to me, the sword will devour you. For the mouth of the Lord has spoken this.”²⁶

⁵ Since he wanted all those he loves to share in repentance, he confirmed it by his almighty will.

CHAPTER 9

Examples of obedience

¹ So let us obey his glorious and splendid will. Let us fall before him as people begging for his mercy and kindness, and turn to his compassion. Let us give up the useless toil, the strife, and the jealousy that leads to death. ² Let us fix our eyes on those who have served his magnificent glory perfectly.

Enoch

³ Take Enoch. He was found righteous in obedience and was taken away, and no death of his was ever found.²⁷ [*Hebrews 11: 5*]

Noah

⁴ Noah was found faithful, and through his service he proclaimed a new beginning to the world. Through him the Master saved the living creatures that entered the ark in harmony.

CHAPTER 10

Abraham

¹ Abraham, who was called “the friend,” was found faithful in becoming obedient to the words of God.²⁸ ² Through obedience he left his land, his relatives, and his father’s house, so that by leaving a small land, a weak family, and a little house, he would inherit the promises of God. For God said to him: [*Genesis 12:1-3*] ³ “Leave your land, your relatives, and your father’s house, and go to the land I will show you. I will make you into a great nation and bless you and make your name great, and you will be blessed. I will bless those who bless you and curse those who curse you, and in you all the tribes of the earth will be blessed.”²⁹ ⁴ And again, when he had separated from Lot,

26. The quotation is from Isaiah 1:16–20, following the Greek Old Testament.

27. See Genesis 5:24 and Hebrews 11:5.

28. Abraham is called God’s friend in Isaiah 41:8, 2 Chronicles 20:7, and James 2:23.

29. The quotation is from Genesis 12:1–3.

God said to him: “Look up with your eyes and see from the place where you now are, to the north and south, east and west. For all the land that you see, I will give it to you and to your offspring forever.”³⁰ [*Genesis 13:14–16*]

5 “I will make your offspring like the sand of the earth. If anyone can count the sand of the earth, your offspring too will be counted.”³¹ 6 And again he says: “God brought Abraham out and said to him, ‘Look up to heaven and count the stars, if you can count them. So will your offspring be.’ And Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him as righteousness.”³² [*Genesis 15:4–5*] 7 Through faith and hospitality a son was given to him in his old age, and through obedience he offered him as a sacrifice to God on the mountain that God showed him.³³

CHAPTER 11

Lot

1 Because of his hospitality and godliness, Lot was saved from Sodom when the whole region was judged with fire and sulfur. The Master made it clear that he does not abandon those who hope in him, but hands over to punishment and torment those who turn aside.³⁴

Lot's wife

2 Lot's wife went out with him, but she was of a different mind and not in agreement with him. So she was made a sign: she became a pillar of salt to this day. This was so that everyone would know that the double-minded and those who doubt God's power come under judgment and become a warning for all generations.³⁵

CHAPTER 12

Rahab

1 Because of her faith and hospitality, Rahab the prostitute was saved.³⁶
2 When Joshua son of Nun sent spies to Jericho, the king of the land learned

30. The quotation is from *Genesis 13:14–15*.

31. The quotation is from *Genesis 13:16*.

32. The quotation is from *Genesis 15:5–6*. Compare *Romans 4* and *Galatians 3*, where Paul builds on this verse.

33. The offering of Isaac is told in *Genesis 22*. The mention of hospitality refers to *Genesis 18*, where Abraham welcomed the three visitors.

34. See *Genesis 19*.

they had come to spy out his country, and sent men to arrest them, so they could be caught and put to death. [Joshua 2:1-8] ³ The hospitable Rahab took them in and hid them in the upper room under the stalks of flax. ⁴ When the king's men came and said, "The spies of our land came in to you. Bring them out, for the king commands it," she answered, "The men you are looking for did come to me, but they left right away and are going along the road." She pointed them in the wrong direction. ⁵ She said to the men, "I know for certain that the Lord God is giving you this land, for fear and trembling of you have fallen on those who live in it. So when you take it, save me and my father's house." [Joshua 2:9-10]

⁶ They said to her, "It will be as you have told us. When you know that we are approaching, gather all your people under your roof, and they will be saved. Anyone found outside the house will die." ⁷ And they added that she should hang a scarlet cord from her house as a sign. This showed ahead of time that redemption will come through the blood of the Lord to all who believe and hope in God.³⁷ ⁸ You see, dear friends, that in this woman there was not only faith but also prophecy.

CHAPTER 13

The need of humble-mindedness

¹ So let us be humble, brothers, putting away all arrogance, pride, foolishness, and anger. Let us do what is written, for the Holy Spirit says: "Let not the wise boast in their wisdom, nor the strong in their strength, nor the rich in their riches, but let the one who boasts boast in the Lord, to seek him out and to practice justice and righteousness." Above all, let us remember the words of the Lord Jesus, which he spoke when teaching gentleness and patience.³⁸ [1 Corinthians 1:31] ² For he said this: "Show mercy, so that you may receive mercy. Forgive, so that you may be forgiven. As you do, so it will be done to you. As you give, so it will be given to you. As you judge, so you will

35. See Genesis 19:26. The Greek word *dipsychoi*, "double-minded" (literally "two-souled"), also appears in James 1:8 and 4:8. Clement uses it again in chapter 23, and the theme of double-mindedness is prominent in the Shepherd of Hermas.

36. See Joshua 2 and 6, Hebrews 11:31, and James 2:25.

37. This is the earliest surviving Christian reading of Rahab's scarlet cord as a picture of Christ's blood. Later writers such as Justin, Irenaeus, and Origen also used this image.

38. The quotation draws on Jeremiah 9:23-24 and on the similar saying found in the Greek version of 1 Samuel 2:10, which ends with doing justice and righteousness. The words "let the one who boasts boast in the Lord" match Paul's wording in 1 Corinthians 1:31 and 2 Corinthians 10:17.

be judged. As you show kindness, so kindness will be shown to you. With the measure you use, it will be measured to you.”³⁹

3 Let us strengthen ourselves by this command and these instructions, so that we may live in obedience to his holy words, with humble minds. For the holy word says: 4 “Whom will I look on, except the gentle, quiet person who trembles at my words?”⁴⁰

CHAPTER 14

Obedience to God, and abstinence from sedition.

1 So it is right and holy, brothers, that we obey God rather than follow those who, in arrogance and disorder, are the ringleaders of a detestable jealousy.

2 We will bring on ourselves no ordinary harm, but rather great danger, if we recklessly hand ourselves over to the wishes of people who launch themselves into strife and rebellion in order to pull us away from what is good.

3 Let us be kind to one another, following the compassion and sweetness of the one who made us. 4 For it is written: “The kind will live in the land, and the innocent will be left on it, but those who break the law will be wiped out from it.”⁴¹ 5 And again it says: “I saw the ungodly man lifted up and raised high like the cedars of Lebanon. I passed by, and look, he was gone. I searched for his place, and I did not find it. Guard innocence and look upon what is upright, because there is a future for the peaceful person.”⁴²

CHAPTER 15

Cleaving to the peaceable

1 So let us hold on to those who keep the peace out of true godliness, not to those who only pretend to want peace. 2 For it says somewhere: “This people honors me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.”⁴³ 3 And again: “They bless with their mouth, but curse with their heart.”⁴⁴ 4 And again it says: “They loved him with their mouth and lied to him with their tongue,

39. This saying combines sayings of Jesus from Matthew 5:7, 6:14–15, 7:1–2 and Luke 6:36–38 in a form that does not match any one Gospel exactly. Scholars have long debated whether Clement is quoting a Gospel from memory, an early collection of Jesus’s sayings, or oral tradition.

40. The quotation is from Isaiah 66:2. Where the Greek Old Testament reads “humble,” Clement has “gentle” (or “meek”), which fits his theme.

41. The quotation follows Proverbs 2:21–22 in the Greek Old Testament closely, with echoes of Psalm 37 (Psalm 36 in the Greek Old Testament).

42. The quotation is from Psalm 37:35–37 (Psalm 36 in the Greek Old Testament).

43. The quotation is from Isaiah 29:13, which Jesus also quotes in Matthew 15:8 and Mark 7:6.

44. The quotation is from Psalm 62:4 (Psalm 61 in the Greek Old Testament).

and their heart was not right with him, nor were they faithful to his covenant.”⁴⁵ ⁵ Therefore, “Let the deceitful lips that speak lawlessness against the righteous be made silent.” And again: “May the Lord destroy all deceitful lips, the boasting tongue, those who say, ‘We will make our tongue great; our lips are our own. Who is lord over us?’”⁴⁶ ⁶ “Because of the misery of the poor and the groaning of the needy, I will now arise, says the Lord. I will set him in safety,⁴⁷

⁷ I will speak boldly for him.”⁴⁸

CHAPTER 16

The humility of Christ

¹ For Christ belongs to those who are humble, not to those who raise themselves above his flock. ² The scepter of God’s majesty, the Lord Jesus Christ, did not come with the show of boasting or arrogance, though he could have. He came in humility, just as the Holy Spirit said about him. For it says: ³ “Lord, who has believed our message? And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed? We made our announcement before him: like a child, like a root in thirsty ground. He has no form or glory. We saw him, and he had no form or beauty. His appearance was without honor, falling short of the appearance of human beings. He was a man in the midst of blows and pain, who knew how to bear weakness, because his face was turned away. He was dishonored and not esteemed.”⁴⁹ ⁴ “He bears our sins and suffers pain for us, and we thought of him as being in pain, under blows, and in affliction.

⁵ “But he was wounded for our sins and weakened for our lawless deeds. The discipline that brings our peace was on him; by his bruise we were healed. ⁶ “All of us like sheep went astray, each person went astray in his own way. ⁷ “And the Lord handed him over for our sins, and he, because of his affliction, does not open his mouth. Like a sheep he was led to the slaughter, and like a lamb silent before its shearer, so he does not open his mouth. In

45. The quotation is from Psalm 78:36–37 (Psalm 77 in the Greek Old Testament).

46. The quotations are from Psalm 31:18 and Psalm 12:3–4 (Psalms 30 and 11 in the Greek Old Testament).

47. The quotation is from Psalm 12:5 (Psalm 11 in the Greek Old Testament).

48. The Greek of this line (also in the Greek Psalm, Psalm 12:5 in English Bibles) is obscure; it may mean “I will act boldly in it [that is, in his rescue]” or “I will speak boldly about him.”

49. This long quotation (16.3–14) is Isaiah 53:1–12, following the Greek Old Testament, which differs in several places from the Hebrew. For example, the opening word “Lord” is not in the Hebrew. The letter’s use of Isaiah 53 for Christ is among the earliest in Christian writing outside the New Testament.

his humiliation his judgment was taken away. ⁸ “Who will describe his generation? For his life is taken away from the earth. ⁹ “He has come to death because of the lawless deeds of my people. ¹⁰ “And I will give the wicked in place of his burial, and the rich in place of his death, because he did no lawless deed, and there was no deceit found in his mouth. And the Lord wants to cleanse him from the wound.

¹¹ “If you give an offering for sin, your soul will see long-lived offspring. ¹² “And the Lord wants to take away the labor of his soul, to show him light and form him with understanding, to make righteous the righteous one who serves many well. And he himself will bear their sins. ¹³ “Therefore he will inherit many, and he will divide the spoils of the strong, because his soul was handed over to death, and he was counted among the lawless. ¹⁴ “And he himself bore the sins of many, and was handed over because of their sins.” ¹⁵ And again he says himself: “But I am a worm and not a man, a reproach of human beings and despised by the people.”⁵⁰ ¹⁶ “All who saw me mocked me. They spoke with their lips and shook their heads: ‘He hoped in the Lord. Let him rescue him, let him save him, since he delights in him.’”

¹⁷ You see, dear friends, what example has been given to us. For if the Lord was this humble, what should we do, who have come through him under the yoke of his grace?

CHAPTER 17

Humility in the Old Testament

¹ Let us also imitate those who went about in goatskins and sheepskins, announcing the coming of Christ. We mean the prophets Elijah, Elisha, and also Ezekiel, and besides them, those who have been commended by God.⁵¹

Abraham

² Abraham was highly commended and was called the friend of God. Fixing his gaze on the glory of God in humility, he says, “But I am dust and ashes.”⁵²

50. The quotation is from Psalm 22:6–8 (Psalm 21 in the Greek Old Testament), which the Gospels also apply to Jesus on the cross.

51. Compare Hebrews 11:37, “They went about in sheepskins and goatskins.” In the Greek Old Testament, Elijah’s cloak, later taken up by Elisha, is called a *mēlôtē* (1 Kings 19:13, 19; 2 Kings 2:8, 13–14), the same word used here for “sheepskins.” The Bible does not say that Ezekiel wore skins, so the author may be drawing on a tradition we no longer have.

52. The quotation is from Genesis 18:27. Abraham is called God’s friend in 2 Chronicles 20:7, Isaiah 41:8, and James 2:23.

Job

³ It is also written about Job: “Job was righteous and blameless, truthful, devout, and kept away from every evil.”⁵³ ⁴ But he accuses himself, saying, “No one is clean from filth, even if his life is only one day long.”⁵⁴

Noah

⁵ Moses was called “faithful in all his house,” and through his service God judged Egypt with plagues and punishments. Yet even he, though greatly honored, did not speak boastfully. When an oracle was given to him from the bush, he said, “Who am I that you are sending me? I am weak of voice and slow of tongue.”⁵⁵ [Exodus 4:10] ⁶ And again he says, “I am steam from a pot.”⁵⁶

CHAPTER 18

The humility of David

¹ What should we say about David, of whom such good testimony was given? Of him God said, “I have found a man after my own heart, David the son of Jesse. I anointed him with eternal mercy.”⁵⁷ [Acts 13:22] ² But he himself says to God: “Have mercy on me, O God, according to your great mercy, and according to the multitude of your compassions wipe out my wrongdoing.”⁵⁸ ³ “Wash me even more from my lawlessness, and cleanse me from my sin. For I know my lawlessness, and my sin is always before me. ⁴ “Against you alone I have sinned, and I have done what is evil in your sight, so that you may be justified in your words and win when you are judged.”⁵⁹ ⁵ “For look, I was conceived in lawless deeds, and in sins my mother conceived me. ⁶ “For look, you have loved truth. You have shown me the hidden and secret things of your wisdom.

53. The quotation is a free rendering of Job 1:1 in the Greek Old Testament (compare Job 1:8 and 2:3), with the descriptions in a different order.

54. The quotation is from Job 14:4–5 in the Greek Old Testament. The Hebrew text is different.

55. The words “faithful in all his house” are from Numbers 12:7 (compare Hebrews 3:2, 5). The other quotation is from Exodus 3:11 and 4:10.

56. This saying is not found in the Old Testament as we have it. Its source is unknown. It may come from a Jewish writing that is now lost.

57. The Psalm says “with my holy oil.” Clement’s “mercy” (Greek *eleos*) sounds very like “oil” (*elaion*), which may explain the difference.

58. Sections 18.2–17 are Psalm 51:1–17 (Psalm 50 in the Greek Old Testament), quoted almost in full. The Greek wording differs in places from the Hebrew.

59. Paul quotes this verse in Romans 3:4.

7 “You will sprinkle me with hyssop and I will be clean. You will wash me and I will be whiter than snow. 8 “You will let me hear joy and gladness. The humbled bones will rejoice. 9 “Turn your face away from my sins, and wipe out all my lawless deeds. 10 “Create a clean heart in me, O God, and renew a right spirit in my inner parts. 11 “Do not cast me away from your presence, and do not take your Holy Spirit from me. 12 “Give me back the joy of your salvation, and strengthen me with a guiding spirit. 13 “I will teach the lawless your ways, and the ungodly will turn back to you. 14 “Deliver me from the guilt of shedding blood, O God, God of my salvation. 15 “My tongue will rejoice in your righteousness. Lord, you will open my mouth, and my lips will announce your praise. 16 “For if you had wanted sacrifice, I would have given it. You will not take pleasure in whole burnt offerings.

17 “A broken spirit is a sacrifice to God. God will not despise a broken and humbled heart.”

CHAPTER 19

Exhortation to peace

1 So many people, so great and of such good report, were humble and submissive in their obedience. This has made better not only us but also the generations before us, who received God’s words in fear and truth. 2 Since we have shared in so many great and glorious deeds, let us run back to the goal of peace that has been handed down to us from the beginning. Let us fix our eyes on the Father and Creator of the whole world, and hold on to his glorious and surpassing gifts of peace and his acts of kindness. 3 Let us see him with our minds and look with the eyes of our souls at his patient purpose. Let us understand how free from anger he is toward all of his creation.

CHAPTER 20

The peace and harmony of the Universe

1 The heavens, which move by his direction, are subject to him in peace.⁶⁰ 2 Day and night run the course he has set, without getting in each other’s way. 3 The sun and the moon and the choirs of stars, by his command, follow in harmony the courses assigned to them, without any deviation. 4 The earth, by his will, bears fruit in its proper seasons and brings forth abundant

60. Chapter 20 is a hymn to the order of creation, much of it in the style of the Psalms and Stoic philosophy. Its language of harmony (*homonoia*, “concord”) is chosen because the letter is addressed to a divided church.

food for people, animals, and all the living creatures on it. It does so without dissent, and it changes none of his decrees. ⁵ The unsearchable depths of the abysses and the indescribable regions of the underworld are held together by the same commands. ⁶ The vast hollow of the boundless sea, gathered into its basins by his creative work, does not cross the barriers placed around it, but does just what he commanded.⁶¹ ⁷ For he said, “This far you will come, and your waves will be broken within you.”⁶²

⁸ The ocean, which human beings cannot cross, and the worlds beyond it are governed by the same orders of the Master.⁶³ ⁹ The seasons of spring, summer, autumn, and winter give way to one another in peace. ¹⁰ The winds from their stations do their work at the proper time without hindrance. The ever-flowing springs, made for enjoyment and health, never fail to offer their breasts to sustain human life. Even the smallest of living creatures gather together in harmony and peace. ¹¹ The great Creator and Master of all things ordered all of this to exist in peace and harmony. He does good to all things, and above all to us who have fled to his mercies through our Lord Jesus Christ, ¹² to whom be glory and greatness forever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER 21

Christian values

¹ Take care, dear friends, that his many good gifts do not become a judgment on us, if we do not live worthily of him and do what is good and pleasing before him in harmony. ² For it says somewhere: “The Spirit of the Lord is a lamp that searches the inmost parts of a person.”⁶⁴ [*Proverbs 20:27*] ³ Let us see how near he is, and that none of our thoughts or reasonings is hidden from him. ⁴ It is right, then, that we should not desert his will like soldiers leaving their post.⁶⁵ ⁵ Let us offend foolish, senseless, arrogant people, who boast in the pride of their speech, rather than God. ⁶ Let us revere the Lord

61. The wording echoes Genesis 1:9–10 in the Greek Old Testament, where the waters are “gathered” into one place.

62. Compare Job 38:11.

63. Ancient geography pictured the known lands as surrounded by an Ocean no one could cross, and some writers imagined other lands beyond it. Clement probably means such unknown regions.

64. This is a loose quotation of Proverbs 20:27. The Greek Old Testament reads: “The breath of man is a light of the Lord, which searches the storerooms of the belly.” Clement makes it a saying about the Spirit of the Lord. The Greek behind “inmost parts” is literally “the storerooms of the belly.”

65. The verb is a military term for a soldier who leaves his place in the ranks.

Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us. Let us respect our leaders, honor our elders, and teach the young the discipline of the fear of God. Let us guide our wives toward what is good.⁶⁶ ⁷ Let them show the lovable character of purity. Let them demonstrate the sincere intention of their gentleness. Let them make the gentleness of their tongue plain through their silence. Let their love not be given by favoritism, but equally and in holiness to all who fear God.

⁸ Let our children share in the training that is in Christ. Let them learn what humility can do before God, what pure love can do before God, and how good and great the fear of him is, saving all who live in it with holiness and a pure mind. ⁹ For he is the searcher of thoughts and desires. His breath is in us, and when he wishes, he will take it away.

CHAPTER 22

The confirmation of this teaching in the Scriptures

¹ The faith that is in Christ confirms all of this. For he himself, through the Holy Spirit, calls us in this way: “Come, children, listen to me. I will teach you the fear of the Lord.”⁶⁷ ² “Who is the person who wants life and loves to see good days? ³ “Keep your tongue from evil and your lips from speaking deceit. ⁴ “Turn away from evil and do good. ⁵ “Seek peace and pursue it. ⁶ “The eyes of the Lord are on the righteous, and his ears are open to their prayer. But the face of the Lord is against those who do evil, to wipe out their memory from the earth. ⁷ “The righteous cried out, and the Lord heard him and rescued him from all his troubles. ⁸ “Many are the lashes that fall on the sinner, but mercy will surround those who hope in the Lord.”⁶⁸

CHAPTER 23

Humility and sincerity

¹ The Father, who is merciful in everything and generous, has compassion on those who fear him. He gently and kindly gives his gifts to those who come to him with a sincere, undivided mind. ² So let us not be double-

66. The household instructions in 21.6–8 resemble those in the New Testament letters. Compare Ephesians 5:21–6:4, Colossians 3:18–21, and 1 Peter 3:1–7.

67. Sections 22.1–7 quote Psalm 34:11–17 (Psalm 33 in the Greek Old Testament). Section 22.8 adds Psalm 32:10. In the Psalm the speaker is the Psalmist, but the letter presents Christ himself as speaking through the Holy Spirit.

68. This verse is not from Psalm 34. It is Psalm 32:10 (Psalm 31:10 in the Greek Old Testament), joined to the earlier quotation.

minded, and let our soul not indulge in idle fancies about his surpassing and glorious gifts.⁶⁹ ³ Let this Scripture be far from us, where it says: “Wretched are the double-minded, those who doubt in their soul and say, ‘We heard these things even in the days of our fathers, and look, we have grown old, and none of them has happened to us.’”⁷⁰ ⁴ “Foolish people, compare yourselves to a tree. Take a vine. First it sheds its leaves, then a shoot appears, then a leaf, then a flower, and after that an unripe grape, then a ripe cluster.” See how in a short time the fruit of the tree comes to ripeness.

⁵ Truly, his purpose will be completed quickly and suddenly, as Scripture also bears witness: “He will come quickly and will not delay,” and “The Lord will suddenly come to his temple, and the Holy One whom you are waiting for.”⁷¹

CHAPTER 24

The resurrection foreshadowed in Nature

¹ Let us consider, dear friends, how the Master continually shows us that there will be a resurrection to come. He made the Lord Jesus Christ its first-fruits by raising him from the dead.⁷² ² Let us look, dear friends, at the resurrection that happens in its seasons. ³ Day and night show us a resurrection. Night goes to sleep, and day rises. Day goes away, and night comes. ⁴ Let us take the crops. How and in what way is sowing done? ⁵ The sower went out and threw each of the seeds into the ground. They fall into the ground dry and bare, and they decay. Then, out of that decay, the greatness of the Master’s providence raises them up, and from one seed many grow and produce fruit.⁷³

69. The verb rendered “indulge in idle fancies” is rare and its exact sense is uncertain. It seems to mean letting the mind form doubtful or unreal imaginings.

70. Clement calls this “Scripture,” but it is not found in the Old Testament, and its source is unknown. The same passage is quoted in 2 Clement 11.2–4. Some scholars have suggested it comes from a lost book, Eldad and Modad, which the Shepherd of Hermas quotes elsewhere. This is only a guess.

71. The first quotation resembles Isaiah 13:22 in the Greek Old Testament (compare Habakkuk 2:3). The second is from Malachi 3:1, where the second line speaks of “the messenger of the covenant” rather than “the Holy One.”

72. For Christ as the “firstfruits” of the resurrection, compare 1 Corinthians 15:20.

73. “The sower went out” echoes Jesus’ parable (Matthew 13:3). For the seed that must die and the “bare” seed, compare John 12:24 and 1 Corinthians 15:36–38.

CHAPTER 25

The Phoenix as a sign of the resurrection

¹ Let us look at the strange sign that happens in the eastern regions, that is, around Arabia.⁷⁴ ² There is a bird called the phoenix. It is the only one of its kind and lives five hundred years. When the time comes for it to die, it makes a tomb for itself from frankincense, myrrh, and other spices. When its time is up, it enters the tomb and dies. ³ As the flesh decays, a certain worm is born, which is nourished by the moisture of the dead creature and grows wings. Then, once it has become strong, it picks up that tomb where the bones of its predecessor lie, and carries them from the land of Arabia to Egypt, to the city called Heliopolis. ⁴ In daylight, with everyone watching, it flies up to the altar of the sun, lays them there, and then heads back. ⁵ The priests then check the records of the dates and find that it has come when the five-hundredth year was complete.

CHAPTER 26

The resurrection promised in the Scriptures

¹ Do we think it is great and marvelous, then, if the Creator of all things will bring about the resurrection of those who served him in holiness with the confidence of good faith, when he shows us the greatness of his promise even through a bird? ² For it says somewhere: “You will raise me up, and I will give thanks to you,” and, “I lay down and slept, I rose up, because you are with me.”⁷⁵ ³ And again, Job says: “You will raise up this flesh of mine, which has endured all these things.”⁷⁶

74. Chapter 25 retells the ancient legend of the phoenix. In Clement’s version the bird does not burn. Instead, a worm arises from its decaying body and becomes the new phoenix. That detail also appears in Pliny the Elder. Herodotus tells of the bird coming to Heliopolis every five hundred years, and Ovid also tells the story. Several later Christian writers used the phoenix as a picture of resurrection. Readers today may treat it as an illustration taken from the common knowledge of the author’s time, not as a claim of the faith.

75. The source of the first quotation is uncertain; it may loosely recall Psalm 28:7 (27:7 in the Greek Old Testament) or Psalm 41:10. The second is based on Psalm 3:5 (3:6 in the Greek Old Testament), where the verse ends “for the Lord sustains me”; the words “because you are with me” match Psalm 23:4.

76. This is a loose quotation of Job 19:26 in the Greek Old Testament, which speaks of raising up “my skin” rather than “my flesh.”

CHAPTER 27

The necessity of cleaving to God

¹So, with this hope, let our souls be bound to the one who is faithful in his promises and just in his judgments. ²The one who commanded us not to lie will certainly not lie himself. For nothing is impossible with God, except to lie.⁷⁷ ³So let faith in him be rekindled in us, and let us understand that everything is near him. ⁴By the word of his greatness he established all things, and by a word he is able to destroy them. ⁵“Who will say to him, ‘What have you done?’ Or who will resist the might of his strength?” When he wants, and as he wants, he will do everything, and nothing that he has decreed will pass away.⁷⁸ ⁶Everything is before him, and nothing is hidden from his purpose, ⁷since “the heavens declare the glory of God, and the sky announces the work of his hands. Day pours out speech to day, and night announces knowledge to night. There are no words or speeches whose voices are not heard.”⁷⁹

CHAPTER 28

The omniscience of God

¹Since everything is seen and heard by him, let us fear him and give up the foul desires of wicked deeds, so that we may be sheltered by his mercy from the judgments to come. ²For where can any of us escape from his strong hand? What world will take in anyone who deserts him? ³For the Scripture says somewhere: “Where will I go, and where will I hide from your face? If I go up to heaven, you are there. If I go away to the ends of the earth, your right hand is there. If I make my bed in the depths, your spirit is there.”⁸⁰ ⁴Where, then, can anyone go, or where can anyone run from the one who contains all things?

CHAPTER 29

The privileges of Christians

¹So let us come to him with holiness of soul, lifting pure and undefiled hands to him, loving our gentle and compassionate Father, who has made us

77. Compare Titus 1:2 and Hebrews 6:18.

78. The questions echo Wisdom of Solomon 12:12 and 11:21. Wisdom is in the Apocrypha and is not part of the Protestant Bible. Compare also Job 9:12 and Daniel 4:35.

79. The quotation is from Psalm 19:1–3 (Psalm 18 in the Greek Old Testament).

his own chosen portion.⁸¹ ² For it is written this way: “When the Most High divided the nations, when he scattered the sons of Adam, he set the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the angels of God. The Lord’s portion became his people Jacob, and Israel was the measured part of his inheritance.”⁸² ³ And in another place he says: “Look, the Lord takes for himself a nation from the midst of nations, as a person takes the firstfruits of his threshing floor, and a holy of holies will come out of that nation.”⁸³

CHAPTER 30

The duties of their privileges

¹ Since we are the portion of the Holy One, let us do everything that belongs to holiness. Let us flee slander, foul and unclean embraces, drunkenness, rebellion, hateful desires, loathsome adultery, and hateful pride.⁸⁴ ² “For God,” it says, “opposes the proud but gives grace to the humble.”⁸⁵ ³ So let us join ourselves to those to whom God has given grace. Let us put on harmony, with humility and self-control, keeping ourselves far from all whispering and slander, being justified by deeds and not by words.⁸⁶ ⁴ For it says, “The one who talks much will also hear much in return. Or does the fluent speaker think he is righteous?”⁸⁷ ⁵ Blessed is the one born of a woman who has a short life. Do not be full of words.”⁸⁸ ⁶ Let our praise be in God and not from ourselves, for God hates those who praise themselves. ⁷ Let the witness of our good conduct be given by others, as it was given to our righteous fathers.

80. The word translated “Scripture” (*grapheion*, “the Writing”) is unusual. Some scholars think it refers to the “Writings,” the third division of the Hebrew Bible, which includes the Psalms.

81. Raising the hands was a common posture of prayer in the ancient world. Compare 1 Timothy 2:8.

82. The quotation is from Deuteronomy 32:8–9, following the Greek Old Testament. The traditional Hebrew text reads “sons of Israel.” A Dead Sea Scroll copy reads “sons of God,” which is close to the Greek “angels of God.”

83. No single verse matches this quotation. It seems to combine phrases from Deuteronomy 4:34 and 14:2, Numbers 18:27, and possibly 2 Chronicles 31:14 and Ezekiel 48:12.

84. The word translated “rebellion” (*neōterismos*) usually means revolt or stirring up change, which fits the trouble at Corinth.

85. The quotation is from Proverbs 3:34 in the Greek Old Testament, which has “the Lord.” Clement’s “God” matches the form of the verse quoted in James 4:6 and 1 Peter 5:5.

86. The author here speaks of being “justified by deeds” (*ergois dikaïoumenoi*). Yet in 32.4 he says we are justified “through faith,” not through our works. He evidently saw no contradiction between the two. Compare Paul in Romans 3–4 and James in James 2:14–26.

87. The quotation, which continues in 30.5, is from Job 11:2–3 in the Greek Old Testament. The Greek differs considerably from the Hebrew here.

⁸ Rashness, arrogance, and audacity belong to those cursed by God. Gentleness, humility, and meekness are found with those blessed by God.

CHAPTER 31

The faith of the Patriarchs

¹ So let us hold on to his blessing and see what the paths of blessing are. Let us unroll the record of what happened from the beginning. ² Why was our father Abraham blessed? Was it not because he practiced righteousness and truth through faith? ³ Isaac, knowing with confidence what was coming, was gladly led as a sacrifice.⁸⁹ ⁴ Jacob left his land in humility because of his brother, and went to Laban and served him, and the twelve-tribed scepter of Israel was given to him.

CHAPTER 32

The greatness of Jacob's blessing

¹ If anyone looks sincerely at each of these one by one, he will recognize the greatness of the gifts that were given by him. ² From Jacob come the priests and all the Levites who serve at the altar of God. From him comes the Lord Jesus according to the flesh. From him come the kings, rulers, and leaders in the line of Judah. And his other tribes are held in no small honor, since God promised, "Your offspring will be like the stars of heaven."⁹⁰ ³ All of them were glorified and made great not through themselves, or their works, or the righteous deeds they did, but through his will. ⁴ So we too, who have been called by his will in Christ Jesus, are not made righteous through ourselves. We are not made righteous through our own wisdom, understanding, or godliness, or through works we have done in holiness of heart. We are made righteous through faith, by which almighty God has made righteous all who have lived from the beginning. To him be glory forever and ever. Amen.⁹¹

88. These lines are also part of Job 11:2–3 in the Greek Old Testament. The phrase "born of a woman, short-lived" also appears in Job 14:1.

89. Genesis 22 does not say that Isaac knew what was coming or went gladly. Clement follows a Jewish tradition of Isaac's willing self-offering, also found in Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.232).

90. The promise is found in Genesis 15:5, 22:17, and 26:4. The mention of Jesus' descent "according to the flesh" echoes Romans 1:3 and 9:5.

91. This is one of the clearest statements of being made righteous (justified) by faith in the Apostolic Fathers. It echoes Paul in Romans 3–5 and Ephesians 2:8–9. In the next chapter (33), Clement goes straight on to insist that this is no excuse for neglecting good works.

CHAPTER 33

Continuance in good works

¹ What then should we do, brothers? Should we be lazy about doing good and give up love? May the Master never allow that to happen to us. Instead, let us hurry with energy and eagerness to complete every good work. ² For the Creator and Master of all things himself rejoices in his works. ³ By his enormous strength he set up the heavens, and by his unfathomable understanding he arranged them. He separated the earth from the water surrounding it and set it firmly on the secure foundation of his own will. The animals that move on it he commanded to exist by his own order. He prepared the sea and the animals in it, and shut them in by his own power. ⁴ Above all, with his holy and faultless hands he formed the human being, the most excellent and, in understanding, the greatest of creatures, as the imprint of his own image.

⁵ For God says: “Let us make a human being in our image and in our likeness.” And God made the human being; male and female he made them. ⁹² [*Genesis 1:26-27*] ⁶ Then, when he had finished all these things, he praised them and blessed them and said, “Grow and multiply.”⁹³ ⁷ Let us note that all the righteous have been adorned with good works, and that the Lord himself, adorning himself with good works, rejoiced. ⁸ Since we have this example, let us give ourselves to his will without hesitation. With all our strength let us do the work of righteousness.

CHAPTER 34

The reward of good works

¹ The good worker receives the bread of his work with confidence. The lazy and careless worker cannot look his employer in the eye. ² So we must be eager to do good, for everything comes from him. ³ For he tells us in advance: “Look, here is the Lord, and his reward is before his face, to give to each according to his work.”⁹⁴ [*Isaiah 40:10; Isaiah 62:11*] ⁴ So he urges us who believe in him with our whole heart not to be lazy or careless in any good work. ⁵ Let our boasting and confidence be in him. Let us submit to his will.

⁹². The quotation is from Genesis 1:26–27.

⁹³. See Genesis 1:28.

⁹⁴. The quotation loosely combines Isaiah 40:10 and 62:11 with the thought of Proverbs 24:12. Compare Revelation 22:12.

Let us think about the whole multitude of his angels, how they stand beside him and serve his will. ⁶For the Scripture says: “Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him, and a thousand thousands served him. And they cried out, ‘Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts. All creation is full of his glory.’”⁹⁵ [*Daniel 7:10*]

⁷ So let us too, gathered together in harmony and united in conscience, cry out earnestly to him as if with one mouth, so that we may share in his great and glorious promises. ⁸ For he says, “Eye has not seen, and ear has not heard, and it has not entered the human heart, what the Lord has prepared for those who wait for him.”⁹⁶

CHAPTER 35

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

¹ How blessed and wonderful are God’s gifts, dear friends! ² Life in immortality, splendor in righteousness, truth in boldness, faith in confidence, self-control in holiness. All these things already come within our understanding. ³ What, then, are the things prepared for those who wait? The Creator and Father of the ages, the all-holy one, himself knows how great and beautiful they are. ⁴ So let us strive to be found among the number of those who wait, so that we may share in the promised gifts. ⁵ How will this happen, dear friends? It will happen if our mind is faithfully fixed on God, and if we seek what is pleasing and acceptable to him. It will happen if we carry out what fits his blameless will and follow the way of truth, throwing away from ourselves all injustice and wickedness, greed, quarrels, malice and deceit, gossip and slander, hatred of God, pride and arrogance, vanity and lack of hospitality.

⁶ For those who do these things are hateful to God, and not only those who do them but also those who approve of them.⁹⁷ ⁷ For the Scripture says: “But to the sinner God said, ‘Why do you recite my statutes, and take my covenant on your lips?’”⁹⁸ ⁸ “You hated discipline and threw my words behind

95. The quotation combines Daniel 7:10 and Isaiah 6:3. Clement reverses the order of Daniel’s two lines. Where Isaiah says “the whole earth is full of his glory,” Clement says “all creation.”

96. This quotation is close to 1 Corinthians 2:9, which draws on Isaiah 64:4 and 65:17. The opening lines follow Paul’s wording. But the ending, “those who wait for him,” is closer to Isaiah’s idea of waiting than to Paul’s “those who love him.”

97. Compare Romans 1:29–32, a similar vice list. Paul uses the related word “God-haters” (theostygeis) and the same Greek verb for “approve” (syneudokeō).

98. Sections 35.7–12 quote Psalm 50:16–23 (Psalm 49 in the Greek Old Testament).

you. If you saw a thief, you ran with him, and you threw in your lot with adulterers. Your mouth overflowed with evil, and your tongue wove deceit. You sat and spoke against your brother, and you put a stumbling block before your mother's son. ⁹ "You did these things, and I kept silent. You thought, lawless one, that I would be like you. ¹⁰ "I will rebuke you and set you before your own face. ¹¹ "Understand this, you who forget God, or he may seize you like a lion, and there will be no one to rescue you.

¹² "A sacrifice of praise will glorify me, and there is the way by which I will show him the salvation of God."

CHAPTER 36

The reward is given through Christ

¹ This is the way, dear friends, in which we found our salvation, Jesus Christ, the high priest of our offerings, the defender and helper of our weakness. ² Through him we look up to the heights of the heavens. Through him we see, as in a mirror, God's faultless and most exalted face. Through him the eyes of our hearts were opened. Through him our foolish and darkened mind blossoms again toward the light. Through him the Master wanted us to taste immortal knowledge. Christ is the radiance of God's majesty, and he is as much greater than the angels as the name he has inherited is more excellent than theirs.⁹⁹ [*Hebrews 1:3-4*] ³ For it is written: "He makes his angels spirits and his servants a flame of fire."¹⁰⁰ ⁴ But of his Son the Master said: "You are my Son. Today I have begotten you. Ask of me, and I will give you the nations as your inheritance and the ends of the earth as your possession."¹⁰¹

⁵ And again he says to him: "Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet."¹⁰² [*Hebrews 1:13*] ⁶ Who then are the enemies? Those who are wicked and who oppose his will.

CHAPTER 37

The necessity for subordination

¹ So let us serve as soldiers, brothers, with all earnestness, under his faultless commands. ² Let us think about the soldiers who serve under our com-

99. "The eyes of our hearts" echoes Ephesians 1:18.

100. The quotation is from Psalm 104:4 (Psalm 103 in the Greek Old Testament), as quoted in Hebrews 1:7.

101. The quotation is from Psalm 2:7-8. Hebrews 1:5 quotes Psalm 2:7.

102. The quotation is from Psalm 110:1 (Psalm 109 in the Greek Old Testament), as in Hebrews 1:13.

manders, and how orderly, how readily, and how obediently they carry out their orders.¹⁰³ 3 Not all of them are prefects, or commanders of a thousand, or centurions, or commanders of fifty, and so on down the line. Instead, each one in his own rank carries out the orders of the emperor and the commanders.¹⁰⁴ 4 The great cannot exist without the small, nor the small without the great. There is a kind of blending together among them all, and this is what makes them useful. 5 Let us take our body as an example. The head is nothing without the feet, and the feet are nothing without the head. Even the smallest parts of our body are necessary and useful to the whole body. All of them work together and are subject to one order, so that the whole body may be preserved.¹⁰⁵

CHAPTER 38

The duties of mutual help

1 So let our whole body be preserved in Christ Jesus, and let each be subject to his neighbor, according to the gift he has been given. 2 Let the strong care for the weak, and let the weak respect the strong. Let the rich provide for the poor, and let the poor thank God for giving them someone to meet their need. Let the wise show his wisdom not in words but in good works. Let the humble not testify about himself, but let others testify about him. Let the one who is pure in the flesh not boast, knowing that it is someone else who gives him self-control. 3 Let us think, brothers, about what we were made from, what kind of people we were when we entered the world, and out of what tomb and darkness the one who shaped and made us brought us into his world, having prepared his gifts before we were born.

4 Since we have all of this from him, we should give thanks to him in everything. To him be glory forever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER 39

Exhortation against those who act otherwise

1 Foolish, senseless, stupid, and uneducated people mock and ridicule us, wanting to lift themselves up in their own minds. 2 For what can a mortal

103. The author points to the Roman army ("our commanders"). Corinth was itself a Roman colony, so the picture would be familiar there too. For soldier imagery, compare 2 Timothy 2:3–4.

104. "Commanders of fifty" was not a regular Roman rank. The list seems to echo the biblical leaders "over thousands, hundreds, fifties" (Exodus 18:21; Deuteronomy 1:15).

105. Compare Paul's body picture in 1 Corinthians 12:12–27 (especially verse 21 on the head and the feet) and Romans 12:4–5.

do? What is the strength of one born of the earth? ³ For it is written: “There was no form before my eyes, but I heard a breath and a voice.”¹⁰⁶ ⁴ “What then? Will a mortal be pure before the Lord? Or a man blameless in his works, if he does not trust his servants and has found some crookedness in his angels? ⁵ “Heaven is not clean before him. How much less those who live in houses of clay, the same clay we ourselves are made of! He struck them like a moth, and from morning to evening they are no more. They perished because they could not help themselves. ⁶ “He breathed on them, and they died, because they did not have wisdom. ⁷ “Call, and see whether anyone will answer you, or whether you will see any of the holy angels. For wrath kills the foolish, and jealousy puts to death the one who has gone astray.

⁸ “I have seen fools putting down roots, but their dwelling was quickly eaten up. ⁹ “May their sons be far from safety. May they be crushed at the doors of lesser men, and no one will rescue them. For what was prepared for them the righteous will eat, but they themselves will not be rescued from evils.”¹⁰⁷

CHAPTER 40

The duty of observing order in religious services

¹ Since these things are clear to us, and since we have looked into the depths of divine knowledge, we ought to do in order everything the Master commanded us to do at the appointed times. ² He commanded that offerings and services be carried out, and not carelessly or in disorder, but at set times and hours.¹⁰⁸ ³ He himself decided, by his supreme will, where and by whom they are to be done. He did this so that everything would be done in holiness, according to his good pleasure, and be acceptable to his will. ⁴ So those who make their offerings at the appointed times are acceptable and blessed, for in following the Master’s laws they do not go wrong. ⁵ For the high priest has his own services assigned to him, and the priests have their own place appointed to them, and the Levites have their own duties laid on them. The lay person is bound by rules for lay people.¹⁰⁹

106. Verses 39.3–9 quote Job 4:16–5:5, with a line from Job 15:15 in 39.5. The wording follows the Greek Old Testament, with some variation.

107. The Greek verb translated “crushed” is rare, and its meaning is uncertain. It may mean “mocked” or “insulted.”

108. In the following sections (40–41) the author describes the order of the Old Testament priesthood and temple worship. He uses it as a pattern for good order in the church.

CHAPTER 41

The necessity for a diversity of functions in the church

1 Let each of us, brothers, please God in his own rank, keeping a good conscience and not stepping beyond the rule appointed for his service, but acting with reverence. 2 Brothers, the daily offerings, the offerings for vows, and the offerings for sin and guilt are not offered everywhere, but only in Jerusalem. Even there they are not offered in every place, but in front of the sanctuary, at the altar, after the offering has been examined for any blemish by the high priest and the ministers mentioned above.¹¹⁰ 3 So those who do anything contrary to what his will requires are punished with death. 4 You see, brothers, the greater the knowledge we have been counted worthy of, the greater the danger we are under.

CHAPTER 42

The Apostolic foundation of church organisation

1 The apostles received the gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ. Jesus the Christ was sent from God. 2 So Christ is from God, and the apostles are from Christ. Both came about in good order, by the will of God. 3 So the apostles received their instructions and were fully convinced through the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they were confirmed in the word of God. With the full assurance of the Holy Spirit they went out announcing the good news that the kingdom of God was about to come. 4 As they preached in country and city, they appointed their firstfruits, after testing them by the Spirit, to be overseers and deacons of those who would believe.¹¹¹ 5 This was not new, for it had been written a long time earlier about overseers and dea-

109. Here and in chapter 41 the author uses the language of the Old Testament priesthood (high priest, priests, Levites, laity) as a picture of order in the church. Scholars debate whether he means that Christian overseers, elders, and deacons correspond to these ranks. He does not say so directly. The word translated “lay person” (*laikos*) is usually said to be its earliest known use in Christian writing.

110. The author speaks of the temple sacrifices in the present tense, although the temple was destroyed in AD 70. This has been used in debates about the letter’s date. Many scholars think he is simply describing the law’s provisions, as Josephus and Hebrews also do.

111. “Overseers” translates *episkopoi* (singular *episkopos*), often rendered “bishops.” Here, and in 44.1–6, the word seems to be used for the same group of people the letter calls “presbyters” or “elders.” Scholars disagree about whether the church at Corinth was led by a single bishop or by a board of overseer-elders at this time. The wording here favors the second view.

cons. For somewhere the Scripture says: “I will appoint their overseers in righteousness and their deacons in faith.”¹¹²

CHAPTER 43

The action of Moses as a type of church organisation

¹ Is it any wonder that those who were entrusted by God in Christ with such a task appointed the people just mentioned? The blessed Moses too, “a faithful servant in all his house,” recorded in the sacred books all the instructions given to him. The other prophets followed him and added their witness to the laws he had laid down.¹¹³ ² When jealousy broke out about the priesthood, and the tribes were quarreling about which of them was to be honored with that glorious title, Moses commanded the twelve tribal leaders to bring him staffs, each with the name of its tribe written on it. He took them, tied them together, and sealed them with the rings of the tribal leaders, and put them in the tent of testimony on the table of God. ³ He shut the tent and sealed the keys just as he had sealed the staffs, ⁴ and said to them, “Brothers, the tribe whose staff blossoms is the one God has chosen to serve as his priests and to minister to him.”

⁵ When morning came, he called together all Israel, six hundred thousand men, and showed the seals to the tribal leaders. He opened the tent of testimony and brought out the staffs. And Aaron’s staff was found not only to have blossomed but also to be bearing fruit.¹¹⁴ ⁶ What do you think, dear friends? Did Moses not know this was going to happen? He certainly knew. But he did it so that there would be no disorder in Israel, and so that the name of the true and only God would be glorified. To him be glory forever and ever. Amen.

112. This is a loose adaptation of Isaiah 60:17 in the Greek Old Testament, which reads “I will give your rulers in peace and your overseers in righteousness.” The author reshapes it so that it names “deacons.”

113. The quotation is from Numbers 12:7, which already reads “servant” in the Greek Old Testament; Hebrews 3:5 quotes the same verse.

114. The story is told in Numbers 17 (see also Hebrews 9:4). The author adds details not found there: the binding and sealing of the staffs with the leaders’ rings, the sealed keys, the “table of God,” and the gathering of six hundred thousand men. Numbers says only that the staffs were laid before the Lord in the tent of testimony and that Aaron’s staff budded, blossomed, and produced almonds.

CHAPTER 44

The application of these facts to the situation at Corinth

1 Our apostles also knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be strife over the office of overseer. 2 For this reason, having received perfect foreknowledge, they appointed those mentioned earlier, and afterward gave a further instruction, so that if they died, other approved men would succeed to their service.¹¹⁵ 3 So we do not think it is right to remove from their service those who were appointed by them, or afterward by other respected men with the agreement of the whole church, and who have served the flock of Christ blamelessly, with humility, quietly and without self-seeking, and have been well spoken of by everyone for a long time. 4 For it will be no small sin on our part if we throw out those who have offered the gifts of the overseer's office blamelessly and in holiness.¹¹⁶ 5 Blessed are the elders who went before, who had a fruitful and complete departure, for they no longer fear that anyone will remove them from the place set up for them.

6 For we see that you have removed some people who were living good lives from the service they had carried out blamelessly and with honor.

CHAPTER 45

The persecution of the just in the Old Testament

1 Be eager to compete, brothers, and be zealous about the things that lead to salvation.¹¹⁷ 2 You have looked deeply into the holy Scriptures, which are true and given through the Holy Spirit. 3 You know that nothing unjust or falsified has been written in them. You will not find that righteous people were ever thrown out by holy men. 4 The righteous were persecuted, but by lawless people. They were imprisoned, but by unholy people. They were stoned by lawbreakers. They were killed by those who had taken up a foul and unjust jealousy. 5 They suffered these things and bore them gloriously. 6 What shall we say, brothers? Was Daniel thrown into the lions' den by those who feared

115. The Greek word translated "further instruction" (epinome) is difficult and its meaning is disputed. Some scholars understand it as a rule or provision about succession. Others emend the text to a different word. Lake translates it as "codicil." It is also unclear whether "if they died" refers to the apostles or to the men they appointed.

116. The "gifts" (dora) offered by the overseers may refer to the church's prayers and offerings, possibly including the Lord's Supper. The letter does not say exactly what is meant.

117. The Greek verb can be read either as a statement ("You are contentious") or as a command ("Be contentious"); many take it as a command, perhaps ironic: if you must be contentious, let it be about what leads to salvation.

God? ⁷ Or were Ananias, Azarias, and Misael shut into the fiery furnace by those who practiced the great and glorious worship of the Most High? Certainly not. Who then did these things? Hateful people, full of every evil, who were so stirred up in their anger that they brought torture on those who served God with a holy and blameless purpose. They did not know that the Most High is the champion and protector of those who serve his all-virtuous name with a clean conscience. To him be glory forever and ever. Amen.¹¹⁸

⁸ But those who endured with confidence inherited glory and honor. They were lifted up and recorded by God in his remembrance forever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER 46

Exhortation against schism

¹ We too, brothers, must hold on to such examples. ² For it is written: “Hold on to the holy ones, for those who hold on to them will be made holy.”¹¹⁹ ³ And again in another place it says: “With an innocent man you will be innocent, and with a chosen man you will be chosen, and with a crooked man you will act crookedly.”¹²⁰ ⁴ So let us hold on to the innocent and righteous, for these are the chosen of God. ⁵ Why are there quarrels, outbursts of anger, divisions, splits, and war among you? ⁶ Or do we not have one God, one Christ, and one Spirit of grace poured out on us? And is there not one calling in Christ?¹²¹ ⁷ Why do we pull apart and tear the members of Christ, and rebel against our own body, and reach such a degree of madness that we forget that we are members of one another? Remember the words of the Lord Jesus.

⁸ For he said: “Woe to that man. It would have been better for him not to have been born than to cause one of my chosen ones to stumble. It would have been better for him to have a millstone hung around him and be drowned in the sea than to turn one of my chosen ones aside.”¹²² [*Matthew 26: 24; Luke 17: 2; Mark 9: 42*] ⁹ Your split has turned many aside, has thrown many

118. Ananias, Azarias, and Misael are the Greek forms of the Hebrew names Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael (Daniel 1:6–7). Babylon renamed them Shadrach, Abednego, and Meshach. The story of the furnace is in Daniel 3.

119. This saying is not found in the Old Testament, and its source is unknown. It may come from a writing now lost, or it may be a loose paraphrase.

120. The quotation is from Psalm 18:25–26 (Psalm 17 in the Greek Old Testament).

121. Compare Ephesians 4:4–6.

into despair, many into doubt, and all of us into grief. And your rebellion continues.

CHAPTER 47

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

¹ Take up the letter of the blessed apostle Paul. ² What did he first write to you in the early days of the gospel?¹²³ ³ In truth, by the Spirit, he wrote to you about himself, Cephas, and Apollos, because even then you had formed factions.¹²⁴ ⁴ But that partisanship made your sin less serious, for you sided with apostles of good reputation and with a man they approved.¹²⁵ ⁵ But now consider who has turned you aside and reduced the dignity of your famous brotherly love. ⁶ It is shameful, dear friends, extremely shameful, and unworthy of the way of life in Christ, to hear that the steadfast and ancient church of the Corinthians is rebelling against its elders because of one or two people. ⁷ This report has reached not only us but also those who differ from us, so that blasphemies are brought on the name of the Lord because of your foolishness, and you are creating danger for yourselves.

CHAPTER 48

Exhortation to be reconciled

¹ Let us remove this quickly, and fall before the Master and weep as we beg him, so that he may be merciful and be reconciled to us and restore us to the dignified, holy practice of our brotherly love. ² For this is the gate of righteousness that opens onto life, as it is written: “Open the gates of righteousness for me, so that I may enter by them and give thanks to the Lord.”¹²⁶ ³ “This is the gate of the Lord. The righteous will enter by it.” ⁴ Though many gates have been opened, the gate of righteousness is the one in Christ. Blessed are all who enter it and direct their way in holiness and righteous-

122. This saying is close to Matthew 18:6–7, 26:24, Mark 9:42, 14:21, and Luke 17:1–2, but it does not match any of them exactly. The Gospels speak of “little ones” where Clement has “my chosen ones.” This is one of several places where Clement gives a saying of Jesus in a form that blends Gospel passages.

123. “The beginning of the gospel” means the time when the gospel was first preached among them. Paul uses the same phrase in Philippians 4:15.

124. This refers to 1 Corinthians 1:10–17 and 3:1–23. “Cephas” is the Aramaic name of Peter. This is one of the earliest references by name to a New Testament letter outside the New Testament itself.

125. The “man approved” is Apollos.

126. The quotation is from Psalm 118:19–20 (Psalm 117 in the Greek Old Testament).

ness, doing everything without disorder. [Luke 1:75] 5 Let someone be faithful, let him be able to explain knowledge, let him be wise in judging arguments, let him be pure in his deeds. 6 For the greater he seems to be, the more humble he should be, and the more he should seek what benefits everyone, not his own advantage.

CHAPTER 49

Panegyric on love

1 Let the person who has love in Christ do the commands of Christ. 2 Who can explain the bond of God's love? 3 Who is able to describe the greatness of its beauty? 4 The height to which love lifts us is beyond description. 5 Love joins us to God. Love covers a multitude of sins. Love puts up with everything and is patient with everything. There is nothing coarse and nothing proud in love. Love knows no division. Love causes no rebellion. Love does everything in harmony. In love all God's chosen were made perfect. Without love nothing is pleasing to God.¹²⁷ [1 Corinthians 13:4-7] 6 In love the Master took us to himself. Because of the love he had for us, Jesus Christ our Lord gave his blood for us by the will of God, and his flesh for our flesh, and his life for our lives.

CHAPTER 50

Exhortation to pray for love

1 See, dear friends, how great and wonderful love is, and there is no way to explain its perfection. 2 Who is fit to be found in it, except those whom God counts worthy? So let us pray and ask for his mercy, that we may be found in love, blameless, without taking human sides. 3 All the generations from Adam to this day have passed away, but those who were made perfect in love by the grace of God have a place among the godly, and they will be revealed when Christ's kingdom comes to visit the world. 4 For it is written: "Go into the inner rooms for a very little while, until my anger and wrath pass. Then I will remember a good day, and I will raise you up from your tombs."¹²⁸ 5 We are blessed, dear friends, if we keep God's commands in the harmony of love, so that our sins may be forgiven through love.

127. "Love covers a multitude of sins" comes from 1 Peter 4:8 (compare Proverbs 10:12); the passage as a whole echoes 1 Corinthians 13:4-7.

128. This is a loose combination of Isaiah 26:20 and Ezekiel 37:12. The words "I will remember a good day" have no clear source in either passage.

6 For it is written: “Blessed are those whose lawless deeds are forgiven and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man whose sin the Lord will not count, and in whose mouth there is no deceit.”¹²⁹ [Romans 4:7-9] 7 This blessing came to those chosen by God through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER 51

And for forgiveness

1 So let us ask to be forgiven for whatever wrongs we have committed and whatever we have done through any of the attacks of the Adversary. And those who became the ringleaders of the rebellion and division ought also to look to the hope we all share. 2 For those who live with fear and love would rather suffer mistreatment themselves than see their neighbors suffer it. They would rather take blame on themselves than bring blame on the harmony that was handed down to us so well and so rightly. 3 For it is better for a person to confess his sins than to harden his heart, as the hearts of those who rebelled against Moses, the servant of God, were hardened. Their condemnation was made plain to all. 4 For they went down into Hades alive, and death will shepherd them.¹³⁰ 5 Pharaoh, his army, all the rulers of Egypt, and their chariots and riders were drowned in the Red Sea and perished for no other reason than that their senseless hearts were hardened, after the signs and wonders were done in the land of Egypt through Moses, the servant of God.

CHAPTER 52

Let the wrongdoers confess their sins

1 The Master of all things needs nothing, brothers. He asks nothing from anyone except that we confess to him. 2 For David, the chosen one, says: “I will confess to the Lord, and it will please him more than a young calf with horns and hooves. Let the poor see it and be glad.”¹³¹ 3 And again he says: “Sacrifice to God a sacrifice of praise and pay your vows to the Most High. Call on me in the day of your trouble, and I will rescue you, and you will glorify me.”¹³² 4 For a broken spirit is a sacrifice to God.¹³³

129. The quotation is from Psalm 32:1–2 (Psalm 31 in the Greek Old Testament). Paul quotes the first part in Romans 4:7–8.

130. See Numbers 16 and Psalm 49:14 (Psalm 48 in the Greek Old Testament).

131. The quotation is loosely drawn from Psalm 69:30–32 (Psalm 68 in the Greek Old Testament). “Confess” here (*exomologeomai*) can also mean “give thanks” or “praise.”

CHAPTER 53

The example of Moses

¹ For you know the holy Scriptures, dear friends, and you know them well, and you have looked deeply into the words of God. So we are writing these things to remind you. ² When Moses went up on the mountain and spent forty days and forty nights in fasting and humbling himself, God said to him: “Go down from here quickly, for your people, whom you brought out of the land of Egypt, have broken the law. They have quickly turned from the way you commanded them. They have made molten images for themselves.”¹³⁴ [Deuteronomy 9:12] ³ And the Lord said to him: “I have spoken to you once and twice, saying, ‘I have seen this people, and look, it is stiff-necked.’ Let me destroy them, and I will wipe out their name from under heaven, and I will make you into a great and wonderful nation, far greater than this one.”¹³⁵ [Deuteronomy 9:13–14] ⁴ And Moses said, “No, Lord. Forgive the sin of this people, or else wipe me out of the book of the living.”¹³⁶

⁵ What great love! What unsurpassable perfection! The servant speaks boldly to the Lord. He asks forgiveness for the multitude, or else asks that he himself be wiped out with them.

CHAPTER 54

Application to the Corinthians

¹ Who among you is noble? Who is compassionate? Who is filled with love? ² Let him say: “If rebellion, strife, and divisions have come about because of me, I will leave. I will go away wherever you wish, and I will do what the people command. Only let the flock of Christ be at peace with the elders who have been appointed.” ³ Whoever does this will win great glory for himself in Christ, and every place will welcome him, for “the earth is the Lord’s and everything in it.”¹³⁷ ⁴ This is what people have done, and will keep doing, who live as citizens of God in a way of life they will never regret.

132. The quotation is from Psalm 50:14–15 (Psalm 49 in the Greek Old Testament).

133. From Psalm 51:17 (Psalm 50 in the Greek Old Testament).

134. The story is from Exodus 32:7–8 and Deuteronomy 9:12.

135. The wording follows the Greek Old Testament of Deuteronomy 9:13–14. Compare Exodus 32:9–10.

136. See Exodus 32:31–32.

137. The quotation is from Psalm 24:1 (Psalm 23 in the Greek Old Testament).

CHAPTER 55

Other examples of loving self-sacrifice

¹Let us also bring forward examples from the Gentiles. Many kings and rulers, when a time of plague came, received an oracle and handed themselves over to death, to rescue their citizens by their own blood. Many left their own cities so that the strife would not go on.¹³⁸ ²We know that many among us have handed themselves over to prison in order to ransom others. Many have sold themselves into slavery and used the price they received to feed others.¹³⁹ ³Many women, strengthened by the grace of God, have done many brave deeds. ⁴The blessed Judith, when the city was under siege, asked the elders to let her go out to the camp of the foreigners.¹⁴⁰ ⁵So she handed herself over to danger. She went out because of her love for her country and for her people who were under siege, and the Lord handed Holofernes over by the hand of a woman.

⁶No less did Esther, perfect in faith, put herself in danger to rescue the nation of Israel that was about to be destroyed. By her fasting and humbling herself she begged the all-seeing Master of the ages, who saw the humility of her soul and rescued the people for whose sake she had taken the risk.

CHAPTER 56

Exhortation to humility

¹So let us also pray for those who have fallen into some wrongdoing, that gentleness and humility may be given to them, so that they yield not to us but to the will of God. In this way the remembrance made of them before God and the saints, with compassion, will be fruitful and complete for them. ²Let us accept discipline, dear friends; no one should resent it. The warnings we give one another are good and extremely helpful, for they bind us to the will of God.

138. Clement names no one. Greek and Roman stories honored rulers who gave their lives to save their cities, sometimes at the command of an oracle. A well-known example is the legendary king Codrus of Athens, though his story involves war rather than plague.

139. Other early Christian writings describe similar sacrificial giving. For example, the Shepherd of Hermas (Similitude 5.3) and Aristides (Apology 15) speak of fasting so that the food saved can be given to the needy.

140. The story of Judith is in the book of Judith, which is part of the Greek Old Testament and in Catholic and Orthodox Bibles but not in Protestant ones.

The teaching of the Scriptures

3 For the holy word says this: “The Lord has disciplined me severely, but he has not handed me over to death.”¹⁴¹ 4 “For the Lord disciplines the one he loves, and whips every son he accepts.”¹⁴² 5 “A righteous man will discipline me in mercy and rebuke me,” it says, “but do not let the oil of sinners anoint my head.”¹⁴³ 6 And again it says: “Blessed is the man whom the Lord rebukes. Do not reject the warning of the Almighty, for he causes pain and then restores.”¹⁴⁴ 7 “He struck, and his hands healed. 8 “Six times he will rescue you from troubles, and in the seventh no evil will touch you. 9 “In famine he will rescue you from death, and in war he will free you from the power of the sword. 10 “He will hide you from the whip of the tongue, and you will not be afraid when evils come. 11 “You will laugh at the unjust and lawless, and you will not be afraid of wild beasts.

12 “For wild beasts will be at peace with you. 13 “Then you will know that your house will be at peace, and the home of your tent will not fail. 14 “You will know that your offspring will be many, and your children like the grass of the field. 15 “You will come to the grave like ripe grain harvested in its season, or like a stack on the threshing floor gathered in at the right time.”

Application to the Corinthians

16 You see, dear friends, how great the protection is for those who are disciplined by the Master. For as a good father, he disciplines us so that we may receive mercy through his holy discipline.

CHAPTER 57

1 So you who laid the foundation of the rebellion, submit to the elders and accept discipline that leads to repentance, bending the knees of your heart.¹⁴⁵

2 Learn to submit, putting away the boastful and proud arrogance of your tongue. It is better for you to be found small but respected in Christ’s flock than to seem important and be thrown out of his hope.

Warning from Scripture

3 For the all-virtuous Wisdom says this: “Look, I will pour out to you the utterance of my breath, and I will teach you my word.”¹⁴⁶ 4 “Because I called and

141. The quotation is from Psalm 118:18 (Psalm 117 in the Greek Old Testament).

142. The quotation is from Proverbs 3:12, also quoted in Hebrews 12:6.

143. The quotation is from Psalm 141:5 (Psalm 140 in the Greek Old Testament).

144. Sections 56.6–15 quote Job 5:17–26 in the Greek Old Testament.

you did not obey, and I stretched out my words and you did not pay attention, but you made my counsels void and disobeyed my rebukes, I too will laugh at your destruction. I will rejoice when ruin comes on you, when sudden confusion arrives, when disaster comes like a storm, or when affliction and siege come on you. ⁵ “For when you call on me, I will not listen to you. Evil people will seek me and will not find me. For they hated wisdom and did not choose the fear of the Lord. They would not heed my counsels, but mocked my rebukes. ⁶ “So they will eat the fruits of their own way, and be filled with their own ungodliness.

⁷ “For because they wronged the innocent, they will be killed, and judgment will destroy the ungodly. But whoever listens to me will dwell secure, trusting in hope, and will live in quiet, without fear of any evil.”

CHAPTER 58

Further application and exhortation to the Corinthian dissidents

¹ So let us obey his most holy and glorious name, and escape the threats that Wisdom spoke beforehand against the disobedient, so that we may dwell secure, trusting in the most holy name of his majesty. ² Accept our advice, and you will have nothing to regret. For as God lives, and as the Lord Jesus Christ lives, and the Holy Spirit (who are the faith and the hope of the chosen), the one who with humility and earnest gentleness carries out without regret the requirements and commands given by God will be enrolled and held in honor among the number of those who are saved through Jesus Christ. Through him glory belongs to God forever and ever. Amen.¹⁴⁷

CHAPTER 59

Warnings to the dissidents

¹ But if some disobey what he has said through us, let them know that they will entangle themselves in sin and in no small danger. ² But we will be innocent of this sin. We will ask, with earnest prayer and pleading, that the Creator of all things may keep intact the number of his chosen ones counted throughout the whole world, through his beloved servant Jesus Christ. Through him he called us from darkness to light, from ignorance to full knowledge of the glory of his name.¹⁴⁸

145. A similar phrase appears in the Prayer of Manasseh (verse 11): “I bend the knee of my heart.”

147. Clement adapts the Old Testament oath “As the Lord lives” (for example, 1 Samuel 14:39), here naming God, the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit together.

Prayer to God

3[Grant us] to hope in your name, the source of all creation. You have opened the eyes of our hearts to know you, who alone are the Most High among the highest, the Holy One who rests among the holy. You humble the arrogance of the proud. You break up the plans of nations. You raise the lowly to the heights and bring down the high. You make rich and make poor, you kill and make alive. You alone are the finder of spirits and the God of all flesh. You look into the depths. You watch over human works. You are the helper of those in danger, the savior of the hopeless, the creator and overseer of every spirit. You multiply the nations on the earth, and from all of them you chose those who love you through Jesus Christ, your beloved servant. Through him you taught us, made us holy, and honored us.¹⁴⁹ [*Ephesians* 1:18; *Isaiah* 57:15; *Job* 5; *Numbers* 27:16]

For help

4 We ask you, Master, to be our helper and defender. Save those of us who are in trouble. Have mercy on the lowly. Raise up those who have fallen. Appear to those in need. Heal the sick. Bring back those of your people who have wandered. Feed the hungry. Free our prisoners. Lift up the weak. Encourage the fainthearted. Let all the nations know you, that you alone are God, and Jesus Christ is your servant, and we are your people and the sheep of your pasture.¹⁵⁰

CHAPTER 60

1 For through your works you made plain the everlasting order of the world. You, Lord, created the world. You are faithful in all generations, just in your judgments, wonderful in strength and majesty. You are wise in creating and understanding in establishing what has been made, good in what is seen and kind to those who trust in you. Merciful and compassionate one, forgive us our lawless deeds and wrongdoings, our trespasses and faults.

For mercy

2 Do not count every sin of your servants, male and female, but cleanse us with the cleansing of your truth. Direct our steps to walk in holiness of heart

148. The Greek word for “servant” (*pais*) can also mean “child.” It is the same word used of Jesus in Acts 3:13 and 4:27, echoing the Servant of the Lord in Isaiah.

149. “Servant” translates *pais*, which can mean either “child” (Lake) or “servant.” The word recalls the Servant of the Lord in Isaiah.

and to do what is good and pleasing before you and before our rulers. ³ Yes, Master, let your face shine on us, to do us good in peace. Shelter us with your mighty hand and free us from every sin by your uplifted arm. Rescue us from those who hate us without cause.¹⁵¹ [*Numbers 6:25-26; Jeremiah 21:10; Deuteronomy 30:9*]

For peace

⁴ Give harmony and peace to us and to all who live on the earth, as you gave them to our fathers when they called on you in holiness, in faith and truth. Grant that we may be obedient to your almighty and glorious name, and to our rulers and leaders on earth.¹⁵²

CHAPTER 61

On behalf of rulers

¹ You, Master, gave them their royal authority through your magnificent and indescribable power. You did this so that we, knowing the glory and honor you gave them, would submit to them and not oppose your will in any way. Lord, give them health, peace, harmony, and stability, so that they may carry out without fault the rule you have given them.¹⁵³ ² For you, heavenly Master, King of the ages, give to human beings glory, honor, and authority over the things on earth. Lord, direct their plans according to what is good and pleasing before you. Then, as they use the authority you gave them in peace, gentleness, and godliness, they may find you merciful.¹⁵⁴ ³ You alone are able to do these things and even greater good for us. We praise you through the high priest and protector of our souls, Jesus Christ. Through him be glory and greatness to you, now and from generation to generation, and forever and ever. Amen.¹⁵⁵

150. The phrase “we are your people and the sheep of your pasture” draws on Psalm 79:13 and 100:3.

151. This echoes the priestly blessing (“the Lord make his face shine on you,” Numbers 6:25). It also recalls the “mighty hand” and “uplifted arm” of the Exodus (e.g., Deuteronomy 4:34 and 5:15 in the Greek Old Testament). And it borrows from the Psalms’ “those who hate me without cause” (Psalm 35:19; 69:4).

152. The Greek grammar is loose here. The word “obedient” (accusative) does not agree with “our fathers,” so translators usually take it as a request that “we” may be obedient.

153. This is one of the earliest Christian prayers for the civil authorities, which included the Roman emperor; compare 1 Timothy 2:1–2 and Romans 13:1–7. Though the Roman church had suffered persecution (chapters 5–6 recall martyrdoms usually linked to Nero, though he is not named), it prays for those in power.

154. “King of the ages” is also a title of God in 1 Timothy 1:17.

155. Clement calls Christ “high priest and protector” elsewhere in the letter too (36.1 and 64).

CHAPTER 62

Summary of letter

1 We have written enough to you, brothers, about the things that belong to our worship and are most helpful for a virtuous life, for those who wish to direct their lives in godliness and righteousness. 2 For we have gone over every point about faith, repentance, genuine love, self-control, sound judgment, and endurance. We have reminded you that you must please almighty God in holiness, with righteousness, truth, and patience. You must live in harmony without holding grudges, in love and peace, with constant gentleness. This is how our fathers, whom we mentioned earlier, pleased God: they were humble toward God the Father and Creator and toward all people. 3 We have reminded you of these things all the more gladly because we knew clearly that we were writing to faithful and highly respected men who have looked deeply into the words of God's teaching.

CHAPTER 63

1 It is right, then, in view of so many and such great examples, to bow our necks and take our place in obedience. Then, ceasing from senseless strife, we may reach without any blemish the goal truly set before us. 2 For you will give us joy and delight if you obey what we have written through the Holy Spirit, and cut out the wicked anger of your jealousy, as we have urged in this letter in our appeal for peace and harmony.¹⁵⁶

Introduction for representatives from Rome

3 We have sent faithful and sensible men who have lived among us blamelessly from youth to old age. They will be witnesses between you and us. 4 We did this so that you will know that all our concern has been and is for you to be at peace quickly.

CHAPTER 64

Blessing

Finally, may the all-seeing God, Master of spirits and Lord of all flesh, who chose the Lord Jesus Christ, and us through him, to be his own special people, give faith, fear, peace, endurance and patience, self-control, purity, and sober-mindedness to every soul that calls on his magnificent and holy

156. The Roman church claims that it has written "through the Holy Spirit," a strong claim of authority for its counsel.

name. May he give these so that they may please his name through our high priest and protector Jesus Christ. Through him be glory and greatness, power and honor to God, both now and for all the ages of ages. Amen.¹⁵⁷ [Numbers 27:16]

CHAPTER 65

Message as to Roman representatives

¹ Send back to us quickly, in peace and with joy, the men we sent from here: Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, together with Fortunatus. Then they can report to us all the sooner the peace and harmony we pray for and long for, and we too can rejoice sooner over your good order.¹⁵⁸

Final blessing and doxology

² The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all people everywhere who have been called by God through him. Through him be glory, honor, power, and greatness to God, and an eternal throne, from the ages to the ages of ages. Amen.¹⁵⁹

157. "His own special people" uses the Greek phrase found in the Greek Old Testament at Deuteronomy 7:6 and 14:2, and in Titus 2:14.

158. Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito carry the family names Claudius and Valerius. Some scholars, notably J. B. Lightfoot, suggested they may have been freedmen, or descendants of freedmen, connected with the imperial household. This is a guess, not a known fact. Fortunatus is a single, common name, and nothing certain is known about him.

159. At least one manuscript adds the closing title "Letter of the Romans to the Corinthians," which matches the letter's opening, where the church in Rome is the sender; other witnesses title it as Clement's letter.

2 Clement

c. AD 100–160 (debated)

The oldest surviving Christian sermon outside the New Testament. Despite its traditional title it was not written by Clement of Rome, and its real author is unknown.

CHAPTER 1

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

¹ Brothers, we must think of Jesus Christ as we think of God, as of the judge of the living and the dead. We must not think little of our salvation. ² When we think little of him, we also hope to receive little. Those who listen as though these were small matters are sinning. We also sin if we do not know where we were called from, by whom, and to what place, and how much Jesus Christ endured for our sake. ³ What return, then, will we give him, or what fruit worthy of what he has given us? And how much do we owe him in holy devotion? ⁴ He gave us light. Like a father, he called us sons. He saved us when we were perishing. ⁵ What praise, then, or what repayment will we give him for what we have received?

The state of the unconverted

⁶ Our minds were crippled. We worshiped stones, wood, gold, silver, and bronze, the works of men, and our whole life was nothing but death. We were wrapped in darkness and our eyes were full of fog, but by his will we have thrown off that cloud and have received our sight. ⁷ He had mercy on us, and in his compassion he saved us. He saw the great error and ruin in us, and that we had no hope of salvation except from him. ⁸ He called us when we did not exist, and he willed that we should come into being out of nothing.

CHAPTER 2

Prophecies of the church, and their interpretation

¹ “Rejoice, you barren woman who has not given birth; break out and shout, you who have not been in labor, for the children of the desolate woman are more than those of the woman who has a husband.” When he said, “Rejoice, you barren woman who has not given birth,” he meant us, for our church was barren before it was given children.¹ ² When he said, “Shout, you who have not been in labor,” he means this: we should offer our prayers to God sincerely and not lose heart like women in labor. ³ When he said, “the children of the desolate woman are more than those of the woman who has a husband,” he meant that our people seemed to be abandoned by God, but now that we have believed we have become more numerous than those who seemed to have God. ⁴ Another Scripture also says: “I did not come to call the righteous, but sinners.”²

⁵ This means that those who are perishing must be saved. ⁶ It is a great and marvelous thing to hold up not what is standing, but what is falling. ⁷ So Christ also wanted to save what was perishing, and he saved many, coming and calling us when we were already perishing.

CHAPTER 3

Our duty to Christ

¹ He has shown us such great mercy. First of all, we who are living do not sacrifice to dead gods or worship them; instead, through him we have come to know the Father of truth. What, then, is true knowledge of the Father, if not refusing to deny the one through whom we came to know him? ² He himself says: “Whoever confesses me before people, I will confess him before my Father.”³ ³ This, then, is our reward, if we confess the one through whom we were saved. ⁴ How do we confess him? By doing what he says, not disobeying his commandments, and honoring him not only with our lips but with our whole heart and our whole mind. ⁵ He also says in Isaiah: “This

1. This is Isaiah 54:1, also quoted by Paul in Galatians 4:27. The author reads “the barren woman” as the church, which was largely Gentile. “The woman who has a husband” is probably the Jewish people, “those who seemed to have God” (2:3), though he does not name them.

2. Matthew 9:13; Mark 2:17. This is one of the earliest places where a saying from the Gospels is called “Scripture.”

3. Matthew 10:32; Luke 12:8.

people honors me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.”⁴ [Matthew 15: 8; Mark 7: 6]

CHAPTER 4

The necessity for good works

1 So let us not only call him Lord, for that will not save us. 2 He says: “Not everyone who says to me, ‘Lord, Lord,’ will be saved, but the one who does righteousness.”⁵ 3 So then, brothers, let us confess him by our actions: by loving one another, by not committing adultery, not slandering one another, and not being envious, but by being self-controlled, merciful, and good. We ought also to share one another’s sufferings and not love money. By these deeds let us confess him, and not by their opposites. 4 We must not fear people more than God. 5 For this reason, if you do these things, the Lord said: “Even if you are gathered with me in my bosom, if you do not keep my commandments, I will cast you out and say to you, ‘Depart from me, I do not know where you come from, you workers of lawlessness.’”⁶

CHAPTER 5

Exhortation to abandon the world

1 So, brothers, let us leave behind our stay as foreigners in this world and do the will of the one who called us, and let us not be afraid to depart from this world. 2 The Lord says: “You will be like lambs in the midst of wolves.” 3 Peter answered him: “What if the wolves tear the lambs apart?” 4 Jesus said to Peter: “After they are dead, the lambs should not fear the wolves. And you, do not fear those who kill you and can do nothing to you. Fear the one who, after you are dead, has power over soul and body to throw them into the fire of Gehenna.”⁷ 5 Know, brothers, that our stay in this world, in this flesh, is small and short, but the promise of Christ is great and marvelous: rest in the coming kingdom and eternal life. 6 What can we do to obtain them, except to live in holiness and righteousness, to treat these worldly things as foreign to us, and not to desire them?

4. Isaiah 29:13, also quoted by Jesus in Matthew 15:8 and Mark 7:6.

5. Compare Matthew 7:21. There the saying ends “will enter the kingdom of heaven, but only the one who does the will of my Father.” The author’s wording differs, either quoted from memory or taken from another source.

6. This saying as a whole is not found in the four Gospels, and its source is unknown. Its closing words echo Matthew 7:23 and Luke 13:25–27.

7. “Gehenna” is the place of final punishment, often translated “hell.”

7 By desiring to acquire these things, we fall away from the way of righteousness.

CHAPTER 6

The opposition between this world and the world to come

1 The Lord says: “No servant can serve two masters.” If we want to serve both God and money, it will do us no good.⁸ 2 “For what does it profit someone to gain the whole world and lose his soul?”⁹ 3 This age and the age to come are two enemies. 4 This age speaks of adultery, corruption, love of money, and deceit, but the age to come renounces these things. 5 We cannot be friends of both. We must renounce this age and hold fast to the one to come. 6 We think it is better to hate the things here, because they are small, short-lived, and perishable, and to love the things there, the good things that never perish. 7 If we do the will of Christ, we will find rest. But if we do not, if we disobey his commandments, nothing will rescue us from eternal punishment. 8 The Scripture also says in Ezekiel that even if Noah, Job, and Daniel were to rise up, they would not save their children in the captivity.¹⁰

9 If even such righteous men cannot save their children by their own righteousness, with what confidence will we enter the kingdom of God if we do not keep our baptism pure and undefiled? Or who will be our advocate if we are not found to have holy and righteous deeds?¹¹

CHAPTER 7

Exhortation to strive well in the contest of life

1 So, my brothers, let us compete, knowing that the contest is at hand. Many sail to the contests for perishable prizes, but not all are crowned, only those who have trained hard and competed well.¹² 2 So let us compete, so that all of us may be crowned. 3 Let us run the straight course, the contest that does not

8. The saying is from Luke 16:13 (compare Matthew 6:24). The word for “servant” (oiketes) matches Luke’s wording.

9. Compare Matthew 16:26, Mark 8:36, and Luke 9:25.

10. The reference is to Ezekiel 14:14–20, quoted loosely. In Ezekiel, these three men would save only themselves and not their sons or daughters. The words “rise up” and “in the captivity” are the author’s own paraphrase.

11. The word rendered “kingdom” is *basileion*, which in classical Greek usually means a royal palace, but in early Christian writings it can also mean “kingdom.” “Advocate” translates *parakletos*.

12. The picture recalls Paul’s athletic image in 1 Corinthians 9:24–25. “Sail to” may suggest traveling by sea to the great games, such as the Isthmian Games near Corinth, but this is uncertain.

perish. Let many of us sail to it and compete, so that we may also be crowned. And if we cannot all be crowned, let us at least come close to the crown. ⁴ We must know that if someone competing in a perishable contest is caught cheating, he is flogged, removed, and thrown out of the stadium. ⁵ What do you think? What will someone suffer who cheats in the contest for what cannot perish? ⁶ Of those who have not kept the seal, it says, “Their worm will not die and their fire will not be put out, and they will be a spectacle to all flesh.”¹³ [*Mark 9:48*]

CHAPTER 8

Call to repentance and purity

¹ So while we are on earth, let us repent. ² We are clay in the hand of the craftsman. When a potter makes a vessel and it is twisted or broken in his hands, he forms it again. But if he has already put it into the fiery furnace, he can do nothing more for it. So we too, while we are in this world, should repent with all our heart of the evil we have done in the flesh, so that we may be saved by the Lord while we have time to repent.¹⁴ ³ For once we have left this world, we can no longer confess or repent there. ⁴ So, brothers, if we do the will of the Father, keep the flesh pure, and keep the commandments of the Lord, we will receive eternal life. ⁵ The Lord says in the Gospel: “If you have not kept what is small, who will give you what is great? I tell you, the one who is faithful in very little is also faithful in much.”¹⁵

⁶ So what he is saying is this: keep the flesh pure and the seal spotless, so that we may receive eternal life.

CHAPTER 9

The resurrection of the flesh

¹ Let none of you say that this flesh is not judged and does not rise again. ² Think: in what were you saved, and in what did you receive your sight, if not in this flesh?¹⁶ ³ So we must guard the flesh as a temple of God.¹⁷ ⁴ As you

13. “The seal” here means baptism (compare 6.9 and 8.6). The quotation is from Isaiah 66:24, words also echoed by Jesus in Mark 9:48.

14. The image recalls Jeremiah 18:1–6, where the potter reshapes a spoiled vessel. The point about the kiln is the author’s own addition.

15. This is close to Luke 16:10–12, but the wording differs and the saying is introduced as from “the Gospel.” The author seems to be quoting from memory or from a gospel text slightly different from ours.

16. “Received your sight” picks up the author’s earlier picture of conversion as blind people coming to see (compare 1.6).

were called in the flesh, you will also come in the flesh. ⁵ If Christ, the Lord who saved us, was first spirit and became flesh and so called us, then we also will receive our reward in this flesh.¹⁸ ⁶ So let us love one another, so that we may all come into the kingdom of God.

Call to repentance

⁷ While we have time to be healed, let us give ourselves to God our healer, giving him something in return. ⁸ What should we give in return? Repentance from a sincere heart. ⁹ For he knows all things beforehand and knows what is in our hearts. ¹⁰ So let us give him praise, not only from the mouth but also from the heart, so that he will receive us as sons. ¹¹ For the Lord said: “These are my brothers: those who do the will of my Father.”¹⁹

CHAPTER 10

Exhortation to godliness and warning against vice

¹ So, my brothers, let us do the will of the Father who called us, so that we may live. Let us pursue virtue instead, and leave behind wickedness as the forerunner of our sins. Let us flee from ungodliness, so that evil does not overtake us. ² For if we are eager to do good, peace will pursue us. ³ This is why a person cannot find it: people bring in human fears, and prefer the enjoyment of the present to the promise to come.²⁰ ⁴ They do not know how great the torment is that comes with present enjoyment, and what delight belongs to the promise to come. ⁵ If they were the only ones doing this, it could be put up with. But as it is, they keep on teaching evil to innocent souls. They do not know that they will receive a double judgment, both they and those who listen to them.

CHAPTER 11

Warning against doubt

¹ So let us serve God with a pure heart, and we will be righteous. But if we do not serve him, because we do not believe the promise of God, we will be

17. Compare 1 Corinthians 3:16 and 6:19.

18. “First spirit” is the author’s way of speaking of Christ’s existence before he became flesh (compare John 1:14). His wording is simpler than later theological language and should not be pressed too far.

19. Compare Matthew 12:50, Mark 3:35, and Luke 8:21. The wording does not match any of them exactly.

miserable. ² The prophetic word also says: “Miserable are the double-minded, those who doubt in their heart, who say, ‘We heard these things long ago, even in the time of our fathers, and yet we have waited day after day and have seen none of them.’”²¹ ³ Fools! Compare yourselves to a tree. Take a vine: first it sheds its leaves, then a bud appears, then the unripe grape, and then the ripe bunch. ⁴ So too my people have had turmoil and afflictions, but afterward they will receive the good things.” ⁵ So, my brothers, let us not be double-minded, but hope and endure, so that we may also receive the reward. ⁶ For the one who promised to give each person repayment for his deeds is faithful.

⁷ If we do righteousness before God, we will enter his kingdom and receive the promises that no ear has heard, no eye has seen, and that have not entered the human heart.²² [*1 Corinthians 2:9*]

CHAPTER 12

Interpretation of a Saying of the Lord

¹ So let us wait for the kingdom of God hour by hour, in love and righteousness, since we do not know the day of God’s appearing. ² When the Lord himself was asked by someone when his kingdom would come, he said: “When the two are one, and the outside is like the inside, and the male with the female is neither male nor female.”²³ ³ The two are one when we tell each other the truth, and in two bodies there is one soul without pretense. ⁴ By “the outside like the inside” he means this: the inside is the soul, and the outside is the body. Just as your body is visible, so let your soul be plain in your good works. ⁵ By “the male with the female, neither male nor female,” he means this: that when a brother sees a sister, he should have no thought of her as a woman, nor she of him as a man.

⁶ If you do this, he says, the kingdom of my Father will come.

20. The Greek of this sentence is difficult and may be damaged; it shifts from “a person” to “they.” It seems to mean that people who give way to human fears, and prefer present pleasure to God’s promise, cannot find the peace just mentioned.

21. The source of this quotation is not known. It closely resembles 1 Clement 23:3–4, which also goes on to the picture of the vine, so both may be quoting the same lost writing. The quotation continues through 11.4.

22. Compare 1 Corinthians 2:9, which echoes Isaiah 64:4.

23. This saying of Jesus is not in our four Gospels. A similar saying appears in the Gospel of Thomas (saying 22). Clement of Alexandria quotes a version from the Gospel of the Egyptians. We cannot treat it as Scripture. In the next sections the author gives his own plain explanation of it.

CHAPTER 13

The need for repentance; The impression made on those without

1 So, brothers, let us repent now at last. Let us be sober and set on what is good, for we are full of great foolishness and wickedness. Let us wipe away our earlier sins, and let us be saved by repenting with all our heart. Let us not be people-pleasers. And let us want to please by our righteousness not only ourselves but also those outside the church, so that the name is not blasphemed because of us. 2 The Lord says: “My name is blasphemed continually among all the nations,” and again: “Woe to the one through whom my name is blasphemed.” How is it blasphemed? In that you do not do what I want.²⁴ 3 For when the nations hear the oracles of God from our mouth, they marvel at them as beautiful and great. But then they learn that our deeds are not worthy of the words we speak, and they turn from wonder to blasphemy, saying it is a myth and a delusion.

4 When they hear from us that God says, “It is no credit to you if you love those who love you, but it is a credit to you if you love your enemies and those who hate you,” they marvel at such extraordinary goodness. But when they see that not only do we not love those who hate us, we do not even love those who love us, they laugh at us, and the name is blasphemed.²⁵

CHAPTER 14

The preexistent Church

1 So, brothers, if we do the will of God our Father, we will belong to the first church, the spiritual one, which was created before the sun and moon. But if we do not do the will of the Lord, we will fall under the Scripture that says: “My house has become a den of robbers.” So let us choose to belong to the church of life, so that we may be saved.²⁶ 2 I do not think you are unaware that the living church is the body of Christ. For the Scripture says: “God made man male and female.” The male is Christ, the female is the church. And the books and the apostles say that the church does not belong to the

24. The first saying is from Isaiah 52:5 (in the Greek Old Testament). The second is not found in our Bible, though a similar saying appears in Ignatius, *To the Trallians* 8.2.

25. The saying resembles Luke 6:32–35 and Matthew 5:44–46, though the wording is not exactly that of either Gospel.

26. A similar idea appears in the *Shepherd of Hermas* (Vision 2.4.1), where the church is said to have been created first of all, before the world. The quotation is from Jeremiah 7:11, as used by Jesus in Matthew 21:13.

present but has existed from the beginning. For it was spiritual, as our Jesus was also, but he was revealed in the last days to save us.²⁷ [*Genesis 1:27*]

The Flesh and the Spirit

³ The church, being spiritual, was made visible in the flesh of Christ. This shows us that whoever of us guards it in the flesh and does not corrupt it will receive it back in the Holy Spirit. For this flesh is a copy of the Spirit, and no one who corrupts the copy will share in the original. So what he means, brothers and sisters, is this: guard the flesh, so that you may share in the Spirit.²⁸ ⁴ If we say that the flesh is the church and the Spirit is Christ, then whoever has abused the flesh has abused the church. Such a person will not share in the Spirit, which is Christ.²⁹ ⁵ So great is the life and immortality this flesh can share in when the Holy Spirit is joined to it that no one can describe or tell what the Lord has prepared for his chosen ones.³⁰

CHAPTER 15

Exhortation to holiness and prayer

¹ I do not think the advice I have given about self-control is of little value. Whoever follows it will not regret it, but will save both himself and me, who advised him. For it is no small reward to turn a wandering and perishing soul back to be saved. ² For this is the repayment we can give to God who made us, if the one who speaks and the one who listens both speak and listen with faith and love. ³ So let us stay firm, righteous and holy, in what we have believed, so that we may pray with confidence to the God who says, “While you are still speaking, I will say, ‘Here I am.’”³¹ ⁴ For this saying is a sign of a great promise, for the Lord says that he is more ready to give than the one who asks is to ask. ⁵ Since we share in such great kindness, let us not begrudge ourselves so many good things. For as much joy as these words bring

27. The Greek word translated “from the beginning” (*anōthen*) can also mean “from above.” The subject of “was revealed” could grammatically be the church, but the purpose clause “to save us” fits Jesus.

28. The author argues from a comparison. The flesh is the “copy” (*antitypos*), and the Spirit is the “original” (*authentikon*). The practical point, drawn out in 14.4, is that whoever abuses the body abuses the church.

29. The author speaks of “the Spirit” as Christ here. Compare 9.5, where Christ was “first spirit” and then became flesh. Later Christian teaching distinguished more carefully between the Son and the Holy Spirit.

30. The last words echo 1 Corinthians 2:9 (“what God has prepared for those who love him”).

31. The quotation is from Isaiah 58:9 (compare Isaiah 65:24).

to those who do them, so much condemnation they bring to those who disobey.

CHAPTER 16

The profit of repentance

¹ So, brothers and sisters, since we have been given no small opportunity to repent, let us turn, while we have time, to the God who has called us, while we still have someone who welcomes us. ² For if we renounce these pleasures and overcome our soul by refusing to carry out its evil desires, we will share in the mercy of Jesus.

The danger of the Judgment

³ Know that the day of judgment is already coming like a burning furnace. Some of the heavens will melt, and the whole earth will be like lead melting in a fire. Then the secret and the open deeds of people will be made plain.³²

Almsgiving

⁴ Giving to the poor, then, is good as repentance for sin. Fasting is better than prayer, but giving to the poor is better than both. “Love covers a multitude of sins,” and prayer from a good conscience rescues from death. Blessed is everyone found full of these things, for giving to the poor lifts the weight of sin.³³ [*1 Peter 4:8*]

CHAPTER 17

Exhortation to repentance

¹ Let us then repent with our whole heart, so that none of us is lost. For if we have commands to turn people away from idols and teach them, how much more should a soul that already knows God not be allowed to perish? ² So let us help one another and lead back those who are weak toward what is good, so that we may all be saved, turning one another around and warning one another.

Not merely during the exhortation of the Elders

³ Let us not seem to believe and pay attention only now, while the elders are urging us. When we go home, let us also remember the Lord’s commands

32. This echoes Malachi 4:1 and Isaiah 34:4 and 2 Peter 3:10–12, though it is not an exact quotation of any of them.

and not be dragged away by the desires of the world. Let us come here more often and try to make progress in the Lord's commands, so that we may all be of one mind and be gathered together for life.³⁴

Warning of the Judgment

4 For the Lord said, "I am coming to gather all the nations, tribes, and languages." By this he means the day of his appearing, when he will come and redeem each of us according to his works.³⁵ 5 The unbelievers will see his glory and his power, and they will be astonished when they see the kingdom of the world in the hands of Jesus. They will say, "Woe to us, for it was you, and we did not know it, and we did not believe, and we did not obey the elders who told us about our salvation." "Their worm will not die and their fire will not be put out, and they will be a spectacle to all flesh."³⁶ [Isaiah 66:24]

6 He is speaking of that day of judgment, when they will see those among us who lived ungodly lives and twisted the commandments of Jesus Christ.

7 But the righteous, who have done well, endured torments, and hated the pleasures of the soul, will see how those who went astray and denied Jesus by their words or their deeds are punished with terrible torments in unquenchable fire. Then they will give glory to their God and say, "There will be hope for the one who has served God with his whole heart."

CHAPTER 18

The need of striving

1 So let us also be among those who give thanks, who have served God, and not among the ungodly who are being judged. 2 I myself am a complete sinner and have not yet escaped temptation, but am still in the midst of the devil's tools. Even so, I am eager to pursue righteousness, so that I might have the strength at least to come near it, since I fear the judgment to come.

CHAPTER 19

Attention to the Scriptures

1 So, brothers and sisters, now that the God of truth has spoken, I am reading you an appeal to pay attention to what is written, so that you may save

33. Here the author goes beyond Scripture. The Bible does not rank fasting above prayer. His teaching that almsgiving lightens sin is closer to Tobit 12:8–9 and Sirach 3:30, books not in the Protestant Bible, than to the New Testament.

34. "The elders" are the presbyters of the church, who here exhort the congregation.

35. The quotation is from Isaiah 66:18.

both yourselves and the one who is reading to you. As my payment I ask you to repent with your whole heart, and so give yourselves salvation and life. If we do this, we will set a goal for all the young who want to devote themselves to godliness and to the goodness of God.³⁷ 2 Let us not be unhappy and angry, foolish as we are, when someone warns us and turns us from wrongdoing to righteousness. Sometimes we do wicked things without realizing it, because of the double-mindedness and unbelief in our hearts, and our minds are darkened by empty desires.³⁸ 3 So let us practice righteousness so that we are saved in the end. Blessed are those who obey these commands. Even if they suffer for a short time in this world, they will gather the immortal fruit of the resurrection.

4 So let the godly person not be sad if he is miserable in the present time. A blessed time is waiting for him. He will live again above with the fathers and rejoice in an age without sorrow.

CHAPTER 20

The prosperity of the righteous

1 Do not let this trouble your minds either: that we see the unrighteous growing rich while the servants of God are hard pressed. 2 So let us have faith, brothers and sisters. We are competing in the contest of the living God and training in this present life, so that we may be crowned in the life to come. 3 None of the righteous has received a quick reward; each one waits for it. 4 For if God paid the righteous their reward right away, we would immediately be practicing business and not reverence for God. We would seem to be righteous while chasing profit instead of godliness. For this reason divine judgment punishes a spirit that is not righteous and weighs it down with chains.³⁹

36. The last quotation is from Isaiah 66:24, the same verse quoted in 7.6.

37. The author says "I am reading to you," which suggests the sermon was read aloud in a gathering of believers. It is often regarded as the oldest complete Christian sermon surviving outside the New Testament.

38. The related adjective "double-minded" (*dipsychos*) appears in James 1:8 and 4:8. It means a divided heart that wavers between God and the world, not simply intellectual doubt.

39. This last sentence is obscure. The Greek verb is in the past tense, but it may be a general statement (a "gnomic" past) rather than a reference to a specific event.

Doxology

5 To the only invisible God, the Father of truth, who sent out to us the Savior and founder of immortality, through whom he also revealed to us the truth and the heavenly life, to him be glory forever and ever. Amen.⁴⁰

40. The ancient title that follows in the manuscripts is "Of Clement, to the Corinthians, the second letter." The attribution to Clement is almost certainly wrong, and the work is a sermon rather than a letter. Most scholars think it was written by an unknown author sometime in the second century.

The Letters of Ignatius

IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH

c. AD 105–115

Seven letters written by Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, to churches in Asia Minor and Rome and to Polycarp, as he was taken under guard to Rome to be put to death. This is the shorter Greek form of the letters, which most scholars accept as genuine.

TO THE EPHESIANS

GREETING

Greeting

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church in Ephesus in Asia, which is worthy of blessing. It has been blessed with greatness by the fullness of God the Father. Before the ages it was destined for lasting and unchanging glory forever. It is united and chosen through true suffering, by the will of the Father and of Jesus Christ our God. Abundant greetings in Jesus Christ and in blameless joy.¹

CHAPTER 1

The fame of the Ephesians

¹In God I welcomed your dearly loved name, which you possess by a righteous nature, in keeping with faith and love in Christ Jesus our Savior. You are imitators of God. Having rekindled, by the blood of God, the work that comes naturally to you, you have carried it out perfectly.² ²For you heard

1. The letters are usually dated to the reign of the emperor Trajan, around AD 110, though some scholars argue for a somewhat later date. This letter's recipient church was led by a bishop named Onesimus (1.1.3). Some have wondered whether he is the Onesimus of Paul's letter to Philemon, but this cannot be shown and many scholars doubt it.

2. "The blood of God" is a bold phrase. It speaks of Christ's blood as God's blood. Compare Acts 20:28, "the church of God, which he obtained with his own blood." Ignatius often calls Christ "our God" (see the greeting above and 18.2 of this letter).

that I had been brought in chains from Syria for the sake of the name and hope we share. You heard that I hoped, through your prayer, to be allowed to fight with the wild beasts at Rome, so that by attaining this I might be able to be a disciple. So you were eager to see me.

The bishop, Onesimus

³ Since, then, in the name of God I have received your large congregation in the person of Onesimus, a man of love beyond words and your bishop, I pray that you will love him in the way of Jesus Christ and that you will all be like him. For blessed is the one who has granted you, worthy as you are, to have such a bishop.

CHAPTER 2

Other members of the Ephesian church

¹ Now about my fellow servant Burrus, your godly deacon, who is blessed in all things: I pray that he may stay on with me, to the honor of you and of your bishop. Crocus too, who is worthy of God and of you, and whom I received as a living example of your love, has refreshed me in every way. May the Father of Jesus Christ refresh him in the same way. He has done this together with Onesimus, Burrus, Euplus, and Fronto, and in them I have seen all of you in love. ² May I always have joy in you, if I am worthy. So it is right to glorify in every way Jesus Christ, who has glorified you. Then, joined together in one obedience and submitting to the bishop and the council of elders, you may be made holy in all things.

CHAPTER 3

Exhortation to Unity

¹ I am not giving you orders as if I were somebody. For even though I am in chains for the name, I have not yet been made perfect in Jesus Christ. For now I am only beginning to be a disciple, and I speak to you as my fellow students. For I needed to be anointed by you with faith, correction, endurance, and patience.³ ² But since love does not let me stay silent about you, I have taken it on myself to urge you to be in step with the mind of God. For Jesus Christ, our undivided life, is the mind of the Father, just as the bishops, appointed to the ends of the earth, are in the mind of Jesus Christ.

3. "Anointed" translates a word used for rubbing oil on an athlete before a contest. Ignatius pictures his coming martyrdom as a contest.

CHAPTER 4

Obedience to the Bishop

¹So it is right for you to be in step with the mind of the bishop, as you already are. For your council of elders, which deserves its good name and is worthy of God, is tuned to the bishop like strings to a lyre. So in your unity of mind and harmonious love, Jesus Christ is sung.⁴

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

²Each of you, too, must join in becoming one choir. Then, in harmony and agreement, taking your pitch from God in unity, you will sing with one voice through Jesus Christ to the Father. So he will hear you and recognize, by your good deeds, that you are members of his Son. So it is good for you to be in blameless unity, so that you may always share in God.

CHAPTER 5

The necessity of subordination to the bishop

¹For if in a short time I formed such a bond with your bishop, one that was not human but spiritual, how much more do I count you blessed! You are joined with him as the church is with Jesus Christ, and as Jesus Christ is with the Father, so that all things may sound together in unity. ²Let no one be misled. If anyone is not inside the place of the altar, he lacks the bread of God. For if the prayer of one or two has such power, how much more the prayer of the bishop and of the whole church!⁵ ³So whoever does not come together with the rest is already proud and has separated himself. For it is written: “God opposes the proud.” So let us be eager not to oppose the bishop, so that we may be submitting to God.⁶

4. In Ignatius’ letters the church has a threefold order: one bishop (episkopos), a council of presbyters (elders), and deacons. This is much stronger than the picture in 1 Clement, where overseers and elders seem to be the same group. Scholars debate what this shows about how church leadership developed in Syria and Asia Minor in the early second century. Ignatius himself treats the bishop as the center of unity in each local church. He does not speak of a bishop of Rome over other bishops.

5. “The bread of God” probably refers to the Eucharist (compare John 6:33). “The place of the altar” translates thysiasterion, literally “altar.” Here it seems to stand for the gathered church around the bishop. “One or two” may recall Matthew 18:19–20.

6. The quotation is from Proverbs 3:34, also in James 4:6 and 1 Peter 5:5.

CHAPTER 6

The silence of the bishop

¹ The more anyone sees the bishop being silent, the more he should fear him. For everyone whom the master of the house sends to manage his household, we must receive as we would receive the one who sent him. So it is clear that we must look on the bishop as the Lord himself.⁷ ² Onesimus himself highly praises your good order in God, that you all live according to truth and that no heresy lives among you. You do not even listen to anyone unless he speaks about Jesus Christ in truth.

CHAPTER 7

Warning against heretical preachers

¹ For some are in the habit of carrying about the name with evil deceit while doing other things unworthy of God. You must avoid them like wild animals. For they are mad dogs that bite in secret. You must beware of them, because they are hard to cure. ² There is one physician, both fleshly and spiritual, born and unborn, God in a human being, true life in death, both from Mary and from God, first able to suffer and then unable to suffer: Jesus Christ our Lord.⁸

CHAPTER 8

Praise of the Ephesians

¹ So let no one deceive you, and indeed you are not deceived, since you belong wholly to God. For when no quarrel that could torment you has taken root among you, then you truly are living according to God. I am your humble servant, and I give myself as an offering for you Ephesians, a church famous through the ages.⁹ ² The fleshly cannot do spiritual things, nor the spiritual fleshly things, just as faith cannot do the things of unbelief nor un-

7. Compare Jesus' words in Matthew 10:40 and John 13:20: whoever receives the one he sends receives him.

8. This is a very early creed-like statement, written in balanced pairs. "Unborn" means without origin, in his divinity. Ignatius is probably answering those who said Christ only seemed to have a real body and to suffer (docetism). He attacks this view more directly in Trallians 9-10 and Smyrnaeans 1-7.

9. "Humble servant" translates peripsema, literally "scrapings" or "what is wiped off." Paul uses the word in 1 Corinthians 4:13 ("the scum of all things"). By Ignatius' time it had become a humble way of saying "I am your lowly servant" or "I give myself for you."

belief the things of faith. But even what you do according to the flesh is spiritual, for you do everything in Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER 9

Their abstinence from heresy

¹ I learned that some people from there passed through with bad teaching. You did not let them sow it among you. You stopped your ears so as not to receive what they were sowing. For you are stones of the Father's temple, prepared for the building of God the Father. You are lifted up to the heights by the crane of Jesus Christ, which is the cross, with the Holy Spirit as the rope. Your faith is the hoist that lifts you, and love is the road that leads up to God.
¹⁰ ² So you are all fellow travelers in a procession: bearers of God, bearers of the temple, bearers of Christ, bearers of holy things, adorned in every way with the commands of Jesus Christ. I rejoice in this, and I have been counted worthy to talk with you through what I write and to share your joy, because in your life as human beings you love nothing but God alone.¹¹

CHAPTER 10

Exhortation to prayer and lowliness

¹ Pray without ceasing also for the rest of humanity, for there is hope that they may repent and find God. So let them at least become disciples by learning from your deeds. ² Be gentle in answer to their anger, humble in answer to their boasting, offer prayers in answer to their blasphemies, be firm in faith in answer to their error, be mild in answer to their savagery, and do not try to imitate them in return. ³ Let us show ourselves to be their brothers by our gentleness. Let us be eager to imitate the Lord, competing to see who can suffer the most wrong, who can be cheated, who can be rejected. Then no weed of the devil will be found among you, but you will remain in all purity and self-control in Jesus Christ, in flesh and in spirit.¹²

10. The crane (mechane) is an image from building work: the cross is the machine that raises believers like stones into God's temple. Compare 1 Peter 2:5 and Ephesians 2:20–22.

11. The words theophoroi, naophoroi, christophoroi and hagiophoroi ("God-bearers," "temple-bearers," and so on) play on Ignatius' own second name, Theophorus, which he uses at the opening of each letter. Synodoi ("fellow travelers") can also mean members of a procession. Together these words may recall the festival processions of Ephesus, in which images and sacred objects were carried through the city.

12. Compare 1 Corinthians 6:7, where Paul asks, "Why not rather be wronged? Why not rather be cheated?" He uses the same Greek verbs.

CHAPTER 11

The approach of the end: the fear of God

¹ These are the last times. So let us be ashamed and fear God's patience, so that it does not become our judgment. Either let us fear the wrath to come or love the grace now at hand. Let it be one of the two. Only let us be found in Christ Jesus for true life. ² Apart from him let nothing seem right to you. In him I carry my chains, those spiritual pearls. In them may I rise again through your prayer, and may I always have a share in your prayer. Then I will be found among the Christians of Ephesus, who have always been in agreement with the apostles by the power of Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER 12

Contrast between himself and his readers

¹ I know who I am and to whom I write. I am condemned, you are shown mercy. I am in danger, you are secure. ² You are the road that people pass along when they are being put to death on their way to God. You share in the mysteries with Paul, who was made holy, who was approved by testimony, who is rightly called blessed. May I be found in his footsteps when I reach God. He mentions you in every letter in Christ Jesus.¹³

CHAPTER 13

Exhortation to more frequent assemblies

¹ So be eager to come together more often to give thanks to God and glorify him. For when you meet together often, the powers of Satan are overthrown, and his destructive work is broken by the harmony of your faith.¹⁴ ² Nothing is better than peace, by which all warfare of heavenly and earthly beings is ended.

CHAPTER 14

Faith and Love

¹ None of this will escape you if you have perfect faith and love toward Jesus Christ, which are the beginning and end of life. The beginning is faith, and

13. Paul worked in Ephesus for two to three years (Acts 19:8–10; 20:31). “In every letter” is probably an exaggeration, though some read it as “throughout his letter.” Ephesus is named in only a few of Paul’s letters (for example 1 Corinthians 15:32; 16:8; 1 Timothy 1:3; 2 Timothy 1:18), besides the letter we know as Ephesians.

the end is love. When the two come together in unity, it is God. All the other things that lead to goodness follow from them. ²No one who professes faith sins, and no one who has love hates. The tree is known by its fruit. In the same way, those who profess to belong to Christ will be seen by what they do. For the work is not a matter of what we profess now. It is a matter of being found in the power of faith to the end.¹⁵

CHAPTER 15

Speech and silence

¹It is better to be silent and be real than to talk and not be real. Teaching is good if the teacher does what he says. So there is one Teacher, who spoke and it came to be. Even the things he did in silence are worthy of the Father.¹⁶

²The one who truly has the word of Jesus can also hear his silence. Then he will be perfect: he will act through what he says and be known through his silence. ³Nothing escapes the Lord. Even our secrets are near him. So let us do everything as people in whom he lives, so that we may be his temples and he may be our God within us. This is truly so, and it will be made plain before our eyes. That is why we are right to love him.¹⁷

CHAPTER 16

Warning against false teachers

¹Do not be misled, my brothers: those who corrupt households will not inherit the kingdom of God.¹⁸ ²If those who do such things in the flesh have died, how much more will someone die who corrupts the faith of God by evil teaching, the faith for which Jesus Christ was crucified? Such a person has become filthy and will go into the unquenchable fire, and so will anyone who listens to him.¹⁹

14. Son, Father, and Spirit are named together here, in that order rather than the later creedal order; compare 2 Corinthians 13:14 (13:13 in some Bibles), which also names Christ before God and the Holy Spirit.

15. Compare Matthew 7:16–20 and 12:33.

16. “One Teacher” echoes Matthew 23:8. “He spoke and it came to be” echoes Psalm 33:9 (32:9 in the Greek Old Testament), where these words describe God creating the world.

17. The last clause is difficult in Greek (“from which we rightly love him”). It may mean that God’s presence, now and when it is revealed, is the reason we love him, or that this will be shown by our love for him.

18. Compare 1 Corinthians 6:9–10 (which opens with the same words, “Do not be misled”) and Galatians 5:19–21. The Greek word *oikophthoroi* means literally “house-wreckers.” It was used of those who ruin households, especially by adultery. Since Ignatius goes on to speak of false teaching, he may also have in mind those who upset Christian households (compare Titus 1:11).

CHAPTER 17

¹ For this reason the Lord took ointment on his head, so that he would breathe incorruption on the church. Do not be anointed with the stench of the teaching of the ruler of this age, so that he does not take you captive away from the life set before you.²⁰ ² Why do we not all become wise when we have received the knowledge of God, which is Jesus Christ? Why do we foolishly perish, not knowing the gift that the Lord truly sent?

CHAPTER 18

True doctrine

¹ My spirit is a humble offering for the cross, which is a stumbling block for unbelievers but for us salvation and eternal life. Where is the wise person? Where is the debater? Where is the boasting of those called intelligent?²¹

² For our God, Jesus the Christ, was carried in the womb by Mary according to God's plan, from the seed of David and of the Holy Spirit. He was born and baptized so that by his suffering he might cleanse the water.²² [John 7:42;

Romans 1:3; 2 Timothy 2:8]

CHAPTER 19

The mystery of the Nativity and its manifestation

¹ The virginity of Mary and her giving birth escaped the notice of the ruler of this age, as did the death of the Lord. Three mysteries that cry out, which were done in the silence of God.²³ ² How then was he made known to the

19. "Those who... have died" probably refers to judgments on sexual sin in the Old Testament, such as the one Paul recalls in 1 Corinthians 10:8 (compare Numbers 25:1-9). "Unquenchable fire" echoes Jesus' words in Mark 9:43 and John the Baptist's in Matthew 3:12.

20. The anointing on the head is the woman's anointing of Jesus at Bethany as told in Matthew 26:6-13 and Mark 14:3-9. In John 12:1-8 she anoints his feet. "The ruler of this age" is the devil. Compare John 12:31 ("the ruler of this world") and 1 Corinthians 2:6-8 ("the rulers of this age"). Ignatius sets the fragrant ointment against the "stench" of false teaching.

21. Compare 1 Corinthians 1:18-25. The questions echo 1 Corinthians 1:20, though Ignatius adapts them; "the intelligent" recalls 1 Corinthians 1:19. "A humble offering" translates the difficult Greek word *peripsema*, literally "scrapings" or "offscouring," which Paul uses in 1 Corinthians 4:13 of the apostles being treated as the scum of the world; Ignatius uses it as a term of self-humbling devotion.

22. Ignatius lists the key facts of Christ's coming in short, creed-like lines. "The seed of David and of the Holy Spirit" holds together Christ's human descent and his divine origin. "Cleanse the water" probably means that Christ's baptism and suffering made the water of Christian baptism pure.

23. The "three mysteries" are Mary's virginity, her giving birth, and the Lord's death. They are to be proclaimed aloud ("of a cry"), though God accomplished them quietly, hidden from the devil.

ages? A star shone in heaven above all the stars. Its light was indescribable, and its newness caused astonishment. All the other stars, together with the sun and moon, formed a chorus around the star, but it surpassed them all in its light. There was turmoil over where this new thing, so unlike them, had come from.²⁴ 3 From this all magic was undone and every bond of evil disappeared. Ignorance was wiped out and the old kingdom was destroyed, when God appeared as a human being, bringing the newness of eternal life. What had been prepared by God now had its beginning. From then on everything was thrown into turmoil, because the abolition of death was being planned.

CHAPTER 20

Promise of future doctrinal exposition

1 If Jesus Christ makes me worthy through your prayer, and it is his will, in the second little book that I plan to write to you I will explain further the plan that I began, concerning the new man Jesus Christ, in his faith and love, in his suffering and resurrection.²⁵ 2 This is especially so if the Lord reveals to me that all of you, each one by name, come together in common, in grace, in one faith and in Jesus Christ. According to the flesh he is of the family of David; he is the Son of Man and Son of God. Come together in this way so that you obey the bishop and the council of elders with an undistracted mind, breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality, the antidote so that we do not die but live forever in Jesus Christ.²⁶ [*Romans 1: 3*]

CHAPTER 21

Final greetings

1 I am ready to give my life for you, and for those you sent to Smyrna for God's honor, from where I am writing to you. I thank the Lord and love Polycarp as I do you. Remember me, as Jesus Christ remembers you.²⁷ 2 Pray

24. This is an early retelling of the star of Bethlehem (Matthew 2:1–10). The details about the other stars forming a chorus go beyond the Gospel account.

25. There is no evidence that Ignatius ever wrote this second letter to Ephesus. He was probably martyred in Rome soon afterward.

26. "Medicine of immortality" (*pharmakon athanasias*) is Ignatius' well-known name for the Eucharist. It is one of the earliest descriptions of the Lord's Supper outside the New Testament and shows the realistic way he thought of it. Compare his letter to the Smyrnaeans (chapter 7), where he says the Eucharist is "the flesh of our Savior Jesus Christ."

27. The word *antipsychon* means "a life given in exchange" or "ransom." It is used in 4 Maccabees of the martyrs' deaths. Ignatius uses it several times in his letters to express his devotion to the churches.

for the church in Syria, from where I am being taken in chains to Rome. I am the least of the believers there, though I have been counted worthy to bring honor to God. Farewell in God the Father and in Jesus Christ, our common hope.

TO THE MAGNESIANS

GREETING

Greetings

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church blessed in the grace of God the Father in Christ Jesus our Savior, in whom I greet the church in Magnesia on the Meander and wish it abundant joy in God the Father and in Jesus Christ.²⁸

CHAPTER 1

Prayer for the church

¹ Having learned how well-ordered your love for God is, I gladly decided to speak to you in the faith of Jesus Christ. ² For I have been counted worthy of a name most fitting for God, and in the chains I carry about I sing the praises of the churches. I pray that in them there may be union of the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ, who is always our life; union of faith and love, which nothing surpasses; and, most important, union of Jesus and the Father. If we endure in him all the abuse of the ruler of this age and escape, we will reach God.

CHAPTER 2

The representatives of the Magnesians

I was counted worthy to see you in the person of Damas, your bishop, who is worthy of God, and of your worthy elders Bassus and Apollonius, and of my fellow servant the deacon Zotion. May I have joy in him, because he is subject to the bishop as to the grace of God and to the council of elders as to the law of Jesus Christ.²⁹

28. This is the letter to the church at Magnesia on the Meander, a town in western Asia Minor. Ignatius wrote it from Smyrna, where he met the Magnesians' bishop Damas and other leaders who came to see him.

29. In the Greek this sentence begins "Since..." but breaks off without finishing. It has been made a complete sentence here.

CHAPTER 3

The bishop of Magnesia

¹It is also right for you not to take advantage of the bishop's youth, but to give him all respect according to the power of God the Father. I have learned that even the holy elders have not taken advantage of his apparent youthfulness. As people wise in God, they give way to him, not really to him but to the Father of Jesus Christ, the bishop of all.³⁰ ²So out of honor for the one who wanted us, it is right to obey without any pretense. Whoever deceives this bishop who is seen is not so much deceiving him as cheating the one who is unseen. In such a case a person must answer not to flesh but to God, who knows hidden things.

CHAPTER 4

Obedience to the bishop

It is right not only to be called Christians but to be so. In the same way, some speak of the bishop but do everything without him. Such people do not seem to me to have a good conscience, because they do not meet in a valid way, as the commandment requires.

CHAPTER 5

The fate of unbelievers

¹Since all things come to an end, and two things lie before us together, death and life, and each person will go to his own place:³¹ ²For there are two kinds of coin, one of God and one of the world, and each has its own stamp on it. In the same way the unbelievers bear the stamp of this world, while the believers bear in love the stamp of God the Father through Jesus Christ. Unless we willingly choose, through him, to die into his suffering, his life is not in us.³²

CHAPTER 6

Exhortation to harmony

¹Since I have seen your whole congregation in faith in the people mentioned above, and have loved them, I urge you: be eager to do everything in

30. Damas was apparently a young man. "The bishop of all" is God the Father as the true overseer, so that yielding to the human bishop means yielding to God.

31. "Go to his own place" echoes what Acts 1:25 says of Judas. The choice between death and life set before us recalls Deuteronomy 30:15–19.

harmony with God. Let the bishop preside in the place of God, the elders in the place of the council of the apostles, and the deacons, who are most dear to me, be entrusted with the service of Jesus Christ, who was with the Father before the ages and appeared at the end of time.³³ ² So all of you, having taken on God's character, respect one another. Let no one look at his neighbor in a merely human way, but always love one another in Jesus Christ. Let there be nothing among you that can divide you. Be united with the bishop and with those who preside, as a pattern and lesson of incorruption.

CHAPTER 7

Obedience to the bishop and presbyters

¹ The Lord, being united with the Father, did nothing without him, either by himself or through the apostles. In the same way, you must do nothing without the bishop and the elders. Do not try to persuade yourselves that anything is right for you to do on your own. Instead, when you meet together, let there be one prayer, one petition, one mind, one hope, in love and in blameless joy, which is Jesus Christ. Nothing is better than him.³⁴ ² All of you, hurry together as to one temple of God, as to one altar, to one Jesus Christ, who came forth from the one Father, is with the One, and returned to him.

CHAPTER 8

Warning against Judaism

¹ Do not be led astray by strange teachings or by old myths that are useless. For if we are still living according to Judaism, we admit that we have not received grace.³⁵ ² For the most divine prophets lived according to Christ Jesus. This is why they were persecuted. They were inspired by his grace so that the disobedient would be fully convinced that there is one God. He revealed

32. The image of coins and their stamp (*charaktēr*) draws on the idea that a coin's image shows whose it is. Compare Jesus' saying about Caesar's coin in Mark 12:13–17.

33. This passage is often cited as an early picture of the three offices of bishop, elders, and deacons. Compare the similar teaching in his letters to the Trallians (chapter 3) and to the Smyrnaeans (chapter 8).

34. Compare John 5:19 and 8:28, where the Son does nothing by himself.

35. In chapters 8–10 Ignatius is arguing against Christians who were urging Jewish observance (such as keeping the Sabbath) on the church. His target is these Christians, not Jewish people as such, though his language about "Judaism" is blunt. Many scholars point out that "Christianity" and "Judaism" had not yet separated as cleanly as these words suggest. Ignatius is the earliest writer known to use the word "Christianity" (*christianismos*), which appears in chapter 10.

himself through Jesus Christ his Son, who is his Word that came forth from silence, and who in every way pleased the one who sent him.³⁶

CHAPTER 9

Life with Christ

¹If, then, those who lived in the old ways came to a new hope, no longer keeping the Sabbath but living by the Lord's day, the day on which our life dawned through him and his death—which some deny, though it is through this mystery that we received faith, and because of it we endure, so that we may be found disciples of Jesus Christ, our only teacher—³⁷ ²how could we live without him, whom even the prophets, being his disciples in the Spirit, looked for as their teacher? For this reason, the one they were rightly waiting for raised them from the dead when he came.³⁸

CHAPTER 10

Christianity and Judaism

¹So let us not be blind to his kindness. For if he were to act the way we do, we would be no more. So, having become his disciples, let us learn to live according to Christianity. For whoever is called by any name other than this does not belong to God. ²So put away the bad leaven, which has grown old and sour, and turn to the new leaven, which is Jesus Christ. Be salted in him, so that no one among you goes bad, since you will be found out by your smell.³⁹ ³It is absurd to talk about Jesus Christ and to practice Judaism. For Christianity did not put its faith in Judaism; Judaism put its faith in Christianity, in which every tongue that believed in God was gathered together.⁴⁰

36. "His Word that came forth from silence" is a disputed phrase. Some Gnostic teachers (the Valentinians) spoke of a divine being called "Silence." Some copies of this letter read instead "his eternal Word, not coming forth from silence," probably a later change made to avoid that association. Most editors, including Lake, print "from silence." Compare Ignatius's mention of mysteries "wrought in the silence of God" in Ephesians 19.1.

37. "The Lord's day" renders *kyriakē*, "the Lord's [day]," meaning Sunday. The word "day" is not in the Greek, and some manuscripts add "life," giving "living according to the Lord's life." Most scholars take it as Sunday, in line with Revelation 1:10 and Didache 14.1.

38. Compare Matthew 27:52–53, where many bodies of the saints were raised at Jesus' death.

39. Compare 1 Corinthians 5:6–8, where Paul urges believers to clean out the old leaven.

40. "Every tongue ... gathered together" may echo Isaiah 66:18, where God says he will gather all nations and tongues.

CHAPTER 11

Warning as to the true faith

I am saying this, my dear friends, not because I know that any of you are like this. But as one who is less than you, I want to warn you not to be caught on the hooks of empty opinion. Instead, be fully convinced about the birth, suffering, and resurrection that happened in the time of the governorship of Pontius Pilate. These things were truly and surely done by Jesus Christ, our hope. May none of you ever be turned away from that hope.

CHAPTER 12

Praise of the Magnesians

May I have joy in you in everything, if I am worthy. For even though I am in chains, I am not equal to even one of you who are free. I know that you are not puffed up, for you have Jesus Christ in yourselves. And when I praise you, I know that you feel ashamed, as it is written: "The righteous man is his own accuser."

CHAPTER 13

Firmness in the faith

¹ So be eager to be made firm in the teachings of the Lord and the apostles, so that everything you do may prosper in flesh and spirit, in faith and love, in the Son and the Father and in the Spirit, in the beginning and in the end. Do this together with your most worthy bishop, with your council of elders, that well-woven spiritual crown, and with the godly deacons. ² Submit to the bishop and to one another, as Jesus Christ did to the Father, and the apostles to Christ and the Father, so that there may be a union both of flesh and spirit.

CHAPTER 14

Request for the prayers of the Magnesians

Knowing that you are full of God, I have encouraged you briefly. Remember me in your prayers so that I may reach God, and also the church in Syria, of which I am not worthy to be called a member. For I need your united prayer and love in God, so that the church in Syria may be counted worthy to be refreshed with dew through your church.

CHAPTER 15

Final greetings

The Ephesians greet you from Smyrna, from where I am also writing to you. They are here for the glory of God, as you also are, and have comforted me in every way, together with Polycarp, the bishop of the Smyrnaeans. The other churches also greet you in honor of Jesus Christ. Farewell in God's harmony, having an undivided spirit, which is Jesus Christ.

TO THE TRALLIANS

GREETING

Greetings

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the holy church in Tralles in Asia. It is loved by God the Father of Jesus Christ, chosen and worthy of God, and at peace in flesh and spirit through the suffering of Jesus Christ, who is our hope through our resurrection to him. I greet this church in the fullness of God, in the manner of the apostles, and wish it abundant joy.⁴¹

CHAPTER 1

The virtue of the Trallians

¹ I have learned that you have a blameless mind that does not waver in endurance, not out of habit but by nature, as Polybius your bishop showed me. He came by the will of God and Jesus Christ to Smyrna and rejoiced with me in my chains in Christ Jesus so much that I saw your whole congregation in him. ² So when I received through him your godly good will, I gave glory to God, for I found you, as I had learned, to be imitators of God.

CHAPTER 2

Submission to the bishop, presbyters and deacons

¹ For when you submit to the bishop as to Jesus Christ, you appear to me to be living not in a merely human way but according to Jesus Christ, who died for us, so that by believing in his death you may escape death. ² So it is necessary, as you already do, that you do nothing without the bishop, and that you also submit to the council of elders as to the apostles of Jesus Christ our hope,

41. The Greek says only "in the fullness." Most translators take this to mean the fullness of God. "In the manner of the apostles" probably means a greeting like those that open the apostles' letters.

in whom we will be found if we live in him. ³ The deacons too, being servants of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, must please everyone in every way. For they are not servants of food and drink, but assistants of the church of God. So they must guard themselves from accusations as from fire.⁴²

CHAPTER 3

The reverence due to them

¹ In the same way, let everyone respect the deacons as Jesus Christ, just as they respect the bishop, who is an image of the Father, and the elders as God's council and as the band of apostles. Without these, no group can be called a church. ² I am convinced that this is how you are in these matters. For I have received a living example of your love, and I have it with me in your bishop. His very manner is a great lesson, and his gentleness is power. I think even the godless respect him.⁴³ ³ Because I love you, I am holding back, though I could write more strongly on his behalf. I did not think that I, a condemned man, should give you commands like an apostle.

CHAPTER 4

Ignatius' need of humility

¹ I have many thoughts in God, but I take my own measure so that I do not perish by boasting. For now I need to be more afraid and not pay attention to those who puff me up. Those who speak to me like this are a whip to me. ² For I long to suffer, but I do not know whether I am worthy. This envy is not obvious to many, but it fights against me all the more. So I need gentleness, by which the ruler of this age is overthrown.⁴⁴

CHAPTER 5

Reason for simple teaching

¹ Am I not able to write to you about heavenly things? I am, but I am afraid I would do you harm, since you are infants. Forgive me for holding back. Otherwise you might be choked by what you cannot take in.⁴⁵ ² For even I,

42. "Mysteries" probably refers broadly to the saving truths of the faith, and perhaps also to the church's worship. Ignatius does not define the word. The word *diakonos* was commonly used of someone who waits at table. Ignatius may be saying that deacons are more than table-waiters. Compare Acts 6:2, where the apostles speak of "serving tables."

43. "The godless" (*atheoi*) is the word the pagan world used of Christians. Here Ignatius turns it around and uses it of unbelievers.

44. Compare John 12:31, "the ruler of this world."

45. Compare 1 Corinthians 3:1–2 and Hebrews 5:12–14.

though I am in chains and can understand heavenly things, the places of the angels, the ranks of the rulers, and things visible and invisible, am not for that reason already a disciple. We still lack much, if we are not to fall short of God.⁴⁶

CHAPTER 6

Warning against heresy

¹ So I urge you, though not I but the love of Jesus Christ: feed only on Christian food, and keep away from foreign plants, that is, heresy. ² These people mix Jesus Christ into their own teachings and make themselves seem trustworthy, like people giving a deadly poison mixed with honeyed wine. Someone who does not know takes it gladly, with a bad pleasure that ends in death.

CHAPTER 7

The need of remaining loyal to the bishop

¹ So guard against such people. You will be able to do this if you are not puffed up and if you stay inseparable from God, Jesus Christ, the bishop, and the commands of the apostles.⁴⁷ ² The one who is inside the sanctuary is clean, but the one who is outside the sanctuary is not clean. That is, whoever does anything apart from the bishop, the elders, and the deacons is not clean in conscience.

CHAPTER 8

Warning against the snares of the devil

¹ I am not saying this because I know of anything like this among you. I am warning you in advance, because you are dear to me and I foresee the devil's traps. So take up gentleness and renew yourselves in faith, which is the flesh of the Lord, and in love, which is the blood of Jesus Christ.⁴⁸ ² Let none of you hold anything against his neighbor. Do not give the pagans any excuse, so that God's people are not slandered because of a few foolish people. For,

46. "Things visible and invisible" and the heavenly "rulers" may echo Colossians 1:16.

47. The Greek could also be read "inseparable from God Jesus Christ," that is, from Jesus Christ who is God. Ignatius often calls Jesus God, but the wording here is not certain.

48. Here Ignatius uses "flesh" and "blood" as pictures for faith and love. Elsewhere he speaks of the Eucharist as the flesh and blood of Christ (compare Ignatius' letters to the Romans, chapter 7, and to the Philadelphians, chapter 4).

“Woe to the one through whom my name is blasphemed for nothing among some.”⁴⁹

CHAPTER 9

The history of Jesus Christ

¹ So be deaf whenever anyone speaks to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was from the family of David, from Mary, who was truly born, ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died while those in heaven, on earth, and under the earth watched.⁵⁰ ² He was also truly raised from the dead; his Father raised him. In the same way his Father will also raise us who believe in him, in Christ Jesus. Without him we do not have true life.

CHAPTER 10

Against docetism

Some people who are godless, that is, unbelievers, say that he only seemed to suffer. But it is they who are only a seeming. If they are right, why am I in chains? Why do I even pray to fight with the wild beasts? Then I am dying for nothing, and what I say about the Lord is a lie.⁵¹

CHAPTER 11

Against heresy

So run from the evil offshoots that bear deadly fruit. If someone tastes it, he dies on the spot. For these are not a planting of the Father. If they were, they would appear as branches of the cross, and their fruit would be incorruptible. Through the cross, by his suffering, he calls you who are his members. A head cannot be born apart from its members, since God promises union, which is himself.⁵²

49. The quotation resembles Isaiah 52:5 (quoted in Romans 2:24), but the “woe” is not in Isaiah. A similar “woe” saying appears in 2 Clement 13:2 and in Polycarp’s letter to the Philippians 10:3, so Ignatius may be quoting a saying known in the churches.

50. Chapters 9–10 are against docetism, the belief that Christ only seemed to be human and to suffer. Note the repeated word “truly” (alethos).

51. The Greek wordplay is “to seem” (to dokein): they say Christ only seemed to suffer, but Ignatius says they themselves are only seeming.

52. “Not a planting of the Father” echoes Matthew 15:13: “Every plant that my heavenly Father has not planted will be rooted up.”

CHAPTER 12

Exhortation to unity and love

¹I greet you from Smyrna, along with the churches of God who are here with me, who have refreshed me in every way, in flesh and spirit. ²My chains, which I carry around for the sake of Jesus Christ as I pray to reach God, urge you: continue in your harmony and in prayer with one another. It is right for each one of you, and especially the elders, to refresh the bishop, to the honor of the Father, of Jesus Christ, and of the apostles. ³I beg you to listen to me in love, so that my letter will not become a witness against you. Pray for me too, for I need your love, in the mercy of God, so that I may be counted worthy of the lot I am set on reaching, and not be found disqualified.⁵³

CHAPTER 13

Final greetings

¹The love of the Smyrnaeans and Ephesians greets you. Remember in your prayers the church in Syria. I come from there, though I am not worthy to be called one of them, since I am the least of them.⁵⁴ ²Farewell in Jesus Christ. Submit to the bishop as to the command, and likewise to the council of elders. And each of you, love one another with an undivided heart. ³My spirit is offered up for you, not only now but also when I reach God. For I am still in danger. But the Father is faithful in Jesus Christ to fulfill my request and yours. May you be found blameless in him.⁵⁵

TO THE ROMANS

GREETING

Greeting

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church that has received mercy in the greatness of the Father Most High and of Jesus Christ his only

53. "Disqualified" (adokimos) is the word Paul uses in 1 Corinthians 9:27, where he fears that he himself might be disqualified.

54. Ignatius' words may echo Paul in 1 Corinthians 15:8–9, who calls himself "the least of the apostles" and "not worthy to be called an apostle."

55. The verb (hagnizetai) means "is purified" or "is consecrated." Ignatius seems to mean that his life is being offered as a sacrifice on the readers' behalf. He uses the same expression in Ephesians 8:1.

Son. It is loved and enlightened by the will of the one who willed everything that exists, according to the love of Jesus Christ our God. It presides in the region of the land of the Romans. It is worthy of God, worthy of honor, worthy of blessing, worthy of praise, worthy of success, worthy in purity, and presiding in love, named after Christ and named after the Father. I greet it in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father. To those who are united in flesh and spirit in every command of his, who are filled with the grace of God without wavering, and filtered clean from every foreign stain: abundant greetings, blamelessly, in Jesus Christ our God.⁵⁶

CHAPTER 1

Hope of seeing the Romans

¹ In answer to my prayer to God I have been granted to see your God-worthy faces, and I have been asking to receive even more. For as a prisoner in Christ Jesus I hope to greet you, if it is God's will that I be counted worthy to reach the end.⁵⁷ ² The beginning is well arranged, if only I obtain grace to receive my lot without hindrance. For I am afraid of your love, that it may do me harm. It is easy for you to do what you want, but it is hard for me to reach God if you do not spare me.⁵⁸

CHAPTER 2

His desire not to be saved from the beasts

¹ For I do not want you to please people but to please God, as you do indeed please him. I will never have another such opportunity to reach God, and you could never have a better deed to your name than staying silent. For if you are silent about me, I am a word of God. But if you love my flesh, I will once again be a mere voice.⁵⁹ ² Give me nothing more than to be poured out as an offering to God while an altar is still ready, so that, becoming a choir in love, you may sing to the Father in Christ Jesus because God has counted the bishop of Syria worthy to be found in the west, having summoned him from

56. "Presiding in love" (prokathemene tes agapes) is a much-debated phrase. Catholic writers have taken it as evidence of Rome's leadership among the churches. Others take it to refer to Rome's outstanding love and service to other churches.

57. The Greek sentence is grammatically incomplete, and the exact sense of "asking to receive even more" is uncertain.

58. Ignatius fears that the Roman Christians might use their influence to save him from execution. "Spare me" here seems to mean "hold back from interfering on my behalf."

59. Ignatius means that if the Romans do not interfere, his death will be a clear word from God. If they do interfere, he will be only an empty sound.

the east. It is good to set like the sun, leaving the world for God, so that I may rise to him.⁶⁰

CHAPTER 3

Request that they should pray for him

¹ You have never begrudged anyone. You have taught others. And I want the things you command when you teach disciples to hold firm in my case too.

² Only pray that I may have strength, inside and out, so that I may not only speak but also will it, and may not only be called a Christian but actually be found to be one. For if I am found to be one, I can also be called one, and then truly be faithful when I am no longer seen in the world. ³ Nothing that is visible is good. For our God Jesus Christ, now that he is in the Father, is seen all the more. Christianity is not a matter of persuasive words but of greatness, when it is hated by the world.⁶¹

CHAPTER 4

His desire to suffer

¹ I am writing to all the churches and instructing everyone that I die willingly for God, unless you hold me back. I urge you not to show me an untimely kindness. Let me be food for the beasts, through whom I can reach God. I am God's wheat, and I am ground by the teeth of wild animals so that I may be found pure bread of Christ.⁶² ² Rather, coax the beasts so that they become my tomb and leave nothing of my body. Then, when I fall asleep in death, I will not be a burden to anyone. I will truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ when the world no longer sees even my body. Plead with Christ for me that through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice. ³ I do not give you orders like Peter and Paul. They were apostles; I am a condemned man. They were free; I am even now a slave. But if I suffer, I will be a freedman of Jesus Christ and will rise free in him. Now, in chains, I am learning to desire nothing.⁶³

60. Compare Philippians 2:17 and 2 Timothy 4:6, "poured out as an offering." The "east" is Syria and the "west" is Rome. The Greek words for west and east also mean the setting and rising of the sun, which Ignatius plays on in the last sentence.

61. Ignatius is the earliest known writer to use the word "Christianity" (Christianismos). He also uses it in Magnesians 10 and Philadelphians 6.

62. This is probably the best-known passage in Ignatius. Many readers see in the "pure bread" image a link between his coming death and the Eucharistic bread.

63. This is an early, though indirect, witness to the tradition that Peter and Paul had been in Rome.

CHAPTER 5

His journey, and expectation of martyrdom

¹ From Syria to Rome I am fighting with beasts, by land and sea, night and day. I am chained to ten leopards, that is, a squad of soldiers, who only get worse when they are treated well. Their wrongs make me more of a disciple, but I am not justified by this.⁶⁴ ² May I have the benefit of the beasts prepared for me, and I pray that they will be quick with me. I will even coax them to eat me quickly, not as with some whom they were too afraid to touch. And if they are unwilling and refuse, I will force them. ³ Forgive me. I know what is good for me. Now I am beginning to be a disciple. May nothing visible or invisible begrudge me my reaching Jesus Christ. Fire and cross, struggles with beasts, cuttings, tearings apart, scattering of bones, mangling of limbs, grinding of the whole body, the evil torments of the devil: let them come on me, only so that I may reach Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER 6

The glory of martyrdom

¹ The ends of the world and the kingdoms of this age will not help me at all. It is better for me to die for Christ Jesus than to rule the ends of the earth. I seek the one who died for us. I want the one who rose for us. My birth is upon me.⁶⁵ ² Forgive me, brothers. Do not stop me from living. Do not wish me to die. Do not give to the world one who wants to belong to God, and do not deceive him with material things. Let me receive pure light. When I get there, I will be a human being.⁶⁶ ³ Let me be an imitator of the suffering of my God. If anyone has him in himself, let him understand what I want and sympathize with me, knowing what is pressing on me.

CHAPTER 7

The temptations of the devil, and his own feelings

¹ The ruler of this age wants to carry me off and destroy my purpose toward God. So let none of you who are there help him. Rather, be on my side, that is, on God's. Do not talk about Jesus Christ while you desire the world. ² Do not let envy live among you. Even if I am there and urge you myself, do not

64. "I am not justified by this" echoes Paul's words in 1 Corinthians 4:4.

65. Compare Mark 8:36. "My birth" is a picture for martyrdom as being born into true life.

66. Ignatius turns the words around. Martyrdom is the way into true life, and being kept alive in this world would be the real death.

obey me. Obey instead what I am writing to you. For I am alive as I write, but I am in love with dying. My love has been crucified, and there is no fire in me that loves material things. There is living water speaking in me, saying from inside, “Come to the Father.”⁶⁷ 3 I take no pleasure in perishable food or the pleasures of this life. I want the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, who was of the seed of David, and for drink I want his blood, which is love that cannot perish.⁶⁸ [John 7:42; Romans 1:3]

CHAPTER 8

Desire of martyrdom

1 I no longer want to live as human beings do. This will happen if you want it. Want it, so that you too may be wanted. 2 I ask you in this short letter: believe me. Jesus Christ will make plain to you that I speak the truth. He is the mouth that cannot lie, through which the Father has spoken truly. 3 Pray for me, that I may reach my goal. I did not write to you according to the flesh but according to the mind of God. If I suffer, it will be because you wished me well. If I am rejected, it will be because you hated me.

CHAPTER 9

The Church in Syria

1 Remember in your prayers the church in Syria, which has God as its shepherd in my place. Jesus Christ alone will oversee it, and your love.⁶⁹ 2 I am ashamed to be counted among them, for I am not worthy, being the last of them and “one born out of time.” But I have been shown mercy to be someone, if I reach God.⁷⁰ [1 Corinthians 15:8] 3 My spirit greets you, as does the love of the churches that welcomed me in the name of Jesus Christ, not as a mere passerby. For even churches that were not on my actual road went ahead of me from city to city.

67. “My love” translates *erōs*, a word for passionate desire. The context suggests he means his earthly desire, and Lake translates “my lust.” But Origen quoted the line as referring to Christ (“my Love is crucified”).

68. The “bread of God” and the blood as drink echo John 6:32–58. Many readers see the Eucharist here; others think Ignatius is speaking more broadly of union with Christ after death. “Of the seed of David” echoes Romans 1:3 and 2 Timothy 2:8.

69. The church of Antioch has been left without its bishop. The verb translated “oversee” (*episkopeō*) is related to *episkopos*, “bishop,” so Ignatius is saying that Christ himself will be its bishop.

70. The phrase “one born out of time” (*ektroma*, literally “miscarriage” or “stillborn”) is from 1 Corinthians 15:8, where Paul calls himself by it.

CHAPTER 10

Final greetings

¹ I am writing this to you from Smyrna through the most blessed Ephesians. With me, along with many others, is also Crocus, a name dear to me. ² About those who went ahead of me from Syria to Rome for the glory of God, I believe you have heard. Tell them that I am near. For they are all worthy of God and of you. It is right for you to refresh them in every way. ³ I wrote this to you on the ninth day before the Kalends of September. Farewell to the end, in the endurance of Jesus Christ.⁷¹

TO THE PHILADELPHIANS

GREETING

Greetings

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church of God the Father and of the Lord Jesus Christ in Philadelphia in Asia. This church has been shown mercy and is established in the harmony of God. It rejoices without wavering in the suffering of our Lord and is fully assured, with all mercy, in his resurrection. I greet it in the blood of Jesus Christ, which is eternal and lasting joy, especially if they are one with the bishop and with the elders and deacons who are with him, appointed in the mind of Jesus Christ. By his own will he has made them firm and secure through his Holy Spirit.⁷²

CHAPTER 1

The Bishop of Philadelphia

¹ I know that this bishop obtained the service that belongs to the whole community not from himself, nor through people, nor out of empty pride, but in the love of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. I am struck by his gentleness. By being silent, he can do more than those who talk emptily. ² For he is in tune with the commandments as a lyre is with its strings. So my soul blesses his mind toward God, for I recognize that it is virtuous and perfect. I also bless his steadiness and his freedom from anger, in all the gentleness of the living God.

71. "The ninth day before the Kalends of September" is August 24. The year is not stated.

72. This is the letter to the church at Philadelphia in western Asia Minor, now Alaşehir in Turkey. It is the same city whose church receives one of the letters in Revelation (Revelation 3:7–13).

CHAPTER 2

Warning against heresy

¹So, children of the light of truth, flee from division and bad teachings. Where the shepherd is, follow there like sheep. ²For many seemingly trustworthy wolves capture the runners in God's race with an evil pleasure. But they will have no place in your unity.

CHAPTER 3

Warning against schism

¹Keep away from bad plants that Jesus Christ does not cultivate, because they are not a planting of the Father. Not that I found division among you, but rather a filtering out.⁷³ [Matthew 15:13] ²For all who belong to God and Jesus Christ are with the bishop. And all who repent and come to the unity of the church will also belong to God, so that they may live in accordance with Jesus Christ. ³Do not be misled, my brothers. If anyone follows someone who splits the church, he will not inherit the kingdom of God. If anyone lives by a different way of thinking, he does not accept the suffering of Christ.⁷⁴

CHAPTER 4

The one Eucharist

So be eager to take part in one Eucharist. For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one cup that unites us in his blood. There is one altar, just as there is one bishop together with the council of elders and the deacons, my fellow servants. Do this so that whatever you do, you do according to God.⁷⁵

CHAPTER 5

Petition for their prayers

¹My brothers, I am overflowing with love for you, and in my great joy I watch over your safety. Yet it is not I but Jesus Christ. I am bound in him, and I fear all the more, since I am still unfinished. But your prayer will make me complete for God, so that I may attain the lot in which I was shown

73. "Filtering out" (apodiulismos) comes from a verb meaning to strain a liquid, as in Matthew 23:24 ("strain out a gnat"). Ignatius probably means that the bad elements had already been strained out of the Philadelphian church. The church itself was not divided.

74. "Do not be misled... will not inherit the kingdom of God" echoes Paul in 1 Corinthians 6:9–10.

75. "Eucharist" means "thanksgiving." Ignatius uses it as a name for the church's shared meal of the Lord's body and blood; the Didache (9:1) also uses the word as a name for the church's meal.

mercy. I take refuge in the gospel as in the flesh of Jesus, and in the apostles as in the council of elders of the church.

The Christian prophets

2 We love the prophets too, because their message also pointed to the gospel, and they hoped in him and waited for him. By believing in him they were saved, being in the unity of Jesus Christ. They are holy people worthy of love and admiration, approved by Jesus Christ and counted together in the gospel of our common hope.

CHAPTER 6

Against Judaism

1 If anyone explains Judaism to you, do not listen to him. For it is better to hear Christianity from a man who is circumcised than Judaism from one who is uncircumcised. But if neither of them speaks about Jesus Christ, they are to me gravestones and tombs of the dead, on which only the names of people are written.⁷⁶ 2 So flee the evil tricks and traps of the ruler of this age, so that you are not worn down by his scheme and made weak in love. But all of you come together with an undivided heart. 3 I thank my God that I have a good conscience about you. No one can boast, either secretly or openly, that I was a burden to anyone in small or great matters. And I pray for all those among whom I spoke, that they will not turn my words into testimony against themselves.

CHAPTER 7

His conduct in Philadelphia

1 Even if some wanted to deceive me by human means, the Spirit is not deceived, for it is from God. For it knows where it comes from and where it goes, and it exposes hidden things. I cried out while I was among you. I spoke in a loud voice, God's voice: "Pay attention to the bishop, the council of elders, and the deacons."⁷⁷ [Job 3; 1 Corinthians 2:10] 2 Some suspected that I said this because I knew in advance about the division of some. But he in whom I am

76. Some at Philadelphia were evidently urging Jewish practices. Ignatius's wording suggests that some of those doing so were themselves uncircumcised Gentiles. He also allows that a Jewish-born Christian may rightly teach the gospel. Compare his letter to the Magnesians, chapters 8–10.

77. Compare John 3:8 and 16:8, and 1 Corinthians 14:24–25, where prophecy lays bare the secrets of the heart. Ignatius claims to have spoken by the Spirit, which fits the early church's experience of prophecy.

bound is my witness that I did not learn it from any human being. The Spirit was proclaiming, saying this: “Do nothing without the bishop. Keep your flesh as the temple of God. Love unity. Flee divisions. Be imitators of Jesus Christ, as he also was of his Father.”

CHAPTER 8

Exhortation to unity

¹ I did my part, as a man who is set on unity. But where there is division and anger, God does not live. The Lord forgives all who repent, if they repent and come to the unity of God and the council of the bishop. I trust in the grace of Jesus Christ, who will free you from every chain. ² I urge you to do nothing out of selfish ambition, but to act as those who have learned from Christ. For I heard some people say, “Unless I find it in the archives, I do not believe it in the gospel.” When I said to them, “It is written,” they answered me, “That is exactly the question.” But for me the archives are Jesus Christ. The untouchable archives are his cross, his death, his resurrection, and the faith that comes through him. By these I want to be justified, through your prayer.⁷⁸

CHAPTER 9

The old and new Dispensations

¹ The priests are good, but the High Priest who has been entrusted with the holy of holies is better. He alone has been entrusted with the secrets of God. He is the door of the Father, through which Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the prophets, the apostles, and the church enter. All these lead into the unity of God.⁷⁹ ² But the gospel has something special: the coming of the Savior, our Lord Jesus Christ, his suffering, and his resurrection. For the beloved prophets announced him, but the gospel is the completion of incorruption. All things together are good, if you believe in love.

78. This passage is famous and hard to interpret. “The archives” (archeia) probably means the Old Testament Scriptures. The opponents would accept something in the gospel only if it could be proved from them. Ignatius answers that Christ himself is the final authority. The Greek can also be punctuated differently, so the opponents may be saying “unless I find it in the archives, that is, in the gospel.” Some think “the gospel” here means a written Gospel. Scholars debate whether Ignatius knew written Gospels, and he nowhere names one.

79. The High Priest here is Christ, not a church officer. Compare Hebrews 4:14–10:22 and John 10:7–9.

CHAPTER 10

The Church in Syria

1 It has been reported to me that the church in Antioch in Syria is at peace, in answer to your prayer and because of the compassion you have in Christ Jesus. So it is right for you, as a church of God, to appoint a deacon to go there as an ambassador of God. He is to rejoice with them now that they are united again and to glorify the name.⁸⁰ 2 Blessed in Jesus Christ is the one who will be counted worthy of this service, and you will be glorified. If you are willing, it is not impossible for you to do it for the sake of the name of God, just as the nearest churches sent bishops, and others sent elders and deacons.

CHAPTER 11

Thanks and final greetings

1 As for Philo, the deacon from Cilicia, a man of good reputation, who is now serving me in the word of God, and Rheus Agathopus, a chosen man who is following me from Syria and has said goodbye to this life: they bear witness for you that you received them, just as the Lord received you. I too thank God on your behalf. May those who dishonored them be redeemed by the grace of Jesus Christ. 2 The love of the brothers in Troas greets you. I am writing to you from there by the hand of Burrus, whom the Ephesians and Smyrnaeans sent with me as a mark of honor. The Lord Jesus Christ will honor them. They hope in him in flesh, soul, and spirit, in faith, love, and harmony. Farewell in Christ Jesus, our common hope.⁸¹

TO THE SMYRNAEANS

GREETING

Greeting

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church of God the Father and of the beloved Jesus Christ, which has been shown mercy in every gift, is filled with faith and love, and lacks no gift; a church most worthy of God

80. Ignatius does not say what had troubled the church at Antioch. "At peace" may mean that persecution had ended or that division within the church had been healed. Scholars disagree.

81. Burrus is the deacon of Ephesus whom Ignatius praises in his letter to the Ephesians (Ephesians 2:1).

and a bearer of holiness; the church in Smyrna in Asia: abundant greetings in a blameless spirit and in the word of God.⁸² [*1 Corinthians 1:7*]

CHAPTER 1

The faith of the Smyrnaeans

1 I glorify Jesus Christ, the God who has made you wise in this way. For I saw that you are made firm in unshakable faith, as if nailed to the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ in flesh and spirit, and settled in love by the blood of Christ. You are fully convinced about our Lord that he is truly from the family of David according to the flesh, Son of God by the will and power of God, truly born of a virgin, baptized by John so that all righteousness might be fulfilled by him,⁸³ [*Romans 1:3; Matthew 3:15*] 2 truly nailed in the flesh for us under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch. We come from its fruit, that is, from his God-blessed suffering. He was nailed there so that through the resurrection he might raise a banner for all ages for his holy and faithful people, whether among Jews or among the nations, in the one body of his church.⁸⁴

CHAPTER 2

Against Docetism

He suffered all these things for us so that we might be saved. He truly suffered, just as he truly raised himself. It is not as some unbelievers say, that he only seemed to suffer. It is they who only seem to exist. And it will happen to them just as they think: they will be bodiless and like demons.⁸⁵

CHAPTER 3

The Resurrection in the flesh

1 For I know and believe that he was in the flesh even after the resurrection.
2 When he came to those with Peter, he said to them: "Take hold of me,

82. This is the letter to the church at Smyrna. Like the Letter to Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, it was written from Troas. It contains some of Ignatius's most direct answers to the teaching that Christ only seemed to be human (docetism).

83. Compare Romans 1:3–4 (descended from David according to the flesh, Son of God in power) and Matthew 3:15.

84. "Raise a banner" echoes Isaiah's language about God lifting up a signal for the nations (compare Isaiah 5:26 and 11:12). "One body" recalls Ephesians 2:16.

85. The phrase "raised himself" is unusual, since most New Testament passages say that God raised Jesus (for example Acts 2:24 and Galatians 1:1). Compare John 2:19 and 10:17–18, where Jesus speaks of raising himself or taking up his life again.

touch me, and see that I am not a bodiless demon.” And at once they touched him and believed, being closely joined with his flesh and spirit. For this reason they also despised death, and were found to be above death.⁸⁶

3 After the resurrection he ate and drank with them as a being of flesh, though he was spiritually united with the Father.⁸⁷

CHAPTER 4

Warning against heretical teachers

I urge these things on you, dear friends, knowing that you already think this way. But I am warning you in advance against beasts in human form. You must not only refuse to welcome them, but if possible not even meet them. Only pray for them, in the hope that they may somehow repent. That is difficult, but Jesus Christ, our true life, has power over it. For if these things were done by our Lord only in appearance, then I am also in chains only in appearance. And why have I given myself up to death, to fire, to the sword, to wild beasts? Because to be near the sword is to be near God, and to be among the wild beasts is to be with God. Only let it be in the name of Jesus Christ! I endure all things so that I may suffer with him, for he who became the perfect man gives me strength.⁸⁸ [*Philippians 4:13*]

CHAPTER 5

Against Docetism

1 Some deny him out of ignorance, or rather, they have been denied by him, for they are advocates of death rather than of the truth. The prophecies did not persuade them, nor the law of Moses, nor even the gospel up to now, nor the sufferings each of us has endured. 2 For they think the same way about our sufferings. What good does it do me if someone praises me but blasphemes my Lord by not confessing that he bore real flesh? Whoever says this has completely denied him, and is himself carrying a corpse.⁸⁹ 3 Since their

86. This saying is not found in the canonical Gospels, though it is close to Luke 24:39, where Jesus says “a spirit does not have flesh and bones.” Eusebius quotes it but says he does not know where it came from. Jerome links it to the Gospel of the Hebrews, and Origen links similar words to a writing called the Teaching of Peter. The real source is unknown.

87. Compare Luke 24:41–43 and Acts 10:41.

88. “Only in appearance” translates the Greek to *dokein*, “to seem.” Ignatius is opposing teachers who said that Christ only seemed to have a body and to suffer. Later writers called this view “Docetism,” from the same Greek word.

89. Ignatius makes a wordplay: those who will not confess that Christ was a “flesh-bearer” (*sarkophoros*) are themselves “corpse-bearers” (*nekrophoros*). They are spiritually dead.

names are the names of unbelievers, I did not think it right to write them down. In fact, I would rather not even mention them until they repent and turn to the suffering of Christ, which is our resurrection.

CHAPTER 6

The universal judgment

¹ Let no one be deceived. Even heavenly beings and the glory of the angels and rulers, visible and invisible, if they do not believe in the blood of Christ, face judgment too. Let the one who can take it take it. Let no position make anyone proud, for the whole matter is faith and love, and nothing is preferred to these.⁹⁰

The unchristian behaviour of heretics

² Take note of those who hold different opinions about the grace of Jesus Christ that has come to us, and see how opposed they are to the mind of God. They have no concern for love: none for the widow, none for the orphan, none for the distressed, none for the prisoner or the one released from prison, none for the hungry or thirsty.

CHAPTER 7

Heretics and the Eucharist

¹ They stay away from the Eucharist and from prayer, because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Savior Jesus Christ. This is the flesh that suffered for our sins and that the Father in his kindness raised up. So those who speak against the gift of God die in their arguing. It would be better for them to love, so that they might also rise.⁹¹ ² It is right to keep away from such people and not to speak about them either in private or in public. Instead, pay attention to the prophets, and especially to the gospel, in which Christ's suffering has been made known to us and his resurrection fully accomplished. But flee from divisions as the beginning of evils.

CHAPTER 8

Submission to the Bishop and the Presbyters

¹ All of you, follow the bishop as Jesus Christ followed the Father, and follow the council of elders as you would the apostles. Respect the deacons as you

90. "Let the one who can take it take it" echoes Matthew 19:12.

would God's command. Let no one do anything that belongs to the church without the bishop. Only that Eucharist should be considered valid which is led by the bishop or by someone he authorizes. ² Wherever the bishop appears, let the congregation be there, just as wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the catholic church. It is not permitted to baptize or hold a love feast without the bishop. But whatever he approves is also pleasing to God, so that everything you do may be safe and sure.⁹²

CHAPTER 9

Honour due to the Bishop

¹ It is reasonable now for us to come to our senses while we still have time to repent toward God. It is good to know God and the bishop. The one who honors the bishop is honored by God. The one who does anything behind the bishop's back serves the devil. ² So let everything overflow for you in grace, for you are worthy. You refreshed me in every way; may Jesus Christ refresh you. You loved me when I was absent and when I was present. God is your reward. If you endure all things for his sake, you will reach him.

CHAPTER 10

Thanks to the Smyrnaeans

¹ You did well to receive Philo and Rheus Agathopus as deacons of God. They followed me for the sake of God's word. They also thank the Lord for you, because you refreshed them in every way. Nothing of this will be lost to you. ⁹³ ² My spirit is offered for you, and so are my chains. You did not look down on them or feel ashamed of them. Neither will Jesus Christ, our perfect hope, be ashamed of you.⁹⁴

91. Ignatius links two things here. These teachers deny that Christ had real flesh, so they will not confess that the Eucharist is his flesh. Their lack of love for the needy (6.6.2) comes from the same error. Some scholars think "to love" (agapan) may also hint at taking part in the community's love feast (agape).

92. The "love feast" (agape) was a shared community meal of early Christians. Jude 12 also mentions such love feasts.

93. Philo is called a deacon from Cilicia in Ignatius's letter to the Philadelphians (11.1), so "deacons" is likely meant here and not just "servants" in a general sense.

94. "Offered for you" translates antipsychon, literally "a life given in exchange." Ignatius uses this word several times in his letters (for example Ephesians 21.1 and Polycarp 2.3; 6.1) to describe his coming death as an offering on behalf of the churches.

CHAPTER 11

The Church in Syria

¹ Your prayer has reached the church in Antioch in Syria. I come from there, bound in chains most fitting for God, and I greet everyone. Yet I am not worthy to belong to that church, for I am the least of its members. Still, by God's will I was counted worthy. This was not because I know of any merit in myself, but by the grace of God. I pray that this grace may be given to me in full, so that through your prayer I may reach God. ² So that your work may be complete both on earth and in heaven, it is right for your church, for the honor of God, to appoint an ambassador of God. That person should go to Syria and rejoice with them that they are at peace, that they have recovered their proper greatness, and that their life as a church body has been restored to them.⁹⁵

³ So it seemed to me a thing worthy of God to send one of your members with a letter, to join them in giving glory for the calm that came to them from God, and that through your prayer they have now reached harbor. As you are perfect, think perfect things. For if you want to do well, God is ready to provide for it.

CHAPTER 12

Greetings from Troas

¹ The love of the brothers in Troas greets you. I am writing to you from Troas through Burrus, whom you and your brothers the Ephesians sent with me, and who has refreshed me in every way. I wish everyone would imitate him, for he is a model of service to God. Grace will repay him in every way. ² I greet the bishop, who is worthy of God, the godly council of elders, and my fellow servants the deacons. I greet each one of you and all of you together, in the name of Jesus Christ, in his flesh and blood, and in his suffering and his resurrection, which was both of the flesh and of the spirit, in unity with God and with you. Grace, mercy, peace, and endurance to you always.

95. Ignatius had learned that his church in Antioch was now at peace. Scholars debate whether this was peace after persecution or after internal conflict. He makes similar requests in his letters to the Philadelphians (10) and to Polycarp (7).

CHAPTER 13

Final greetings

¹ I greet the households of my brothers with their wives and children, and the virgins who are called widows. Farewell in the power of the Father. Philo, who is with me, greets you.⁹⁶ ² I greet the household of Tavia, and I pray that she may be firmly established in faith and love, both of the flesh and of the spirit. I greet Alce, a name dear to me, and Daphnus, who is beyond compare, and Eutecnus, and everyone by name. Farewell in the grace of God.

TO POLYCARP

GREETING

Greeting

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to Polycarp, bishop of the church of the Smyrnaeans, or rather one who has God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ as his overseer: abundant greetings.⁹⁷

CHAPTER 1

Salutation and exhortation to diligence

¹ I welcome your godly mind, which is set as firmly as on an immovable rock. I give great glory to God that I was counted worthy to see your blameless face. May I have joy of it in God! ² I urge you, by the grace with which you are clothed, to press on in your race and to urge everyone to be saved. Do full justice to your office with all care, both of the flesh and of the spirit. Be concerned for unity, for nothing is better. Carry everyone, as the Lord carries you. Put up with everyone in love, as you are already doing. ³ Give yourself to ceaseless prayers. Ask for more understanding than you have. Stay awake, keeping a spirit that never sleeps. Speak to people one by one in God's manner. Bear the illnesses of all like a perfect athlete. Where there is more toil, there is great gain.

96. The phrase "virgins who are called widows" is puzzling. It may mean that the church's recognized group of "widows" (compare 1 Timothy 5:3–16) included some women who had never married. The exact meaning is debated.

97. The Greek word for "bishop" (episkopos) means "overseer." Ignatius plays on it: Polycarp is the overseer, yet he himself is "overseen" by God and Christ.

CHAPTER 2

The need of caring for the weaker brethren

¹If you love good disciples, you deserve no credit. Rather, with gentleness bring the more troublesome ones into order. Not every wound is healed by the same dressing. Ease flare-ups with soothing compresses.⁹⁸ ²Be wise as a serpent in everything and always innocent as a dove. This is why you are both flesh and spirit: so that you may deal gently with the things that are visible to you. Ask that the unseen things be revealed to you, so that you lack nothing and have every gift in abundance. The present time needs you, just as pilots need winds and a storm-tossed sailor needs a harbor, in order to reach God. Be sober, as God's athlete. The prize is incorruption and eternal life, of which you are convinced. In every way I give myself for you, I and my chains, which you loved.⁹⁹

CHAPTER 3

Against heretics

¹Do not let those who seem trustworthy but teach something different frighten you. Stand firm like an anvil being struck. It belongs to a great athlete to be beaten and still win. Above all, we must endure everything for God's sake, so that he too may endure us. ²Be more eager than you are. Learn to read the times. Look for the one who is above time, timeless, invisible, who became visible for us, who cannot be touched, who cannot suffer, who became able to suffer for us, who in every way endured for us.¹⁰⁰

CHAPTER 4

His duty to members of the church

¹Widows should not be neglected. After the Lord, you must be their protector. Let nothing be done without your approval, and do nothing yourself without God, as indeed you do not. Stand firm. ²Let meetings be held more often. Seek out everyone by name. ³Do not look down on slaves, men or

98. "You deserve no credit" echoes Jesus' words in Luke 6:32, "If you love those who love you, what credit is that to you?" The Greek uses the same word (*charis*).

99. "I give myself for you" translates a strong word (*antipsychon*), literally "a life given in exchange." Ignatius uses it as an expression of deep devotion.

100. Ignatius describes Christ as timeless, invisible and unable to suffer, yet made visible and able to suffer for our sake. Compare the similar contrast in the letter to the Ephesians, 1.7.2 (Ephesians 7.2).

women. But do not let them be puffed up either. Let them serve all the more for the glory of God, so that they may receive from God a better freedom. Let them not desire to be set free at the expense of the church's common fund, so that they are not found to be slaves of desire.¹⁰¹

CHAPTER 5

The need of purity and of abstinence from boasting

¹ Flee from evil practices, or rather preach about them. Tell my sisters to love the Lord and to be content with their husbands in flesh and spirit. In the same way, instruct my brothers in the name of Jesus Christ to love their wives as the Lord loves the church.¹⁰² ² If anyone is able to remain in chastity to honor the flesh of the Lord, let him remain so without boasting. If he boasts, he is lost. If it becomes known to anyone beyond the bishop, he is ruined. It is right for men and women who marry to be united with the bishop's approval, so that the marriage may be according to the Lord and not according to desire. Let everything be done for God's honor.¹⁰³

CHAPTER 6

Advice to the community

¹ Pay attention to the bishop, so that God may also pay attention to you. I give my life for those who are subject to the bishop, the elders, and the deacons. May my portion be with them in God. Work hard together, struggle together, run together, suffer together, rest together, and rise together, as God's stewards, attendants, and servants.¹⁰⁴ ² Please the one under whom you serve as soldiers, for from him you also receive your pay. Let none of you be found a deserter. Let your baptism serve as your weapons, your faith as your helmet, your love as your spear, and your endurance as your full armor. Let your works be your deposits, so that you may receive the back pay you have earned. So be patient with one another in gentleness, as God is with you. May I always have joy in you.¹⁰⁵

101. This passage suggests that churches sometimes used common funds to buy the freedom of slaves. Ignatius warns slaves against setting their hearts on this. Compare 1 Corinthians 7:20–24.

102. Compare Ephesians 5:25.

103. The phrase "if it becomes known beyond the bishop" can also be read "if he is regarded more highly than the bishop." Either way, Ignatius warns that celibacy must not become a source of pride.

104. Here the Greek switches to the plural "you." Although the letter is addressed to Polycarp, Ignatius now speaks to the whole church at Smyrna.

CHAPTER 7

The Church in Antioch

¹ I have been told that, through your prayer, the church in Antioch of Syria is at peace. Because of this I too have become more cheerful, free from worry in God, if only I may reach God through suffering, so that I may be found your disciple in the resurrection.¹⁰⁶ ² It is right, Polycarp, most blessed by God, to call a council most fitting to God and to appoint someone whom you love dearly and who is tireless, who can be called God's courier. Honor him with this task, so that he may go to Syria and glorify your tireless love for the glory of God. ³ A Christian has no authority over himself, but gives his time to God. This is God's work, and yours too, when you complete it. For I trust in grace that you are ready for the good deeds that are fitting for God. Because I know how earnest you are for the truth, I have encouraged you in only a few lines.

CHAPTER 8

Request for Polycarp to write to other Churches

¹ I have not been able to write to all the churches, because I must suddenly sail from Troas to Neapolis, as God's will commands. So you, as one who has the mind of God, must write to the churches on the road ahead of me, so that they too may do the same. Those who are able should send messengers on foot, and the others should send letters by the people you send, so that you may be glorified by an everlasting work, as you deserve.¹⁰⁷

Final greetings

² I greet everyone by name, including the wife of Epitropus with her whole household and her children. I greet my dear Attalus. I greet the one who will be counted worthy to go to Syria. Grace will be with him always, and with Polycarp who sends him.¹⁰⁸ ³ I pray that you may always be well in our God

105. Ignatius uses Latin army words written in Greek letters: "deserter" (desertor), "deposits" (deposita), and "back pay" (accepta). Part of a Roman soldier's pay was held in deposit and paid out to him when he was discharged. Ignatius pictures good works as savings stored up with God.

106. The Greek reads literally "so that I may be found in your resurrection a disciple." It may mean "your disciple in the resurrection" or "a disciple when you are raised." The exact sense is uncertain.

107. In his own letter to the Philippians (13.1–2), Polycarp says he is sending them the letters of Ignatius that Ignatius sent to him, along with others he had. Many scholars think this was the beginning of the collection of Ignatius' letters.

Jesus Christ. May you remain in him, in the unity and oversight of God. I greet Alce, a name dear to me. Farewell in the Lord.¹⁰⁹

108. The Greek says only “the [woman] of Epitropus.” Epitropus may be a personal name, or it may be a title meaning “the procurator” (a government official), as Lightfoot suggested; the woman may also have been his widow rather than his wife.

109. Ignatius also greets Alce in his letter to the Smyrnaeans (13.2) with the same words.

Polycarp to the Philippians

POLYCARP OF SMYRNA

c. AD 110–135

A short letter from Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna and a disciple of the apostle John, to the church at Philippi. It is full of echoes of the Gospels and of the letters of Paul, Peter and John.

GREETING

Greeting

Polycarp and the elders with him, to the church of God that lives as a stranger in Philippi. May mercy and peace be multiplied to you from almighty God and from Jesus Christ our Savior.¹

CHAPTER 1

The hospitality of the Philippians

¹I rejoiced greatly with you in our Lord Jesus Christ that you welcomed those who are living copies of true love. As was fitting for you, you helped them on their way, bound as they were in chains fit for saints. These chains are the crowns of those truly chosen by God and our Lord.²

Their faith

²I also rejoice that the firm root of your faith, which has been spoken of since early times, still lasts and bears fruit for our Lord Jesus Christ. For our sins he endured even to the point of death, and God raised him up, having loosed the pains of Hades.³ [*Acts* 2:24] ³You have not seen him, yet you believe in him with a joy that cannot be put into words and is full of glory, a joy that

1. The greeting echoes 1 Peter 1:2 (“may grace and peace be multiplied to you”) and Jude 2 (“may mercy, peace, and love be multiplied to you”).

2. The prisoners were probably Ignatius of Antioch and his companions, who passed through Philippi on their way to Rome. Polycarp names Ignatius, Zosimus and Rufus in chapter 9.

3. Polycarp is echoing Acts 2:24. The word for “pains” (ōdines) is also used of birth pangs. Most manuscripts of Acts read “the pains of death,” but Polycarp has “the pains of Hades,” a reading also found in some manuscripts of Acts.

many long to enter. For you know that you have been saved by grace, not by works, but by the will of God through Jesus Christ.⁴ [*Ephesians 2: 8-9*]

CHAPTER 2

Exhortation to virtue

¹ So then, prepare for action and serve God in fear and truth. Leave behind empty talk and the error of the crowd. Believe in the one who raised our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead and gave him glory and a throne at his right hand. All things in heaven and on earth are subject to him, and everything that breathes worships him. He is coming as judge of the living and the dead, and God will hold those who disobey him accountable for his blood.⁵ [*1 Peter 1: 13-14; 1 Peter 1: 21; Philippians 2: 10; 2 Corinthians 4: 14; Romans 8: 11*]

The hope of resurrection

² The one who raised him from the dead will also raise us, if we do his will, walk in his commandments, and love what he loved. We must keep away from all injustice, greed, love of money, slander, and false witness, not paying back evil for evil, or insult for insult, or blow for blow, or curse for curse.
⁶

The Lord's teaching

³ Remember what the Lord taught when he said: "Do not judge, so that you will not be judged. Forgive, and you will be forgiven. Show mercy, so that you will receive mercy. The measure you use will be measured back to you." And also: "Blessed are the poor and those who are persecuted for the sake of righteousness, for the kingdom of God is theirs."⁷ [*Matthew 7: 1-2; Luke 6: 36-38; Luke 6: 20; Matthew 5: 3; Matthew 5: 10*]

4. Polycarp echoes 1 Peter 1:8 ("though you have not seen him... you rejoice with joy that is inexpressible and filled with glory") and Ephesians 2:8-9 ("by grace you have been saved... not a result of works").

5. "Prepare for action" is literally "gird up your loins," as in 1 Peter 1:13. Polycarp also echoes 1 Peter 1:21 (God "raised him from the dead and gave him glory"), Philippians 2:10, Psalm 150:6 ("everything that breathes"), and Acts 10:42 and 2 Timothy 4:1 ("judge of the living and the dead").

6. Compare 2 Corinthians 4:14 and 1 Peter 3:9 ("do not repay evil for evil or reviling for reviling").

7. Polycarp seems to quote from memory. His wording is close to Matthew 7:1-2, Matthew 5:7, Luke 6:36-38, and Matthew 5:3, 10. A similar cluster of sayings appears in 1 Clement 13:2. "Blessed are the poor" without "in spirit," and "kingdom of God" rather than Matthew's "kingdom of heaven," are closer to Luke 6:20, though Luke has "yours is the kingdom."

CHAPTER 3

Polycarp's reason for writing: the invitation of the Philippians

¹ Brothers, I am writing this to you about righteousness, not because I took it on myself, but because you first invited me. ² Neither I nor anyone like me can match the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul. When he was among you, in the presence of the people of that time, he taught the word of truth accurately and firmly. When he was away, he wrote you letters, and if you study them closely you will be able to build yourselves up in the faith that was given to you.⁸ ³ That faith is the mother of us all, with hope following after and love leading the way, love for God, for Christ, and for our neighbor. If anyone lives within these, he has fulfilled the commandment of righteousness, for the one who has love is far from all sin.⁹

CHAPTER 4

Exhortations to virtue

¹ The beginning of all troubles is the love of money. Since we know that we brought nothing into the world and can take nothing out of it, let us arm ourselves with the weapons of righteousness, and let us first teach ourselves to walk in the commandment of the Lord.¹⁰ [*1 Timothy 6:6-7*] ² Then let us teach our wives to live in the faith, love, and purity given to them, to love their own husbands with complete faithfulness, and to love everyone else equally with complete self-control, and to bring up their children in the instruction of the fear of God. ³ Let us teach the widows to be sensible in the faith of the Lord, to pray constantly for everyone, and to stay far from all slander, gossip, false witness, love of money, and every kind of evil. They should know that they are God's altar, and that every offering is examined for blemishes. Nothing escapes him, no reasoning, no thought, no secret of the heart.¹¹

8. Polycarp speaks of Paul's "letters" (plural) to the Philippians, though the New Testament has only one. Scholars debate whether he means more than one letter, or uses the plural loosely.

9. "Mother of us all" echoes Galatians 4:26. Note that the Greek has hope following and love leading.

10. Polycarp echoes 1 Timothy 6:10 and 6:7, though where Paul calls the love of money the "root" of all evils, Polycarp says "beginning." "Weapons of righteousness" recalls 2 Corinthians 6:7.

11. Widows were supported by the church's gifts. Polycarp probably calls them "God's altar" because those gifts, and the widows' prayers, were seen as offerings to God.

CHAPTER 5

Christian obligations to a virtuous life

¹ Since we know that God is not mocked, we ought to live in a way that is worthy of his commandment and his glory.¹² ² In the same way, deacons must be blameless before his righteousness, as servants of God and of Christ and not of men. They must not be slanderers or double-tongued, not lovers of money, but self-controlled in everything, compassionate, diligent, and walking in the truth of the Lord, who became the servant of all. If we please him in this present age, we will receive the age to come, just as he promised to raise us from the dead. And if we live as citizens worthy of him, we will also reign with him, provided that we believe.¹³ ³ In the same way, the younger men must be blameless in everything, giving first thought to purity and keeping a tight rein on themselves against every evil. It is good to be cut off from the desires that are in the world, because every desire wages war against the Spirit. Neither the sexually immoral, nor men who submit to or perform homosexual acts, will inherit the kingdom of God, nor will those who do what is wicked. So it is necessary to keep away from all these things and to be subject to the elders and deacons as to God and Christ. The young unmarried women should live with a blameless and pure conscience.¹⁴ [*Galatians 5:17*]

CHAPTER 6

The duties of the presbyters

¹ The elders also must be compassionate and merciful to all. They must bring back those who have wandered, visit all who are sick, and never neglect a widow, an orphan, or a poor person. They must always give thought to what is good in the sight of God and of people. They must keep away from all anger, favoritism, and unjust judgment, and stay far from all love of money. They must not be quick to believe a charge against anyone, and not be harsh in judging, knowing that we all owe a debt because of sin.¹⁵

12. "God is not mocked" quotes Galatians 6:7.

13. "Deacon" (*diakonos*) means "servant." Polycarp plays on this when he calls Christ "the servant (*diakonos*) of all" (compare Mark 9:35; 10:45). The list echoes 1 Timothy 3:8. "Live as citizens worthy" recalls Philippians 1:27, and "reign with him" recalls 2 Timothy 2:12.

14. "Younger men" translates *neōteroi*, and "young unmarried women" is literally "virgins" (*parthenous*). The letter mentions elders and deacons at Philippi but never a bishop.

Forgiveness

² So if we ask the Lord to forgive us, we ought to forgive as well. For we live before the eyes of the Lord and God, and all of us must stand before the judgment seat of Christ, and each one must give an account of himself.¹⁶ [*Romans 14:10; Romans 14:12; 2 Corinthians 5:10*]

The service of God

³ So let us serve him with fear and complete reverence, as he himself commanded, and as did the apostles who preached the gospel to us and the prophets who announced beforehand the coming of our Lord. Let us be zealous for what is good, and keep away from causes of stumbling, from false brothers, and from those who hypocritically carry the name of the Lord and lead empty people astray.

CHAPTER 7

Warning against heresy

¹ For everyone who does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is an antichrist. Whoever does not confess the testimony of the cross is of the devil. Whoever twists the sayings of the Lord to suit his own desires and says there is no resurrection and no judgment is the firstborn of Satan.¹⁷ [*1 John 4:2*]

² So let us leave behind the emptiness of the crowd and their false teachings, and turn back to the word that was handed down to us from the beginning. Let us stay alert in prayer and persevere in fasting, asking the all-seeing God in our prayers not to lead us into temptation, as the Lord said: “The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.”¹⁸ [*Matthew 26:41*]

CHAPTER 8

Perseverance

¹ Let us then hold on without ceasing to our hope and to the pledge of our righteousness, who is Christ Jesus. He carried our sins in his own body on the tree. He committed no sin, and no deceit was found in his mouth. Yet for our sake, so that we might live in him, he endured everything.¹⁹ [*1 Peter 2:24; 1 Peter*

15. “Give thought to what is good in the sight of God and of people” echoes Proverbs 3:4 (Greek version), which Paul also uses in Romans 12:17 and 2 Corinthians 8:21.

16. Compare Matthew 6:12–14, Romans 14:10–12, and 2 Corinthians 5:10.

17. Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 3.3.4) reports that Polycarp, on meeting the heretic Marcion, called him “the firstborn of Satan.”

18. Compare 1 Peter 4:7 (“be sober for prayer”), Matthew 6:13, and Matthew 26:41 / Mark 14:38.

2:22] 2 So let us become imitators of his endurance, and if we suffer for his name, let us glorify him. For this is the example he set for us in himself, and this is what we have believed.²⁰

CHAPTER 9

The examples of the martyrs

1 I urge all of you, then, to obey the word of righteousness and to practice every kind of endurance. You saw this endurance with your own eyes, not only in the blessed Ignatius, Zosimus, and Rufus, but also in others from among you, and in Paul himself and the other apostles.²¹ 2 Be convinced that all of these did not run in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and that they are now in the place due to them, with the Lord, with whom they also suffered. For they did not love this present age, but the one who died for us and was raised by God for our sake.²²

CHAPTER 10

Perseverance in philanthropy and good works.

1 So stand firm in these things and follow the example of the Lord: firm and unchanging in faith, lovers of the brotherhood, caring for one another, united in the truth, going ahead of one another in the gentleness of the Lord, and despising no one.²³ [John 15:17; Romans 13:8] 2 When you are able to do good, do not put it off, because giving to the poor frees from death. All of you, be subject to one another, keeping your conduct beyond reproach among the Gentiles, so that you may receive praise for your good works and the Lord may not be spoken against because of you.²⁴ [1 Peter 2:12] 3 But woe to the one through whom the name of the Lord is spoken against. So teach everyone to live soberly, as you do yourselves.²⁵

19. Quoting 1 Peter 2:24 and 2:22 (which itself draws on Isaiah 53:9).

20. Compare 1 Peter 2:21 and 4:16. "Example" translates the same Greek word used in 1 Peter 2:21.

21. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, was taken through Philippi as a prisoner on his way to martyrdom in Rome. Zosimus and Rufus are otherwise unknown. They were probably fellow prisoners who passed through Philippi with him.

22. "Did not run in vain" echoes Philippians 2:16 and Galatians 2:2. "Love this present age" echoes 2 Timothy 4:10.

23. The Greek manuscripts break off at the end of chapter 9, and chapter 13 survives in Greek only because Eusebius quotes it. Chapters 10 to 12 and 14 survive only in an ancient Latin translation, and this rendering follows the Latin.

24. Compare 1 Peter 5:5 and 2:12.

25. Compare Isaiah 52:5 and Romans 2:24.

CHAPTER 11

Valens

¹ I am very sorry for Valens, who was once made an elder among you, that he so little understands the position that was given to him. So I urge you to keep away from greed and to be pure and truthful. Keep away from every evil.

Against avarice

² If someone cannot manage himself in these things, how can he teach others? Anyone who does not keep away from greed will be defiled by idolatry and will be judged as if he were among the Gentiles, who do not know the judgment of the Lord. Or do we not know that the saints will judge the world, as Paul teaches?²⁶ [*1 Corinthians 6: 2*] ³ I have noticed nothing of this kind among you, and have heard nothing, among you in whose midst the blessed Paul worked, you who are praised at the beginning of his letter. He boasts about you in all the churches, which at that time were the only ones that knew the Lord, for we had not yet come to know him.²⁷

The treatment of Valens; i.e. Valens

⁴ So, brothers, I am very sorry for him and for his wife. May the Lord grant them true repentance. Be sober-minded about this yourselves, and do not treat such people as enemies, but call them back as weak members who have gone astray, so that you may save the whole body of you all. By doing this you build yourselves up.²⁸

CHAPTER 12

The need of forgiveness

¹ I am confident that you are well trained in the holy Scriptures and that nothing is hidden from you, though this has not been granted to me. Only, as it is said in these Scriptures: “Be angry and do not sin,” and “Do not let the sun go down on your anger.” Blessed is the one who remembers this, and I believe that this is true of you.²⁹ [*Ephesians 4: 26*]

26. Linking greed with idolatry follows Colossians 3:5 and Ephesians 5:5. “The saints will judge the world” quotes 1 Corinthians 6:2.

27. The Latin of “you who are praised at the beginning of his letter” is obscure, and “praised” is supplied. It may refer to Paul’s thanksgiving in Philippians 1:3–11. For Paul boasting of a church among the churches, compare 2 Thessalonians 1:4.

28. Compare 2 Thessalonians 3:15: “Do not regard him as an enemy, but warn him as a brother.”

Prayer for blessing

2 May God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the eternal high priest himself, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, build you up in faith and truth, in all gentleness, without anger, in patience, in long-suffering, in endurance, and in purity. May he give you a share and a portion among his saints, and give the same to us with you, and to everyone under heaven who will believe in our Lord and God Jesus Christ and in his Father, who raised him from the dead.³⁰ [*Galatians 1:1*] 3 Pray for all the saints. Pray also for kings, authorities, and rulers, and for those who persecute you and hate you, and for the enemies of the cross, so that your fruit may be plain to all and that you may be made complete in him.³¹ [*Luke 6:27*]

CHAPTER 13

Ignatius and the Church in Syria

1 You and Ignatius both wrote to me that if anyone is going to Syria, he should also carry your letter. I will do that if I find a suitable opportunity, either myself or someone I send as a representative, on your behalf as well.³²

2 As you asked, we are sending you the letters of Ignatius that he sent to us, and the others we had with us. They are attached to this letter, and you will be able to benefit greatly from them. They contain faith, endurance, and all the building up that belongs to our Lord. Let us know whatever reliable news you have learned about Ignatius himself and those who are with him.³³

CHAPTER 14

Final greetings

I have written this to you through Crescens, whom I recently recommended to you and now recommend again. He has lived blamelessly among us, and I

29. Both sayings appear together in Ephesians 4:26. The first is also Psalm 4:4. Polycarp introduces them as “these Scriptures,” so if the Latin reflects his wording, he is calling Paul’s letter Scripture. That makes this one of the earliest such references outside the New Testament itself (compare 2 Peter 3:16).

30. Calling Jesus the eternal “high priest” (Latin *pontifex*) echoes the Letter to the Hebrews (Hebrews 6:20; 7:24–25). “Who raised him from the dead” echoes Galatians 1:1.

31. This combines several New Testament commands: prayer for kings and all in authority (1 Timothy 2:1–2), prayer for persecutors (Matthew 5:44), and the phrase “enemies of the cross,” which Paul used in his own letter to the Philippians (Philippians 3:18).

32. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch in Syria, had asked the churches to send messengers or letters to Antioch to share in its joy once peace had been restored there (Ignatius, To the Smyrnaeans 11; To Polycarp 7–8).

believe he will do the same among you. His sister will be recommended to you when she comes to you. Farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ, in grace, with all who are yours. Amen.³⁴

33. Many scholars think Polycarp's collection of Ignatius's letters helped preserve them for later generations, but this cannot be proved.

34. The Latin phrase in praesenti is unclear; it is usually taken to mean "recently" or "up to now."

The Martyrdom of Polycarp

THE CHURCH OF SMYRNA

c. AD 155–160

A letter from the church at Smyrna telling how its bishop Polycarp was arrested and put to death. It is one of the earliest accounts of a Christian martyrdom outside the New Testament.

GREETING

The church of God living as a stranger in Smyrna, to the church of God living as a stranger in Philomelium, and to all the communities of the holy and universal church living as strangers in every place: may the mercy, peace, and love of God the Father and of our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied to you.

1

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

¹ We are writing to you, brothers, about the martyrs and about the blessed Polycarp, who ended the persecution as if he had set a seal on it by his own martyrdom. Almost everything that came before happened so that the Lord might show us from heaven a martyrdom that follows the pattern of the Gospel. ² Polycarp waited to be handed over, as the Lord also did, so that we too might become imitators of him, thinking not only of ourselves but also of our neighbors. For it is the mark of true and steady love to wish for the salvation not only of oneself but of all the brothers.

1. “Living as a stranger” translates *paroikousa*, a word for someone who lives in a place as a resident foreigner. The related noun *paroikia* (here translated “communities”) is the source of the English word “parish.” Philomelium was a town in Phrygia, in central Asia Minor. “Catholic” here means “universal.” This is one of the earliest uses of the phrase “catholic church” in Christian writing; Ignatius (To the Smyrnaeans 8.2) uses it earlier.

CHAPTER 2

The sufferings of the Martyrs

¹ All martyrdoms that happen according to the will of God are blessed and noble. For we must be careful, as people who fear God, to give God the authority over everything. ² Who would not marvel at their courage, their endurance, and their devotion to their Master? Some were torn by whips so badly that the inner workings of the flesh, down to the veins and arteries, could be seen. They endured it so that even the bystanders felt pity and wept. Others reached such a height of courage that none of them cried out or groaned. They showed all of us that in that hour of torture these brave witnesses of Christ were away from the body, or rather that the Lord was standing beside them and talking with them. ³ Fixing their attention on the grace of Christ, they despised the tortures of this world, buying eternal life at the cost of a single hour. The fire of their cruel torturers felt cold to them, for they kept before their eyes the escape from the eternal fire that is never put out. With the eyes of their hearts they looked up to the good things kept for those who endure, things “which no ear has heard and no eye has seen and which have not entered the human heart.” These were shown to them by the Lord, for they were no longer human beings but already angels.² [1

Corinthians 2: 9]

⁴ In the same way, those who were condemned to the wild beasts endured terrible punishments. They were laid on sharp shells and tortured in many other ways, so that if possible the tyrant might force them to deny Christ by relentless torture. For the devil devised many schemes against them.³

CHAPTER 3

Germanicus

¹ But thanks be to God, the devil did not win against all of them. The very brave Germanicus strengthened the fearful ones by his own endurance, and he fought the beasts with distinction. The governor tried to persuade him and urged him to take pity on his youth. But Germanicus dragged the beast toward himself by force, because he wanted to be freed more quickly from their unjust and lawless life.⁴ ² At this, the whole crowd was amazed at the

2. The quotation is from 1 Corinthians 2:9, which in turn draws on Isaiah 64:4.

3. The Greek word *kērykas* usually means “heralds,” but it can also mean a kind of sea snail, the trumpet shell. “Sharp shells” is the most likely sense here, but the meaning is not certain.

courage of the God-loving and God-fearing people of the Christians, and shouted, “Away with the atheists! Find Polycarp!”⁵

CHAPTER 4

Quintus

One man, named Quintus, a Phrygian who had recently come from Phrygia, lost his nerve when he saw the beasts. He was the one who had pushed himself and some others to come forward voluntarily. The governor begged him many times and persuaded him to swear the oath and offer sacrifice. For this reason, brothers, we do not approve of those who hand themselves over, since that is not what the Gospel teaches.⁶

CHAPTER 5

Polycarp’s retreat to the country

¹ The most admirable Polycarp was not troubled when he first heard the news, and wanted to stay in the city. But most people persuaded him to slip away. He left for a small farm not far from the city and stayed there with a few companions. Night and day he did nothing but pray for everyone and for the churches throughout the world, as was his habit. ² While he was praying, three days before he was arrested, he had a vision. He saw his pillow burning with fire. He turned and said to those with him, “I must be burned alive.”

CHAPTER 6

His betrayal

¹ When the search for him continued, he moved to another small farm. The searchers arrived at once, and when they did not find him they seized two young slaves. One of them confessed under torture. ² It was not possible for him to stay hidden, since those who betrayed him were members of his own household. The police chief had been given by lot the very same name, for he was called Herod. He was eager to bring Polycarp into the stadium, so that

4. The “governor” (anthypatos) is the Roman proconsul of Asia, who held authority over executions.

5. Christians were called “atheists” because they refused to worship the gods of the city and the emperor. Polycarp will later turn the shout back on the crowd (9.2).

6. This is an early and clear statement that Christians should not seek out martyrdom. Compare Matthew 10:23.

Polycarp could complete his own appointed lot by sharing in Christ, and those who betrayed him could suffer the punishment of Judas himself.⁷

CHAPTER 7

The arrival of the police

¹ They took the young slave with them, and on the day of Preparation, around suppertime, a police squad and mounted men went out with their usual weapons, as though going after a robber. Late in the evening they came upon him together. He was lying down in an upstairs room. He could have gone to another place from there, but he refused, saying, “May the will of God be done.”⁸ [*Acts 21:14*]

Their reception by Polycarp

² When he heard they had arrived, he came down and talked with them. Those who were there were amazed at his age and his calm. They wondered why there had been such a hurry to arrest so old a man. At once he ordered food and drink to be set before them, as much as they wanted. He asked them to give him an hour to pray undisturbed.

His prayer

³ They allowed it. He stood and prayed, so full of God’s grace that for two hours he could not stop. Those who heard him were astonished, and many regretted that they had come out against such a godly old man.

CHAPTER 8

His arrival in Smyrna

¹ When at last he finished his prayer, he had remembered everyone who had ever crossed his path, small and great, well-known and unknown, and the whole catholic (universal) church throughout the world. Then the time came to leave. They set him on a donkey and brought him into the city. It was a great Sabbath.⁹ ² The police chief Herod and his father Nicetes met

7. Herod’s name recalls the Herod of the Gospels (compare Luke 23:7–11). The author draws a deliberate parallel between Polycarp’s arrest and the arrest of Jesus. There is a betrayer from his own household, a police chief named Herod, and an arrest late in the evening by men armed as if against a robber (7.1).

8. “The day of Preparation” is Friday, the day before the Sabbath. Compare Mark 15:42 and Matthew 26:55, and Jesus’ prayer in Matthew 6:10 and Luke 22:42.

9. A “great Sabbath” may be a Sabbath that fell at a festival; compare John 19:31, where a Sabbath is called a “high day.” The account itself (ch. 21) gives a date equal to February 23. The year is debated and is usually placed in the mid-150s or the 160s AD.

him. They moved him into their carriage, sat beside him, and tried to persuade him, saying, “What harm is there in saying ‘Caesar is Lord,’ and offering sacrifice and the rest, and so saving yourself?” At first he did not answer them. When they kept pressing, he said, “I am not going to do what you advise.”¹⁰

And in the arena

³ When they failed to persuade him, they spoke harsh words to him and pushed him out in a hurry, so that he scraped his shin as he got down from the carriage. He did not turn around, as though he had suffered nothing, but walked on eagerly and quickly. He was led to the stadium, where the noise was so great that no one could be heard.

CHAPTER 9

Polycarp’s examination

¹ As Polycarp entered the stadium, a voice came from heaven: “Be strong, Polycarp, and act like a man.” No one saw who spoke, but those of our people who were there heard the voice. Then he was brought forward, and there was a great uproar when people heard that Polycarp had been arrested.¹¹ ² When he was brought forward, the governor asked him whether he was Polycarp. When he said yes, the governor tried to persuade him to deny his faith. He said, “Have respect for your age,” and other things they usually say, such as, “Swear by the fortune of Caesar,” “Repent,” and “Say: Away with the atheists.” Polycarp looked with a stern face at the whole crowd of lawless pagans in the stadium. He waved his hand at them, groaned, looked up to heaven, and said, “Away with the atheists.”¹² ³ The governor kept pressing him: “Swear, and I will release you. Curse Christ.” Polycarp said, “For eighty-six years I have served him, and he has never done me any wrong. How can I blaspheme my King who saved me?”¹³

10. “Lord Caesar” (Greek *Kyrios Kaisar*) was an acclamation of loyalty to the emperor. For Christians, calling Caesar “Lord” as an act of religious homage clashed with the confession “Jesus is Lord” (Romans 10:9; 1 Corinthians 12:3).

11. The same Greek words (“*ischue kai andrizou*”) appear in the Greek Old Testament in God’s charge to Joshua, “Be strong and courageous” (Joshua 1:6, 9; compare 1:7; Deuteronomy 31:7, 23). Compare also 1 Corinthians 16:13.

12. Pagans called Christians “atheists” because they refused to worship the gods. Polycarp turns the crowd’s slogan back on the crowd itself.

CHAPTER 10

¹ The governor kept insisting: “Swear by the fortune of Caesar.” Polycarp answered, “If you imagine that I will swear by the fortune of Caesar, as you say, and pretend not to know who I am, then listen plainly: I am a Christian. And if you want to learn the teaching of Christianity, set a day and hear it.”

² The governor said, “Persuade the people.” Polycarp said, “You I would count worth answering. We have been taught to give rulers and authorities appointed by God the honor due to them, so long as it does us no harm. But as for those people, I do not think they deserve a defense from me.”¹⁴

CHAPTER 11

The Pro-Consul’s threats

¹ The governor said, “I have wild beasts. I will throw you to them unless you repent.” Polycarp said, “Call them. For us, repentance from better to worse is impossible. But it is good to change from what is evil to what is right.” ² The governor said to him again, “If you despise the beasts, I will have you burned up with fire, unless you repent.” Polycarp said, “You threaten me with a fire that burns for a little while and is soon put out. You do not know about the fire of the coming judgment and of eternal punishment, which is kept for the ungodly. But why are you waiting? Do what you want.”¹⁵

CHAPTER 12

¹ As he said these and many other things, he was filled with courage and joy, and his face was full of grace. Not only did his face not fall in dismay at what was said to him, but on the contrary the governor was astonished. He sent his herald into the middle of the stadium to announce three times: “Polycarp has confessed that he is a Christian.”

The anger of the Jews

² When the herald had said this, the whole crowd of pagans and Jews living in Smyrna shouted with uncontrollable rage and a loud voice: “This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the destroyer of our gods, the

13. The eighty-six years may be Polycarp’s age or the time since his baptism. If it is his age, he was born around AD 70–80, depending on the year of his death. Irenaeus knew Polycarp in his youth. He wrote that Polycarp had been taught by apostles (Against Heresies 3.3.4) and had known John (Letter to Florinus, in Eusebius, Church History 5.20.6).

14. Compare Romans 13:1–7 and 1 Peter 2:13–17.

15. Compare Matthew 25:41, 46, where Jesus speaks of “the eternal fire” and “eternal punishment.”

one who teaches many not to sacrifice or worship.” As they said this, they shouted and asked Philip the Asiarch to let a lion loose on Polycarp. He said he was not allowed to, since he had already closed the animal hunts.¹⁶ ³ Then they decided to shout together that Polycarp should be burned alive. For the vision he had been shown of his pillow had to be fulfilled. While praying, he had seen his pillow burning, and he turned to the faithful who were with him and said prophetically, “I must be burned alive.”¹⁷

CHAPTER 13

The preparations for burning him

¹ All this happened faster than it can be told. The crowds immediately gathered logs and brushwood from the workshops and the baths, with the Jews especially eager to help, as is their custom.¹⁸ ² When the fire was ready, he took off all his outer clothes, loosened his belt, and tried to take off his shoes as well. He had not done this before, because each of the faithful always rushed to be the first to touch his skin. Even before his martyrdom he had been honored with every respect because of his good way of life. ³ At once the fittings prepared for the pyre were put around him. When they were about to nail him as well, he said, “Leave me as I am. The one who gives me strength to endure the fire will also give me strength to stay on the pyre without flinching, without any need for the security of your nails.”

CHAPTER 14

His last prayers

¹ So they did not nail him but tied him. He put his hands behind him and was bound like a fine ram chosen from a great flock, ready as an offering, a burnt sacrifice prepared and acceptable to God. He looked up to heaven and said: “Lord God Almighty, Father of your beloved and blessed servant Jesus Christ, through whom we have received knowledge of you, God of angels and powers and all creation, and of the whole family of the righteous who

16. The Asiarch was a leading official of the province who paid for public games. The title is also found in Acts 19:31. Whether the Asiarch was the same as the high priest of the imperial cult is debated, but this account later calls Philip high priest (21.1).

17. The vision is described in 5.2, where Polycarp sees his pillow being consumed by fire three days before his arrest.

18. The phrase “as is their custom” is the author’s own comment. It probably reflects tension between Christians and Jews in Smyrna at the time. It should not be read as a fair description of Jewish people in general.

live in your presence:¹⁹ 2 I bless you because you have counted me worthy of this day and hour, to receive a share among the number of the martyrs, in the cup of your Christ, for the resurrection to eternal life of both soul and body in the incorruption of the Holy Spirit. May I be received among them in your presence today as a rich and acceptable sacrifice, just as you, the God who does not lie and is true, prepared it beforehand, showed it beforehand, and now have fulfilled it.²⁰

3 For this and for everything I praise you, I bless you, I glorify you, through the eternal and heavenly high priest, Jesus Christ, your beloved servant, through whom, with him and the Holy Spirit, be glory to you both now and in the ages to come. Amen.”²¹

CHAPTER 15

The fire is lighted

1 When he had said the “Amen” and finished the prayer, the men in charge of the fire lit it. A great flame blazed up, and we saw a marvel, those of us who were allowed to see it. We were kept alive to tell the others what happened. 2 The fire took the shape of an arch, like the sail of a ship filled with wind, and formed a wall around the martyr’s body. He was in the middle of it, not like burning flesh but like bread being baked, or like gold and silver being refined in a furnace. We also smelled a sweet fragrance, like incense or some other precious spice.²²

CHAPTER 16

Polycarp’s death

1 At last, when the lawless men saw that his body could not be consumed by the fire, they ordered an executioner to go up and stab him with a dagger. When he did, a dove came out, along with so much blood that it put out the fire. The whole crowd was amazed that there was such a difference between the unbelievers and the chosen.²³ 2 The admirable martyr Polycarp was one

19. The Greek word *pais* (“servant” or “child”) is used of Jesus here and in 14.3 and 20.2. It is the same word used in Acts 3:13 and 4:27 and recalls the servant of Isaiah 42 and 52–53. The offering language recalls Genesis 22 and Leviticus 1.

20. “The cup of your Christ” recalls Mark 10:38–39 and Matthew 20:22–23, where Jesus asks his disciples whether they can drink his cup.

21. This prayer ends with one of the earliest known Trinitarian doxologies, and its formal style may reflect how prayer was spoken in worship at Smyrna.

22. Compare Daniel 3, where the three young men are in the fire without being burned.

of these chosen. In our own times he was an apostolic and prophetic teacher and bishop of the universal church in Smyrna. Every word that came from his mouth was fulfilled and will be fulfilled.

CHAPTER 17

The treatment of the corpse

1 But the jealous, envious, and evil one, the enemy of the family of the righteous, saw how great his martyrdom was and how blameless his life had been from the beginning. He saw that Polycarp had been crowned with the crown of immortality and had won a prize that could not be disputed. So he worked to prevent us from taking even his poor body, though many of us wanted to do it and to share in his holy flesh. 2 So he prompted Nicetes, the father of Herod and brother of Alce, to appeal to the magistrate not to give us the body. “Otherwise,” he said, “they will abandon the crucified one and begin to worship this man.” They said this at the urging and insistence of the Jews, who also kept watch when we were about to take him from the fire. They did not know that we could never abandon Christ, who suffered for the salvation of the whole world of those being saved, the blameless one for sinners. Nor could we ever worship anyone else.²⁴

3 For we worship this one, since he is the Son of God, but the martyrs we love as disciples and imitators of the Lord, and rightly so, because of their unsurpassed devotion to their own King and Teacher. May we also be their partners and fellow disciples.

CHAPTER 18

The Christians take the ashes

1 When the centurion saw the dispute stirred up by the Jews, he placed the body in the middle and burned it, as was their custom.²⁵ 2 Afterward we gathered his bones, which are more valuable than precious stones and more tested than gold, and laid them in a suitable place. 3 There, as far as we are able, the Lord will allow us to gather in joy and gladness and celebrate the

23. The Greek manuscripts include the dove, but Eusebius leaves it out when he quotes this passage. Many scholars suspect a scribal corruption. One proposal is that the words read “around the hilt” (*peri styraka*) and were miscopied as “dove” (*peristera*). Lake keeps the dove in his text.

24. Herod is the police captain who arrested Polycarp (6.2). A woman named Alce is greeted by Ignatius in his letters to the Smyrnaeans (13.2) and to Polycarp (8.3). She may be the same person.

25. The Greek does not say whose custom is meant. It probably refers to the Roman practice of burning bodies.

birthday of his martyrdom, in memory of those who have already competed, and to train and prepare those who will do so in the future.²⁶

CHAPTER 19

Conclusion

¹ That is the story of the blessed Polycarp. He was the twelfth martyr in Smyrna, counting those from Philadelphia, yet he alone is especially remembered by everyone, so that even the pagans talk about him everywhere. He was not only a distinguished teacher but also an outstanding martyr, whose martyrdom everyone longs to imitate because it followed the Gospel of Christ. ² By his endurance he overcame the unjust ruler and so received the crown of immortality. Now he rejoices with the apostles and all the righteous, glorifies God the almighty Father, and blesses our Lord Jesus Christ, savior of our souls, helmsman of our bodies, and shepherd of the universal church throughout the world.²⁷

CHAPTER 20

¹ You asked us to give you a fuller account of what happened, but for now we have sent only a summary through our brother Marcion. When you have learned these things, send the letter on to the brothers farther away, so that they too may glorify the Lord, who makes his choices from among his own servants.²⁸ ² To the one who is able to bring us all by his grace and gift into his heavenly kingdom, through his only-begotten servant Jesus Christ, be glory, honor, power, and greatness forever. Greet all the saints. Those with us greet you, as does Evarestus, who wrote this letter, with his whole household.

²⁹

CHAPTER 21

The date

The blessed Polycarp was martyred on the second day of the month Xanthicus, seven days before the Kalends of March, on a great Sabbath, at the

26. The “birthday” (genethlion) is the day of the martyr’s death, understood as his birth into eternal life. This passage is usually regarded as the earliest clear evidence of a church planning a yearly commemoration of a martyr on the day of his death.

27. “The unjust ruler” is most likely the devil, whom the letter elsewhere presents as the real opponent of the martyrs. Some readers take it to mean the Roman proconsul.

28. “You” are the church at Philomelium, to whom the letter is addressed. This Marcion is otherwise unknown. He is not the famous heretic Marcion mentioned in the alternative ending.

eightth hour. He was arrested by Herod, when Philip of Tralles was high priest and Statius Quadratus was proconsul, but Jesus Christ was reigning forever. To him be glory, honor, greatness, and an eternal throne from generation to generation. Amen.³⁰

CHAPTER 22

Notes by a later scribe

¹ We wish you well, brothers, as you walk by the word of Jesus Christ according to the Gospel. With him be glory to God the Father and to the Holy Spirit, for the salvation of the holy chosen ones, just as the blessed Polycarp bore witness. May it be granted to us to be found following in his footsteps in the kingdom of Jesus Christ.³¹ ² Gaius, who had lived alongside Irenaeus, copied this from the writings of Irenaeus, a disciple of Polycarp. I, Socrates, wrote it out in Corinth from Gaius's copies. Grace be with you all. ³ I, Pionius, then wrote it out again from the previous copy, after searching for it. The blessed Polycarp had revealed it to me in a vision, as I will explain below. I gathered it up when it was almost worn out by age, so that the Lord Jesus Christ may also gather me with his chosen ones into his heavenly kingdom. To him be glory with the Father and the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen.

32

ALTERNATIVE ENDING

² Gaius copied this from the writings of Irenaeus. Gaius had also lived alongside Irenaeus, who was a disciple of the holy Polycarp. ³ This Irenaeus was in Rome at the time of the martyrdom of bishop Polycarp and taught many people. Many excellent and sound writings of his survive, in which he mentions Polycarp, saying he learned from him. He thoroughly refuted every

29. "Servant" translates the Greek *pais*, which can mean either "child" or "servant." In Acts 3:13 and 4:27 Jesus is likewise called God's *pais*.

30. Lucius Statius Quadratus is thought to have been proconsul of Asia in the mid-150s, so Polycarp's death is usually dated to 155 or 156 AD. The exact year depends on how his term is reckoned. Eusebius placed the martyrdom later, under Marcus Aurelius, and some scholars still argue for a date in the 160s.

31. Section 22.1 is a closing farewell. Sections 22.2–3 are notes added by later copyists tracing how the text was handed down. Many scholars think chapters 21–22 were not part of the original letter. Another form of the copyists' notes, found in the Moscow manuscript, is given below as "Alternative ending."

32. The "Pionius" named here may be the Pionius who was martyred at Smyrna around 250 AD, but this is not certain. "As I will explain below" probably refers to the Life of Polycarp that is attributed to Pionius, which many scholars date to the fourth century.

heresy, and he passed on the church's universal rule of faith just as he received it from the saint.³³ 4 He also says this: Marcion, from whom the so-called Marcionites come, once met the holy Polycarp and said, "Recognize us, Polycarp." Polycarp answered him, "I do recognize you. I recognize the firstborn of Satan."³⁴ 5 It is also reported in Irenaeus's writings that on the day and hour when Polycarp was martyred in Smyrna, Irenaeus, who was in the city of Rome, heard a voice like a trumpet saying, "Polycarp has been martyred."³⁵

6 From these writings of Irenaeus, as was said above, Gaius made a copy, and Isocrates in Corinth made a copy from Gaius's copies. I, Pionius, then wrote from Isocrates' copies, after searching for them according to the revelation of the holy Polycarp. I gathered them up when they were almost worn out by age, so that the Lord Jesus Christ may also gather me with his chosen ones into his heavenly kingdom. To him be glory, with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.³⁶

33. Irenaeus speaks of having heard Polycarp in his youth in *Against Heresies* 3.3.4 and in his letter to Florinus, quoted by Eusebius (*Church History* 5.20). The claim that he was in Rome when Polycarp died is found only in this note.

34. Irenaeus tells this story in *Against Heresies* 3.3.4. In his own letter to the Philippians (7.1), Polycarp uses the same phrase, "firstborn of Satan," for anyone who twists the Lord's words and denies the resurrection and the judgment.

35. This story is not found in any surviving work of Irenaeus.

36. The copyist in Corinth is called "Isocrates" here but "Socrates" in 22.2.

The Shepherd of Hermas

c. AD 100–160

A long early Christian work in the form of visions, commandments and parables, written in Rome. It was widely read, and some early Bible manuscripts copy it beside the New Testament, though the church did not receive it as Scripture.

A note for readers. The Shepherd was read and valued by many early Christians, but it was never accepted as Scripture. Some of its teaching, especially on repentance after baptism and on how it speaks of the Son and the Holy Spirit, is unclear and has been disputed since ancient times. Read it as a witness to early Roman Christian life and thought, and weigh it against the Bible.

VISION 1

CHAPTER 1

Hermas and Rhoda

¹ The man who raised me sold me to a woman named Rhoda, in Rome. Many years later I met her again, and I began to love her as a sister.¹ ² Some time later I saw her bathing in the Tiber river. I gave her my hand and helped her out of the water. When I saw how beautiful she was, I thought to myself: “I would be happy if I had a wife with such beauty and character.” That was the only thing I considered, and nothing else, not one thing.

Hermas goes to Cumae

³ Some time later, as I was walking to Cumae and praising God’s creation, how great, glorious and powerful it is, I became drowsy as I walked. A spirit took hold of me and carried me through a trackless place that no person could walk through. The ground was steep and broken up by water. When I

1. This opens the first of the “Visions.” Hermas tells his story in the first person. Almost everything we know about him comes from the book itself. A later document, the Muratorian Fragment, says that Hermas wrote the book in Rome while his brother Pius was bishop there.

had crossed that river, I came to level ground. I knelt down and began to pray to the Lord and to confess my sins.²

The Vision of Rhoda speaking from Heaven

⁴ While I was praying, heaven opened, and I saw the woman I had desired greeting me from heaven. She said, “Hermas, greetings.” ⁵ I looked at her and said, “Lady, what are you doing here?” She answered, “I was taken up so that I could 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 I am going to say to you. God, who lives in the heavens, made what exists out of what did not exist, and increased and multiplied it for the sake of his holy church. He is angry with you because you sinned against me.” ⁷ I answered her: “I sinned against you? Where, or when, did I say an indecent word to you? Did I not always regard you as a goddess? Did I not always respect you as a sister? Why do you falsely accuse me, lady, of these wicked and filthy things?”

⁸ She laughed and said to me: “The desire for evil came up in your heart. Or do you not think it is an evil thing for a righteous man if an evil desire comes up in his heart? It is a sin, and a great one. For the righteous man plans what is right. As long as he plans what is right, his reputation in heaven stands firm, and he finds the Lord easy to be reconciled to in everything he does. But those who plan evil in their hearts bring death and captivity on themselves. This is especially true of those who make this present world their own, take pride in their wealth, and do not hold on to the good things to come.”³ ⁹ “Those who have no hope, but have given up on themselves and their lives, will regret it in their souls. But you, pray to God, and he will heal your sins and those of your whole household and of all the saints.”⁴

CHAPTER 2

The vision of the ancient lady

¹ After she had said these words, the heavens were shut. I was shaking all over and filled with sorrow. I said to myself: “If this sin is written down against me, how can I be saved? How will I appease God for my sins, which are fully grown? What words can I use to ask the Lord to be merciful to me?”⁵
² While I was thinking this over and debating in my heart, I saw in front of

2. The Greek place name is usually taken to mean Cumae, a town on the coast near Naples. Some scholars think it refers to a place nearer Rome, or simply means “the villages.”

3. This echoes Jesus’ teaching that sin begins in the heart (Matthew 5:28).

4. The verb usually means “repent,” but here it may mean a regret that comes too late.

me a large white chair made of snow-white wool. An old woman came, in shining clothing, holding a book in her hands. She sat down alone and greeted me: "Hermas, greetings." I was grieving and crying, and I said, "Greetings, lady."⁶ ³ She said to me: "Why are you gloomy, Hermas? You are patient and slow to anger, always laughing. Why do you look so downcast and not cheerful?" I said to her, "Because of a most excellent woman who says that I have sinned against her."

⁴ She said: "Far be such a thing from a servant of God! But the thought certainly did come up in your heart about her. A thought like that brings sin on the servants of God. It is an evil and shocking plan when a deeply reverent spirit, already proven, desires an evil act. This is especially true of Hermas, who is self-controlled, who keeps away from every evil desire, and who is full of complete simplicity and great innocence."

CHAPTER 3

Why God is angry

¹ "But God is not angry with you for this. He is angry so that you will turn back your household, which has sinned against the Lord and against you, their parents. But because you love your children, you did not correct your household, and you let it be ruined. That is why the Lord is angry with you. But he will heal all the evils in your household from the past. For because of their sins and lawless deeds you have been ruined by the affairs of daily life."⁷

² "But the Lord's great compassion has taken pity on you and your household. He will strengthen you and set you firmly in his glory. Only do not be lazy, but take courage and strengthen your household. For just as a blacksmith, by hammering his work, masters the thing he wants to make, so the righteous word, spoken day by day, overcomes all evil. So do not stop correcting your children. For I know that if they repent with all their heart, they will be written in the books of life with the saints."

The lady reads to Hermas

³ After she had finished saying these words, she said to me, "Do you want to hear me read?" I said, "I do, lady." She said to me, "Be a listener and hear the

5. "Fully grown" translates a Greek word meaning "complete" or "full-grown." It may refer to sins actually carried out, as opposed to sinful thoughts.

6. The old woman is the church. This is revealed in Vision 2, and Vision 3 explains why she appears old.

glories of God.” I heard great and wonderful things that I was not able to remember. For all the words were fearsome, more than a person can bear. But I remembered the last words, since they were helpful to us and gentle: ⁴ “See, the God of the powers, whom I love, created the world by his mighty power and his great understanding, and by his glorious plan put beauty on his creation. By his strong word he fixed the heaven and set the earth on the waters, and by his own wisdom and foresight he created his holy church, which he also blessed. See, he moves the heavens, the mountains, the hills, and the seas, and everything becomes level for his chosen people. He does this so that he may give them the promise he made with great glory and joy, if they keep the laws of God that they received in great faith.”⁸

CHAPTER 4

The close of the vision

¹ When she finished reading and rose from the chair, four young men came, picked up the chair, and went away toward the east. ² She called me over, touched my chest, and said, “Did you like my reading?” I said to her, “Lady, I like these last parts, but the first parts were hard and harsh.” She said to me, “These last parts are for the righteous, but the first parts are for the pagans and the apostates.” ³ While she was speaking with me, two men appeared, took her by the arms, and went away toward the east, to where the chair had gone. She left cheerfully, and as she went she said to me, “Be brave, Her-mas.”⁹

VISION 2

CHAPTER 1

The second vision at Cumae

¹ As I was walking to Cumae, at about the same time of year as the year before, I remembered the vision of the previous year. Again a spirit took me and carried me to the same place as the year before.¹⁰ ² When I came to the

7. This points to a major theme of the book. Hermas’s children have sinned against the Lord, even blaspheming him and betraying their parents (Vision 2.2), and Hermas has failed to correct them.

8. “Set the earth on the waters” echoes Psalm 24:2 and Psalm 136:6.

9. The word for “be brave” (andrizou) is the same verb Paul uses in 1 Corinthians 16:13 (“act like men,” “be courageous”).

10. Most translators take Kōmas as the town of Cumae near Naples. Some scholars have suggested it may simply mean “to the countryside” or “to the villages.”

place, I knelt down and began to pray to the Lord and glorify his name, because he had considered me worthy and had made known to me my earlier sins. [*Psalm 86; Isaiah 24:15*]

The ancient lady returns; The little book

³ After I got up from prayer, I saw in front of me the old woman whom I had seen the year before. She was walking and reading a little book. She said to me, “Can you report these things to God’s chosen ones?” I said to her, “Lady, I cannot remember so much. Give me the little book so that I can copy it.” “Take it,” she said, “and give it back to me.” ⁴ I took it, went off to a place in the countryside, and copied everything letter by letter, because I could not make out the syllables. When I had finished the letters of the little book, suddenly the book was snatched from my hand. I did not see by whom.

CHAPTER 2

The contents of the little book

¹ After fifteen days, during which I fasted and earnestly begged the Lord, the understanding of the writing was revealed to me. This is what was written: ² “Your descendants, Hermas, have rejected God, have blasphemed the Lord, and have betrayed their parents with great evil. They have been called betrayers of parents, and their betrayal did them no good. Instead, they have gone on to add debauchery and foul, tangled wickedness to their sins, and so their lawless deeds have reached their full measure.” ³ “But make these words known to all your children and to your wife, who will be a sister to you. For she too does not hold back the tongue she uses to do wrong. But when she hears these words, she will hold back and will receive mercy.”¹¹ ⁴ “After you have made known to them these words, which the Master commanded me to reveal to you, all the sins they committed before will be forgiven them. So will the sins of all the saints who have sinned up to this day, if they repent with their whole heart and remove double-mindedness from their hearts.”¹²

⁵ “For the Master has sworn by his glory concerning his chosen ones: if there is still sin after this day has been set, they will not have salvation. For

11. “Who will be a sister to you” is usually understood to mean that Hermas and his wife will from now on live together without sexual relations, though the exact sense is debated.

12. “Double-mindedness” (*dipsychia*), literally “two-souledness,” is one of Hermas’s most important words. It means being divided in loyalty, wavering in trust toward God. James 1:8 and 4:8 use the related adjective *dipsychos* (“double-minded”).

repentance for the righteous has an end. The days of repentance are fulfilled for all the saints, but for the pagans there is repentance until the last day.”¹³

6 “So tell the leaders of the church to straighten their ways in righteousness, so that they may receive the promises in full with great glory.” 7 “So stay firm, you who work righteousness, and do not be double-minded, so that your passage may be with the holy angels. Blessed are you who endure the great tribulation that is coming, and all who will not deny their life.” 8 “For the Lord swore by his Son that those who have denied their Christ have been cut off from their life, that is, those who are going to deny him in the days to come. But to those who denied him earlier, he has been merciful because of his great compassion.”¹⁴

CHAPTER 3

1 “But you, Hermas, must no longer hold a grudge against your children. And do not neglect your sister, so that they may be cleansed from their earlier sins. They will be corrected with just discipline if you do not hold a grudge against them. Holding a grudge produces death. But you, Hermas, have had great troubles of your own because of the sins of your household, because you did not care about them. Instead you neglected them and got tangled up in your own evil business dealings.”¹⁵ 2 “But you are saved because you did not turn away from the living God, and by your simplicity and your great self-control. These things have saved you, if you hold on to them. And they save all who do such things and live in innocence and simplicity. These people will overcome all wickedness and will hold firm to eternal life.” 3 “Blessed are all who work righteousness. They will never be destroyed.”

4 “And you will say to Maximus: ‘See, tribulation is coming. If it seems right to you, deny again. The Lord is near to those who turn to him,’ as it is

13. Hermas teaches that a set time of repentance has been fixed for believers, after which there is no more. The New Testament sets no such deadline. It promises forgiveness to believers who confess their sins (1 John 1:9), though Hebrews 6:4–6 does give a stern warning about falling away. Later, in Mandate 4.3, Hermas explains his teaching as a single repentance granted to believers who sin after baptism.

14. Christians in the Roman world sometimes faced persecution, and some denied Christ under pressure. Here Hermas treats past and future denial differently. Those who denied Christ before this revelation can find mercy. Those who deny him in the coming tribulation are said to be cut off.

15. “Your sister” most likely means Hermas’s wife. Earlier, in 2.2.3, she is called the wife “who is to be your sister.” This seems to mean that from now on they will live together as brother and sister in the faith.

written in the book of Eldad and Modat, who prophesied to the people in the wilderness.”¹⁶

CHAPTER 4

The revelation as to the ancient lady

¹ Brothers, while I was asleep, a revelation was given to me by a very handsome young man. He said to me, “Who do you think the old woman is, from whom you received the little book?” I said, “The Sibyl.” “You are wrong,” he said. “She is not.” “Then who is she?” I said. “The church,” he said. I said to him, “Why, then, is she old?” “Because,” he said, “she was created first of all. That is why she is old. And the world was put in order for her sake.”¹⁷

The ancient lady returns

² After that I saw a vision in my house. The old woman came and asked me whether I had already given the book to the elders. I said I had not. “You have done well,” she said, “for I have words to add. When I have finished all the words, they will be made known through you to all the chosen.” ³ “So write two little books, and send one to Clement and one to Grapte. Clement will send his to the cities abroad, for that has been entrusted to him. Grapte will instruct the widows and orphans. And you will read yours in this city, with the elders who lead the church.”¹⁸

VISION 3

CHAPTER 1

The ancient lady comes again

¹ The third vision that I saw, brothers, was like this. ² I had fasted often and asked the Lord to show me the revelation he had promised to show me through that old woman. That same night the old woman appeared to me

16. Eldad and Modat are the two men called Eldad and Medad in Numbers 11:26–29, who prophesied in the camp. The book quoted here, a writing under their names, has not survived.

17. The Sibyl was a legendary prophetess of the pagan world, and Jews and Christians also wrote “Sibylline” oracles. Hermas’s first guess shows how people in his world thought about revelations. The idea that the church existed “first of all” can be compared with Ephesians 1:4, where God chose his people “before the foundation of the world.”

18. This Clement is probably the Clement of Rome who wrote 1 Clement, but we cannot be sure. The passage shows that the church at Rome already had leaders who were called “elders,” and a person who handled letters to other churches. Nothing else is known of Grapte.

and said to me: “Since you are so eager and determined to know everything, come to the field where you farm. At about the fifth hour I will appear to you and show you what you must see.”¹⁹ ³ I asked her, “Lady, to what place in the field?” “Wherever you like,” she said. I chose a beautiful, secluded spot. But before I spoke to her or named the place, she said to me, “I will come there, where you want.”

The couch of ivory

⁴ So, brothers, I went out to the field and counted the hours. I came to the place where I had arranged for her to come, and I saw an ivory bench set there. On the bench lay a linen cushion, and over it a cover of fine linen was spread out.²⁰ ⁵ When I saw these things lying there with no one at the place, I was astonished. Trembling took hold of me and my hair stood on end, and a kind of shudder came over me, because I was alone. So I pulled myself together, remembered the glory of God, took courage, knelt down, and confessed my sins to the Lord again, as I had before.

The six young men

⁶ Then she came with six young men whom I had also seen before. She stood by me and listened to me praying and confessing my sins to the Lord. She touched me and said, “Hermas, stop asking about your sins all the time. Ask about righteousness too, so that you can take some part of it to your household.” ⁷ She lifted me up by the hand and led me to the bench, and said to the young men, “Go and build.” ⁸ 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.” “Do as I tell you,” she said. “Sit down.”

Hermas and the couch; The place of the martyrs

⁹ When I wanted to sit on the right side, she did not let me, but motioned with her hand for me to sit on the left. I was thinking about this and feeling hurt that she did not let me sit on the right, and she said to me, “Are you upset, Hermas? The place on the right is for others, those who have already pleased God and have suffered for the sake of the name. You are far from being able to sit with them. But stay as you are in your simplicity, and you will

19. The Greek verb behind “where you farm” is rare and its exact sense is uncertain. It may be connected with growing grain.

20. The Greek word for “bench” is borrowed from the Latin *subsellium*, a bench or seat.

sit with them, along with all who do their works and endure what they endured.”

CHAPTER 2

¹ “What did they endure?” I asked. “Listen,” she said. “Whips, prisons, great tribulations, crosses, wild animals, for the sake of the name. That is why the places on the right of the holy place belong to them, and to anyone who suffers for the name. The rest have the places on the left. But for both, those who sit on the right and those who sit on the left, the gifts and promises are the same. The only difference is that they sit on the right and have a certain glory.”²¹ ² “You want very much to sit on the right with them, but your shortcomings are many. You will be cleansed from your shortcomings. And all who are not double-minded will be cleansed from all their sins up to this day.” ³ After saying this she wanted to leave. But I fell at her feet and begged her, by the Lord, to show me the vision she had promised.

The vision of the town

⁴ She took my hand again, lifted me up, and sat me on the couch on the left, and she sat on the right. She lifted a shining rod and said to me, “Do you see something great?” I said to her, “Lady, I see nothing.” She said to me, “Look, don’t you see a great tower in front of you, being built over water with shining square stones?” ⁵ The tower was being built as a square by the six young men who had come with her. Tens of thousands of other men were bringing stones, some from the deep and some from the land, and handing them to the six young men. They took them and built.

The stones

⁶ All the stones that were dragged up from the deep they set directly into the building, for they were already shaped and fit together with the others. They joined to each other so tightly that their joints could not be seen. The tower looked as though it had been built from a single stone. ⁷ But of the other stones, the ones brought from dry land, they threw some away and set some into the building. Others they broke up and threw far from the tower. ⁸ Many other stones lay around the tower, and they did not use them for the building. Some of them were scabby, others had cracks, others were cut short, and others were white and round and did not fit into the building. ⁹ I

21. Compare Mark 10:35–40, where James and John ask to sit at Jesus’ right and left. Jesus answers by speaking of the suffering they will share with him.

saw other stones thrown far from the tower. They came onto the road but did not stay on it, and rolled off the road into rough, pathless ground. Others fell into the fire and burned. Others fell near the water and could not roll into it, though they wanted to roll and get into the water.

CHAPTER 3

The explanation of the vision

¹ After showing me these things, she wanted to hurry away. I said to her, “Lady, what good is it to me to have seen these things and not know what they mean?” She answered, “You are a clever fellow, wanting to know about the tower.” “Yes, lady,” I said, “so that I can tell the brothers, so that they may become more cheerful, and hearing these things may know the Lord in great glory.” ² She said, “Many will hear. Some of them will rejoice when they hear, and some will weep. But even these, if they hear and repent, will rejoice. So listen to the parables of the tower, for I will reveal everything to you. And do not trouble me anymore about revelations. These revelations are finished; they have been completed. But you will not stop asking for revelations, for you are shameless.”²²

The tower

³ “The tower that you see being built is I, the church, who have appeared to you now and before. So ask whatever you want about the tower, and I will reveal it to you, so that you can rejoice with the saints.”²³ ⁴ I said to her, “Lady, since you have once considered me worthy to have everything revealed to me, reveal it.” She said to me, “Whatever can be revealed to you will be revealed. Only let your heart be turned toward God, and do not be double-minded about whatever you see.” ⁵ I asked her, “Why is the tower built on water, lady?” “I told you before,” she said, “and you are searching carefully. By searching you find the truth. So hear why the tower is built on water: because your life was saved and will be saved through water. The tower has been founded on the word of the almighty and glorious name, and it is held up by the invisible power of the Master.”²⁴

22. Hermas is told that these revelations are finished, yet more revelations follow later in the book. The author probably means that this particular series of revelations is complete.

23. The image of the church as a building made of stones (people) fits 1 Peter 2:5 and Ephesians 2:20–22.

24. “The name” may mean God’s name or the name of the Son of God; later in the book Hermas says the name of the Son of God holds up the whole world (Parables 9.14.5).

CHAPTER 4

The six young men

¹I answered her, “Lady, this is great and marvelous. But who are the six young men who are building, lady?” “They are the holy angels of God, the first created, to whom the Lord handed over all his creation to increase and build up and rule over all creation. Through them the building of the tower will be finished.”²⁵ ²“And who are the others who are bringing the stones?” “They too are holy angels of God. But these six are above them. So the building of the tower will be finished, and everyone will rejoice together around the tower and glorify God, because the building of the tower has been finished.” ³I asked her, “Lady, I would like to know what becomes of the stones, and what they mean.” She answered me, “It is not because you are worthier than everyone else that this is revealed to you. There are others ahead of you, and better than you, to whom these visions ought to have been revealed. But so that God’s name may be glorified, it has been revealed and will be revealed to you, for the sake of the double-minded, who debate in their hearts whether these things are real or not. Tell them that all these things are true, that nothing is outside the truth, and that everything is strong and sure and well founded.”

CHAPTER 5

The stones

¹“Now listen about the stones that go into the building. The stones that are square and white and fit together at the joints are the apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons who lived in the holiness of God. They watched over, taught, and served God’s chosen purely and reverently, some having fallen asleep and some still alive. They always agreed with each other, had peace among themselves, and listened to each other. That is why their joints fit together in the building of the tower.”²⁶ ²“And who are the ones dragged up from the deep and set into the building, who fit at the joints with the other stones already built in?” “These are the ones who suffered for the name of the

25. The six building angels are Hermas’s own picture. The Bible speaks of angels as servants sent to help those who will inherit salvation (Hebrews 1:14), but it never describes them as builders of the church.

26. This is one of the early lists of church ministries. Hermas speaks of “bishops” (overseers) and “deacons”, as Paul does in Philippians 1:1. The three verbs “watched over, taught, and served” match the three offices of bishop, teacher and deacon.

Lord.”³ “I want to know who the other stones are, the ones brought from dry land, lady.” She said, “The ones that go into the building without being cut are the ones the Lord tested and approved, because they walked in the Lord’s uprightness and carried out his commandments.”

⁴ “And who are the ones that are brought and placed in the building?” “They are new in the faith, and faithful. They are warned by the angels to do good, because evil has been found in them.”

The rejected stones

⁵ “And who are the ones they threw away and discarded?” “These are people who have sinned and want to repent. That is why they were not thrown far away from the tower: they will be useful for the building if they repent. So those who intend to repent will be strong in the faith if they repent now, while the tower is still being built. But once the building is finished, they will have no place anymore. They will be cast out. All they have is this: to lie beside the tower.”²⁷

CHAPTER 6

The stones which were broken up

¹ “Do you want to know about the ones broken up and thrown far from the tower? These are the sons of lawlessness. Their faith was only pretense, and none of their wickedness left them. That is why they have no salvation: they are not useful for building because of their wickedness. That is why they were broken up and thrown far away, because of the Lord’s anger, since they provoked him.”

The stones put on one side

² “As for the others, the many you saw lying about and not going into the building: of these, the scabby ones are those who have known the truth but do not remain in it.”²⁸ ³ “And who are the ones with cracks? These are people who hold things against each other in their hearts and are not at peace with each other. They wear a face of peace, but when they part from each other, their evils remain in their hearts. These are the cracks the stones have.” ⁴ “The stunted ones are people who have believed, and most of their

27. Hermas offers sinners a limited time to repent, before the tower is finished; this deadline is a distinctive feature of his book.

28. The Greek word describes a rough, scaly surface, like skin with a rash or mange.

life is lived in righteousness, but some parts of it are in lawlessness. That is why they are stunted and not whole.”

The round stones

5 “And the white, round ones that did not fit into the building, who are they, lady?” She answered me, “How long will you be foolish and senseless, asking everything and understanding nothing? These are people who have faith, but who also have the wealth of this age. When tribulation comes, because of their wealth and their business affairs, they deny their Lord.”²⁹ 6 I answered her, “Lady, when will they become useful for the building?” “When,” she said, “the wealth that leads their souls astray has been cut away from them, then they will be useful to God. A round stone cannot become square unless it is trimmed and something is cut away from it. In the same way, those who are rich in this age cannot become useful to the Lord unless their wealth is cut away from them.” 7 “Learn it from yourself first. When you were rich, you were useless. But now you are useful and helpful for life. Be useful to God. You yourself are taken from these same stones.”³⁰

CHAPTER 7

The stones thrown away from the tower

1 “As for the other stones you saw thrown far from the tower, falling onto the road and rolling off the road into the wilderness: these are people who have believed, but because of their double-mindedness they leave their true road. They think they can find a better road, and they wander and suffer, walking in the wilderness.” 2 “The ones falling into the fire and burning are people who have turned away completely from the living God. It no longer comes into their heart to repent, because of their lustful desires and the evil deeds they have done.” 3 “Do you want to know about the others, who fall near the water and cannot roll into the water? These are people who have heard the word and want to be baptized in the name of the Lord. Then, when the purity of the truth comes to their mind, they change their minds and go back again after their evil desires.”

4 So she finished the explanation of the tower.

29. This is one of the book’s main warnings: wealth and business make it hard for Christians to stay faithful under pressure. Compare Mark 10:23–25 and 1 Timothy 6:9–10.

30. The Greek of the last sentence is difficult and may be corrupt. It seems to mean that Hermas himself was once one of these stones.

The end of the rejected stones

5 Being bold, I asked her further about all these stones that had been thrown away and did not fit into the building of the tower. Was repentance open to them, and did they have a place in this tower? “Repentance is open to them,” she said, “but they cannot fit into this tower.” 6 “They will fit into another, much lesser place, and only after they have been tormented and have fulfilled the days of their sins. They will be moved because they shared in the righteous word. And then they will be moved out of the torments they suffered for the evil deeds they did. But if repentance does not come into their heart, they are not saved, because of the hardness of their hearts.”³¹

CHAPTER 8

The vision of the seven women

1 When I stopped asking her about all these things, she said to me, “Do you want to see something else?” I was very eager to see it, and I was delighted at the prospect. 2 She looked at me, smiled, and said, “Do you see seven women around the tower?” “I see them, lady,” I said. “This tower is being carried by them at the command of the Lord.”

The explanation

3 “Now listen to what they do. The first of them, the one with her hands clasped, is called Faith. Through her God’s chosen are saved.” 4 “The second, the one who wears a belt as if ready for action and who acts with courage, is called Self-control. She is the daughter of Faith. Whoever follows her is blessed in his life, because he will keep away from all evil deeds, believing that if he keeps away from all evil desire, he will inherit eternal life.” 5 “And who are the others, lady?” “They are daughters of each other. Their names are Simplicity, Knowledge, Innocence, Reverence, and Love. When you do all the works of their mother, you can live.”³²

The powers of the Virtues

6 “I would like to know, lady,” I said, “what power each of them has.” “Listen,” she said, “to the powers they have.” 7 “Their powers are held up by

31. Hermas does not say whether this torment happens in this life or after death; in Parables 6–7 (also called Similitudes), “torment” means troubles in this life, such as losses and sickness, sent to punish and correct.

32. The seven women (Faith, Self-control, Simplicity, Knowledge, Innocence, Reverence, Love) are virtues that carry the tower. Compare the chain of virtues in 2 Peter 1:5–7.

each other and follow each other, just as they were born. From Faith is born Self-control, from Self-control Simplicity, from Simplicity Innocence, from Innocence Reverence, from Reverence Knowledge, and from Knowledge Love. Their works are pure, reverent, and divine.” ⁸ “Whoever serves these women and is strong enough to hold on to their works will have his dwelling in the tower with God’s saints.”

The end

⁹ I asked her about the times, whether the end was already here. She cried out in a loud voice: “Foolish man, don’t you see the tower still being built? When the building of the tower is finished, the end will come. But it will be built up quickly. Ask me nothing more. This reminder and the renewal of your spirits are enough for you and for the saints.” ¹⁰ “But this was not revealed to you alone. You are to make it known to everyone, ¹¹ after three days, for you must understand it first. First I order you, Hermas, to speak all these words that I am going to tell you into the ears of the saints, so that when they hear them and do them, they will be cleansed from their evils, and you with them.”

CHAPTER 9

The charge of the Church

¹ “Listen to me, children. I brought you up in great simplicity, innocence, and reverence, through the mercy of the Lord who let righteousness drip down upon you, so that you would be made righteous and holy, free from all wickedness and all crookedness. But you do not want to stop your wickedness.”³³ ² “So now listen to me. Be at peace with each other, look after each other, and help each other. Do not enjoy God’s creations lavishly by yourselves, but share them also with those who are in need.”³⁴ ³ “For some people bring weakness on their bodies by eating too much, and they harm their flesh. But those who have no food suffer harm in their flesh because they do not have enough to eat, and their bodies waste away.” ⁴ “So this failure to share is harmful to you who have plenty and do not share with those in need.”

⁵ “Consider the judgment that is coming. So you who have more than enough, seek out the hungry while the tower is not yet finished. For after the

33. The speaker is the elderly woman, who was revealed in Vision 2 to be the Church. “Children” means the church’s members.

tower is finished, you will want to do good, and you will not have the chance.”³⁵ ⁶“So take care, you who boast in your wealth, in case those in need groan, and their groaning goes up to the Lord, and you are shut out with your goods outside the door of the tower.”³⁶ ⁷“So now I speak to you who lead the church and who take the seats of honor. Do not be like the poisoners. Poisoners carry their drugs in boxes, but you carry your drug and your poison in your heart.”³⁷ ⁸“You are hardened, and you do not want to cleanse your hearts and join your thinking together with a pure heart, so that you may receive mercy from the great King.”

⁹“So watch out, children, that these divisions do not rob you of your life.” ¹⁰“How can you expect to discipline the Lord’s chosen when you have no discipline yourselves? So discipline each other and be at peace with each other. Then I too can stand joyfully before the Father and give an account for all of you to the Lord.”

CHAPTER 10

The departure of the ancient lady

¹ When she stopped speaking with me, the six young men who were building came and took her away to the tower. Four others picked up the couch and also carried it to the tower. I did not see their faces, because they were turned away. ² As she left, I asked her to give me a revelation about the three forms in which she had appeared to me. She answered, “You must ask someone else about these, so that they may be revealed to you.” ³ Brothers, in the first vision last year she had appeared to me very old, sitting in a chair. ⁴ In the second vision her face was younger, though her body and hair were old, and she spoke to me standing. She was more cheerful than before. ⁵ In the third vision she was entirely young and extremely beautiful. Only her hair was old. She was completely cheerful, and she sat on a couch.

⁶ I was deeply troubled about this and wanted to understand the revelation. In a vision of the night I saw the old woman saying to me, “Every request needs humility. So fast, and you will receive what you ask from the Lord.”

34. The Greek phrase rendered “lavishly” (*ek katachymatos*) is unusual. It seems to mean “in overflowing abundance.”

35. In this vision the tower being built stands for the church (Vision 3.3.3).

36. Compare James 5:1–6, which also warns the rich that the cries of the poor reach God.

37. Compare Jesus’ warning against those who love the best seats (Matthew 23:6).

The young man

⁷ So I fasted one day, and that same night a young man appeared to me and said, “Why do you keep asking for revelations in your prayers? Be careful that you do not harm your flesh by asking so much.” ⁸ “These revelations are enough for you. Can you see greater revelations than the ones you have seen?” ⁹ I answered him, “Sir, this is all I ask: that the revelation about the three forms of the old woman may be complete.” He answered me, “How long will you people be without understanding? Your double-mindedness makes you senseless, and so does the fact that your hearts are not turned to the Lord.” ¹⁰ I answered him again, “But from you, sir, we will learn about them more accurately.”

CHAPTER 11

The three forms of the ancient lady

¹ “Listen,” he said, “to what I have to say about the forms you are asking about.” ² “Why did she appear to you in the first vision as an older woman, sitting in a chair? Because your spirit is old and already withered and has no power, because of your weaknesses and double-mindedness.” ³ “For old people no longer have hope of becoming young again, and they expect nothing but their last sleep. In the same way you too, weakened by the affairs of this life, gave yourselves up to listlessness and did not throw your cares on the Lord. Instead your mind was broken, and you grew old in your sorrows.”³⁸ [*1 Peter 5:7*] ⁴ “Then why was she sitting in a chair, sir? I would like to know.” “Because anyone who is sick sits in a chair because of his weakness, so that the weakness of his body may be supported. There you have the meaning of the figure in the first vision.”

CHAPTER 12

¹ “In the second vision you saw her standing, with a younger and more cheerful face than before, but with the body and hair of an older woman. Listen to this parable too,” he said. ² “Suppose an older man has already given up hope for himself because of his weakness and poverty, and expects nothing but the last day of his life. Then suddenly an inheritance is left to him. He hears it and gets up, and filled with joy puts on strength. He no longer lies down but stands, and his spirit, already worn out by his earlier

38. “Throw your cares on the Lord” echoes Psalm 55:22 and 1 Peter 5:7.

ways, is renewed. He no longer sits but takes courage. In the same way you also, when you heard the revelation the Lord revealed to you,” ³ “that he had compassion on you, he renewed your spirits, and you laid aside your weaknesses. Strength came to you and you were made strong in faith. The Lord saw that you had been made strong, and he rejoiced. That is why he showed you the building of the tower, and he will show you other things if you are at peace among yourselves with your whole heart.”

CHAPTER 13

¹ “In the third vision you saw her younger, beautiful, and cheerful, and her form was beautiful.” ² “For suppose someone who is grieving receives good news. At once he forgets his earlier sorrows and gives his mind to nothing but the news he has heard. From then on he is strengthened for what is good, and his spirit is renewed because of the joy he has received. In the same way you have received renewal of your spirits by seeing these good things.” ³ “And that you saw her sitting on a couch means that the position is strong, for a couch has four feet and stands firmly. Even the world is held together by four elements.”³⁹ ⁴ “So those who have repented will become completely young again and firmly founded: those who have repented with their whole heart. You have the complete revelation. Do not ask anything more about revelation. If anything is needed, it will be revealed to you.”

VISION 4

CHAPTER 1

The vision of the Leviathan

¹ The fourth vision I saw, brothers, came twenty days after the previous vision. It was a picture of the tribulation that is coming. ² I was going into the country along the Via Campana. The place is about ten stades from the public road, and it is easy to get to.⁴⁰ ³ As I walked along by myself, I asked the Lord to complete the revelations and visions he had shown me through his holy church. I asked him to strengthen me and to give repentance to his servants who had stumbled, so that his great and glorious name would be glori-

39. The “four elements” are those of Greek natural philosophy: earth, water, air, and fire.

40. The Via Campana was a road leading out of Rome. It is usually thought to have run along the right bank of the Tiber toward the coast. A stade was about 185 meters, so ten stades is a little under two kilometers.

fied, because he had considered me worthy to be shown his wonders. [*Psalm 100*] 4 While I was glorifying him and thanking him, something like the sound of a voice answered me: “Do not be double-minded, Hermas.” I began to think to myself and say, “How could I be double-minded, when I have been so firmly founded by the Lord and have seen such glorious things?”⁴¹

5 I went a little further, brothers, and look, I saw a cloud of dust that seemed to reach the sky. I began to say to myself, “Could it be cattle coming and raising the dust?” It was about a stade away from me. 6 As the dust grew bigger and bigger, I suspected it was something supernatural. The sun shone out a little, and look, I saw an enormous beast, like some sea monster, with fiery locusts coming out of its mouth. The beast was about a hundred feet long, and its head looked like pottery.⁴² 7 I began to cry and ask the Lord to rescue me from it. And I remembered the word I had heard: “Do not be double-minded, Hermas.” 8 So, brothers, clothing myself with faith in the Lord and remembering the great things he had taught me, I took courage and went straight toward the beast. The beast came on with such a rushing roar that it could have destroyed a city.

9 I came close to it, and this huge sea monster stretched itself out on the ground and put out nothing but its tongue. It did not move at all until I had gone past it. 10 On its head the beast had four colors: black, then the color of fire and blood, then gold, then white.⁴³

CHAPTER 2

The ancient lady

1 After I had passed the beast and gone on about thirty feet, look, a young woman met me, dressed as though she were coming out of a bridal room. She was entirely in white, with white sandals, veiled to the forehead, with a headband for a veil. Yet her hair was white. 2 From the earlier visions I knew that it was the church, and I became more cheerful. She greeted me, saying, “Greetings, man.” And I greeted her back: “Greetings, lady.”⁴⁴ 3 She answered, “Did nothing meet you?” I said to her, “Lady, such a huge beast,

41. “Double-minded” (Greek *dipsychos*) means wavering between trust and doubt. It is one of Hermas’s favorite words. The same adjective appears in James 1:8 and 4:8.

42. The Greek word (*keramos*) can mean an earthenware jar or a roof tile, so the exact picture is unclear.

43. The four colors are explained later in this vision (4.3).

44. The church’s bridal appearance (4.2.1) recalls Revelation 21:2, where the new Jerusalem comes down “as a bride adorned for her husband.”

one that could destroy whole peoples! But by the power of the Lord and by his great mercy, I escaped it.” ⁴ “You escaped well,” she said, “because you threw your care on God and opened your heart to the Lord, believing that you can be saved by nothing except the great and glorious name. That is why the Lord sent his angel who is over the beasts, whose name is Thegri, and shut its mouth so that it would not harm you. You escaped a great tribulation because of your faith, and because you were not double-minded when you saw such a beast.”⁴⁵ [*Daniel 6:22*]

The explanation of the Leviathan

⁵ “So go and explain his great deeds to the Lord’s chosen ones. Tell them that this beast is a picture of the great tribulation to come. If you prepare yourselves beforehand and turn to the Lord in repentance with all your heart, you will be able to escape it. But your heart must become pure and without blemish, and you must serve the Lord blamelessly for the rest of your life. Throw your cares on the Lord, and he will set them right.”⁴⁶

⁶ “You who are double-minded, believe the Lord: believe that he can do all things, that he turns his anger away from you, and that he sends scourges on you who are double-minded. Woe to those who hear these words and ignore them. It would have been better for them not to have been born.”⁴⁷

CHAPTER 3

The four colours on the Leviathan

¹ I asked her about the four colors the beast had on its head. She answered me, “You are curious again about such things.” “Yes, lady,” I said, “tell me what these are.” ² “Listen,” she said. “The black is this world in which you live.” ³ “The fiery and bloody part means that this world must be destroyed by blood and fire.” ⁴ “The golden part is you, who have escaped this world. Just as gold is tested by fire and becomes useful, so you who live among these things are being tested. Those of you who remain and pass through their fire will be purified. Just as gold throws off its dross, so you will throw off all sorrow and distress. You will be purified and will be useful for building the

45. Thegri is the angel set over wild beasts. The name is not known from any other source, and the manuscripts spell it in different ways. Compare *Daniel 6:22*, where God’s angel shuts the lions’ mouths.

46. “Throw your cares on the Lord” echoes *Psalm 55:22* (54:23 in the Greek Old Testament) and *1 Peter 5:7*.

47. The last sentence echoes Jesus’ words about Judas in *Matthew 26:24* and *Mark 14:21*.

tower.”⁴⁸ ⁵ “The white part is the age to come, in which God’s chosen will live. For those chosen by God for eternal life will be spotless and pure.”

⁶ “So do not stop speaking into the ears of the saints. You also have the picture of the great tribulation to come. But if you are willing, it will be nothing. Remember what was written before.” ⁷ After saying this she left, and I did not see where she went, for a cloud came up. I turned back in fear, thinking the beast was coming.

VISION 5: THE SHEPHERD COMES

CHAPTER 1

The coming of the shepherd

¹ While I was praying at home and sitting on my couch, a man came in who was glorious in appearance and dressed like a shepherd. He wore a white goatskin and had a bag on his shoulders and a staff in his hand. He greeted me, and I greeted him back.⁴⁹ ² At once he sat down next to me and said, “I was sent by the most venerable angel to live with you for the rest of the days of your life.”⁵⁰ ³ I thought he had come to test me, and I said to him, “Who are you? I know the one to whom I was handed over.” He said to me, “Don’t you recognize me?” “No,” I said. “I am the shepherd,” he said, “to whom you were handed over.” ⁴ While he was still speaking, his appearance changed, and I recognized him. He was the one to whom I had been handed over. At once I was confused. Fear took hold of me, and I was completely broken with grief, because I had answered him so badly and foolishly.

⁵ He answered me, “Do not be confused, but strengthen yourself in my commandments, which I am about to give you. I was sent to show you again everything you saw before, the main points that are useful for you. First of all, write down my commandments and the parables. The rest you will write as I show you. That is why I order you to write down the commandments and parables first: so that you can have them at hand to read, and be able to keep them.” ⁶ So I wrote down the commandments and parables, as he had ordered me. ⁷ If you hear them and keep them, walk in them, and do them

48. Compare 1 Peter 1:6–7, where faith is tested by trials as gold is tested by fire.

49. This is the Shepherd who gives the book its name. In 5.1.7 Hermas calls him “the angel of repentance.”

50. “The most venerable angel” is not named. Some readers have taken him to be Christ, others Michael, but Hermas does not say.

with a pure heart, you will receive from the Lord all he promised you. But if you hear them and do not repent, but go on adding to your sins, you will receive the opposite from the Lord. The shepherd, the angel of repentance, ordered me to write all these things down in this way.

MANDATE 1

CHAPTER 1

Belief in God

¹ First of all, believe that God is one. He created all things and put them in order, and he made all things come into being out of what did not exist. He contains everything, but he alone cannot be contained.⁵¹ ² So believe him and fear him, and in fear practice self-control. Keep these things, and you will throw all wickedness away from yourself and put on every virtue of righteousness, and live to God, if you keep this commandment.

MANDATE 2

CHAPTER 1

Simplicity

¹ He said to me, “Have simplicity and be innocent, and you will be like children who do not know the evil that destroys people’s lives.” ² “First, do not speak against anyone, and do not listen with pleasure to someone who does. Otherwise you who listen will also be guilty of the sin of the one who slanders, if you believe the slander you hear. For if you believe it, you too will hold something against your brother. In this way you will be guilty of the sin of the one who slanders.” [*James 4:11*]

Evil-speaking

³ “Slander is evil. It is a restless demon, never at peace, always living among divisions. So keep away from it, and you will always enjoy well-being with everyone.” ⁴ “Put on reverence. In it there is nothing evil to stumble over; everything is smooth and cheerful. Do good, and from the earnings God gives you, give simply to all who are in need, without hesitating over whom

51. This is the first Mandate (commandment). Irenaeus quotes it as “Scripture,” without naming Hermas (*Against Heresies* 4.20.2), and Origen and others also valued it highly. Compare Ephesians 4:6.

to give to and whom not to. Give to everyone, for God wants gifts to be given to all from his own bounty.” ⁵ “Those who receive will give an account to God of why they received and for what. Those who receive because they are in distress will not be judged, but those who receive hypocritically will pay the penalty.” ⁶ “So the giver is innocent. For he received from the Lord this service to carry out, and he carried it out simply, without making distinctions about whom to give to and whom not. So this service, done simply, was honored by God. Whoever serves simply in this way will live to God.”

⁷ “So keep this commandment as I have told you, so that your repentance and that of your household may be found in simplicity, and your innocence pure and undefiled.”

MANDATE 3

CHAPTER 1

Truth

¹ Again he said to me, “Love truth, and let all truth come out of your mouth, so that the spirit God made to live in this flesh may be found true by all people. In this way the Lord who lives in you will be glorified, for the Lord is true in every word and with him there is no falsehood.” ² “So those who lie reject the Lord and defraud him, because they do not hand back to him the deposit they received. For they received from him a spirit that does not lie. If they give it back as a lying spirit, they have defiled the Lord’s commandment and have defrauded him.” ³ When I heard this, I wept bitterly. When he saw me weeping, he said, “Why are you crying?” “Because, sir,” I said, “I do not know whether I can be saved.” “Why?” he said. “Because, sir, I have never in my life spoken a true word. I have always spoken deceitfully with everyone, and I presented my lie as truth to everyone. No one ever contradicted me. They believed my word. So how, sir, can I live after doing this?”

⁴ “You are thinking well and truly,” he said. “For as God’s servant you should have walked in truth. An evil conscience should not live with the spirit of truth, nor should grief be brought on the holy and true spirit.” “Sir,” I said, “I have never properly heard such words before.” ⁵ “Now you are hearing them,” he said. “Keep them. Then, when what you say now is found to be true, even the lies you told earlier in your business can become trust-

worthy. For those too can become trustworthy. If you keep these things and from now on speak all truth, you will be able to secure life for yourself. And whoever hears this commandment and keeps away from lying, that most evil thing, will live to God.”

MANDATE 4

CHAPTER 1

Purity

¹“I command you,” he said, “to keep purity, and do not let any thought come into your heart about another man’s wife, or about sexual immorality, or any such evil things. For when you do this, you commit a great sin. But if you always remember your own wife, you will never go wrong.” ²“For if this thought comes into your heart, you will go wrong, and if other evil thoughts like it come, you commit sin. For this thought is a great sin for a servant of God. And if someone does this evil deed, he brings death on himself.” ³“So watch out. Keep away from this thought. For where holiness lives, lawlessness ought not to come up into the heart of a righteous man.”

Man and wife

⁴I said to him, “Sir, allow me to ask you a few questions.” “Ask,” he said. “Sir,” I said, “if a man has a wife who is a believer in the Lord, and he discovers that she has committed adultery, does the husband sin by living with her?” ⁵“As long as he does not know, he does not sin,” he said. “But if the husband knows about her sin, and the wife does not repent but persists in her immorality, and the husband keeps living with her, he becomes guilty of her sin and shares in her adultery.” ⁶“What, then, sir,” I said, “should the husband do if the wife keeps on in this passion?” “Let him divorce her,” he said, “and let the husband live by himself. But if he divorces his wife and marries another, he also commits adultery.” [*Mark 10:11; Matthew 5:32; Matthew 19:9; 1 Corinthians 7:11*] ⁷“If, then, sir,” I said, “after the wife has been divorced she repents and wants to return to her own husband, will she not be taken back?”

⁸“Certainly,” he said. “If the husband does not take her back, he sins and brings a great sin on himself. The one who has sinned and repents must be taken back, but not many times. For God’s servants have only one repentance. So, for the sake of her repentance, the husband should not marry someone else. This course of action applies to both wife and husband.” ⁹“It

is not only adultery,” he said, “if someone defiles his flesh. Whoever does the same things the pagans do also commits adultery. So if someone persists in such deeds and does not repent, keep away from him and do not live with him. Otherwise you also share in his sin.” ¹⁰ “That is why you were commanded to live by yourselves, whether husband or wife, for repentance is possible in such cases.” ¹¹ “So I am not,” he said, “giving an excuse for this kind of thing to be carried on. I say this so that the one who has sinned will sin no more. As for his earlier sin, there is one who can give healing, for he is the one who has authority over all things.”

CHAPTER 2

¹ I asked him again: “Since the Lord has considered me worthy to have you live with me always, put up with a few more words from me. For I understand nothing, and my heart has been hardened by my earlier deeds. Help me understand, because I am very foolish and understand nothing at all.” [Mark 6: 52] ² He answered me, “I am set over repentance, and I give understanding to all who repent. Don’t you think that repenting is itself understanding? To repent,” he said, “is great understanding. For the one who has sinned understands that he has done evil before the Lord, and the deed he did comes up in his heart, and he repents and no longer does evil, but does good lavishly, and humbles his own soul and torments it because he sinned. You see, then, that repentance is great understanding.” ³ “That is why, sir,” I said, “I am asking you for everything in detail. First, because I am a sinner, so that I may know what deeds I should do in order to live, since my sins are many and varied.”

⁴ “You will live,” he said, “if you keep my commandments and walk in them. And whoever hears these commandments and keeps them will live to God.”

CHAPTER 3

Repentance for sin after baptism

¹ “Sir,” I said, “I will go on to ask something more.” “Speak,” he said. “Sir,” I said, “I have heard from some teachers that there is no other repentance except the one when we went down into the water and received forgiveness of our earlier sins.” ² He said to me, “You heard correctly. For that is how it is. For someone who has received forgiveness of sins should not sin again, but live in purity.” ³ “But since you are asking about everything in detail, I will

explain this to you as well, without giving an excuse to those who are going to believe or who have recently believed in the Lord. For those who have recently believed or are going to believe do not have repentance for sins. But they do have forgiveness of their earlier sins.”⁴ “So for those who were called before these days, the Lord has set repentance. For the Lord knows the heart and knows everything beforehand. He knew the weakness of people and the cunning of the devil, and that the devil would do some harm to God’s servants and act wickedly toward them.”

⁵ “So the Lord, being very compassionate, had compassion on his creation, and set this repentance. And the authority over this repentance was given to me.”⁶ “But I tell you,” he said, “that after that great and holy calling, if someone is tempted by the devil and sins, he has one repentance. But if he keeps on sinning and repenting, it does that person no good, for he will scarcely live.”⁵² ⁷ I said to him, “I have been given new life by hearing these things so precisely from you. For I know that if I no longer add to my sins, I will be saved.” “You will be saved,” he said, “and so will all who do these things.”

CHAPTER 4

Second marriages

¹ I asked him again, “Sir, since you are putting up with me, explain this to me as well.” “Speak,” he said. “Sir,” I said, “if a wife, or a husband, dies, and the one who is left marries again, does the one who marries sin?”² “He does not sin,” he said. “But if he remains single, he gains greater honor and great glory with the Lord. Yet if he does marry, he does not sin.”⁵³ ³ “So keep purity and reverence, and you will live to God. From now on, from the day you were handed over to me, keep everything I tell you and will tell you, and I will live in your house.”⁴ “And there will be forgiveness for your earlier sins if you keep my commandments. And there will be forgiveness for everyone if they keep these commandments of mine and walk in this purity.”

52. This is one of the best-known and most debated teachings of the book. After baptism there is a single further chance of repentance, which Hermas presents as offered to those already called. Tertullian, writing later as a Montanist (*On Modesty* 10, 20), attacked the book from the opposite side: he thought it too lenient and called it the “Shepherd of adulterers.” The New Testament promises forgiveness to believers who confess their sins (1 John 1:9) and speaks of Christ as their advocate when they sin (1 John 2:1), with no such limit.

53. Compare 1 Corinthians 7:8–9, 39–40. Like Paul, Hermas says remarriage after a spouse’s death is not sin, while counting remaining single as the better course.

MANDATE 5

CHAPTER 1

Long-suffering

¹ “Be patient and understanding,” he said, “and you will overcome all evil deeds and do all righteousness.”⁵⁴ ² “For if you are patient, the Holy Spirit who lives in you will be pure, not darkened by another, evil spirit. Living in a roomy place, he will rejoice and be glad with the vessel in which he lives, and will serve God with great cheerfulness, having well-being in himself.”⁵⁵

Against ill temper

³ “But if any quick temper comes in, the Holy Spirit, being delicate, is immediately cramped, since the place is not clean, and he seeks to leave the place. For he is choked by the evil spirit and has no room to serve the Lord as he wants, being defiled by quick temper. For the Lord lives in patience, but the devil lives in quick temper.” ⁴ “So when both spirits live in the same place, it is bad and harmful for the person in whom they live.” ⁵ “If you take a very little wormwood and pour it into a jar of honey, isn’t all the honey ruined? Isn’t so much honey spoiled by the smallest bit of wormwood? The wormwood destroys the sweetness of the honey, and the master no longer values it as he did, because it has turned bitter and lost its usefulness. But if wormwood is not put into the honey, the honey stays sweet and is useful to its master.”

⁶ “You see that patience is sweeter than honey and is useful to the Lord, and he lives in it. But quick temper is bitter and useless. So if quick temper is mixed with patience, patience is defiled, and its prayer is no longer useful to God.” ⁷ “Sir,” I said, “I would like to know how quick temper works, so that I can guard against it.” “Yes indeed,” he said, “if you and your household do not guard against it, you have lost all your hope. But guard against it, for I am with you. And all who repent with their whole heart will keep away from it. For I will be with them and keep them safe, for they have all been justified by the most venerable angel.”⁵⁶

54. This begins the fifth Mandate (Commandment), which is about patience and quick temper.

55. “The vessel” is the person in whom the Spirit lives. For the Holy Spirit living in the believer, compare 1 Corinthians 6:19.

CHAPTER 2

¹ “Now listen,” he said, “to how quick temper works, how evil it is, how it overturns my servants by its working, and how it leads them away from righteousness. But it does not lead away those who are full of faith, and it cannot work against them, because my power is with them. It leads away the empty and the double-minded.”⁵⁷ ² “When it sees such people at peace, it forces its way into that person’s heart. Then, over nothing, the man or woman becomes bitter: over daily affairs, or food, or some petty matter, or a friend, or giving or receiving, or other silly things like these. For all these things are silly and empty and foolish and useless to God’s servants.” ³ “But patience is great and strong. It has power that is solid and thrives in a wide, open space. It is cheerful, joyful, and free of worry, praising the Lord at all times. It has nothing bitter in itself, and it always remains gentle and calm. So this patience lives with those who have complete faith.”

⁴ “But quick temper is first of all silly, light, and foolish. Then from foolishness comes bitterness, from bitterness anger, from anger wrath, and from wrath rage. Then this rage, built up from so many evils, becomes a great and incurable sin.” ⁵ “For when these spirits live in one vessel where the Holy Spirit also lives, the vessel cannot hold them, but overflows.” ⁶ “So the delicate Spirit, not used to living with an evil spirit or with harshness, leaves such a person and seeks to live with gentleness and calm.” ⁷ “Then, when he leaves the person in whom he lived, that person becomes empty of the righteous Spirit. From then on he is filled with evil spirits and is unstable in everything he does. He is pulled back and forth by the evil spirits and is completely blinded to good thinking. This is what happens to all who are quick-tempered.”⁵⁸ ⁸ “So keep away from quick temper, the most evil spirit. Put on patience, and stand against quick temper and bitterness, and you will be found with the reverence that is loved by the Lord. So be careful that you do not neglect this commandment. For if you master this commandment, you will also be able to keep the other commandments I am going to give you. Be

56. Hermas does not say who “the most venerable angel” is, and scholars disagree; some think of Michael, others of the Son of God. In the New Testament, people are justified by God through Christ (Romans 3:24–26), not by an angel.

57. “Double-minded” is a favorite word of Hermas. The same Greek word appears in James 1:8 and 4:8.

58. Compare the picture in Matthew 12:43–45 of a person left empty and then filled with evil spirits.

strong in them and be strengthened, and let all be strengthened who want to walk in them.”

MANDATE 6

CHAPTER 1

Expansion of the first Mandate

¹ “I commanded you,” he said, “in the first commandment to keep faith, fear, and self-control.” “Yes, sir,” I said. “But now,” he said, “I also want to show you their powers, so that you understand what power and working each one has. For their workings are of two kinds. They apply to what is righteous and to what is unrighteous.”⁵⁹ ² “So believe what is righteous, but do not believe what is unrighteous. For what is righteous has a straight way, but what is unrighteous has a crooked one. But you, walk on the straight and level way, and leave the crooked one alone.” ³ “For the crooked way has no tracks, only pathless ground and many stumbling blocks, and it is rough and thorny. So it is harmful to those who walk on it.” ⁴ “But those who walk the straight way walk smoothly and without stumbling. For it is neither rough nor thorny. You see, then, that it is more beneficial to walk this way.”

⁵ “It pleases me, sir,” I said, “to walk this way.” “You will walk it,” he said, “and whoever turns to the Lord with his whole heart will walk in it.”

[*Joel 2:12*]

CHAPTER 2

Faith

¹ “Now listen,” he said, “about faith. There are two angels with a person, one of righteousness and one of wickedness.”⁶⁰ ² “How, then, sir,” I said, “will I know what they do, since both angels live with me?” ³ “Listen,” he said, “and you will understand them. The angel of righteousness is gentle, modest, mild, and quiet. When he comes up into your heart, he immediately speaks with you about righteousness, purity, reverence, contentment, every righteous deed, and every glorious virtue. When all these things come up

59. This is the sixth Mandate. The first commandment (6.1) told Hermas to believe in God, fear him and practise self-control.

60. Similar ideas appear in Jewish writings of the period, such as the Dead Sea Scrolls’ Community Rule, which speaks of two spirits of truth and falsehood. Barnabas 18 also sets angels of light and angels of Satan over the two ways. Scripture speaks of the struggle between flesh and Spirit (Galatians 5:17), but it does not teach that two angels dwell with each person.

into your heart, know that the angel of righteousness is with you. These are the works of the angel of righteousness. So believe him and his works.”

⁴ “Now look at the works of the angel of wickedness. First of all, he is quick-tempered, bitter, and foolish, and his works are evil and bring ruin on God’s servants. So when he comes up into your heart, know him by his works.”

⁵ “Sir,” I said, “I don’t know how to recognize him.” “Listen,” he said. “When quick temper or bitterness comes upon you, know that he is in you. Next come the desire for many activities, and extravagance in much food and drink, in many drinking bouts, and in all kinds of foods that are not needed. Then come desires for women and for gain, much pride and boasting, and everything like these. When these come up into your heart, know that the angel of wickedness is in you.” ⁶ “So when you recognize his works, keep away from him. Do not trust him at all, because his works are evil and harmful to God’s servants. So you have the workings of both angels. Understand them and believe the angel of righteousness,” ⁷ “but stay away from the angel of wickedness, because his teaching is evil in every action. For if someone is a faithful person, and a thought from this angel comes up into his heart, that man or woman is bound to commit some sin.”

⁸ “But on the other hand, if someone is very wicked, man or woman, and the works of the angel of righteousness come up into his heart, he is bound to do something good.” ⁹ “You see, then,” he said, “that it is good to follow the angel of righteousness, and to renounce the angel of wickedness.”

¹⁰ “This commandment explains the things that concern faith, so that you may believe the works of the angel of righteousness, and by doing them live to God. And believe that the works of the angel of wickedness are harmful. So by not doing them you will live to God.”

MANDATE 7

CHAPTER 1

Fear

¹ “Fear the Lord,” he said, “and keep his commandments. By keeping God’s commandments you will be strong in everything you do, and your conduct will be beyond compare. For by fearing the Lord you will do everything well. This is the fear you must have, and so be saved.”⁶¹ ² “But do not fear the devil. For by fearing the Lord you will have mastery over the devil, since there is

no power in him. And where there is no power, there is no fear either. But where there is glorious power, there is fear too. For everyone who has power inspires fear. But the one who has no power is despised by everyone.”⁶² ³ “But fear the devil’s works, because they are evil. So if you fear the Lord, you will not do them, but will keep away from them.” ⁴ “So there are two kinds of fear. If you want to do evil, fear the Lord, and you will not do it. And if you want to do good, fear the Lord, and you will do it. So the fear of the Lord is strong, great, and glorious. So fear the Lord, and you will live to him. And all who fear him and keep his commandments will live to God.”

⁵ “Why, sir,” I said, “did you say about those who keep his commandments, ‘They will live to God?’” “Because,” he said, “all creation fears the Lord, but does not keep his commandments. So those who fear him and keep his commandments have life with God. But those who do not keep his commandments have no life in him.”

MANDATE 8

CHAPTER 1

Temperance

¹ “I told you,” he said, “that God’s creations are of two kinds. And self-control is also of two kinds. For there are some things you must restrain yourself from, and some things you must not.”⁶³ ² “Show me, sir,” I said, “what we must restrain ourselves from and what we must not.” “Listen,” he said. “Restrain yourself from what is evil, and do not do it. But do not restrain yourself from what is good; do it. For if you hold back from doing good, you commit a great sin. But if you hold back from doing evil, you do great righteousness. So hold back from all evil, and do good.” ³ “What, sir,” I said, “are the evils we must hold back from?” “Listen,” he said. “From adultery and sexual immorality, from lawless drunkenness, from wicked luxury, from overindulgence in food, from lavish spending of wealth, from boasting, arrogance, and pride, and from lying, slander, hypocrisy, holding grudges, and all blasphemy.”

⁴ “These are the most evil deeds in human life. So God’s servant must hold back from these deeds. For whoever does not hold back from these can-

61. This is the seventh Mandate. Its opening words echo Ecclesiastes 12:13 (“Fear God and keep his commandments”). “Fear” here means reverence for God, as in Proverbs 1:7.

62. Compare James 4:7: “Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.”

not live to God. So hear also the things that come next after these.” ⁵ “Sir,” I said, “are there still other evil deeds?” “Yes, many,” he said, “from which God’s servant must hold back: theft, lying, fraud, false witness, greed, evil desire, deceit, vanity, boasting, and everything like these.” ⁶ “Do you not think these are evil?” “Very evil,” I said, “for God’s servants.” “The one who serves God must hold back from all these. So hold back from all these, so that you may live to God and be enrolled among those who hold back from them. So these are the things you must hold back from.” ⁷ “Now hear what you must not hold back from but do,” he said. “Do not hold back from what is good, but do it.”

⁸ “Explain to me too, sir,” I said, “the power of the good things, so that I may walk in them and serve them, and so that by doing them I may be saved.” “Listen also,” he said, “to the good works that you must do and not hold back from.” ⁹ “First of all: faith, the fear of the Lord, love, harmony, words of righteousness, truth, and patience. Nothing is better than these in the life of people. If someone keeps these things and does not hold back from them, he becomes blessed in his life.” ¹⁰ “Then hear what follows: to serve widows; to look after orphans and those in need; to ransom God’s servants from their distress; to be hospitable, for doing good is found in hospitality; to oppose no one; to be calm; to become poorer than all people; to respect the elderly; to practice justice; to preserve brotherhood; to bear insult; to be patient; to hold no grudge; to encourage those who are weary in soul; not to cast off those who have stumbled in the faith, but to bring them back and cheer them; to warn those who sin; not to oppress debtors and the needy; and anything like these.”⁶⁴

¹¹ “Do you think these are good?” he said. “What, sir,” I said, “is better than these?” “Then walk in them,” he said, “and do not hold back from them, and you will live to God.” ¹² “So keep this commandment. If you do good and do not hold back from it, you will live to God, and all who do so will live to God. And again, if you do not do evil and hold back from it, you will live to God, and all will live to God who keep these commandments and walk in them.”

63. This is the eighth Mandate.

64. Caring for widows and orphans echoes James 1:27, and the call to hospitality echoes Hebrews 13:2. Ransoming fellow Christians from captivity or slavery is also mentioned in other early Christian writings (for example, 1 Clement 55:2).

MANDATE 9

CHAPTER 1

Against double-mindedness

¹ He said to me, “Take double-mindedness away from yourself, and do not be at all double-minded about asking God for anything, saying to yourself, ‘How can I ask the Lord and receive, having sinned so much against him?’”⁶⁵

² “Do not think these things. Turn to the Lord with your whole heart and ask him without doubting, and you will know his great compassion, that he will not abandon you but will fulfill the request of your soul.” ³ “For God is not like people who hold grudges. He holds no grudge and has compassion on what he has made.” ⁴ “So cleanse your heart of all the emptiness of this age and of the words just mentioned. Then ask the Lord, and you will receive everything. You will not lack any of your requests, if you ask the Lord without doubting.” ⁵ “But if you doubt in your heart, you will receive none of your requests. For those who doubt toward God are the double-minded, and they get none of what they ask for.”

⁶ “But those who are complete in faith ask for everything, trusting in the Lord, and they receive, because they ask without doubting and are not double-minded in anything. For every double-minded person, unless he repents, will be saved with difficulty.” ⁷ “So cleanse your heart of double-mindedness and put on faith, for it is strong. Believe God that you will receive all the requests you make. And if you ever ask the Lord for something and receive it rather slowly, do not be double-minded because you did not receive the request of your soul quickly. For it is certainly because of some temptation or some wrongdoing you do not know about that you are receiving your request more slowly.” ⁸ “So do not stop asking for the request of your soul, and you will receive it. But if you give up and are double-minded in asking, blame yourself and not the one who gives to you.”

⁹ “Watch out for this double-mindedness. For it is evil and senseless, and it uproots many from the faith, even very faithful and strong people. For this double-mindedness is the devil’s daughter and does great evil to God’s servants.” ¹⁰ “So despise double-mindedness and rule over it in everything, put-

65. This is the ninth Mandate, on prayer and doubt. Compare James 1:5–8, where “double-minded” (dipsychos) is the adjective related to Hermas’s “double-mindedness” (dipsychia).

ting on strong and powerful faith. For faith promises everything and completes everything, but double-mindedness, which does not trust itself, fails in all the works it undertakes.”¹¹ “You see, then,” he said, “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.”⁶⁶ ¹² “So serve faith, which has power, and keep away from double-mindedness, which has no power, and you will live to God. And all who think this way will live to God.”

MANDATE 10

CHAPTER 1

Grief

¹ “Take grief away from yourself,” he said, “for it is also a sister of double-mindedness and quick temper.”⁶⁷ ² “How, sir,” I said, “is she their sister? It seems to me that quick temper is one thing, double-mindedness another, and grief another.” “You are senseless, man,” he said, “and do not understand that grief is more evil than all the spirits and most terrible for God’s servants. It ruins a person more than any other spirit does. It wears out the Holy Spirit, and yet it also saves.” ³ “Sir,” I said, “I am senseless and do not understand these parables. I do not see how it can wear out the Spirit and also save.” ⁴ “Listen,” he said. “Some have never inquired into the truth or sought to know about God. They have only believed, and they are mixed up with business and wealth and friendships with unbelievers and many other affairs of this age. All who are attached to these things do not understand the parables about God. For they are darkened by these activities, and they become corrupted and turn into wasteland.”

⁵ “Just as good vineyards, when they are neglected, turn to wasteland, choked by thorns and various weeds, so people who have believed, and fall into these many activities mentioned above, wander away from their understanding. They understand nothing at all about righteousness. Even when they hear about God and the truth, their mind is occupied with their business, and they understand nothing at all.” ⁶ “But some have the fear of God,

66. Compare James 3:15–17, which contrasts wisdom “from above” with wisdom that is “earthly” and “demonic.”

67. This is the tenth Mandate. The word for “grief” (*lypē*) means sadness or sorrow. Hermas goes on to say that grief harms the Holy Spirit, yet it can also lead to repentance. Compare Paul’s distinction between godly and worldly grief in 2 Corinthians 7:10.

inquire about God and the truth, and have their heart turned to the Lord. They understand and grasp everything said to them more quickly, because they have the fear of the Lord in themselves. For where the Lord lives, there is also great understanding. So hold fast to the Lord, and you will understand and grasp everything.” [Psalm 112]

CHAPTER 2

Grief and the Holy Spirit

¹ “Now listen, you senseless man,” he said, “to how grief wears out the Holy Spirit and also saves.” ² “When the double-minded person sets out on some action and fails at it because of his double-mindedness, this grief comes into the person. It grieves the Holy Spirit and wears the Spirit out.” ³ “Then again, when quick temper attaches itself to a person over some matter and he becomes very bitter, grief again comes into the heart of the quick-tempered person. He is sorry for the thing he did, and repents, because he did something evil.” ⁴ “So this grief seems to bring salvation, because after doing evil he repented. Still, both actions grieve the Spirit. Double-mindedness grieves the Spirit because the person did not succeed in what he set out to do. Quick temper grieves the Spirit because the person did evil. So both are painful to the Holy Spirit, double-mindedness and quick temper.”⁶⁸ [Ephesians 4:30]

⁵ “So take grief away from yourself, and do not afflict the Holy Spirit who lives in you, in case he pleads with God and leaves you.” ⁶ “For the Spirit of God, given to this flesh, does not put up with grief or distress.”

CHAPTER 3

Joyfulness

¹ “So put on cheerfulness, which always has favor with God and is acceptable to him, and delight in it. For every cheerful person does good things, thinks good things, and despises grief.” ² “But the gloomy person always does evil. First, he does evil because he grieves the Holy Spirit, who was given to the person as a cheerful spirit. Second, by grieving the Holy Spirit he does lawless things, since he does not pray or confess to the Lord. For the prayer of a gloomy person never has the power to go up to the altar of God.”⁶⁹ ³ “Why,” I said, “does the prayer of the gloomy person not go up to the altar?” “Be-

68. The phrase “grieve the Holy Spirit” echoes Ephesians 4:30.

69. The “grief” (lypē) Hermas condemns here is gloom or sullen sadness, treated as a vice that grieves the Holy Spirit.

cause,” he said, “grief sits in his heart. Grief, mixed with the prayer, does not let the prayer go up pure to the altar. For just as vinegar and wine mixed together do not have the same pleasant taste, so grief mixed with the Holy Spirit does not make the same prayer.”

⁴ “So cleanse yourself of this evil grief, and you will live to God. And all who throw grief off themselves and put on complete cheerfulness will live to God.”

MANDATE 11

CHAPTER 1

False and true prophets

¹ He showed me some people sitting on a bench and another man sitting on a chair, and said to me, “Do you see the ones sitting on the bench?” “I see them, sir,” I said. “These,” he said, “are faithful, and the one sitting on the chair is a false prophet, who destroys the minds of God’s servants. But it is the minds of the double-minded he destroys, not of the faithful.”⁷⁰ ² “So these double-minded people go to him as to a fortune-teller and ask him what will happen to them. And that false prophet, having no power of the divine Spirit in himself, speaks to them according to their questions and the desires of their wickedness, and fills their souls just as they wish.” ³ “For he himself is empty, and gives empty answers to the empty. Whatever he is asked, he answers according to the emptiness of the person. But he also speaks some true words, for the devil fills him with his own spirit, to see if he can break any of the righteous.”

⁴ “So all who are strong in the faith of the Lord, clothed in truth, do not attach themselves to such spirits but keep away from them. But those who are double-minded and are always repenting consult fortune-tellers as the pagans do. They bring a greater sin on themselves by their idolatry. For whoever asks a false prophet about some action is an idolater, empty of the truth, and foolish.” ⁵ “For no spirit given by God is consulted with questions. Instead, having the power of God, it speaks everything of itself, because it is from above, from the power of the divine Spirit.” ⁶ “But the spirit that is questioned and speaks according to people’s desires is earthly and light-

70. This is the eleventh Mandate, on how to tell true and false prophets apart. Compare the Didache 11–12, 1 John 4:1 and Matthew 7:15–20.

weight, with no power. And it does not speak at all unless it is asked.”
7 “How then, sir,” I said, “will a person know which of them is a prophet and which is a false prophet?” “Listen,” he said, “about both prophets. And as I am going to tell you, so you will test the prophet and the false prophet. Test the person who has the divine Spirit by his life.”

8 “First, the one who has the Spirit from above is gentle, quiet, humble, and keeps away from all evil and the empty desires of this age. He makes himself poorer than all people. He gives no answer to anyone who asks him, and does not speak privately. The Holy Spirit does not speak when a person wants to speak, but speaks when God wants him to speak.” 9 “So when the person who has the divine Spirit comes into a gathering of righteous men who have faith in the divine Spirit, and prayer is made to God by the gathering of those men, then the angel of the prophetic spirit who is assigned to him fills the person. And the person, filled with the Holy Spirit, speaks to the congregation as the Lord wishes.”⁷¹ 10 “In this way, then, the Spirit of God will be made plain. This is the power of the Lord concerning the Spirit of God.”

11 “Now listen,” he said, “about the earthly spirit that is empty, has no power, and is foolish.” 12 “First, that person who seems to have a spirit exalts himself and wants to have the seat of honor. At once he is brash, shameless, and talkative. He lives in much luxury and in many other deceptions, and he takes payment for his prophecy. If he does not get paid, he does not prophesy. Can a divine Spirit take payment and prophesy? It is not possible for a prophet of God to do this. The spirit of such prophets is earthly.”⁷² 13 “Next, he does not come near a gathering of righteous men at all, but avoids them. He attaches himself to the double-minded and empty. He prophesies to them in a corner and deceives them, saying empty things about everything, just as they want to hear. For he is giving answers to empty people. An empty jar placed with other empty jars does not break; they fit together.”

14 “But when he comes into a gathering full of righteous men who have the Spirit of God, and prayer is made by them, that person is emptied. The earthly spirit flees from him in fear, and that person is struck dumb and is completely broken, unable to say anything.” 15 “For if you store wine or oil

71. Hermas pictures Christian prophecy as happening in the gathered church, in the context of prayer. Compare 1 Corinthians 14:29–32.

72. Compare the Didache 11.6, which says an apostle who asks for money is a false prophet, and 11.12, which says not to listen to one who says in the Spirit, “Give me money.”

in a cellar, and put an empty jar among them, and then want to clear the cellar again, you will find that jar, which you put in empty, still empty. In the same way, when empty prophets come among the spirits of righteous people, they are found to be just as they came.”¹⁶ “Now you know how both kinds of prophet live. So test the person who claims to be spirit-filled by his deeds and his life.”¹⁷ “But you, believe the Spirit that comes from God and has power. Do not believe the earthly, empty spirit at all, because there is no power in it, for it comes from the devil.”

¹⁸ “Now listen to the parable I am going to tell you. Take a stone and throw it up at the sky; see if you can touch it. Or take a water squirt and squirt it at the sky; see if you can make a hole in the sky.”¹⁹ “How, sir,” I said, “can these things happen? You have named two impossible things.” “Just as these things are impossible,” he said, “so the earthly spirits are powerless and weak.”⁷³ ²⁰ “Now take the power that comes from above. Hail is a tiny pellet, and when it falls on a person’s head, how much pain it causes. Or take a drop that falls from a roof to the ground and bores through the stone.”²¹ “You see, then, that the smallest things that fall from above onto the earth have great power. In the same way the divine Spirit coming from above is powerful. So believe this Spirit, and keep away from the other.”

MANDATE 12

CHAPTER 1

Desire

¹ He said to me, “Take every evil desire away from yourself, and put on the good and holy desire. For clothed with this desire, you will hate the evil desire and rein it in as you wish.”⁷⁴ ² “For evil desire is wild and hard to tame. It is fearsome, and in its wildness it devours people. This is especially true if a servant of God falls into it and is not wise: he is terribly consumed by it. It consumes those who do not have the clothing of good desire but are mixed up with this age. It hands these over to death.”³ “What are the works of evil desire, sir,” I said, “that hand people over to death? Show me so that I can keep away from them.” “Listen,” he said, “to the works through which evil desire kills the servants of God.”

73. There is a wordplay in the Greek. The same word, *adynata*, means “impossible” when used of the two tasks and “powerless” when used of the earthly spirits.

74. This is the twelfth Mandate. Compare Romans 13:14 and Galatians 5:16.

CHAPTER 2

Carnal desires

¹“Above all is desire for another man’s wife or another woman’s husband. Then comes desire for extravagant wealth, for many useless foods and strong drinks, and for many other foolish luxuries. For every luxury is foolish and empty for God’s servants.” ²“These desires are evil, and they kill God’s servants. For this evil desire is a daughter of the devil. So you must keep away from the evil desires, so that by keeping away you may live to God.” ³“But all who are overpowered by them and do not resist them will die completely. For these desires are deadly.” ⁴“But you, put on the desire for righteousness, and armed with the fear of the Lord, stand against them. For the fear of God lives in good desire. If evil desire sees you armed with the fear of God and standing against it, it will run far away from you, afraid of your weapons, and you will not see it again.”⁷⁵

⁵“So when you have defeated it and won the crown of victory over it, go to the desire for righteousness. Hand over to her the victory you won, and serve her as she wishes. If you serve the good desire and submit to her, you will be able to master the evil desire and subdue it as you wish.”

CHAPTER 3

¹“Sir,” I said, “I wanted to know in what ways I must serve the good desire.” “Listen,” he said. “Work righteousness and virtue, truth and the fear of the Lord, faith and gentleness, and whatever good things are like these. By doing these you will be a servant well pleasing to God and will live to him. And everyone who serves the good desire will live to God.”

Conclusion of Mandates

²So he finished the twelve commandments and said to me, “You have these commandments. Walk in them and encourage those who hear, so that their repentance may be pure for the rest of the days of their life.” ³“Carry out this ministry that I give you with care, and you will accomplish much. For you will find favor with those who are about to repent, and they will be persuaded by your words. For I will be with you, and I will compel them to be persuaded by you.” ⁴I said to him, “Sir, these commandments are great, good, glorious, and able to gladden the heart of the person who can keep

75. Compare Ephesians 6:11–17 and James 4:7.

them. But I do not know whether people can keep these commandments, because they are very hard.” ⁵He answered me, “If you make up your mind that they can be kept, you will easily keep them, and they will not be hard. But if the thought has already entered your heart that they cannot be kept by a person, you will not keep them.”⁷⁶

⁶“Now I tell you: if you do not keep these but neglect them, you will not have salvation, nor your children, nor your household. For you have already decided for yourself that these commandments cannot be kept by a person.”

CHAPTER 4

¹He said this to me very angrily, so that I was confused and very afraid of him. His appearance changed, so that no human being could bear his anger.

²When he saw me completely shaken and confused, he began to speak to me more gently and cheerfully. He said, “Foolish, senseless, double-minded man, don’t you understand the glory of God, how great, strong, and wonderful it is, that he created the world for the sake of man, and put all his creation under man, and gave him all authority to rule over everything under heaven?”⁷⁷ ³“So if man,” he said, “is lord of all God’s creatures and rules over everything, can he not also rule over these commandments? The person who has the Lord in his heart,” he said, “can rule over everything, including all these commandments.” ⁴“But those who have the Lord on their lips, while their heart is hardened and they are far from the Lord: for them these commandments are hard and difficult to walk in.”⁷⁸

⁵“So you who are empty and light in faith, put your Lord in your heart, and you will know that nothing is easier than these commandments, or sweeter, or gentler.” ⁶“Turn back, you who walk in the commandments of the devil, which are difficult, bitter, wild, and shameless, and do not fear the devil, because there is no power in him against you.” ⁷“For I, the angel of repentance who rules over him, will be with you. The devil has only fear to work with, and the fear he causes has no strength. So do not fear him, and he will run from you.”

CHAPTER 5

¹I said to him, “Sir, listen to a few words from me.” “Say what you want,” he said. “Sir,” I said, “a person is eager to keep God’s commandments, and there

76. Compare 1 John 5:3: “His commandments are not burdensome.”

77. Compare Psalm 8:6 and Genesis 1:28.

is no one who does not ask the Lord to be strengthened in his commandments and submit to them. But the devil is harsh and overpowers them.”

² “He cannot,” he said, “overpower God’s servants who hope in God with their whole heart. The devil can wrestle with them, but he cannot throw them down. So if you stand against him, he will be defeated and flee from you in shame. But those who are completely empty,” he said, “fear the devil as though he had power.”⁷⁹ ³ “When someone fills a great many jars with good wine, and among those jars a few are only half full, he comes to the jars and doesn’t check the full ones, for he knows they are full. He checks the half-empty ones, afraid they have turned to vinegar. For half-empty jars quickly turn to vinegar, and the pleasure of the wine is lost.”

⁴ “In the same way the devil comes to all God’s servants to tempt them. All who are full in faith stand strongly against him, and he leaves them, because he has no place to get in. Then he goes to the half-empty ones, and finding room, he gets into them. He does what he wants in them, and they become his slaves.”

CHAPTER 6

¹ “But I, the angel of repentance, tell you: do not fear the devil. For I was sent,” he said, “to be with you who repent with your whole heart and to strengthen you in faith.” ² “So believe God, you who have given up on your life because of your sins, who keep adding to your sins and weighing down your life. Believe that if you turn to the Lord with your whole heart, and do what is right for the rest of your life, and serve him rightly according to his will, he will heal your earlier sins. Then you will have power to master the works of the devil. But do not fear the devil’s threats at all, for he has no strength, like the sinews of a dead man.” ³ “So listen to me, and fear the one who can do all things, who is able to save and to destroy. Keep these commandments, and you will live to God.”⁸⁰

⁴ I said to him, “Sir, now I have been strengthened in all the requirements of the Lord, because you are with me. I know that you will crush all the power of the devil, and we will master him and prevail over all his works. And I hope, sir, that I can keep these commandments you have given, with

78. Compare Isaiah 29:13, quoted by Jesus in Matthew 15:8: “This people honors me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.”

79. Compare James 4:7: “Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.”

80. The phrase “able to save and to destroy” echoes James 4:12. Compare also Matthew 10:28.

the Lord strengthening me.” ⁵ “You will keep them,” he said, “if your heart becomes pure toward the Lord. And all will keep them who cleanse their hearts of the empty desires of this age, and they will live to God.”

SIMILITUDE 1

CHAPTER 1

Christians are strangers in the world

¹ He said to me, “You know that you, God’s servants, are living in a foreign land. For your city is far from this city. So if you know your city, where you are going to live,” he said, “why are you preparing fields, costly furnishings, buildings, and useless dwellings here?”⁸¹ ² “So whoever prepares these things for this city cannot return to his own city.” ³ “You foolish, double-minded, wretched person, don’t you understand that all these things are foreign to you and under someone else’s authority? For the lord of this city will say, ‘I do not want you to live in my city. Leave this city, because you do not follow my laws.’” ⁴ “So you, who have fields, houses, and many other possessions, when he throws you out, what will you do with your field, your house, and the rest of what you prepared for yourself? For the lord of this country rightly says to you, ‘Either follow my laws or leave my country.’”

⁵ “So what will you do, you who have a law in your own city? Will you completely deny your law because of your fields and the rest of your property, and walk by the law of this city? Be careful that denying your law does not turn out to harm you. For if you want to return to your city, you will not be received, because you denied the law of your city, and you will be shut out from it.” ⁶ “So watch out. Since you are living in a foreign land, prepare nothing more for yourself than what is enough for you. And be ready. Then, when the master of this city wants to throw you out for opposing his law, you can leave his city and go to your own city. There you can follow your own law with joy, and no one will mistreat you.” ⁷ “So watch out, you who serve the Lord and have him in your heart. Do the works of God, remembering his commandments and the promises he made. Trust him to fulfill those promises, if his commandments are kept.”

⁸ “So instead of fields, buy souls in distress, as each of you is able. Visit widows and orphans, and do not overlook them. Spend your wealth and all

your possessions on fields and houses of this kind, which you received from God.”⁸² 9 “For the Master made you rich for this purpose, to carry out these services for him. It is much better to buy such fields, possessions, and houses, which you will find in your own city when you arrive there.”⁸³ 10 “This extravagance is good and holy. It brings no grief or fear, only joy. So do not practice the extravagance of the Gentiles, for it does you no good, since you are God’s servants.” 11 “But practice your own extravagance, in which you can rejoice. Do not counterfeit, and do not touch what belongs to someone else or desire it, for it is evil to desire what belongs to others. Do your own work, and you will be saved.”⁸⁴

SIMILITUDE 2

CHAPTER 1

Rich and poor like a vine and elm

1 As I was walking in the field, I was looking at an elm and a vine and thinking about them and their fruit. Then the shepherd appeared to me and said, “What are you puzzling over about the elm and the vine?” “I am thinking, sir,” I said, “that they suit each other very well.”⁸⁵ 2 “These two trees,” he said, “are set up as a picture for God’s servants.” “I would like to know,” I said, “what these trees you speak of picture.” “Do you see the elm and the vine?” he said. “I see them, sir,” I said. 3 “This vine,” he said, “bears fruit, but the elm is a tree without fruit. Yet if this vine does not climb up the elm, it cannot bear much fruit, because it lies sprawled on the ground. And the fruit it does bear is rotten, because it is not hanging on the elm. So when the vine is trained up onto the elm, it bears fruit both from itself and from the elm.”

4 “So you see that the elm also gives much fruit, no less than the vine, and in fact more.” “How can it give more, sir?” I said. “Because,” he said, “when the vine hangs on the elm it gives much good fruit, but when it lies on the

81. This is the first Parable (Similitude). It pictures Christians as foreigners living in this world. Compare Philippians 3:20, Hebrews 11:13–16, Hebrews 13:14 and 1 Peter 2:11.

82. Compare James 1:27. “Buying” souls in distress may mean paying to free people from slavery or captivity, or more generally spending money to relieve those in need.

83. Compare Matthew 6:19–20 and Luke 16:9.

84. The Greek word for “counterfeit” was used of forging or debasing coins. Exactly what Hermas means by it here is not clear.

85. This is the second Parable. In Roman Italy, grapevines were commonly trained to grow up elm trees.

ground it bears little fruit, and that rotten. So this parable applies to God's servants, to the poor and the rich." ⁵ "How, sir?" I said. "Explain it to me." "Listen," he said. "The rich man has money, but toward the Lord he is poor, because he is distracted by his wealth. His prayer and confession to the Lord are very small, and what he has is weak and small and has no power. But when the rich man relies on the poor man and gives him what he needs, he believes that what he does for the poor man can find a reward with God. For the poor man is rich in prayer and confession, and his prayer has great power with God. So the rich man supplies the poor man with everything, without hesitating."⁸⁶

⁶ "And the poor man, supplied by the rich man, prays to God for the one who gives to him, and thanks God. And the rich man becomes all the more eager to help the poor man, so that he is provided for without fail as long as he lives. For he knows that the poor man's prayer is acceptable to the Lord and rich before him." ⁷ "So both complete the work. The poor man works with his prayer, in which he is rich and which he received from the Lord. He gives it back to the Lord, who provides for him. In the same way the rich man, without hesitating, gives the poor man the wealth he received from the Lord. This is a great work and acceptable to God. For the rich man has shown understanding about his wealth. He has worked for the poor man out of the Lord's gifts and has carried out his service rightly."

⁸ "So in people's eyes the elm seems to bear no fruit. They do not know or understand that in a drought the elm, which holds water, feeds the vine. And the vine, having water without interruption, gives double fruit, both for itself and for the elm. In the same way the poor, praying to the Lord for the rich, make the wealth of the rich complete. And the rich, supplying the poor with what they need, make the prayers of the poor complete." ⁹ "So both become partners in the righteous work. Whoever does these things will not be abandoned by God but will be written in the books of the living."⁸⁷

¹⁰ "Blessed are those who have wealth and understand that they are enriched

86. Hermas links giving to the poor with the prayers of the poor for the giver, and speaks of the giver's reward with God. Compare Proverbs 19:17 and Luke 14:13–14. In 2 Corinthians 9:12–14, those who receive a gift thank God and pray for the givers. The New Testament roots our standing with God in grace (Ephesians 2:8–9) and treats such giving as its fruit.

87. "The book of the living" echoes Psalm 69:28. Compare the "book of life" in Philippians 4:3 and Revelation 3:5.

by the Lord. For whoever understands this will be able also to do some good service.”

SIMILITUDE 3

CHAPTER 1

¹ He showed me many trees without leaves, which seemed to me dry, for they were all alike. He said to me, “Do you see these trees?” “I see them, sir,” I said, “alike and dry.” He answered me, “These trees you see are those who live in this age.”⁸⁸ ² “Why, sir,” I said, “do they look dry and all alike?” “Because,” he said, “in this age neither the righteous nor sinners can be seen for what they are; they look alike. For this age is winter for the righteous, and since they live among sinners, they cannot be told apart.” ³ “For just as in winter trees that have shed their leaves look alike, and you can’t tell which are dry and which are alive, so in this age you cannot see who are righteous and who are sinners, but all look alike.”

SIMILITUDE 4

CHAPTER 1

The budding and withered trees

¹ He showed me again many trees, some budding and some dry, and said to me, “Do you see these trees?” “I see them, sir,” I said, “some budding, some dry.”⁸⁹ ² “These trees that are budding,” he said, “are the righteous who will live in the age to come. For the age to come is summer for the righteous, but winter for sinners. So when the mercy of the Lord shines, then those who serve God will be revealed, and everyone will be revealed.” ³ “For just as in summer the fruit of each tree is revealed and it is known what kind it is, so the fruit of the righteous will be plain, and they will all be known, flourishing in that age.” ⁴ “But the pagans and the sinners, the dry trees you saw, will be found just like them, dry and fruitless in that age. They will be burned like wood, and they will be shown for what they are, because their conduct in their lives was evil. For the sinners will be burned because they sinned and did not repent. The pagans will be burned because they did not know the one who made them.”

88. This is the third Parable.

89. This is the fourth Parable, a companion to the third.

⁵ “So you, bear fruit, so that in that summer your fruit may be known. Keep away from too much business, and you will not sin at all. For those who are busy with many things also sin much. They are distracted by their affairs and do not serve their Lord at all.” ⁶ “How, then,” he said, “can such a person ask anything from the Lord and receive it, if he does not serve the Lord? Those who serve him will receive their requests. But those who do not serve the Lord will receive nothing.” ⁷ “But if someone is occupied with only one business, he can serve the Lord too. For his mind will not be corrupted and drawn away from the Lord, but he will serve him with a pure mind.” ⁸ “So if you do this, you can bear fruit for the age to come. And whoever does this will bear fruit.”

SIMILITUDE 5

CHAPTER 1

Fasting

¹ While I was fasting, sitting on a mountain and thanking the Lord for everything he had done with me, I saw the shepherd sitting beside me, saying, “Why have you come here so early?” “Because, sir,” I said, “I am keeping a station.”⁹⁰ ² “What is a station?” he said. “I am fasting, sir,” I said. “And what is this fast you are keeping?” he said. “I am fasting the way I usually do, sir,” I said. ³ “You do not know how to fast to the Lord,” he said. “This useless fast you keep for him is not a fast.” “Why, sir,” I said, “do you say this?” “I tell you,” he said, “that what you think is fasting is not a fast at all. But I will teach you what fast is acceptable and complete to the Lord. Listen,” he said. ⁴ “God does not want such a pointless fast. For if you fast to God in this way, you accomplish nothing for righteousness. But fast to God this kind of fast:”

⁵ “Do nothing evil in your life, but serve the Lord with a pure heart. Keep his commandments, walking in his instructions, and let no evil desire come up in your heart. Trust God that if you do these things, and fear him, and keep yourself from every evil deed, you will live to God. And if you do these things, you will keep a great fast, acceptable to God.”⁹¹

90. This is the fifth Parable, on fasting. “Station” (Greek *στατίων*, from Latin *statio*, a sentry post) is a term for a fast kept as a kind of watch. Tertullian later uses it for the Wednesday and Friday fasts, and the Didache (8.1) already commands fasting on those days. Hermas does not say which day his station was.

CHAPTER 2

The parable of Fasting

¹ “Listen to the parable I am going to tell you, which goes with fasting.”

² “A man had a field and many servants, and he planted part of the field as a vineyard. He chose one servant who was faithful, pleasing to him, and held in honor. He called him over and said to him: ‘Take this vineyard that I planted and put a fence around it until I come. Do nothing else to the vineyard. Keep this command of mine, and I will give you your freedom.’ Then the servant’s master went away on a journey.” ³ “After he left, the servant took the vineyard and fenced it. When he finished fencing the vineyard, he saw that it was full of weeds.” ⁴ “So he thought to himself: ‘I have finished this command of my master. Next I will dig over this vineyard. It will look better once it is dug, and without weeds it will give more fruit, not being choked by the weeds.’ So he set to work, dug the vineyard, and pulled out all the weeds in it. And that vineyard became very beautiful and thriving, with no weeds to choke it.”

⁵ “After some time the master of the servant and of the field came and went into the vineyard. When he saw the vineyard fenced nicely, and also dug, with all the weeds pulled out and the vines thriving, he was very pleased with what the servant had done.” ⁶ “So he called his beloved son, whom he had as heir, and the friends he had as advisers, and told them what he had ordered his servant to do and what he had found done. They rejoiced with the servant for the good report the master had given him.” ⁷ “And he said to them: ‘I promised this servant his freedom if he kept the command I gave him. He kept my command and added a good work to the vineyard, and it pleased me very much. So in return for this work that he did, I want to make him a co-heir with my son, because when he thought of something good, he did not neglect it but carried it out.’”

⁸ “The master’s son agreed with this decision, that the servant should become co-heir with the son.” ⁹ “A few days later the master gave a dinner and sent him many dishes from the dinner. The servant took the dishes that were sent him by the master, kept what was enough for himself, and gave the rest to his fellow servants.” ¹⁰ “His fellow servants received the dishes and were

91. Compare Isaiah 58:3–7 on the fast God accepts. Barnabas 3 also quotes this passage from Isaiah.

glad, and began to pray for him, that he would find greater favor with the master, because he treated them this way.”¹¹ “His master heard about all this and was again very glad at what he had done. The master called together his friends and his son again and told them what the servant had done with the dishes he had received. And they agreed all the more that the servant should become co-heir with his son.”

CHAPTER 3

The application of the parable to Fasting

¹ I said, “Sir, I do not know these parables and cannot understand them unless you explain them to me.”² “I will explain everything to you,” he said, “and whatever I say to you.”³ “I will show you his commandments. If you do something good beyond what God commands, you will gain for yourself greater glory and will be more honored with God than you were going to be. So if, while keeping the commandments of God, you add these services also, you will rejoice, if you keep them according to my command.”⁹² 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,” he said, “because you have such eagerness to do good. And I will be with all who have this eagerness.”⁵ “This fast,” he said, “is very good if the commandments of the Lord are kept. So this is how you are to keep the fast you are going to observe:”

⁶ “First of all, guard yourself from every evil word and every evil desire and cleanse your heart of all the empty things of this age. If you keep these things, this fast will be complete for you.”⁷ “And you will do it like this. After you have carried out what is written, on the day you fast you will taste nothing except bread and water. Add up the cost of the foods you would have eaten that day, and give that amount to a widow, an orphan, or someone in need. In this way you will humble yourself, so that through your humility the one who receives it may fill his own soul and pray for you to the Lord.”⁸ “So if you carry out the fast this way, as I commanded you, your sacrifice will be acceptable to God, and this fast will be recorded. The service done in this way is good, cheerful, and well received by the Lord.”

92. Here the Shepherd teaches that doing more than God commands earns extra glory. The New Testament does not teach this. Compare Luke 17:10: “We are unworthy servants; we have only done what was our duty.”

9 “You will keep these things this way with your children and your whole household. If you keep them you will be blessed. And all who hear and keep them will be blessed, and whatever they ask of the Lord they will receive.”

CHAPTER 4

The application of the parable as to the servant

1 I begged him earnestly to explain to me the parable of the field, the master, the vineyard, the servant who fenced the vineyard, the fences, the weeds pulled out of the vineyard, the son, and the friends who were his advisers. For I understood that all of this was a parable. 2 He answered, “You are far too forward in asking questions. You ought not to ask anything at all. If something needs to be explained to you, it will be explained.” I said to him, “Sir, whatever you show me without explaining it, I will have seen for nothing, since I won’t understand what it is. In the same way, if you tell me parables and do not interpret them, I will have heard something from you for nothing.” 3 Again he answered me, “Whoever is a servant of God and has his Lord in his heart asks him for understanding and receives it. He can interpret every parable, and the words of the Lord that were spoken in parables become clear to him. But those who are weak and lazy in prayer hesitate to ask anything of the Lord.

4 “The Lord is full of compassion and gives without ceasing to everyone who asks him. But you have been strengthened by the holy angel and have received from him such a gift of prayer, and you are not lazy. Why, then, do you not ask the Lord for understanding and receive it from him?”⁹³ 5 I said to him, “Sir, since I have you with me, I have to ask you and question you, for you show me everything and speak with me. If I had seen or heard these things without you, I would have asked the Lord to explain them to me.”

CHAPTER 5

The further application

1 “I told you a moment ago,” he said, “that you are cunning and stubborn in asking for the explanations of parables. But since you are so persistent, I will explain to you the parable of the field and everything that follows from it, so that you can make it all known to everyone. Listen now and understand it. 2 “The field is this world. The lord of the field is the one who created all

93. The Greek word here (*enteuxis*) usually means a petition or prayer, and its exact sense in this passage is unclear.

things, finished them, and gave them strength. The servant is the Son of God, and the vines are this people, whom he himself planted.⁹⁴ ³ “The fences are the holy angels of the Lord who hold his people together. The weeds pulled out of the vineyard are the lawless acts of God’s servants. The food he sent him from the dinner is the commandments that he gave to his people through his Son. The friends and advisers are the holy angels who were created first. And the master’s going away is the time that remains until his coming.”

⁴ I said to him, “Sir, everything is great and wonderful, and everything is glorious. How could I have understood these things? Not even another person, however wise, could understand them.” Then I said, “Sir, explain to me one more thing that I am about to ask you.” ⁵ “Say what you wish,” he said. “Sir,” I said, “why is the Son of God shown in the parable in the role of a servant?”

CHAPTER 6

The son of God as servant

¹ “Listen,” he said. “The Son of God is not placed in the role of a servant. He is placed in great authority and lordship.” “How, sir?” I said. “I don’t understand.” ² “Because,” he said, “God planted the vineyard, that is, he created the people, and handed it over to his Son. The Son appointed the angels over them to watch over them. And he himself cleansed their sins, working hard and enduring many labors, for no vineyard can be dug without toil or effort. ³ “So when he had cleansed the sins of the people, he showed them the paths of life by giving them the law that he received from his Father.” [*John 12: 49-50*]

⁴ “Now listen to why the Lord took his Son and the glorious angels as advisers about the servant’s inheritance. ⁵ “God made the Holy Spirit, who existed beforehand and who created all creation, to dwell in the flesh that he chose. This flesh, in which the Holy Spirit lived, served the Spirit well, conducting itself with dignity and purity, and never defiled the Spirit at all.⁹⁵

⁶ “Because this flesh lived well and purely, labored together with the Spirit, worked with it in every matter, and behaved with strength and courage, God chose it as a partner with the Holy Spirit. The conduct of this flesh

94. Here the shepherd explains the parable told earlier in this Similitude, where a master’s servant fenced and weeded a vineyard and was made co-heir with the master’s son. Identifying the servant with the Son of God raises difficulties, because the master’s son is identified with the Holy Spirit (22.5.2 onward); see the note at 22.6.5.

pleased him, because it was not defiled on earth while it carried the Holy Spirit. ⁷ “So he took the Son and the glorious angels as advisers, so that this flesh also, having served the Spirit without fault, might have some place to dwell and not appear to have lost the reward for its service. For all flesh in which the Holy Spirit has lived will receive a reward, if it is found undefiled and spotless. ⁸ “Now you have the explanation of this parable as well.”

CHAPTER 7

The practical conclusion

¹ “Sir, I was glad to hear this explanation,” I said. “Now listen,” he said. “Keep this flesh of yours pure and undefiled, so that the spirit living in it may bear witness for it and your flesh may be declared righteous. ² “Be careful that it never enters your mind that this flesh of yours is perishable, and so misuse it in some defilement. If you defile your flesh, you will defile the Holy Spirit as well. And if you defile the flesh, you will not live.” ³ “But, sir,” I said, “what if someone acted in ignorance before these words were heard? How can a person who has defiled his flesh be saved?” “For earlier acts of ignorance,” he said, “only God can give healing, for all authority is his. ⁴ “He will heal them if, from now on, you defile neither your flesh nor your spirit, for the two belong together and neither can be defiled without the other. So keep both pure, and you will live to God.”

SIMILITUDE 6

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

¹ I was sitting in my house, glorifying the Lord for everything I had seen, and thinking about the commandments: that they were good, powerful, joyful, and glorious, and able to save a person’s soul. I said to myself, “I will be blessed if I walk in these commandments, and whoever walks in them will be blessed.” ² While I was saying this to myself, I suddenly saw him sitting beside me. He said, “Why are you double-minded about the commandments

95. Many scholars read this passage as identifying the pre-existent Son of God with the Holy Spirit, who dwelt in a human body (the “servant”) that God then rewarded by making it a partner. Compare Similitude 9.1.1, where the Spirit is said to be the Son of God. The exact meaning is debated. Hermas never uses the names “Jesus” or “Christ,” and he is working inside a parable rather than writing a formal doctrine. His picture is still clearly different from the church’s later teaching, in which the Son and the Spirit are distinct persons.

I gave you? They are good. Do not be double-minded at all. Put on the faith of the Lord, and you will walk in them, for I will strengthen you in them.

³ “These commandments are useful for those who are about to repent. If they do not walk in them, their repentance is in vain. ⁴ “So you who are repenting, throw off the wickedness of this age, which wears you down. Put on every virtue of righteousness, and you will be able to keep these commandments and stop adding to your sins. Walk, then, in these commandments of mine, and you will live to God. All of this has been spoken to you by me.”

The vision of the Shepherds

⁵ After he had spoken with me in this way, he said to me, “Let’s go out to the countryside, and I will show you the shepherds of the sheep.” “Let’s go, sir,” I said. We came to a plain, and he showed me a young shepherd dressed in a saffron-colored outfit. ⁶ He was pasturing a great many sheep. These sheep seemed to be living in luxury and were very pampered, and they were skipping about happily here and there. The shepherd himself was very cheerful over his flock. Even his appearance was very cheerful, and he ran around among the sheep.

CHAPTER 2

The Shepherd of luxury

¹ He said to me, “Do you see this shepherd?” “I see him, sir,” I said. “This,” he said, “is the angel of luxury and deceit. He wears down the souls of God’s servants and turns them away from the truth, deceiving them with evil desires that destroy them. ² “They forget the commandments of the living God and walk in deceit and empty pleasures, and this angel destroys them, some to death and some to ruin.” ³ I said to him, “Sir, I don’t know what it means to be destroyed ‘to death’ and what it means ‘to ruin.’” “Listen,” he said. “The sheep you saw that were cheerful and skipping are those who have been torn away from God completely and have handed themselves over to the desires of this age. For them there is no repentance that leads to life, because they added to their sins and blasphemed the name of God. These are the ones who are headed for death.”⁹⁶

⁴ “The sheep you saw that were not skipping but grazing in one place are those who have handed themselves over to luxury and deceit, but who have

not blasphemed the Lord at all. These have been ruined and led away from the truth. For them there is still hope of repentance, by which they can live. So ruin has some hope of renewal, but death means destruction forever.”

The Shepherd of Punishment

⁵ I went on a little farther, and he showed me a large shepherd who looked wild. He was wearing a white goatskin and carried a bag on his shoulders, a very hard staff with knots in it, and a large whip. His gaze was so harsh that I was afraid of him. ⁶ This shepherd was taking over from the young shepherd those sheep that were pampered and living in luxury but were not skipping. He drove them into a steep place full of thorns and thistles, so that the sheep could not free themselves from the thorns and thistles but were tangled up in them. ⁷ So they grazed tangled in the thorns and thistles, and they were in great misery as he beat them. He drove them here and there and gave them no rest, and those sheep had no peace at all.

CHAPTER 3

¹ When I saw them being whipped and suffering in this way, I felt sorry for them, because they were tormented like that and had no relief at all. ² I said to the shepherd who was speaking with me, “Sir, who is this shepherd who is so hard and bitter and has no pity at all for these sheep?” “This,” he said, “is the angel of punishment. He is one of the righteous angels, but he is put in charge of punishment. ³ “He takes those who have wandered away from God and followed the desires and deceits of this age, and he punishes them as they deserve, with terrible and varied punishments.” ⁴ “Sir,” I said, “I would like to know what these various punishments are.” “Listen to the various torments and punishments,” he said. “These torments belong to this life. Some are punished with losses, some with want, some with all kinds of illness, some with every kind of turmoil, some by being insulted by unworthy people, and some by suffering in many other circumstances.”⁹⁶

⁵ “Many people are restless in their plans and attempt many things, but nothing at all succeeds for them. They say they are not prospering in their

96. Later in the book (Parables 8 and 9), Hermas again says that there is no repentance for those who blasphemed the Lord or turned traitor and were ashamed of his name. He seems to have deliberate apostasy in view. Readers may compare Hebrews 6:4-6, but Hermas does not quote it.

97. Hermas places these punishments in the present life (“belonging to this life”), not in the world to come. As the parable goes on to explain, they fall on those who still have hope of repentance, and they are meant to bring them to repent and be strengthened in faith.

business, and it never enters their minds that they have done evil. Instead they blame the Lord. ⁶“When they have been afflicted with every kind of affliction, then they are handed over to me for good discipline, and they are made strong in the faith of the Lord. For the rest of their lives they serve the Lord with a pure heart. If they repent, then it comes to their minds what evil things they did, and they glorify God, saying that he is a righteous judge and that each one suffered justly according to his deeds. From then on they serve the Lord with a pure heart, they prosper in everything they do, and they receive from the Lord whatever they ask. Then they glorify the Lord because they were handed over to me, and they no longer suffer any of the evils.”

[*Matthew 21:22*]

CHAPTER 4

¹ I said to him, “Sir, explain this one more thing to me.” “What else do you want to know?” he said. “Sir,” I said, “are those who live in luxury and are deceived punished for the same length of time that they lived in luxury and were deceived?” He said to me, “They are punished for the same length of time.” ² “Sir,” I said, “that is a very short punishment. People who live in such luxury and forget God ought to be punished seven times as long.” ³ He said to me, “You are foolish and do not understand the power of punishment.” “Sir,” I said, “if I did understand, I would not be asking you to explain.” “Listen,” he said, “to the power of both. ⁴ “The time of luxury and deceit is one hour, but an hour of punishment has the force of thirty days. So if someone enjoys luxury and is deceived for one day, and is punished for one day, that day of punishment counts as a whole year. A person is punished for as many years as the days he spent in luxury. You see, then,” he said, “that the time of luxury and deceit is very short, while the time of punishment and torment is long.”⁹⁸

CHAPTER 5

¹ “Sir,” I said, “I still don’t understand at all about the time of deceit, luxury, and punishment. Explain it to me more clearly.” ² He answered me, “Your foolishness lingers. You do not want to purify your heart and serve God. Be careful that the time does not run out and you are found still foolish. So listen, as you wish, so that you may understand. ³ “A person who lives in luxury and deceit for one day and does whatever he likes is clothed in great fool-

98. Compare the “year for each day” pattern in Numbers 14:34, though Hermas does not cite it.

ishness and does not understand what he is doing. By the next day he has forgotten what he did the day before, for luxury and deceit have no memory, because of the foolishness they put on. But when punishment and torment cling to a person for a single day, he is punished and tormented for a whole year, because punishment and torment have a long memory.

⁴ “So after a whole year of being tormented and punished, he remembers his luxury and deceit and recognizes that he is suffering these evils because of them. Everyone who lives in luxury and deceit is tormented in this way, because although they have life, they have handed themselves over to death.”

⁵ “Sir,” I said, “which kinds of luxury are harmful?” “Every action is a luxury for a person,” he said, “if he does it with pleasure. Even the hot-tempered man lives in luxury when he satisfies his own passion. So do the adulterer, the drunkard, the slanderer, the liar, the greedy person, the swindler, and everyone who does things like these: each satisfies his own disease. He lives in luxury through his own action. ⁶ “All these luxuries are harmful to God’s servants. It is because of these deceptions that those who are punished and tormented suffer. ⁷ “But there are also luxuries that save people. Many who do good find luxury in it, carried along by their own pleasure. This kind of luxury is useful for God’s servants and brings life to such a person. The harmful luxuries I described before bring them torment and punishment. And if they stay in them and do not repent, they bring death on themselves.”⁹⁹

SIMILITUDE 7

CHAPTER 1

The reason for the continued punishment of the penitent

¹ A few days later I saw him on the same plain where I had seen the shepherds. He said to me, “What are you looking for?” “I am here, sir,” I said, “so that you will order the shepherd of punishment to leave my house, because he is afflicting me severely.” “You must be afflicted,” he said. “The glorious angel gave this order about you, because he wants you to be tested.” “But sir,” I said, “what have I done that is so evil that I should be handed over to this angel?”¹⁰⁰ ² “Listen,” he said. “Your sins are many, but not so many that you should be handed over to this angel. But your household has committed

99. The Greek word translated “luxury” (*truphē*) can also mean delight or enjoyment. Hermas uses the same word for both the harmful and the saving kind. That is why he can speak of “luxuries that save.”

great lawless acts and sins, and the glorious angel was embittered by what they did. For this reason he ordered you to be afflicted for a time, so that they too might repent and cleanse themselves from every desire of this age. When they repent and are cleansed, the angel of punishment will leave you.”

3 I said to him, “Sir, if they did such things that the glorious angel was embittered, what did I do?” “There is no other way for them to be afflicted,” he said, “except for you, the head of the house, to be afflicted. When you are afflicted, they will necessarily be afflicted too. But while you are doing well, they cannot suffer any affliction.” 4 “But look, sir,” I said, “they have repented with their whole heart.” “I too know that they have repented with their whole heart,” he said. “But do you think the sins of those who repent are forgiven immediately? Not at all. The person who repents must torment his own soul and be thoroughly humble in everything he does, and he must be afflicted with all kinds of afflictions. If he bears the troubles that come on him, then the one who created everything and gave it strength will surely have compassion and give him some healing.”¹⁰¹ [*Psalm 69*]

5 “This will surely happen if he sees that the heart of the repentant person is clean from every evil thing. It is good for you and your household to be afflicted now. Why should I say more to you? You must be afflicted, just as that angel of the Lord who handed you over to me commanded. And give thanks to the Lord that he thought you worthy to be shown the affliction ahead of time, so that, knowing it beforehand, you might bear it with strength.” 6 I said to him, “Sir, be with me, and I will be able to bear any affliction.” “I will be with you,” he said. “I will also ask the angel of punishment to afflict you more lightly. But you will be afflicted for a short time, and then you will be restored to your house. Just stay humble and serve the Lord with a pure heart, you and your children and your household, and walk in my commandments that I am giving you. Then your repentance can be strong and pure.

100. As the Shepherd goes on to explain, Hermas is suffering because his household has sinned. The “glorious angel” appears several times in Hermas. In *Similitude 8* (25.3.3) he is named as Michael, though some scholars connect the figure with the Son of God. The Shepherd himself is the angel of repentance.

101. Hermas holds that repentance involves real hardship and self-humbling. This is part of the background to later discussions of penance in the church. Compare 2 Corinthians 7:9-11 for repentance that produces earnestness, and Hebrews 12:5-11 for suffering as a father’s discipline.

7 “If you keep these commandments with your household, all affliction will leave you. And indeed,” he said, “affliction will leave everyone who walks in these commandments of mine.”

SIMILITUDE 8

CHAPTER 1

The parable of the willow-tree

1 He showed me a great willow tree covering plains and mountains, and all who are called by the name of the Lord had come under the shelter of the willow. 2 Beside the willow stood a very tall and glorious angel of the Lord, holding a large pruning knife. He was cutting branches from the willow and handing them to the people sheltered by the willow. The branches he handed them were little rods, about a cubit long.¹⁰² 3 After everyone had received a rod, the angel put down the knife, and the tree was as healthy as when I had first seen it. 4 I was amazed and said to myself, “How can the tree be healthy when so many branches have been cut off?” The shepherd said to me, “Do not be amazed that the tree stayed healthy even though so many branches were cut. When you have seen everything, it will be made clear to you what it is.”

5 The angel who had handed out the rods asked the people for them back. In the same order in which they had received them, they were called to him, and each one returned his rod. The angel of the Lord took them and examined them. 6 From some he received rods that were dry and, as it were, eaten by moths. The angel ordered those who handed in rods like that to stand apart. 7 Others handed in rods that were dry but not moth-eaten. He ordered these to stand apart too. 8 Others handed in rods that were half dry, and these stood apart. 9 Others handed in rods that were half dry and had cracks, and these stood apart. 10 Others handed in rods that were green but had cracks, and these stood apart. 11 Others handed in rods that were half dry and half green, and these stood apart. 12 Others brought rods that were two-thirds green and one-third dry, and these stood apart.

13 Others handed in rods that were two-thirds dry and one-third green, and these stood apart. 14 Others handed in rods that were almost completely

102. A cubit was the length from the elbow to the fingertips, roughly a foot and a half (about 45 cm).

green, with only a very small part dry, just the tip, but with cracks in them, and these stood apart. ¹⁵ Others had rods with very little green and the rest dry, and these stood apart. ¹⁶ Others came carrying rods that were green, just as they had received them from the angel. Most of the crowd handed in rods like that. The angel was very glad about these people, and they stood apart. ¹⁷ Others handed in rods that were green and had shoots. These stood apart, and the angel was very glad about them too. ¹⁸ Others handed in rods that were green and had shoots, and the shoots had something like fruit on them. The people whose rods were found like this were very joyful. The angel rejoiced over them, and the shepherd was very joyful about them too.

CHAPTER 2

¹ The angel of the Lord ordered crowns to be brought. Crowns were brought that looked as if they were made from palm branches. He crowned the people who had handed in rods with shoots and some fruit, and sent them off into the tower. ² He also sent the others into the tower: those who had handed in rods that were green and had shoots, but whose shoots had no fruit. He gave them seals. ³ All who went into the tower were wearing the same clothing, white as snow. ⁴ He also sent away those who handed in their rods green, just as they had received them, and gave them clothing and seals.

The instruction of the angel to the Shepherd

⁵ When the angel had finished this, he said to the shepherd, "I am going. You are to send these people inside the walls, each one according to where he deserves to live. Examine their rods carefully and then dismiss them. Examine them carefully. Be careful that no one gets past you. If anyone does get past you, I will test them myself at the altar." After saying this to the shepherd, he left. ⁶ After the angel left, the shepherd said to me, "Let's take everyone's rods and plant them, and see whether any of them can live." I said to him, "Sir, how can these dry things live?"

The treatment, of the sticks by the shepherd

⁷ He answered me, "This tree is a willow, and willows are a kind that clings to life. If the rods are planted and get a little moisture, many of them will live. Then we will also try pouring water on them. If any of them can live, I will rejoice with them. If one does not live, I will not be found negligent." ⁸ The shepherd told me to call the people, each as he had been standing. They came by groups and handed their rods to the shepherd. The shepherd

took the rods and planted them group by group, and after planting them he poured so much water on them that the rods could not be seen for the water. ⁹ After he had watered the rods, he said to me, “Let’s go, and come back in a few days and look at all the rods. The one who created this tree wants everyone who received branches from it to live. I also hope that most of these little rods will live, now that they have taken in moisture and been watered.”¹⁰³

CHAPTER 3

The explanation of the parable

¹ I said to him, “Sir, tell me what this tree is. I am puzzled about it, because although so many branches were cut, the tree is healthy and nothing seems to have been cut from it. That is what puzzles me.” ² “Listen,” he said. “This great tree that covers plains and mountains and the whole earth is the law of God, which was given to the whole world. This law is the Son of God, proclaimed to the ends of the earth. The peoples under its shelter are those who have heard the proclamation and believed in him.”¹⁰⁴ ³ “The great and glorious angel is Michael, who has authority over this people and governs them. He is the one who puts the law into the hearts of those who believe. So he checks on those to whom he gave it, to see whether they have kept it.”¹⁰⁵ ⁴ “You see the rods of each person, for the rods are the law. So you see that many rods have been made useless, and you will know who they are: all those who have not kept the law. And you will see where each of them will live.”

⁵ I said to him, “Sir, why did he send some into the tower and leave others to you?” “All who broke the law they received from him,” he said, “he left to my authority for repentance. But all who have already satisfied the law and kept it, he keeps under his own authority.” ⁶ “Sir,” I said, “who then are the ones who were crowned and are going into the tower?” “Those who wrestled against the devil and defeated him,” he said, “have been crowned. These are the ones who suffered for the law.” ⁷ “The others also handed in rods that were green and had shoots, but no fruit. These are those who were

103. Compare 1 Timothy 2:4, which says God “desires all people to be saved.”

104. “In him” translates a Greek pronoun that could refer either to the law or to the Son. Since Hermas has just identified the two, the sense is the same either way.

105. Michael appears in Daniel 10:13, 10:21 and 12:1, in Jude 9, and in Revelation 12:7 as a leading angel and a defender of God’s people. Here Hermas gives him the role of placing the law in believers’ hearts. Scripture gives that role to God himself (Jeremiah 31:33, quoted in Hebrews 8:10). Scholars debate whether Hermas’s “glorious angel” is meant to stand for the Son of God.

afflicted for the sake of the law but did not actually suffer, and did not deny their law.¹⁰⁶ 8 “And those who handed in their rods green, just as they received them, are the reverent and righteous, who have walked very far with a pure heart and kept the commandments of the Lord. You will learn the rest when I examine these rods that were planted and watered.”

CHAPTER 4

The continuation of the parable

1 A few days later we came to the place. The shepherd sat down in the angel’s seat, and I stood beside him. He said to me, “Put on a linen apron and serve me.” I put on a clean apron made of sackcloth. 2 When he saw that I was dressed and ready to serve him, he said, “Call the men whose rods have been planted, in the order in which each gave in his rod.” I went out to the plain and called all of them, and they all stood in their groups. 3 He said to them, “Let each one pull up his own rod and bring it to me.” 4 First to hand them in were those whose rods had been dry and cut. When their rods were found still dry and cut, he ordered them to stand apart. 5 Next came those whose rods had been dry but not cut. Some of them handed in rods that were now green, and some handed in rods that were dry and cut, as if by moths. He ordered those who handed in green rods to stand apart, and those who handed in dry, cut rods he ordered to stand with the first group.

6 Then came those whose rods had been half dry and cracked. Many of them handed in rods that were green and without cracks. Some handed in rods that were green and had shoots, with fruit on the shoots, like the fruit of those who had gone into the tower wearing crowns. Some handed in rods that were dry and eaten, some dry and not eaten, and some that were still half dry and cracked. He ordered each of them to stand apart, some with their own groups and some separately.

CHAPTER 5

1 Then came those who had rods that were green but cracked. All of these handed in rods that were green, and they stood with their own group. The shepherd rejoiced over them because they had all changed and lost their cracks. 2 Those who had rods half green and half dry also handed them in. The rods of some were found completely green, of some half dry, of some dry

106. In context, “suffer” probably means suffering to the point of martyrdom, as with the crowned group in the previous verse. These people were persecuted but did not go that far.

and eaten, and of some green with shoots. All of these were sent, each to his own group. ³ Then came those who had rods two-thirds green and one-third dry. Many of them handed in rods that were green, many half dry, and others dry and eaten. All of these stood with their own group. ⁴ Then came those who had rods two-thirds dry and one-third green. Many of them handed in rods half dry, some dry and eaten, others half dry and cracked, and a few green. All of these stood with their own group.

⁵ Next came those whose rods had been green, but with a very small part dry, and with cracks. Some of these handed in rods that were green, and some green with shoots. These also went to their own group. ⁶ Then came those who had only a little green, with the rest dry. Their rods were found to be mostly green, with shoots and fruit on the shoots, and others were completely green. The shepherd rejoiced very greatly over these rods, because they were found like this. They went off, each to his own group.

CHAPTER 6

The further explanation

¹ After the shepherd had examined everyone's rods, he said to me, "I told you this tree loves life. Do you see how many repented and were saved?" "I see it, sir," I said. "You see this," he said, "so that you may see the Lord's abundant compassion, how great and glorious it is. He has given the Spirit to those who are worthy of repentance." ² "Sir," I said, "why did they not all repent?" "He gave repentance to those whose hearts he saw were going to become pure and serve him with their whole heart," he said. "But to those whose deceit and wickedness he saw, who would repent only in hypocrisy, he did not give repentance, so that they would not defile his name again." ³ I said to him, "Sir, now explain to me about those who handed in the rods: what each of them is like, and where they will live. I ask this so that those who have believed, received the seal, broken it, and not kept it whole may hear, recognize their own deeds, and repent. Then they could receive a seal from you and glorify the Lord, because he had mercy on them and sent you to renew their spirits."¹⁰⁷

⁴ "Listen," he said. "Those whose rods were found dry and eaten by moths are the apostates and betrayers of the church. They blasphemed the

107. "The seal" is Hermas's regular word for baptism. The same use appears in 2 Clement (7:6, 8:6), and it became common in later writers. Here he pictures a person who has been baptized but has "broken" the seal by sinning. This is the problem the whole book tries to answer.

Lord in their sins, and they were also ashamed of the name of the Lord that had been called over them. So these are lost to God for good. You see that not one of them repented, although they heard the words that you spoke to them, which I commanded you. Life has departed from such people.¹⁰⁸ [James 2:7] 5 “Those who handed in rods that were dry but not moth-eaten are close to them. They were hypocrites who brought in strange teachings and turned God’s servants aside, especially those who had sinned. They would not allow them to repent, but won them over with their foolish teachings. These still have hope of repentance. 6 “You see that many of them have repented since I spoke my commandments to them, and more will still repent. Those who do not repent have lost their lives. But those of them who repented became good, and they were given a place to live in the first walls. Some even went up into the tower. You see, then,” he said, “that repentance from sins brings life, and not repenting brings death.

CHAPTER 7

1 “Now listen about those who handed in rods that were half dry and had cracks. Those whose rods were half dry are the double-minded, for they are neither alive nor dead. 2 “Those who had rods that were half dry and cracked are double-minded and slanderers. They are never at peace among themselves, but are always stirring up division. But repentance is waiting for these too,” he said. “You see that some of them have repented, and there is still hope of repentance among them. 3 “Those of them who have repented will have their place in the tower. Those who repented more slowly will live in the walls. But those who do not repent, and remain in their deeds, will surely die. 4 “Those who handed in rods that were green but cracked were always faithful and good. But they had some rivalry among themselves about who should be first and about reputation. All of these are foolish for competing with one another about who is first.

5 “But even these, when they heard my commandments, purified themselves and quickly repented, because they were good. So they were given a place to live in the tower. But if any of them turns back to division, he will be thrown out of the tower and lose his life. 6 “Life belongs to everyone who keeps the commandments of the Lord. And in the commandments there is nothing about being first or about reputation, but about patience and hu-

108. “The name called over them” is the name of the Lord placed on believers, most likely at baptism. James 2:7 uses nearly the same Greek phrase (“the noble name that was called over you”).

mility. In such people is the life of the Lord, but among the divisive and lawless there is death.

CHAPTER 8

¹ “Those who handed in rods half green and half dry are those who are tangled up in business affairs and do not cling to the saints. This is why half of them is alive and half is dead. ² “Many of them, when they heard my commandments, repented. All who repented have their place in the tower. But some of them fell away for good. These have no repentance, for because of their business they blasphemed the Lord and denied him. They lost their life through the evil they did. ³ “Many of them were double-minded. These still have repentance, if they repent quickly, and their place will be in the tower. If they repent more slowly, they will live in the walls. If they do not repent, they too have lost their life. ⁴ “Those who handed in rods two-thirds green and one-third dry are those who have denied in many different ways.

⁵ “Many of them repented and went to live in the tower. But many fell away from God for good, and these lost life for good. Some of them were double-minded and caused divisions. These have repentance, if they repent quickly and do not stay in their pleasures. But if they keep on in their deeds, they too are bringing death on themselves.

CHAPTER 9

¹ “Those who handed in rods two-thirds dry and one-third green are those who became believers, but then grew rich and gained honor among the Gentiles. They put on great arrogance and became proud. They abandoned the truth and did not stay close to the righteous, but lived together with the Gentiles, and that way of life became more pleasant to them. Yet they did not leave God; they stayed in the faith, but did not do the works of faith. ² “Many of them repented, and they were given a place to live in the tower. ³ “But others lived with the Gentiles to the end, were corrupted by the empty pride of the Gentiles, left God, and did the things the Gentiles do. These were counted with the Gentiles. ⁴ “Others of them were double-minded, not hoping to be saved because of the things they had done. Others were double-minded and caused divisions among themselves. For those who became double-minded because of what they had done, there is still repentance. But their repentance must be quick, so that their place may be in the tower. For those who do not repent, but stay in their pleasures, death is near.

CHAPTER 10

¹ “Those who handed in rods that were green, but with the very tips dry and cracked, were always good, faithful, and honored by God. They sinned only a little, through small desires and through having small grievances against one another. But when they heard my words, most of them repented quickly, and they came to dwell in the tower. ² “Some of them were double-minded, and some of the double-minded caused a greater division. For these there is hope of repentance, because they were always good, and hardly any of them will die. ³ “Those who handed in rods that were dry with only a little green are those who only believed, but did the works of lawlessness. Yet they never left God. They bore his name gladly, and they gladly welcomed God’s servants into their homes. When they heard about this repentance, they repented without hesitation, and now they practice every virtue and righteousness.

⁴ “Some of them are afraid, because they know what they did. All of these will have their place in the tower.”

CHAPTER 11

Conclusion

¹ When he had finished explaining all the rods, he said to me, “Go and tell everyone to repent and live to God. The Lord sent me out of compassion to give repentance to everyone, even though some are not worthy of it because of what they have done. But the Lord is patient and wants those who were called through his Son to be saved.”¹⁰⁹ ² I said to him, “Sir, I hope that all who hear this will repent. I am convinced that everyone who recognizes his own deeds and fears God will repent.” ³ He answered me, “All who repent with their whole heart, cleanse themselves of the evils I listed before, and add nothing more to their sins will receive healing from the Lord for their earlier sins. They will live to God, provided they are not double-minded about these commandments. But those who add to their sins and walk in the desires of this age will condemn themselves to death.

⁴ “You, though, walk in my commandments and you will live to God. All who walk in them and do what is right will live to God.” ⁵ After showing me all this and telling me everything, he said to me, “I will show you the rest in a few days.”

109. Literally, “wants the calling that came about through his Son to be saved (or kept safe).” The translation takes “the calling” to mean the people who were called.

SIMILITUDE 9

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

¹After I had written down the commandments and parables of the Shepherd, the angel of repentance, he came to me and said, “I want to show you everything that was shown to you by the Holy Spirit, who spoke with you in the form of the church. That Spirit is the Son of God.¹¹⁰ ²“Since you were too weak in the flesh, it was not shown to you by an angel. But when you were strengthened by the Spirit and made strong in your own strength, so that you could even see an angel, then the building of the tower was shown to you through the church. You saw everything well and with dignity, as if from a young woman. Now you see by means of an angel, but through the same Spirit. ³“But you must learn everything more precisely from me. That is why I was given by the glorious angel to live in your house, so that you might see everything with strength and not be afraid, as you were before.”

The vision of the Mountains

⁴He took me away to Arcadia, to a mountain shaped like a breast, and set me on the summit. He showed me a great plain, and around the plain twelve mountains, each mountain with a different appearance. ⁵The first was black as soot. The second was bare, with no vegetation. The third was full of thorns and thistles. ⁶The fourth had plants that were half dried up: the tops of the plants were green, but the parts near the roots were dry. Some of the plants dried up when the sun scorched them. ⁷The fifth mountain had green plants and was rugged. The sixth mountain was completely full of cracks, some small and some large. The cracks had plants in them, but the plants were not very healthy; they looked rather as if they were withering. ⁸The seventh mountain had lush, fresh vegetation, and the whole mountain was thriving. Every kind of livestock and bird was feeding on that mountain, and the more the animals and birds ate, the more the plants on it flourished. The

110. Hermas here says that the one who appeared to him as the church (the woman of the Visions) was the Holy Spirit, and that this Spirit is the Son of God. In Vision 2 he was told that the woman was the church, created first of all things, and that the world was made for her sake. Compare also Similitude 5, where the Son is identified with the Holy Spirit. Hermas's language mixes these figures together and does not follow later precise teaching about the Trinity.

eighth mountain was full of springs, and every kind of creature the Lord had made drank from the springs of that mountain.

⁹ The ninth mountain had no water at all and was completely desert. It had wild beasts and deadly reptiles on it that killed people. The tenth mountain had enormous trees and was shaded all over, and under the shelter of the trees sheep lay resting and chewing the cud. ¹⁰ The eleventh mountain was thick with trees, and those trees were loaded with fruit, each decorated with different fruits, so that anyone who saw them would want to eat their fruit. The twelfth mountain was entirely white, its appearance was cheerful, and the mountain was most beautiful in itself.

CHAPTER 2

The great stone in the plain

¹ In the middle of the plain he showed me a great white rock rising out of the plain. The rock was higher than the mountains and square, so that it could hold the whole world. ² The rock was old, and it had a gate cut into it. The cutting of the gate seemed to me to be recent. The gate shone brighter than the sun, so that I marveled at its brightness.

The Maidens

³ Around the gate stood twelve young women. The four standing at the corners seemed to me more glorious than the others, though the others were glorious too. They stood at the four sides of the gate, with two young women between each pair of corners. ⁴ They were dressed in linen tunics and neatly belted, with their right shoulders bare, as if they were about to carry a load. That is how ready they were, for they were very cheerful and eager. ⁵ After I had seen this I marveled to myself, because I was seeing great and glorious things. Again I was puzzled by the young women, because although they were so delicate, they stood there bravely, as if they were about to carry the whole sky. ⁶ The shepherd said to me, "Why are you turning things over in your mind, getting puzzled and making yourself sad? Whatever you cannot understand, do not try to force it, if you are wise, but ask the Lord to give you understanding so that you can understand it.

⁷ "You cannot see what is behind you, but you can see what is in front of you. Leave aside what you cannot see, and do not torment yourself over it. Master what you do see, and do not be overly curious about the rest. I will explain to you everything that I show you. So look at the rest."

CHAPTER 3

The six men

¹I saw six men come, tall, glorious, and alike in appearance. They called a large crowd of men, and those who came were also tall, handsome, and strong. The six men ordered them to build a tower on top of the rock. There was a great commotion among the men who had come to build the tower, as they ran back and forth around the gate. ²The young women standing around the gate told the men to hurry and build the tower. The young women held out their hands as if to take something from the men.

The ten stones

³The six men ordered stones to come up from a deep place and go into the building of the tower. Ten shining square stones came up, which had not been cut from a quarry. ⁴The six men called the young women and ordered them to carry all the stones that were to go into the building of the tower, to pass through the gate, and to hand them to the men who were going to build the tower. ⁵The young women lifted the first ten stones that came up from the deep onto one another, and they carried them together, one stone at a time.¹¹¹

CHAPTER 4

The building of the stones by the maidens and the men

¹Just as they had stood together around the gate, so they carried the stones: the ones who seemed strong got under the corners of the stone, and the others got under its sides. In this way they carried all the stones. They brought them through the gate as they had been ordered and handed them to the men for the tower, and those men took the stones and built with them. ²The tower was built on the great rock and above the gate. Those ten stones were fitted together and filled the entire rock. They became the foundation for the building of the tower, and the rock and the gate bore the weight of the whole tower.

The 2 stones; The 3 stones; The 4 stones

³After the ten stones, twenty more stones came up from the deep. These too were fitted into the building of the tower, carried by the young women as

111. "One another" refers to the young women, not the stones, because the Greek word is feminine. The women passed each stone among themselves and carried it together.

the earlier ones had been. After these, thirty-five more came up, and they were fitted into the tower in the same way. After these, forty other stones came up, and all of these were put into the building of the tower. So there were four rows in the foundations of the tower.¹¹²

The second stage of the building

4 Then the stones stopped coming up from the deep, and the builders paused for a little. Again the six men ordered the great crowd to bring stones from the mountains for the building of the tower. 5 So stones of many different colors, cut by the men, were brought from all the mountains and handed to the young women. The young women carried them through the gate and handed them over for the building of the tower. When the multicolored stones were placed in the building, they all became alike white and lost their various colors. 6 Some stones were handed over by the men for the building but did not become bright. They were found exactly as they had been put in, because they had not been handed over by the young women or carried in through the gate. These stones looked out of place in the building of the tower.

7 When the six men saw the out-of-place stones in the building, they ordered them to be removed and taken down to their own place, from which they had been brought. 8 They told the men who were bringing the stones, “Do not put any stones into the building at all. Put them beside the tower, so that the young women can carry them in through the gate and hand them over for the building. If they are not carried through the gate by the hands of these young women, they cannot change their colors. So do not labor in vain.”

CHAPTER 5

The pause in the building

1 That day’s building work was finished, but the tower was not completed, because more was going to be built on it, and there was a pause in the work. The six men ordered all the builders to withdraw for a little while and rest, but they told the young women not to leave the tower. It seemed to me that the young women had been left behind to guard the tower. 2 After everyone

112. The Greek printed here says twenty. However, when the stones are explained later (Similitude 9.15.4), the second group numbers twenty-five. The number may have been altered in copying. I have kept what the text here says.

had withdrawn and was resting, I said to the shepherd, “Sir, why was the building of the tower not finished?” “The tower cannot be finished yet,” he said, “until its lord comes and inspects the building, so that if any stones are found rotten, he can replace them. The tower is being built according to his will.” ³ “Sir,” I said, “I would like to know what this building of the tower means. I would like to know about the rock, the gate, the mountains, the young women, and the stones that came up from the deep and were not cut but went into the building just as they were.

⁴ “Tell me also why ten stones were laid first for the foundation, then twenty, then thirty-five, then forty. Tell me too about the stones that went into the building and were taken out again and put back in their own place. Set my soul at rest about all these things, sir, and make them known to me.”

⁵ “If you are not found to be idly curious,” he said, “you will know everything. In a few days we will come back here, and you will see the rest of what happens to this tower, and you will know all the parables accurately.”

⁶ A few days later we came to the place where we had sat, and he said to me, “Let’s go to the tower, for the owner of the tower is coming to inspect it.” We went to the tower, and there was no one near it except the young women.

⁷ The shepherd asked the young women whether the master of the tower had arrived. They said he was about to come to inspect the building.

CHAPTER 6

The coming of the Lord of the Tower

¹ Soon afterward I saw a procession of many men approaching. In the middle was a man so tall that he towered above the tower.¹¹³ ² The six men who had been in charge of the building walked with him on his right and left, and all who had worked on the building were with him, along with many other glorious figures around him. The young women who guarded the tower ran up and kissed him, and began to walk near him around the tower. ³ That man examined the building carefully, so that he touched every stone one by one. He was holding a staff in his hand and struck each stone in the building.

⁴ When he struck them, some became black as soot, some scabby, some cracked, some chipped, some neither white nor black, some rough and not matching the other stones, and some covered with many stains. These were the various kinds of rotten stones found in the building.

113. Later in this same parable, the shepherd explains that this glorious man is the Son of God.

5 He ordered all of these to be removed from the tower and set beside it, and other stones to be brought and put in their place. 6 The builders asked him from which mountain he wanted stones brought to put in their place. He ordered that they not be brought from the mountains, but from a plain nearby. 7 The plain was dug up, and shining square stones were found, and some round ones. Every stone found in that plain was brought and carried through the gate by the young women. 8 The square stones were cut and set in the place of those that had been removed. The round stones were not put into the building, because they were hard to cut and it took a long time. They were set beside the tower, as if they would be cut later and put into the building, for they were very bright.

CHAPTER 7

The injunctions of the Lord to the Shepherd

1 When he had finished this, the glorious man, the lord of the whole tower, called the shepherd over and handed him all the stones lying beside the tower, those that had been thrown out of the building, and said to him: 2 “Clean these stones carefully and put into the building of the tower those that can fit with the rest. Throw far from the tower those that do not fit.” 3 After giving these orders to the shepherd, he left the tower with everyone who had come with him. The young women stood around the tower, guarding it. 4 I said to the shepherd, “How can these stones go into the building of the tower when they have been rejected?” He answered, “Do you see these stones?” “I see them, sir,” I said. “I will cut most of these stones,” he said, “and put them into the building, and they will fit with the rest of the stones.”

5 “Sir,” I said, “how can they fill the same place after being cut down?” He answered, “The ones that turn out small will be put in the middle of the building, and the larger ones will be put on the outside and hold them together.” 6 After saying this he said to me, “Let’s go, and in two days we will come back and clean these stones and put them into the building. Everything around the tower must be cleaned, so that the master does not suddenly come, find the area around the tower dirty, and be angry. Then these stones would not go into the building of the tower, and I would seem negligent in the master’s eyes.” 7 Two days later we came to the tower and he said to me, “Let’s look at all the stones and see which can go into the building.” “Sir, let’s look,” I said.

CHAPTER 8

The Shepherd's treatment of the Stones

¹ We began by examining the black stones first. They were found to be just as they were when they had been put out of the building. The shepherd ordered them to be removed from the tower and set apart. ² Next he examined the scabby ones. He took many of them and cut them, and ordered the young women to pick them up and put them into the building. The young women picked them up and set them in the middle of the building of the tower. The rest he ordered to be put with the black ones, since they too were found to be black. ³ Next he examined the ones with cracks. He cut many of them and ordered the young women to carry them into the building. They were placed on the outside, because they were found to be sounder. The rest could not be cut because of the number of their cracks, and for this reason they were thrown out of the building of the tower.

⁴ Next he examined the chipped ones. Many of them were found to be black, and some had large cracks, and he ordered these also to be put with the rejected stones. The rest of them he cleaned and cut and ordered to be put into the building. The young women picked them up and fitted them into the middle of the building of the tower, for these were weaker. ⁵ Next he examined the ones that were half white and half black. Many of them were found to be black, and he ordered these also to be taken away with the rejected stones. The rest were all picked up by the young women: because they were white, the young women themselves fitted them into the building. They were placed on the outside because they were found to be sound, so that they could hold the ones set in the middle, since none of them was chipped at all.

⁶ Next he examined the rough and hard ones. A few of them were rejected because they could not be cut; they turned out to be very hard. The rest were cut, picked up by the young women, and fitted into the middle of the building of the tower, since they were weaker. ⁷ Next he examined the ones with stains. Very few of these had turned black and were thrown out with the rest. The remainder were found to be bright and sound. These were fitted into the building by the young women, and placed on the outside because of their strength.

CHAPTER 9

¹ Then he came to examine the white round stones and said to me, "What should we do with these stones?" "How would I know, sir?" I said. He said, "Do you not have any idea about them?" ² "Sir," I said, "I don't have this skill. I am not a stonecutter, and I can't work it out." "Don't you see," he said, "that they are very round? If I want to make them square, a great deal has to be cut off them. Yet some of them must necessarily go into the building." ³ "Sir," I said, "if it is necessary, why do you torment yourself? Why not choose the ones you want for the building and fit them in?" He chose the larger, bright ones from them and cut them, and the young women picked them up and fitted them into the outer parts of the building. ⁴ The rest, the ones left over, were picked up and put back in the plain from which they had been brought. They were not thrown away, "because," he said, "there is still a little left to be built on the tower, and the master of the tower wants all these stones fitted into the building, since they are very bright."

⁵ Twelve women were called, very beautiful in appearance, dressed in black, belted, with their shoulders bare and their hair loose. These women seemed wild to me. The shepherd ordered them to pick up the stones that had been thrown out of the building and carry them off to the mountains, from which they had been brought. ⁶ They cheerfully picked up all the stones, carried them away, and put them back where they had been taken from. After all the stones had been removed and not a single stone was left lying around the tower, the shepherd said to me, "Let's walk around the tower and see if there is any flaw in it." I walked around with him. ⁷ When the shepherd saw that the tower was beautifully built, he was very glad. The tower was built so well that when I saw how it was built, I was filled with longing for it. It was built as if from a single stone, without a single joint in it. The stone looked as if it had been cut out of the rock; it seemed to me to be one solid piece.

CHAPTER 10

The clearing of the neighbourhood of the tower

¹ I walked with him, and I was glad to see such good things. The shepherd said to me, "Go and bring lime and finely crushed pottery, so that I can fill in the marks left by the stones that were removed and put into the building. All the ground around the tower must be level." ² I did as he ordered and

brought them to him. “Help me,” he said, “and the work will soon be finished.” He filled in the marks of the stones that had gone into the building and ordered the area around the tower to be swept and cleaned. ³ The young women took brooms and swept, took all the rubbish away from the tower, and sprinkled water. The place around the tower became cheerful and very beautiful. ⁴ The shepherd said to me, “Everything has been cleaned. If the lord comes to inspect the tower, he will have nothing to blame us for.” After saying this he wanted to leave.

⁵ But I took hold of his bag and began to beg him solemnly, by the Lord, to explain to me what he had shown me. He said to me, “I have something to attend to for a little while, and then I will explain everything to you. Wait for me here until I come.” ⁶ I said to him, “Sir, what am I to do here alone?” “You are not alone,” he said. “These young women are with you.” “Then put me in their care,” I said. The shepherd called them and said to them, “I entrust him to you until I come.” And he left. ⁷ So I was alone with the young women. They were cheerful and treated me kindly, especially the four who were more glorious than the others.

CHAPTER 11

Hermas stays with the Maidens

¹ The young women said to me, “The shepherd is not coming here today.” “What should I do, then?” I said. “Wait for him until evening,” they said. “If he comes, he will talk with you. If he does not come, you will stay here with us until he does.” ² I said to them, “I will wait for him until evening. If he does not come, I will go home and come back in the morning.” They answered me, “You were handed over to us. You cannot leave us.” ³ “Where, then, will I stay?” I said. “You will sleep with us,” they said, “as a brother and not as a husband. You are our brother, and from now on we are going to live with you, for we love you very much.” But I was embarrassed to stay with them.¹¹⁴ ⁴ The one who seemed to be the first of them began to kiss and embrace me. When the others saw her embracing me, they too began to kiss me and lead me around the tower and play with me.

⁵ I felt as if I had become young again, and I began to play with them myself. Some of them danced in a ring, some danced, and some sang, while I

walked silently with them around the tower and was cheerful with them. ⁶When evening came, I wanted to go home, but they would not let me. They kept me with them, and I stayed with them for the night and slept by the tower. ⁷The young women spread their linen tunics on the ground and had me lie down in the middle of them. They did nothing at all except pray, and I prayed with them without stopping, no less than they did. The young women were glad to see me praying this way. I stayed there with them until the next day, until the second hour. ⁸Then the shepherd arrived and said to the young women, “You haven’t done him any harm, have you?” “Ask him,” they said. I said to him, “Sir, I was happy to stay with them.” “What did you have for dinner?” he said. “Sir,” I said, “I dined on the words of the Lord all night long.” “Did they receive you well?” he said. “Yes, sir,” I said.

⁹“Now,” he said, “what do you want to hear first?” “Sir,” I said, “in the order you showed me from the beginning. I ask you, sir, to explain things to me in the same order that I ask them.” “As you wish,” he said, “I will explain to you, and I will hide nothing at all from you.”

CHAPTER 12

The explanation of the parable

¹“Sir,” I said, “first of all explain this to me: what are the rock and the gate?” “This rock and gate,” he said, “is the Son of God.” “Sir,” I said, “how is it that the rock is old, but the gate is new?” “Listen,” he said, “and understand, you slow-witted man. ²“The Son of God is older than all his creation, so that he became the Father’s adviser in making his creation. That is why the rock is old.” “But why is the gate new, sir?” I said.¹¹⁵ ³“Because,” he said, “he was revealed in the last days at the end of the age. That is why the gate became new, so that those who are going to be saved may enter the kingdom of God through it. ⁴“You saw the stones that came in through the gate and were placed in the building of the tower, and the ones that did not come in were thrown back to their own place?” “I saw, sir,” I said. “In the same way,”

114. Later in this parable the shepherd explains the young women as holy spirits, powers of the Son of God (9.13). He also names them as virtues; the first four are Faith, Self-control, Power, and Patience (9.15). The scene pictures Hermas being welcomed into their company as a brother. It is not a romantic episode, as the words “not as a husband” make plain.

115. Compare Proverbs 8:22-31, where Wisdom is with God before the world is made and takes part in its making. Many early Christian writers applied that passage to Christ. John 1:1-3 and Colossians 1:15-17 also say the Son existed before creation and that all things were made through him. They do not call him the Father’s “adviser,” which is Hermas’s own way of putting it.

he said, “no one will enter the kingdom of God unless he receives his holy name.

⁵ “If you want to enter a city, and that city is walled all around and has only one gate, can you enter that city except through the gate it has?” “How could it be done any other way, sir?” I said. “So if you cannot enter the city except through its gate,” he said, “in the same way a person cannot enter the kingdom of God except through the name of his Son, the one loved by him.”¹¹⁶ [John 3:5] ⁶ “Did you see the crowd that was building the tower?” “I saw them, sir,” I said. “They are all glorious angels,” he said. “So the Lord is walled around by these. The gate is the Son of God, and this is the one entrance to the Lord. So no one will come in to him in any other way than through his Son.

The six men

⁷ “You saw the six men, and in the middle of them the glorious, great man who walked around the tower and rejected the stones from the building?” “I saw them, sir,” I said.

The glorious man

⁸ “The glorious man,” he said, “is the Son of God. Those six are the glorious angels who stand on his right and left, supporting him. None of these glorious angels will enter into God’s presence without him. Whoever does not receive his name will not enter the kingdom of God.”

CHAPTER 13

The Tower

¹ “And the tower,” I said, “what is it?” “This tower,” he said, “is the church.”

The Maidens

² “And who are these young women?” “These are holy spirits,” he said. “A person cannot be found in the kingdom of God in any other way unless they clothe him in their clothing. If you receive only the name but do not receive the clothing from them, you gain nothing. These young women are the powers of the Son of God. If you wear his name but do not wear his power, you will be wearing his name for nothing.”¹¹⁷ ³ “The stones you saw thrown out,” he said, “are those who wore the name but did not put on the clothing

116. Compare John 10:7-9, where Jesus calls himself the gate, and John 14:6 and Acts 4:12, where salvation comes only through him and his name.

of the young women.” “What is their clothing, sir?” I said. “Their very names are their clothing,” he said. “Whoever wears the name of the Son of God must also wear their names, for the Son himself wears the names of these young women. ⁴ “All the stones you saw go into the building of the tower, handed in by the young women’s hands and remaining in the building, are people who have put on the power of these young women.

⁵ “That is why you see the tower has become one single stone together with the rock. In the same way, those who believe in the Lord through his Son and put on these spirits will become one spirit and one body, and their clothing will all be one color. Such people, who wear the names of the young women, have their home in the tower.”¹¹⁸ [*Ephesians 4:4*]

The rejected stones

⁶ “Sir,” I said, “then why were the rejected stones rejected? They passed through the gate and were put into the building of the tower by the hands of the young women.” “Since you care about everything and ask so precisely,” he said, “hear about the rejected stones. ⁷ “All of these received the name of the Son of God, and they also received the power of these young women. Having received these spirits, they were strengthened and were with God’s servants, and they had one spirit, one body, and one garment. For they shared the same mind and practiced righteousness. [*Ephesians 4:4*] ⁸ “Then after a time they were led astray by the women you saw dressed in black, with their shoulders bare, their hair loose, and beautiful to look at. When they saw these women they desired them and put on their power, and they took off the clothing and the power of the young women.

⁹ “So these were thrown out of the house of God and handed over to those women. But those who were not deceived by the beauty of these women stayed in the house of God. Now you have the explanation of the rejected stones.”

CHAPTER 14

¹ “Sir,” I said, “what if these people, being what they are, repent and throw away the desires of those women, and return to the young women and walk

117. Hermas insists that bearing Christ’s name is worthless without a changed life. Elsewhere he links receiving the name with the “seal” of baptism (Similitude 9, chapter 16). The point is shared with James 2:14-26 and Matthew 7:21. The twelve young women are named in Similitude 9, chapter 15: Faith, Self-control, Power, Patience, Sincerity, Innocence, Purity, Cheerfulness, Truth, Understanding, Harmony, and Love.

in their power and in their works? Will they not enter the house of God?"

² "They will enter," he said, "if they throw away the works of those women and take up again the power of the young women and walk in their works. That is why there was a pause in the building: so that, if they repent, they may go into the building of the tower. But if they do not repent, then others will enter, and these will be thrown out for good." ³ For all this I gave thanks to the Lord, because he had compassion on all who call on his name and sent the angel of repentance to us who had sinned against him. He renewed our spirit, and when we were already ruined and had no hope of living, he renewed our life.

⁴ "Now, sir," I said, "explain to me why the tower was not built on the ground, but on the rock and on the gate." "Are you still foolish and slow to understand?" he said. "I have to ask you about everything, sir," I said, "because I cannot understand anything at all. Everything is great and glorious and hard for people to understand." ⁵ "Listen," he said. "The name of the Son of God is great and immeasurable, and it carries the whole world. If the whole creation is carried by the Son of God, what do you think of those who are called by him, who wear the name of the Son of God and walk in his commandments? ⁶ "Do you see, then, whom he carries? Those who wear his name with their whole heart. He has become their foundation, and he carries them gladly, because they are not ashamed to wear his name."

CHAPTER 15

The Maidens and the women clothed in black

¹ "Sir," I said, "tell me the names of the young women and of the women dressed in black." "Listen," he said, "to the names of the stronger young women, the ones standing at the corners. ² "The first is Faith, the second Self-control, the third Power, and the fourth Patience. The others standing between them have these names: Simplicity, Innocence, Purity, Cheerfulness, Truth, Understanding, Harmony, and Love. Whoever wears these names, and the name of the Son of God, will be able to enter the kingdom of God. ³ "Now listen also to the names of the women dressed in black. Four of these are stronger too. The first is Unbelief, the second Lack of Self-control, the third Disobedience, and the fourth Deceit. Their followers are called Grief, Wickedness, Wantonness, Bad Temper, Falsehood, Foolishness,

118. Compare Ephesians 4:4, "one body and one Spirit."

Slander, and Hatred. A servant of God who wears these names will see the kingdom of God, but will not enter it.”

The stones of the foundation

⁴ “Sir,” I said, “who are the stones from the deep that were fitted into the building?” “The first ones, the ten placed in the foundation,” he said, “are the first generation. The twenty-five are the second generation of righteous men. The thirty-five are the prophets of God and his servants. And the forty are the apostles and teachers of the proclamation of the Son of God.” ⁵ “Sir,” I said, “why then did the young women hand over these stones too for the building of the tower, carrying them through the gate?” ⁶ “Because,” he said, “these were the first to wear these spirits, and they never separated from each other at all, neither the spirits from the people nor the people from the spirits. The spirits stayed with them until they fell asleep. If they had not had these spirits with them, they would not have been useful for building this tower.”

CHAPTER 16

The stones from the deep

¹ “Sir,” I said, “explain still more to me.” “What are you looking for?” he said. “Sir,” I said, “why did the stones come up from the deep and get put into the building of the tower, when they had worn these spirits?” ² “They had to come up through water,” he said, “in order to be made alive. For they could not enter the kingdom of God in any other way than by putting away the deadness of their former life. ³ “So these who had fallen asleep also received the seal of the Son of God and entered the kingdom of God. Before a person wears the name of the Son of God, he is dead. But when he receives the seal, he puts aside the deadness and takes on life. ⁴ “The seal, then, is the water. People go down into the water dead and come up alive. This seal was proclaimed to them too, and they used it to enter the kingdom of God.”¹¹⁹

⁵ “Sir,” I said, “why did the forty stones also come up from the deep with them, when they had already received the seal?” “Because,” he said, “these

119. Hermas plainly identifies “the seal” with the water of baptism. He pictures righteous people who died before Christ, such as the prophets of Similitude 9.15.4, receiving baptism after death. He tries in this way to explain how they could be saved when baptism is the entrance to the kingdom. The New Testament speaks of Christ preaching to the dead (1 Peter 3:19; 4:6), but it does not say that baptism was given to them. Clement of Alexandria cited this passage of Hermas approvingly, but the wider church did not adopt the idea as teaching.

apostles and teachers who preached the name of the Son of God fell asleep in the power and faith of the Son of God. Then they preached also to those who had fallen asleep before them, and they themselves gave them the seal of the proclamation. ⁶ “So they went down into the water with them and came up again. But the apostles and teachers went down alive and came up alive, while those who had fallen asleep earlier went down dead and came up alive. ⁷ “Through the apostles and teachers, then, those people were made alive and came to know the name of the Son of God. That is why they came up with them and were fitted together into the building of the tower. They were built in without being cut, for they fell asleep in righteousness and great purity. They only lacked this seal. Now you have the explanation of these too.” “I have it, sir,” I said.

CHAPTER 17

The mountains

¹ “Now, sir, explain to me about the mountains. Why do they look different, each in its own way?” “Listen,” he said. “These twelve mountains are the tribes that inhabit the whole world. The Son of God was proclaimed to them through the apostles.” ² “Explain to me, sir, why the mountains look so different, each one with its own appearance.” “Listen,” he said. “These twelve tribes that inhabit the whole world are twelve nations. They differ in their thinking and understanding. The variety you saw in the mountains is the variety in the minds and thinking of the nations. I will explain to you what each one does.” ³ “First of all, sir,” I said, “explain this to me. Why, though the mountains were so different, did their stones become bright and all one color when they were put into the building, like the stones that came up from the deep?” ⁴ “Because,” he said, “all the nations that live under heaven, having heard and believed, were called by the name of the Son of God. When they received the seal, they had one understanding and one mind. Their faith became one and their love became one, and together with the name they wore the spirits of the young women. That is why the building of the tower became bright, with one color like the sun.”¹²⁰

120. Compare Ephesians 4:3-6, with its repeated “one,” and Revelation 7:9, where people of every nation stand before the throne.

5 “But after they had come together and become one body, some of them defiled themselves and were thrown out of the family of the righteous. They became once again what they had been before, or rather even worse.”

CHAPTER 18

Why the backsliders are worse than the unconverted

1 “Sir,” I said, “how did they become worse, when they had come to know God?” “Someone who does not know God and does evil,” he said, “receives some punishment for his evil. But someone who has come to know God should no longer do evil, but good. 2 “So if a person who ought to do good does evil instead, doesn’t he seem to do more evil than the one who does not know God? That is why those who do not know God and do evil are condemned to death, but those who know God and have seen his mighty works and still do evil will be punished twice over and will die forever. This is how the church of God will be cleansed.¹²¹ 3 “You saw how the stones were removed from the tower, handed over to the evil spirits, and thrown out from there. (And there will be one body of those who have been cleansed, just as the tower, after it was cleansed, became as if it were made of a single stone.) So it will be with the church of God too, after it has been cleansed and the wicked, the hypocrites, the blasphemers, the double-minded, and those who do various kinds of evil have been thrown out of it.

4 “After these have been thrown out, the church of God will be one body, one mind, one understanding, one faith, one love. Then the Son of God will rejoice and be glad in them, having received his people pure.” “Sir,” I said, “this is all great and glorious.” 5 “Sir,” I said, “explain further to me the meaning and the deeds of each of the mountains, so that every soul that trusts the Lord may hear and glorify his great, wonderful, and glorious name.” “Listen,” he said, “to the variety of the mountains and of the twelve nations.

CHAPTER 19

The characteristics of the mountains; The first mountain

1 “Believers from the first mountain, the black one, are like this: they are apostates, blasphemers against the Lord, and betrayers of God’s servants. For

121. The principle here, that more knowledge means more responsibility, matches Luke 12:47-48, Hebrews 10:26-31, and 2 Peter 2:20-21.

these there is no repentance, but there is death. That is why they are black, for their kind is lawless.

The second mountain

² “Believers from the second mountain, the bare one, are like this: hypocrites and teachers of wickedness. These are like the first group, since they have no fruit of righteousness. Just as their mountain bears nothing, so such people have the name but are empty of faith, and there is no fruit of truth in them. For these repentance is available, if they repent quickly. But if they delay, their death will be with the first group.” [James 3:18] ³ “Sir,” I said, “why is there repentance for these, but not for the first group? Their actions are nearly the same.” “There is repentance for these,” he said, “because they did not blaspheme their Lord and did not betray God’s servants. But out of greed for profit they acted as hypocrites, and each one taught according to the desires of sinful people. They will pay some penalty, but repentance is open to them because they did not become blasphemers or betrayers.”

CHAPTER 20

The third mountain

¹ “Believers from the third mountain, the one with thorns and thistles, are like this. Some of them are rich, and some are tangled up in many business affairs. The thistles are the rich, and the thorns are those tangled up in various business affairs.¹²² ² “These people, tangled up in many and various affairs, do not stay close to God’s servants but wander off, choked by their activities. The rich find it hard to stay close to God’s servants, because they are afraid they will be asked for something. Such people will enter the kingdom of God only with difficulty.¹²³ ³ “Just as it is hard to walk barefoot among thistles, so it is hard for such people to enter the kingdom of God. ⁴ “Yet for all of these there is repentance, but it must be quick. That way, what they failed to do in earlier times they may now make up for in these days, and they may do some good. If they repent and do some good, they will live to God. If they stay in their deeds, they will be handed over to those women, who will put them to death.”¹²⁴

122. Compare Mark 4:18-19, the parable of the sower, where thorns stand for the worries of the world and the deceitfulness of riches.

123. Compare Mark 10:23, “How hard it will be for those who have wealth to enter the kingdom of God!” Hermas uses the same Greek word for “with difficulty.”

CHAPTER 21

The fourth mountain

¹ “Believers from the fourth mountain are like this. That mountain has many plants that are green at the top but dry near the roots, and some are dried up by the sun. Some of these believers are double-minded, and some have the Lord on their lips but not in their hearts.¹²⁵ ² “That is why their foundations are dry and have no strength, and only their words are alive, while their works are dead. Such people are neither alive nor dead. They are like the double-minded, for the double-minded are neither green nor dry, since they are neither alive nor dead.¹²⁶ ³ “Just as these plants dried up when they saw the sun, so the double-minded, when they hear of affliction, worship idols out of cowardice and are ashamed of the name of their Lord.¹²⁷ ⁴ “Such people are neither alive nor dead. But if they repent quickly, they will be able to live. If they do not repent, they have already been handed over to the women who take their life away.”

CHAPTER 22

The fifth mountain

¹ “Believers from the fifth mountain, the rugged one with green plants, are like this: they are faithful, but slow to learn, stubborn, and pleased with themselves. They want to know everything and yet know nothing at all. ² “Because of this stubbornness, understanding has left them and senseless folly has entered them. They praise themselves for having understanding and want to be self-appointed teachers, though they are foolish. ³ “Because of this arrogance many were emptied out through exalting themselves, for stubbornness and empty self-confidence are a great demon. Many of them were thrown out, but some repented and believed and submitted themselves to those who have understanding, recognizing their own foolishness.¹²⁸ ⁴ “For the rest of such people repentance is open, for they did not become

124. “Those women” are the women dressed in black from earlier in this parable. Hermas explains that they stand for vices such as unbelief, disobedience, deceit, and licentiousness.

125. Compare Isaiah 29:13, quoted by Jesus in Matthew 15:8, about people who honor God with their lips while their hearts are far from him.

126. Compare James 2:17, “faith by itself, if it does not have works, is dead.”

127. Compare the parable of the sower in Mark 4:5-6, 16-17. There the plants on rocky ground are scorched by the sun, and they stand for people who fall away when affliction or persecution comes.

128. Hermas more than once calls a vice a “demon” (Greek *daimonion*), treating it as a spiritual force that takes hold of a person. For example, in Mandate 2 he calls slander a “restless demon.”

evil, but rather foolish and without understanding. If these repent, they will live to God. If they do not repent, they will live with the women who do evil to them.

CHAPTER 23

The sixth mountain

¹ “Believers from the sixth mountain, the one with large and small cracks and withered plants in the cracks, are like this. ² “Those with small cracks are those who have something against one another, and who have withered in the faith because of their slanders. But many of these have repented, and the rest will repent when they hear my commandments, since their slander is small and they will repent quickly. ³ “Those with large cracks are persistent in their slander and hold grudges, staying angry with one another. These were thrown out of the tower and rejected from its building. Such people will live only with difficulty. ⁴ “If God and our Lord, who rules over all things and has authority over all his creation, does not hold a grudge against those who confess their sins but is merciful, how can a mortal human being, full of sins, hold a grudge against another human being, as if he could destroy or save him?¹²⁹ [*James 4:12*]

⁵ “I, the angel of repentance, tell you: all of you who have this factious spirit, lay it aside and repent. The Lord will heal your former sins, if you cleanse yourselves of this demon. If not, you will be handed over to it to die.

130

CHAPTER 24

The seventh mountain

¹ “As for the seventh mountain: its plants were green and cheerful, and the whole mountain was thriving. Every kind of livestock and the birds of the sky fed on its plants, and the plants they fed on grew even more lush. The believers from this mountain are like this. ² “They were always sincere, innocent, and blessed, holding nothing against one another. They always rejoiced in God’s servants and were clothed in the holy spirit of these young women. They were always compassionate toward every person, and from their labors

129. Compare Matthew 6:14-15 and 18:21-35 on forgiving others because God has forgiven us, and James 4:12, where only one is lawgiver and judge, “he who is able to save and to destroy.”

130. The Greek word here is *hairesis*, which later came to mean “heresy.” Here it refers to a party spirit or factiousness, the grudge-holding just described, not false doctrine.

they supplied everyone without scolding and without hesitating.¹³¹ ³ “So the Lord, seeing their sincerity and complete childlike innocence, made them prosper in the work of their hands and showed them favor in everything they did. ⁴ “I, the angel of repentance, tell you who are like this: stay as you are, and your descendants will never be wiped out. The Lord has tested you and written you into our number, and all your descendants will live with the Son of God, for you have received from his Spirit.”

CHAPTER 25

The eighth mountain

¹ “Believers from the eighth mountain, where there were many springs and all the Lord’s creation drank from the springs, are like this: ² “apostles and teachers who preached to the whole world and taught the word of the Lord with reverence and purity. They never kept back anything at all for themselves out of evil desire, but always walked in righteousness and truth, just as they had received the Holy Spirit. So such people have their way in with the angels.”¹³²

CHAPTER 26

The ninth mountain

¹ “Believers from the ninth mountain, the desert one, with reptiles and wild animals on it that destroy people, are like this: ² “Those with the stains are ministers who served badly. They plundered the livelihood of widows and orphans and made a profit for themselves out of the ministry they had received. If they stay in the same greed, they are dead and have no hope of life. But if they turn around and complete their ministry in purity, they will be able to live.¹³³ ³ “Those who were scabby are those who denied their Lord and did not turn back to him. They became barren and desolate. They do not stay close to God’s servants but keep to themselves, and so they are destroying their own souls. ⁴ “A vine left in a fenced place and neglected is ruined and overrun by weeds, and in time it grows wild and is no longer any

131. “Without scolding” echoes the language of James 1:5, where God gives to all generously “without reproaching.”

132. The word translated “way in” (parodos, “passage, entrance”) is unusual here. It probably means they will enter glory in the company of the angels.

133. The word for “ministers” is diakonoi, from which we get “deacons.” In the early church deacons often handled the distribution of money and food to the poor (compare Acts 6:1-6), so Hermas’s complaint is about misusing charitable funds.

use to its master. In the same way such people have given up on themselves and become wild and useless to their Lord.

5 “For these there is repentance, if they are not found to have denied him from the heart. But if someone is found to have denied him from the heart, I do not know whether he can live. 6 “I do not say this for the present days, as if someone could deny him now and then receive repentance. It is impossible for anyone who denies his Lord from now on to be saved. But repentance seems to be available for those who denied him in the past. So if anyone is going to repent, let him hurry before the tower is finished. Otherwise the women will destroy him completely, to the point of death.¹³⁴ 7 “The chipped ones are deceitful and slanderous people, and they are the wild animals you saw on the mountain. Just as wild animals destroy and kill a person with their venom, so the words of such people destroy and kill a person.

8 “These are chipped away from their faith because of the way they behave within themselves. But some repented and were saved. The rest who are like this can be saved too, if they repent. But if they do not repent, they will be put to death by those women whose power they have.”¹³⁵

CHAPTER 27

The tenth mountain

1 “Believers from the tenth mountain, where there were trees sheltering some sheep, are like this: 2 “bishops and hospitable people who always gladly welcomed God’s servants into their homes without hypocrisy. The bishops always sheltered those in need and the widows by their service without ceasing, and always lived in purity.¹³⁶ 3 “All of these will be sheltered by the Lord forever. Those who have done these things are glorious before God, and their place is already with the angels, if they continue serving the Lord to the end.”

134. “The women” are the women dressed in black from earlier in the parable, who stand for vices such as Unbelief, Self-indulgence, Disobedience and Deceit (Similitude 9.15.3).

135. “Those women” are probably the twelve women dressed in black from earlier in this parable (9.9.5; 9.15.3). They stand for vices, among them Deceit and Slander. People who take on their character share their “power,” and that power leads to death.

136. “Bishops” here translates *episkopoi*, “overseers.” In Hermas’s Rome the leadership seems to have been shared by a group (see Vision 2.4.3, where he speaks of “the presbyters who lead the church”). The duties stressed here are hospitality and care for the poor.

The eleventh mountain

¹ “Believers from the eleventh mountain, where there were trees full of fruit, each decorated with different fruits, are like this: ² “those who suffered for the name of the Son of God, who suffered willingly with their whole heart and gave up their lives.” ³ “Sir,” I said, “why do all the trees have fruit, but the fruit of some is more beautiful?” “Listen,” he said. “All who have ever suffered for the name are glorious before God, and the sins of all of them were taken away, because they suffered for the name of the Son of God. Now listen to why their fruits differ and some are better than others.¹³⁷ ⁴ “Those who were brought before authorities, questioned, and did not deny, but suffered willingly, are more glorious before the Lord. Their fruit is the finest. But those who were fearful and hesitated, who debated in their hearts whether to deny or to confess, and then suffered, have smaller fruits, because that thought came into their hearts. It is an evil thought that a slave would deny his own master.¹³⁸

⁵ “So you who are thinking such thoughts, be careful that this thought does not remain in your hearts, or you will die to God. But you who suffer for the name ought to glorify God, because God has thought you worthy to carry this name and have all your sins healed. [*1 Peter 4:15-16*] ⁶ “Count yourselves blessed. Yet you think you have done something great if any of you suffers for God. The Lord is giving you life, and you do not realize it. Your sins weighed you down, and if you had not suffered for the name of the Lord, you would have died to God because of your sins.¹³⁹ ⁷ “I am saying this to you who hesitate over denying or confessing. Confess that you have a Lord, so that you are not handed over to prison for denying him.¹⁴⁰ ⁸ “If the Gentiles punish their slaves when one denies his master, what do you think

137. Hermas says that suffering for Christ’s name took away the martyrs’ sins (see also 26.28.5–6). The New Testament teaches that sins are cleansed by Christ’s blood and sacrifice (1 John 1:7; Hebrews 9:14; Revelation 1:5). It also speaks of suffering for Christ as a gift and a mark of belonging to him (Philippians 1:29; 1 Peter 4:14–16). The idea that martyrdom cleanses sin was later developed by writers such as Tertullian, who called martyrdom a “second baptism” (On Baptism 16).

138. The Greek word *kyrios* means both “master” (of a slave) and “Lord.” Hermas is playing on this: denying one’s master is a picture of denying the Lord.

139. The Greek verb for “you think” can also be read as a command, “think that you have done something great,” and some translators take it that way. The translation above takes it as a rebuke, which fits the following sentences: suffering is the Lord’s gift of life to them, not their own great achievement.

the Lord, who has authority over everything, will do to you? Take these thoughts out of your hearts, so that you may live to God forever.”

CHAPTER 29

The twelfth mountain

¹ “Believers from the twelfth mountain, the white one, are like this: they are like little babies, in whose hearts no evil arises and who have never known what wickedness is, but have always stayed in innocence. ² “Such people will live in the kingdom of God without doubt, because in nothing did they defile the commandments of God, but stayed in innocence with the same mind all the days of their lives.¹⁴¹ ³ “All of you, then, who stay like this and are like babies with no wickedness will be more glorious than all those mentioned before. All babies are glorious before God and come first with him. Blessed are you who remove evil from yourselves and put on innocence: you will be the first of all to live to God.”

The stones taken out of the plain

⁴ After he had finished explaining the parables of the mountains, I said to him, “Sir, now explain to me about the stones that were taken from the plain and put into the building in place of the stones taken from the tower, and about the round stones that were put into the building, and those that are still round.”

CHAPTER 30

¹ “Listen,” he said, “to all of this too. The stones taken from the plain and put into the building of the tower in place of the rejected ones are the roots of the white mountain. ² “Since all believers from the white mountain were found to be innocent, the lord of the tower ordered these to be taken from the roots of this mountain and put into the building of the tower. He knew that if these stones went into the building of the tower, they would stay bright and none of them would turn black. ³ “If he had added stones from other mountains, he would have needed to visit the tower again and cleanse it. But all of these, both those who have believed and those who will believe, were found white, for they are of the same kind. Blessed is this kind, because

140. Denying Christ was the way to be released by a Roman court. So the “prison” threatened here is probably God’s punishment, as the next verse suggests.

141. Compare Matthew 18:3 and 19:14, where Jesus says that the kingdom belongs to those who are like children.

it is innocent.¹⁴² ⁴ “Now listen about the round, bright stones. They also are all from the white mountain. Listen to why they were found round. Their riches have hidden them a little from the truth and darkened them, but they never left God, and no evil word came from their mouths, but only fairness and the virtue of truth.

⁵ “When the Lord saw their mind, that they could favor the truth and stay good, he ordered their wealth to be trimmed back, but not removed entirely, so that they could do some good with what was left to them. And they will live to God, because they are of a good kind. That is why they were trimmed a little and put into the building of this tower.

CHAPTER 31

The round stones

¹ “The others, which still remained round and were not fitted into that building because they had not yet received the seal, were put back in their place, since they were found to be very round. ² “This world and the empty things of their riches must be cut away from them, and then they will be fit for the kingdom of God. They must enter the kingdom of God, for the Lord has blessed this innocent kind. So not one of this kind will perish. Even if one of them is tempted by the most wicked devil and does something wrong, he will quickly return to his Lord. ³ “I, the angel of repentance, call you all happy who are innocent like infants, for your portion is good and honored with God. ⁴ “But I say to all of you who have received this seal: keep simplicity, do not hold grudges, and do not stay in your wickedness or in the bitter memory of offenses. Be of one spirit. Heal these evil divisions and remove them from among you, so that the lord of the sheep may rejoice over them.

⁵ “He will rejoice if all of them are found healthy and none of them has fallen away. But if some of them are found to have fallen away, it will be woe to the shepherds. ⁶ “And if the shepherds themselves are found to have fallen away, what will they say to the master of the flock? That they fell away because of the sheep? They will not be believed, for it is unbelievable that a shepherd should be harmed by the sheep. Instead they will be punished for

142. Near this point the main Greek manuscript of the Shepherd breaks off. For the rest of the book the text is known mainly from ancient Latin translations, with only a few Greek fragments, such as 31.5–6 below. This version follows the Latin where the Greek is lacking, and the Greek where it survives.

their lie. I too am a shepherd, and I must most surely give an account for you.

143

CHAPTER 32

¹ “Therefore, set yourselves right while the tower is still being built.

The final exhortation of the shepherd

² “The Lord lives among people who love peace, for peace is dear to him. But he stays far from the quarrelsome and from those who have been ruined by malice. So give him back your spirit whole, just as you received it. ³ “Suppose you gave a launderer a new, whole garment and wanted it back whole, and the launderer gave it back to you torn. Would you accept it? Wouldn’t you immediately lose your temper and chase him with abuse, saying, ‘I gave you a whole garment. Why did you tear it and give it back to me useless? Because of the tear you made in it, it can’t be used.’ Wouldn’t you say all this to the launderer about the tear he made in your garment? ⁴ “If you are upset about your garment and complain that you did not get it back whole, what do you think the Lord will do to you? He gave you the spirit whole, and you have returned it completely useless, so that it can be of no use to its master, because it has been spoiled by you. Won’t the Lord of that spirit punish you with death for what you have done?”

⁵ “Certainly,” I said, “he will punish all those he finds holding on to the memory of wrongs.” “Do not trample on his mercy,” he said, “but honor him instead, because he is so patient with your offenses and is not like you. Repent, then, with the repentance that is useful for you.

CHAPTER 33

¹ “All these things written above, I, the shepherd, the angel of repentance, have shown and spoken to God’s servants. If you believe and listen to my words, walk in them, and correct your ways, you will be able to live. But if you stay in malice and in the memory of offenses, none of that kind will live to God. Everything I had to say has been said to you.” ² The shepherd said to me, “Have you asked me about everything?” I said, “Yes, sir.” “Then why did you not ask me about the marks of the stones set in the building, why we filled in the marks?” I said, “I forgot, sir.” ³ “Listen now,” he said, “about them. These are the ones who have heard my commandments and repented

143. The idea of a shepherd who must “give an account” for those in his care recalls Hebrews 13:17.

with their whole heart. When the Lord saw that their repentance was good and pure, and that they could remain in it, he ordered their earlier sins to be erased. Those marks were their sins, and they were smoothed over so that they would not show.”

SIMILITUDE 10

CHAPTER 1

The final vision of the Angel

¹ After I had written this book, the angel who had handed me over to the shepherd came to the house where I was and sat down on the couch, and the shepherd stood at his right. Then he called me and said to me: ² “I have handed you and your house over to this shepherd, so that you can be protected by him.” “Yes, sir,” I said. “So if you want to be protected from all trouble and all cruelty,” he said, “and to have success in every good work and word and in every virtue of righteousness, walk in his commandments, which I have given you, and you will be able to rule over all wickedness. ³ “If you keep his commandments, every desire and pleasure of this age will be subject to you, and success in every good undertaking will follow you. Take on his maturity and moderation, and tell everyone that he is held in great honor and dignity by the Lord, and that he is a ruler of great authority and powerful in his office. To him alone, in all the world, has authority over repentance been given. Doesn’t he seem powerful to you? But you people despise his maturity and the modesty he shows toward you.”

CHAPTER 2

¹ I said to him, “Sir, ask the shepherd himself whether, since he has been in my house, I have done anything out of line that might have offended him.” ² “I know,” he said, “that you have done nothing out of line, and that you will not do so. That is why I am speaking to you like this, so that you will persevere, for he has given me a good report of you. But you will tell these words to others, so that those who have repented or will repent may think as you do. Then he may give me a good report of them, and I may give one to the Lord.” ³ “Sir,” I said, “I make known the mighty acts of the Lord to everyone. I hope that all who have sinned before, if they hear this, will gladly repent and recover life.” ⁴ “Stay, then,” he said, “in this ministry and complete it. Whoever carries out his commandments will have life, and this

shepherd will have great honor with the Lord. But those who do not keep his commandments are running away from their own life and setting themselves against him. They do not follow his commandments but hand themselves over to death, and each of them becomes guilty of his own blood. But I tell you to keep these commandments, and you will have a cure for your sins.”¹⁴⁴

CHAPTER 3

Hermas and the maidens

¹ “I sent these young women to you to live with you, because I saw they were friendly to you. So you have them as helpers, to be better able to keep his commandments. These commandments cannot be kept without these young women. I also see that they are with you willingly. But I will order them not to leave your house at all.”¹⁴⁵ ² “Only make your house clean. They will gladly live in a clean house, for they are pure, chaste, and hard-working, and all of them are in favor with the Lord. So if they find your house pure, they will stay with you. But if even a little uncleanness comes into it, they will leave your house at once, for these young women love no uncleanness of any kind.” ³ I said to him, “I hope, sir, that I will please them, so that they will gladly live in my house always. And just as the one to whom you handed me over finds no fault with me, they will find no fault with me either.”

⁴ The angel said to the shepherd, “I know that the servant of God wants to live, that he will keep these commandments, and that he will give the young women a pure place to live.” ⁵ After saying this to the shepherd, he handed me over to him again. He called the young women and said to them, “Since I see that you gladly live in this man’s house, I commend him and his house to you, so that you never leave his house.” They were glad to hear these words.

CHAPTER 4

¹ Then he said to me, “Carry out this ministry with courage. Make known to everyone the mighty acts of the Lord, and you will have favor in this min-

144. The Latin says literally “and this one will have great honor with the Lord.” Elsewhere in this passage “this one” refers to the shepherd, but it could also mean the person who keeps the commandments.

145. These young women are the twelve virgins of the ninth Parable, who are explained there as holy spirits, powers of the Son of God, and are named as virtues such as Faith, Self-control, and Love (Parable 9.13–15).

istry. So whoever walks in these commandments will live and be happy in his life. But whoever neglects them will not live and will be unhappy in his life.

² “Tell everyone who is able to do right not to stop. Doing good works is useful to them. I say that every person ought to be rescued from distress, for the one who is in need and suffers hardship in daily life is in great torment and necessity. ³ “Whoever rescues the soul of such a person from need gains great joy for himself. The person troubled by such distress is tortured with the same torment as someone in chains. Many people bring death on themselves because of calamities like these, when they cannot bear them. So whoever knows the distress of such a person and does not rescue him commits a great sin and becomes guilty of his blood.¹⁴⁶

⁴ “So do good works, all of you who have received from the Lord, so that the building of the tower is not finished while you are slow to do them. The work of building has been paused for your sake. Unless you hurry to do right, the tower will be finished and you will be shut out.”¹⁴⁷ ⁵ After he had spoken to me, he got up from the couch, took the shepherd and the young women, and left. But he told me that he would send the shepherd and the young women back to my house.

146. Compare James 2:15-16 and 1 John 3:17-18 on the sin of seeing a brother in need and doing nothing. The phrase “guilty of his blood” recalls the language of Ezekiel 3:18 and 33:6, where the watchman who fails to warn is held responsible for the blood of those who die.

147. In Hermas the tower stands for the church (see Vision 3 and Parable 9).

Fragments of Papias

PAPIAS OF HIERAPOLIS

c. AD 60–130

Bishop in Asia Minor who collected sayings of the Lord from those who knew the apostles.

[~100 AD] FRAGMENTS OF PAPIAS (FROM HIS 5 BOOKS CALLED
EXPOSITIONS OF ORACLES OF THE LORD)

¹Papias' works did not survive to the present day, we only can see fragments of his works as quoted by others. The modern comprehensive volume of the fragments of Papias is "Papias of Hierapolis Exposition of Dominical Oracles", by Stephen C. Carlson. However given that it costs enough to empty your wallet, we instead turn to other sources. Dr. TC Schmidt, an Assistant Professor of New Testament and Early Christianity at Fairfield University, did some extensive research on Papias earlier in his career and published it online. Also worth reviewing: <http://www.hypotyposeis.org/synoptic-problem/2004/10/external-evidence-papias.html> <https://web.archive.org/web/20060202001319/http://www.mindspring.com/~scarlson/synopt/ext/papias.htm> <https://peterkirby.com/putting-papias-in-order.html> <https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/fragments-of-papias-12534>

[AD 180] *Irenaeus of Lyons*

²Against Heresies 5.33.3–4 The predicted blessing, therefore, belongs unquestionably to the times of the kingdom, when the righteous shall bear rule upon their rising from the dead; when also the creation, having been renovated and set free, shall fructify with an abundance of all kinds of food, from the dew of heaven, and from the fertility of the earth: as the elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, related that they had heard from him how the Lord used to teach in regard to these times, and say: The days will come, in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand branches, and in each branch ten thousand twigs, and in each true twig ten thousand shoots, and

in each one of the shoots ten thousand clusters, and on every one of the clusters ten thousand grapes, and every grape when pressed will give five and twenty metretes of wine. And when any one of the saints shall lay hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, "I am a better cluster, take me; bless the Lord through me. In like manner [the Lord declared] that a grain of wheat would produce ten thousand ears, and that every ear should have ten thousand grains, and every grain would yield ten pounds (quinque bilibres) of clear, pure, fine flour; and that all other fruit-bearing trees, and seeds and grass, would produce in similar proportions (secundum congruentiam iis consequentem);

³and that all animals feeding [only] on the productions of the earth, should [in those days] become peaceful and harmonious among each other, and be in perfect subjection to man. And these things are borne witness to in writing by Papias, the hearer of John, and a companion of Polycarp, in his fourth book; for there were five books compiled (συντεταγμένα) by him. And he says in addition, "Now these things are credible to believers. And he says that, "when the traitor Judas did not give credit to them, and put the question, 'How then can things about to bring forth so abundantly be wrought by the Lord.' the Lord declared, 'They who shall come to these [times] shall see.'"

[AD 303] *Eusebius of Caesarea*

⁴[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation. Eusebius wrote his *Chronicon* in the year 303AD. I am fairly certain that the Greek for this passage comes from an unattributed quotation from George Syncellus' *Chronology* 424. When it is matched with Jerome's translation of Eusebius, it seems certain that this is what Eusebius said. *Chronicon* 220th Olympiad/100AD Irenaeus and others record that John the Theologian and Apostle survived until the times of Trajan; after which Papias of Hierapolis and Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, both of whom heard him, became well known. *Ecclesiastical History* 3.34.1-3.36.2 In the third year of the reign of the emperor mentioned above, Clement committed the episcopal government of the church of Rome to Evarestus, and departed this life after he had superintended the teaching of the divine word nine years in all. But when Symeon also had died in the manner described, a certain Jew by the name of Justus succeeded to the episcopal throne in Jerusalem. He was one of the many thousands of the circumcision who at that time believed in Christ. At that time Polycarp, a dis-

ciple of the apostles, was a man of eminence in Asia, having been entrusted with the episcopate of the church of Smyrna by those who had seen and heard the Lord. And at the same time Papias, bishop of the parish of Hierapolis, became well known, as did also Ignatius, who was chosen bishop of Antioch, second in succession to Peter, and whose fame is still celebrated by a great many. Ecclesiastical History 3.39.1-16 1.

5 There are extant five books of Papias, which bear the title Expositions of Oracles of the Lord. Irenæus makes mention of these as the only works written by him, in the following words: "These things are attested by Papias, an ancient man who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, in his fourth book. For five books have been written by him. These are the words of Irenæus. 2. But Papias himself in the preface to his discourses by no means declares that he was himself a hearer and eye-witness of the holy apostles, but he shows by the words which he uses that he received the doctrines of the faith from those who were their friends. 3. He says: But I shall not hesitate also to put down for you along with my interpretations whatsoever things I have at any time learned carefully from the elders and carefully remembered, guaranteeing their truth. For I did not, like the multitude, take pleasure in those that speak much, but in those that teach the truth; not in those that relate strange commandments, but in those that deliver the commandments given by the Lord to faith, and springing from the truth itself. 4.

6 If, then, any one came, who had been a follower of the elders, I questioned him in regard to the words of the elders — what Andrew or what Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any other of the disciples of the Lord, and what things Aristion and the presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not think that what was to be gotten from the books would profit me as much as what came from the living and abiding voice. 5. It is worth while observing here that the name John is twice enumerated by him. The first one he mentions in connection with Peter and James and Matthew and the rest of the apostles, clearly meaning the evangelist; but the other John he mentions after an interval, and places him among others outside of the number of the apostles, putting Aristion before him, and he distinctly calls him a presbyter. 6. This shows that the statement of those is true, who say that there were two persons in Asia that bore the same name, and that there were two tombs in Ephesus, each of which, even to the present day, is called John's. It is import-

ant to notice this. For it is probable that it was the second, if one is not willing to admit that it was the first that saw the Revelation, which is ascribed by name to John. 7.

7 And Papias, of whom we are now speaking, confesses that he received the words of the apostles from those that followed them, but says that he was himself a hearer of Aristion and the presbyter John. At least he mentions them frequently by name, and gives their traditions in his writings. These things, we hope, have not been uselessly adduced by us. 8. But it is fitting to subjoin to the words of Papias which have been quoted, other passages from his works in which he relates some other wonderful events which he claims to have received from tradition. 9. That Philip the apostle dwelt at Hierapolis with his daughters has been already stated. But it must be noted here that Papias, their contemporary, says that he heard a wonderful tale from the daughters of Philip. For he relates that in his time one rose from the dead. And he tells another wonderful story of Justus, surnamed Barsabbas: that he drank a deadly poison, and yet, by the grace of the Lord, suffered no harm. 10. The Book of Acts records that the holy apostles after the ascension of the Saviour, put forward this Justus, together with Matthias, and prayed that one might be chosen in place of the traitor Judas, to fill up their number. The account is as follows: "And they put forward two, Joseph, called Barsabbas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias; and they prayed and said. [Acts 1:23] 11.

8 The same writer gives also other accounts which he says came to him through unwritten tradition, certain strange parables and teachings of the Saviour, and some other more mythical things. 12. To these belong his statement that there will be a period of some thousand years after the resurrection of the dead, and that the kingdom of Christ will be set up in material form on this very earth. I suppose he got these ideas through a misunderstanding of the apostolic accounts, not perceiving that the things said by them were spoken mystically in figures. 13. For he appears to have been of very limited understanding, as one can see from his discourses. But it was due to him that so many of the Church Fathers after him adopted a like opinion, urging in their own support the antiquity of the man; as for instance Irenæus and any one else that may have proclaimed similar views. 14. Papias gives also in his own work other accounts of the words of the Lord on the authority of Aristion who was mentioned above, and traditions as handed down by the presbyter John; to which we refer those who are fond of learning. But now

we must add to the words of his which we have already quoted the tradition which he gives in regard to Mark, the author of the Gospel. 15. "This also the presbyter said: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not in order, whatsoever he remembered of the things said or done by Christ.

9 For he neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but afterward, as I said, he followed Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs of his hearers, but with no intention of giving a connected account of the Lord's discourses, so that Mark committed no error while he thus wrote some things as he remembered them. For he was careful of one thing, not to omit any of the things which he had heard, and not to state any of them falsely. These things are related by Papias concerning Mark. 16. But concerning Matthew he writes as follows: "So then Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew language, and every one interpreted them as he was able. And the same writer uses testimonies from the first Epistle of John and from that of Peter likewise. And he relates another story of a woman, who was accused of many sins before the Lord, which is contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. These things we have thought it necessary to observe in addition to what has been already stated. Ecclesiastical History 2.15.1-2 And thus when the divine word had made its home among them, the power of Simon was quenched and immediately destroyed, together with the man himself.

10 And so greatly did the splendor of piety illumine the minds of Peter's hearers that they were not satisfied with hearing once only, and were not content with the unwritten teaching of the divine Gospel, but with all sorts of entreaties they besought Mark, a follower of Peter, and the one whose Gospel is extant, that he would leave them a written monument of the doctrine which had been orally communicated to them. Nor did they cease until they had prevailed with the man, and had thus become the occasion of the written Gospel which bears the name of Mark. And they say that Peter — when he had learned, through a revelation of the Spirit, of that which had been done — was pleased with the zeal of the men, and that the work obtained the sanction of his authority for the purpose of being used in the churches. Clement in the eighth book of his Hypotyposes gives this account, and with him agrees the bishop of Hierapolis named Papias. And Peter makes mention of Mark in his first epistle which they say that he wrote in Rome itself, as is indicated by him, when he calls the city, by a figure,

Babylon, as he does in the following words: "The church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, salutes you; and so does Marcus my son. [1 Peter 5:13]

[AD 390] *Apollinarius*

¹¹[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: LTF translation, the last paragraph is my translation via Cramer vol 3 p.12. This entire quotation is also given by Theophylact Exposition on the Acts of the Apostles PG125 p522 and the first paragraph is not attributed to Apollinarius. Oecumenius does the same but omits the last sentence Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles PG118 p57. Read this blog post for a more in depth discussion. [Blog post from Roger Pearse] Catenae Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum, compiled by Cramer [1844], vol 3 p12 Judas did not die by hanging, but lived on, having been cut down before he was suffocated. And the acts of the apostles show this, that falling head long he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out. This fact is related more clearly by Papias, the disciple of John, and the fourth book of the Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord as follows: Judas walked about in this world a terrible example of impiety; his flesh swollen to such an extent that, where hay wagon can pass with ease, he was not able to pass, no, not even the mass of his head merely. They say that his eyelids swelled to such an extent that he could not see the light at all, while as for his eyes they were not visible even by a physician looking through an instrument, so far have they sunk from the surface. His genitals appeared entirely disfigured, nauseous and large.

¹²When he carried himself about discharge and worms flowed from his entire body through his private areas only, on account of his outrages. After many agonies and punishments, he died in his own place. And on account of this the place is desolate and uninhabited even now. And to this day no one is able to go by that place, except if they block their noses with their hands. Such judgment was spread through his body and upon the earth.

[AD 420] *Jerome*

¹³Chronicon of Jerome 220th Olympiad/100AD Bishop Irenaeus writes that John the Apostle survived all the way to the time of Trajan: after whom his notable disciples were Papias, Bishop of Hieropolis, Polycarp of Smyrna, and Ignatius of Antioch. Preface to Jerome's revised version of Victorinus' Commentary on the Apocalypse For even earlier Papias, the bishop of Hierapolis,

and Nepos, the bishop of parts of Egypt, perceived of the kingdom of the thousand years just as Victorinus. On *Illustrious Men*, 18 Papias, the pupil of John, bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, wrote only five volumes, which he entitled *Exposition of the words of our Lord*, in which, when he had asserted in his preface that he did not follow various opinions but had the apostles for authority, he said "I considered what Andrew and Peter said, what Philip, what Thomas, what James, what John, what Matthew or any one else among the disciples of our Lord, what also Aristion and the elder John, disciples of the Lord had said, not so much that I have their books to read, as that their living voice is heard until the present day in the authors themselves. It appears through this catalogue of names that the John who is placed among the disciples is not the same as the elder John whom he places after Aristion in his enumeration.

¹⁴ This we say moreover because of the opinion mentioned above, where we record that it is declared by many that the last two epistles of John are the work not of the apostle but of the presbyter. He is said to have published a *Second coming of Our Lord or Millennium*. Irenæus and Apollinaris and others who say that after the resurrection the Lord will reign in the flesh with the saints, follow him. Tertullian also in his work *On the hope of the faithful*, Victorinus of Petau and Lactantius follow this view. Letter 71 To Lucinius It is a false rumour which has reached you to the effect that I have translated the books of Josephus and the volumes of the holy men Papias and Polycarp. I have neither the leisure nor the ability to preserve the charm of these masterpieces in another tongue. Letter 75 To Theodora The growth of this heresy is described for us by Irenæus, bishop of the church of Lyons, a man of the apostolic times, who was a disciple of Papias the hearer of the evangelist John.

[AD 439] *Philip of Side*

¹⁵ *History of Christianity* fragment from codex Baroccianus 142 in the Bodleian Library, LTF translation Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who was a disciple of John the Divine, and a companion of Polycarp, wrote five books of *Oracles of the Lord*, wherein, when giving a list of the Apostles, after Peter and John, Philip and Thomas and Matthew he included among the disciples of the Lord Aristion and a second John, whom also he called 'The Elder.' So some think that this John is the author of the two short and catholic Epistles, which are published in the name of John; and he gives as the

reason that the primitive (fathers) only accept the first epistle. Some too have wrongly considered the Apocalypse also to be his (i.e. the Elder John's) work. Papias too is in error about the Millennium, and from him Irenaeus also. Papias in his second book says that John the Divine and James his brother were killed by the Jews. The aforesaid Papias stated on the authority of the daughters of Philip that Barsabas, who is also called Justus, when challenged by the unbelievers drank serpent's poison in the name of the Lord, and was shielded from all harm. He makes also other marvelous statements, and particularly about the mother of Manaim who was raised from the dead. As for those who were raised from the dead by Christ, (he states) that they survived till the time of Hadrian.

[AD 455] *Prosper of Aquitania*

¹⁶[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation. The volume containing this passage can be found here <http://www.dmggh.de/>. Checked MGH *Auctores antiquissimi* (Auct. ant.) *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII. (I)* volume 9 page 419] Epitome of Chronicles Section 550 106AD Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who was a disciple of John the Divine, and a companion of Polycarp, wrote five books of Oracles of the Lord, wherein, when giving a list of the Apostles, after Peter and John, Philip and Thomas and Irenaeus wrote that John the Apostle remained until the times of Trajan, after whom were Papias Bishop of Heirapolis, Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch.

[AD 543] *John of Scythopolis*

¹⁷[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: LTF translation. This and the following fragment are not from Maximus the Confessor as Migne, Lightfoot, and Holmes have stated. See Rorem & Lamoreaux *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian Corpus: Annotating the Areopagite* Oxford 1998 [checked] for a discussion of the dates of John's writings and his relationship with Maximus the Confessor.] Scholia on The Celestial Hierarchy of Dionysius the Areopagite 2.5 (PG 4 p48) Those who practised guilelessness towards God they used to call children, as Papias also shows in the first book of the Expositions of the Lord, and Clement of Alexandria in the Paedagogogue. [Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: LTF translation. The scholia itself is not on Ecclesiastical Hierarchy 7.2 as Lightfoot and Holmes have said, but it is on 7.3.5. The break in the text concerns John's discussion of Apollinarius and is unrelated to Papias.] Scholia on The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of Dionysius the Areopagite 7.3.5

(PG 4 p176) This he says, darkly indicating, I suppose, Papias of Hierapolis in Asia, who was a bishop at that time and flourished in the days of the holy Evangelist John. For this Papias in the fourth book of his Dominical Expositions mentioned viands among the sources of delights in the resurrection.... And Irenaeus of Lyons says the same thing in his fifth book against heresies, and produces in support of his statement the aforesaid Papias.

[AD 614] *Andrew of Caesarea*

¹⁸ [Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: LTF translation. Checked PG 106 p220. For a brief discussion of Andrew's dates see Di Berardino Parology: The Eastern Fathers from Chalcedon to John of Damascus. 2006] On the Apocalypse Preface With regard however to the inspiration of the book (i.e. the Apocalypse) we hold it superfluous to speak at length; since the blessed Gregory (I mean, the Divine) and Cyril, and men of an older generation as well, Papias, Irenaeus, Methodius and Hippolytus, bear testimony to its genuineness. On the Apocalypse 12.34, Armenian version [Armenian translation by Dr. Robert Bedrosian] And Papias has thus word for word: "some of them, that is, the divine Angels of old, he gave (authority) to rule over the earth and commanded (them) to rule well. And then says the following: "And it happened that their arrangement came to nothing. [Rev. 12:9] And the great dragon was thrown (down), the ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world, he was thrown to the earth, and his angels were thrown (down). And Papias, in his discourses, put it this way: Heaven did not countenance his earthly plans, since communication between light and darkness is impossible. He [satan] fell to earth to dwell here, and people came to where he lived. However, he did not let them enjoy their natural passions, rather, he beguiled them into many evils. But Michael and his forces who are overseers of the world helped humanity, as Daniel learned. They established laws and made the prophets wise.

¹⁹ All this constituted a battle against the dragon [satan] who [always] set obstacles for humanity. And this struggle extended to Heaven , to Christ. Then Christ came, and the law which had been impossible for others [to fulfill] He realized in His own body, according to the Apostle. He caused sin to retreat and condemned satan, and by His death He spread His righteousness over everyone. Once this happened, the victory of Michael and his forces was realized, and the dragon was unable to resist any longer. This was because the death of Christ made a laughing-stock of him and hurled him to earth.

Christ spoke about this, saying: "I saw satan fall from heaven like a bolt of lightning". The Doctors of the Church (the vardapet s) understood this to refer not to his first fall, but to his second which occurred because of the crucifixion. This [second] fall was not one which occurred in a particular place as the first [fall] had, but rather concerned the expectation of future judgement and punishment . For he had failed in battle, as Anton [St. Anthony] himself confessed in a psalm he wrote about this: "The enemy's weapons were completely destroyed. For Christ had judged him and he fell absolutely. The Doctors of the Church teach that until this fall he [satan] had hopes of returning to his former glory, but afterwards he fell completely. On this [topic] Irenaeus takes the words of the martyr Justin as follows...

[AD 700] *Anastasius of Sinai?*

20 [Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: LTF translation. Checked PG 89 p860. Many believe that Anastasius did not write this work. For a brief discussion of Anastasius' dates and authorship see Di Berardino Parology: The Eastern Fathers from Chalcedon to John of Damascus. 2006 [checked].] *Contempl. Anagog.* In *Hexaameron* 1 Taking their start from Papias the great, of Hierapolis, the disciple of the Apostle who leaned on Christ's bosom, and Clement, Pantae-nus the priest of the Alexandrians and Ammonius, the great scholar, those ancient and first expositors who agree with each other in understanding all the work of the six days (as referring) to Christ and His Church. [Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: LTF translation. Checked PG 89 p961-962.] *Contempl. Anagog.* In *Hexaameron* 7 So then the more ancient expositors of the churches, I mean Philo, the philosopher, and contemporary of the Apostles, and the famous Papias of Hierapolis, the disciple of John the Evangelist...and their associates, interpreted the sayings about Paradise spiritually, and referred them to the Church of Christ.

[AD 800] *George Syncellus*

21 [Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation. Greek in George Syncellus vol. 1 CSHB p.627] *Chroniconology of George Syncellus* 403 Peter sent the first catholic epistle from Rome, having, according to Eusebius, Mark the evangelist as a follower. At this time, he composed the gospel at the Romans' request, according to Clement in the sixth book of his *Hypotyposeis* and Papias the bishop of Hierapolis. [Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation. Greek in George Syncellus vol. 1 CSHB p.656. Syncellus places this passage 97

years after the birth of Jesus.] Chroniconology of George Syncellus 424 Irenaeus and others record that John the Theologian and Apostle survived until the times of Trajan; after which Papias of Hierapolis and Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, both of whom heard him, were becoming known.

[AD 860] *John of Dara*

22 [Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation from the Syriac of A. Baumstark, "Zwei syrische Papiascitate," *Oriens christianus* 2 [1902] p.353-57] On the Resurrection of Bodies 2.13 Therefore, at this Apollonarius the heretic, with his companions, abandoned the glorious illumination of the living words and became blind to the faith like the Jews. He dared to speak, like the Pharisees, that after the resurrection of the dead, we shall live again for a thousand years in Jerusalem with the Messiah, with bodily pleasures, and childish sacrifices, and earthly libations before him [the Messiah?]. After these things are fulfilled, at that time we shall be taken up into heaven. And he was not shamed by the voice of Paul who said, "The kingdom of God is not of eating or drinking. But of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit." [Romans 14:17]. Also in like manner Irenaeus bishop of Lyon in Gaul wandered in these matters, which are in the book of Papias as Eusebius narrates. [Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation from the Syriac of A. Baumstark. A. Baumstark, "Zwei syrische Papiascitate," *Oriens christianus* 2 [1902] p.353-57] On the Heavenly and the Earthly Hierarchy Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in the Asia, who was educated with John the Evangelist, says in the fourth book of "Interpretations of the Lord" that delights shall exist through foods in the resurrection. What is more, Irenaeus says the same in [his] writing "Against Heresies", from testimony from the book of Papias. Afterwards, he accepted this opinion of Apollonarius.

[AD 880] *George Hamartolus?*

23 [Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: LTF translation. This text appears to be a later interpolation and was not written by George Hamartolus. It may be from Codex Coislinianus 305, but I am not sure. See Rolte *Theologische Quartalschrift* 1862 p.466 (did not read German discussion). This text is not given in the edition of George Hamartolus's *Chronicle* by C. De Boor *Georgii Monachi Chronicon* vol. 2 1904 p.447 See PG110 p.18-20 for discussion on Codex 305 (did not read Latin discussion)] Chroniconology of George Hamartolus After Domitian, Nerva reigned one year, who recalled John

from the island (i.e. Patmos), and allowed him to dwell in Ephesus. He was at that time the sole survivor of the twelve Apostles, and after writing his Gospel received the honour of martyrdom. For Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who was an eye-witness of him, in the second book of the Oracles of the Lord says that he was killed by the Jews, and thereby evidently fulfilled, together with his brother, Christ's prophecy concerning them, and their own confession and undertaking on His behalf. For when the Lord said to them; Are ye able to drink of the cup that I drink of?, and they readily assented and agreed, He said; My cup shall ye drink, and with the baptism that I am baptized shall ye be baptized. And reasonably so, for it is impossible for God to lie. So too the learned Origen affirms in his interpretation of S. Matthew's Gospel that John was martyred, declaring that he had learnt the fact from the successors of the Apostles. And indeed the well-informed Eusebius also in his Ecclesiastical History says; 'Thomas received by lot Parthia, but John, Asia, where also he made his residence and died at Ephesus.'

[AD 893] *Photius of Constantinople*

²⁴[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: LTF translation. See Bekker Photii Bibliotheca vol. 1 p. 291 for Greek.] Bibliothecae # 232, on Stephan Gobarus Nor again (does Stephanus follow) Papias, the bishop and martyr of Hierapolis, nor Irenaeus, the holy bishop of Lyons, when they say that the kingdom of heaven will consist in enjoyment of certain material foods. [Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation. See J.N. Barletta Photii Epistolae London 1864] An epistle of Photius to Archbishop and Metropolitan Aquileias And the... great Methodius... and also Irenaeus bishop of Lyons and Papias bishop of Heirapolis, Methodius won the crown of martyrdom, the latter were apostolic men.... But however, when they diminish the truth and were brought to speak against the common and ecclesiastical dogma, in these things we do not follow them, but we take nothing away from their patristic honor and glory.

[AD 900] *Codex Vaticanus Alexandrinus 14*

²⁵[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: Translation from Lightfoot Essays On The Work Entitled Supernatural Religion, 1889 p210. Codex title taken from Holmes. Latin can be found in J.B. Pitra Analecta Sacra 2.1 p.160.] Preface to the Gospel of John The Gospel of John was made known and given to the Churches by John, while he yet remained in the body; as (one) Papias by

name, of Hierapolis, a beloved disciple of John, has related in his exoteric, that is, in his last five books; but he wrote down the Gospel at the dictation of John, correctly. But Marcion the heretic, when he had been censured by him because he held heretical opinions, was cast off by John. Now he had brought writings or letters delivered to him from the brethren that were in Pontus.

[AD 94I] *Agapius of Menbij (Agapius of Hierapolis)*

²⁶[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: Translated by a kind friend (Tamim) from the Arabic in Vasiliev Patrologia Orientalis vol. 7. See Roger Pearse's translation from the French. Note that Agapius was from the Hierapolis in Syria, not the Hierapolis of Phrygia which was where Papias was from. Thanks to Roger Pearse for helping me locate the Arabic text.] Universal History Year 12 of Trajan (110AD) [Patrologia Orientalis vol. 7 p.48-49 on the section concerning Agapius] And there was at that time in Menbij [Hierapolis] a distinguished master who had many treatises, and he wrote five treatises on the Gospel. And he mentions in his treatise on the Gospel of John, that in the book of John the Evangelist, he speaks of a woman who was adulterous, so when they presented her to Christ our Lord, to whom be glory, He told the Jews who brought her to Him, "Whoever of you knows that he is innocent of what she has done, let him testify against her with what he has." So when He told them that, none of them responded with anything and they left.

[AD 127I] *Vardan Arewelts'i (Vardan Vardapet)*

²⁷[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: Robert Bedrosian translation. These two passages were originally written in Armenian. See Folker Siegert Unbeachtete Papiasitate bei armenischen Schriftstellern. New Testament Studies, Volume 27, Issue 05, October 1981. The title of the work by Vardan Arewelts'i was taken from Holmes. Norelli (2005) p.495 observes that in this second fragment Vardan Arewelts'i is most likely referring not to Papias but Pappus of Alexandria, who is, according to Norelli, quoted by Moses of Chorene, the famous Armenian Historian.] Explanations of Holy Scripture Armenian-Now as regards the aloe which they brought [or bring], some say that it is a mixture of oil and honey. But certainly aloe is a type of incense. The geographer and Papias relate that there are fifteen kinds of aloe in India... The story of that adulterous woman, which other Christians have written in their gospel, was written about by a certain Papias, a student of John, who

was declared a heretic and condemned. Eusebius wrote about this. There are laws and that matter which Pilate, the king of the Jews, wrote of. And it is said that he wrote in Hebrew with Latin and Greek above it.

[AD 1320] *Nicephorus*

28 [Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation for all fragments of Nicephoras. Nicephoras wrote around 1320 AD, but some believe that he simply copied a 9th century historian verbatim. According to "Die Kirchengeschichte des Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus Und Ihre Quellen. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1966 Nicephorus drew all his information of Papias from Eusebius (p.55). Ecclesiastical History 1.1.70-76 PG 145 For indeed Eusebius Pamphilus, beginning from the times of Christ until the times of Constantine the Great, traversed the events which happened to the church, collecting events from both Philo and Josephus, Clement the Stromatist and Hegesippus, Hippolytus and Papias, he brought together his history, while teaching the sacred principles one after another. Ecclesiastical History 2.15.1-36 PG 145 Concerning the holy Gospel According to Mark and how the polity of the monks was first founded by him in Egypt and Alexandria. Peter implanted such a radiance of piety in the hearers that it was not sufficient to have a hearing only nor did he want the word of God to remain unwritten. And Peter allowed Mark, who at this time followed the apostle, to preserve part of the memory of the unwritten teaching for them in writing. And at first he [Peter] did not allow this [lit. deliver], until he was prevailed upon to think the man [Mark] worthy. After the apostle perceived that the Spirit of God instructed him, he delighted in the eagerness of the men and from this ordained the writing to be read in the churches.

29 Clement records this reason [why] the Gospel According to Mark [was written] in the eighth [book] of his Hypotyposeis. And Papias bishop of Hierapolis, agreeing with him, also details [the same]. And on account of this Peter spoke the Gospel According to Mark. But Peter mentions Mark in his first epistle which opinion has that he wrote when he lived in Rome, in which figuratively he also calls Rome "Babylon", saying thusly "She who is chosen with you in Babylon greets you, as does also my son Mark. And Luke in the Acts calls him John. But they say that Mark, having first put in order Egypt and Alexandria, preached the gospel which he composed to the assembled church and there founded the monastic polity of Christians. At first so great a multitude of both men and women, they say, flowed together at

the entrance [of the church], that having marked out the entire polity [as it relates] to their philosophy and way of life through asceticism, their diet and conduct, he placed upon them the celebrated philosophies of Philo, whom opinion has that he even entered into the company of Peter while he preached the divine word at Rome Ecclesiastical History 2.45.83-101 PG 145 But concerning the cause of the writing of the Gospel According to Mark we have pointed out a little above in chapter 15 of the present work; how Peter ended the outrage of that abominable Simon [Magus] who played the man [possible sexual reference].

³⁰ And at evening the light of faith was implanted [in them] and so great a longing of his words in the souls of the listeners that he did not want the words to remain as [unwritten]. And he entreated Mark who at this time followed the apostle, to leave a written record of the unwritten sayings for him. Accordingly after the apostle was glad at the good eagerness of their faith, he dictated to Mark the Gospel and from this he ordained the writing to be read in the churches. Clement records this reason [why] the Gospel According to Mark [was written] in the eighth [book] of his Hypotyposes. And likewise Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, as was clearly described a little ways above in the 15th chapter of the present treatise. Ecclesiastical History 2.46.18-37 PG 145 But indeed of the three [epistles] of John, except the first, the following two [epistles] are disputed as far as many [are concerned]. And opinion has it that there was another elder John, who lived with John in Ephesus as Papias the Hierapolitan says, recording that there are two tombs in Ephesus of the same name, John. And he says one is called "Elder" and [one is called] the Disciple [ὁμιλητὴν] himself.

³¹ For cataloging the Elders of the apostles he also makes mention of these two, asserting in this way, "If one who followed the Elders should come, I inquired about the words of the Elders, what Andrew or Peter said, or Phillip or James or what John or Matthew or any other of the disciples of the Lord [said]. And what Aristion and the Elder John [said]. For I did not think I ought [to receive] so much from books but from a living voice. Indeed the second and third epistle [of John] and also the Apocalypse some imagine that they belong to this Elder who lived in Ephesus Ecclesiastical History 3.2.40-55 PG 145 And until the times of Trajan these [successors of the Apostles] continued the priesthood, while the beloved disciple still was present in [this] life. After this time also Polycarp of Smyrna became famous

who received the Episcopate from John. And the man Papias of Heirapolis, who was also particularly skillful in scripture, sacredly presided over his city. After them Quadratus became eminent in the prophetic gift, being distinguished together with the daughters of Philip. And there were many more than they who manifested the apostolic gifts, who obtained the succession after the apostles. [This] history, as far as it is possible for me, hands down one after another similar things concerning Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Papias.

³² For now it sets forth as much as [possible] the earliest demonstration of apostolic teaching. Ecclesiastical History 3.18.1-8 PG 145 The Martyrdom of the Holy Clement of Rome and Concerning his Writings About this time Clement became eminent in Rome and Ignatius also conversed in Antioch. Papias was also writing in Heirapolis. Pancratius, as well, as Polycarp of Smyrna were also preminent. They were disciples of Peter, but Polycarp of the bosom friend. Ecclesiastical History 3.20.1-89 PG 145 Concerning Papias of Heirapolis and the marvelous things recorded concerning him This Papias of Heirapolis became eminent in apostolic life, he left many writings for the church, but only five are extant, which he entitled "Interpretation of the Lordly Sayings" which also Irenaeus makes mention relating thusly, " These things also Papias, hearer of John, friend of Polycarp, an ancient man, testifies in writing in the fourth of his books. For there are five books composed by him. But Papias, in the preface of his book on the apostles, does not say he himself was an eyewitness, but he says that he received the matters of faith from those who knew them [the apostles] well, through which phrasing he explains [in the following way] "For I shall not hesitate," he says, "to record for you whatever I carefully learned from the Elders and carefully remembered, along with my interpretations, confirming the truth on their behalf. For I do not rejoice over those who speak many things, as many do, but in the those who teach the truth.

³³ Neither those who teach strange commandments but those who teach what was given by the Lord in faith, even what comes from the truth itself. But if ever one who followed the Elders should come, I asked about the words of the Elders, what Andrew or what Peter said, or what Thomas or Philip or what Simon or James or what John or Matthew or any other of the disciples of the Lord or what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of Lord, say. For I did not believe that the matters of books would aid me as

much as the things from a living and abiding voice. It is necessary to indicate that he lists this same name, John, twice in writing, the former which he reckons with the apostles, possibly he means him to be the beloved disciple, but the latter he places next to Aristion and names him as an Elder. Some, who are not ignorant, considered the author of the two epistles of John, which come after the first, and of the Apocalypse to be of the same name. For this Elder was living in Ephesus, opinion has it that there are still preserved two graves there which both say the same name of John. Now since Papias has been spoken of, he records some other marvels in his books, as they came to him from those who were before him, bear with me, and let us traverse them for a little while.

³⁴ For indeed in Hierapolis the word distinguished Phillip and his daughters as prophets, he was one of the twelve, not one of the seven deacons, as Luke records in Acts. But he says he also conversed with his daughters from whom he says he learned of a resurrection from the dead which occurred in that time. Concerning Barsabbas who was also called Justus, whom Acts make mention, he says that he, having drunk a poison potion, was aided by that grace of the lord and was triumphant over it.. And he records many other parables and teachings from unwritten tradition of the Savior and some others that are even more mythical. And he says that after a thousand years there will be a resurrection from the dead in the bodily kingdom of Christ which shall be instituted upon this earth, which I suppose he having misunderstood the promises which were spoken mystically, understood them carnally. As such it is clearly possible to draw inferences of his opinion from his words. Later, regarding the antiquity of the man, many derived a similar notion. Just as Irenaeus did and any other who shared similar opinions. But he says he has other traditions which were mentioned above, from Aristion and the Elder John, to which we refer those who are fond of learning. I shall necessarily point of what he says concerning the Gospels of Mark and Matthew.

³⁵ He speaks in this way, " And the Elder John said this, 'Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, whatever he remembered he wrote accurately, but he did not indeed right the things said or done by Christ in order, for he neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but later, as I said, he followed Peter, and he met the need of teaching, but he did not put the Dominical sayings in order, so that he did not err in any one thing which he wrote, just as he remembered. For the one thing he cared for was not to omit anything

which he heard or to lie in some way. But Matthew put in order the oracles in the Hebrew language. And each interpreted them as he was able. But he also proclaims testimonies from the first epistle of John and likewise that of Peter. And he puts forth another story concerning the woman who was charged with many sins before the lord. And the other writings of Papias have this style. Ecclesiastical History 4.5.72-73 PG 145 Indeed concerning Papias, Quadratus, Aristides and Castor we have spoken of previously, but now we have to discuss the other writings of Justin.

[AD ???] *Anonymous Catena on John*

³⁶ [Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation. Holmes only says that this catena comes from Balthasar Cordier Catena Patrum Graecorum in Sanctum Joannem Antwerp, 1630. Currently [Aug/09] Google books has only a blank file. The manuscript that Cordier found the catena may possibly be Miniscule 56 but this is mostly guess by me.] For the last of these, John, who was called the son of thunder, when he was exceedingly old, as both Irenaeus and Eusebius handed down to us, as well as succession of other believers who were historians, at that time when the terrible heresies were sprouting, dictated the gospel to his respectable disciple Papias the Heirapolitan for the completion of those who preached the word before him to the gentiles throughout all the world.

False Fragment: The Ante-Nicene Fathers and the 10th Fragment

³⁷ The Ante-Nicene Fathers contains 10 fragments of Papias, available at the following sources: [tertullian.org](https://www.tertullian.org/fathers2/ANF-01/anf01-43.htm#P3497_597426), [earlychristianwritings.com](https://www.earlychristianwritings.com/papias.html), [newadvent.org](https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0125.htm), [ccel.org](https://ccel.org/ccel/ignatius_antioch/fragments_of_papias/anf01.vii.ii.i.html) The 10th fragment given in the above lists reads thus: (1.) Mary the mother of the Lord; (2.) Mary the wife of Cleophas or Alphæus, who was the mother of James the bishop and apostle, and of Simon and Thaddeus, and of one Joseph; (3.) Mary Salome, wife of Zebedee, mother of John the evangelist and James; (4.) Mary Magdalene. These four are found in the Gospel. James and Judas and Joseph were sons of an aunt (2) of the Lord's. James also and John were sons of another aunt (3) of the Lord's. Mary (2), mother of James the Less and Joseph, wife of Alphæus was the sister of Mary the mother of the Lord, whom John

names of Cleophas, either from her father or from the family of the clan, or for some other reason. Mary Salome (3) is called Salome either from her husband or her village. Some affirm that she is the same as Mary of Cleophas, because she had two husbands. This fragment included in that list is of extreme importance - if legitimate, it gives the only historical support to the "Cousin" theory articulated by Jerome around AD 400 to support the doctrine of Mary's Perpetual Virginity. Alas, the often truncated footnote for this fragment says the following:

³⁸ This fragment was found by Grabe in a ms. of the Bodleian Library, with the inscription on the margin, "Papia." Westcott states that it forms part of a dictionary written by "a mediæval Papias. [He seems to have added the words, "Maria is called Illuminatrix, or Star of the Sea," etc, a middle-age device.] The dictionary exists in ms. both at Oxford and Cambridge." J.B. Lightfoot wrote the following regarding this fragment in the late 1800s: ³⁹ The testimony of Papias is frequently quoted at the head of the patristic authorities, as favouring the view of Jerome. The passage in question is an extract, to which the name of this very ancient writer is prefixed, in a Bodleian MS, no. 2397, of the date 1302 or 1303. It is given in Grabe's *Spicil.* II p. 34, Routh's *Rel. Sacr.* I, p. 16, and runs as follows: 'Maria mater Domini: Maria Cleophae, sive Alpei uxor, quae fuit mater Jacobi episcopi et apostolic et Symonis et Thadei et cujusdam Joseph: Maria Salome uxor Zebedei mater Joannis evangelistae et Jacobi: Maria Magdalene: istae quatuor in Evangelio reperiuntur. Jacobus et Judas et Joseph filii errant materterae Domini; Jacobus quoque et Joannes alterius materterae Domini fuerunt filii. Maria Jacobi minoris et Joseph mater, uxor Alpei, soror fuit Mariae matris Domini, quam Cleophae Joannes nominat vel a patre vel a gentilitatis familia vel alia causa. Maria Salome a viro vel a vico dicitur: hanc eandem Cleophae quidam dicunt quod duos viros habuerit. Maria dicitur illuminatrix sive stella maris, genuit enim lumen mundi; sermone autem Syro Domina nuncupatur, quia genuit Dominum. Grabe's description 'ad marginem expresse adscriptum lego Papia' is incorrect; the name is not in the margin but over the passage as a title to it. The authenticity of this fragment is accepted by Mill, p. 238, and by Dean Alford on Matthew 13:55. Two writers also in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary* (s.v. 'Brother' and 'James'), respectively impugning and maintaining the Hieronymian view, refer to it without suspicion.

⁴⁰ It is strange that able and intelligent critics should not have seen through a fabrication which is so manifestly spurious. Not to mention the difficulties in which we are involved by some of the statements, the following reasons seem conclusive: (1) The last sentence 'Maria dicitur etc. is evidently very late, and is, as Dr. Mill says, 'justly rejected by Grabe. Grabe says, 'addidit is qui descripsit ex suo'; but the passage is continuous in the MS, and there is neither more nor less authority for assigning this to Papias than the remainder of the extract. (2) The statement about 'Maria uxor Alphei' is taken from Jerome (adv. Helvid. almost word for word, as Dr. Mill has seen; and it is purely arbitrary to reject this as spurious and accept the rest as genuine. (3) The writings of Papias were in Jerome's hands, and eager as he was to claim the support of authority, he could not have failed to refer to testimony which was so important and which so entirely confirms his view in the most minute points. Nor is it conceivable that a passage like this, coming from so early a writer, should not have impressed itself very strongly on the ecclesiastical tradition of the early centuries, whereas in fact we discover no traces of it. For these reasons the extract seemed to be manifestly spurious;

⁴¹ but I might have saved myself the trouble of examining the Bodleian MS and writing these remarks, if I had known at the time, that the passage was written by a mediaeval namesake of the Bishop of Hierapolis, Papias the author of the 'Elementarium,' who lived in the 11th century. This seems to have been a standard work in its day, and was printed four times in the 15th century under the name of the Lexicon or Vocabulist. I have not had access to a printed copy, but there is a MS of the work (marked Kk. 4.1) in the Cambridge University Library, the knowledge of which I owe to Mr. Bradshaw, the librarian. The variations from the Bodleian extract are unimportant. It is strange that though Grabe actually mentions the later Papias the author of the Dictionary, and Routh copies his note, neither the one nor the other got on the right track. I made the discovery while the first edition of this work was passing through the press [1865]. [Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: This passage was sometimes regarded as written by Papias of Hierapolis, it is not. It was written by a lexicographer in the 11th century who was also named Papias. See Lightfoot Essays On The Work Entitled Supernatural Religion. 1889 p211.]

Epistle to Diognetus

c. AD 130–200

An anonymous letter that answers a pagan inquirer named Diognetus: why Christians reject the gods and Jewish customs, why they love one another, and why Christ came only now. It is one of the most admired early Christian writings. Its only manuscript was destroyed in 1870, and the last two chapters may come from a different writer.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Most excellent Diognetus, I see that you are extremely eager to learn how Christians worship God, and that you are asking very clear and careful questions about them. You want to know what God they trust and how they worship him, so that all of them look down on the world and make light of death. You ask why they do not regard as gods those whom the Greeks consider gods, and why they do not keep the superstition of the Jews. You ask what this tender love is that they have for one another, and why this new race, or way of life, has come into the world now and not before. I welcome this eagerness of yours. I ask God, who gives us the power both to speak and to hear, to grant that I may speak in a way that will do you the most good as you listen. I also ask that you may listen in a way that will not leave me grieved for having spoken.¹

CHAPTER 2

Discussion of the Gods of the heathen

¹Come, then. Clear yourself of every idea that already has hold of your mind, and shake off the habit that deceives you. Become, as it were, a new man from the beginning, since you are going to hear a new message, as you yourself admitted. Look, not only with your eyes but also with your under-

1. “Superstition” translates *deisidaimonia*, a word that could also mean “reverence for the divine.” Here it is plainly meant as a criticism. “Tender love” translates *philostorgia*, the affection of family members.

standing, and see what substance or form those things have that you call gods and take to be gods. ² Is not one of them stone, like what we walk on? Is not another bronze, no better than the utensils hammered out for our use? Is not another wood, already rotting? Another silver, needing a man to guard it so that it will not be stolen? Another iron, eaten away by rust? Another clay, no more handsome than what is made for the lowest kind of service? ³ Are not all these things made of perishable material? Were they not forged with iron and fire? Did not a stonecutter shape one, a bronzesmith another, a silversmith another, and a potter another? Before they were shaped by these men's skills into their present form, was it not possible for each of them to be given a different form, as it still is now? And could not the vessels now made of the same material become just like these gods, if they came into the hands of the same craftsmen?²

⁴ Again, could not these things that you now worship be made by men into vessels like any others? Are they not all deaf? Are they not blind? Are they not lifeless? Without feeling? Without motion? Are they not all rotting? Are they not all decaying? ⁵ Do you call these things gods? Do you serve these? Do you worship these? And in the end you become just like them.³ ⁶ Is this why you hate the Christians, because they do not consider these things to be gods? ⁷ You who think you are praising them, do you not despise them far more? Do you not mock and insult them far more? You worship the ones of stone and clay without guarding them, but the silver and gold ones you lock up at night, and by day you set guards beside them so they will not be stolen. ⁸ As for the honors you think you are offering them: if they have feeling, you are punishing them instead; if they have none, you are proving them senseless by serving them with blood and the smoke of fat.

⁹ Let one of you endure this. Let one of you put up with having it done to himself. But no man will willingly put up with such punishment, for he has feeling and reason. A stone puts up with it, because it has no feeling. So are you not proving that it has no feeling? ¹⁰ I could say much more about why Christians are not enslaved to such gods. But if someone does not find even this enough, I think it pointless to say more.

2. The Greek of the fourth question is obscure and may be damaged. The translation gives the sense most editors accept.

3. The last line echoes Psalm 115:8 and Psalm 135:18: "Those who make them become like them."

CHAPTER 3

The difference between Jews and Christians

¹Next, I think you are most eager to hear why the Christians do not worship God in the same way as the Jews. ²The Jews, then, are right to abstain from the kind of worship I have just described, and to claim that they revere one God, the Master of all. But they are mistaken if they offer him worship in the same manner as those people. ³The Greeks offer things to senseless and deaf idols and so give proof of their folly. In the same way, when the Jews offer these things to God as though he needed them, they ought to see this as foolishness, not reverence. ⁴For he who made heaven and earth and everything in them, and who supplies all of us with what we need, would himself need none of these things which he supplies to those who imagine they are giving them.⁴ ⁵Those who think they are offering him sacrifices by blood, the smoke of fat, and whole burnt offerings, and that they honor him with these tributes, seem to me no different from those who show the same zeal toward deaf idols. The latter offer to things that cannot receive the honor; the former think they are giving to one who needs nothing.⁵

CHAPTER 4

¹As for their fussiness over foods, their superstition about the Sabbath, their boasting about circumcision, and their pretense in fasting and new moons, these are ridiculous and not worth discussing. I do not think you need to learn this from me.⁶ ²Take the things God created for human use. To accept some of them as well made, and to reject others as useless and superfluous: how is that not lawless?⁷ ³And to tell lies about God, as though he forbade doing anything good on the Sabbath day: how is that not impious?⁸ ⁴And to

4. Compare Acts 17:24–25, where Paul says that God, who made the world, is not served by human hands “as though he needed anything, since he himself gives to all mankind life and breath and everything.”

5. The Old Testament itself teaches that God does not need sacrifices (Psalm 50:9–13). But it presents Israel’s sacrifices as commanded by God, and Hebrews treats them as a “shadow” pointing to Christ (Hebrews 10:1). The author goes further than Scripture when he puts them on the same level as offerings to idols.

6. The food laws, the Sabbath, circumcision and the new moons were all commanded in the Law of Moses. Paul tells Christians not to let anyone judge them over food, festivals, new moons or Sabbaths, calling these “a shadow of the things to come” (Colossians 2:16–17). The author goes beyond Scripture in calling them ridiculous.

7. Compare 1 Timothy 4:4: “Everything created by God is good, and nothing is to be rejected if it is received with thanksgiving.”

boast that the cutting of the flesh is a witness of election, as though they were specially loved by God for this reason: how is that not worthy of mockery? ⁵ They sit watching the stars and the moon, observing months and days. They divide up God's ordering of things and the changing of the seasons to suit their own impulses, making some times into feasts and others into mourning. Who could regard this as a mark of true devotion to God, and not far more as a mark of folly?

⁶ I think you have now learned enough about why Christians rightly keep away from the foolishness and deceit common to everyone, and from the meddling and boasting of the Jews. But do not expect to learn from a human being the mystery of their own devotion to God.

CHAPTER 5

The true distinction of Christians

¹ Christians are not set apart from the rest of humanity by country, by language, or by customs. ² They do not live in cities of their own, or use some unusual dialect, or practice a strange way of life. ³ This teaching of theirs was not discovered by the cleverness or speculation of restless, inquisitive men, and they do not champion a human doctrine, as some do. ⁴ They live in Greek and barbarian cities, wherever each one's lot has fallen. They follow the local customs in clothing, food and the rest of daily life. Yet they show the remarkable and, by everyone's admission, astonishing character of their own commonwealth. ⁵ They live in their own homelands, but as resident aliens. They take part in everything as citizens, and they endure everything as foreigners. Every foreign land is a homeland to them, and every homeland is a foreign land. ⁶ They marry like everyone else, and they have children, but they do not throw away their newborn.⁹

⁷ They set a common table, but not a common bed. ⁸ They are in the flesh, but they do not live according to the flesh.¹⁰ ⁹ They spend their days on earth, but they are citizens of heaven.¹¹ ¹⁰ They obey the established laws, and in their own lives they go beyond the laws. ¹¹ They love everyone, and are persecuted by everyone. ¹² They are not known, and yet they are condemned.

8. Compare Jesus' words in Matthew 12:12: "It is lawful to do good on the Sabbath."

9. This refers to "exposure," the common Greek and Roman practice of abandoning unwanted newborns to die or to be taken by strangers.

10. Compare 2 Corinthians 10:3 and Romans 8:4.

11. Compare Philippians 3:20, "our citizenship is in heaven."

They are put to death, and yet they are made alive.¹² ¹³ They are poor, and make many rich. They lack everything, and abound in everything. ¹⁴ They are dishonored, and in their dishonors they are glorified. They are slandered, and they are vindicated. ¹⁵ They are cursed, and they bless. They are insulted, and they give honor. ¹⁶ When they do good, they are punished as evildoers. When they are punished, they rejoice as people being given life. ¹⁷ They are attacked by Jews as foreigners, and persecuted by Greeks. And those who hate them cannot state the reason for their hostility.

CHAPTER 6

The world and Christians

¹ To put it simply: what the soul is in the body, Christians are in the world. ² The soul is spread through all the parts of the body, and Christians through the cities of the world. ³ The soul lives in the body but is not from the body. Christians live in the world but are not from the world.¹³ ⁴ The soul is invisible, kept under guard in a visible body. Christians are known to be in the world, but their devotion to God stays unseen. ⁵ The flesh hates the soul and fights against it, though it has suffered no wrong, because the soul keeps it from indulging its pleasures. The world hates Christians, though it has suffered no wrong, because they set themselves against its pleasures. [John 15:18-19] ⁶ The soul loves the flesh that hates it, and the body's limbs. Christians love those who hate them. ⁷ The soul is shut up in the body, yet it holds the body together. Christians are held in the world as in a prison, yet they hold the world together.

⁸ The soul is immortal and lives in a mortal tent. Christians live as foreigners among perishable things, while they wait for the imperishable life that is in heaven. ⁹ The soul, when it is ill-treated in food and drink, grows better. Christians, when punished day by day, increase all the more. ¹⁰ God has appointed them to so great a post that it is not right for them to refuse it.

CHAPTER 7

The Christian revelation

¹ For, as I said, what was handed down to them is not an earthly discovery. What they guard so carefully is not some mortal idea, and they have not

12. This series of paradoxes (5.12–16) echoes Paul in 2 Corinthians 6:8–10 and 1 Corinthians 4:12–13.

13. Compare John 17:11–16, where Jesus says his followers are in the world but not of the world.

been entrusted with the stewardship of merely human mysteries. ² But in truth it was the almighty, all-creating and invisible God himself who from heaven planted the truth among human beings. He set the holy and unfathomable Word firmly in their hearts. He did not do this, as someone might imagine, by sending to people some servant, or an angel, or a ruler, or one of those who govern earthly affairs, or one of those entrusted with the administration of heaven. He sent the very Designer and Maker of the universe himself. By him God built the heavens; by him he shut the sea within its own limits. All the elements faithfully guard his mysteries. From him the sun received the measure of its daily courses to keep. The moon obeys him when he commands it to shine by night, and the stars obey him as they follow the moon's course. By him all things have been arranged, defined and made subject: the heavens and what is in the heavens, the earth and what is on the earth, the sea and what is in the sea, fire, air, the abyss, what is in the heights, what is in the depths, and what is in between. This is the one he sent to them.¹⁴

³ Did he send him, as a human being might reckon, to rule as a tyrant, to inspire fear and terror? ⁴ Certainly not! He sent him in gentleness and meekness. As a king sends a son who is himself a king, so he sent him. He sent him as God. He sent him as a man to men. He sent him as one who saves, as one who persuades and does not force, for force is not part of God's nature. ⁵ He sent him as one who calls, not as one who hunts people down. He sent him as one who loves, not as one who judges. ⁶ For he will send him as judge, and who will endure his coming? ...¹⁵ ⁷ ... thrown to wild beasts to make them deny the Lord, and yet not defeated?¹⁶ ⁸ Do you not see that the more of them are punished, the more the others grow in number?

⁹ These do not look like the works of a man. This is the power of God. These are proofs of his coming.

14. Shutting the sea within its limits echoes Job 38:8–11 and Proverbs 8:29.

15. The manuscript has a gap after this verse, so the thought continued in a passage that is now lost. The ellipsis marks the gap.

16. The Greek begins mid-sentence after a gap, and the opening words are lost. From verse 8 the sense was probably something like "Do you not see Christians...?", but the exact words cannot be recovered.

CHAPTER 8

Human knowledge of God

1 For before he came, who among men had any understanding at all of what God is? 2 Or do you accept the empty and nonsensical talk of those supposedly reliable philosophers? Some of them said God is fire (they call “God” the thing they themselves are going to end up in). Others said he is water, and others said he is one of the other elements created by God.¹⁷ 3 Yet if any of these accounts is acceptable, then each of the other created things could just as well be declared to be God. 4 But these are fantastic tales and the deceit of charlatans. 5 No human being has either seen God or known him, but he has shown himself.¹⁸ 6 And he showed himself through faith, by which alone it is permitted to see God. 7 For God, the Master and Maker of the universe, who made all things and arranged them in order, was not only a lover of mankind but also patient.

8 Indeed, he always was this way, and is, and will be: kind, good, free from anger, and true. He alone is good.¹⁹ 9 And having conceived a great and inexpressible plan, he shared it with his Child alone.²⁰ 10 So as long as he kept it in mystery and guarded his wise purpose, he seemed to neglect us and not care about us. 11 But when he uncovered it through his beloved Child and made plain what had been prepared from the beginning, he gave us everything at once: to share in his benefits, and to see and understand things that none of us would ever have expected.

CHAPTER 9

The plan of Salvation

1 So, having already planned everything within himself together with his Child, God allowed us, until the recent past, to be swept along by disorderly impulses as we chose, carried away by pleasures and desires. This was not at all because he took delight in our sins, but because he bore with them. He did not approve of that former season of wrongdoing; he was preparing the

17. Heraclitus and the Stoics gave fire a divine role, and Thales made water the first principle of all things. The remark in parentheses probably mocks the Stoic teaching that the world, and we with it, will finally be dissolved into fire.

18. Compare John 1:18: “No one has ever seen God.”

19. “He alone is good” recalls Jesus’ words in Mark 10:18: “No one is good except God alone.”

20. “Child” translates *pais*, which can mean either “child” or “servant.” Acts uses the same word of Jesus (Acts 3:13; 4:27, 30).

present season of righteousness. His purpose was this: in that earlier time our own deeds proved us unworthy of life, so that now, by God's goodness, we might be counted worthy of it. We showed that by ourselves we could not enter the kingdom of God, so that by the power of God we might be made able to. [*Romans 3:21-26*] ² Our wrongdoing reached its full measure and was completely exposed, and it was clear that its wages, punishment and death, were to be expected. Then the time came that God had set beforehand to reveal his kindness and power from then on. Oh, the surpassing kindness and love of God! He did not hate us, or push us away, or hold our wrongs against us. He was patient and put up with us. In mercy he himself took our sins upon himself. He himself gave his own Son as a ransom for us: the holy one for the lawless, the innocent for the evil, the righteous for the unrighteous, the incorruptible for the corruptible, the immortal for the mortal.²¹ [*1 Timothy 2:6*]

³ For what else could cover our sins except his righteousness? ⁴ In whom could we, lawless and godless as we were, be made righteous, if not in the Son of God alone? ⁵ O sweet exchange! O unsearchable working of God! O blessings beyond all expectation! The lawlessness of many is hidden in one righteous man, and the righteousness of one makes many lawless people righteous.²² ⁶ In the earlier time, then, God showed that our nature was unable to obtain life. Now he has shown a Savior who is able to save even what could not be saved. By both means he wanted us to trust his goodness, and to look on him as our provider, father, teacher, counselor, physician, mind, light, honor, glory, strength and life, and not to worry about clothing and food.²³

[*Matthew 6:25-31*]

CHAPTER 10

The benefits of conversion

¹ If you too long for this faith, and receive first of all full knowledge of the Father ...²⁴ ² For God loved human beings. For their sake he made the world,

21. Several phrases echo the New Testament: "wages" and death (*Romans 6:23*), Christ as a "ransom" (*Mark 10:45*), and "the righteous for the unrighteous" (*1 Peter 3:18*). "Took our sins upon himself" recalls *Isaiah 53* and *1 Peter 2:24*, though the Greek verb here (*anedexato*) differs from the one Peter uses.

22. "Makes righteous" and "righteousness" translate words from the same Greek root (*dikaioō, dikaiosynē*) that Paul uses, often rendered "justify" and "justification." The contrast of "the one" and "the many" recalls *Romans 5:19*.

23. "Not to worry about clothing and food" echoes Jesus' teaching in *Matthew 6:25-31*.

24. The sentence seems to break off here, and most editors think some words have dropped out of the text at this point.

and he put everything on the earth under their rule. He gave them reason and mind. Only them did he allow to look up to him. He formed them after his own image. To them he sent his only-begotten Son. To them he promised the kingdom in heaven, and he will give it to those who have loved him.

²⁵ ³ And when you have come to know him, what joy do you think will fill you? And how greatly will you love him who first loved you so?²⁶ ⁴ And when you love him, you will be an imitator of his goodness. Do not be surprised that a human being can become an imitator of God. He can, if God wills it.

²⁷

⁵ For happiness does not lie in lording it over one's neighbors, or in wanting to have more than weaker people, or in being rich and oppressing those who have less. No one can imitate God in these things; they lie outside his greatness. ⁶ But whoever takes on his neighbor's burden, whoever is willing to do good to someone who is worse off in the very thing in which he himself is better off, and whoever gives to those in need what he has received from God, and so becomes a god to those who receive it, this man is an imitator of God.²⁸ ⁷ Then, while you are still on earth, you will see that God rules in heaven. Then you will begin to speak the mysteries of God. Then you will love and admire those who are being punished because they refuse to deny God. Then you will condemn the deceit and error of the world. This will happen when you come to know what it is to truly live in heaven, when you despise the death that only seems to be death here, and when you fear the real death. That death is kept for those who will be condemned to the eternal fire, which will punish to the very end those handed over to it.

⁸ Then you will marvel at those who, for the sake of righteousness, endure the fire that lasts only for a time, and you will call them blessed, when you come to know that other fire.

CHAPTER 11

Conclusion

¹ I am not speaking of strange things, nor is my search unreasonable. Having become a disciple of apostles, I am now becoming a teacher of the nations.

25. Compare Genesis 1:26–28 (made in God's image and given rule over the earth) and John 3:16 (God's love and the sending of his only Son).

26. "Who first loved you" recalls 1 John 4:19: "We love because he first loved us."

27. On imitating God, compare Ephesians 5:1: "Be imitators of God, as beloved children."

To those who are becoming disciples of the truth, I faithfully pass on what has been handed down.²⁹ ²For who that has been rightly taught and has come to love the Word does not seek to learn plainly what the Word openly showed to the disciples? The Word appeared and made it known to them, speaking boldly. Unbelievers did not understand him, but he explained it to the disciples. He counted them faithful, and they came to know the mysteries of the Father. ³For this reason he sent the Word, to appear to the world. He was dishonored by his people, preached by the apostles, and believed by the nations.³⁰ ⁴This is the one who was from the beginning, who appeared new yet was found to be old, and who is always young, born ever anew in the hearts of the saints.

⁵This is the one who is forever, who today is counted a Son. Through him the Church is enriched, and grace is spread out and multiplied among the saints. This grace gives understanding, reveals mysteries, proclaims the times, rejoices over the faithful, and gives gifts to those who seek, that is, to those who do not break the pledges of faith or overstep the boundaries set by the fathers.³¹ ⁶Then the fear of the Law is sung, the grace of the Prophets is recognized, the faith of the Gospels is established, the tradition of the apostles is kept, and the grace of the Church leaps for joy. ⁷If you do not grieve this grace, you will understand what the Word speaks, through those he chooses, whenever he wishes.³² ⁸For whatever we were moved to say, with effort, by the will of the Word who commands, we share with you out of love for the things revealed to us.

CHAPTER 12

¹When you read and listen to these things with eagerness, you will know what God gives to those who love him rightly. They become a paradise of delight. They cause a fruitful, flourishing tree of every kind of fruit to grow up within themselves, and they are adorned with many kinds of fruit.³³ ²For in

28. "Becomes a god to those who receive it" is a bold phrase. It seems to mean that he acts toward them as God does, as the one who provides for them.

29. "A disciple of apostles" may mean personal contact with apostles, or simply that the writer follows their teaching.

30. "His people" means Israel. The pattern of the last three phrases recalls the early hymn in 1 Timothy 3:16 ("preached among the nations, believed on in the world").

31. "Today... a Son" likely echoes Psalm 2:7 ("You are my Son; today I have begotten you"). "Boundaries set by the fathers" echoes Proverbs 22:28 ("Do not move the ancient landmark that your fathers set").

32. "Grieve this grace" may echo Ephesians 4:30 ("Do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God").

this garden a tree of knowledge and a tree of life have been planted. But it is not the tree of knowledge that destroys. Disobedience destroys. [*Genesis 2:9*]

³ For what is written is not without meaning; that from the beginning God planted a tree of knowledge and a tree of life in the middle of paradise, showing that life comes through knowledge. Those at the beginning did not use this knowledge purely, and they were stripped bare by the serpent's deceit.
³⁴ ⁴ For there is no life without knowledge, and no safe knowledge without true life. That is why the two trees were planted close together.

⁵ The apostle saw the force of this. So he found fault with knowledge that is pursued without the truth of the commandment that leads to life, and he says: "Knowledge puffs up, but love builds up."³⁵ ⁶ Anyone who thinks he knows something without true knowledge, knowledge that life bears witness to, does not really know. He is deceived by the serpent, because he has not loved life. But the one who has come to know with fear, and who seeks life, plants in hope and looks for fruit.³⁶ ⁷ Let your heart be knowledge, and let your life be the true Word, received into you.³⁷ ⁸ If you bear its tree and pick its fruit, you will always gather what is desired in God's presence. The serpent does not touch it, and deceit does not mingle with it. Eve is not corrupted, but a virgin is trusted.³⁸ ⁹ Salvation is shown forth, the apostles are given understanding, and the Lord's Passover goes forward. The seasons are gathered together and set in harmony with the world. The Word rejoices as he teaches the saints, and through him the Father is glorified. To him be glory forever. Amen.

33. "Paradise of delight" is the Greek Old Testament's name for the garden of Eden (for example *Genesis 3:23*).

34. "Stripped bare" alludes to Adam and Eve finding they were naked after the fall (*Genesis 3:7*).

35. The quotation is from 1 Corinthians 8:1. The Greek phrase before it is compressed. "That leads to life" may go with "the commandment" (as here) or with "knowledge pursued."

36. The first sentence echoes 1 Corinthians 8:2: "If anyone imagines that he knows something, he does not yet know as he ought to know."

37. The last Greek word (*chōroumenos*) means "being made room for," "taken in," or "grasped." The sense is slightly uncertain.

38. The meaning is obscure. "A virgin" is set against Eve and may mean Mary or the Church. Compare 2 Corinthians 11:2-3, where Paul wants to present the church as a pure virgin and fears it may be deceived as the serpent deceived Eve.

P A R T T W O

Early Apologists and Fragments

Defences of the faith addressed to the emperor and the pagan world, and fragments of writers whose books are lost.

Quadratus of Athens

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

fl. c. AD 125

Apologist who addressed an apology to Hadrian.

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

Remains of the Second and Third Centuries. Quadratus, Bishop of Athens. [a.d. 126.] Quadratus is spoken of by Eusebius as a “man of understanding and of Apostolic faith.” And he celebrates Aristides as a man of similar character. These were the earliest apologists; both addressed their writings to Hadrian, and they were extant and valued in the churches in the time of Eusebius. From the Apology for the Christian Religion. Our Saviour’s works, moreover, were always present: for they were real, consisting of those who had been healed of their diseases, those who had been raised from the dead; who were not only seen whilst they were being healed and raised up, but were afterwards constantly present. Nor did they remain only during the sojourn of the Saviour on earth, but also a considerable time after His departure; and, indeed, some of them have survived even down to our own times.

Aristides of Athens

APOLOGY

c. AD 125–140

One of the oldest Christian defenses, addressed to the emperor Hadrian (or Antoninus Pius). Aristides, a philosopher of Athens, divides humanity into barbarians, Greeks, Jews and Christians and argues that only the Christians have found the truth about God. It is short enough to read in a sitting.

A note for readers. The Apology survives in a full Syriac version and, in a longer and reworked form, in a Greek romance (Barlaam and Josaphat). No clean Greek text is available to us, so no Greek column is shown. This English is J. Rendel Harris's 1891 translation from the Syriac, unchanged except for its division into sections.

OPENING

Again, the apology which Aristides the philosopher made before Hadrian the king concerning the worship of God. [To the Emperor] Caesar Titus Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, from Marcianus Aristides, a philosopher of Athens.

CHAPTER 1

I, O king, by the grace of God came into this world; and having contemplated the heavens and the earth and the seas, and beheld the sun and the rest of the orderly creation, I was amazed at the arrangement of the world; and I comprehended that the world and all that is therein are moved by the impulse of another, and I understood that he that moveth them is God, who is hidden in them and concealed from them: and this is well known, that that which moveth is more powerful than that which is moved. And that I should investigate concerning this Mover of all, as to how He exists—for this is evident to me, for He is incomprehensible in His nature—and that I should dispute concerning the steadfastness of His government, so as to comprehend it fully, is not profitable for me; for no one is able perfectly to com-

prehend it. But I say concerning the Mover of the world, that He is God of all, who made all for the sake of man; and it is evident to me that this is expedient, that one should fear God, and not grieve man.

CHAPTER 2

Since then it has been spoken to you by us concerning God, as far as our mind was capable of discoursing concerning Him, let us now come to the race of men, in order that we may know which of them hold any part of that truth which we have spoken concerning Him, and which of them are in error therefrom.

CHAPTER 3

Let us then begin with the Barbarians, and by degrees we will proceed to the rest of the peoples, in order that we may understand which of them hold the truth concerning God, and which of them error.

CHAPTER 4

Let us turn then, O king, to the elements themselves, in order that we may shew concerning them that they are not gods, but a creation, corruptible and changeable, which is in the likeness of man. But God is incorruptible and unchangeable and invisible, while seeing, turning and changing all things.

CHAPTER 5

And in like manner again have those erred who have thought concerning water that it is God. For water was created for the use of man and in many ways it is made subject to him. For it is changed, and receives defilement, and is corrupted, and loses its own nature when cooked with many things, and receives colours which are not its own; being moreover hardened by the cold and mixed and mingled with the excrement of men and beasts and with the blood of the slain: and it is compelled by workmen, by means of the compulsion of channels, to flow and be conducted against its own will, and to come into gardens and other places, so as to cleanse and carry out all the filth of men, and wash away all defilement, and supply man's need of itself. Wherefore it is impossible that water should be God, but it is a work of God and a part of the world.

CHAPTER 6

So too those have erred who have thought concerning the sun that he is God. For lo! we see him, that by the necessity of another he is moved and turned and runs his course; and he proceeds from degree to degree, rising and setting every day, in order that he may warm the shoots of plants and shrubs, and may bring forth in the air which is mingled with him every herb which is on the earth. And in calculation the sun has a part with the rest of the stars in his course, and although he is one in his nature, he is mixed with many parts, according to the advantage of the needs of men: and that not according to his own will, but according to the will of Him that ruleth him. Wherefore it is not possible that the sun should be God, but a work of God; and in like manner also the moon and stars.

CHAPTER 7

But those who have thought concerning men of old, that some of them are gods, these have greatly erred: as thou, even thou, O king, art aware, that man consists of the four elements and of soul and spirit, and therefore is he even called World, and apart from any one of these parts he does not exist. He has beginning and end, and he is born and also suffers corruption. But God, as I have said, has none of this in His nature, but He is unmade and incorruptible. On this account, then, it is impossible that we should represent him as God who is man by nature, one to whom sometimes, when he looketh for joy, grief happens; and for laughter, and weeping befalls him; one that is passionate and jealous, envious and regretful, along with the rest of the other defects: and in many ways more corrupted than the elements or even than the beasts.

CHAPTER 8

Let us return now to the Greeks in order that we may know what opinion they have concerning the true God.

CHAPTER 9

Now let us come to the history of these their gods in order that we may prove accurately concerning all those things which we have said above.

CHAPTER 10

And again they introduce another god, Hephaestus; and they say of him that he is lame and wearing a cap on his head, and holding in his hand tongs and

hammer; and working in brass in order that therefrom he may find his needed sustenance. Is then this god so much in need? Whereas it is impossible for a god to be needy or lame: otherwise he is very weak.

CHAPTER 11

And after him they introduce another god and call him Apollo: and they say of him that he is jealous and. changeable; and sometimes he holds a bow and a quiver, and sometimes a lyre and a plectrum; and he gives oracles to men, in order that he may receive a reward from them. Is then this god in need of reward? Whereas it is disgraceful that all these things should be found in a god.

CHAPTER 12

Now the Egyptians, because they are more evil and ignorant than all peoples upon the earth, have erred more than all men. For the worship of the Barbarians and the Greeks did not suffice them, but they introduced also the nature of beasts, and said concerning it that they were gods: and also of the creeping things which are found on the dry land and in the waters, and of the plants and herbs they have said that some of them are gods, and they have become corrupt in all madness and impurity more than all peoples that are upon the earth. For of old time they worshipped Isis; and they say that she forsooth is a goddess, who had forsooth a husband Osiris, her brother; but when forsooth Osiris was killed by his brother Typhon, Isis fled with her son Horus to Byblos in Syria and was there for a certain time until that her son was grown: and he contended with his uncle Typhon and killed him, and thereupon Isis returned and went about with her son Horus, and was seeking for the body of Osiris her lord, and bitterly bewailing his death. If therefore Isis be a goddess, and was not able to help Osiris her brother and lord, how is it possible that she should help others? Whereas it is impossible that the divine nature should be afraid and flee, or weep and wail. Otherwise it is a great misfortune.

CHAPTER 13

The Egyptians then have erred with a great error, above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth. But it is a matter of wonder, O king, concerning the Greeks, whereas they excel all the rest of the peoples in their manners and in their reason, how thus they have gone astray after dead idols and senseless images: while they see their gods sawn and polished by their

makers, and curtailed and cut and burnt and shaped and transformed into every shape by them. And when they are grown old and fail by the length of time, and are melted and broken in pieces, how is it that they do not understand concerning them that they are not gods? And those who have not ability for their own preservation, how will they be able to take care of men? But even the poets and philosophers among them being in error have introduced concerning them that they are gods, things like these which are made for the honour of God Almighty; and being in error they seek to make them like to God as to whom no man has ever seen to whom He is like; nor is he able to see Him; and together with these things they introduce concerning Deity as if it were that deficiency were found with it; in that they say that He accepts sacrifice and asks for burnt-offering and libation and murders of men and temples. But God is not needy, and none of these things is sought for by Him: and it is clear that men are in error in those things that they imagine. But their poets and philosophers introduce and say, that the nature of all their gods is one; but they have not understood of God our Lord, that while He is one, He is yet in all. They, then, are in error; for if, while the body of man is many in its parts, no member is afraid of its fellow, but whilst it is a composite body, all is on an equality with all: so also God who is one in His nature has a single essence proper to Him, and He is equal in His nature and His essence, nor is He afraid of Himself. If therefore the nature of the gods is one, it is not proper that a god should persecute a god, nor kill nor do him that which is evil.

CHAPTER 14

Let us come now, O king, also to the history of the Jews and let us see what sort of opinion they have concerning God. The Jews then say that God is one, Creator of all and almighty: and that it is not proper for us that anything else should be worshipped, but this God only: and in this they appear to be much nearer to the truth than all the peoples, in that they worship God more exceedingly and not His works; and they imitate God by reason of the love which they have for man; for they have compassion on the poor and ransom the captive and bury the dead, and do things of a similar nature to these: things which are acceptable to God and are well-pleasing also to men, things which they have received from their fathers of old. Nevertheless they too have gone astray from accurate knowledge, and they suppose in their minds that they are serving God, but in the methods of their actions their

service is to angels and not to God, in that they observe sabbaths and new moons and the passover and the great fast, and the fast, and circumcision, and cleanness of meats: which things not even thus have they perfectly observed.

CHAPTER 15

Now the Christians, O king, by going about and seeking have found the truth, and as we have comprehended from their writings they are nearer to the truth and to exact knowledge than the rest of the peoples. For they know and believe in God, the Maker of heaven and earth, in whom are all things and from whom are all things: He who has no other god as His fellow: from whom they have received those commandments which they have engraved on their minds, which they keep in the hope and expectation of the world to come; so that on this account they do not commit adultery nor fornication, they do not bear false witness, they do not deny a deposit, nor covet what is not theirs: they honour father and mother; they do good to those who are their neighbours, and when they are judges they judge uprightly; and they do not worship idols in the form of man; and whatever they do not wish that others should do to them, they do not practise towards any one, and they do not eat of the meats of idol sacrifices, for they are undefiled: and those who grieve them they comfort, and make them their friends; and they do good to their enemies: and their wives, O king, are pure as virgins, and their daughters modest: and their men abstain from all unlawful wedlock and from all impurity, in the hope of the recompense that is to come in another world: but as for their servants or handmaids, or their children if any of them have any, they persuade them to become Christians for the love that they have towards them; and when they have become so, they call them without distinction brethren: they do not worship strange gods: and they walk in all humility and kindness, and falsehood is not found among them, and they love one another: and from the widows they do not turn away their countenance: and they rescue the orphan from him who does him violence: and he who has gives to him who has not, without grudging; and when they see the stranger they bring him to their dwellings, and rejoice over him as over a true brother; for they do not call brothers those who are after the flesh, but those who are in the spirit and in God: but when one of their poor passes away from the world, and any of them sees him, then he provides for his burial according to his ability; and if they hear that any of their number

is imprisoned or oppressed for the name of their Messiah, all of them provide for his needs, and if it is possible that he may be delivered, they deliver him.

CHAPTER 16

As men who know God, they ask from Him petitions which are proper for Him to give and for them to receive: and thus they accomplish the course of their lives. And because they acknowledge the goodnesses of God towards them, lo! on account of them there flows forth the beauty that is in the world. And truly they are of the number of those that have found the truth by going about and seeking it, and as far as we have comprehended, we have understood that they only are near to the knowledge of the truth.

CHAPTER 17

Thus far, O king, it is I that have spoken. For as to what remains, as was said above, there are found in their other writings words which are difficult to speak, or that one should repeat them; things which are not only said, but actually done.

Aristo of Pella

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

fl. c. AD 140

Author of a lost dialogue of Jason and Papiscus.

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

¹ Aristo of Pella. [a.d. 140.] Aristo of Pella is supposed to have been a Jew, whose work was designed to help the failing Judaism of his country. Though his work is lost, alike the original and the Latin translation of one "Celsus," it seems to have been a popular tract among Christians of Cyprian's time, and the Latin preface is often suffixed to editions of that Father. The work of Aristo is known as the Disputation of Papiscus and Jason, and Celsus tells us that Jason was a Hebrew Christian, while his opponent was a Jew of Alexandria. Now, Papiscus owns himself convinced by the arguments of Jason, and concludes by a request to be baptized. Celsus, who seems to have been a heathen or an Epicurean, derides the work with scornful commiseration; but Origen rebukes this, and affirms his respect for the work. All this considered, one must think Aristo was "almost persuaded to be a Christian," and deserves a place among Christian writers.

² From the Disputation of Jason and Papiscus. "I remember," says Jerome (Comm. ad Gal., cap. iii. comm. 13), "in the Dispute between Jason and Papiscus, which is composed in Greek, to have found it written: 'The execration of God is he that is hanged.'" From the Same Work. Jerome likewise, in his Hebrew Questions on Genesis, says: "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. The majority believe, as it is affirmed also in the Dispute between Jason and Papiscus, and as Tertullian in his book Against Praxeas contends, and as Hilarius too, in his exposition of one of the Psalms, declares, that in the Hebrew it is: 'In the Son, God made the heaven and the earth.' But that this is false, the nature of the case itself proves." Perhaps from the Same Work. ...And when the man himself who had instigated them to

this folly had paid the just penalty (says Eusebius, Hist., iv. 6), “the whole nation from that time was strictly forbidden to set foot on the region about Jerusalem, by the formal decree and enactment of Adrian, who commanded that they should not even from a distance look on their native soil!” So writes Aristo of Pella.

3 From the Same Work. I have found this expression Seven heavens (says Maximus, in Scholia on the work concerning the Mystical Theology, ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, cap. i.) also in the Dispute between Papiscus and Jason, written by Aristo of Pella, which Clement of Alexandria, in the sixth book of the Outlines, says was composed by Saint Luke. Concerning the Same Work. Thus writes Origen:...in which book a Christian is represented disputing with a Jew from the Jewish Scriptures, and showing that the prophecies concerning the Christ apply to Jesus: although his opponent addresses himself to the argument with no common ability, and in a manner not unbefitting his Jewish character.

Hegesippus

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

c. AD 110–180

Earliest historian of the Church; his Memoirs survive only in quotations.

INTRODUCTION

Hegesippus. [a.d. 170.] One of the sub-Apostolic age, a contemporary of Justin and of the martyrs of “the good Aurelius,” we must yet distinguish Hegesippus from the apologists. He is the earliest of the Church’s chroniclers—we can hardly call him a historian. His aims were noble and his character was pure; nor can we refuse him the credit due to a foresight of the Church’s ultimate want of historical material, which he endeavoured to supply. What is commonly regarded as his defect is in reality one of his greatest merits as a witness: he was a Hebrew, and looks at the Church from the stand-point of “James the Lord’s brother.” When we observe his Catholic spirit, therefore, as well as his Catholic orthodoxy; his sympathy with the Gentile Church and Pauline faith of the Corinthians; his abhorrence of “the Circumcision” so far as it bred sects and heresies against Christ; and when we find him confirming the testimony of the Apostolic Fathers, and sustaining the traditions of Antioch by those of Jerusalem,—we have double reason to cherish his name, and to treasure up “the fragments that remain” of his works. That touching episode of the kindred of Christ, as they appeared before Domitian, has always impressed my imagination as worthy to be classed with the story of St. John and the robber, as one of the most suggestive incidents of early Christian history. We must lament the loss of other portions of the Memoirs which were known to exist in the seventeenth century. He was a traveller, and must have seen much of the Apostolic churches in the East and West; and the mere scraps we have of his narrative concerning Corinth and Rome excite a natural curiosity as to the rest, which may lead to gratifying discoveries.

ACTS OF THE CHURCH

¹Fragments from His Five Books of Commentaries on the Acts of the Church.

Contents

²Fragment 1 Fragment 2 Fragment 3 Fragment 4 I. Concerning the Martyrdom of James, the Brother of the Lord, from Book V. James, the Lord's brother, succeeds to the government of the Church, in conjunction with the apostles. He has been universally called the Just, from the days of the Lord down to the present time. For many bore the name of James; but this one was holy from his mother's womb. He drank no wine or other intoxicating liquor, nor did he eat flesh; no razor came upon his head; he did not anoint himself with oil, nor make use of the bath. He alone was permitted to enter the holy place: for he did not wear any woollen garment, but fine linen only. He alone, I say, was wont to go into the temple: and he used to be found kneeling on his knees, begging forgiveness for the people—so that the skin of his knees became horny like that of a camel's, by reason of his constantly bending the knee in adoration to God, and begging forgiveness for the people. Therefore, in consequence of his pre-eminent justice, he was called the Just, and Oblias, which signifies in Greek Defence of the People, and Justice, in accordance with what the prophets declare concerning him.

³Now some persons belonging to the seven sects existing among the people, which have been before described by me in the Notes, asked him: "What is the door of Jesus?" And he replied that He was the Saviour. In consequence of this answer, some believed that Jesus is the Christ. But the sects before mentioned did not believe, either in a resurrection or in the coming of One to requite every man according to his works; but those who did believe, believed because of James. So, when many even of the ruling class believed, there was a commotion among the Jews, and scribes, and Pharisees, who said: "A little more, and we shall have all the people looking for Jesus as the Christ. They came, therefore, in a body to James, and said: "We entreat thee, restrain the people: for they are gone astray in their opinions about Jesus, as if he were the Christ. We entreat thee to persuade all who have come hither for the day of the passover, concerning Jesus. For we all listen to thy persuasion; since we, as well as all the people, bear thee testimony that thou art just, and showest partiality to none. Do thou, therefore, persuade the

people not to entertain erroneous opinions concerning Jesus: for all the people, and we also, listen to thy persuasion. Take thy stand, then, upon the summit of the temple, that from that elevated spot thou mayest be clearly seen, and thy words may be plainly audible to all the people. For, in order to attend the passover, all the tribes have congregated hither, and some of the Gentiles also.”

⁴ The aforesaid scribes and Pharisees accordingly set James on the summit of the temple, and cried aloud to him, and said: “O just one, whom we are all bound to obey, forasmuch as the people is in error, and follows Jesus the crucified, do thou tell us what is the door of Jesus, the crucified.” And he answered with a loud voice: “Why ask ye me concerning Jesus the Son of man? He Himself sitteth in heaven, at the right hand of the Great Power, and shall come on the clouds of heaven.” And, when many were fully convinced by these words, and offered praise for the testimony of James, and said, “Hosanna to the son of David,” then again the said Pharisees and scribes said to one another, “We have not done well in procuring this testimony to Jesus. But let us go up and throw him down, that they may be afraid, and not believe him.” And they cried aloud, and said: “Oh! oh! the just man himself is in error.” Thus they fulfilled the Scripture written in Isaiah: “Let us away with the just man, because he is troublesome to us: therefore shall they eat the fruit of their doings.” So they went up and threw down the just man, and said to one another: “Let us stone James the Just.” And they began to stone him: for he was not killed by the fall; but he turned, and kneeled down, and said: “I beseech Thee, Lord God our Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.”

⁵ And, while they were thus stoning him to death, one of the priests, the sons of Rechab, the son of Rechabim, to whom testimony is borne by Jeremiah the prophet, began to cry aloud, saying: “Cease, what do ye? The just man is praying for us.” But one among them, one of the fullers, took the staff with which he was accustomed to wring out the garments he dyed, and hurled it at the head of the just man. And so he suffered martyrdom; and they buried him on the spot, and the pillar erected to his memory still remains, close by the temple. This man was a true witness to both Jews and Greeks that Jesus is the Christ. And shortly after Vespasian besieged Judæa, taking them captive. Concerning the Relatives of Our Saviour. There still survived of the kindred of the Lord the grandsons of Judas, who according to

the flesh was called his brother. These were informed against, as belonging to the family of David, and Evocatus brought them before Domitian Cæsar: for that emperor dreaded the advent of Christ, as Herod had done.

6 So he asked them whether they were of the family of David; and they confessed they were. Next he asked them what property they had, or how much money they possessed. They both replied that they had only 9000 denaria between them, each of them owning half that sum; but even this they said they did not possess in cash, but as the estimated value of some land, consisting of thirty-nine plethra only, out of which they had to pay the dues, and that they supported themselves by their own labour. And then they began to hold out their hands, exhibiting, as proof of their manual labour, the roughness of their skin, and the corns raised on their hands by constant work. Being then asked concerning Christ and His kingdom, what was its nature, and when and where it was to appear, they returned answer that it was not of this world, nor of the earth, but belonging to the sphere of heaven and angels, and would make its appearance at the end of time, when He shall come in glory, and judge living and dead, and render to every one according to the course of his life.

7 Thereupon Domitian passed no condemnation upon them, but treated them with contempt, as too mean for notice, and let them go free. At the same time he issued a command, and put a stop to the persecution against the Church. When they were released they became leaders of the churches, as was natural in the case of those who were at once martyrs and of the kindred of the Lord. And, after the establishment of peace to the Church, their lives were prolonged to the reign of Trajan. Concerning the Martyrdom of Symeon the son of Clopas, Bishop of Jerusalem. Some of these heretics, forsooth, laid an information against Symeon the son of Clopas, as being of the family of David, and a Christian. And on these charges he suffered martyrdom when he was 120 years old, in the reign of Trajan Cæsar, when Atticus was consular legate in Syria. And it so happened, says the same writer, that, while inquiry was then being made for those belonging to the royal tribe of the Jews, the accusers themselves were convicted of belonging to it. With show of reason could it be said that Symeon was one of those who actually saw and heard the Lord, on the ground of his great age, and also because the Scripture of the Gospels makes mention of Mary the daughter of Clopas, who, as our narrative has shown already, was his father.

8 The same historian mentions others also, of the family of one of the reputed brothers of the Saviour, named Judas, as having survived until this same reign, after the testimony they bore for the faith of Christ in the time of Domitian, as already recorded. He writes as follows: They came, then, and took the presidency of every church, as witnesses for Christ, and as being of the kindred of the Lord. And, after profound peace had been established in every church, they remained down to the reign of Trajan Cæsar: that is, until the time when he who was sprung from an uncle of the Lord, the aforementioned Symeon son of Clopas, was informed against by the various heresies, and subjected to an accusation like the rest, and for the same cause, before the legate Atticus; and, while suffering outrage during many days, he bore testimony for Christ: so that all, including the legate himself, were astonished above measure that a man 120 years old should have been able to endure such torments. He was finally condemned to be crucified.

9 ...Up to that period the Church had remained like a virgin pure and uncorrupted: for, if there were any persons who were disposed to tamper with the wholesome rule of the preaching of salvation, they still lurked in some dark place of concealment or other. But, when the sacred band of apostles had in various ways closed their lives, and that generation of men to whom it had been vouchsafed to listen to the Godlike Wisdom with their own ears had passed away, then did the confederacy of godless error take its rise through the treachery of false teachers, who, seeing that none of the apostles any longer survived, at length attempted with bare and uplifted head to oppose the preaching of the truth by preaching "knowledge falsely so called." Concerning His Journey to Rome, and the Jewish Sects. And the church of the Corinthians continued in the orthodox faith up to the time when Primus was bishop in Corinth. I had some intercourse with these brethren on my voyage to Rome, when I spent several days with the Corinthians, during which we were mutually refreshed by the orthodox faith.

10 On my arrival at Rome, I drew up a list of the succession of bishops down to Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus. To Anicetus succeeded Soter, and after him came Eleutherus. But in the case of every succession, and in every city, the state of affairs is in accordance with the teaching of the Law and of the Prophets and of the Lord.... And after James the Just had suffered martyrdom, as had the Lord also and on the same account, again Symeon the son of Clopas, descended from the Lord's uncle, is made bishop, his elec-

tion being promoted by all as being a kinsman of the Lord. Therefore was the Church called a virgin, for she was not as yet corrupted by worthless teaching. Thebulis it was who, displeased because he was not made bishop, first began to corrupt her by stealth. He too was connected with the seven sects which existed among the people, like Simon, from whom come the Simoniani; and Cleobius, from whom come the Cleobiani; and Doritheus, from whom come the Dorithiani; and Gorthæus, from whom come the Gortheani; Masbothæus, from whom come the Masbothæi. From these men also come the Menandrianists, and the Marcionists, and the Carpocratians, and the Valentinians, and the Basilidians, and the Saturnilians. Each of these leaders in his own private and distinct capacity brought in his own private opinion. From these have come false Christs, false prophets, false apostles—men who have split up the one Church into parts through their corrupting doctrines, uttered in disparagement of God and of His Christ....

¹¹ There were, moreover, various opinions in the matter of circumcision among the children of Israel, held by those who were opposed to the tribe of Judah and to Christ: such as the Essenes, the Galileans, the Hemerobaptists, the Masbothæi, the Samaritans, the Sadducees, the Pharisees.

Claudius Apollinaris

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

fl. c. AD 170

Bishop of Hierapolis and apologist.

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

¹ Claudius Apollinaris, Bishop of Hierapolis, and Apologist. [a.d. 160–180.] This author, an early apologist, is chiefly interesting as a competent witness, who tells the story of the Thundering Legion in an artless manner, and gives it the simple character of an answer to prayer. This subject is treated by Lightfoot, in his recent work on the Apostolic Fathers, in an exhaustive manner; and the story, reduced to the simple narrative as Apollinaris gives it, receives from him a just and discriminating approval. Apollinaris, as well as Rhodon, has been imagined the author of the work (ascribed to Asterius Urbanus) against Montanism, dedicated to Abiricius Marcellus. This is sufficiently refuted by Routh, whose Greek text, with notes, must be consulted by the studious. Apollinaris was bishop of Hierapolis on the Mæander, and, Lightfoot thinks, was probably with Melito and Polycrates, known to Polycarp, and influenced by his example and doctrine. He addressed his Apology, which is honourably mentioned by Jerome, to M. Antoninus, the emperor. He also wrote *Adversus Gentes* and *De Veritate*; also against the Jews. Serapion calls him “most blessed.”

² From an Unknown Book. “This narration (says Eusebius, *Hist.*, v. 5) is given” (it relates to that storm of rain which was sent to the army of the Emperor M. Antoninus, to allay the thirst of the soldiers, whilst the enemy was discomfited by thunderbolts hurled upon them) “even by those historians who are at a wide remove from the doctrines that prevail among us, and who have been simply concerned to describe what related to the emperors who are the subjects of their history; and it has been recorded also by our own writers. But historians without the pale of the Church, as being unfriendly to

the faith, while they have recorded the prodigy, have refrained from acknowledging that it was sent in answer to our prayers. On the other hand, our writers, as lovers of truth, have reported the matter in a simple and artless way. To this number Apollinaris must be considered as belonging. ‘Thereupon,’ he says, ‘the legion which had by its prayer caused the prodigy received from the emperor a title suitable to the occurrence, and was called in the Roman language the Thunder-hurling Legion.’”

3 From the Book Concerning the Passover. There are, then, some who through ignorance raise disputes about these things (though their conduct is pardonable: for ignorance is no subject for blame—it rather needs further instruction), and say that on the fourteenth day the Lord ate the lamb with the disciples, and that on the great day of the feast of unleavened bread He Himself suffered; and they quote Matthew as speaking in accordance with their view. Wherefore their opinion is contrary to the law, and the Gospels seem to be at variance with them. From the Same Book. The fourteenth day, the true Passover of the Lord; the great sacrifice, the Son of God instead of the lamb, who was bound, who bound the strong, and who was judged, though Judge of living and dead, and who was delivered into the hands of sinners to be crucified, who was lifted up on the horns of the unicorn, and who was pierced in His holy side, who poured forth from His side the two purifying elements, water and blood, word and spirit, and who was buried on the day of the passover, the stone being placed upon the tomb.

Dionysius of Corinth

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

fl. c. AD 170

Bishop of Corinth whose letters to many churches are quoted by Eusebius.

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

¹ Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth. [a.d. 170.] Eusebius is almost diffuse in what he tells us of this Dionysius, “who was appointed over the church at Corinth, and imparted freely, not only to his own people, but to others, and those abroad also, the blessings of his divine labours.” He wrote “Catholic Epistles;” he addressed an epistle to the Spartans and the Athenians; and, as Eusebius says, Dionysius the Areopagite, the convert of St. Paul, was the first bishop of Athens. He wrote to the Nicomedians, refuting Marcion, and closely adhering to “the rule of faith.” In an epistle to the Gortynians and others in Crete, he praises Philip for his courageous ministry, and warns them against the heretics. He seems to recognise Palmas as bishop of Amastris and Pontus, and adds expositions of Scripture, and rules regarding marriage, its purity and sanctity. He also inculcates tenderness to penitent lapsers and backsliders. With Pinytus, bishop of the Gnostians, he corresponds on similar subjects; but Pinytus, while he thanks him and commends his clemency, evidently regards him as too much inclined to furnish “food for babes,” and counsels him to add “strong meat for those of full age.” He also writes to Chrysophora, his most faithful sister, imparting spiritual instruction.

² Fragments from a Letter to the Roman Church. I. For this has been your custom from the beginning, to do good to all the brethren in various ways, and to send resources to many churches which are in every city, thus refreshing the poverty of the needy, and granting subsidies to the brethren who are in the mines. Through the resources which ye have sent from the beginning, ye Romans, keep up the custom of the Romans handed down by

the fathers, which your blessed Bishop Soter has not only preserved, but added to, sending a splendid gift to the saints, and exhorting with blessed words those brethren who go up to Rome, as an affectionate father his children. II. From the Same Epistle. We passed this holy Lord's day, in which we read your letter, from the constant reading of which we shall be able to draw admonition, even as from the reading of the former one you sent us written through Clement.

3 III. From the Same. Therefore you also have by such admonition joined in close union the churches that were planted by Peter and Paul, that of the Romans and that of the Corinthians: for both of them went to our Corinth, and taught us in the same way as they taught you when they went to Italy; and having taught you, they suffered martyrdom at the same time. IV. From the Same. For I wrote letters when the brethren requested me to write. And these letters the apostles of the devil have filled with tares, taking away some things and adding others, for whom a woe is in store. It is not wonderful, then, if some have attempted to adulterate the Lord's writings, when they have formed designs against those which are not such.

P A R T T H R E E

Justin Martyr

*The first great Christian philosopher and apologist, who died
for his faith at Rome about AD 165.*

First and Second Apology

JUSTIN MARTYR

c. AD 155–165

Justin, a philosopher turned Christian teacher in Rome, wrote the First Apology about AD 155 to the emperor Antoninus Pius, his sons and the Roman senate. He argues that Christians should be judged by their lives and not by their name, explains what they believe, and describes baptism, the Lord's Supper and Sunday worship in Rome. The Second Apology is a shorter follow-up, written a few years later after Christians were put to death in Rome. Justin himself was martyred about AD 165.

A note for readers. Justin writes as a philosopher addressing the emperor, so he often explains Christian belief in the language of Greek philosophy, for example calling Christ the Logos who sowed seeds of truth among the Greeks. Readers have long debated how far that approach helps or blurs the gospel. Read his account of the Lord's Supper and Sunday worship in chapters 65 to 67 of the First Apology: it is the earliest detailed description of a Christian service outside the New Testament.

FIRST APOLOGY

CHAPTER 1

Address.

To the Emperor Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus Caesar; to his son Verissimus, the Philosopher; to Lucius, natural son of Caesar the Philosopher and adopted son of Pius, a lover of learning; to the sacred Senate; and to the whole Roman People. I am Justin, son of Priscus and grandson of Bacchius, from Flavia Neapolis in Syria Palestine. On behalf of people of every nation who are unjustly hated and mistreated, I make this address and petition. I am one of them.¹

1. The older translation leaves out "Syria" before "Palestine." Flavia Neapolis (modern Nablus) was a Roman city founded in AD 72 near ancient Shechem.

CHAPTER 2

Justice Demanded.

Reason directs those who are truly devout and philosophical to honor and love only what is true. They should refuse to follow the opinions of the ancients if those opinions are worthless. Sound reason does not only direct us to refuse to follow those who have done or taught something unjust. The lover of truth must also choose, by every means and even in preference to his own life, to say and do what is right, even if death is threatened. You, then, are called devout and philosophers, guardians of justice and lovers of learning. You hear this said everywhere, but whether you really are so will be shown. We have not come to flatter you with this writing, or to win your favor with our words. We have come to demand that you pass judgment after an exact and searching examination. Do not be ruled by prejudice, or by a wish to please superstitious people. Do not be driven by irrational impulse or by an evil rumor that has been believed for a long time, and so pass a verdict against yourselves. As for us, we are convinced that no one can do us any harm unless we are proved to be doers of evil or shown to be wicked. You can kill us, but you cannot harm us.²

CHAPTER 3

Claim of Judicial Investigation.

^{3a} Someone might think this is an unreasonable and reckless thing to say. So we ask that the charges against these people be examined. If the charges are proved true, let them be punished, as it is right to punish those found guilty. But if no one can prove anything, true reason does not allow you to wrong innocent people because of an evil rumor. Or rather, you would be wronging yourselves, since you think fit to conduct affairs by passion and not by judgment. Every sensible person will declare this a good proposal and the only just one. Those who are ruled should give an account of their own life and teaching that cannot be faulted. Likewise those who rule should give their verdict by following piety and philosophy, not force and tyranny. In this way both rulers and ruled would enjoy the good. For one of the ancients somewhere said, “Unless rulers and ruled alike philosophize, it is not possible for cities to be happy.”³

2. “Devout” translates *eusebeis*. This is the same Greek word used for Antoninus’s Latin title “Pius” (Greek *Eusebes*), so Justin is pointing to the emperor’s own title.

3b So it is our task to give everyone the chance to examine our life and our teachings. Otherwise we would bring on ourselves the penalty for the wrongs that people commit in their blindness, because they do not know us. It is your task, as reason requires, to listen and be found good judges. For once you have learned the truth, if you do not do what is just, you will have no defense before God.

CHAPTER 4

Christians Unjustly Condemned for Their Mere Name.

4a Nothing, good or evil, is decided by the mere application of a name, apart from the actions that go with the name. As far as the name we are accused of goes, we are most excellent people. Still, we do not think it just to ask to be let off because of the name if we are shown to be evildoers. On the other hand, suppose we are found to do no wrong, either in what we are called or in our conduct as citizens. Then it is up to you to take great care not to bring just punishment on yourselves by unjustly punishing people who have not been convicted. Neither praise nor punishment could reasonably come from a name alone, unless something good or bad can be shown by actions. You do not punish any of the others who are accused before you until they are convicted. But in our case you take the name itself as proof against us. Yet as far as the name goes, you ought rather to punish our accusers.⁴

4b We are accused of being Christians, and it is unjust to hate what is “chrestos,” good. Again, if one of the accused denies it with his voice and says he is not a Christian, you let him go, since you have nothing to prove against him as a wrongdoer. But if someone admits that he is one, you punish him for the admission. You ought to examine the life of the one who confesses and of the one who denies, so that each man’s actions show what kind of person he is. Some have received from the teacher, Christ, the command not to deny him when questioned, and they urge others to hold firm. In the same way, perhaps, those who live badly give an opening to people who are all too ready, without good reason, to charge all Christians with im-

3. The older translation has “or rather, indeed, we ourselves will punish them.” That is not in the Greek, which says “or rather [you will wrong] yourselves.” The saying of “one of the ancients” recalls Plato’s Republic (473c–d) on philosopher-rulers, but Justin words it in his own way.

4. “Most excellent” translates chrestotatoi, a play on words: in the Greek of Justin’s day chrestos (“good, kind”) sounded almost the same as Christos (“Christ”), so the name “Christians” could be heard as “good people.”

piety and injustice. This too is not done rightly. For some put on the name and the dress of philosophy though they do nothing worthy of what they profess. You know that the ancients who held and taught opposite opinions are all called by the one name, philosophers. Some of them taught atheism. And the poets of old proclaim that Zeus was immoral, along with his children. Yet those who follow such teachings are not stopped by you. Instead you offer prizes and honors to those who insult these gods in fine-sounding words.⁵ [*Matthew 10: 33*]

CHAPTER 5

Christians Charged with Atheism.

^{5a} What, then, can this mean? We promise to do no wrong and not to hold these godless opinions. Yet you do not examine our cases in court. Driven by unreasoning passion and by the lash of evil demons, you punish us without trial and without a thought. For the truth will be told. In ancient times evil demons made appearances. They committed adultery with women, corrupted boys, and showed men terrifying sights. People who did not judge what was happening by reason were struck with dread. Seized by fear, and not knowing that these were evil demons, they called them gods. They gave each one the name that he had chosen for himself. Then Socrates tried, with true reason and careful examination, to bring these things into the open and to draw people away from the demons. The demons worked through men who delighted in wickedness and had him put to death as an atheist and an impious man. They said he was bringing in new divinities. They are working the same way against us.⁶

^{5b} For it was not only among the Greeks that reason (the Logos) exposed these things through Socrates. It was also among the barbarians, by the Logos himself, who took form and became man and was called Jesus Christ. We have been persuaded by him. So we say not only that the demons who did these things are not upright, but that they are wicked and unholy demons, whose deeds are not even like those of people who long for virtue.⁷ [*John 1: 14*]

5. The Greek word *allōs*, translated “without good reason,” can mean either “otherwise” or “idly, without reason”; the older translation’s “without consideration” takes it the second way. The older version also has “Jupiter” (the Latin name) for Zeus, and says the poets “raise a laugh,” where the Greek says they “proclaim” Zeus to be immoral.

6. “New divinities” translates “*kaina daimonia*,” part of the charge against Socrates recorded in Plato’s *Apology* and Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*. Justin plays on the word: the “*daimonia*” behind the charge were the demons themselves.

CHAPTER 6

Charge of Atheism Refuted.

This is why we are also called atheists. We admit that we are atheists as regards gods of that kind. But we are not atheists toward the most true God, the Father of righteousness, self-control and the other virtues, in whom there is no mixture of evil. We revere and worship him, and the Son who came from him and taught us these things, and the host of the other good angels who follow him and are made like him, and the prophetic Spirit. We honor them in reason and truth, and we hand this on freely to anyone who wishes to learn, just as we were taught.⁸ [*John 4:24*]

CHAPTER 7

Each Christian Must Be Tried by His Own Life.

Someone will say, "But some Christians have already been arrested and convicted as criminals." Indeed, you often condemn many people when you examine the life of each of the accused. But you do not condemn them on account of those who were convicted before. We also admit this in general. Among the Greeks, those who teach whatever pleases them are all called by the one name, philosophy, even though their teachings are opposed to each other. In the same way, among the barbarians, the name now brought against us is shared by those who have become wise and by those who only seemed wise. For all are called Christians. So we ask that the actions of all who are reported to you be judged. Then the one who is convicted as a wrongdoer will be punished as a wrongdoer, and not as a Christian. And if anyone is shown to be clear of guilt, he should be released as a Christian who does no wrong. We will not ask you to punish our accusers. They are punished enough by the wickedness they already have and by their ignorance of what is good.⁹

7. The older translation says "we deny that they are gods"; the Greek simply says these demons are "not upright, but wicked and unholy." "Logos" means both "reason" and "Word"; Justin means both here.

8. As the Greek stands, the angels are listed together with the Father, the Son and the Spirit as those we "revere and worship." The older translation puts the Son and the angels in parentheses, and it says "knowing them" where the Greek says "honoring them." This sentence is much debated. Some scholars take the angels as part of what the Son "taught us," not as objects of worship. Justin himself elsewhere quotes "You shall worship the Lord your God, and him only" (1 Apology 16).

CHAPTER 8

Christians Confess Their Faith in God.

Consider that we have said all this for your sake. For when we are examined, it is in our power to deny that we are Christians. But we do not want to stay alive by telling lies. We long for the eternal and pure life, and we lay claim to a life in the company of God, the Father and Maker of all. So we hurry to make our confession. We are persuaded and believe that this life can be reached by those who have shown God by their works that they followed him and loved to live with him, in the place where no evil stands in the way. That, to put it briefly, is what we expect, what we have learned from Christ, and what we teach. Plato likewise said that Rhadamanthus and Minos would punish the unjust who came before them. We say that the same thing will happen, but at the hands of Christ. The wicked will appear in the same bodies, joined again to their souls, and will be punished with an eternal punishment, not only for a period of a thousand years, as Plato said. Now if someone says this is unbelievable or impossible, then the error is ours and affects no one else, so long as we are not proved to be doing any wrong.¹⁰ [Matthew 25: 46]

CHAPTER 9

Folly of Idol Worship.

^{9a} We also do not honor with many sacrifices and garlands of flowers those images that men have shaped, set up in temples, and called gods. We know that these are lifeless and dead, and that they do not have the form of God. We do not think that God has the kind of form that some claim to have copied in order to honor him. Rather, they have the names and shapes of those evil demons who have appeared. Why should I tell you, who already know, how the craftsmen handle their material, planing and cutting, casting and hammering? Often they take vessels made for dishonorable uses, change only their shape by their skill, give them a new form, and call them gods. We consider this not only senseless but an insult to God. His glory and

9. The older translation reads “those of whom we have been speaking” for the people you do not condemn; the Greek means those convicted earlier.

10. Plato presents Minos and Rhadamanthus as judges of the dead in the *Gorgias* (523e–524a). The thousand-year period of punishment appears in the myth of Er (*Republic* 10, 615a).

form are beyond description, yet his name is attached to perishable things that need constant care.

9b You know very well that the craftsmen who make these things are licentious and, not to list them all, are filled with every vice. They even corrupt their own slave girls who work alongside them. What madness! Immortal men are said to shape and remake gods for you to worship. And you appoint such men as guardians of the temples where the images are set up. You do not see that it is unlawful even to think or say that men are guardians of gods.

CHAPTER 10

How God is to Be Served.

10a We have received the teaching that God does not need material offerings from men, since we see that he himself provides everything. We have been taught, and are persuaded and believe, that he accepts only those who imitate the good qualities that belong to him: self-control, righteousness, love for humanity, and whatever else is proper to God, who is called by no given name. We have also been taught that in the beginning he, being good, made all things out of formless matter for the sake of human beings. If they show by their works that they are worthy of his plan, we have received the teaching that they will be counted worthy to live with him and to reign with him, made incorruptible and free from suffering. For just as he made us in the beginning when we did not exist, so we believe that those who choose what pleases him will, because of that choice, be counted worthy of incorruption and of fellowship with him. Coming into being at the start was not our doing. But he persuades us to follow what pleases him, choosing it by the rational powers he himself has given us, and he leads us to faith.¹¹ [*Acts 17:25*]

10b We also think it is in the interest of all people that they not be kept from learning these things but be urged to do so. What human laws could not achieve, the divine Word would have accomplished, if the wicked demons had not scattered many false and godless accusations. They took as their ally the evil desire in each person, which by nature is drawn to everything and takes many forms. None of these accusations applies to us.

11. "Formless matter" reflects Justin's wording. He does not here say "out of nothing." He says "did not exist" only of human beings. Later in this Apology (ch. 59) Justin claims that Plato took the idea of God shaping formless matter from Moses.

CHAPTER 11

What Kingdom Christians Look for.

When you hear that we expect a kingdom, you assume without any inquiry that we mean a human kingdom. But we mean the kingdom that is with God. This is clear from the fact that, when you examine us, we confess that we are Christians, though we know that death is the penalty for anyone who confesses this. If we were expecting a human kingdom, we would deny it so that we would not be killed. We would also try to stay hidden so that we could obtain what we looked for. But our hopes are not set on the present. So we are not concerned when people put us to death, since death is a debt that must be paid in any case.¹²

CHAPTER 12

Christians Live as Under God's Eye.

^{12a} We are also your helpers and allies in keeping the peace, more than any other people. We hold that no evildoer, no greedy man, no plotter, and no virtuous man can escape God's notice, and that each person goes to eternal punishment or to salvation according to what his deeds deserve. If everyone knew this, no one would choose wickedness even for a short time, knowing that he was heading for the sentence of eternal fire. He would restrain himself in every way and adorn himself with virtue, so that he might receive the good things that come from God and be free of his punishments. Some people try to hide their wrongdoing because of the laws and penalties you have laid down. They do wrong because they know that you are only men, and that they can escape your notice. But if they had learned and been convinced that nothing can escape God, whether it is done or only planned, they would in every way keep themselves in order because of the punishments awaiting them. You yourselves will agree with this.

^{12b} But you seem to fear that everyone will start doing right and that you will no longer have anyone to punish. That would be the worry of public executioners, not of good rulers. We are convinced, as we said earlier, that these things are driven by evil demons, who demand sacrifices and service even from people who live without reason. But we assume that you, who reach for piety and philosophy, will do nothing unreasonable. If, however, you also,

12. The older translation says "we should also deny our Christ." The Greek says only "we would deny," with no object. The context implies denying that we are Christians.

like the foolish, honor custom above truth, then do what you are able to do. But rulers who honor opinion above truth have only as much power as robbers in a desert. And that you will not succeed is shown by the Word. After God who begot him, we know of no ruler more kingly and more just than he. For as all men refuse to inherit the poverty, the sufferings or the disgrace of their fathers, so a sensible man will not choose whatever the Word tells him he must not choose.¹³

^{12c} Our teacher foretold that all these things would happen. He is Jesus Christ, the Son and Apostle of God, the Father and Master of all, and from him we have received the name Christians. So we become firmly convinced of everything he taught us, since everything he said beforehand would happen is seen actually happening. This is the work of God: to speak of something before it happens, and then to show it happening just as it was foretold. We could stop here and add nothing more, since we are asking for what is just and true. But we know it is not easy to change quickly a soul held by ignorance. So, to persuade those who love the truth, we are eager to add a few things, knowing that when the truth is set before them it is not impossible for people to escape ignorance.¹⁴ [*Hebrews 3:1*]

CHAPTER 13

Christians Serve God Rationally.

Who that is sober-minded will not agree that we are not atheists? We worship the Maker of this whole universe. As we have been taught, we say that he has no need of blood, libations or incense. We praise him as best we can with words of prayer and thanksgiving for everything we receive. We have learned that the only honor worthy of him is not to burn up what he has made for our nourishment, but to use it ourselves and share it with those in need. In gratitude to him we offer up, in words, solemn praises and hymns for our creation, for all the things that give us health, for the qualities of the different kinds of things and for the changing of the seasons. And we send him our requests that we may live again in incorruption through faith in him. Our teacher in these things is Jesus Christ, who was born for this purpose and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judea in the time of Tiberi-

13. "The Word" (ὁ λόγος) is Christ. "Will not succeed" translates οὐ καλλιερήσετε, a word from sacrifice: omens will not be favorable, so "you will not prosper."

14. "Apostle" here means "one sent" by God the Father; Hebrews 3:1 likewise calls Jesus "the Apostle and High Priest of our confession."

us Caesar. We have learned that he is the Son of the true God, and we hold him in second place, and the prophetic Spirit in the third rank. We will show that we are right to honor them. People call us mad on this very point. They say that we give second place, after the unchanging and ever-existing God, the Father of all, to a crucified man. They do not know the mystery in this, and as we explain it we urge you to pay attention.¹⁵ [*John 18: 37*]

CHAPTER 14

The Demons Misrepresent Christian Doctrine.

^{14a} We warn you in advance to be on guard, in case the demons we have been denouncing deceive you and keep you from reading and understanding what we say at all. They are fighting to keep you as their slaves and servants. Sometimes they appear in dreams, and sometimes they use magical tricks, and so they take control of everyone who makes no effort at all for his own salvation. This is what we ourselves did: after we were persuaded by the Word, we withdrew from them, and now we follow the one unbegotten God through his Son. We once took pleasure in sexual immorality, but now we embrace self-control alone. We once practiced magic arts, but now we have given ourselves to the good and unbegotten God. We loved the ways of getting money and possessions above everything, but now we bring what we have into a common fund and share with everyone in need. We hated and killed one another, and because of differences in custom we would not even share a hearth with people of another tribe. But now, since Christ appeared, we live at the same table with them. We pray for our enemies, and we try to win over those who hate us without cause, so that they too may live by Christ's good instructions and share our good hope of receiving the same things from God, the Master of all.¹⁶ [*Matthew 5: 44*]

^{14b} So that we do not seem to be using clever arguments on you, we think it right, before the proof itself, to recall a few of the teachings of Christ himself. It is for you, as powerful rulers, to examine whether we have truly been taught these things and truly teach them. His sayings were brief and concise, for he was no sophist. His word was the power of God.¹⁷

15. "Solemn praises" translates a Greek word that literally means "processions," the kind held in pagan worship. Justin seems to mean that Christians honor God with words, not with ceremonies and burnt offerings.

16. "The Word" translates *logos*. The Greek can mean Christ the Word, or the message or reason that persuaded them. Justin may intend both.

CHAPTER 15

What Christ Himself Taught.

^{15a} About self-control he said this: “Whoever looks at a woman in order to desire her has already committed adultery in his heart before God.” And: “If your right eye causes you to stumble, cut it out. It is better for you to enter the kingdom of heaven with one eye than to be sent into the eternal fire with two.” And: “Whoever marries a woman divorced from another husband commits adultery.” And: “There are some who were made eunuchs by men, some who were born eunuchs, and some who made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. But not everyone can accept this.” So those who marry twice under human law are sinners in the eyes of our Teacher, and so are those who look at a woman in order to desire her. Not only the man who commits adultery in deed is cast out by him, but also the man who wants to commit adultery, since not only our deeds but also our thoughts are open to God.¹⁸ [*Matthew 5: 28; Matthew 5: 29; Matthew 5: 32; Matthew 19: 12*]

^{15b} Many men and women, now sixty or seventy years old, who were made disciples of Christ from childhood, have stayed pure. I am proud to say I could show such people among every race of men. And what can we say of the countless multitude who have turned from a life of self-indulgence and learned these things? For Christ did not call the righteous or the self-controlled to repentance, but the ungodly, the self-indulgent and the unjust. He said: “I did not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.” For the heavenly Father desires the sinner’s repentance rather than his punishment. About loving everyone, he taught this: “If you love those who love you, what is new in that? Even the sexually immoral do this. But I say to you: pray for your enemies, love those who hate you, bless those who curse you, and pray for those who mistreat you.”¹⁹ [*Luke 5: 32; Matthew 5: 46; Matthew 5: 44; Luke 6: 28*]

17. A “sophist” was a professional teacher of clever, persuasive argument, often viewed with suspicion.

18. What Justin means by marrying twice (“digamy”) is debated. He may mean remarriage after divorce, which Roman law allowed, and that would follow from the saying he just quoted. Or he may mean any second marriage.

19. “I did not come to call...” matches Luke 5:32 (compare Matthew 9:13). The saying about the Father echoes Ezekiel 18:23 and 33:11. The love sayings resemble Matthew 5:44–47 and Luke 6:27–28, 32. Where Justin has “the sexually immoral,” Matthew has “tax collectors” and Luke has “sinners,” and his wording differs in other places too.

15c About sharing with those in need, and doing nothing for show, he said this: “Give to everyone who asks, and do not turn away anyone who wants to borrow. If you lend to those from whom you hope to receive, what is new in that? Even the tax collectors do this. But you, do not store up treasures for yourselves on earth, where moth and rust destroy and thieves break in. Store up treasures for yourselves in heaven, where neither moth nor rust destroys. For what does it profit a man if he gains the whole world but loses his soul? Or what will he give in exchange for it? So store up treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust destroys.” And: “Be kind and compassionate, as your Father also is kind and compassionate, and makes his sun rise on sinners, and on the righteous, and on the wicked.”²⁰ [Matthew 5:42; Matthew 6:19-20; Matthew 16:26; Matthew 5:45]

15d “Do not worry about what you will eat or what you will wear. Are you not worth more than the birds and the wild animals? And God feeds them. So do not worry about what you will eat or what you will wear, for your heavenly Father knows that you need these things. But seek the kingdom of heaven, and all these things will be added to you. For where the treasure is, there also is the mind of a person.” And: “Do not do these things in order to be seen by people. If you do, you have no reward from your Father in heaven.”²¹ [Matthew 6:25-26; Matthew 6:31-33; Matthew 6:21; Matthew 6:1]

CHAPTER 16

Concerning Patience and Swearing.

16a Concerning being patient with wrongs, ready to serve everyone, and free from anger, these are the things he said: “To the one who strikes you on the cheek, offer the other also. Do not stop the one who takes your shirt or your coat. Whoever is angry is liable to the fire. Whoever forces you to go one mile, go two with him. Let your good works shine before people, so that when they see them they may marvel at your Father in heaven.” For we must not strike back, and he does not want us to imitate wicked people. Instead, he urged us to lead everyone, by patience and gentleness, away from shame

20. Justin joins sayings from different parts of the Gospels and does not always follow their wording. Compare Matthew 5:42; Luke 6:34; Matthew 6:19-20; Matthew 16:26; Luke 6:36; Matthew 5:45. This last quotation continues into the next section.

21. Compare Matthew 6:25-33 and Luke 12:22-31. The Gospels speak only of birds, and Justin adds “wild animals.” The Greek says “the mind (nous) of a person” where the Gospels have “heart” (Matthew 6:21; Luke 12:34). The last saying echoes Matthew 6:1.

and from the desire for evil things. We can prove this from many who were once among you. They changed from being violent men and tyrants. Some were won over by watching the steady lives of their neighbors. Some noticed the remarkable patience of fellow travelers who were being cheated. Some had personally experienced the conduct of those they did business with.²²

[*Luke 6:29; Matthew 5:22; Matthew 5:41; Matthew 5:16*]

16b Concerning not swearing at all, and always speaking the truth, he commanded this: “Do not swear at all. Let your yes be yes and your no be no. Anything more than these comes from evil.” And he persuaded us that God alone must be worshiped, saying: “The greatest commandment is: You shall worship the Lord your God, and serve him alone, with all your heart and with all your strength”—the Lord God who made you. And when someone came to him and said, “Good teacher,” he answered, “No one is good except God alone, who made all things.” Those who are not found living as he taught should be recognized as not being Christians, even if they repeat Christ’s teachings with their tongue. For he said that it is not those who only talk who will be saved, but those who also do the works.²³ [*Matthew 5:34-37; Mark 12:30; Mark 10:18; Matthew 7:21*] 16c For he said this: “Not everyone who says to me, ‘Lord, Lord,’ will enter the kingdom of heaven, but the one who does the will of my Father in heaven. For whoever hears me and does what I say hears the one who sent me. Many will say to me, ‘Lord, Lord, did we not eat and drink in your name and do mighty works?’ And then I will say to them, ‘Depart from me, you workers of lawlessness.’ Then there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when the righteous shine like the sun, but the unrighteous are sent into the eternal fire. For many will come in my name, clothed outwardly in sheepskins but inwardly ravenous wolves. You will know them by their works. Every tree that does not bear good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire.” And we ask that those who do not live in line with his teachings, and are only called Christians, be punished by you as well.²⁴ [*Matthew 7:21-23; Matthew 13:42-43; Matthew 7:15-16; Matthew 7:19*]

22. Compare Matthew 5:39–41, 22, 16 and Luke 6:29. The Greek says people “marvel at” (or “admire”) the Father, where Matthew 5:16 and the older translation have “glorify.” The older translation also says these men “once were of your way of thinking,” but the Greek says only that they were “among you.” And where the older English has “the honesty of those with whom they transacted business,” the Greek says only that they “had experience of” their business partners.

23. The older translation runs on into the quotation “Not every one who saith to Me, Lord, Lord...”, which in the Greek begins the next section.

CHAPTER 17

Christ Taught Civil Obedience.

Everywhere, and before all others, we try to pay the taxes and special levies to those you have appointed, as we were taught by him. For at that time some people came and asked him whether one should pay tribute to Caesar. He answered, "Tell me, whose image does the coin have?" They said, "Caesar's." And he answered them again, "Then give to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's." So we worship God alone, but in everything else we gladly serve you. We acknowledge you as kings and rulers of men, and we pray that along with your royal power you will also be found to have sound judgment. But if you pay no attention to us, even when we pray and lay everything openly before you, we will suffer no harm. We believe, or rather are convinced, that each person will pay the penalty in eternal fire in keeping with the worth of his deeds. We also believe that each will be required to give account in proportion to the abilities he received from God, as Christ made clear when he said, "From the one to whom God gave more, more will also be required."²⁵ [Matthew 22:17-21; Luke 12:48]

CHAPTER 18

Proof of Immortality and the Resurrection.

Look at the end of each of the kings who have lived. They all died the death that is common to everyone. If death led to a loss of all awareness, that would be a windfall for the wicked. But sensation remains for everyone who has been born, and eternal punishment is stored up. So do not neglect to be persuaded and to believe that these things are true. Let the following persuade you that souls are still aware after death: necromancy, divination by means of uncorrupted children, the calling up of human souls, the so-called dream-senders and familiar spirits among the magicians, and the things done by those who know these arts. Let these also persuade you: the people who are seized and thrown about by the souls of the dead, whom everyone calls demon-possessed and mad; the oracles you have, as they are called, of Amphilochus, Dodona and Pytho, and others like them; the teachings of

24. The verb (axioumen) can mean "we ask" or "we think it right." The older translation's "we demand" is stronger than the word requires. "As well" (Greek kai) probably means punishment by the emperors in addition to the judgment Christ has just described.

25. The closing saying echoes Luke 12:48. Justin's wording adds "God," which is not in Luke.

your writers, Empedocles and Pythagoras, Plato and Socrates; the pit in Homer, and Odysseus's descent to look into these things; and the words of others who said the same things. Accept us at least as you accept these, since we believe in God no less than they do, indeed more. We expect to receive back our own bodies, even though they have died and been thrown into the earth, for we say that nothing is impossible with God.²⁶

CHAPTER 19

The Resurrection Possible.

19a Consider carefully: what would seem harder to believe than this? Suppose we were not in a body, and someone said that from a tiny drop of human seed it is possible for bones, sinews and flesh to be formed into the shape we see. Let us put it now as a hypothetical. Suppose you were not yet such as you are, and not born of such parents. Suppose someone showed you human seed and a painted picture, and insisted that from this kind of thing such a being could come. Would you believe it before you saw it happen? No one would dare to say that you would. In the same way, you are now unbelieving because you have never seen a dead man rise. But at the beginning you would not have believed that such people could come from a tiny drop, and yet you see that they do. In the same way, then, consider that it is not impossible for human bodies, once dissolved and scattered in the earth like seeds, to rise at the proper time by God's command and "put on incorruption."²⁷ [1 Corinthians 15: 53]

19b What power worthy of God can they mean, those who claim that each thing goes back into what it came from, and that beyond this even God can do nothing? We cannot say. But this we do see: they would never have believed it possible that they themselves and the whole world could become what they now see, or come from the materials they see them come from. We have received the teaching that it is better to believe even what is impossible by nature and for human beings than to be unbelieving like everyone else. For we know that our teacher Jesus Christ said, "What is impossible

26. "The pit in Homer" is the trench Odysseus dug to call up the spirits of the dead in Book 11 of the *Odyssey*.

27. "Put on incorruption" echoes 1 Corinthians 15:53. The older translation added the bracketed words "[and causes]" and "[that such a statement would surpass belief]." It also wrote "a picture of a man" where the Greek says only "a painted picture." "Not born of such parents" renders the Greek "nor of such," with "parents" implied.

with men is possible with God.” He also said, “Do not fear those who kill you and after that can do nothing more. Fear the one who, after you have died, is able to throw both soul and body into Gehenna.” Gehenna is the place where those will be punished who have lived unjustly and do not believe that the things God taught through Christ will happen.²⁸ [Luke 18:27;

Matthew 10:28; Luke 12:4-5]

CHAPTER 20

Heathen Analogies to Christian Doctrine.

The Sibyl and Hystaspes also said that perishable things would be destroyed by fire. The so-called Stoic philosophers teach that even God himself will be dissolved into fire, and they say that the world comes into being again through this change. But we understand God, the maker of all things, to be greater than the things that change. So if on some points we say the same things as the poets and philosophers you honor, and on other points say things that are greater and more divine, and we alone give proof, why are we hated unjustly above everyone else? When we say that God ordered and made all things, we will seem to be repeating the teaching of Plato. When we say that the world will be burned up, we will seem to be repeating the Stoics. When we say that the souls of the unjust are punished, still aware, even after death, while the souls of the upright are freed from punishment and live well, we will seem to say the same as the poets and philosophers. When we say that people should not worship the works of human hands, we say the same as the comic poet Menander and others who said this, for they declared that the craftsman is greater than what he makes.²⁹

CHAPTER 21

Analogies to the History of Christ.

^{21a} We say that the Word, who is the first offspring of God, was born without sexual union. We say that he is Jesus Christ, our Teacher, and that he was crucified, died, rose again and went up into heaven. In this we bring nothing new compared with what you say about those you call sons of Zeus. You know how many sons of Zeus your esteemed writers name. There is Hermes, the

28. The two sayings are close to Luke 18:27 (compare Matthew 19:26) and to a blend of Luke 12:4-5 and Matthew 10:28, quoted freely.

29. The older translation says “a dissolution by God”. The Greek printed here says the destruction will be “by fire”, and this version follows the Greek.

word who interprets and the teacher of all. There is Asclepius, who was a healer, was struck by lightning, and went up into heaven. There is Dionysus, who was torn to pieces. There is Heracles, who gave himself to the fire to escape his labors. There are the Dioscuri, the sons of Leda, and Perseus, the son of Danae. There is Bellerophon, who, though born of human parents, rose on the horse Pegasus. And what shall we say of Ariadne and of those who, like her, are said to have been set among the stars?³⁰

21b And what of your emperors who die? You always think it right to make them immortal, and you bring forward someone who swears he has seen the burned Caesar rise from the funeral pyre into heaven. There is no need to tell people who already know what deeds are recorded of each of these so-called sons of Zeus. It is enough to say that these stories are written to corrupt students and spur them on, for everyone thinks it good to imitate the gods. But let no sound-minded soul think such a thing about the gods. Let no one think that Zeus himself, by their account the ruler and begetter of all, killed his father and was the son of such a father. Let no one think that he was overcome by desire for evil and shameful pleasures, went after Ganymede and the many women he seduced, and approved the same conduct in his children. But, as we said before, it was the wicked demons who did these things. We have been taught that only those who live near God in holiness and virtue are made immortal. And we believe that those who live unjustly and do not change their ways are punished in everlasting fire.³¹

CHAPTER 22

Analogies to the Sonship of Christ.

Jesus is called the Son of God. Even if he were only a man in the ordinary sense, he would be worthy to be called Son of God because of his wisdom, for all writers call God the father of men and gods. And if we say, as we said before, that he was born from God in a special way, beyond ordinary birth, as the Word of God, let this be something you share with us, since you call

30. The older translation uses the Roman names (Jupiter, Mercury, Aesculapius, Bacchus, Hercules). This version uses the Greek names Justin wrote. The older version also says "the sons of Leda, and Dioscuri" as though these were two groups, but in the Greek the Dioscuri are the sons of Leda.

31. The older translation says the stories are written "for the advantage and encouragement" of students. The Greek word here (*diaphora*) is uncertain. It can mean "advantage", but many scholars understand it as "corruption" (or read *diaphthora*, "corruption"), which fits Justin's criticism of these stories. This version follows that reading.

Hermes the word who brings messages from God. If anyone objects that he was crucified, this too he shares with the sons of Zeus, as you call them, who suffered as listed above. Their sufferings in death are recorded as different from one another, not alike. So even in the particular kind of his suffering he does not seem inferior to them. As we promised, as the discussion goes on we will show that he is even superior. Or rather, this has already been shown, for the superior one is seen from his deeds. And if we say he was born of a virgin, let this too be something you share with us, as in the case of Perseus. And when we say that he healed the lame, the paralyzed and those disabled from birth, and raised the dead, we will seem to be saying things like what is said to have been done by Asclepius.³²

CHAPTER 23

The Argument.

Now I want this also to become clear to you. First, everything we say that we learned from Christ and from the prophets who came before him is alone true, and is older than all the writers who have lived. We do not ask to be accepted because we say the same things as they do, but because we speak the truth. Second, Jesus Christ alone has been begotten as Son of God in a special sense, being his Word, firstborn and power. By God's will he became man and taught us these things for the change and restoration of the human race. Third, before he became man among men, some got in ahead of him. I mean the evil demons mentioned earlier. Through the poets they told stories they had invented as though these things had really happened. In the same way they are behind the slanderous charges of impious deeds made against us, for which there is no witness and no proof. Of all this we will now give proof.³³

CHAPTER 24

Varieties of Heathen Worship.

First, though we say things like what the Greeks say, we alone are hated, because of the name of Christ. Though we do no wrong, we are put to death as sinners. Meanwhile other people in other places worship trees and rivers,

32. The older translation says "those born blind". The Greek says "those in bad condition from birth" (*ek genetēs ponērous*), a general term for people disabled from birth. The older translation also leaves out "and raised the dead", which is in the Greek.

33. The older translation says the poets were "influenced by the demons". The Greek says the demons themselves acted ahead of time and spoke through the poets.

mice, cats, crocodiles and many of the animals that have no reason. Not everyone honors the same things; one group honors one, another group another, so that all are godless in one another's eyes because they do not worship the same things. This is the only charge you can bring against us: that we do not worship the same gods as you, and do not bring to the dead libations, the smoke of burnt fat, crowns at their tombs, and sacrifices. You know very well that the same creatures are counted gods by some, wild beasts by others, and sacrificial victims by others.³⁴

CHAPTER 25

False Gods Abandoned by Christians.

Second, we come from every race of people. We once worshiped Dionysus, son of Semele, and Apollo, son of Leto, who in their passions for males did things that are shameful even to mention. We worshiped Persephone and Aphrodite, who were driven wild with desire for Adonis (you also celebrate their mysteries), and Asclepius and others called gods. But through Jesus Christ we have come to despise all these, even though we are threatened with death. We have given ourselves instead to the unbegotten God, who feels no passions. We do not believe that he ever rushed in lust upon Antiope and others like her, or upon Ganymede. We do not believe that he was set free by that hundred-handed giant, whose help came through Thetis. We do not believe that he was anxious on that account that Thetis's son Achilles should destroy many Greeks because of his concubine Briseis. We pity those who believe such stories, and we recognize that the demons are the ones responsible for them.³⁵

CHAPTER 26

Magicians Not Trusted by Christians.

^{26a} Third, after Christ went up into heaven, the demons put forward certain men who claimed to be gods. Far from being persecuted by you, these men were even thought worthy of honors. One was a Samaritan named Simon, from a village called Gitta. In the reign of Claudius Caesar, by the craft of

34. The older translation has "crowns for their statues". The Greek says crowns "at their tombs", which is followed here.

35. Justin is mocking a story in Homer's *Iliad*, book 1. Achilles recalls that Thetis once saved Zeus from being bound by the other gods by summoning the hundred-handed Briareus. Thetis then asks Zeus to honor Achilles, and Zeus agrees to let the Greeks suffer losses after Achilles is robbed of Briseis.

the demons working in him, he performed magical acts in your imperial city of Rome and was regarded as a god. You honored him as a god with a statue, which was set up in the river Tiber between the two bridges, with this inscription in Latin: SIMONI DEO SANCTO (“To Simon, the holy God”). Almost all the Samaritans, and a few people in other nations, worship him and acknowledge him as the first god. They also say that a certain Helena, who went about with him at that time and had earlier stood on display as a prostitute, was the first thought that came from him.³⁶

^{26b} We also know of a man named Menander, another Samaritan, from the village of Capparetaea. He became a disciple of Simon, was likewise worked upon by the demons, and came to Antioch, where he deceived many by magical arts. He persuaded his followers that they would never die, and even now there are some who come from him and profess this. There is also a man of Pontus named Marcion, who is still alive and teaching his followers to believe in some other god greater than the Creator. With the help of the demons he has led many people of every nation to speak blasphemies. They deny that the maker of this universe is God, and claim that some other god, being greater, has done greater works than he. All who take their start from these men are called Christians, as we said before. In the same way, philosophers who do not share the same teachings still have in common the name of philosophy.³⁷

^{26c} Whether these people also do those shameful deeds that the stories tell of (overturning the lamp, indiscriminate intercourse, and eating human flesh), we do not know. But we do know that you do not persecute or kill them, at least not for their doctrines. We also have a treatise written against all the heresies that have arisen. If you wish to read it, we will give it to you.³⁸

CHAPTER 27

Guilt of Exposing Children.

As for us, we have been taught that to expose even newborn children is the practice of wicked men. We have been taught this so that we do no wrong

36. The Greek says literally that Helena “had stood on a roof”, an expression for working as a prostitute. The older translation’s “had been a prostitute” gives the meaning.

37. The older translation says that those who disagree “with the philosophers” still share their name. The Greek means that philosophers who disagree with one another all still bear the name of philosophy. That is followed here.

38. Justin’s treatise against all heresies has not survived.

and commit no impiety. First, because we see that almost all of them, girls and boys alike, are led into prostitution. The ancients are said to have raised herds of cattle, goats, sheep, or grazing horses, and in the same way you now raise children only for shameful use. In every nation a crowd of women, effeminate men, and people who practice unspeakable acts stands ready for this defilement. You collect fees, levies, and taxes from them, when you ought to root them out of your world. Besides the godless, shameful, and unrestrained act itself, a man who uses such people may happen to be having intercourse with his own child, relative, or brother. Some even prostitute their own children and wives. Some are openly castrated to be used sexually by men. They trace these mysteries to the Mother of the gods, and beside each of the gods you recognize a serpent is depicted as a great symbol and mystery. What you do openly and honor, as though the divine light were overturned and absent, you charge against us. This does us no harm, since we keep clear of doing any such thing. Instead it harms those who do these things and bear false witness against us.³⁹

CHAPTER 28

God's Care for Men.

Among us, the leader of the evil demons is called the serpent, Satan, and the devil. You can learn this by searching our writings. Christ foretold that he would be sent into the fire with his army and with the people who follow him, to be punished for endless ages. God has not yet done this, and he delays for the sake of the human race. He foreknows that some will be saved through repentance, some perhaps not yet even born. From the beginning he made the human race able to think, able to choose the truth and to do right. So all people are without excuse before God, for they have been made rational and able to reflect. If anyone does not believe that God cares about these things, he will either admit by a clever argument that God does not exist, or he will say that God exists but delights in evil, or that he stays unmoved like a stone. He will say that virtue and vice are nothing, and that people only suppose these things to be good or bad. This is the greatest impiety and injustice.⁴⁰ [Revelation 12: 9; Matthew 25: 4f]

39. The "light overturned" echoes the "overturning of the lamp" in the slander mentioned in the previous section (1.26).

CHAPTER 29

Continence of Christians.

And again, we fear that some exposed child might not be picked up and might die, and we would be murderers. Rather, we either marry only to bring up children, or we refuse marriage and live in complete self-control. To persuade you that promiscuous intercourse is no mystery rite of ours, one of our people recently submitted a petition in Alexandria to Felix the governor. He asked him to allow a doctor to remove his testicles, for the doctors there said they were forbidden to do this without the governor's permission. Felix would not sign it at all, so the young man stayed as he was. He was content with his own conscience and that of those who shared his convictions. We also think it fitting to mention here Antinous, who lived recently. Out of fear everyone was eager to worship him as a god, though they knew who he was and where he came from.⁴¹

CHAPTER 30

Was Christ Not a Magician?

Someone might object: what prevents the man we call Christ, a man born of men, from having done the mighty works we speak of by magical art, and so seeming to be the Son of God? We will now give the proof. We do not trust those who merely say these things. We are compelled to be convinced by those who prophesied before the events, since we see with our own eyes that things have happened and are happening just as they were foretold. We believe this will seem to you, too, the greatest and truest proof.

CHAPTER 31

Of the Hebrew Prophets.

^{31a} There were, then, certain men among the Jews who were prophets of God. Through them the prophetic Spirit announced beforehand what was going to happen, before it happened. The kings of the Jews at various times obtained these prophecies and kept them with care. The prophecies were written just as they had been spoken, in the prophets' own Hebrew language,

40. The phrase rendered "admit by a clever argument" (διὰ τέχνης ὁμολογήσει) is obscure. The older translation has "insinuate". The sense seems to be that such a person ends up denying God by a roundabout argument.

41. Antinous was the emperor Hadrian's favorite. He drowned in the Nile around AD 130 and was then deified at Hadrian's command.

in books the prophets themselves had put together. When Ptolemy, king of the Egyptians, was setting up a library and trying to collect the writings of all people, he learned about these prophecies. He sent to Herod, who was then king of the Jews, asking that the books of the prophecies be sent to him. King Herod sent them, written in the Hebrew language mentioned above. But the Egyptians could not understand what was written in them, so Ptolemy sent again and asked him to dispatch men to translate them into the Greek language.⁴²

31b When this was done, the books stayed with the Egyptians down to the present, and they are also everywhere in the hands of all the Jews. But the Jews, even when they read them, do not understand what is said. They consider us their enemies and foes, and like you they kill and punish us whenever they can, as you can verify. In the recent Jewish war, Barchochebas, the leader of the Jewish revolt, ordered that only Christians be led off to terrible punishments unless they denied Jesus the Christ and blasphemed. In the books of the prophets we found it announced beforehand that Jesus our Christ would come, be born of a virgin, grow to manhood, heal every disease and every sickness, and raise the dead. He would be envied, not recognized, and crucified. He would die, rise again, and go up into heaven. He would be, and be called, the Son of God. We also found that certain people would be sent out by him to every race of humankind to proclaim these things, and that people from the nations would believe in him more. This was prophesied before he appeared, sometimes 5,000 years before, sometimes 3,000, sometimes 2,000, then 1,000, and then 800. For as the generations followed one another, one prophet after another arose.⁴³ [*Matthew 4:23; Matthew 9:35*]

CHAPTER 32

Christ Predicted by Moses.

32a Moses, the first of the prophets, said in these very words: “A ruler will not fail from Judah, nor a leader from his loins, until he comes for whom it is reserved. He will be the expectation of the nations, binding his foal to the

42. Justin’s account is historically confused. According to the traditional story (the Letter of Aristes), the Greek translation of the Jewish Scriptures known as the Septuagint was made under Ptolemy II in the third century BC. That story has Ptolemy dealing with the high priest Eleazar, not a king. Herod the Great reigned much later (37–4 BC). Justin names Herod as written.

43. Barchochebas is Bar Kokhba, who led the Jewish revolt against Rome of about AD 132–135. The older translation’s “[than among the Jews]” is its own addition. The Greek says only that people from the nations would believe “more.”

vine and washing his robe in the blood of the grape.” It is for you to inquire carefully and find out how long the Jews had a ruler and king of their own. They had one until the appearing of Jesus Christ, our teacher, who explained the prophecies that were not understood. The holy, divine Spirit of prophecy had said through Moses that a ruler would not fail from the Jews until he came for whom the kingdom was reserved. (Judah was the forefather of the Jews, and they get their name from him.) After Christ appeared, you ruled over the Jews and took control of all their land.⁴⁴ [*Genesis 49:10-11*]

32b The words “He will be the expectation of the nations” showed that people from all the nations would look for him to come again. You can see this with your own eyes and be convinced by the facts. For people of every race look for the one who was crucified in Judea. Right after his crucifixion the land of the Jews was captured in war and handed over to you. The words “binding his foal to the vine and washing his robe in the blood of the grape” were a symbol pointing to what would happen to Christ and what he would do. A donkey’s foal was standing tied to a vine at the entrance of a village. He ordered his disciples to bring it to him then. When it was brought, he mounted it, sat on it, and entered Jerusalem, where the greatest temple of the Jews stood, which you later destroyed. After this he was crucified, so that the rest of the prophecy might be fulfilled.⁴⁵ [*Genesis 49:10-11; Matthew 21:2; Mark 11:2*]

32c The words “washing his robe in the blood of the grape” announced in advance the suffering he was going to undergo, cleansing with his blood those who believe in him. For what the divine Spirit through the prophet calls his “robe” is the people who believe in him, in whom dwells the seed from God, the Word. The “blood of the grape” shows that the one who would appear would have blood, yet not from human seed but from the power of God. The first power after God, the Father and Lord of all, is the Word, who is also his Son. How he was made flesh and became man we will explain in what follows. Just as it was not man but God who made the blood

44. The quotation is *Genesis 49:10-11* in the Greek Old Testament (Septuagint), which reads “ruler... leader from his thighs” (meaning his descendants, given here as “loins”), where the Hebrew, followed by familiar English versions, has “sceptre... lawgiver from between his feet.”

45. See *Matthew 21:1-7*, *Mark 11:1-7* and *Luke 19:29-35*. The Gospels say the colt was tied at the village (*Mark 11:4* says by a door). They do not mention a vine. That detail comes from Justin’s reading of *Genesis 49:11*.

of the vine, so this was a sign that his blood would not come from human seed but from the power of God, as we said before. [Genesis 49: 11]

^{32d} Isaiah, another prophet, prophesying the same things in other words, said: “A star will rise out of Jacob, and a flower will come up from the root of Jesse, and the nations will hope in his arm.” A bright star has risen, and a flower has come up from the root of Jesse: this is the Christ. For by the power of God he was born of a virgin from the seed of Jacob, who became the father of Judah, the one I have shown to be the father of the Jews. And Jesse, according to the saying, was his forefather, while by line of descent he was a son of Jacob and Judah.⁴⁶ [Numbers 24: 17; Isaiah 11: 1; Isaiah 51: 5]

CHAPTER 33

Manner of Christ's Birth Predicted.

^{33a} Hear again how Isaiah foretold, in so many words, that he would be born of a virgin. He said: “Behold, the virgin will conceive in the womb and will bear a son, and they will say for his name, ‘God with us.’” God announced beforehand, through the Spirit of prophecy, things that people thought unbelievable and impossible. He did this so that when they happened, they would not be disbelieved but would be believed because they had been foretold. But some people may not understand this prophecy. They may accuse us of the very things we charged against the poets, who say that Zeus went in to women for sexual pleasure. So we will try to make the words clear. “Behold, the virgin will conceive” means that the virgin conceived without intercourse. If she had had intercourse with anyone at all, she would no longer have been a virgin. Rather, the power of God came upon the virgin and overshadowed her, and caused her to become pregnant while she was still a virgin.⁴⁷ [Isaiah 7: 14; Matthew 1: 23; Luke 1: 35]

^{33b} The angel of God who was sent to that same virgin at that time brought her the good news, saying: “Behold, you will conceive in the womb by the Holy Spirit and bear a son. He will be called Son of the Most High, and you will call his name Jesus, for he will save his people from their sins.” This is what those who recorded everything about our Savior Jesus Christ

46. The first line of this quotation matches Numbers 24:17, and the second matches Isaiah 11:1. The last line resembles the Greek of Isaiah 11:10 and 51:5. Justin gives all of it to Isaiah. The older version says “conceived” where the Greek says “born.”

47. The quotation is Isaiah 7:14, in a form close to Matthew 1:23. “Overshadowed” echoes Luke 1:35.

taught, and we believed them. We believed because the Spirit of prophecy had also said through Isaiah, whom I mentioned above, that he would be born in this way, as we showed before. So it is not right to understand the Spirit and the power that come from God as anything other than the Word, who is also the firstborn of God, as Moses, the prophet mentioned earlier, made known. It was this that came upon the virgin and overshadowed her, and made her pregnant, not through intercourse but through power.⁴⁸ [Luke 1: 31-32; Matthew 1: 21; Luke 1: 35]

^{33c} Jesus, a name in the Hebrew language, means “Savior” in Greek. That is why the angel said to the virgin, “And you will call his name Jesus, for he will save his people from their sins.” And I suppose you yourselves will agree that those who prophesy are inspired by no one other than the divine Word.

⁴⁹ [Matthew 1: 21]

CHAPTER 34

Place of Christ's Birth Foretold.

Hear also in what place on earth he was to be born, as another prophet, Micah, foretold. He said: “And you, Bethlehem, land of Judah, are by no means the least among the rulers of Judah; for out of you will come a ruler who will shepherd my people.” Now there is a village in the land of the Jews, thirty-five stadia from Jerusalem, where Jesus Christ was born. You can also learn this from the registers of the census taken under Quirinius, who was your first procurator in Judea.⁵⁰ [Micah 5: 2; Matthew 2: 6; Luke 2: 2]

CHAPTER 35

Other Fulfilled Prophecies.

^{35a} Christ was also going to remain hidden from other people after his birth until he grew to manhood, and this is what happened. Hear what was said beforehand about it: “A child has been born to us, and a young man has been given to us, whose rule is upon his shoulders.” This points to the power of the cross, for when he was crucified he put his shoulders to it, as will be shown more clearly as the discussion goes on. Again the same prophet Isaiah,

48. Justin is probably referring back to chapter 32, where he quoted Moses' prophecy in Genesis 49:10–11 and explained that the first power after God the Father is the Word.

49. The Greek word for “inspired” (theophoreomai) literally has to do with “bearing God.” It means being possessed or moved by God.

50. Thirty-five stadia is about four miles. Quirinius was actually governor of Syria. Judea's first Roman governor is usually said to be Coponius, so Justin's description of Quirinius is not exact.

inspired by the prophetic Spirit, said: “I spread out my hands to a disobedient and contradicting people, to those who walk in a way that is not good. They now ask me for judgment and dare to draw near to God.” And again, in other words, through another prophet, he says: “They dug my hands and feet, and cast lots for my clothing.”⁵¹ [*Isaiah 9: 6; Isaiah 65: 2*]

^{35b} Now David, the king and prophet who said these things, suffered none of them. But Jesus Christ had his hands stretched out when he was crucified by the Jews, who contradicted him and said he was not the Christ. And as the prophet said, they mocked him, set him on the judgment seat, and said, “Judge for us.” The words “They dug my hands and feet” referred to the nails that were driven into his hands and feet on the cross. After they crucified him, those who crucified him cast lots for his clothing and divided it among themselves. You can learn that these things happened from the official records made under Pontius Pilate. Now we will give the words of another prophet, Zephaniah, who foretold expressly that he would sit on the colt of a donkey and enter Jerusalem. These are the words: “Rejoice greatly, daughter of Zion; proclaim it, daughter of Jerusalem. Behold, your king comes to you, gentle, mounted on a donkey and a colt, the foal of a beast of burden.”⁵²

[*Zechariah 9: 9; Isaiah 65: 2*]

CHAPTER 36

Different Modes of Prophecy.

When you hear the words of the prophets spoken as if by a person, do not suppose that the inspired men themselves are speaking, but the divine Word who moves them. Sometimes he speaks by way of announcing what will happen in the future. Sometimes he speaks as from the person of God, the Master and Father of all. Sometimes he speaks as from the person of Christ. Sometimes he speaks as from the person of peoples answering the Lord or his Father. You can see the same thing in your own writers, where one man writes the whole work but brings in different persons in conversation. The Jews, who have the books of the prophets, did not understand this. So they did not recognize Christ even when he came. They even hate us who say that

51. “They dug” follows the Greek version of Psalm 22:16 (Psalm 21:17 in the Greek numbering), where many English Bibles have “pierced” and the standard Hebrew text reads “like a lion”; the casting of lots is from Psalm 22:18.

52. By the “records made under Pontius Pilate,” Justin means official Roman records he believed existed. No such records survive. The later “Acts of Pilate” is a different, much later work.

he has come and who show that, as had been announced beforehand, he was crucified by them.

CHAPTER 37

Utterances of the Father.

37a To make this clear to you as well, here are words spoken from the person of the Father through Isaiah, the prophet I mentioned: “The ox knew its owner, and the donkey knew the manger of its lord. But Israel did not know me, and my people did not understand. Woe to the sinful nation, a people full of sins, an evil seed, lawless sons. You have forsaken the Lord.” And again in another place, when the same prophet speaks in the same way from the person of the Father: “What kind of house will you build for me? says the Lord. Heaven is my throne, and the earth is the footstool for my feet.” And again in another place: “My soul hates your new moons and your sabbaths. I cannot bear the great day of fasting and the day of rest. Even if you come to appear before me, I will not listen to you.”⁵³ [*Isaiah 1: 3–4; Isaiah 66: 1; Isaiah 1: 12–14*]

37b Your hands are full of blood. Even if you bring fine flour or incense, it is an abomination to me. I do not want the fat of lambs or the blood of bulls. For who has asked for these things from your hands? Instead, undo every bond of injustice. Tear apart the knots of forced contracts. Shelter the homeless and the naked. Break your bread for the hungry.” From these words you can understand what kind of things are taught through the prophets from the person of God.⁵⁴ [*Isaiah 1: 11–15; Isaiah 58: 6–7*]

CHAPTER 38

Utterances of the Son.

When the prophetic Spirit speaks from the person of Christ, he says: “I spread out my hands to a disobedient and contrary people, to those who walk in a way that is not good.” And again: “I gave my back to the whips and my cheeks to the blows. I did not turn my face away from the shame of spitting. And the Lord became my helper. Therefore I was not disgraced. Instead I set my face like solid rock, and I knew that I would not be put to shame, for the one who justified me is near.” And again, when he says: “They cast lots for

53. The quotations are from Isaiah 1:3–4, Isaiah 66:1 and Isaiah 1:12–15. The last quotation continues into the next section.

54. Justin runs together several parts of Isaiah as one quotation: Isaiah 1:11–15 (the sacrifices and the hands full of blood) and Isaiah 58:6–7 (undoing injustice and feeding the hungry).

my clothing, and they pierced my feet and hands. But I lay down and slept, and I rose again, because the Lord upheld me.” And again, when he says: “They spoke with their lips, they shook their heads, saying, ‘Let him rescue himself.’” You can learn that the Jews did all these things to Christ. For when he was crucified, they twisted their lips and shook their heads, saying, “Let the one who raised the dead rescue himself.”⁵⁵ [*Isaiah 65:2; Isaiah 50:6-8*]

CHAPTER 39

Direct Predictions by the Spirit.

^{39a} When the prophetic Spirit speaks as one prophesying things that are going to happen, he says: “For out of Zion will go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. He will judge between the nations and rebuke many people. They will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into sickles. Nation will not lift up sword against nation, and they will not learn war any more.” You can be convinced that this has happened. For twelve men went out from Jerusalem into the world. They were uneducated and untrained in speaking, but by the power of God they made it known to every race of people that they had been sent by Christ to teach everyone the word of God. And we who once murdered one another now do not make war on our enemies. More than that, so that we will not lie or deceive those who question us, we gladly die confessing Christ.⁵⁶ [*Isaiah 2:3-4*]

^{39b} For we could have acted on the well-known saying, “The tongue has sworn, but the mind is unsworn,” to get out of this. The soldiers you enlist and enroll value their oath to you above their own lives, their parents, their country and all their relatives, even though you cannot give them anything that does not decay. So it would be ridiculous if we, who love what does not decay, would not endure everything in order to receive what we long for from the one who is able to give it.⁵⁷

55. The Gospels record the mocking at the cross (Matthew 27:39–43; Mark 15:29–32), but the words “Let the one who raised the dead rescue himself” are Justin’s own wording. They are not a quotation from the Gospels.

56. The prophecy is *Isaiah 2:3–4* (compare *Micah 4:2–3*). The description of the apostles as “uneducated” uses the same Greek word applied to Peter and John in *Acts 4:13*.

57. The saying is a famous line from Euripides’ play *Hippolytus* (line 612). Justin does not name its source.

Christ's Advent Foretold.

^{40a} Now hear how it was foretold concerning those who would preach his teaching and announce his appearing. The prophet and king mentioned above spoke by the Spirit of prophecy in these words: "Day to day pours forth speech, and night to night declares knowledge. There are no utterances and no words whose voices are not heard. Their sound has gone out into all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world. In the sun he has set his tent, and he, like a bridegroom coming out of his bridal chamber, will rejoice like a giant to run his course." In addition to these, we have thought it good and fitting to recall other words prophesied through David himself. From them you can learn how the Spirit of prophecy urges people to live. You can also learn how he reveals the gathering that took place against Christ: Herod, king of the Jews, the Jews themselves, and Pilate, your governor among them, together with his soldiers. He reveals that Christ was going to be believed in by people of every race. He reveals that God calls him Son and has promised to put all his enemies under him. He shows how the demons, as far as they can, try to escape the authority of God, the Father and Master of all, and the authority of Christ himself. And he reveals that God calls everyone to repentance before the day of judgment comes.⁵⁸

^{40b} They were spoken like this: "Blessed is the man who has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the seat of the pestilent, but his desire is in the law of the Lord, and in his law he will meditate day and night. He will be like a tree planted beside the streams of water, which will give its fruit in its season, and its leaf will not fall off, and everything he does will prosper. Not so the ungodly, not so; they are like chaff that the wind sweeps from the face of the earth. Therefore the ungodly will not rise up in the judgment, nor sinners in the council of the righteous, for the Lord knows the way of the righteous, and the way of the ungodly will perish."⁵⁹ ^{40c} "Why did the nations rage, and the peoples plot new things?

58. The quotation is Psalm 19:2–5, which Justin quotes from the Greek Old Testament, so the wording differs a little from English Bibles. Paul applies the same psalm verse ("their sound has gone out into all the earth") to the preaching of the gospel in Romans 10:18.

59. This is Psalm 1, quoted from the Greek Old Testament. The Greek has "seat of the pestilent" (loimôn), where the older English has "scornful." Where the text has "streams," the Greek literally says "channels" or "outflows" of the waters.

The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers gathered together against the Lord and against his Christ, saying, ‘Let us tear apart their bonds and throw off their yoke from us.’ He who lives in the heavens will laugh at them, and the Lord will mock them. Then he will speak to them in his anger, and in his fury he will terrify them. But I was appointed king by him over Zion, his holy mountain, to proclaim the Lord’s decree. The Lord said to me, ‘You are my Son; today I have begotten you. Ask of me, and I will give you the nations as your inheritance, and the ends of the earth as your possession. You will shepherd them with an iron rod; you will shatter them like a potter’s vessels.’”⁶⁰

^{40d} “And now, you kings, understand; be instructed, all you who judge the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice in him with trembling. Take hold of instruction, lest the Lord become angry and you perish from the righteous way, when his anger is quickly kindled. Blessed are all who trust in him.”⁶¹

CHAPTER 41

The Crucifixion Predicted.

Again, in another prophecy, the Spirit of prophecy, through the same David, showed that Christ would reign after being crucified. He spoke like this: “Sing to the Lord, all the earth, and day after day announce his salvation. For the Lord is great and greatly to be praised, to be feared above all gods. For all the gods of the nations are idols of demons, but God made the heavens. Glory and praise are before his face, and strength and boasting are in the place of his sanctuary. Give glory to the Lord, the Father of the ages. Receive grace and come into his presence, and worship in his holy courts. Let all the earth fear before his face; let it be established and not be shaken. Let them rejoice among the nations: the Lord has reigned” from the tree.⁶²

60. The Greek verb for “shepherd” (poimainō) is the verb for tending sheep; the older English renders it “herd.” Revelation uses the same verb when it echoes this verse (Revelation 2:27; 12:5; 19:15).

61. “Take hold of instruction” follows the Greek Old Testament (Psalm 2:12). English Bibles translated from the Hebrew have something quite different here, such as “Kiss the Son.”

62. The words “from the tree” are not in the Psalm as we have it. Justin, and some later Christian writers, read them as a reference to the cross. In his Dialogue with Trypho (ch. 73), Justin claims the Jews had removed these words from the Psalm.

CHAPTER 42

Prophecy Using the Past Tense.

Sometimes the Spirit of prophecy speaks of things that are going to happen as though they had already happened. This can be seen even in the passages I have just quoted. So that readers have no excuse for misunderstanding it, we will make this point clear as well. The Spirit speaks of things he knows with certainty will happen as if they had already happened. If you think carefully about what is said, you will see that this is how it must be taken. David spoke the words quoted above 1,500 years before Christ became a man and was crucified. No one who lived before him was crucified and brought joy to the nations, and no one after him did so either. But our Jesus Christ was crucified and died, and he rose again. He went up into heaven and reigned. And because of what he proclaimed through the apostles among all the nations, there is joy for those who look forward to the immortality he announced.⁶³

CHAPTER 43

Responsibility Asserted.

^{43a} Some people might think from what we have said that we claim everything that happens happens by the necessity of fate, because we say it was foretold and known beforehand. We will deal with this too. We have learned from the prophets, and we declare it to be true, that punishments, chastisements and good rewards are given to each person according to what his actions deserve. If this were not so, and everything happened by fate, then nothing at all would be up to us. For if it were fated that this man be good and that man bad, the first would not deserve approval and the second would not deserve blame. Again, unless the human race has the power, by free choice, to flee what is shameful and choose what is good, people are not responsible for anything they do, whatever it may be. But we can show that it is by free choice that a person both walks uprightly and stumbles.

^{43b} We see the same man pass over to opposite conditions. But if it had been fated that he be either bad or good, he could never have been capable of both opposites, nor changed so many times. Nor would some people be good

63. "The words quoted above" are the psalm Justin quoted in the previous chapter (Psalm 96, also found in 1 Chronicles 16). Justin's text of that psalm includes the phrase "the Lord has reigned from the tree." The phrase is not in the Hebrew or in the standard Greek Old Testament, but Justin treats it as a prophecy of the cross.

and others bad. For then we would be declaring fate to be the cause of both good and evil, acting against itself. Or else we would have to accept what was mentioned earlier as true: that there is no such thing as virtue or vice, and that things are only thought good or bad by opinion. As the true reason shows, that would be the greatest impiety and injustice. But there is a fate we say cannot be avoided: those who choose what is good receive the fitting reward, and those who likewise choose the opposite receive the fitting wages. For God did not make man like the other creatures, such as trees and four-footed animals, which cannot act by choice. Man would not deserve reward or praise if he had not chosen the good himself but had simply been made that way. And if he were evil, he would not justly be punished, since he would not be so of himself and could be nothing other than what he was made.⁶⁴

CHAPTER 44

Not Nullified by Prophecy.

^{44a} The holy Spirit of prophecy taught us this. Through Moses he tells us that God spoke to the first man he formed, saying: "See, before your face are good and evil. Choose the good." And again, through Isaiah, the other prophet, the Spirit spoke to this end as from the person of the Father and Lord God of all: "Wash yourselves, become clean, remove the evils from your souls. Learn to do good. Give justice to the orphan and vindicate the widow. Come, let us reason together, says the Lord. Even if your sins are like scarlet, I will make them white as wool. And if they are like crimson, I will make them white as snow. And if you are willing and listen to me, you will eat the good things of the land. But if you do not listen to me, the sword will devour you. For the mouth of the Lord has spoken this."⁶⁵ [*Deuteronomy 30:15; Deuteronomy 30:19; Isaiah 1:16-20*]

^{44b} When it says, "The sword will devour you," it does not mean that those who disobey will be killed with swords. The sword of God is fire, and those who choose to do wicked things become its food. That is why it says, "The sword will devour you, for the mouth of the Lord has spoken." If he had meant a sword that cuts and ends a life at once, he would not have said

64. The words "good and" in "the cause of both good and evil" are an editor's addition to the Greek text. The older translation, which lacks them, reads "the cause of evil."

65. Genesis does not record these words as spoken to Adam. They are closest in sense to Deuteronomy 30:15, 19, where Moses sets good and evil before Israel and urges them to choose life. The Isaiah passage is Isaiah 1:16-20, quoted fairly closely from the Greek Old Testament.

“devour.” So when Plato said, “The blame belongs to the one who chooses, but God is blameless,” he took it from Moses the prophet. For Moses is older than all the Greek writers. And everything the philosophers and poets have said about the immortality of the soul, about punishments after death, about the contemplation of heavenly things, and about similar teachings, they were able to understand and explain because they took their starting points from the prophets.⁶⁶ [*Isaiah 1: 20*]

^{44c} This is why seeds of truth seem to be found among all people. But they are proved not to have understood accurately when they contradict themselves. So when we say that future events were prophesied, we do not mean that they happen by the necessity of fate. God foreknows everything that all people will do. It is also his decree that each person will be repaid according to the worth of his actions. So through the prophetic Spirit he foretells that people will receive from him what their deeds deserve. In this way he keeps calling the human race to attention and remembrance, and shows that he cares for them and provides for them. By the working of the wicked demons, death was decreed against those who read the books of Hystaspes, or of the Sibyl, or of the prophets. The demons wanted fear to keep those who read these books from gaining knowledge of what is good, and so to keep people enslaved to themselves. But in the end they were not able to do this. For we not only read these books without fear, but, as you see, we even bring them to you for examination, knowing that they will appear pleasing to all. Even if we persuade only a few, our gain will be very great. For like good farmers, we will receive our reward from the Master.⁶⁷

CHAPTER 45

Christ's Session in Heaven Foretold.

^{45a} Now God, the Father of all, was going to bring Christ up into heaven after raising him from the dead. He was going to keep him there until he strikes down the demons who are hostile to him, and until the number is complete of those whom he foreknows will become good and virtuous. It is

66. Justin's claim that Plato borrowed from Moses reflects an argument common among early Christian writers and some Hellenistic Jews. The Plato quotation is from the Republic (X, 617e).

67. The Oracle of Hystaspes, named after a legendary Persian king, and the Sibylline Oracles were prophetic books under the names of pagan seers. The Sibylline material known in Justin's day included Jewish and Christian additions. Justin cites both in chapter 20 as foretelling the destruction of the world.

for their sake that he has not yet brought about the final burning. To see that this was foretold, listen to what was said by the prophet David. His words are these: “The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet. The Lord will send out to you a rod of power from Jerusalem, and rule in the midst of your enemies. With you is the rule in the day of your power, in the splendors of your holy ones. From the womb, before the morning star, I begot you.”⁶⁸

^{45b} The words “He will send you a rod of power from Jerusalem” foretell the mighty word that his apostles preached everywhere after going out from Jerusalem. And although death is decreed against those who teach, or even just confess, the name of Christ, we embrace and teach it everywhere. If you also read these words as enemies, you can do nothing more, as we said before, than kill us. That does us no harm. But for you, and for all who hate us unjustly and do not change their minds, it brings eternal punishment by fire.

CHAPTER 46

The Word in the World Before Christ.

^{46a} Some people might reason foolishly, to turn others away from what we teach. They might say that we claim Christ was born a hundred and fifty years ago, under Quirinius, and taught what we say he taught later, in the time of Pontius Pilate. They might then protest that all the people who lived before him are not accountable. We will answer this difficulty before it is raised. We have been taught that Christ is the firstborn of God, and we have explained above that he is the Word, in whom every race of people shares. Those who lived with the Word are Christians, even though they were thought to be atheists. Among the Greeks, examples are Socrates, Heraclitus and others like them. Among the barbarians, they are Abraham, Ananias, Azarias, Misael, Elijah and many others. We know it would take too long to list their deeds or names, so we decline to do so now.⁶⁹

^{46b} So also those who lived before Christ without the Word were useless and hostile to Christ, and were murderers of those who lived with the Word. But those who lived, and now live, with the Word are Christians, fearless and

68. The quotation is Psalm 110:1–3 (Psalm 109 in the Greek Old Testament). Where the Psalm says the rod will be sent “out of Zion,” Justin has “from Jerusalem.”

69. Ananias, Azarias and Misael are Greek forms of Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael, Daniel’s three companions who were thrown into the furnace (Daniel 1:6; 3). “Atheists” refers to the charge brought against both Socrates and the Christians.

untroubled. Why, by the power of the Word, according to the will of God, the Father and Master of all, he was born as a man of a virgin and was named Jesus, and why he was crucified, died, rose again and went up into heaven, an intelligent person will be able to grasp from all that has been said at such length. Since an argument to prove this is not necessary now, we will move on for the present to the more pressing proofs.⁷⁰

CHAPTER 47

Desolation of Judaea Foretold.

Now hear what the Spirit of prophecy said about the coming destruction of the land of the Jews. The words are spoken as though by the people, amazed at what had happened. They are these: “Zion has become a desert; Jerusalem has become like a desert. The house has become a curse. Our holy place and the glory that our fathers blessed has been burned with fire, and all its glorious things have fallen in ruins. And in the face of this you held back and kept silent, and you humbled us greatly.” You are convinced that Jerusalem has been laid waste, as it was foretold. Isaiah the prophet also spoke of its desolation, and said that none of them would be allowed to live there. He said: “Their land is desolate. Their enemies will devour it in front of them, and there will be no one of them living in it.” And you know very well that it is guarded by you so that no one may be in it, and that death is the set penalty for any Jew caught entering it.⁷¹ [*Isaiah 64:10-12; Isaiah 1:7*]

CHAPTER 48

Christ's Work and Death Foretold.

Hear also how it was foretold that our Christ would heal every disease and raise the dead. The words are these: “At his coming the lame man will leap like a deer, and the tongue of the stammerers will be clear. The blind will see again, the lepers will be cleansed, and the dead will rise and walk about.” You can learn from the Acts that were recorded under Pontius Pilate that he did these things. Now hear what was said through Isaiah, showing how the Spirit of prophecy announced beforehand that he would be put to death together with the people who hope in him. The words are these: “See how the right-

70. The older translation's “But who, through the power...” is probably a misprint for “But why.” The Greek is an indirect question: “for what reason... he was born...” Justin is not saying “for this reason he was born.” The older translation also renders “useless” (*achrēstoi*) as “wicked.”

71. The “guard” refers to the Roman ban on Jews entering Jerusalem after the Bar Kokhba revolt (about AD 132–135).

eous man has perished, and no one takes it to heart. Righteous men are taken away, and no one understands. The righteous man has been taken away from the face of wickedness, and he will be in peace. His burial has been taken away from the midst.”⁷² [*Isaiah 35: 5-6; Matthew 11: 5; Isaiah 57: 1-2*]

CHAPTER 49

His Rejection by the Jews Foretold.

^{49a} Hear also how it was said through the same Isaiah that the Gentile peoples who did not look for him would worship him, while the Jews, who were always expecting him, would not recognize him when he came. These words were spoken as if from the person of Christ himself. They are these: “I became visible to those who did not ask for me. I was found by those who did not seek me. I said, ‘Here I am,’ to a nation that did not call on my name. I stretched out my hands to a disobedient and contrary people, to those who walk in a way that is not good, but follow after their sins. A people who provoke me to my face.” For the Jews had the prophecies and were always expecting the Christ, yet when he came they did not recognize him. Not only that, they even treated him shamefully. But the people from the nations had never heard anything about Christ until his apostles went out from Jerusalem, told them about him and handed on the prophecies. Then they were filled with joy and faith, renounced their idols, and gave themselves to the Unbegotten God through Christ.⁷³ [*Isaiah 65: 1-3*]

^{49b} These slanders against those who confess Christ were foreknown. Those who slander him, and who say it is good to keep the old customs, were also foreseen to be wretched. Hear what was said briefly through Isaiah: “Woe to those who call the sweet bitter and the bitter sweet.”⁷⁴ [*Isaiah 5: 20*]

CHAPTER 50

His Humiliation Predicted.

^{50a} Hear also the prophecies about how he became man for our sake, endured suffering and dishonor, and will come again in glory. They are these: “Because they handed his soul over to death, and he was counted among the lawless, he himself took up the sins of many and will make atonement for the

72. The older English reads “his burial shall be in peace: he is taken from our midst.” The Greek says “he will be in peace” and “his burial has been taken away from the midst.”

73. “Unbegotten” is Justin’s regular term for God the Father, who has no origin.

74. The quotation is from Isaiah 5:20.

lawless. For see, my servant will understand, and he will be lifted up and glorified greatly. Just as many will be astonished at you, so your appearance will be without honor among men, and your glory without honor from men. So many nations will marvel, and kings will shut their mouths. For those who were not told about him will see, and those who have not heard will understand. Lord, who has believed what we have heard? And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?⁷⁵ [*Isaiah 53:12; Isaiah 52:13-15; Isaiah 53:1*]

50b “We made our announcement before him like a child, like a root in thirsty ground. He has no form or glory. We saw him, and he had no form or beauty; his appearance was dishonored and fell short of that of other men. He was a man who had been struck, who knew how to bear weakness, for his face was turned away. He was dishonored and counted for nothing. This is the one who bears our sins and suffers pain for us. Yet we considered him to be in pain, under blows, and in affliction. But he was wounded for our lawless deeds and made weak for our sins. The discipline that brings peace was upon him, and by his bruise we were healed. All of us have wandered like sheep; each man wandered in his own way. And he handed him over for our sins, and because of his affliction he does not open his mouth.⁷⁶ [*Isaiah 53:2-3; Isaiah 53:4-5; Isaiah 53:6-7*]

50c “Like a sheep he was led to slaughter, and like a lamb silent before its shearer, so he does not open his mouth. In his humiliation his judgment was taken away.” After he was crucified, all his acquaintances abandoned him and denied him. Later he rose from the dead and appeared to them. He taught them to read the prophecies in which all these things had been foretold as going to happen. They saw him going up into heaven, and they believed. They received power sent to them from there by him, and went out to every race of human beings. They taught these things and were called apostles. [*Isaiah 53:7-8*]

CHAPTER 51

The Majesty of Christ.

51a The Spirit of prophecy wanted to show us that the one who suffers these things has an origin that no one can describe, and that he rules over his en-

75. The Greek verb *exilasetai* means “will make atonement” (or “make propitiation”) for the lawless.

76. In the last sentence the Greek says only “he handed him over,” without naming the subject. The Septuagint of Isaiah 53:6 reads “the Lord handed him over,” so the subject is God.

emies. So he spoke like this: “Who will describe his generation? For his life is taken away from the earth; because of their lawless deeds he has come to death. And I will give the wicked in exchange for his burial, and the rich in exchange for his death, because he committed no lawless act, and no deceit was found in his mouth. And the Lord wishes to cleanse him from the blow. If you give an offering for sin, your soul will see long-lived offspring. And the Lord wishes to take his soul away from toil, to show him light and to form him with understanding, to justify the righteous one who serves many well. And he himself will carry our sins.”⁷⁷ [*Isaiah 53: 8-11*]

^{51b} “Therefore he will inherit many, and he will divide the spoils of the strong, because his soul was handed over to death, and he was counted among the lawless. He himself carried the sins of many, and because of their lawless deeds he was handed over.” Now hear how he was to go up into heaven, as it was prophesied. It was said like this: “Lift up the gates of heaven; be opened, so that the King of glory may come in. Who is this King of glory? The Lord, strong and mighty.” And hear also what was said through the prophet Jeremiah about how he will come from heaven with glory. It is this: “Look, he comes as a son of man on the clouds of heaven, and his angels with him.”⁷⁸ [*Isaiah 53:12; Daniel 7:13*]

CHAPTER 52

Certain Fulfilment of Prophecy.

^{52a} We have shown that everything that has already happened was proclaimed by the prophets before it came about. So we must also believe that the things prophesied in the same way, which are still to come, will certainly happen. The things that have already happened were foretold, and they came to pass even though people did not recognize them. In the same way the remaining things will come to pass, even if they are not recognized and are not believed. For the prophets proclaimed two comings of his. One has already happened, when he came as a dishonored and suffering man. The second is when, as has been proclaimed, he will come from heaven with glory, with his army of angels. Then he will raise the bodies of all people who have ever lived. He will clothe the bodies of the worthy with incorruption.

77. The quotation, which continues into the next section, is Isaiah 53:8-12 in the Greek Old Testament.

78. Justin attributes this last saying to Jeremiah, but no such passage is found in Jeremiah as we have it. The wording is close to Daniel 7:13 and recalls Matthew 24:30-31 and 25:31.

But he will send the unrighteous into the eternal fire, together with the evil demons, where they will be conscious of it forever.⁷⁹ [*Matthew 25: 41; 1 Corinthians 15: 53*]

^{52b} We will show that these things also were foretold as going to happen. This is what was said through the prophet Ezekiel: “Joint will be gathered to joint and bone to bone, and flesh will grow back. And every knee will bow to the Lord, and every tongue will confess him.” Now hear what was said in the same way about the kind of feeling and punishment the unrighteous will have: “Their worm will not cease, and their fire will not be put out.” Then they will repent, when it will do them no good. And here is what the peoples of the Jews will say and do when they see him come in glory. It was prophesied through the prophet Zechariah like this: “I will command the four winds to gather the scattered children. I will command the north wind to bring them, and the south wind not to hold them back.”⁸⁰ [*Ezekiel 37: 7-8; Isaiah 45: 23; Isaiah 66: 24; Isaiah 43: 5-6*]

^{52c} “And then in Jerusalem there will be a great mourning. It will not be a mourning of mouths or lips, but a mourning of the heart. They will tear not their garments but their minds. They will mourn tribe by tribe. Then they will look on the one whom they pierced, and they will say, ‘Why, Lord, did you lead us astray from your way? The glory which our fathers blessed has become a disgrace to us.’”⁸¹ [*Zechariah 12: 10-12; Joel 2: 13; Isaiah 63: 17; Isaiah 64: 11*]

CHAPTER 53

Summary of the Prophecies.

^{53a} I could give many other prophecies, but I have stopped. I judge these enough to persuade those who have ears to hear and understand. I also think such people can see that we do not just make claims without proof, as is done with the myths told about the supposed sons of Zeus. For why would we believe a crucified man to be the firstborn of the unbegotten God, and that he himself will judge the whole human race? We believe it because we found testimonies about him proclaimed before he came as a man, and we saw

79. “Incorruption” translates *aphtharsia*; compare 1 Corinthians 15:53-54, where the same Greek phrase speaks of the perishable body “putting on incorruption.”

80. The words “the peoples of the Jews” follow the Greek literally.

81. This passage combines Zechariah 12:10-12 (mourning tribe by tribe and looking on the one they pierced) with echoes of Joel 2:13 (“rend your heart and not your garments”), Isaiah 63:17 (“Why have you made us stray from your way?”) and Isaiah 64:11 (64:10 in the Greek Old Testament: “the glory which our fathers blessed”).

them fulfilled. We saw the land of the Jews laid waste. We saw people from every nation persuaded by the teaching of his apostles, giving up the old customs in which they had lived in error. We see ourselves among them, and we know that the Christians from the Gentiles are more numerous and more genuine than those from the Jews and Samaritans.⁸²

^{53b} The prophetic Spirit calls all the other human races “nations” (Gentiles). But the Jewish and Samaritan peoples are called the tribe of Israel and the house of Jacob. I will now set out the prophecy which said that more would believe from the nations than from the Jews and Samaritans. It was said like this: “Rejoice, barren woman who does not bear. Break out and cry aloud, you who are not in labor, because the children of the desolate woman are more than those of her who has a husband.” For all the nations were “desolate” of the true God, serving the works of their hands. But the Jews and Samaritans had the word of God handed down to them through the prophets, and they were always expecting the Christ. Yet when he came, they did not recognize him, except for a few. The holy prophetic Spirit foretold through Isaiah that these few would be saved.⁸³ [*Isaiah* 54:1]

^{53c} Speaking as if in their person, he said: “If the Lord had not left us a seed, we would have become like Sodom and Gomorrah.” Moses records that Sodom and Gomorrah were cities of ungodly men. God destroyed them by burning them with fire and sulfur. No one in them was saved except a foreigner, a Chaldean by race named Lot, and his daughters were saved with him. Anyone who wishes can still see their whole country, desolate, burned, and remaining barren. I will now cite what was said through the prophet Isaiah to show that those from the nations were foreknown to be more genuine and more faithful. He said: “Israel is uncircumcised in heart, but the nations are uncircumcised in the flesh.” So many things that can be seen are able, with good reason, to bring persuasion and faith to those who welcome the truth, who do not seek glory and are not ruled by their passions.⁸⁴ [*Isaiah* 1:9; *Genesis* 19:24; *Jeremiah* 9:26]

82. The older translation says “Jupiter,” the Roman name. The Greek has “Zeus.”

83. The quotation is from *Isaiah* 54:1, which Paul also quotes in *Galatians* 4:27. Justin takes the “desolate” woman to stand for the Gentile nations.

84. *Genesis* says Lot left Ur of the Chaldeans with Terah and Abram (*Genesis* 11:27–31), which probably underlies Justin calling him a Chaldean by race.

CHAPTER 54

Origin of Heathen Mythology.

^{54a} Those who pass on the myths made up by the poets give the young people who learn them no proof. We will show that these stories were told to deceive and mislead the human race, through the working of the evil demons. The demons heard the prophets proclaim that the Christ would come and that the ungodly among men would be punished by fire. So they put forward many men to be called sons of Zeus. They thought they could make people take the things said about Christ as tall tales, like the stories told by the poets. These stories were told among the Greeks and among all the nations, especially where the demons heard the prophets announcing in advance that Christ would be believed. But even though they heard what the prophets said, they did not understand it accurately. Like men who are deceived, they imitated what was said about our Christ. I will make this plain.⁸⁵

^{54b} As I said earlier, the prophet Moses was older than all the writers. Through him, as I also pointed out before, it was prophesied: “A ruler will not fail from Judah, nor a leader from his loins, until he comes for whom it is reserved. And he will be the expectation of the nations, tying his foal to the vine, washing his robe in the blood of the grape.” When the demons heard these prophetic words, they said that Dionysus was a son of Zeus. They handed down that he was the discoverer of the vine, and they record an ass in his mysteries, and they taught that he was torn to pieces and went up into heaven. The prophecy of Moses did not say plainly whether the one who was to come would be the Son of God, or whether he would ride on a foal and remain on earth or go up into heaven. And the word “foal” could mean the foal of a donkey or of a horse. So they did not know whether the one foretold would bring a donkey’s foal as the sign of his coming or a horse’s. Nor did they know whether he was the Son of God, as I said before, or a son of man. And so they said that Bellerophon, a man born of men, went up into heaven on the horse Pegasus.⁸⁶ [*Genesis 49:10-11*]

^{54c} They also heard what was said through another prophet, Isaiah, that he would be born of a virgin and would go up into heaven by his own power. So they put forward the story of Perseus. And when they learned that it had

85. The Greek leaves the subject of “heard” unstated, but the context shows it is the demons.

86. Justin quotes Genesis 49:10–11 in the Septuagint’s wording (“a leader from his loins”), so it differs from English Bibles based on the Hebrew (“from between his feet”).

been said, in the prophecies quoted above, “Strong as a giant to run his course,” they said that Heracles was strong and had traveled all over the earth. And when they learned again that it was prophesied that he would heal every disease and raise the dead, they brought forward Asclepius.⁸⁷ [Isaiah 7:14]

CHAPTER 55

Symbols of the Cross.

55a But nowhere, in the case of any of the so-called sons of Zeus, did they imitate the crucifixion. They did not understand it, because everything said about it was said symbolically, as I showed above. And this, as the prophet foretold, is the greatest symbol of his power and rule. This is also shown by the things we see before our eyes. Look at everything in the world and consider whether it could be managed, or hold together, without this shape. The sea cannot be crossed unless that trophy called the sail stays intact on the ship. The earth is not plowed without it. Diggers and craftsmen alike cannot do their work except with tools that have this shape. The human form differs from the irrational animals in nothing but this: it stands upright, it can stretch out its hands, and it has on the face, running down from the forehead, what is called the nose, through which the living creature breathes. And this shows nothing other than the shape of the cross.⁸⁸

55b This is why the prophet said, “The breath before our face is the Lord Christ.” Your own symbols also show the power of this shape. I mean the banners and trophies that your processions carry everywhere. In them you display the marks of your authority and power, even if you do it without understanding. And when your emperors die, you set up their images on this shape and name them gods in your inscriptions. So we have urged you as far as we are able, both by argument and by this visible shape. We know that from now on we are free of blame, even if you do not believe. Our part is done and finished.⁸⁹ [Lamentations 4:20]

87. “Strong as a giant to run his course” is from Psalm 19:5 (Psalm 18:6 in the Greek Old Testament), which Justin quoted earlier in the work.

88. Justin calls the sail a “trophy.” A Roman trophy was a victory monument: a post with a crossbar hung with captured armor. A sail spread on its mast and yard makes the same cross shape.

89. The older translation’s “all your state possessions are made” is loose. The Greek says your processions go out everywhere with these banners and trophies.

CHAPTER 56

The Demons Still Mislead Men.

Before Christ appeared, the evil demons were not content to say that those called sons of Zeus were born of him. After Christ appeared and lived among men, they learned how the prophets had announced him in advance, and they saw that he was believed in and looked for among every race. So again, as I explained earlier, they put forward other men: Simon and Menander from Samaria. These men worked magical powers and deceived many, and they still keep them deceived. For among you, as I said before, in the imperial city of Rome, in the reign of Claudius Caesar, Simon so astonished the sacred senate and the people of Rome that he was thought to be a god and was honored with a statue, like the other gods honored among you. So we ask that your sacred senate and your people join with you in judging this petition of ours. Then if anyone is held captive by that man's teachings, he can learn the truth and escape the error. And if you wish, tear down the statue.⁹⁰

CHAPTER 57

And Cause Persecution.

The wicked demons cannot persuade anyone that the burning of the world will not happen as a punishment of the ungodly. In the same way, they were not able to keep Christ's coming hidden. All they can do is this: they can make people who live without reason, who were raised in bad habits and are ruled by their passions, and who love glory, hate us and kill us. We do not hate them. On the contrary, as has been shown, we pity them and want to persuade them to change. For we do not fear death. Everyone agrees that all must die, and nothing in this present order of things is new; it is always the same. If those who share in these things grow tired of them even after a single year, they ought to pay attention to our teachings, so that they may live forever, free from suffering and from want. But suppose they do not believe that there is anything after death, and declare that the dead pass into a state without feeling. Then in freeing us from the sufferings and needs of this life they do us a kindness, and they show themselves to be wicked, haters

90. Simon the magician appears in Acts 8:9–24. Earlier in this work, Justin says Simon's statue stood on the Tiber island, inscribed "To Simon the holy god." A statue base found there in 1574 reads "Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio," a dedication to an old Sabine god. Many scholars think Justin mistook that inscription for one honoring Simon.

of mankind and lovers of glory. For they do not kill us in order to release us. They murder us to rob us of life and pleasure.⁹¹

CHAPTER 58

And Raise Up Heretics.

As we said before, the wicked demons also put forward Marcion of Pontus. He still teaches people today to deny that God is the maker of all things in heaven and on earth, and to deny that the Christ proclaimed by the prophets is his Son. He announces some other god besides the Creator of all things, and likewise another son. Many have believed him, as though he alone knew the truth, and they laugh at us. Yet they have no proof for what they say. Without reason they are snatched away like lambs by a wolf, and become food for godless doctrines and for demons. For these so-called demons struggle for nothing else than to draw people away from God who made them and from Christ, his firstborn. Those who cannot lift themselves above the earth, the demons have nailed down, and still nail down, to earthly things and to things made by hands. Those who set out to contemplate divine things they trip up on the way, and they drive them into ungodliness, unless they have sober and pure reasoning and a life free from the passions.⁹²

CHAPTER 59

Plato's Obligation to Moses.

You should also learn that Plato took from our teachers, that is, from the word given through the prophets, his statement that God transformed formless matter and made the world. So hear the very words spoken through Moses, whom we showed earlier to be the first prophet, and older than the Greek writers. Through him the Spirit of prophecy showed how and from what God first made the world. He spoke like this: "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. The earth was invisible and unformed, and darkness was over the deep. And the Spirit of God was moving over the waters. And God said, 'Let there be light.' And it was so." So the whole world came into being by the word of God, out of the underlying matter that

91. The Greek text of this paragraph is uncertain in places: one word in the last sentence is damaged, and editors read the clause about growing tired "even after a single year" differently. This translation follows the generally accepted sense.

92. Justin first mentioned Marcion in chapter 26. Marcion came from Pontus on the Black Sea. He taught that the God of the Old Testament, the Creator, was a different and lesser god than the Father of Jesus Christ.

Moses had described. Plato and those who say the same things learned this, and so did we, and you too can be persuaded. We also know that what the poets call Erebus was spoken of earlier by Moses.⁹³ [*Genesis 1:1-3*]

CHAPTER 60

Plato's Doctrine of the Cross.

60a In his discussion of nature in the *Timaeus*, Plato speaks about the Son of God when he says, “He placed him crosswise in the universe.” He likewise took this from Moses. For it is written in the writings of Moses that when the Israelites came out of Egypt and were in the wilderness, they met poisonous beasts, vipers and asps and every kind of snake, which were killing the people. By God’s inspiration and working, Moses took bronze and made it into the shape of a cross. He set it up by the holy tent and said to the people, “If you look at this figure and believe, you will be saved by it.” Moses wrote that when this was done the snakes died, and he handed down that in this way the people escaped death.⁹⁴ [*Numbers 21:6-9*] 60b Plato read this but did not understand it accurately. He did not grasp that it was the figure of a cross. He took it to be a crosswise placing, and so he said that the power next to the first God was placed crosswise in the universe. And he spoke of a third because, as we said before, he read in Moses that the Spirit of God was moving over the waters. He gives the second place to the Word who comes from God, whom he said was placed crosswise in the universe. He gives the third place to the Spirit said to be moving over the water, when he says, “The third things around the third.” Now hear how the Spirit of prophecy showed through Moses that there will be a burning of the world. He said this: “An ever-living fire will come down and will devour down to the depths below.” So it is not that we hold the same opinions as others. Rather, all of them say what they say in imitation of ours.⁹⁵ [*Genesis 1:2; Deuteronomy 32:22*]

60c So among us you can hear and learn these things from people who do not even know the shapes of the letters. They are untrained and uncultured in speech, yet wise and faithful in mind, and some of them are even maimed

93. In Greek poetry, Erebus was the primeval darkness and the dark region beneath the earth. Justin probably links it with the “darkness over the deep.”

94. In the *Timaeus* (36b-c), Plato describes the world-soul as two bands crossed in the shape of the Greek letter chi (X). Justin applies the phrase to the Son of God.

95. Plato’s line “the third things around the third” comes from the Second Letter attributed to him.

in their eyes and blind. From this you can understand that these things did not come about through human wisdom but are spoken by the power of God.⁹⁶ [*1 Corinthians 2:5*]

CHAPTER 61

Christian Baptism.

^{61a} I will also explain how we dedicated ourselves to God when we were made new through Christ. If I left this out, I might seem to be acting dishonestly in my explanation. Those who are persuaded and believe that what we teach and say is true, and who promise that they can live accordingly, are taught to pray and to ask God, with fasting, for the forgiveness of their past sins. We pray and fast along with them. Then they are led by us to a place where there is water, and they are born again in the same way that we ourselves were born again. For they are then washed in the water in the name of God, the Father and Master of all things, and of our Savior Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit. For Christ said, “Unless you are born again, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven.” And it is plain to everyone that those who have once been born cannot go back into their mothers’ wombs.⁹⁷ [*John 3:3-5; Matthew 28:19*]

^{61b} Isaiah the prophet also told how those who have sinned and repent will escape their sins, as we wrote earlier. It was said this way: “Wash yourselves, become clean. Remove the evils from your souls. Learn to do good. Give justice to the orphan and vindicate the widow. Come, and let us reason together, says the Lord. Even if your sins are like purple, I will make them white like wool, and if they are like scarlet, I will make them white like snow. But if you do not listen to me, the sword will devour you, for the mouth of the Lord has spoken this.” And we have learned from the apostles this reason for the rite. At our first birth we were born without knowing it and by necessity, from moist seed, through our parents’ union with each other, and we grew up in bad customs and wicked ways of living. But we should not remain children of necessity and ignorance. We should become children of choice and knowledge, and obtain forgiveness of the sins we

96. The Greek says these people are “barbarians” in speech. This means they spoke Greek poorly or not at all. It is not a harsh insult here.

97. Justin’s wording of Christ’s saying differs from the Gospel text. John 3:3-5 speaks of being born again (or “from above”) to see or enter “the kingdom of God.” Justin’s phrase “you will not enter the kingdom of heaven” is close to Matthew 18:3. He appears to be quoting loosely or from a variant tradition. I have translated what he wrote.

committed before. So in the water, the name of God, the Father and Master of all things, is spoken over the one who has chosen to be born again and has repented of his sins. The one who leads the person to be washed to the bath calls on this name alone.⁹⁸ [*Isaiah 1:16-20*]

61c For no one can give a name to the God who cannot be spoken of. If anyone dares to say there is such a name, he is raving with hopeless madness. This washing is called “illumination,” because the minds of those who learn these things are enlightened. The person being enlightened is also washed in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Spirit, who through the prophets announced beforehand everything about Jesus.

CHAPTER 62

Its Imitation by Demons.

When the demons heard that this washing had been proclaimed by the prophet, they worked to have people sprinkle themselves when they enter their temples and are about to approach them with drink offerings and the smoke of sacrifices. They also bring it about that worshipers wash themselves completely when they come, before they go to the temples where the demons are enshrined. The priests order those who enter the temples and worship there to take off their shoes. The demons imitated this too, after learning it from what happened to the prophet Moses, mentioned above. At that time Moses was commanded to go down to Egypt and lead out the people of Israel who were there. He was tending the sheep of his mother’s brother in the land of Arabia, and our Christ spoke to him in the form of fire from a bush. He said, “Take off your sandals, and come near and listen.” Moses took off his sandals and came near, and he heard that he was to go down to Egypt and lead out the people of Israel there. He received mighty power from Christ, who spoke to him in the form of fire. He went down and led the people out, doing great and marvelous things. If you wish to learn

98. Isaiah 1:16-20, which Justin also quoted in chapter 44. His wording is shorter than the standard Greek (Septuagint) text and reverses “snow” and “wool.” The Septuagint has “like snow” first and “like wool” second. The translation follows Justin’s wording.

about these, you will find them accurately in his writings.⁹⁹ [*Exodus 3:2; Exodus 3:5; Exodus 3:10*]

CHAPTER 63

How God Appeared to Moses.

^{63a} Even now all the Jews teach that it was the God who has no name who spoke to Moses. So the Spirit of prophecy, rebuking them through the prophet Isaiah mentioned above, said, as we wrote earlier: “The ox knows its owner, and the donkey its master’s manger, but Israel has not known me, and my people have not understood.” And Jesus the Christ rebuked them in the same way, because the Jews did not know what the Father is and what the Son is. He himself said: “No one has known the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father, and those to whom the Son reveals him.” The Word of God is his Son, as we said before. He is also called Angel and Apostle, for he announces whatever needs to be known, and he is sent to make known whatever is announced. As our Lord himself said: “He who hears me hears the one who sent me.”¹⁰⁰ [*Isaiah 1:3; Matthew 11:27; Luke 10:16*]

^{63b} This will also be clear from the writings of Moses. In them it is written this way: “And an angel of God spoke to Moses in a flame of fire out of the bush and said, I am the One who is, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the God of your fathers. Go down to Egypt and bring out my people.” If you want to learn what follows, you can do so from those writings, for it is not possible to write everything down here. But these words have been given as proof that Jesus the Christ is the Son of God and his Apostle. He existed before as the Word. At one time he appeared in the form of fire, and at another in a bodiless likeness. But now, by the will of God, he became man for the human race, and he endured all the sufferings that the demons caused the senseless Jews to inflict on him.¹⁰¹ [*Exodus 3:2; Exodus 3:6; Exodus 3:14; Exodus 3:10*]

99. Justin departs from Exodus here in two ways. Exodus says Moses was keeping the flock of Jethro, his father-in-law, in Midian (Exodus 3:1), but Justin says “his mother’s brother” in “Arabia.” Also, in Exodus God tells Moses not to come near (Exodus 3:5), but Justin’s wording says “come near and listen.”

100. Justin is playing on words. “Angel” (angelos) means messenger and goes with “announces” (apangellei). “Apostle” (apostolos) means one sent and goes with “is sent” (apostelletai). Hebrews 3:1 also calls Jesus “the apostle.”

101. The Greek printed here says he appeared “in a bodiless likeness”; the older translation reads “in the likeness of angels,” apparently following a different reading.

63c Though they have it plainly stated in the writings of Moses, “And an angel of God spoke to Moses in a fire of flame in a bush and said, I am the One who is, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob,” they claim that the one who said this was the Father and Creator of the universe. That is why the Spirit of prophecy rebuked them and said: “Israel has not known me, and the people have not understood me.” And again Jesus, as we showed, said while he was among them: “No one has known the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father and those to whom the Son reveals him.” The Jews, then, always supposed that the Father of the universe had spoken to Moses. But the one who spoke to him was the Son of God, who is called both Angel and Apostle. So they are justly rebuked both by the Spirit of prophecy and by Christ himself, because they knew neither the Father nor the Son.¹⁰² [*Exodus 3: 2; Exodus 3: 14; Isaiah 1: 3; Matthew 11: 27*]

63d For those who say that the Son is the Father are shown to know neither the Father nor that the Father of the universe has a Son. Being the Word and firstborn of God, he is also God. In earlier times he appeared to Moses and the other prophets in the form of fire and in a bodiless image. But now, in the time of your rule, as we said before, he became man through a virgin according to the Father’s plan, for the salvation of those who believe in him. He endured being despised and suffering, so that by dying and rising again he might conquer death. What was said to Moses out of the bush was: “I am the One who is, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob and the God of your fathers.” This signified that those men, though dead, still remain and belong to Christ himself. For they were the first of all people to devote themselves to the search for God: Abraham, the father of Isaac, and Isaac, the father of Jacob, as Moses also wrote.¹⁰³ [*Exodus 3: 14; Exodus 3: 15; Matthew 22: 32*]

CHAPTER 64

Further Misrepresentations of the Truth.

From what has already been said, you can understand that the demons were behind the setting up of the image of the one called Kore (the Maiden) at springs of water. They said she was the daughter of Zeus, imitating what was

102. Jesus’ saying is from Matthew 11:27 and Luke 10:22, quoted freely. In the Gospels the Son is mentioned before the Father.

103. That the patriarchs were “the first of all people” to seek God is Justin’s own claim. Genesis speaks of earlier men who walked with God, such as Enoch and Noah (Genesis 5:24; 6:9).

said through Moses. For Moses said, as we quoted above: “In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. And the earth was invisible and unformed, and the Spirit of God was moving over the waters.” So, in imitation of what is said about the Spirit of God moving over the water, they called Kore the daughter of Zeus. In the same wicked way they said that Athena was the daughter of Zeus. They did not say she came from a union. Instead, because they knew that God conceived the world in his mind and made it through the Word, they called Athena the first thought. We think this utterly ridiculous: to present the image of a thought in a female form. In the same way, the deeds of the others who are called sons of Zeus condemn them.¹⁰⁴ [*Genesis 1: 1-2*]

CHAPTER 65

Administration of the Sacraments.

After we have washed the one who has been persuaded and has agreed with us, we bring him to those who are called brothers, where they are gathered. We earnestly offer common prayers for ourselves, for the newly enlightened person, and for all others everywhere. We pray that, having learned the truth, we may be counted worthy to be found good citizens in our deeds as well, and keepers of the commandments, so that we may be saved with eternal salvation. When the prayers are finished we greet one another with a kiss. Then bread and a cup of water and mixed wine are brought to the one presiding over the brothers. He takes them and sends up praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. He gives thanks at length that we have been counted worthy of these things from him. When he has finished the prayers and the thanksgiving, all the people present call out their agreement, saying, “Amen.” “Amen” in the Hebrew language means “So be it.” When the one presiding has given thanks and all the people have responded, those we call deacons give each of those present a share of the bread and wine and water over which thanks have been given, and they carry some to those who are absent.¹⁰⁵

104. In the best-known Greek myth Athena sprang fully grown from the head of Zeus, which fits Justin’s point that she was not born from a union.

105. The Greek word for “thanksgiving” here is *eucharistia*. In the next chapter Justin says this food is called the Eucharist.

CHAPTER 66

Of the Eucharist.

This food is called among us the Eucharist (thanksgiving). No one may share in it except the person who believes that what we teach is true, who has been washed in the washing for the forgiveness of sins and for new birth, and who lives as Christ handed down. We do not receive these as common bread or common drink. Jesus Christ our Savior was made flesh through the Word of God and had flesh and blood for our salvation. In the same way we have been taught that the food over which thanks have been given through the prayer of the word that comes from him is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh. This food nourishes our blood and flesh by being changed into them. For the apostles, in the records they composed, which are called Gospels, handed down that Jesus gave them this command. He took bread, gave thanks, and said, “Do this in remembrance of me; this is my body.” In the same way he took the cup, gave thanks, and said, “This is my blood.” And he gave it to them alone. The wicked demons imitated this in the mysteries of Mithras and handed down that it should be done there too. For you either know or can find out that bread and a cup of water are set out, with certain words spoken over them, in the rites of the one being initiated.¹⁰⁶ [Luke 22:19; 1

Corinthians 11: 24-25; Matthew 26: 26-28; Mark 14: 22-24]

CHAPTER 67

Weekly Worship of the Christians.

^{67a} After this we keep reminding one another of these things. Those of us who have means help all who are in need, and we are always together. For everything we are given, we bless the Maker of all through his Son Jesus Christ and through the Holy Spirit. On the day called Sunday, all who live in cities or in the country gather in one place. The records of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time allows. When the reader has finished, the one presiding speaks, urging us and calling us to imitate these good things. Then we all stand together and offer prayers. As we said before, when the prayer is finished, bread and wine and water are brought. The one presiding likewise offers prayers and thanksgivings, as well as he is able, and

106. Justin’s wording recalls Luke 22:19 and 1 Corinthians 11:24-25, where “Do this in remembrance of me” appears. Justin, however, puts that command before “this is my body,” which is the reverse of the order in those passages.

the people call out their agreement, saying “Amen.” Then each person receives a share of what has been given thanks for, and it is sent through the deacons to those who are absent.¹⁰⁷

^{67b} Those who are well off and willing give, each as he chooses, whatever he wishes. What is collected is placed with the one presiding, and he helps orphans and widows, those who are in need because of sickness or any other cause, those in prison, and foreigners staying among us. In short, he looks after everyone in need. We all hold our common gathering on the day of the Sun. It is the first day, on which God changed the darkness and matter and made the world. It is also the day on which Jesus Christ our Savior rose from the dead. For they crucified him on the day before Saturn’s day. On the day after Saturn’s day, which is the day of the Sun, he appeared to his apostles and disciples and taught them these things, which we have also handed on to you for your consideration.¹⁰⁸

CHAPTER 68

Conclusion.

^{68a} If these things seem to you reasonable and true, honor them. But if they seem to you nonsense, then despise them as nonsense. Do not decree death, as against enemies, for people who have done no wrong. For we warn you in advance that you will not escape the coming judgment of God if you persist in injustice. And we will cry out, “Let what is pleasing to God be done!” We could demand, on the strength of the letter of the greatest and most illustrious Caesar Hadrian, your father, that you order trials to be held as we have asked. But we have made this address and explanation not because Hadrian decided it, but because we know that what we ask is just. We have also added a copy of Hadrian’s letter, so that you may know we are telling the truth about this as well.¹⁰⁹ ^{68b} This is the copy: “To Minucius Fundanus. I have received a letter written to me by Serenius Granianus, a most distinguished man, whom you have succeeded. It does not seem right to me to leave the matter uninvestigated, so that people are not harassed and informers are not

107. “Those who have means” is the Greek “those who have”; the older English says “the wealthy.” In the Greek, “as well as he is able” can also be read as “with all his strength.”

108. “Saturn’s day” is Saturday and “the day of the Sun” is Sunday; these are the names of the planetary week, which was in common use in the Roman world, and Justin uses them for his pagan readers.

109. The older translation says “we ourselves will invite you to do that which is pleasing to God.” The Greek says they will cry out (to God), “Let what is pleasing to God be done!”

given room for their mischief. So if the people of the province can clearly support this petition against the Christians, so that they can make their case before a tribunal, let them turn to that course only. But they must not use petitions or mere shouting. For it is much more fitting, if anyone wishes to bring an accusation, that you examine it. So if someone accuses them and shows that they are doing something contrary to the laws, decide the case according to the seriousness of the offense. But, by Hercules, if anyone brings this up merely to slander them, determine how serious that is, and take care to punish him.”¹¹⁰

SECOND APOLOGY

CHAPTER 1

Introduction.

Romans, what happened yesterday and the day before in your city under Urbicus, and what is being done in the same unreasonable way by governors everywhere, has forced me to write this account for your sake. You are human beings like us, and our brothers, even if you do not know it and do not want to admit it because of the glory of what you consider your high offices. Everywhere, people who are corrected for some failing by a father, a neighbor, a child, a friend, a brother, a husband or a wife are stirred up against those who correct them. This happens because they are hard to change, love pleasure and are slow to move toward what is good. The only exceptions are those who have been persuaded that the unjust and undisciplined will be punished in eternal fire, and that the virtuous and those who have lived like Christ will be with God, free from suffering. I mean those who have become Christians. And the wicked demons hate us. They hold judges like these in their power and have them as their servants. So these rulers are driven by demons, and the demons prepare them to put us to death. But so that the cause of everything that happened under Urbicus may be clear to you, I will tell you what was done.¹¹¹

110. Eusebius (Church History 4.8-9) says Justin attached the letter in its original Latin, and that he himself translated it into Greek. The Greek printed here is very likely Eusebius's translation. Minucius Fundanus was proconsul of the province of Asia.

111. Urbicus is Quintus Lollius Urbicus, prefect of the city of Rome at this time.

CHAPTER 2

Urbicus Condemns the Christians to Death.

2a A certain woman lived with a husband who was licentious, and she herself had formerly been licentious too. But when she learned the teachings of Christ, she became self-controlled. She tried to persuade her husband to be self-controlled as well. She set before him the teachings, and told him of the punishment in eternal fire that awaits those who do not live with self-control and right reason. But he kept on in the same debauchery, and by his actions he made his wife a stranger to him. She now thought it ungodly to share a bed with a husband who sought by every means ways of finding pleasure, against the law of nature and against what is right. So she wanted to be separated from the marriage. Her family, however, urged her to stay a while longer, in the hope that her husband might one day change. Their pleading overcame her, and she forced herself to remain. But then her husband went to Alexandria and was reported to be behaving even worse. So that she might not become a partner in his wrongdoing and ungodliness by staying in the marriage and sharing his table and his bed, she gave him what you call a *repudium* (a notice of divorce) and left him.

2b But this fine gentleman of a husband should have been glad. His wife had given up the things she used to do so readily with the servants and hired men, when she delighted in drunkenness and every kind of vice. She wanted him to give them up too. Instead, since she had left him against his wishes, he brought a charge against her, saying that she was a Christian. She submitted a petition to you, the emperor, asking first to be allowed to settle her affairs, and then to answer the charge once her affairs were in order. You granted this. Her former husband could no longer speak against her, so he turned against a man named Ptolemaeus, whom Urbicus had summoned, and who had been her teacher in the Christian lessons. He did it this way. He persuaded a centurion, a friend of his who had thrown Ptolemaeus in chains, to take hold of Ptolemaeus and ask him just one thing: whether he was a Christian.¹¹²

2c Ptolemaeus loved the truth and was not a deceitful or lying man. He confessed that he was a Christian, and the centurion had him put in chains.

112. The older translation reads "whom Urbicus punished," following the variant *ekolasato*; the Greek printed here reads *ekalesato*, "summoned."

For a long time the centurion punished him in the prison. Finally the man was brought before Urbicus, and again he was asked only this: whether he was a Christian. Once more he knew in himself that his life was good because of Christ's teaching, and he confessed the school of divine virtue. For anyone who denies a thing either denies it because he condemns it, or he avoids confessing it because he knows he is unworthy of it and a stranger to it. Neither is true of a real Christian. Urbicus ordered Ptolemaeus to be led away. Then a man named Lucius, who was also a Christian, saw how senseless this judgment was. He said to Urbicus, "What is the reason for this? You have punished this man, though he has not been convicted of adultery, fornication, murder, theft, robbery, or any wrongdoing at all. He has only confessed that he bears the name of Christian.

^{2d} "This judgment of yours, Urbicus, is not fitting for the Emperor Pius, nor for the philosopher, the son of Caesar, nor for the sacred senate." Urbicus gave him no other answer, but said to Lucius, "You seem to me to be one of them too." When Lucius said, "Certainly I am," Urbicus ordered him to be led away as well. Lucius declared that he was grateful. He knew he was being freed from such wicked masters and was going to the Father and King of the heavens. Then a third man came forward and was sentenced to be punished.¹¹³

CHAPTER 3

Justin Accuses Crescens of Ignorant Prejudice Against the Christians.

Someone may say, "Then kill yourselves, all of you, and go to God right now, and stop causing us trouble." I will explain why we do not do this, and why we confess without fear when we are questioned. We have been taught that God did not make the world without purpose, but only for the sake of the human race. We declared earlier that he is pleased with those who imitate what belongs to him, and displeased with those who embrace what is worthless, in word or deed. So if we all killed ourselves, we would be responsible, as far as it depends on us, for no one being born and taught the divine teachings, or even for the human race ceasing to exist. If we did this, we ourselves would be acting against the will of God. When we are questioned, we do not deny it, because we know of nothing evil in ourselves. We consider

113. "Pius" is the emperor Antoninus Pius. Scholars are not sure who "the philosopher, the son of Caesar" is. It may be Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus, Pius's adopted sons, both of whom Justin addresses in the First Apology.

it ungodly not to tell the truth in everything, which we know is also dear to God. And we also want, by confessing, to free you now from your unjust prejudice.¹¹⁴

CHAPTER 4

Why the Christians Do Not Kill Themselves.

4a Someone may also think, “If you confessed God as your helper, then, as you claim, you would not be overpowered and punished by unjust men.” I will answer this too. God made the whole world and put earthly things under human control. He arranged the heavenly bodies to make crops grow and seasons change, and he set a divine law over them. All these things he evidently made for the sake of people. But he handed over the care of human beings, and of everything under heaven, to angels whom he appointed for this. These angels broke that appointment. They were overcome by intercourse with women and had children, who are the so-called demons. After that they enslaved the human race to themselves. They did it partly through magical writings, partly through fear and the punishments they brought, and partly by teaching people to offer sacrifices, incense and drink offerings. They came to need these after they themselves were enslaved by their passions and desires. Among people they sowed murders, wars, adultery, licentiousness and every kind of evil.¹¹⁵ [*Genesis 6: 2*]

4b So it was that the poets and myth-writers did not know that it was the angels, and the demons born from them, who did these things to men and women, to cities and nations. They wrote about these things, but they attributed them to god himself and to those thought to be his sons by his seed. They also attributed them to the sons of his so-called brothers, Poseidon and Pluto, and likewise to their descendants. For they called each one by the name that each of the angels had given to himself and to his children.¹¹⁶

114. The older translation printed with this section is a different passage, Justin’s attack on the Cynic philosopher Crescens. The 1885 translation of this section is the one printed with the next section. This version follows the Greek.

115. The story of angels who fathered children by women echoes Genesis 6:1–4 as later Jewish tradition developed it, for example in 1 Enoch. Justin goes beyond the biblical text, which does not call these children demons.

116. “God himself” is Justin’s phrase. From the sons and brothers he lists, he evidently means Zeus, the chief god of the myths. The older translation uses “Neptune,” the Roman name for Poseidon.

CHAPTER 5

How the Angels Transgressed.

5a But there is no name set upon the Father of all, since he is unbegotten. For anyone addressed by a name has someone older who gave him that name. “Father,” “God,” “Creator,” “Lord” and “Master” are not names. They are titles drawn from his good deeds and his works. His Son is the only one properly called Son. He is the Word, who was with the Father before the created things and was begotten when, in the beginning, God made and ordered all things through him. He is called Christ because God anointed him and ordered all things through him. This name too has a meaning we do not know, just as the title “God” is not a name. It is an opinion, planted in human nature, about something hard to explain.¹¹⁷ [John 1:1-3] 5b “Jesus,” however, is the name of a man and of a Savior, and it has a meaning in both ways. For he did become man, as we said before. He was born according to the will of God the Father, for the sake of believing people and for the destruction of the demons. You can learn this even now from what happens before your eyes. Throughout the whole world, and in your own city, many of our people, the Christians, have healed many demon-possessed people, and they still heal them. These people could not be healed by all the other exorcists, enchanters and sorcerers. The Christians call on the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and so they overpower the demons that hold people and drive them out.¹¹⁸

CHAPTER 6

Names of God and of Christ, Their Meaning and Power.

6a This is why God holds back from bringing confusion and destruction on the whole world, the destruction that would put an end to the wicked angels, demons and people. He holds back because of the seed of the Christians, which he knows is the cause of the world’s preservation. Otherwise it would not even be possible for you to go on doing these things, driven by the wicked demons. Instead the fire of judgment would have come down unchecked and judged everything. In the same way the flood long ago left no

117. “Christ” means “Anointed One.” Justin ties it to God’s anointing the Son and ordering all things through him.

118. Unlike “Christ,” the name “Jesus” has a clear meaning. It comes from the Hebrew Yeshua, “the LORD saves,” which fits Matthew 1:21: “he will save his people from their sins.” “Your own city” is Rome.

one except the one man called Noah among us and Deucalion among you, together with his own household. From him so many people have come again, some wicked and some good. This is how we say the burning of the world will happen. It will not be as the Stoics say, by the principle that all things change into one another, which is plainly shameful. Nor do we say that people do what they do, or suffer what happens to them, by fate. Rather, each person acts rightly or sins by his own choice. And it is by the working of the wicked demons that good men like Socrates and others like him are persecuted and put in chains, while Sardanapalus, Epicurus and their like seem to be happy in plenty and glory.¹¹⁹

^{6b} The Stoics did not understand this, and so they declared that everything happens by the necessity of fate. But from the beginning God made the race of angels and of people free to choose. So they will justly receive in eternal fire the punishment for whatever wrongs they commit. This is the nature of everything that has been made: it is capable of both vice and virtue. For none of them would be praiseworthy if it did not have the power to turn either way. People everywhere who have made laws or practiced philosophy according to right reason show this too. They instruct us to do some things and to avoid others. Even the Stoic philosophers firmly honor these same things in their teaching on morals. This makes it plain that they are on the wrong track in their teaching on first principles and on incorporeal things.¹²⁰ ^{6c} For suppose they say that what people do happens by fate, or that God is nothing apart from things that turn, change and dissolve again and again into the same things. Then they will be shown to have grasped only perishable things. They will also be making God himself, both in his parts and as a whole, present in every kind of wickedness. Or else they must say that there is no such thing as vice or virtue. That goes against all sound thought, reason and sense.¹²¹

119. Deucalion is the survivor of the great flood in Greek myth. The Stoics taught that the universe is periodically consumed by fire and then renewed. Sardanapalus was a legendary Assyrian king famous for luxury.

120. Justin's point is that Stoic ethics, which praises and blames people's choices, does not fit with Stoic physics, which holds that everything happens by fate.

121. The Stoics identified God with the universe itself, which is why Justin says their view puts God, "in his parts and as a whole," into every wickedness.

CHAPTER 7

The World Preserved for the Sake of Christians. Man's Responsibility.

We know that followers of the Stoic teachings have also been hated and murdered. They were well-ordered, at least in their moral teaching, as the poets also were in some matters, because of the seed of the Word that is planted in every race of people. Heraclitus is one example, as we said before. Among people of our own time we know of Musonius and others. As we pointed out, the demons have always worked to make people hate everyone who strives in any way to live by reason and to flee evil. It is no surprise, then, that the demons, when they are exposed, work all the more to make people hate those who live not by a part of the seed-sown Word but by the knowledge and contemplation of the whole Word, who is Christ. The demons will receive the punishment and penalty they deserve, shut up in eternal fire. For if they are already being defeated by men through the name of Jesus Christ, that is a sign of the punishment in eternal fire that will come on them and on those who serve them. All the prophets proclaimed that it would be so, and Jesus our teacher taught it.¹²² [Matthew 25: 41]

CHAPTER 8

All Have Been Hated in Whom the Word Has Dwelt.

^{8a} So I too expect to be plotted against by one of those I have named and to be fixed to a stake. Perhaps it will be Crescens, that lover of noise and boasting. He does not deserve to be called a philosopher, since he publicly testifies against us about things he does not understand. He says that Christians are godless and impious, and he does this to please and gratify the many who are led astray. If he attacks us without ever having read the teachings of Christ, he is thoroughly wicked. He is much worse than ordinary uneducated people, who often take care not to discuss or give false testimony about things they do not understand. Suppose instead he has read them but did not grasp their greatness. Or suppose he grasped it but acts like this so that no one will suspect him of being a Christian. Then he is far more base and thoroughly wicked, giving way to the ignorant, unreasoning opinion and fear of the

122. Heraclitus was not himself a Stoic, though the Stoics drew on him. Justin had already named him in First Apology 46. Musonius Rufus, a Stoic teacher, was exiled under Nero. Ancient sources do not clearly say that either man was put to death, so Justin's statement may be loose.

crowd. I want you to know that I put some questions of this kind to him and cross-examined him. I learned, and proved, that he truly knows nothing.¹²³

8b To show that I am telling the truth: if the reports of our discussions have not reached you, I am ready to hold the same questioning again in your presence. That too would be a task worthy of an emperor. But if my questions and his answers have been made known to you, it is plain to you that he knows nothing of our teachings. Or, if he does know them but does not dare to speak out as Socrates did because of those who are listening, then, as I said before, he shows himself to be not a philosopher but a lover of glory. He does not even honor that saying of Socrates which is so well worth loving: “But a man must not be honored above the truth.” But it is impossible for a Cynic, who has set indifference as his goal, to know any good except indifference.¹²⁴

CHAPTER 9

Eternal Punishment Not a Mere Threat.

9a Some who are thought to be philosophers may say that our claim that the unjust are punished in eternal fire is mere boasting and scare tactics. They may say that we urge people to live virtuously out of fear, and not because living virtuously is good and pleasing. I will answer this briefly. If this is not so, then either there is no God, or, if there is, he does not care about people. Then virtue and vice are nothing, and, as we said before, lawgivers are unjust when they punish those who break the good commands laid down. But those lawgivers are not unjust, and neither is their Father, who through the Word teaches people to do the same things he does. Since that is so, those who agree with them are not unjust either. Someone may bring up the differing laws of men. He may say that among some peoples certain things are considered good and others shameful, while among others what the first consider shameful is considered good, and what they consider good is considered shameful. Let him hear what we say to this as well.¹²⁵

9b We know that the wicked angels laid down laws that match their own wickedness, and people who have become like them take pleasure in those

123. Crescens was a Cynic philosopher in Rome. Justin’s pupil Tatian later wrote that Crescens schemed to bring about Justin’s death.

124. The saying is spoken by Socrates in Plato’s *Republic*, book 10 (595c).

125. The Greek says only “those.” We have taken it to mean the lawgivers, the nearest group named, and “their Father” as God. The sentence is obscure, and some scholars suspect the text is damaged. The older translation also leaves it vague (“these”).

laws. But right reason, when it came, showed that not all opinions or all teachings are good. Some are bad and some are good. So I will say the same and similar things to people like these, and I will say more if there is need. For now I return to the matter before us.¹²⁶

CHAPTER 10

Christ Compared with Socrates.

^{10a} Our teachings, then, show themselves to be greater than any human teaching, because Christ, who appeared for our sake, became the whole rational being: body, reason, and soul. Whatever the philosophers or lawgivers ever said or discovered well, they worked out by searching and reflecting, through a portion of the Word. But they did not know all that belongs to the Word, who is Christ, and so they often contradicted themselves. Those who lived before Christ tried, as far as human ability allowed, to examine and test things by reason, and they were brought into the courts as godless and meddlesome men. Socrates, the most determined of them all in this, was charged with the same things as we are. They said he was bringing in new divinities and did not acknowledge the gods the city recognized.¹²⁷ ^{10b} Socrates drove Homer and the other poets out of the state. He taught people to turn away from the wicked demons and from those who did the things the poets told of. And he urged them to seek, by reasoned inquiry, to know the God who was unknown to them. He said: "It is not easy to find the Father and Maker of all, and once you have found him, it is not safe to declare him to everyone." Our Christ did these things through his own power. No one believed Socrates enough to die for this teaching. But Christ was known in part even by Socrates. For he was and is the Word who is in everything. He foretold what was to come through the prophets, and then he himself became a man like us, subject to the same sufferings, and taught these things. And Christ was believed not only by philosophers and scholars but also by craftsmen and completely uneducated people, who despised glory, fear and death. For he is a power of the ineffable Father, and not a vessel of human reason.¹²⁸

126. The Greek has no capital letters, so "right reason" (orthos logos) could mean reason in general or Christ the Word; "when it came" may point to Christ's coming, since Justin elsewhere calls Christ the Logos.

127. The phrase rendered "as far as human ability allowed" can also be taken with "lived before Christ," meaning "born before Christ's human birth." The older translation reads it that way.

128. "In everything" may also be read "in everyone." The older translation has "in every man."

CHAPTER 11

How Christians View Death.

11a We would not be killed, and unjust men and demons would not be stronger than we are, if death were not a debt that every person born must pay. So we give thanks as we pay the debt. We also think it right and timely to tell Crescens, and those who rave as he does, the well-known story from Xenophon. Xenophon says that Heracles, walking to a place where three roads met, came upon Virtue and Vice, who appeared in the form of women. Vice wore a luxurious dress, and her face was made seductive and blooming by such arts. She was alluring at first sight, and she told Heracles that if he followed her, she would make him always live in pleasure, adorned with the most splendid ornaments, like those she wore herself.¹²⁹ 11b And Virtue, he says, came with an unkempt face and rough clothing, and said: “But if you obey me, you will adorn yourself not with ornament or beauty that flows away and perishes, but with ornaments that are eternal and beautiful.” We are convinced that everyone who flees what only seems good, and pursues what is thought harsh and senseless, will receive happiness. For Vice has nothing imperishable and cannot make anything imperishable. So she imitates the imperishable and throws around her own deeds, as a screen, the qualities that belong to Virtue and are truly good. In this way she enslaves the earthbound among men, and she pins her own bad qualities on Virtue. But those who have understood what is truly good are also incorruptible in virtue. Every sensible person must think this about Christians, about “those from the contest,” and about those who did the kinds of things the poets told of their so-called gods. He should draw his conclusion from the fact that we despise even death, the thing everyone flees.¹³⁰

CHAPTER 12

Christians Proved Innocent by Their Contempt of Death.

12a I myself used to delight in the teachings of Plato. When I heard Christians slandered, and saw that they were fearless in the face of death and everything else thought terrifying, I concluded that it was impossible for

129. The story is in Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* (2.1), where Socrates tells it as the work of the teacher Prodicus.

130. The last sentence is obscure in the Greek, and the text may be damaged. The phrase “those from the contest” is uncertain. The Greek word can mean either an athletic contest or a labour. So it may mean athletes, or it may refer to followers of Heracles’ labours.

them to be living in vice and love of pleasure. What pleasure-loving or self-indulgent person, who thought feasting on human flesh a good thing, could welcome death and so be deprived of his own enjoyments? Would he not rather try by every means to go on living this present life forever, and to escape the notice of the rulers? Would he ever turn himself in to be put to death? The wicked demons have already caused this kind of thing to be done through certain evil men. These men put some people to death on the false charges against us. They also dragged our household slaves, or children, or poor women to the torture. By terrible torments they forced them to accuse us of those fabled deeds which these men themselves openly practice. We do not worry about these charges, because none of them is true of us, and we have the unbegotten and ineffable God as witness of our thoughts and our actions.

12b If we did these things, why would we not openly admit that they are good and present them as divine philosophy? We could say that we perform the mysteries of Kronos when we murder men. We could say that when we gorge ourselves with blood, as people claim we do, we are only doing what the idol you honor does. You sprinkle that idol not only with the blood of irrational animals but also with human blood, and the blood of the slain is poured out by the most distinguished and noble man among you. We could say that we imitate Zeus and the other gods by having intercourse with males and by sleeping with women without restraint. We could bring the writings of Epicurus and the poets as our defense. But we persuade people to flee these teachings, and to flee those who practice and imitate them, as we have also striven to do in this present discourse. For this we are attacked in every kind of way. But we do not care, since we know that God is the just overseer of all things. If only someone would even now climb up on some high platform and cry out in a tragic voice: “Be ashamed, be ashamed! You openly do these things yourselves, yet you charge them to the innocent. You take what belongs to yourselves and your gods and pin it on people who have no share in it, not even a little. Change your ways. Come to your senses.”¹³¹

131. Justin does not name the idol. Other early Christian writers, such as Tatian and Tertullian, say that human blood was offered at Rome to Jupiter Latiaris, and Justin may have this rite in mind.

CHAPTER 13

How the Word Has Been in All Men.

For I too, when I learned that the evil demons had thrown a wicked disguise over the divine teachings of the Christians to turn other people away, laughed at those who spread these lies, at the disguise itself, and at the opinion of the crowd. I confess that I pray and strive with all my strength to be found a Christian. This is not because Plato's teachings are foreign to Christ's, but because they are not in every respect the same, any more than the teachings of the others are: the Stoics, the poets and the prose writers. Each of them spoke well, through his share of the seminal divine Word, when he saw what was akin to it. But those who contradicted themselves on the more important points appear not to have had knowledge that cannot fail or understanding that cannot be refuted. So whatever has been said well by anyone belongs to us Christians. For after God we worship and love the Word who comes from the unbegotten and unspeakable God, since he also became man for our sake, so that by sharing in our sufferings he might also bring us healing. All the writers were able to see reality only dimly, through the seed of the Word implanted in them. A seed or likeness given according to a person's capacity is one thing. The thing itself is another, and sharing in it and imitating it come through the grace that is from him.¹³²

CHAPTER 14

Justin Prays that This Appeal Be Published.

We ask you, then, to add whatever you think right and to publish this little book, so that others too may come to know our teachings. Then they may be able to be freed from false opinion and from ignorance of what is good. By their own fault they become liable to punishment. This is so for three reasons. First, the ability to tell good from shameful is part of human nature. Second, they condemn us, though they do not know that we do the shameful things they speak of. Third, they take delight in gods who did such things and who even now demand similar things from people. And so, by sentencing us to death or chains or some other such penalty, as if we were doing these things, they condemn themselves, so that there is no need of other judges.¹³³

132. "Seminal" (spermatikos) means "of the seed." Justin pictures the Word sowing seeds of truth in all people.

CHAPTER 15

Conclusion.

If you post this publicly, we will make it known to everyone, so that, if they are able, they may change their minds. For this reason alone we have composed these words. Our teachings, judged soberly, are not shameful. They are higher than all human philosophy. If you will not grant that, they are at least not like the writings of Sotades, Philaenis, Arcestratus and Epicurus, and other such poetic teachings. Everyone is permitted to read these, whether spoken or written. We will stop now, having done what we could, and having added a prayer that all people everywhere may be counted worthy of the truth. May you also judge justly on your own behalf, in a way worthy of piety and philosophy.¹³⁴

133. The older translation loosens the logic here. In the Greek, the “because” clauses give the reasons why these people are answerable for their own punishment. It also adds the words “that so these things may be published to men,” which are not in this Greek text.

134. The older translation begins with a sentence about despising the teaching of Simon, which is not in this Greek text. It also reads “Dancers” for Arcestratus. Sotades and Philaenis were known for obscene verse and a sex manual. Arcestratus wrote a poem on fine eating.

Dialogue with Trypho

JUSTIN MARTYR

c. AD 155–165

A long conversation, written up by Justin about AD 155–160, between himself and a Jewish man named Trypho. Justin begins with the story of his own search through the philosophers and his meeting with an old Christian man by the sea. He then argues from the Old Testament that Jesus is the Messiah, that the old covenant has been replaced by a new one, and that Gentile believers are the true Israel. The surviving manuscript has gaps, including the opening and a stretch in chapter 74.

A note for readers. Justin reads the Old Testament as pointing to Christ at almost every turn, and in doing so he often quotes Scripture in a form that differs from our Bibles, and sometimes accuses Jewish teachers of cutting passages out. Scholars treat many of those charges with caution. The book is also a record of early Christian-Jewish argument, and some of its language about the Jews is harsh. Read it with that history in mind.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction.

¹One morning I was walking in the colonnades of the Xystus. A man met me with some others and said, “Hello, philosopher!” As soon as he said this, he turned around and walked along with me, and his friends turned with him. I greeted him in return and said, “What is it, exactly?”¹ ²He answered, “In Argos I was taught by Corinthus the Socratic that we should not despise or neglect people who wear this kind of dress. We should show them every kindness and talk with them, in case some benefit comes from the conversation, either to that man or to me. It is good for both, even if only one of them is helped. For this reason, whenever I see someone dressed like this, I gladly approach him. For the same reason I was glad to greet you just now,

1. The Xystus was a covered walkway, typically part of a gymnasium. The man greets Justin as “philosopher” because Justin wore the philosopher’s cloak (see the next section).

and these men are following me because they too hope to hear something good from you.”

3 “But who are you, best of mortals?” I said this to him in fun. He told me plainly both his name and his family. “I am called Trypho,” he said. “I am a Hebrew of the circumcision. I have escaped the war that has just taken place, and I spend most of my time in Greece and in Corinth.” I said, “And what benefit could you get from philosophy as great as the benefit you get from your own lawgiver and the prophets?” “Why not?” he said. “Don’t the philosophers devote all their discussion to God? Don’t questions about his single rule and his providence come up for them again and again? Isn’t this the very work of philosophy, to inquire about the divine?”² 4 “Yes,” I said, “that is our view too. But most philosophers have not even cared about this question: whether there is one god or several, and whether the gods look after each of us or not. They act as if this knowledge contributed nothing to happiness. They even try to persuade us that God takes care of the whole universe and of its kinds and species, but not of me and you and individual matters. Otherwise we would not be praying to him night and day.”

5 “It is not hard to see where this leads them. Those who hold these opinions have impunity and freedom to do and say whatever they want. They fear no punishment and hope for nothing good from God. And how could they? They say the same things will always happen, and that you and I will live again in the same way, having become neither better nor worse. Others suppose the soul is immortal and without a body. They think that even if they do something evil they will not pay the penalty, since what has no body cannot suffer. And since the soul is immortal, they think they need nothing more from God.”³ 6 Trypho smiled pleasantly and said, “And what about you? What do you think about these things? What is your view about God, and what is your philosophy? Tell us.”

2. Justin’s question echoes Homer’s *Iliad* (6.123), where Diomedes asks Glaucus, “Who are you, best of men?” Using a line of epic poetry in casual conversation is the playful touch. The “war” is commonly taken to be the Bar Kokhba revolt (about AD 132–135); the Greek says only “the war that has now happened.”

3. The belief that the same things recur forever is a Greek (especially Stoic) idea of endless cycles. The Greek does not name the school.

CHAPTER 2

Justin Describes His Studies in Philosophy.

¹ “I will tell you what seems right to me,” I said. “Philosophy is truly the greatest possession and the most precious in God’s sight, because it alone leads us to him and commends us to him. Those who have set their minds on philosophy are truly holy. But most people do not realize what philosophy is, or why it was sent down to human beings. If they did, there would be no Platonists, Stoics, Peripatetics, Theoretics or Pythagoreans, since this knowledge is one.”⁴ ² “I want to tell you why it became many-headed. Those who first took hold of it became famous for that reason. Those who followed them investigated nothing about the truth. They were simply struck by the first philosophers’ endurance and self-control and by the strangeness of their teachings. Each follower considered true whatever he had learned from his own teacher. Then these followers in turn handed down such teachings, and others like them, to those after them. Each school was called by the name of the man who was called the father of its teaching.”

³ “At the beginning I too wanted to meet one of these men, so I gave myself to a certain Stoic. I spent a good while with him, but I gained nothing more about God. He did not know about God himself, and he said this learning was not necessary. So I left him and went to another man, called a Peripatetic, who thought himself shrewd. He put up with me for the first few days, and then asked me to set a fee, so that our time together would not be unprofitable for us. For this reason I left him too, since I did not think he was a philosopher at all.”⁵ ⁴ While my soul was still eager to hear what was distinctive and choice about philosophy, I went to a very well-regarded Pythagorean, a man who thought highly of his own wisdom. I spoke with him, wanting to become his hearer and companion. He said, “Well? Have you studied music, astronomy and geometry? Or do you expect to see anything that contributes to happiness without first being taught these subjects? They draw the soul away from things perceived by the senses and make it fit for things perceived by the mind, so that it can see the beautiful itself and the good itself.”⁶

4. No ancient school called the “Theoretics” is otherwise well known, and scholars are unsure whom Justin means.

5. “Peripatetic” means a follower of Aristotle’s school. The Greek word for “shrewd” is damaged in the manuscript, so the reading is uncertain.

5 He praised these studies at length and called them necessary, and then sent me away, because I admitted to him that I knew nothing of them. I was naturally upset at having lost my hope, all the more because I had thought he really knew something. Then I considered how long I would have to spend on those studies, and I could not bear to put the matter off for so long. 6 I was at a loss, and it seemed good to me to meet with the Platonists as well, for their fame was great too. So I spent as much time as I could with a wise man who had recently come to our city and who held a leading place among the Platonists. I made progress, and every day I improved greatly. The thought of things without bodies captivated me, and the contemplation of the Ideas gave my mind wings. In a short time I supposed I had become wise, and in my foolishness I expected to see God at once, for this is the goal of Plato's philosophy.⁷

CHAPTER 3

Justin Narrates the Manner of His Conversion.

1 While I was in this state of mind, I wanted at one time to have complete quiet and to stay clear of the paths of men. So I walked to a place not far from the sea. When I came near the spot where I meant to be alone with myself, an old man began to follow a little way behind me. He was not someone to look down on, and his manner was gentle and dignified. I turned around to face him, stopped, and looked at him intently. 2 He said, "Do you know me?" I said I did not. "Then why," he said, "are you looking at me like that?" "I am surprised," I said, "that you happen to be in the same place as I am. I did not expect to see any man here." He said, "I am worried about some members of my household. They are away from home, so I have come to look out for them, in case they show up somewhere. But what are you doing here?" "I enjoy this kind of pastime," I said. "Here my conversation with myself is undisturbed, and places like this are the best for the love of discourse."⁸

3 "So you are a lover of words," he said, "but not at all a lover of work or of truth? Do you not try to be a man of action rather than a clever debater?"

6. The older translation puts the next sentence, in which the Pythagorean praises these studies and sends Justin away, at the end of this section. In the Greek it begins section 2.5.

7. "Ideas" are what Plato called the eternal, unchanging realities behind the things we see. They are also called "Forms."

“What greater work could anyone do,” I said, “than to show that reason governs all things? Once a person has grasped reason and rides upon it, he can look down on the error of others and on what they pursue. He can see that they do nothing sound or pleasing to God. Without philosophy and right reason no one can have understanding. So every person ought to study philosophy and count it the greatest and most honorable work. The other things come second and third. When they are tied to philosophy, they have modest value and are worth accepting. But when they are cut off from it, and philosophy does not go along with those who pursue them, they are crude and low.”⁹

⁴ “Does philosophy then bring happiness?” he said, breaking in. “Certainly,” I said, “and it alone.” “What is philosophy,” he said, “and what is its happiness? Tell me, if nothing prevents you.” “Philosophy,” I said, “is knowledge of what is, and a full recognition of the truth. Happiness is the reward of this knowledge and wisdom.”¹⁰ ⁵ “And what do you call God?” he said. “That which always stays the same in the same way, and is the cause of existence for everything else. This is God.” That was how I answered him. He was pleased to hear it, and he questioned me again: “Is ‘knowledge’ not a common name for different things? In all the arts, the person who knows one of them is called skilled, whether in generalship, in steering a ship, or in medicine. But in divine and human matters it is not so. Is there a knowledge that gives an understanding of human and divine things themselves, and then a full recognition of their divinity and righteousness?” “Certainly,” I said.¹¹

⁶ “What then? Is it the same to know man and God as it is to know music, arithmetic, astronomy, or anything like that?” “Not at all,” I said. “Then you have not answered me rightly,” he said. “Some kinds of knowledge come to us through learning or through some practice. Others give us knowledge by seeing. Suppose someone told you that in India there is a creature unlike all the others, but of such and such a kind, of many forms and varied. You would not know it before you saw it. You would not even be able to say any-

8. The Greek word for “love of discourse” is *philologia*. The old man takes it up in the next section as “lover of words.”

9. The older translation ends this section with the old man’s question, “Does philosophy, then, make happiness?” In the Greek that question begins section 3.4.

10. The older translation ends this section with the old man’s next question, “But what do you call God?” In the Greek that question begins section 3.5.

11. The older translation renders the Greek word for steering a ship (*kybernetike*) as “ruling.” The Greek names the pilot’s art alongside the general’s and the physician’s.

thing about it, unless you heard it from someone who had seen it.”¹² 7 “No, indeed,” I said. “How then,” he said, “could the philosophers think rightly about God, or say anything true, when they have no knowledge of Him and have never seen Him or heard Him?” “But, father,” I said, “the divine is not visible to the eyes, as other living creatures are. It can be grasped by the mind alone, as Plato says, and I believe him.”¹³

CHAPTER 4

The Soul of Itself Cannot See God.

1 “Does our mind, then,” he said, “have such great power? Or can it grasp Being when it has not taken it in through the senses? Will a man’s mind ever see God if it is not adorned with the Holy Spirit?” “Plato says,” I replied, “that the eye of the mind is of just this kind, and has been given to us for this purpose: that when it is pure it can see that very Being which is the cause of everything the mind perceives. It has no color, no shape, no size, nothing that the eye sees. It is simply Being itself, Plato says, beyond all essence, neither speakable nor utterable, but alone beautiful and good. It comes suddenly into souls that are naturally gifted, because of their kinship with it and their longing to see it.”¹⁴ 2 “What kinship, then, do we have with God?” he said. “Is the soul also divine and immortal, and a part of that very royal mind? And just as that mind sees God, can we also grasp the divine with our mind, and so be happy from now on?” “Certainly,” I said. “And do the souls of all living creatures take it in?” he asked. “Or is a man’s soul one kind, and a horse’s or a donkey’s another?” “No, the souls in all of them are the same,” I answered.¹⁵

3 “Then will horses and donkeys see God, or have they ever seen Him?” he asked. “No,” I said. “Nor will most people, except anyone who lives justly, purified by righteousness and every other virtue.” “So it is not because of kinship that a person sees God, nor because he has a mind, but because he is self-

12. The older translation ends this section with “Certainly not, I said”; that reply belongs to the start of the next section in the Greek, so it is placed there.

13. Justin probably has in mind Plato’s *Phaedrus* (247c), which describes true reality as visible only to the mind. The older translation adds “merely” (“cannot be seen merely by the eyes”), but the Greek says plainly that the divine is not visible to the eyes.

14. Justin, still speaking as a Platonist, strings together phrases from Plato. “The eye of the mind/soul” is from *Republic* 533d, “beyond all essence” from *Republic* 509b, “no color, no shape” from *Phaedrus* 247c, and “unspeakable” and “suddenly” from the *Seventh Letter* 341c–d.

15. “Royal mind” echoes Plato, *Philebus* 30d, which speaks of a “royal soul” and “royal mind” in the nature of Zeus.

controlled and just?" "Yes," I said, "and because he has that by which he perceives God." "What then? Do goats or sheep wrong anyone?" "Not anyone in any way," I said. ⁴ "Then according to your argument these animals will see God too?" he said. "No, for their body, being what it is, is a hindrance to them." He broke in: "If these animals could speak, be sure that they would have much more reason to abuse our body. But let us leave that now, and let it be granted to you as you say. Now tell me this: does the soul see while it is in the body, or after it is released from it?"

⁵ "While it is in human form," I said, "it is possible for it to attain this through the mind. But above all, when it has been released from the body and is alone by itself, it obtains what it had loved all along." "And does it remember this when it comes to be in a human being again?" "I do not think so," I said. "Then what is the benefit to those who have seen? What more does the one who has seen have than the one who has not, if he does not even remember that he saw?" ⁶ "I cannot say," I said. "And what happens to those souls that are judged unworthy of this sight?" he asked. "They are bound into the bodies of certain wild animals, and this is their punishment." "Do they know, then, that they are in such bodies for this reason, and that they have sinned in some way?" "I do not think so."

⁷ "Then they get no benefit from their punishment, it seems. In fact I would say they are not being punished at all, if they are not aware of the punishment." "No, indeed." "So souls neither see God nor pass into other bodies. For they would know that they are punished in this way, and would be afraid to commit even the slightest sin afterward. But that they are able to understand that God exists, and that righteousness and piety are good, I agree too," he said. "You are right," I said.

CHAPTER 5

The Soul is Not in Its Own Nature Immortal.

¹ "Then those philosophers know nothing about these matters, for they cannot even say what the soul is." "It seems not." "Nor should we call it immortal. If it is immortal, then clearly it is also unbegotten." "According to some who are called Platonists, it is both unbegotten and immortal." "Do you also say that the world is unbegotten?" "Some say so, but I do not agree with them." ² "You are right not to. What reason is there to think that a body so solid, so resistant, so composite, a body that changes, wastes away and comes into being every day, did not come from some beginning? But if the world

has been begotten, the souls must have been begotten too, and perhaps there is a time when they do not exist. For they came into being for the sake of human beings and the other living creatures, if you will say at all that they came into being separately and not together with their own bodies.” “That seems right.” “Then they are not immortal.” “No, since the world has appeared to us to be begotten.”¹⁶

3 “But I do not say that all souls die, for that would truly be a windfall for the wicked. What I say is this: the souls of the godly stay in some better place, and those of the unjust and wicked in a worse place, while they wait for the time of judgment. So the souls that have been shown worthy of God no longer die, but the others are punished for as long as God wills them both to exist and to be punished.” 4 “Is what you say like what Plato hints at in the *Timaeus* about the world? He says that the world is perishable in that it came into being, but that it will not be dissolved or meet the lot of death, because of God’s will. Does it seem to you that the same thing is being said about the soul, and about everything? For everything that exists after God, or will ever exist, has a perishable nature and can be wiped out and cease to be. God alone is unbegotten and imperishable, and that is why he is God. Everything else after him is begotten and perishable.”¹⁷

5 “For this reason souls both die and are punished. If they were unbegotten, they would not sin, or be full of folly, or be cowardly at one time and reckless at another. Nor would they ever willingly pass into pigs, snakes and dogs, and it would not be right to force them, if they were unbegotten. For the unbegotten is like the unbegotten, equal to it and the same as it, and neither in power nor in honor could one be put above the other.”¹⁸ 6 “So there are not many unbegotten things. If there were some difference among them, you would not find the cause of the difference, however much you searched. You would send your thought on without end, and at last, worn out, you would stop at one unbegotten being and say that this is the cause of

16. The Greek of “perhaps there is a time when they do not exist” is uncertain, and editors usually correct one word to read “at some time.” It could mean that souls once did not exist, or that they may someday cease to exist. The older translation takes it the first way.

17. Justin is probably thinking of *Timaeus* 41a–b, where the Maker tells the gods he has made that, because they came into being, they are not immortal or indissoluble in themselves, yet they will not be dissolved, because his will is a stronger bond.

18. “Pass into pigs, snakes and dogs” refers to the Pythagorean and Platonic teaching that souls are reborn in animal bodies. The two speakers discussed this earlier (chapter 4).

all.” “Did this escape Plato and Pythagoras,” I said, “those wise men who have become for us like a wall and a support of philosophy?”

CHAPTER 6

These Things Were Unknown Plato and Other Philosophers.

¹ “I do not care at all about Plato or Pythagoras,” he said, “or about anyone at all who holds such opinions. For the truth is this, and you can learn it from what follows. The soul is either life or has life. If it is life, it would make something else live, not itself, just as motion would move something else rather than itself. That the soul lives, no one would deny. But if it lives, it does not live by being life but by sharing in life. And what shares in something is different from that which it shares in. The soul shares in life, since God wills it to live.” ² “So, in the same way, it will no longer share in life when God does not will it to live. For living is not the soul’s own possession, as it is God’s. A human being does not exist forever, and the body is not always joined to the soul. When this harmony has to be dissolved, the soul leaves the body and the man is no more. In the same way, when the soul has to cease to be, the life-giving spirit departs from it, and the soul is no more. It too goes back to the place from which it was taken.” [*Genesis 3:19*]

CHAPTER 7

The Knowledge of Truth to Be Sought from the Prophets Alone.

¹ “Then whom,” I said, “should anyone still use as a teacher? Where could anyone get help, if the truth is not even in these men?” “Long ago,” he said, “long before all these so-called philosophers, there were men who were blessed, righteous and beloved by God. They spoke by the divine Spirit and foretold the things that are now happening. They are called prophets. They alone saw the truth and declared it to people. They did not hold back out of fear or respect for anyone, and they were not ruled by the love of glory. They said only what they had heard and seen, when they were filled with the Holy Spirit. ² “Their writings still survive. Anyone who reads them, and believes them, can gain very great help about the first principles and the end of things, and about whatever a philosopher ought to know. They did not give their words with proofs, because they stand above all proof, as trustworthy witnesses of the truth. What has happened, and what is happening now, compels you to agree with what was spoken through them.

3 “And yet they also deserved to be believed because of the miracles they performed. They glorified the Maker of all things as God and Father, and they proclaimed his Son, the Christ who comes from him. The false prophets, who are filled with the deceiving and unclean spirit, have never done this and do not do it now. They do dare to work certain miracles to astonish people, and they give praise to the spirits of error and to demons. But above all, pray that the gates of light be opened to you. These things cannot be seen or understood by everyone, but only by the person to whom God and his Christ grant understanding.”

CHAPTER 8

Justin by His Colloquy is Kindled with Love to Christ.

1 “When he had said these things, and many others which there is no time to tell now, he went away. He urged me to pursue what he had said, and I have not seen him since. But at once a fire was kindled in my soul, and I was seized with a love for the prophets and for those men who are friends of Christ. As I turned his words over in my mind, I found this to be the only philosophy that is safe and profitable. 2 “That is how, and why, I am a philosopher. I wish that everyone would share my resolve and never turn away from the words of the Saviour. They have an awe-inspiring power in them, enough to make those who stray from the right road ashamed. And they bring the sweetest rest to those who practice them diligently. So if you have any care for yourself, if you are striving for salvation, and if you trust in God, then this matter is not foreign to you. You may come to know the Christ of God, become complete, and be happy.”¹⁹

3 When I said this, my dear friend, Trypho’s companions burst out laughing. He himself smiled a little and said, “I accept the rest of what you say, and I admire your zeal for divine things. But it would be better for you to still keep to the philosophy of Plato or of someone else, practicing endurance, self-control and moderation, than to be deceived by false teachings and follow men who are worth nothing. If you stayed in that way of philosophy and lived blamelessly, you would still have hope of a better lot. But once you have abandoned God and put your hope in a man, what salvation is left for you?²⁰ 4 “So if you want to listen to me too, for I already count you a

19. “Become complete” translates a Greek word (*teleios*) meaning “perfect,” “mature” or “complete.” In the language of the pagan mystery cults the same word could mean “fully initiated,” which is how the older translation took it (“after being initiated”).

friend, first be circumcised. Then keep the Sabbath, the feasts and the new moons of God, as the custom is. In short, do everything written in the Law, and then perhaps you will find mercy from God. As for Christ, even if he has been born and is somewhere, he is unknown. He does not yet even know himself, and he has no power, until Elijah comes, anoints him, and makes him known to everyone. But you have accepted an empty rumor, and you have made up a Christ for yourselves. For his sake you are now recklessly destroying yourselves.”²¹

CHAPTER 9

The Christians Have Not Believed Groundless Stories.

¹ “You are excused, sir,” I said, “and may you be forgiven. You do not know what you are saying. You have been persuaded by teachers who do not understand the Scriptures, and you speak like a fortune-teller, saying whatever comes into your head. But perhaps you are willing to hear an account of this: how we have not been led astray, and how we will not stop confessing him, even if people heap reproaches on us, and even if the most terrible tyrant forces us to deny him. If so, then while you are here I will show you that we have not believed empty myths or unproven stories. We have believed words that are full of the divine Spirit, overflowing with power, and flourishing with grace.” ² Trypho’s companions laughed again and shouted something rude. I got up and was ready to leave, but he took hold of my cloak and said he would not let go until I had finished what I had promised. “Then do not let your friends make such a racket,” I said, “or behave so badly. If they wish, let them listen quietly. But if some more important business keeps them, let them go. As for us, let us withdraw somewhere, rest, and finish the discussion.”

³ Trypho agreed that we should do this. So we slipped away and went to the middle of the Xystus. Two of his companions mocked us and made fun of our earnestness, and then went off. When we reached the place where there are stone seats on both sides, Trypho’s friends sat down on one side.

20. “My dear friend” translates a singular Greek word (philtate). Justin is addressing the person for whom he is writing up the conversation, not Trypho’s companions. Later in the work he addresses a “Marcus Pompeius.”

21. The expectation that Elijah would come before the day of the Lord rests on Malachi 4:5. The further idea that the Messiah would stay hidden, unaware of himself, until Elijah anointed him is not found in the Old Testament. It reflects Jewish tradition of Justin’s time.

One of them brought up the war that had taken place in Judaea, and they began to talk about it.²²

CHAPTER 10

Trypho Blames the Christians for This Alone-The Non-Observance of the Law.

1 When they had stopped, I began again and spoke to them like this: “My friends, is there anything else you blame us for, other than this: that we do not live by the law, are not circumcised in the flesh as your forefathers were, and do not keep the Sabbath as you do? Or are our way of life and our character also slandered among you? I mean this: have you too come to believe about us that we eat human beings, and that after the feast we put out the lamps and wallow in unlawful sexual union? Or do you condemn us only for this, that we hold to such teachings, and believe, as you think, a false opinion?”²³ 2 “This is what we are amazed at,” said Trypho. “As for what the crowd says about you, it does not deserve belief, for it goes far beyond human nature. But I also know that the commands in what you call the Gospel are so marvelous and so great that I suppose no one could keep them. I took the trouble to read them myself.”

3 “But what puzzles us most is this. You claim to be devout and think yourselves better than everyone else, yet you are no different from them. Your way of life does not differ from that of the nations, since you keep neither the feasts nor the Sabbaths and do not practice circumcision. Further, you place your hopes on a man who was crucified, and yet you expect to receive some good from God while not doing his commandments. Have you not read: ‘That soul shall be cut off from its people which is not circumcised on the eighth day’? The same is laid down for foreigners and for slaves bought with money.”²⁴ [Genesis 17:14; Genesis 17:12-13] 4 “You, then, have immediately despised this covenant, and you neglect what follows from it. You try to persuade us that you know God, while you do none of the things that those who fear God do. So if you have a defense to offer on these points, and

22. The “war in Judaea” is probably the Bar Kokhba revolt (AD 132–135). In chapter 1 Trypho says he fled the recent war, though neither he nor Justin names it.

23. Charges of cannibalism and of incestuous orgies after the lamps were put out were common rumors about Christians in this period. Justin mentions them also in his First Apology (chapter 26).

24. Trypho quotes Genesis 17:14 as it stands in the Greek Old Testament (Septuagint), which includes “on the eighth day”; the Hebrew text lacks these words in that verse. The rule for foreigners and bought slaves comes from Genesis 17:12–13.

can show in what way you hope for anything at all, even though you do not keep the law, we would be glad to hear it from you above all. After that we can examine the other matters in the same way.”²⁵

CHAPTER 11

The Law Abrogated; The New Testament Promised and Given by God.

¹I answered him: “Trypho, there will never be another God, nor has there been one from eternity, except the one who made and ordered this whole universe. We do not think that we have one God and you another. He is the very one who brought your fathers out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand and an uplifted arm. We have not set our hope on anyone else, for there is no one else. Our hope is in the same God as yours, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. But we have not put our hope in him through Moses or through the law. If we had, we would be doing the same as you.” ²“But now, Trypho, I have read that there would be a final law and a covenant more authoritative than all others, which all people who lay claim to God’s inheritance must now keep. For the law given at Horeb is already old, and belongs to you alone. This new law belongs to all people without exception. A law set against a law has brought the earlier one to an end, and a covenant made later has likewise set aside the former. Christ has been given to us as an eternal and final law, and the covenant is faithful. After it there is no law, no ordinance, no commandment.”²⁶

³Have you not read what Isaiah says? “Listen to me, listen to me, my people, and you kings, give ear to me, for a law will go out from me, and my judgment will be a light for the nations. My righteousness is drawing near quickly, my salvation will go out, and nations will hope in my arm.” And through Jeremiah he speaks like this about this same new covenant: “Behold, days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah. It will not be like the covenant I made with their fathers on the day I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt.”²⁷ [*Isaiah 51:4-5; Jeremiah 31:31-32*] ⁴So God announced

25. The older translation has “persuade yourselves”; the Greek says they try to persuade “us” (Trypho and his companions).

26. Horeb is another name for Mount Sinai. The Greek sentence beginning “But now” breaks off. Here it is given as a plain statement for readability.

27. The quotations are Isaiah 51:4-5 and Jeremiah 31:31-32, following the Greek Old Testament (the Septuagint). Justin stops the Jeremiah passage before its end.

a new covenant that was yet to be established, and announced it as a light for the nations. And we see, and are convinced, that people are coming to God from idols and every other kind of wickedness, through the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified. They hold to their confession even to death and live in godliness. From these deeds, and from the power that goes with them, everyone can understand that he is the new law, the new covenant, and the hope of those from every nation who wait for the good things that come from God.²⁸

5 For we who have been brought to God through this crucified Christ are the true, spiritual Israelite people. We are the race of Judah, Jacob, Isaac and Abraham. God bore witness to Abraham, while he was still uncircumcised, because of his faith. He blessed him and called him father of many nations. This will be shown as our discussion goes on.²⁹ [*Genesis 17: 5; Romans 4: 11*]

CHAPTER 12

The Jews Violate the Eternal Law, and Interpret ILL that of Moses.

1 I went on to point out that elsewhere, too, Isaiah cries out: “Hear my words, and your soul will live, and I will make with you an everlasting covenant, the faithful holy things of David. Behold, I have given him as a witness to the nations. Nations that do not know you will call on you, peoples who do not understand you will flee to you for refuge, because of your God, the Holy One of Israel, because he has glorified you.”³⁰ [*Isaiah 55: 3-5*] 2 You have dishonored this very law, and you have treated his new holy covenant with contempt. Even now you neither accept it nor repent of your evil deeds. For your ears are still stopped up, your eyes are blinded, and your heart has grown thick. Jeremiah cried out, and even so you do not listen. The Law-giver is here, and you do not see him. The poor have good news preached to them, the blind see, and you do not understand.³¹ [*Isaiah 6: 10; Matthew 11: 5*]

3 Now a second circumcision is needed, yet you take great pride in the flesh. The new law wants you to keep the sabbath always. You rest for one day

28. The older English has “attendant miracles.” The Greek word (dynamis) means “power,” and it can refer to miraculous power, so “miracles” is a possible reading. Here the more general “power” is kept.

29. On Abraham, see Genesis 15:6 and 17:5. Paul makes the same point, that Abraham was counted righteous before he was circumcised and is father of many nations, in Romans 4:9–17.

30. The quotation is Isaiah 55:3–5 in the Greek Old Testament. Where the older English has “the people,” the Greek has “nations.” Where it has “mercies,” the Greek has “holy things” (ta hoshia), the same phrase quoted in Acts 13:34. The older English runs on into what is here 12.2.

and think you are godly, not understanding why it was commanded you. And if you eat unleavened bread, you say you have fulfilled God's will. The Lord our God does not take pleasure in these things. If any among you is a perjurer or a thief, let him stop. If any is an adulterer, let him repent. Then he has kept the delightful and true sabbaths of God. If anyone does not have clean hands, let him wash, and he is clean.³² [*Joshua 5:2; Isaiah 1:16*]

CHAPTER 13

Isaiah Teaches that Sins are Forgiven Through Christ's Blood.

¹For Isaiah was certainly not sending you to a bathhouse to wash away murder and your other sins there. Not even all the water of the sea would be enough to cleanse them. No, as one would expect, the saving bath he spoke of was this one, even long ago: the bath for those who repent. They are no longer cleansed by the blood of goats and sheep, or the ashes of a heifer, or offerings of fine flour. They are cleansed by faith, through the blood of Christ and his death. He died for this very reason, as Isaiah himself said when he spoke like this:³³ [*Hebrews 9:13*] ²“The Lord will uncover his holy arm before all the nations, and all the nations and the ends of the earth will see the salvation that comes from God. Depart, depart, depart! Go out from there and touch nothing unclean. Go out from the midst of her. Be set apart, you who carry the vessels of the Lord, for you do not go out in confusion. For the Lord will go before you, and the one who gathers you together is the Lord, the God of Israel. Behold, my servant will understand, and he will be lifted up and greatly glorified.”³⁴ [*Isaiah 52:10–13*]

³“Just as many will be astonished at you, so your appearance and your glory will be without honor among men. In the same way many nations will marvel at him, and kings will shut their mouths. For those who were told nothing about him will see, and those who have not heard will understand. Lord, who believed our report? And to whom has the arm of the Lord been

31. The words about ears, eyes and heart echo Isaiah 6:10 (compare Jeremiah 5:21). For the last sentence compare Matthew 11:5 and Luke 7:22, which echo Isaiah 61:1.

32. “Delightful” echoes Isaiah 58:13, where the Greek Old Testament uses the same word for the sabbath. “Let him wash, and he is clean” echoes Isaiah 1:16.

33. The older English says the bath “followed” those who repented. The Greek says it was “for” them. The older English also places the first words of the Isaiah quotation in this section. In the Greek used here, the quotation begins in the next section.

34. The older English has “deal prudently” and “be ye clean,” following the Hebrew as the King James Version renders it. Justin’s Greek says “will understand” (synēsei) and “be set apart.”

revealed? We made our announcement before him like a child, like a root in thirsty ground.” [Isaiah 52:14-15; Isaiah 53:1-2] 4 He has no form or glory. We saw him, and he had no form or beauty. His appearance was without honor, falling short of the sons of men. He is a man struck down, who knows how to bear sickness, because his face is turned away. He was dishonored and not esteemed. This is the one who bears our sins and suffers pain for us, and we considered him to be in toil, under a blow, and in ill-treatment.³⁵ [Isaiah 53:2-4]

5 But he was wounded because of our sins and made sick because of our lawless acts. The discipline that brings our peace was upon him, and by his bruise we were healed. All of us have gone astray like sheep; each person has gone astray in his own way. And the Lord handed him over for our sins, and because he has been ill-treated he does not open his mouth. He was led like a sheep to slaughter, and like a lamb silent before its shearer, so he does not open his mouth.³⁶ [Isaiah 53:5-7] 6 In his humiliation his judgment was taken away. Who will describe his generation? For his life is taken from the earth; because of the lawless acts of my people he has come to death. And I will give the wicked in place of his burial, and the rich in place of his death, because he did no lawless act, and no deceit was found in his mouth. And the Lord wills to cleanse him of the blow. If you give an offering for sin, your soul will see a long-lived offspring.³⁷ [Isaiah 53:8-10]

7 And the Lord wills to lift the toil from his soul, to show him light, to form him with understanding, and to justify the righteous one who serves many well. And he himself will bear our sins. Therefore he will inherit many, and he will divide the spoils of the strong, because his soul was handed over to death and he was counted among the lawless. He himself bore the sins of many, and he was handed over because of their lawless acts. [Isaiah 53:10-12] 8 Rejoice, barren woman who does not bear; break out and shout, you who are not in labor, for the children of the desolate woman are more than those of the woman who has a husband. For the Lord said: Enlarge the place of your tent and of your curtains. Fix them in place, do not hold back.

35. “Struck down” and “under a blow” render the same Greek word (plēgē), which means a blow or wound and can also mean a plague.

36. The older English “the Lord laid on Him our iniquities” follows the Hebrew as rendered in the King James Version. Justin’s Greek says the Lord “handed him over” for our sins.

37. The older translation reads “If he has been given for sin.” The Greek has a plural “you” (dōte), “if you give.”

Lengthen your cords and strengthen your stakes. Spread out to the right and to the left. Your offspring will inherit nations, and you will fill the desolate cities with people.³⁸ [*Isaiah 54: 1-3*]

9 Do not be afraid because you were put to shame, and do not be dismayed because you were reproached. For you will forget your everlasting shame, and you will not remember the reproach of your widowhood. For the Lord made a name for himself, and he who rescued you, the God of Israel himself, will be called so throughout all the earth. The Lord has called you like a woman who has been abandoned and is faint of spirit, like a woman hated from her youth. [*Isaiah 54: 4-6*]

CHAPTER 14

Righteousness is Not Placed in Jewish Rites, But in the Conversion of the Heart Given in Baptism by Christ.

1 So we have believed through the washing of repentance and of the knowledge of God. As Isaiah cries out, this washing came about because of the lawlessness of the peoples of God. We know that this is the very baptism he foretold, the only one able to cleanse those who have repented. This is the water of life. But the cisterns you dug for yourselves are broken and of no use to you. For what good is that baptism which makes bright only the flesh and the body?³⁹ [*Isaiah 53: 8; Jeremiah 2: 13*] 2 Be baptized in the soul from anger, from greed, from envy, from hatred, and see, the body is clean. For this is the symbol of the unleavened bread: that you not practice the old works of the evil leaven. But you have understood everything in a fleshly way, and you think it is godliness if you do such things while your souls are full of deceit and, in a word, every kind of wickedness. [*1 Corinthians 5: 7-8*]

3 This is also why, after the seven days of eating unleavened bread, God commanded them to knead new leaven for themselves. That means doing other works, and not imitating the old and worthless ones. And to show that this is what this new Lawgiver asks of you, I will go over again the words I quoted before, together with others I left out. Isaiah says them like this:⁴⁰

38. The Greek verb (*katoikieis*) means “you will cause to be inhabited,” that is, “you will populate.” The older translation’s “make the desolate cities to be inherited” is probably a slip for “inhabited,” as in the King James Version of *Isaiah 54:3*.

39. The older translation says the washing “has been ordained”; the Greek says only that it “has come about” (*gegonen*). The Greek also has “peoples” (plural) of God. Both “water of life” and “cisterns you dug for yourselves... broken” echo *Jeremiah 2:13*. There God’s people forsake him, “the fountain of the water of life” in the Greek version, and dig broken cisterns.

4 “Listen to me, and your soul will live. I will make an everlasting covenant with you, the holy and sure blessings of David. See, I have given him as a witness to the nations, a ruler and commander of nations. Nations that do not know you will call on you, and peoples who do not know you will flee to you for refuge, for the sake of your God, the Holy One of Israel, because he has glorified you.”⁴¹ [Isaiah 55:3-5] 5 “Seek God, and when you find him, call on him while he is near you. Let the wicked forsake his ways, and the lawless man his plans. Let him turn back to the Lord, and he will receive mercy, because he will abundantly forgive your sins. For my plans are not like your plans, and my ways are not like your ways. As far as heaven is from the earth, so far is my way from your way, and your thoughts from my mind.”⁴² [Isaiah 55:6-9]

6 “For as the snow or rain comes down from heaven and does not return until it has soaked the earth, and made it bring forth and sprout, and given seed to the sower and bread to eat, so will my word be that goes out of my mouth. It will not return until everything I wanted is accomplished, and I will make my commands succeed.” [Isaiah 55:10-11] 7 “For you will go out with joy and be taught with gladness. The mountains and hills will leap up to welcome you, and all the trees of the fields will clap their branches. Instead of the thorn bush the cypress will come up, and instead of the weed the myrtle will come up. And the Lord will be for a name and an everlasting sign, and it will never fail.”⁴³ [Isaiah 55:12-13] 8 Trypho, I said, some of these words and others like them, spoken by the prophets, refer to the first coming of Christ. In it he was proclaimed as one who would appear without honor, without beauty, and mortal. Others refer to his second coming, when he will be present in glory above the clouds. Then your people will see and recognize the one whom they pierced, as Hosea, one of the twelve prophets, and Daniel foretold.”⁴⁴ [Isaiah 53:2-3; Zechariah 12:10; Daniel 7:13]

40. No passage of the Law spells out a command to make new leaven after the seven days. Justin is drawing a lesson from the fact that leavened bread was used again once the feast was over.

41. Justin is quoting Isaiah 55:3-5. The shift from “him” to “you” is in Isaiah itself.

42. Justin continues with Isaiah 55:6-9 in its Greek (Septuagint) form.

43. Justin’s quotation ends here with Isaiah 55:12-13 in its Greek (Septuagint) form.

44. The words about seeing “the one whom they pierced” come from Zechariah 12:10, not Hosea. Zechariah is also one of the twelve minor prophets, so Justin, or a later copyist, has named the wrong book. Coming “above the clouds” points to Daniel 7:13.

CHAPTER 15

In What the True Fasting Consists.

¹ So learn to keep the true fast of God, as Isaiah says, so that you may please God. ² Isaiah cried out this way: “Shout aloud with strength and do not hold back. Lift up your voice like a trumpet and announce to my people their sins, and to the house of Jacob their lawless acts. They seek me day after day and long to know my ways, like a people that has done righteousness and has not abandoned the judgment of God. [*Isaiah 58:1-2*] ³ “They now ask me for righteous judgment and long to draw near to God. They say, ‘Why have we fasted, and you did not see? Why have we humbled our souls, and you did not notice?’ For on the days of your fasting you find your own pleasure, and you drive hard all those under your control. Look, you fast for lawsuits and fights, and you strike the lowly with your fists. Why do you fast for me up to this day, so that your voice is heard in a shout? [*Isaiah 58:2-4*]

⁴ “This is not the fast I chose, a day when a man humbles his soul. Even if you bend your neck like a hoop and spread sackcloth and ashes under you, you still will not call that a fast, a day acceptable to the Lord. This is not the fast I chose, says the Lord. Instead, loosen every bond of injustice, untie the knots of violent dealings, set free those who are crushed, and tear up every unjust contract. [*Isaiah 58:5-6*] ⁵ “Break your bread for the hungry, and bring the homeless poor into your house. If you see someone naked, clothe him, and do not turn away from your own relatives. Then your light will break forth early, and your garments will quickly spring up. Your righteousness will go before you, and the glory of God will surround you. Then you will cry out, and God will listen to you. While you are still speaking he will say, ‘Look, I am here.’⁴⁵ [*Isaiah 58:7-9*]

⁶ “If you take away from yourself the chain, the raised hand, and the word of grumbling, and give your bread to the hungry from your heart, and satisfy the humbled soul, then your light will rise in the darkness, and your darkness will be like noon. Your God will be with you always, and you will be filled just as your soul desires. Your bones will grow fat, and you will be like a well-watered garden, like a spring of water, or like a land where water never

45. Justin’s Greek here reads “your garments” (*himatia*). The Septuagint and the Hebrew of Isaiah 58:8 both have “your healing” (in Greek, *iamata*). The two Greek words look alike, so this may be a copying error.

fails.”⁴⁶ [Isaiah 58: 9-11] 7 So circumcise the foreskin of your heart, as the words of God demand in all these sayings.⁴⁷ [Deuteronomy 10: 16; Jeremiah 4: 4]

CHAPTER 16

Circumcision Given as a Sign, that the Jews Might Be Driven Away for Their Evil Deeds Done to Christ and the Christians.

1 God himself also cried out through Moses, saying: “Circumcise the hardness of your hearts, and do not stiffen your necks any longer. For the Lord your God is Lord of lords, a great, mighty and fearful God, who shows no partiality and takes no bribe.” And in Leviticus: “Because they transgressed and looked down on me, and because they walked crookedly against me, I also walked crookedly with them, and I will destroy them in the land of their enemies. Then their uncircumcised heart will be put to shame.”⁴⁸ [Deuteronomy 10: 16-17; Leviticus 26: 40-41] 2 For the circumcision of the flesh, which comes from Abraham, was given as a sign. It was so that you would be set apart from the other nations and from us. It was so that you alone would suffer what you are now suffering, and justly: that your lands would be desolate and your cities burned with fire, that strangers would eat your crops in front of you, and that none of you would set foot in Jerusalem.⁴⁹ [Isaiah 1: 7]

3 For you are not distinguished from other people by anything except the circumcision in your flesh. None of you, I think, will dare to say that God did not foresee, and does not foresee, what is going to happen, or that he does not prepare in advance what each person deserves. So these things have come upon you rightly and justly. 4 For you killed the Righteous One, and before him his prophets. And now you reject those who hope in him, and the one who sent him, God the Almighty and Maker of all things. As far as it depends on you, you dishonor them, cursing in your synagogues those who believe in Christ. You do not have the authority to kill us with your own

46. Isaiah 58:9-11, quoted from the Greek Old Testament (the Septuagint). The Greek word for “the raised hand” means a stretching out or lifting of the hand, probably a gesture of threat or accusation. The Hebrew behind most modern Bibles has “the pointing of the finger.”

47. This is Justin’s own appeal, not part of the quotation; it echoes Deuteronomy 10:16 and Jeremiah 4:4.

48. Deuteronomy 10:16-17 and Leviticus 26:40-41, quoted freely from the Greek Old Testament, so the wording differs from common Bible versions; the final Greek verb here means “be put to shame.”

49. The words about desolate lands, burned cities and strangers eating the crops echo Isaiah 1:7. After the Bar Kokhba revolt (AD 132-135), the emperor Hadrian banned Jews from entering Jerusalem, and Justin is referring to that ban.

hands, because of those who now hold power. But as often as you have been able, you have done even this.⁵⁰ [1 Thessalonians 2:15] 5 This is why God cries out to you through Isaiah, saying: “See how the righteous man has perished, and no one understands. For the righteous man has been taken away from before the face of injustice. He will be in peace; his burial has been taken out of the midst. Come here, you lawless sons, offspring of adulterers and children of a prostitute. Whom were you mocking? Against whom did you open your mouth? Against whom did you let loose your tongue?”⁵¹ [Isaiah 57:1-4]

CHAPTER 17

The Jews Sent Persons Through the Whole Earth to Spread Calumnies on Christians.

1 The other nations are not guilty of this injustice against us and against Christ to the extent that you are. You are the ones who caused them to hold this wicked prejudice against the Righteous One and against us who belong to him. You crucified him, the only blameless and righteous man, through whose wounds there is healing for those who come to the Father through him. Afterward, even though you knew that he had risen from the dead and gone up into heaven, as the prophets had foretold, you did not repent of the evil you had done. Instead, you chose men from Jerusalem and sent them out into all the earth. They said that a godless sect of Christians had appeared, and they spread the same stories that all who do not know us repeat against us. So you are to blame not only for your own wrongdoing but for that of all other people as well.⁵² [Isaiah 53:5]

2 And Isaiah rightly cries out: “Because of you my name is blasphemed among the nations.” And: “Woe to their soul, for they have planned an evil plan against themselves, saying, ‘Let us bind the righteous man, because he is troublesome to us.’ So they will eat the fruits of their own deeds. Woe to the lawless man; evil will happen to him according to the works of his hands.” And again, in another place: “Woe to those who drag their sins along as with a long rope, and their lawless acts as with the strap of a heifer’s yoke, who say, ‘Let his speed come near, and let the plan of the Holy One of Israel

50. “The Righteous One” is a title for Christ, as in Acts 7:52, where Stephen also links the killing of the prophets with the killing of “the Righteous One.” “Those who now hold power” are the Roman authorities.

51. Isaiah 57:1–4, quoted from the Greek Old Testament; the Greek words can also be punctuated “His burial will be in peace; he has been taken from the midst,” as in the Septuagint.

52. “Through whose wounds there is healing” echoes Isaiah 53:5. The Greek word (μῶλον) means a wound, bruise or stripe.

come, so that we may know it.’ Woe to those who call evil good and good evil, who make light darkness and darkness light, who make bitter sweet and sweet bitter.”⁵³ [*Isaiah 52:5; Isaiah 3:9-11; Isaiah 5:18-20*] ³ So against the only blameless and righteous Light, sent to men by God, you were eager to have bitter, dark and unjust things spread through all the earth. For he seemed troublesome to you when he cried out among you: “It is written, ‘My house is a house of prayer, but you have made it a den of robbers.’” And he overturned the tables of the money-changers in the temple.⁵⁴ [*Matthew 21:12-13; Isaiah 56:7; Jeremiah 7:11*]

⁴ And he cried out, “Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! You tithe mint and rue, but you do not take to heart the love of God and justice. You are whitewashed tombs, beautiful on the outside but inside full of dead men’s bones.” And to the scribes he said, “Woe to you, scribes! You hold the keys, and you do not go in yourselves, and you stop those who are going in. You blind guides!”⁵⁵ [*Luke 11:42; Matthew 23:27; Luke 11:52; Matthew 23:24*]

CHAPTER 18

Christians Would Observe the Law, If They Did Not Know Why It Was Instituted.

¹ Trypho, you have read what our Saviour taught, as you yourself admitted. So I do not think it out of place that I have also recalled a few of his sayings alongside those of the prophets.⁵⁶ ² So wash yourselves even now, and become clean, and remove the wickedness from your souls. God commands you to wash in this washing, and to be circumcised with the true circumcision. For we too would simply keep this circumcision of the flesh, and the Sabbaths, and all the feasts, if we did not know why they were commanded to you. It was because of your lawless deeds and your hardness of heart.⁵⁷ [*Isaiah 1:16*]

³ We patiently endure everything that wicked men and demons work against us, even unspeakable things, death and tortures. We pray that those

53. Isaiah 52:5 (also quoted in Romans 2:24), Isaiah 3:9–11 and Isaiah 5:18–20, quoted from the Greek Old Testament. “Let us bind the righteous man” is the Septuagint reading of Isaiah 3:10, which differs from the Hebrew.

54. Jesus’ words, as in Matthew 21:13, combine Isaiah 56:7 and Jeremiah 7:11.

55. Justin blends sayings found in Matthew 23 and Luke 11. “Mint and rue” and “the love of God” match Luke 11:42. The “whitewashed tombs” match Matthew 23:27. The “keys” and “you do not go in yourselves” are close to Luke 11:52. “Blind guides” is from Matthew 23:16 and 23:24.

56. The older translation says “I do not think that I have done foolishly.” The Greek (οὐκ ἄτοπον) means “not out of place” or “not unreasonable.”

57. The opening words echo Isaiah 1:16 (“Wash yourselves, make yourselves clean; remove the evil of your deeds”). Justin’s wording is close to the Greek Old Testament.

who treat us this way may find mercy, and we do not want to pay anyone back even in the smallest way, as the new Lawgiver commanded us. So how would we not also keep the things that do us no harm? I mean fleshly circumcision, the Sabbaths, and the feasts.

CHAPTER 19

Circumcision Unknown Before Abraham. The Law Was Given by Moses on Account of the Hardness of Their Hearts.

1 Then Trypho said, "This is what is worth wondering about. You endure such things, yet you do not keep all the other things we are now inquiring about." 2 This circumcision is not necessary for everyone, but for you alone, so that, as I said before, you may suffer what you now justly suffer. Nor do we accept that useless baptism of the cisterns. It has nothing to do with this baptism of life. That is why God has cried out, "You have forsaken him, the living spring, and dug for yourselves broken cisterns, which will not be able to hold water."⁵⁸ [Jeremiah 2:13] 3 You who are circumcised in the flesh need our circumcision. But we who have this one need nothing of that kind. If circumcision were necessary, as you suppose, God would not have formed Adam uncircumcised. He would not have looked with favor on the gifts of Abel, who offered sacrifices in uncircumcised flesh. Enoch would not have pleased God while uncircumcised, and "he was not found, because God took him."⁵⁹

[Genesis 4:4; Genesis 5:24; Hebrews 11:5]

4 Lot, uncircumcised, was saved from Sodom, when those same angels and the Lord sent him on his way. Noah, the beginning of another race, went into the ark uncircumcised, together with his children. Melchizedek, the priest of the Most High, was uncircumcised. Abraham, the first to receive circumcision in the flesh, gave him tithes as offerings, and Melchizedek blessed him. God made known through David that he would appoint the eternal priest after Melchizedek's order.⁶⁰ [Genesis 14:18-20] 5 So this circumcision was necessary for you alone, so that the people would be no people and the nation no nation, as Hosea, one of the twelve prophets, says. For all the

58. The quotation is Jeremiah 2:13. Justin's text reads "him," where the Hebrew and the Greek Old Testament read "me."

59. The Greek says Enoch pleased God while uncircumcised, following Genesis 5:24 in the Greek Old Testament ("Enoch pleased God, and he was not found, because God took him"); compare Hebrews 11:5, and for Abel, see Genesis 4:4.

60. For Melchizedek and Abraham, see Genesis 14:18-20. The promise "through David" is Psalm 110:4: "You are a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek."

righteous men I named earlier pleased God without keeping the Sabbath. After them came Abraham and all his sons down to Moses. In Moses' time your people proved unjust and ungrateful toward God, making a calf in the wilderness.⁶¹ [*Hosea 1: 9*] 6 For this reason God adapted himself to that people and commanded them to bring sacrifices as if to his name, so that you would not practice idolatry. But you did not keep even that command. You even sacrificed your children to demons. He also commanded you to keep the Sabbath, so that you would remember God. His word shows this when it says, "that you may know that I am God, who redeemed you."⁶² [*Ezekiel 20: 12*]

CHAPTER 20

Why Choice of Meats Was Prescribed.

1 He also commanded you to abstain from certain foods, so that even in eating and drinking you would keep God before your eyes. You were prone to fall away, and quick to turn from the knowledge of him. As Moses says, "The people ate and drank, and rose up to play." And again: "Jacob ate and was filled, and grew fat, and the beloved one kicked. He grew fat, he grew thick, he grew broad, and he forsook God who made him." God had allowed Noah, who was righteous, to eat every living creature except flesh with its blood, which is carrion. Moses told you this in the book of Genesis.⁶³ [*Exodus 32: 6; Deuteronomy 32: 15; Genesis 9: 3-4*] 2 When Trypho was about to say, "as the green herbs," I spoke first: Will you not hear the words "as the green herbs" the way God said them? God made the herbs as food for man, and in the same way he gave the animals for eating meat. But you say that a distinction was then laid down for Noah, because we do not eat certain herbs.⁶⁴ [*Genesis 9: 3*]

3 It should not be believed the way you explain it. First, I will not spend time on this point, though I could say and maintain that every green plant is food and can be eaten. But even if we do tell plants apart and do not eat them

61. Justin seems to have in mind Hosea 1:9 ("you are not my people"). His wording is a loose recollection rather than an exact quotation. The calf is the golden calf of Exodus 32.

62. On sacrificing children to demons, compare Psalm 106:37. The closing quotation resembles Ezekiel 20:12 and 20:20, where the Sabbath is given "that they may know that I am the LORD." Justin's wording does not match any single verse exactly.

63. The quotations are Exodus 32:6 and Deuteronomy 32:15. "The beloved one" follows the Greek Old Testament, where the Hebrew has "Jeshurun." The permission given to Noah is in Genesis 9:3-4.

64. "As the green herbs" is from Genesis 9:3 ("as the green herbs, I have given you all things"). Justin takes it to mean that Noah was given animals for food just as freely as plants.

all, we do not avoid some because they are common or unclean. We avoid them because they are bitter, or deadly, or thorny. But all that are sweet, very nourishing and good, whether from the sea or from the land, we seek out and eat. [*Acts 10:14*] 4 In the same way God told you through Moses to abstain from unclean, unjust and lawless things. For even while you were eating manna in the desert and seeing all the wonders God did for you, you made a golden calf and worshipped it. So he rightly cries out all the time, “Foolish sons, in whom there is no faith.”⁶⁵ [*Deuteronomy 32:20*]

CHAPTER 21

Sabbaths Were Instituted on Account of the People's Sins, and Not for a Work of Righteousness.

1 Further, God commanded you to keep the Sabbath as a sign, as I said before, and gave you the other commands too, because of your wrongdoing and that of your fathers. He also shows that it was because of the nations, so that his name would not be profaned among them, that he let some of you stay alive at all. His own words can prove this to you. 2 They were spoken through Ezekiel like this: “I am the Lord your God. Walk in my commands, keep my ordinances, do not mingle with the practices of Egypt, and make my Sabbaths holy. They will be a sign between me and you, so that you may know that I am the Lord your God. But you provoked me to bitterness, and your children did not walk in my commands and did not keep my ordinances to do them. A man who does these things shall live by them. But they profaned my Sabbaths.”⁶⁶ [*Ezekiel 20:19-21*]

3 “And I said I would pour out my wrath on them in the desert, to finish my anger against them. But I did not do it, so that my name would not be profaned at all before the nations. I brought them out before their eyes. And I lifted up my hand over them in the desert, to scatter them among the nations and disperse them through the lands, because they did not do my ordinances, they rejected my commands, they profaned my Sabbaths, and their eyes followed the devices of their fathers.”⁶⁷ [*Ezekiel 20:21-24*] 4 “And I gave them commands that were not good, and ordinances by which they will not

65. The quotation is close to Deuteronomy 32:20, “sons in whom there is no faith.” The word “foolish” may come from a similar phrase in Jeremiah 4:22.

66. This quotation, continued through 21.4, is drawn freely from Ezekiel 20:19-26.

67. In Ezekiel, “lifting up the hand” is the gesture of taking an oath, so the sense is that God swore he would scatter them.

live. And I will defile them in their houses, when I pass through all that opens the womb, so that I may destroy.”⁶⁸ [Ezekiel 20:25-26]

CHAPTER 22

So Also Were Sacrifices and Oblations.

¹ He likewise commanded these things because of the sins of your people and their idolatries, not because he needed such offerings. Hear how he speaks about them through Amos, one of the twelve, who cries out:⁶⁹ ² “Woe to those who long for the day of the Lord. What is this day of the Lord to you? It is darkness and not light. It is as when a man escapes from the face of a lion and a bear meets him, and he runs into his house and rests his hands on the wall, and a snake bites him. Is not the day of the Lord darkness and not light, a gloom with no brightness in it? I hate and reject your feasts, and I will not smell anything at your festivals.”⁷⁰ [Amos 5:18-21] ³ “Even if you bring me your whole burnt offerings and your sacrifices, I will not accept them, and I will not look on your peace offerings. Take away from me the noise of your songs and psalms. I will not listen to your instruments. Let justice roll like water, and righteousness like a torrent that cannot be crossed. Did you bring me slaughtered animals and sacrifices in the desert, house of Israel? says the Lord. And you took up the tent of Moloch and the star of your god Raphan, the images you made for yourselves.”⁷¹ [Amos 5:22-26]

⁴ “And I will send you into exile beyond Damascus, says the Lord; the God Almighty is his name. Woe to those who live in luxury in Zion, and to those who trust in the mountain of Samaria. Those who are named among the leaders have harvested the first of the nations; the house of Israel has gone in for itself. Cross over, all of you, to Calneh and see. From there go to Hamath the great, and from there go down to Gath of the foreigners. These are the strongest of all these kingdoms. Is their territory larger than your territory?”⁷² [Amos 5:27; Amos 6:1-2] ⁵ “You who are coming to an evil day, who draw near and lay hold of false sabbaths; who sleep on ivory beds and live in

68. In the Hebrew of Ezekiel 20:26, it is the people who “cause to pass through” all that opens the womb. This means offering firstborn children in sacrifice (compare 20:31, “through the fire”).

69. “The twelve” are the twelve shorter prophetic books at the end of the Old Testament (the Minor Prophets), of which Amos is one.

70. This quotation, continued in 22.3, is from Amos 5:18–26.

71. Stephen quotes a closely similar Greek form of Amos 5:25–27 in Acts 7:42–43. “Moloch” and “Raphan” are the Septuagint’s renderings. The Hebrew of Amos 5:26 reads differently, and its meaning is uncertain.

reckless luxury on their couches; who eat lambs from the flocks and suckling calves from the midst of the herds; who clap along to the sound of instruments, and counted these things as lasting and not as passing away; who drink wine from bowls and anoint themselves with the finest ointments, and felt no pain over the ruin of Joseph. Therefore they will now be captives, first among the powerful men who are being deported. The house of the evil-doers will be overturned, and the neighing of horses will be taken away from Ephraim.”⁷³ [*Amos 6:3-7*]

6 And again through Jeremiah: “Gather your meats and your sacrifices and eat them. For I gave your fathers no command about sacrifices or drink offerings on the day I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt.”⁷⁴ [*Jeremiah 7:21-22*] 7 And again through David, in the forty-ninth psalm, he spoke in this way: “The God of gods, the Lord, has spoken, and has called the earth from the rising of the sun to its setting. From Zion comes the splendor of his beauty. God will come openly, our God, and he will not keep silent. Fire will burn before him, and a violent storm will rage all around him. He will summon the heaven above and the earth, so that he may judge his people. Gather to him his holy ones, who make a covenant with him by sacrifices. And the heavens will declare his righteousness, for God is judge.”⁷⁵

8 “Hear, my people, and I will speak to you, Israel, and I will bear witness against you. I am God, your God. I will not rebuke you over your sacrifices; your burnt offerings are always before me. I will not accept calves from your house, or goats from your flocks. For all the wild animals of the field are mine, the cattle on the mountains and the oxen. I know all the birds of the sky, and the beauty of the field is with me.” 9 “If I were hungry, I would not tell you, for the world is mine and everything in it. Shall I eat the flesh of bulls or drink the blood of goats? Offer to God a sacrifice of praise, and pay your vows to the Most High. Call on me in the day of affliction, and I will

72. “Calneh” is spelled “Chalane” in the Greek. “Gath of the foreigners” means Gath of the Philistines. The Greek word is allophyloi, “people of another tribe,” which the Septuagint regularly uses for the Philistines.

73. Justin is quoting Amos 6:3-7 from the Greek Old Testament (Septuagint). Where Justin’s Greek has “false sabbaths,” the Hebrew text (followed by most English Bibles) speaks of bringing near “the seat of violence.”

74. Jeremiah 7:21-22.

75. The “forty-ninth psalm” follows the Greek (Septuagint) numbering. In most English Bibles it is Psalm 50.

deliver you, and you will glorify me. But to the sinner God said: Why do you recite my statutes and take my covenant into your mouth? You have hated discipline, and you have thrown my words behind you.”

¹⁰ “If you saw a thief, you ran along with him, and you took your share with an adulterer. Your mouth overflowed with evil, and your tongue wove deceit together. You sat and spoke against your brother, and you set a stumbling block against your mother’s son. You did these things, and I stayed silent. In your lawlessness you supposed that I would be like you. I will rebuke you and set your sins before your face. Understand this, you who forget God, or he will seize you and there will be no one to rescue you. A sacrifice of praise will glorify me, and there is the way in which I will show him my salvation.” ¹¹ So God does not take sacrifices from you, and he did not command them in the beginning as though he were in need. He commanded them because of your sins. The same is true of the temple in Jerusalem, which was called by his name. He did not acknowledge it as his house or court because he was in need. He did so in order that, by paying attention to him in this way too, you would not practice idolatry. And that this is so, Isaiah says: “What kind of house have you built for me? says the Lord. Heaven is my throne, and the earth is the footstool of my feet.”⁷⁶ [*Isaiah 66:1*]

CHAPTER 23

The Opinion of the Jews Regarding the Law Does an Injury to God.

¹ But if we do not acknowledge these things, we will fall into absurd ideas. It would be as if the God of Enoch and all the others were not the same God. They had no circumcision in the flesh, and they did not keep sabbaths or the other practices, since it was Moses who commanded these things. Or it would be as if God had not always wanted every race of people to practice the same righteous things. To admit such things plainly appears ridiculous and foolish. ² We must confess that God, who is always the same, commanded these and similar things because of sinful men. In this way we show him to be loving toward people, foreknowing, in need of nothing, just and good. If this is not how things stand, answer me, gentlemen: what do you think about these questions we are looking into?⁷⁷ ³ No one answered anything. So I went on: “For these reasons, Trypho, I will proclaim to you, and to any who want to

⁷⁶ Isaiah 66:1.

⁷⁷ The Greek “ō andres” (“gentlemen”) is plural: Justin is addressing Trypho and his companions together.

become proselytes, a divine message that I heard from that man. You see that the elements of nature are never idle and keep no Sabbath. Stay as you were born. For if there was no need of circumcision before Abraham, nor of Sabbath-keeping, feasts and offerings before Moses, then there is no need of them now either, after Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was born by God's plan of the virgin Mary, who was of the family of Abraham.⁷⁸

⁴ For Abraham himself was justified and blessed while he was still uncircumcised, because of the faith he put in God, as the Scripture shows. He received circumcision as a sign, not for righteousness. Both the Scriptures and the facts themselves force us to admit this. So it was rightly said about that people that the soul which is not circumcised on the eighth day will be cut off from its people.⁷⁹ [Genesis 15:6; Romans 4:10-11; Genesis 17:14] ⁵ The fact that the female sex cannot receive circumcision in the flesh shows that this circumcision was given as a sign and not as a work of righteousness. For God made women just as able as men to keep everything that is just and virtuous. We do see that the bodily form of male and female has been made different. Yet we know that neither is righteous or unrighteous because of that, but because of godliness and righteousness.

CHAPTER 24

The Christians' Circumcision Far More Excellent.

¹ "We could also show this, gentlemen," I said: "that through these things God was announcing some mystery in the eighth day, more than in the seventh. But so that I do not seem to be turning aside to other topics now, understand what I cry out: the blood of that circumcision has been done away, and we have put our faith in saving blood. There is now another covenant, and another law has gone out from Zion."⁸⁰ [Isaiah 2:3] ² Jesus Christ circumcises all who are willing, as was proclaimed long ago, with knives of stone. The purpose is that they become a righteous nation, a people that keeps faith, holds to the truth and keeps peace.⁸¹ [Joshua 5:2; Isaiah 26:2-3] ³ "Come with me, all you who fear God, who want to see the good things of Jerusalem. Come,

78. "The elements" (στοιχεῖα) probably refers to the heavenly bodies and the natural order, which keep working on the Sabbath.

79. Justin is drawing on Genesis 15:6 ("Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him as righteousness") and Genesis 17:14, which the last sentence quotes from the Greek Old Testament. His argument closely follows Paul in Romans 4:10-11, where Abraham receives circumcision as a sign after being counted righteous by faith while uncircumcised.

80. "A law has gone out from Zion" echoes Isaiah 2:3 and Micah 4:2.

let us walk in the light of the Lord, for he has forsaken his people, the house of Jacob. Come, all nations, let us gather to Jerusalem, which is no longer attacked because of the lawless deeds of the peoples. ‘For I became visible to those who did not seek me; I was found by those who did not ask for me,’ he cries through Isaiah.⁸² [*Isaiah 2: 5-6; Isaiah 65: 1*]

4 ‘I said, Here I am, to nations that did not call on my name. I spread out my hands all day long to a disobedient and contradicting people, to those who walk in a way that is not good, but after their own sins. They are a people who provoke me to my face.’ [*Isaiah 65: 1-3*]

CHAPTER 25

The Jews Boast in Vain that They are Sons of Abraham.

1 “Those who justify themselves and say they are children of Abraham will want to inherit even a small place along with us, as the Holy Spirit cries out through Isaiah, speaking as if in their person: 2 ‘Turn back from heaven and look down from your holy and glorious house. Where is your zeal and your strength? Where is the abundance of your mercy, that you have held it back from us, Lord? For you are our Father, since Abraham did not know us, and Israel did not recognize us. But you, Lord, our Father, rescue us; from the beginning your name has been upon us. Why, Lord, have you led us astray from your way and hardened our heart so that we do not fear you?’⁸³ [*Isaiah 63: 15-17*] 3 Turn back for the sake of your servants, for the sake of the tribes of your inheritance, so that we may inherit a little of your holy mountain. We have become as we were from the beginning, when you did not rule over us and your name was not called upon us. If you open the heavens, trembling will seize the mountains before you, and they will melt as wax melts before fire. Fire will burn up the adversaries, and your name will be made known among the adversaries; the nations will be thrown into confusion at your presence. [*Isaiah 63: 17-19; Isaiah 64: 1-2*]

4 When you do glorious things, trembling will seize the mountains before you. From of old we have not heard, and our eyes have not seen, any God but you and your works. He will show mercy to those who repent. He

81. “Long ago” could also be translated “earlier,” meaning earlier in this conversation. The older translation takes it that way (“as was declared above”).

82. “I became visible to those who did not seek me” begins a quotation of Isaiah 65:1, which Paul also quotes in Romans 10:20.

83. Justin now quotes Isaiah 63:15–64:12 at length, following the Greek Old Testament.

will meet those who do what is right, and they will remember your ways. Look, you were angry, and we sinned. Because of this we went astray, and we all became unclean. All our righteousness is like the rag of a woman who sits apart. We have dropped off like leaves because of our lawless deeds, and so the wind will carry us away.⁸⁴ [Isaiah 64:3-6] 5 No one calls on your name or thinks to take hold of you, because you have turned your face away from us and handed us over because of our sins. Now turn back, Lord, for we are all your people. Your holy city has become a desert. Zion has become like a desert, and Jerusalem a curse. The house, our holy place, and the glory which our fathers blessed, has been burned with fire, and all the glorious nations have fallen together. After all this you held back, Lord, and kept silent, and humbled us severely.”⁸⁵ [Isaiah 64:7-12]

6 Then Trypho said, “What do you mean by this? Do you mean that none of us will inherit anything on God’s holy mountain?”

CHAPTER 26

No Salvation to the Jews Except Through Christ.

1 I said, “I do not mean that. I mean that those who persecuted Christ, and still persecute him, and do not repent will inherit nothing on the holy mountain. But the Gentiles who believed in him and repented of the sins they committed will inherit it. They will share it with the patriarchs, the prophets, and all the righteous who are descended from Jacob. This is true even though they do not keep the Sabbath, are not circumcised, and do not observe the feasts. They will most certainly inherit God’s holy inheritance.

2 For God speaks through Isaiah like this: ‘I, the Lord God, called you in righteousness. I will take hold of your hand and strengthen you. I have given you as a covenant of a people, as a light of the nations, to open the eyes of the blind, to bring out of bonds those who are shackled, and out of the prison house those who sit in darkness.’⁸⁶ [Isaiah 42:6-7]

3 And again: ‘Raise a signal for the nations. For look, the Lord has made it heard to the end of the earth. Say to the daughters of Zion: See, your Saviour has come, holding his own reward, and his work before his face. And

84. “A woman who sits apart” refers to a woman during her monthly period, when she was ritually unclean under the Law (Leviticus 15:19-24).

85. “All the glorious nations” is how the Greek reads here. The Greek Old Testament of Isaiah 64:11 has “all our glorious things,” so “nations” may be a copyist’s slip.

86. Isaiah 42:6-7, quoted from the Greek Old Testament.

he will call them a holy people, redeemed by the Lord. And you will be called a city that is sought after and not forsaken.’ ‘Who is this coming from Edom, with the redness of his garments from Bozrah? Who is this, splendid in his robe, coming up with force and might?’ ‘I am the one who speaks righteousness and the judgment of salvation.’⁸⁷ [Isaiah 62:10-12; Isaiah 63:1] 4 ‘Why are your garments red, and your clothes like those of a man who has trodden the winepress?’ ‘I am covered with trampled grapes. I trod the winepress completely alone. Of the nations there was no man with me. I trampled them in my anger, crushed them like earth, and brought their blood down to the ground. For the day of repayment has come upon them, and the year of redemption is here. I looked, and there was no helper. I took notice, and no one took hold to help. So my arm brought deliverance, and my wrath arose. I trampled them in my anger, and brought their blood down to the ground.’⁸⁸ [Isaiah 63:2-6]

CHAPTER 27

Why God Taught the Same Things by the Prophets as by Moses.

1 Trypho said, “Why do you pick out whatever you like from the words of the prophets, and then fail to mention the passages that plainly command us to keep the Sabbath? For Isaiah says this: ‘If you turn your foot away from the Sabbaths, so as not to do your own pleasure on the holy day, and call the Sabbaths delightful and holy to your God, and do not lift your foot to work or speak a word from your own mouth, then you will trust in the Lord. He will lift you up to the good things of the land and feed you with the inheritance of Jacob your father. For the mouth of the Lord has spoken this.’”⁸⁹ [Isaiah 58:13-14] 2 I said, “My friends, I did not leave out such prophecies because they oppose me. I left them out because you have understood, and still understand, this: God commands you through all the prophets to do the same things he commanded through Moses, and he keeps crying out the same things because you are hard-hearted and ungrateful toward him. His aim is that, even so, you might repent at last and please him. Then you would no

87. Isaiah 62:10-12 and 63:1, quoted from the Greek Old Testament. “Bosor” is the Greek form of Bozrah.

88. Isaiah 63:2-6, quoted from the Greek Old Testament. The words “full of trampled grapes” can be read as the end of the question or as the beginning of the answer. This version takes them as the speaker describing himself.

89. Isaiah 58:13-14, quoted from the Greek Old Testament.

longer sacrifice your children to demons, or be partners with thieves, or love bribes and chase after payment. You would not refuse justice to orphans or ignore the widow's case, and you would not have hands full of blood."⁹⁰ [*Isaiah* 1: 23; *Isaiah* 1: 15]

3 "For the daughters of Zion walked with their necks held high, winking their eyes as they played, and dragging their long robes." And he cries out: "All have turned aside, all together have become useless. There is no one who understands, not even one. With their tongues they practised deceit. Their throat is an open grave. The poison of asps is under their lips. Ruin and misery are in their paths, and the way of peace they have not known."⁹¹ [*Isaiah* 3: 16; *Romans* 3: 12-17; *Isaiah* 59: 7-8] 4 So just as these commands were given in the beginning because of your wickedness, in the same way, because you have persevered in these evils, or rather have grown worse in them, he calls you through the same commands to remember him and to know him. But you are a hard-hearted people, without understanding, blind and lame, "sons in whom there is no faith," as he himself says. You honor him only with your lips, while your heart is far from him, and you teach your own teachings and not his.⁹² [*Deuteronomy* 32: 20; *Isaiah* 29: 13; *Matthew* 15: 8-9]

5 Tell me, did God want the high priests to sin on the Sabbaths when they offered the sacrifices? Or did he want those to sin who are circumcised, and who circumcise, on the Sabbath day? For he commanded that newborn boys be circumcised on the eighth day without exception, even if it falls on the Sabbath. Could he not have had the newborn circumcised one day before the Sabbath or one day after it, if he knew that it was evil to do so on the Sabbaths? And what about those who lived before Moses and Abraham, who were called righteous and were pleasing to him, though they were not circumcised and did not keep the Sabbaths? Why did he not teach them to do these things?⁹³ [*Matthew* 12: 5; *John* 7: 22-23; *Leviticus* 12: 3]

90. "Sacrifice your children to demons" echoes Psalm 106:37 (105:37 in the Greek Old Testament). The rest draws on *Isaiah* 1:23 and 1:15.

91. The first sentence is *Isaiah* 3:16. The lines after "all have turned aside" come from the chain of Psalm and *Isaiah* verses (Psalms 14, 5, and 140, and *Isaiah* 59:7-8) that Paul also strings together in *Romans* 3:10-18.

92. The Greek pronoun (autou) can mean "him" (God) or "it." This translation takes it as referring to God.

93. The Greek word is "high priests" (archiereis), though here it may be used loosely for the priests who served in the temple.

CHAPTER 28

True Righteousness is Obtained by Christ.

¹ Trypho said: “We have heard you raise this point before, and we stopped to consider it. To tell the truth, it deserves consideration. But it does not seem right to me to say, as most people do, that ‘it seemed good to him.’ That is always the excuse of people who cannot answer the question being asked.” ² I said: Since I base my proofs and my discussions on the Scriptures and on the facts, do not put it off or hesitate to believe me, even though I am uncircumcised. The time left to you to become proselytes is short. If Christ comes before you have done so, you will repent in vain and weep in vain, for he will not listen to you. Jeremiah cried out to the people: “Plow new ground for yourselves, and do not sow among thorns. Circumcise yourselves to the Lord, and circumcise the foreskin of your heart.”⁹⁴ [*Jeremiah 4:3-4*]

³ So do not sow among thorns and in unplowed ground, where you can have no fruit. Know Christ, and see: a good field, good and rich, is in your hearts. For “Behold, days are coming, says the Lord, when I will visit all who are circumcised in their foreskin: Egypt, and Judah, and Edom, and the sons of Moab. For all the nations are uncircumcised, and the whole house of Israel is uncircumcised in heart.”⁹⁵ [*Jeremiah 9:25-26*] ⁴ You see that God does not want this circumcision, which was given as a sign. For it is of no use to the Egyptians, or to the sons of Moab, or to the sons of Edom. But even if someone is a Scythian or a Persian, if he knows God and his Christ and keeps the eternal righteous requirements, he has received the good and beneficial circumcision. He is a friend of God, and God rejoices in his gifts and offerings.⁹⁶

⁵ My friends, I will give you the very words of God, spoken to the people through Malachi, one of the twelve prophets. They are these: “I have no pleasure in you, says the Lord, and I will not accept your sacrifices from your hands. For from the rising of the sun to its setting my name has been glorified among the nations, and in every place a sacrifice is offered to my name, a pure sacrifice. For my name is honored among the nations, says the Lord,

94. Jeremiah 4:3-4.

95. Jeremiah 9:25-26.

96. The Greek of the last clause does not name its subject. It is usually read, as here, to mean that God rejoices in the man's gifts and offerings (compare 29.1). It could also be read to mean that the man himself rejoices in God's gifts and offerings.

but you profane it.”⁹⁷ [Malachi 1:10-12] 6 And through David he said: “A people whom I did not know served me; at the hearing of the ear they obeyed me.”⁹⁸

CHAPTER 29

Christ is Useless to Those Who Observe the Law.

1 Let us glorify God, we nations gathered together, because he has visited us also. Let us glorify him through the King of glory, through the Lord of hosts. For he has shown his favor to the nations also, and he receives sacrifices from us more gladly than from you. What further need have I of circumcision, when God himself has given testimony to me? What need have I of that baptism, when I have been baptized with the Holy Spirit?⁹⁹ 2 I think that by saying this I can persuade even those of little understanding. These words were not put together by me, nor dressed up by any human skill. David sang them, Isaiah announced them as good news, Zechariah proclaimed them, and Moses wrote them down. Do you recognize them, Trypho? They are stored up in your writings, or rather, not yours but ours. For we obey them, but you read them and do not grasp the meaning in them.¹⁰⁰

3 So do not be vexed, and do not reproach us for the foreskin of our bodies, which God himself formed. And do not think it a terrible thing that we drink hot water on the Sabbaths. For God carries on the same management of the world on this day as on all the others. The chief priests were also commanded to make the offerings on this day just as on the other days. And all those many righteous men who did none of these legal observances have been given a good witness by God himself.¹⁰¹

97. Malachi 1:10-12, quoted in shortened form. Justin’s Greek “has been glorified” follows the Septuagint; the Hebrew has no verb here, and English versions often render it as future (KJV: “shall be great”).

98. Psalm 18:43-44 (compare 2 Samuel 22:44-45).

99. “That baptism” probably means the Jewish ritual washings. Earlier in the Dialogue (chapter 14), Justin contrasts them with Christian baptism as a washing that cleanses only the flesh and body.

100. Justin seems to be speaking broadly of the witness of Scripture. The passages he has just quoted come from Jeremiah, Malachi, and the Psalms, not from Isaiah or Zechariah.

101. On the Sabbath offerings, see Numbers 28:9-10. Jesus makes a similar argument about the priests in Matthew 12:5.

CHAPTER 30

Christians Possess the True Righteousness.

¹ Rather, blame your own wickedness for the fact that God can be slandered even by people with no understanding, as though he had not always taught everyone the same righteous requirements. To many people such teachings seemed unreasonable and unworthy of God. They had not received the grace to understand that he called your people, who were doing evil and were in a sickness of the soul, to turn back and repent in spirit. They also did not understand that the prophecy which came after the death of Moses is everlasting. ² This was also said through the psalm, gentlemen. And that we, who have been made wise by these teachings, declare them sweeter than honey and the honeycomb is clear from this: we will not deny his name even to the point of death. It is also plain to everyone that we who believe in him ask him to keep us safe from “strangers,” that is, from the wicked and deceiving spirits. The word of prophecy says this by speaking in the character of one of those who believe in him.¹⁰²

³ For we constantly beg God, through Jesus Christ, to keep us safe from the demons. These are foreign to the worship of God, and we used to bow down to them. We ask this so that, after turning to God through Christ, we may be blameless. For we call him our helper and redeemer. Even the demons tremble at the power of his name. To this day, when they are commanded in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, the governor of Judea, they submit. From this it is plain to everyone that his Father gave him such great power that even the demons are subject to his name and to the plan fulfilled in his suffering. [*Luke 10:17*]

CHAPTER 31

If Christ's Power Be Now So Great, How Much Greater at the Second Advent!

¹ But if such great power is shown to have accompanied the plan of his suffering, and still accompanies it, how great will the power be at his glorious coming! For he will come on the clouds as a son of man, as Daniel declared, with angels arriving with him. [*Daniel 7:13*] ² These are the words: “I kept watching until thrones were set in place, and the Ancient of Days sat down.

102. “Strangers” follows the Greek Old Testament of Psalm 19:13 (“spare your servant from strangers”). The Hebrew text, followed by most English Bibles, reads “presumptuous sins” or “the arrogant.”

His clothing was white as snow, and the hair of his head like clean wool. His throne was like a flame of fire, and its wheels were blazing fire. A river of fire poured out and came forth from before him. A thousand thousands served him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him. Books were opened, and the court took its seat.”¹⁰³ [Daniel 7:9-10] 3 “Then I took note of the sound of the great words that the horn is speaking. And the beast was beaten to death, and its body was destroyed and given over to burning fire. The rest of the beasts were removed from their rule, and a length of life was given to them until a set season and time. I kept watching in a vision of the night, and look, one like a son of man was coming with the clouds of heaven. He came up to the Ancient of Days and stood before him, and those standing by brought him near.”¹⁰⁴ [Daniel 7:11-13]

4 And royal authority and honor were given to him, and all the nations of the earth, tribe by tribe, and all glory serve him. His authority is an everlasting authority that will never be taken away, and his kingdom will never be destroyed. My spirit shuddered within my body, and the visions in my head troubled me. I approached one of those standing there and asked him for the exact truth about all this. He answered me and made known the meaning of the words: “These great beasts are four kingdoms, which will perish from the earth. They will not receive the kingdom forever, even forever and ever.”¹⁰⁵ [Daniel 7:14-18] 5 “Then I wanted to know exactly about the fourth beast, which was destroying everything and was exceedingly terrifying. Its teeth were iron and its claws bronze; it devoured and crushed, and trampled the remainder with its feet. I also wanted to know about the ten horns on its head, and about the one that grew up among them, because of which three of the earlier horns fell out. That horn had eyes and a mouth speaking great things, and its appearance was greater than the others. I watched that horn making war against the saints and overpowering them, until the Ancient of Days came. He gave judgment to the saints of the Most High, the time arrived, and the saints of the Most High took possession of the kingdom.”¹⁰⁶ [Daniel 7:19-22]

103. Justin quotes Daniel 7:9-10 as he knew it in Greek, so the wording may differ slightly from your Bible.

104. Continuing Daniel 7, here verses 11-13, in Justin’s Greek wording.

105. The last sentence follows Justin’s Greek as it has come down to us. In Daniel 7:18 it is “the saints of the Most High” who receive the kingdom forever. Justin’s text seems to have lost that clause, perhaps through a copying slip.

6 “And this was said to me about the fourth beast: ‘There will be a fourth kingdom on the earth, which will be different from all these kingdoms. It will devour the whole earth, lay it waste, and grind it to pieces. As for the ten horns, ten kings will arise, and after them another. He will surpass the earlier ones in evil, and he will bring three kings low. He will speak words against the Most High and overthrow other saints of the Most High, and he will intend to change seasons and times. And it will be handed over into his hands for a time, and times, and half a time.’”¹⁰⁷ [Daniel 7:23-25] 7 “Then the judgment sat, and they will take away his dominion, to wipe it out and destroy it to the end. The kingdom, the authority, and the greatness of the kingdoms in the places under heaven were given to the holy people of the Most High, to reign in an everlasting kingdom. All authorities will be subject to him and obey him. Here the account ends. I, Daniel, was gripped by great amazement, my condition was changed, and I kept the matter in my heart.”¹⁰⁸ [Daniel 7:26-28]

CHAPTER 32

Trypho Objecting that Christ is Described as Glorious by Daniel, Justin Distinguishes Two Advents.

1 When I stopped, Trypho said, “Sir, these Scriptures and others like them compel us to wait for one who is glorious and great, who, as a son of man, receives the everlasting kingdom from the Ancient of Days. But this Christ of yours, as you call him, became dishonored and without glory. He even fell under the most extreme curse in the law of God, for he was crucified.”¹⁰⁹ [Daniel 7:13-14; Deuteronomy 21:23] 2 I said to him, “Gentlemen, suppose I had not shown from the Scriptures I laid out earlier that it was said his appearance would be without glory and his family line beyond telling. Suppose I had not shown that in place of his death the rich would be put to death, that by his bruise we were healed, and that he would be led like a sheep. And suppose I had not explained that he would have two comings: one in which he was pierced by you, and a second in which you will recognize the one you

106. Continuing Daniel 7, here verses 19–22.

107. The Greek verb for “handed over” is singular and has no stated subject. In Daniel 7:25 it is the saints who are given into his hand.

108. This is Daniel 7:26–28. The Greek word *hexis* means a person’s state or condition; the Aramaic of Daniel 7:28 speaks of his color or countenance changing.

109. The curse is Deuteronomy 21:23, “anyone hanged on a tree is under God’s curse.” Paul applies this verse to Christ in Galatians 3:13.

pierced, and your tribes will mourn, tribe by tribe, the women by themselves and the men by themselves...”¹¹⁰ [*Isaiah 53: 2; Isaiah 53: 5-9; Zechariah 12:10-12*]

3 “So that what we are looking into may now be clearer to you, I will give you other words spoken through the blessed David. From them you will understand that the Holy Spirit of prophecy calls the Christ Lord. You will also understand that the Lord of all, the Father, brings him up from the earth and seats him at his right hand until he makes his enemies a footstool for his feet. This has been happening ever since our Lord Jesus Christ was taken up into heaven after rising from the dead. The times are being fulfilled, and the one who will speak blasphemous and daring things against the Most High is already at the doors. Daniel announces that he will hold sway for a time, and times, and half a time.”¹¹¹ [*Psalm 110: 1; Daniel 7:25*] 4 And you, not knowing how long he is going to hold power, think otherwise. For you explain “a time” as meaning a hundred years. But if that is so, the man of lawlessness must reign at the very least three hundred and fifty years, so that we can count the words of the holy Daniel, “and times,” as meaning only two times.¹¹² [*Daniel 7:25; 2 Thessalonians 2:3*]

5 I have said all this in digressions for this purpose. I want you at last to be persuaded by what God said against you, that you are “senseless sons,” and by this: “Therefore, behold, I will go on to remove this people, and I will remove them; and I will take away the wisdom of the wise, and I will hide the understanding of their men of understanding.” Then you may stop deceiving yourselves and those who listen to you, and learn from us, who have been made wise by the grace of Christ.¹¹³ [*Jeremiah 4:22; Isaiah 29:14*] 6 Now the words spoken through David are these: “The Lord said to my Lord, ‘Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet.’ The Lord will send out the rod of your power from Zion; rule in the midst of your enemies. With you is the rule on the day of your power, in the splendors of your holy ones; from the womb, before the morning star, I have begotten you. The Lord has sworn and will not change his mind: ‘You are a priest forever, after

110. Justin is drawing on Isaiah 53 (vv. 2, 8, 9, 5, 7 in the Greek Old Testament) and on Zechariah 12:10–12 for the two comings.

111. The older translation says the Father brought him “again” from the earth. The Greek has no “again”; it says he brings him up from the earth.

112. The older translation puts “the man of sin”; the Greek says “the man of lawlessness.” The same variation is found in the manuscripts of 2 Thessalonians 2:3.

113. The second quotation is Isaiah 29:14, close to the Greek Old Testament wording. Paul quotes the last part of the same verse, in a slightly different form, in 1 Corinthians 1:19.

the order of Melchizedek.’ The Lord is at your right hand; he crushed kings on the day of his wrath. He will judge among the nations; he will fill the land with corpses. He will drink from the brook by the way; therefore he will lift up his head.”¹¹⁴

CHAPTER 33

Ps. CX. Is Not Spoken of Hezekiah. He Proves that Christ Was First Humble, Then Shall Be Glorious.

¹ I went on: “I am well aware that you dare to explain this psalm as if it were spoken of King Hezekiah. But I will show you at once, from the words themselves, that you are mistaken. It says, ‘The Lord has sworn and will not change his mind,’ and ‘You are a priest forever, after the order of Melchizedek,’ along with what comes before and after. Not even you will dare to claim that Hezekiah was a priest, or that he is God’s everlasting priest. But that this was said about our Jesus, these very words make clear. Yet your ears are blocked and your hearts are hardened.” ² God declared with an oath, because of your unbelief, that he is high priest after the order of Melchizedek: “The Lord has sworn and will not change his mind: ‘You are a priest forever, after the order of Melchizedek.’” What this means is as follows. Moses records that Melchizedek was priest of the Most High. He was a priest of those who were in uncircumcision, and he blessed Abraham, who was circumcised and brought him tithes. In the same way God made plain that his everlasting priest, whom the Holy Spirit also calls Lord, would be priest of those in uncircumcision. And those in circumcision who come to him, that is, who believe in him and seek blessings from him, he will also receive and bless. The end of the psalm shows that he would first be lowly as a man and then be exalted: “He will drink from the brook by the way,” and along with it, “therefore he will lift up his head.”¹¹⁵ [*Genesis 14: 18-20*]

CHAPTER 34

Nor Does Ps. LXXII. Apply to Solomon, Whose Faults Christians Shudder at.

¹ “Moreover, to convince you that you have understood nothing of the Scriptures, I will recall another psalm, spoken to David by the Holy Spirit.

114. “The land” is supplied for sense; the Greek says only “he will fill corpses,” that is, he will fill places with the dead.

115. Hebrews 7 also argues from Melchizedek and Psalm 110:4 that Christ’s priesthood is greater than the Levitical priesthood.

You say it was written about Solomon, who was also a king of yours. But this psalm too was spoken about our Christ. You deceive yourselves through words that can mean more than one thing. For where it says, ‘The law of the Lord is blameless,’ you do not take it to mean the law that was to come after the law of Moses. You take it to mean the one given through Moses, even though God loudly proclaimed that he would establish a new law and a new covenant.”¹¹⁶ [*Psalm 19:7; Jeremiah 31:31*] ² “And where it says, ‘O God, give your judgment to the king,’ you say the psalm was spoken about Solomon, since he was a king. But the words of the psalm plainly proclaim that it was spoken about the everlasting King, that is, about Christ. For Christ is proclaimed as King and Priest, God and Lord, angel and man, commander-in-chief, stone, and a child being born. He is proclaimed as one who first became subject to suffering, then went up into heaven, and will come again with glory and hold an everlasting kingdom. This I prove from all the Scriptures.”¹¹⁷ [*Psalm 72:1*]

³ But so that you may also understand what I have said, I will give you the words of the psalm. They are these: “O God, give your judgment to the king, and your righteousness to the king’s son, to judge your people in righteousness and your poor in judgment. Let the mountains take up peace for the people, and the hills righteousness. He will judge the poor of the people and save the sons of the needy, and he will humble the slanderer. He will endure as long as the sun, and before the moon, to generations of generations. He will come down like rain upon a fleece, and like a drop that drips upon the earth.”¹¹⁸ ⁴ “In his days righteousness will rise, and a fullness of peace, until the moon is taken away. He will rule from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the ends of the world. The Ethiopians will fall down before him, and his enemies will lick the dust. The kings of Tarshish and the islands will bring gifts; the kings of the Arabians and of Sheba will bring gifts. All the kings of the earth will worship him, and all the nations will serve him, because he rescued the poor from the powerful, and the needy who had no helper.”¹¹⁹

116. For God’s promise of a new covenant, see Jeremiah 31:31.

117. “Commander-in-chief” (*archistratēgos*) is the title of the figure who appears to Joshua in the Greek of Joshua 5:14, “commander of the army of the Lord.” Justin later applies that passage to Christ.

118. Justin quotes Psalm 72 from the Greek version, which sometimes differs from the Hebrew. In verse 5, for example, the Hebrew has “They will fear you as long as the sun endures,” where the Greek has “He will endure as long as the sun.”

5 “He will spare the poor and needy, and he will save the souls of the needy. He will redeem their souls from interest and from injustice, and his name will be honored in their sight. And he will live, and some of the gold of Arabia will be given to him. They will pray for him continually, and bless him all day long. There will be a support in the land; on the tops of the mountains he will be lifted up. His fruit will be higher than Lebanon, and people will blossom out from the city like the grass of the earth.”¹²⁰ 6 “His name will be blessed forever; his name endures before the sun. All the tribes of the earth will be blessed in him; all nations will call him blessed. Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel, who alone does wonders. Blessed be the name of his glory forever and ever, and the whole earth will be filled with his glory. So be it, so be it.” And at the end of this psalm that I have mentioned, it is written: “The hymns of David, son of Jesse, have come to an end.”¹²¹

7 I know that Solomon was a famous and great king, and that in his reign the temple known as the house in Jerusalem was built. But it is plain that none of the things said in the psalm happened to him. Not all the kings worshiped him, he did not reign to the ends of the world, and his enemies did not fall down before him and lick the dust. 8 Moreover, I dare to say what is written in the books of Kings about what he did: that because of a woman of Sidon he worshiped idols. People from the nations who have come to know God, the Maker of all things, through Jesus the crucified, cannot bear to do this. They endure every torture and punishment, even to the point of death, rather than worship idols or eat food offered to idols.¹²²

CHAPTER 35

Heretics Confirm the Catholics in the Faith.

1 Trypho said, “And yet I hear that many of those who say they confess Jesus, and who are called Christians, eat food offered to idols, and say that they are not harmed by it.” 2 I answered, “The very fact that there are such men, who say they are Christians and confess the crucified Jesus as Lord and Christ, yet

119. “Will rise” translates *anatellō*, used of the sun rising and of plants springing up; the Hebrew of Psalm 72:7 reads “the righteous will flourish.”

120. “A support in the land” follows Justin’s Greek (*stērigma*, “support” or “firm stay”). The Hebrew of Psalm 72:16 speaks instead of grain on the earth, on the tops of the mountains.

121. The Hebrew of Psalm 72:20 reads “The prayers of David, son of Jesse, are ended.” Justin’s Greek has “hymns.”

122. See 1 Kings 11:1–8. Scripture speaks of Solomon’s many foreign wives and of his following Ashtoreth, “the goddess of the Sidonians.” It does not say he worshiped in Sidon itself.

teach not his teachings but those of the spirits of error, makes us more faithful and more firm in the hope he announced. We are disciples of the true and pure teaching of Jesus Christ. For the things he said beforehand would happen in his name, we now see being fulfilled before our eyes, in actual fact.¹²³

3 For he said, ‘Many will come in my name, clothed outwardly in sheep’s skins, but inwardly they are ravenous wolves.’ And, ‘There will be divisions and factions.’ And, ‘Beware of the false prophets who will come to you clothed outwardly in sheep’s skins, but inwardly they are ravenous wolves.’ And, ‘Many false christs and false apostles will rise up, and they will lead many of the faithful astray.’¹²⁴ [*Matthew 24: 5; Matthew 7: 15; 1 Corinthians 11: 18-19; Matthew 24: 24*]

4 So there are, and there have been, my friends, many who came in the name of Jesus and taught people to say and do godless and blasphemous things. And they are called by us after the name of the man from whom each teaching and opinion began. [*Matthew 24: 5*] 5 For different teachers, each in his own way, teach people to blaspheme the Maker of all things, and the Christ whom He foretold would come, and the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. We have no fellowship with any of them. We know that they are godless, irreverent, unrighteous and lawless, and that instead of worshiping Jesus they only confess Him in name. 6 They call themselves Christians, just as people among the nations write the name of God on their man-made idols and take part in lawless and godless rites. Some of them are called Marcionites, others Valentinians, others Basilidians, others Saturnilians, and others by other names. Each is named after the founder of his school of thought, just as each of those who think they are practicing philosophy, as I said at the beginning, believes he should carry the name of his philosophy from the father of that teaching.¹²⁵

7 So from these things, as I said, we know that Jesus foreknew what would happen after Him. We know it also from many other things He foretold would happen to those who believe in Him and confess Him as Christ. For

123. Compare 1 Timothy 4:1 (“deceiving spirits”) and 1 John 4:6 (“the spirit of error”).

124. Justin gives these as sayings of Jesus. The first joins “Many will come in my name” (*Matthew 24:5*) to the wording of *Matthew 7:15*. The third is close to *Matthew 7:15*. The last echoes *Matthew 24:11, 24*, though “false apostles” is Paul’s phrase (*2 Corinthians 11:13*), not a Gospel one. The saying about “divisions and factions” is not found in the Gospels in that form (compare *1 Corinthians 11:18–19*, which uses the same two Greek words).

125. “As I said at the beginning” refers back to Justin’s remarks on the philosophical schools in chapter 2.

all that we suffer, even being put to death by our own people, He told us beforehand would happen. So no word or act of His can in any way be found open to blame.¹²⁶ 8 For this reason we pray for you and for all other people who are hostile to us. We pray that you may repent along with us and not blaspheme Christ Jesus. He is blameless and beyond reproach in every respect, as shown by His works, by the mighty works done even now through His name, by the words of His teaching, and by the prophecies spoken about Him. We pray instead that you may believe in Him and be saved at His glorious second coming, and not be condemned by Him to the fire. [*Matthew 5: 44*]

CHAPTER 36

He Proves that Christ is Called Lord of Hosts.

1 Trypho answered, “Let it be as you say about these matters: that it was prophesied the Christ would suffer, and that He is called a stone. Let it also be so that, after His first coming, in which it was proclaimed He would appear as a sufferer, He will come in glory, and will then be judge of all, and eternal king and priest. But prove that this man is the one about whom these things were prophesied.” 2 I said, “As you wish, Trypho. I will come to the proofs you ask for at the proper place. For now, allow me first to recall the prophecies I want to cite. I want to show that the Christ is called both God and Lord of hosts, and is also called Jacob in a parable by the Holy Spirit. I also want to show that your interpreters, as God cries out, are senseless when they say these words were spoken not about the Christ but about Solomon, when he brought the tent of testimony into the temple he had built.¹²⁷

3 “This is the psalm of David: ‘The earth is the Lord’s and the fullness of it, the world and all who live in it. He Himself founded it upon the seas and established it upon the rivers. Who will go up to the mountain of the Lord? Or who will stand in His holy place? The one who is innocent in his hands and clean in his heart, who has not given his soul to what is empty and has not sworn deceitfully to his neighbor.’¹²⁸ 4 “He will receive a blessing from the Lord and mercy from God his Savior. This is the generation of those

126. Compare Matthew 10:21 and Luke 21:16, where Jesus warns that believers will be handed over and put to death by family members and friends.

127. The Greek says “tent of testimony” (the tabernacle), not “ark of testimony” as in the older English. 1 Kings 8:4 records that the tent of meeting was brought up into the temple along with the ark.

128. Psalm 24 (Psalm 23 in the Greek numbering), quoted in full from the Septuagint across 36.3–4.

who seek the Lord, who seek the face of the God of Jacob. Lift up your gates, you rulers, and be lifted up, you everlasting gates, and the King of glory will come in. Who is this King of glory? The Lord, strong and mighty in battle. Lift up your gates, you rulers, and be lifted up, you everlasting gates, and the King of glory will come in. Who is this King of glory? The Lord of hosts, He is the King of glory.¹²⁹

5 “It has therefore been shown that Solomon is not the Lord of hosts. It is our Christ. When He rose from the dead and was going up into heaven, the rulers stationed in the heavens by God were commanded to open the gates of heaven. They were to let Him in, He who is the King of glory, so that He might go up and sit at the right hand of the Father until He makes His enemies a footstool for His feet, as has been made clear through another psalm.”¹³⁰ [*Psalm 110:1*] 6 For when the rulers in heaven saw that he had a form that was unsightly, dishonored and without glory, they did not recognize him and asked, “Who is this King of glory?” And the Holy Spirit answers them, speaking either in the person of the Father or in his own: “The Lord of hosts, he himself is this King of glory.” For everyone will admit that none of those who stood at the gates of the temple in Jerusalem would have dared to ask, “Who is this King of glory?”, either about Solomon, glorious king though he was, or about the tent of testimony.¹³¹ [*Isaiah 53:2-3*]

CHAPTER 37

The Same is Proved from Other Psalms.

1 “And in the interlude of the forty-sixth Psalm,” I said, “it is said of Christ: ‘God went up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet. Sing to our God, sing; sing to our King, sing. For God is king of all the earth; sing with understanding. God has reigned over the nations; God sits on his holy throne. The rulers of the peoples were gathered together with the God of Abraham, for the mighty ones of the earth belong to God; they have been greatly exalted.’”¹³² 2 And in the ninety-eighth Psalm the Holy Spirit reproaches you. He declares that the very one whom you refuse to have as king

129. Justin follows the Septuagint, “Lift up your gates, you rulers.” The Hebrew reads “Lift up your heads, O gates.” His argument in 36.5 about heavenly rulers depends on the Greek wording.

130. The “other psalm” is Psalm 110:1 (109:1 in the Greek numbering).

131. The Greek says “the tent (tabernacle) of testimony” (*skēnē tou martyriou*), not the ark.

132. “Interlude” translates *diapsalma*. This is the Greek Psalms’ word for the Hebrew “Selah.” Its exact meaning is uncertain, but it probably marks a pause or a musical break.

is king and Lord of Samuel, of Aaron, of Moses, and, in short, of all the others.¹³³ [Psalm 99:6] ³ These are the words of the Psalm: “The Lord has reigned; let the peoples be angry. He who sits on the cherubim, let the earth be shaken. The Lord is great in Zion, and he is high above all the peoples. Let them give thanks to your great name, for it is fearful and holy; and the king’s honor loves justice. You have prepared uprightness; you have worked justice and righteousness in Jacob. Exalt the Lord our God, and worship at the footstool of his feet, for he is holy.

⁴ Moses and Aaron were among his priests, and Samuel among those who call on his name. They called on the Lord, the Scripture says, and he answered them. He spoke to them in a pillar of cloud. They kept his testimonies and the commandment he gave them. O Lord our God, you answered them; O God, you were gracious to them, though you took vengeance on all their practices. Exalt the Lord our God, and worship on his holy mountain, for the Lord our God is holy.”

CHAPTER 38

It is an Annoyance to the Jew that Christ is Said to Be Adored. Justin Confirms It, However, from Ps. XLV.

¹ Trypho said, “Sir, it would have been good for us to listen to our teachers, who made a rule that we should not talk with any of you, and that we should not share in these discussions with you. For you say many blasphemous things. You think you can persuade us that this crucified man was with Moses and Aaron and spoke to them in the pillar of cloud, and then became man, was crucified, went up into heaven, and comes again to earth, and is to be worshiped.” ² I answered, “I know that, as the word of God says, this great wisdom of the Maker of all things, the almighty God, is hidden from you. So out of sympathy for you I am working hard to help you understand these strange teachings of ours. If you will not, then at least I myself will be innocent on the day of judgment. For you will still hear other words that seem even stranger. Do not be disturbed. Instead, become more eager as hearers and keep on examining what you hear. Despise the tradition of your teachers, since the prophetic Spirit proves them unable to understand what comes from God, and shows that they would rather teach their own ideas.”¹³⁴

133. This is Psalm 99 in English Bibles (Psalm 98 in the Greek Septuagint numbering).

134. The Greek says “by the prophetic Spirit,” meaning the Holy Spirit speaking through the prophets.

3 “So in the forty-fourth Psalm these words are likewise said of Christ: ‘My heart has poured out a good word; I speak my works to the king. My tongue is the pen of a swift scribe. You are fairer in beauty than the sons of men; grace is poured out on your lips; therefore God has blessed you forever. Gird your sword on your thigh, mighty one. In your splendor and your beauty, stretch your bow, prosper, and reign, for the sake of truth and meekness and righteousness; and your right hand will guide you marvelously. Your arrows are sharpened, mighty one (peoples will fall under you), sharpened for the heart of the king’s enemies.’”¹³⁵ 4 “Your throne, O God, is forever and ever. The rod of your kingdom is a rod of uprightness. You have loved righteousness and hated lawlessness. Therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness beyond your companions. Myrrh and drops of perfume and cassia come from your garments, from ivory palaces, from which they have made you glad. Daughters of kings are among your honored ones. The queen stood at your right hand, clothed in garments woven with gold, richly embroidered. Listen, daughter, and see, and bend your ear. Forget your people and your father’s house, and the king will desire your beauty, because he is your lord. And they will worship him.”¹³⁶

5 “And a daughter of Tyre will come with gifts. The rich among the people will seek your favor. All the glory of the king’s daughter is within, clothed in garments with golden fringes, richly embroidered. Virgins will be brought to the king behind him. Those near her will be brought to you. They will be brought with gladness and rejoicing. They will be led into the king’s temple. In place of your fathers, your sons have been born. You will appoint them rulers over all the earth. I will remember your name in every generation. Therefore peoples will give thanks to you forever, and forever and ever.”¹³⁷

CHAPTER 39

The Jews Hate the Christians Who Believe This. How Great the Distinction is Between Both!

1 “It is no surprise,” I added, “that you hate us too, because we understand these things and expose your heart, which is always hard. Elijah, pleading

135. The Greek verb (enteinō) means to stretch or bend tight, as with a bow; the word “bow” is supplied in the English.

136. The Greek word staktē means fragrant drops, probably the oil that oozes from myrrh.

with God about you, says: ‘Lord, they have killed your prophets and torn down your altars. I alone was left, and they are seeking my life.’ And God answers him: ‘I still have seven thousand men who have not bent the knee to Baal.’”¹³⁸ [*Romans 11: 3-4*] 2 “In the same way, then, that God did not bring his anger at that time because of those seven thousand, so he has not yet brought judgment, and is not bringing it now. He knows that every day some are becoming disciples in the name of his Christ and leaving the way of error. These also receive gifts, each as they are worthy, as they are enlightened through the name of this Christ. One receives a spirit of understanding, another of counsel, another of strength, another of healing, another of foreknowledge, another of teaching, and another of the fear of God.”¹³⁹ [*Isaiah 11: 2*]

3 At this Trypho said to me, “I want you to know that you are out of your mind to say these things.” 4 I answered him, “Listen, my friend. I am not raving, and I am not out of my mind. It was prophesied that after Christ went up into heaven he would take us captive away from error and would give us gifts. These are the words: ‘He went up on high, he led captivity captive, he gave gifts to men.’”¹⁴⁰ [*Ephesians 4: 8*] 5 “So we have received gifts from Christ, who went up on high. From the words of the prophets we show that you, who are wise in your own eyes and clever in your own sight, are senseless, and that you honor God and his Christ with your lips only. But we have been taught from the whole truth, and we honor them in deeds, in knowledge, and in heart, even to death.”¹⁴¹ [*Isaiah 5: 21; Isaiah 29: 13*]

6 “But perhaps another reason you hesitate to confess that this man is the Christ, as the Scriptures and the things seen and done in his name prove, is to avoid being persecuted by the rulers. Under the working of the evil and deceiving spirit, the serpent, they will not stop killing and persecuting those

137. Justin’s Greek says the virgins are brought “behind him” (the king), whereas the Septuagint Psalm has “behind her”; the Greek also has “temple” (naos) and “golden fringes.”

138. See 1 Kings 19:10, 18. Justin’s wording is very close to Paul’s quotation of the same exchange in Romans 11:3–4.

139. The list of gifts echoes Isaiah 11:2–3 (in the Greek Old Testament: a spirit of wisdom and understanding, counsel and strength, knowledge and godliness, and, in verse 3, the fear of God). Healing and teaching recall Paul’s list of gifts in 1 Corinthians 12:9, 28.

140. This is Psalm 68:18 (67:19 in the Greek Old Testament). The Psalm itself says “you received gifts among men.” Justin, like Paul in Ephesians 4:8, has “he gave gifts to men.”

141. “Wise in yourselves” and “honoring with the lips only” recall Isaiah 5:21 and 29:13. In the last clause (“we honor them”) the Greek gives no object. It is understood from the earlier phrase “God and his Christ.”

who confess the name of Christ. This will go on until he comes again, destroys them all, and gives to each what he deserves.” 7 Trypho said, “Then give us the proof now that this man, whom you say was crucified and went up into heaven, is the Christ of God. The Scriptures you have already gone through show well enough that the Christ is proclaimed as one who suffers, that he will come again with glory, and that he will receive the eternal kingdom of all the nations, with every kingdom made subject to him. But show us that this man is the one.”¹⁴²

8 I replied, “It has already been proved, gentlemen, to those who have ears, even from what you yourselves admit. But I do not want you to think I am at a loss, or unable to give proofs for what you ask. So I will give them, as I promised, in the proper place. For now I go back to the thread of what I was saying.”

CHAPTER 40

He Returns to the Mosaic Laws, and Proves that They Were Figures of the Things Which Pertain to Christ.

1 So the mystery of the lamb, which God commanded to be sacrificed as the Passover, was a type of Christ. Those who believe in him anoint their houses, that is, themselves, with his blood, in keeping with their faith in him. All of you can understand that the creature God formed, Adam, became a house for the breath that God breathed into him. And I will show you that this commandment too was only temporary.¹⁴³ [Exodus 12: 7; Genesis 2: 7] 2 God does not allow the Passover lamb to be sacrificed anywhere except in the place where his name has been called upon. He knew that days would come, after Christ suffered, when the place at Jerusalem would be handed over to your enemies, and all offerings without exception would stop.¹⁴⁴ [Deuteronomy 16: 5-6]

3 That lamb, which was commanded to be roasted whole, was a symbol of the suffering of the cross that Christ was going to undergo. For when the lamb is roasted, it is arranged in the shape of a cross. One spit is run straight up through it from the lowest parts to the head, and another goes across the back, and the lamb’s forelegs are fastened to it.¹⁴⁵ [Exodus 12: 9]

142. “One who suffers” translates a Greek word meaning “capable of suffering” or “subject to suffering.”

143. Justin is thinking of Genesis 2:7, where God forms man from the dust and breathes into him the breath of life.

144. See Deuteronomy 16:5–6, which forbids sacrificing the Passover in any town except the place the Lord chooses as a dwelling for his name.

⁴ The two goats that were commanded to be alike and to be offered at the fast were also a proclamation of the two comings of Christ. One goat was sent away, and the other was offered. The first coming is the one in which the elders of your people and the priests laid their hands on him, put him to death, and sent him away like the goat sent off into the wilderness. The second coming is the one in which you will recognize, in that same place, Jerusalem, the one you dishonored. He was an offering for all sinners who are willing to repent and who keep the fast that Isaiah describes, tearing apart the knots of violent contracts and keeping the other things he lists, which I have already quoted. These are the things that those who believe in Jesus do.¹⁴⁶ [Leviticus 16:7-10; Isaiah 58:6] ⁵ And you know that the offering of the two goats, commanded at the fast, was likewise permitted nowhere else but in Jerusalem.

CHAPTER 41

The Oblation of Fine Flour Was a Figure of the Eucharist.

¹ “And the offering of fine flour, sirs,” I said, “which was handed down to be offered for those cleansed from leprosy, was a type of the bread of the Eucharist. Jesus Christ our Lord commanded us to do this in remembrance of the suffering he endured for people whose souls are cleansed from all wickedness. He did this so that we might give thanks to God for creating the world with everything in it for the sake of mankind. We also thank God for freeing us from the evil in which we were, and for completely destroying the rulers and authorities through the one who became capable of suffering according to his will.”¹⁴⁷ [Leviticus 14:10; Luke 22:19] ² So God speaks through Malachi, one of the twelve prophets, as I said before, about the sacrifices you offered at that time: “I have no desire for you, says the Lord, and I will not accept your sacrifices from your hands. For from the rising of the sun to its setting my name has been glorified among the nations, and in every place incense is offered to my name, and a pure sacrifice. For my name is great among the nations, says the Lord, but you profane it.”¹⁴⁸ [Malachi 1:10-12]

145. The command to roast the lamb whole, head and legs included, is in Exodus 12:8-9. The cross-shaped arrangement of spits is Justin's description and is not in Scripture.

146. The fast Isaiah describes is in Isaiah 58:6, which in the Greek Old Testament speaks of loosening “the knots of violent contracts.”

147. Justin's word for the one who “became capable of suffering” (παθητός) stresses that Christ took on a nature able to suffer. “His will” in the Greek could mean either God's will or Christ's own.

³ But about the sacrifices that we Gentiles offer to him in every place, that is, the bread of the Eucharist and likewise the cup of the Eucharist, he spoke in advance at that time. He said that we glorify his name, and that you profane it. [*Malachi 1:11-12*] ⁴ The commandment of circumcision, which ordered that those born be circumcised without fail on the eighth day, was a type of the true circumcision. By this we have been circumcised from error and wickedness through Jesus Christ our Lord, who rose from the dead on the first day of the week. For the first day of the week is the first of all the days. Yet when the days of the cycle are counted again, it is called the eighth, and it still remains the first.¹⁴⁹ [*Genesis 17:12; Leviticus 12:3*]

CHAPTER 42

The Bells on the Priest's Robe Were a Figure of the Apostles.

¹ Moreover, the instruction handed down that twelve bells be hung from the full-length robe of the high priest was a symbol of the twelve apostles, who hang on the power of Christ, the eternal Priest. Through their voice the whole earth has been filled with the glory and grace of God and of his Christ. That is why David says, "Their sound has gone out into all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world."¹⁵⁰ [*Exodus 28:33-34*] ² Isaiah speaks as if in the person of the apostles. They tell Christ that people believe not because of their message but because of the power of the one who sent them. So he says: "Lord, who has believed our report? And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed? We announced before him as a child, as a root in thirsty ground." The rest of the prophecy follows, as I quoted it earlier.¹⁵¹ [*Isaiah 53:1-2*]

³ When the text speaks as if in the person of many ("We announced before him") and then adds "as a child," it shows that the wicked will become his subjects and serve his command, and that all will become as one child. You can see the same thing in a body. Many members are counted, yet all to-

148. This quotes Malachi 1:10-12 in Justin's own wording, which differs slightly from the usual Greek Old Testament text. For example, the Greek Old Testament has "the Lord Almighty."

149. The Greek says "the one of the sabbaths." This is a Jewish way of saying the first day of the week, that is, Sunday, and the same phrase is used in the Gospels (for example, Matthew 28:1). The older translation's "after the Sabbath" gives the sense. The eighth-day command is in Genesis 17:12.

150. The quotation is Psalm 19:4 (Psalm 18:5 in the Greek Old Testament). Paul applies the same verse to the spread of the gospel in Romans 10:18.

151. The Greek is ambiguous about who "believes." It could also mean that the apostles themselves trust not in their own message but in the power of the one who sent them, which is how the older translation takes it.

gether are called one and are one body. In the same way a people or a church is made up of many individuals, yet they are called and addressed by a single name, as one thing.¹⁵² [Isaiah 53:2; 1 Corinthians 12:12] 4 “In short, gentlemen,” I said, “I could go through all the other things Moses commanded and show that they were types, symbols and announcements. They pointed to what would happen to Christ, to those who were foreknown to believe in him, and likewise to what Christ himself would do. But what I have listed so far seems to me enough, so I return to my argument in its proper order.”

CHAPTER 43

He Concludes that the Law Had an End in Christ, Who Was Born of the Virgin.

1 “Circumcision began with Abraham. The Sabbath, sacrifices, offerings and feasts began with Moses. I have shown that these were commanded because of the hardness of your people’s hearts. In the same way, according to the Father’s will, they had to come to an end in Christ, the Son of God. He was born of a virgin who came from the family of Abraham, from the tribe of Judah, and from David. He was proclaimed as the one who would come forth to the whole world as an eternal law and a new covenant, as the prophecies I quoted show.”¹⁵³ 2 “We, who have come to God through him, have not received this circumcision of the flesh. We have received a spiritual circumcision, which Enoch and others like him kept. We received it through baptism, because we had become sinners, and we received it by God’s mercy. It is open to everyone to receive it in the same way.”¹⁵⁴ [Colossians 2:11-12]

3 “Since it is now urgent to speak about the mystery of his birth, I will do so. Isaiah said that the origin of Christ cannot be told by human beings, in the words I quoted earlier: ‘Who will declare his generation? For his life is taken from the earth; because of the lawless deeds of my people he was led to death.’ He was going to die so that we sinful people might be healed by his wound. The Spirit of prophecy said these things because the generation of such a one cannot be told.”¹⁵⁵ [Isaiah 53:8; Isaiah 53:5] 4 “Furthermore, so that

152. For the picture of many members making one body, compare 1 Corinthians 12:12.

153. The older translation has “everlasting covenant.” The Greek says “new covenant” (καινή διαθήκη).

154. Compare Colossians 2:11–12, where Paul links a circumcision “not made with hands” to being buried with Christ in baptism.

155. The quotation is Isaiah 53:8 in its Greek form, and “healed by his wound” echoes Isaiah 53:5. Justin takes “generation” to mean Christ’s birth and origin. Modern readers often understand the verse differently.

people who believe in him might know how he came to be born into the world, the Spirit of prophecy, through the same Isaiah, foretold how it would happen. He said:” ⁵ “And the Lord went on to speak to Ahaz, saying: Ask for yourself a sign from the Lord your God, in the depth or in the height. And Ahaz said: I will not ask, and I will not put the Lord to the test. And Isaiah said: Listen now, house of David. Is it a small thing for you to make trouble for men? And how do you make trouble for the Lord? Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign: Behold, the virgin will conceive in the womb and will bear a son, and his name will be called Emmanuel. Butter and honey he will eat.”¹⁵⁶ [Isaiah 7:10-15]

⁶ “Before he knows or prefers evil, he will choose the good. For before the child knows good or evil, he refuses evil so as to choose the good. For before the child knows how to call father or mother, he will take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria before the king of the Assyrians. And the land will be seized, which you will bear heavily because of the two kings. But God will bring upon you, and upon your people, and upon your father’s house, days such as have not yet come upon you since the day Ephraim took away from Judah the king of the Assyrians.”¹⁵⁷ [Isaiah 7:15-16; Isaiah 8:4; Isaiah 7:16-17] ⁷ “Now it is plain to everyone that no one in the fleshly descent of Abraham has ever been born of a virgin, or is said to have been, except this Christ of ours.” ⁸ “But you and your teachers dare to say that Isaiah’s prophecy does not say, ‘Look, the virgin will have a child in her womb,’ but, ‘Look, the young woman will conceive and bear a son.’ You explain the prophecy as being about Hezekiah, who was your king. On this point too I will try to answer you briefly. I will show that the prophecy was spoken about the one we acknowledge as Christ.”¹⁵⁸ [Isaiah 7:14]

156. The quotation is Isaiah 7:10-15 in its Greek form. Its wording sometimes differs from English Bibles, which are translated from the Hebrew.

157. The last clause is obscure in the Greek and is kept literal. In the Hebrew of Isaiah 7:17, “the king of Assyria” stands as a separate phrase naming the coming disaster.

158. Here Justin quotes the verse as “will have in the womb,” the wording found in Matthew 1:23 and in many copies of the Greek Isaiah. In 43.5 he quotes it as “will conceive.” The older English made both read “conceive.” The rendering “young woman” (Greek *neanis*) is the one found in later Greek translations used by Jews, such as those of Aquila and Theodotion.

CHAPTER 44

The Jews in Vain Promise Themselves Salvation, Which Cannot Be Obtained Except Through Christ.

¹ “In this way, as far as you are concerned, I will be found completely free of blame, if I do my best to persuade you by giving proofs. But suppose you stay hard-hearted, or weak in resolve because of the death decreed for Christians, and refuse to agree with the truth. Then you will have only yourselves to blame. You are deceiving yourselves. You suppose that, because you are Abraham’s descendants by physical descent, you will surely inherit the good things God announced he would give through Christ. ²No one can receive any of those things from anywhere, except those whose way of thinking has been made like the faith of Abraham and who have understood all the mysteries. I mean this: some commandments were laid down for reverence toward God and right living. Other commandments and practices were likewise given, either with a view to the mystery of Christ or because of the hardness of heart of your people. And that this is so, God declared in Ezekiel, speaking about this very thing: “If Noah and Jacob and Daniel ask for sons or daughters, it will not be given to them.”¹⁵⁹

³ And in Isaiah God spoke on this same point: “The Lord God said: And they will go out and see the bodies of the men who transgressed. For their worm will not die, and their fire will not be quenched, and they will be a sight for all flesh.”¹⁶⁰ [Isaiah 66:24] ⁴ So you must cut this hope out of your souls. Be eager instead to learn by what way you can receive forgiveness of sins and hope of inheriting the good things that were promised. There is no other way than this: to come to know this Christ, to wash in the washing that Isaiah proclaimed for the forgiveness of sins, and from then on to live without sin.¹⁶¹ [Isaiah 1:16]

159. Justin is loosely recalling Ezekiel 14:14–20, which names Noah, Daniel and Job and says they could save neither sons nor daughters, only themselves; Justin (or the copyist of the one surviving manuscript) has Jacob in place of Job.

160. The quotation is from Isaiah 66:24. The Greek word translated “bodies” literally means “limbs”; in the Greek Old Testament it is used for dead bodies.

161. The Greek says “washing” (or “bath”), not “fountain” as in the older English; Justin probably has in mind Isaiah 1:16 (“Wash yourselves, make yourselves clean”), which he quotes about baptism in First Apology 61.

CHAPTER 45

Those Who Were Righteous Before and Under the Law Shall Be Saved by Christ.

¹ Trypho said, "I may seem to be interrupting these matters you are discussing, which do need to be examined. But the question I want to raise is urgent, so please bear with me first." I said, "Examine whatever you like, as it comes to you. After the questions and answers, I will try to take up the discussion again and finish it." ² He said, "Then tell me: will those who lived by the law given through Moses live in the resurrection of the dead in the same way as Jacob, Enoch and Noah, or not?" ³ I answered him, "Sir, when I quoted what Ezekiel said, 'Even if Noah and Daniel and Jacob ask for sons and daughters, it will not be given to them,' but each will clearly be saved by his own righteousness, I was also saying that those who lived by the law of Moses will be saved in the same way. For in the law of Moses, those who obey it are commanded to do what is good, godly and just by nature. It is also written that other things were commanded because of the hardness of the people's heart, and those under the law did these things as well."

⁴ Those who did what is universally, naturally and eternally good are pleasing to God. So they too will be saved through this Christ in the resurrection, just like the righteous who lived before them: Noah, Enoch, Jacob, and any others. They will be saved together with those who have come to know this Christ, the Son of God. He existed before the morning star and the moon. He became flesh and submitted to being born of this virgin from the family of David. By this plan, the serpent who did evil from the beginning, and the angels who became like him, would be destroyed. Death would be despised, and at the second coming of Christ himself it would cease completely for those who believe in him and live in a way that pleases him, and afterward it would be no more. Then some will be sent to judgment and to condemnation in fire, to be punished without end. Others will live together in freedom from suffering, incorruption, freedom from grief, and immortality.¹⁶²

162. "Plan" translates the Greek word *oikonomia*, often rendered "dispensation" (the older English). It means God's arrangement for saving humanity through the incarnation.

CHAPTER 46

Trypho Asks Whether a Man Who Keeps the Law Even Now Will Be Saved. Justin Proves that It Contributes Nothing to Righteousness.

¹ “But suppose some people even now want to live keeping the commands given through Moses, and they also believe in this Jesus who was crucified. They recognize that he is the Christ of God, that he has been given the right to judge everyone without exception, and that the eternal kingdom is his. Can they too be saved?” he asked me. ² And I said again, “Let us also consider this together: whether it is possible to keep everything that was commanded through Moses now.” He answered, “No. We know that, as you said, it is impossible to sacrifice the Passover lamb anywhere else, or to offer the goats ordered for the fast, or, in short, any of the other offerings.” I said, “Then tell me yourself, please, what can be kept. You will be convinced that a person who does not keep these things, but has done what is eternally right, can certainly be saved.” He said, “I mean keeping the Sabbath, being circumcised, observing the rules about monthly periods, and being washed if one has touched any of the things Moses forbade, or after sexual intercourse.”¹⁶³

³ I said, “What about Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Noah and Job, and any others who were equally righteous before or after them? I include Sarah, the wife of Abraham, Rebekah, the wife of Isaac, Rachel, the wife of Jacob, and Leah, and all the other such women down to the mother of Moses, the faithful servant. None of them kept any of these things. Do you think they will be saved?” Trypho answered, “Were not Abraham and those after him circumcised?”¹⁶⁴ [*Numbers 12:7; Hebrews 3:5*] ⁴ I said, “I know that Abraham and those after him were circumcised. I explained at length in my earlier remarks why circumcision was given to them. If what I said does not convince you, let us examine the matter again. But you know that until Moses no righteous person at all kept any of the things we are asking about, or received a commandment to keep them, except for circumcision, which began with Abraham.” He said, “We know that, and we agree that those people are saved.”

⁵ I went on, “You understand that God commanded all such ordinances through Moses because of the hardness of your people’s hearts. By means of

163. “Monthly periods” translates a Greek word normally meaning menstruation, so Trypho probably means the purity laws of Leviticus 15:19–24. The older English “observe months” is a less likely reading.

these many commands you were to keep God before your eyes in every action, and never begin to do wrong or to act impiously. He commanded you to wear a scarlet thread, so that you would not forget God. He also told you to wear a phylactery, made of very thin skins on which certain characters were written, which we agree are certainly holy. By these means he pressed you always to remember God, and at the same time to carry a rebuke in your hearts.”¹⁶⁵ [Deuteronomy 6:8] 6 Yet you do not keep even a small remembrance of the worship of God, and even with all these reminders you were not persuaded to give up idolatry. In the time of Elijah, when God named the number of those who had not bent the knee to Baal, he said there were seven thousand. And in Isaiah he accuses you of making your own children a sacrifice to idols.¹⁶⁶ [Isaiah 57:5]

7 But we endure the most severe punishments rather than sacrifice to the gods to whom we once sacrificed. We rejoice even when we are put to death, believing that God will raise us up through his Christ and make us incorruptible, free from suffering, and immortal. And we know that the commands given because of the hardness of your people’s hearts contribute nothing to doing what is right and to godliness.

CHAPTER 47

Justin Communicates with Christians Who Observe the Law. Not a Few Catholics Do Otherwise.

1 Trypho asked again, “But suppose someone knows that all this is so, and, besides knowing that this man is the Christ, has believed in him and obeys him, yet wants to keep these things as well. Will he be saved?” I said, “In my opinion, Trypho, such a person will be saved, as long as he does not try by every means to persuade other people to keep the same things. I mean the Gentiles who have been circumcised from error through Christ. He must not tell them that they will not be saved unless they keep these things, as you yourself did at the beginning of our talk, when you declared that I would not be saved unless I kept them.”¹⁶⁷ 2 He said, “Then why did you say, ‘In my opinion such a person will be saved’? Are there some who say that such people

164. “The faithful servant” echoes what is said of Moses in Numbers 12:7 and Hebrews 3:5.

165. Justin says “scarlet thread.” The older English has “a fringe of purple dye.” Numbers 15:38–39 commands tassels with a blue cord so that Israel would remember God’s commands, so Justin’s color differs from Scripture. The phylactery comes from Deuteronomy 6:8 and 11:18.

166. The seven thousand who had not bowed to Baal are from 1 Kings 19:18 (quoted by Paul in Romans 11:4). The charge of sacrificing children is probably from Isaiah 57:5.

will not be saved?” “There are, Trypho,” I answered. “They do not even dare to share conversation or a meal with such people. I do not agree with them. But suppose some, because of weakness of mind, want to keep now whatever they can of the commands of Moses, which we understand were given because of the hardness of the people’s hearts. Suppose they also hope in this Christ and want to keep the eternal and natural acts of righteousness and godliness. And suppose they choose to live together with the Christians and the faithful, as I said before, without trying to persuade them either to be circumcised as they are, or to keep the Sabbath, or to observe other such things. Then I declare that we must welcome them and share everything with them, as people of the same heart and as brothers.”¹⁶⁸

3 But Trypho, suppose some from your own people who say they believe in this Christ try to force Gentile believers in this Christ to live in every respect by the law given through Moses. Or suppose they choose not to share their daily life with them. I do not accept these people either.¹⁶⁹ 4 But those who are persuaded by them to take up life under the law, while still holding to their confession of God’s Christ, I suppose may perhaps be saved. But some have confessed and recognized that this man is the Christ, and then for whatever reason have gone over to life under the law, denying that he is the Christ, and have not repented before death. I declare that these will not be saved at all. In the same way, I declare that those of Abraham’s seed who live by the law and do not believe in this Christ before the end of their life will not be saved. This applies especially to those who in the synagogues have cursed, and still curse, those who believe in this very Christ so that they may obtain salvation and escape the punishment of fire.¹⁷⁰

5 For God’s kindness and love for humanity, and the boundless measure of his riches, count the one who repents of his sins as righteous and sinless, as he declares through Ezekiel. And he regards the one who turns from godliness and righteous living to injustice and godlessness as a sinner, unjust and

167. “Circumcised from error” is Justin’s figure for Gentiles who have been cut free from error through Christ, a spiritual circumcision.

168. The older English says these people “expect some virtue” from the observances, which is not in the Greek. The Greek says they act out of weakness of judgment.

169. Compare Galatians 2:12–14, where Paul rebukes Peter for withdrawing from table fellowship with Gentiles and for compelling Gentiles to live like Jews.

170. The older English says the synagogues curse “this very Christ, and everything by which they might obtain salvation.” The Greek says they curse those who believe in Christ, and the people who believe do so in order to obtain salvation.

ungodly. So our Lord Jesus Christ also said, “In whatever state I find you, in that I will also judge you.”¹⁷¹ [Ezekiel 18: 21-24]

CHAPTER 48

Before the Divinity of Christ is Proved, He [Trypho] Demands that It Be Settled that He is Christ.

¹ Trypho said, “We have heard what you think about these matters. So take up your argument again where you stopped, and finish it. For the claim seems to me strange and quite impossible to prove. You say that this Christ existed beforehand as God before the ages, and then submitted to be born and become a man, and yet that he is not a man born of men. That seems to me not only strange but foolish.” ² To this I said, “I know that the statement seems strange, especially to those of your people. You have never been willing to understand or do what belongs to God, only what belongs to your teachers, as God himself cries out. Even so, Trypho,” I said, “the case that this man is God’s Christ does not fall apart if I cannot show that he also existed beforehand as Son of the Maker of all things, being God, and was born a man through the virgin.”¹⁷² [Isaiah 29:13]

³ “Since it has been fully proved that this man is the Christ of God, whoever he may be, suppose I do not prove that he existed beforehand and that, by the Father’s will, he submitted to be born a man with the same nature as ours, having flesh. Then it is right to say only that I have made a mistake on that point. It would not be right to deny that he is the Christ, even if he appears to have been born a man from men and is shown to have become the Christ by being chosen. ⁴ “For there are some, my friends,” I said, “from your own people who confess that he is the Christ but declare that he was a man born of men. I do not agree with them, and I would not, even if most of those who share my views said the same. For Christ himself commanded us to obey not human teachings but what was proclaimed by the blessed prophets and taught by him.”¹⁷³ [Matthew 15: 9; Mark 7: 7]

171. Justin gives this saying of Jesus as a quotation, but it is not found in our Gospels. The Ezekiel reference is to Ezekiel 18:21–24 and 33:12–16.

172. “As God himself cries out” probably refers to Isaiah 29:13, where God complains that the people honor him with their lips while teaching human commandments.

173. The Greek text followed here reads “your race” (that is, Jewish people). The older translation has “our race,” which reflects a different reading of the text.

CHAPTER 49

To Those Who Object that Elijah Has Not Yet Come, He Replies that He is the Precursor of the First Advent.

¹ Trypho said, “Those who say that he was a man, was anointed by choice, and so became Christ seem to me more persuasive than you who say what you are saying. For all of us expect the Christ to be a man born of men, and that Elijah will come and anoint him. But if this man appears to be the Christ, he must by all means be recognized as a man born of men. Yet since Elijah has not come, I declare that this man is not the Christ either.” ² I asked him in turn, “Does not the word say through Zechariah that Elijah will come before this great and fearful day of the Lord?” He answered, “Certainly.” I said, “Then suppose the word compels us to admit that two comings of the Christ were prophesied. In one he would appear suffering, dishonored, and without beauty. In the other he would come glorious and as judge of all, as has been shown in many of the passages already cited. Shall we not understand that the word of God announced Elijah as the forerunner of the fearful and great day, that is, of his second coming?” “Certainly,” he answered.¹⁷⁴ [*Malachi 4:5; Isaiah 53:2-3*]

³ “And so our Lord,” I said, “handed this very thing down in his teaching as something that would happen, when he said that Elijah would also come. We know this will happen when our Lord Jesus Christ comes from heaven in glory. Before his first appearing, the Spirit of God who was in Elijah went ahead as a herald, in John, a prophet who arose among your people. After him no other prophet appeared among you. Sitting by the river Jordan, John cried out: ‘I baptize you with water for repentance. But one stronger than I is coming, whose sandals I am not fit to carry. He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire. His winnowing shovel is in his hand, and he will thoroughly clear his threshing floor. He will gather the wheat into the barn, but the chaff he will burn up with unquenchable fire.’”¹⁷⁵ [*Matthew 17:11; Luke 1:17; Matthew 3:11-12; Luke 3:16-17*] ⁴ “Your king Herod had shut this same prophet up in prison. When his birthday was being celebrated, his niece danced in a way

174. The promise that Elijah will come before the great and fearful day of the Lord is found in Malachi 4:5 (3:23 in Hebrew), not in Zechariah. The Greek text does name Zechariah, which is either Justin’s slip or a copyist’s error.

175. John’s words follow Matthew 3:11–12 (compare Luke 3:16–17). The Lord’s saying that Elijah would come is in Matthew 17:11.

that pleased him, and he told her to ask for whatever she wanted. The girl's mother prompted her to ask for the head of John, who was in the prison. When she asked, Herod sent and ordered John's head to be brought on a platter."¹⁷⁶

⁵ "So our Christ, while he was on earth, spoke to those who said that Elijah must come before the Christ: 'Elijah will indeed come and restore all things. But I tell you that Elijah has already come, and they did not recognize him, but did to him whatever they wanted.' And it is written: 'Then the disciples understood that he was speaking to them about John the Baptist.'"¹⁷⁷ [*Matthew 17:11-13*] ⁶ Trypho said, "This also seems to me a strange thing to say: that the prophetic Spirit of God who was in Elijah was also in John." I answered, "Don't you think the same thing happened with Joshua son of Nun, who took over the leadership of the people after Moses? Moses was told to lay his hands on Joshua, and God himself said, 'I will take some of the spirit that is in you and put it on him.'"¹⁷⁸ [*Numbers 27:18; Numbers 11:17*] ⁷ He said, "Certainly." "Then," I said, "while Moses was still living among men, God took some of the spirit in Moses and put it on Joshua. In the same way God was able to make the Spirit pass from Elijah to John. The purpose was this: Christ appeared without glory at his first coming. In the same way, the first coming of the Spirit that was in Elijah, a Spirit that always remains pure, as Christ's does, would be understood as without glory."¹⁷⁹

⁸ "For it is said that the Lord fights against Amalek with a hidden hand, and you will not deny that Amalek fell. But suppose it is said that Amalek will be fought only at the glorious coming of Christ. Then what fruit would there be in the word that says, 'God fights against Amalek with a hidden hand'? You can understand that the hidden power of God was in the crucified

176. The Greek *exadelphē* usually means "cousin," though here it is rendered "niece." According to Matthew 14:6 the girl was the daughter of Herodias, which made her Herod's stepdaughter and grandniece, and Herodias herself was Herod's niece. Justin is summarizing the Gospel story (Matthew 14:3-11; Mark 6:17-28) and does not name the women.

177. Both quotations come from Matthew 17:11-13.

178. The laying of hands on Joshua is in Numbers 27:18-23 (compare Deuteronomy 34:9). The words "I will take some of the spirit that is in you and put it on..." come from Numbers 11:17, where God says them about the seventy elders, not about Joshua. Justin joins the two passages.

179. The last sentence is compressed in the Greek. The sense seems to be that the Spirit's first coming, in John, was without glory, matching Christ's first coming. Justin has just argued that Elijah himself will come before Christ's second, glorious coming.

Christ. Demons shudder before him, and so do all the rulers and authorities of the earth, without exception.”¹⁸⁰ [*Exodus 17:16; James 2:19*]

CHAPTER 50

It is Proved from Isaiah that John is the Precursor of Christ.

¹ Trypho said, “You seem to me to have had a great deal of practice arguing with many people about all the questions under discussion. That is why you are ready to answer anything you are asked. Then answer me this first: how can you show that there is another God besides the Maker of all things? After that you will show that he also submitted to being born through the virgin.”

² I said, “First allow me to quote some words from the prophecy of Isaiah. They speak about the forerunner’s work: how John, the Baptist and a prophet, went ahead of this Jesus Christ, our Lord.” He said, “I allow it.” ³ I said, “Isaiah spoke beforehand about John as forerunner like this: ‘And Hezekiah said to Isaiah, The word of the Lord that he spoke is good. Let there be peace and righteousness in my days.’ And: ‘Comfort the people. Priests, speak to the heart of Jerusalem and comfort her, because her humiliation is fulfilled. Her sin has been pardoned, for she has received from the Lord’s hand double for her sins. A voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare the ways of the Lord; make straight the paths of our God. Every ravine will be filled, and every mountain and hill will be brought low. All that is crooked will become straight, and the rough ground will become smooth roads. The glory of the Lord will be seen, and all flesh will see the salvation of God, for the Lord has spoken.”¹⁸¹ [*Isaiah 39: 8; Isaiah 40: 1-5*]

⁴ A voice says, “Cry out.” And I said, “What shall I cry?” “All flesh is grass, and all the glory of man is like the flower of grass. The grass has withered, and its flower has fallen away, but the word of the Lord remains forever.” You who bring good news to Zion, go up on a high mountain. You who bring good news to Jerusalem, lift up your voice with strength. Lift it up; do not be afraid. Say to the cities of Judah, “Behold, your God!” Behold, the Lord comes with strength, and his arm comes with authority. Behold, his reward is with him, and his work is before him. Like a shepherd he will tend his flock, and with his arm he will gather the lambs, and he will com-

180. “Demons shudder” echoes James 2:19.

181. Justin quotes the Greek Septuagint, which differs in places from English Bibles based on the Hebrew. For example, “priests” and “humiliation” in Isaiah 40:2 appear where the Hebrew has no “priests” and reads “warfare” or “hard service.”

fort her who is with young. [Isaiah 40: 6-11] 5 Who has measured the water in his hand, and the heaven with a span, and all the earth in his fist? Who has set the mountains on a scale and the valleys on a balance? Who has known the mind of the Lord, and who has been his counselor, to instruct him? Or with whom did he take counsel, so that he taught him? Or who showed him justice? Or who made known to him the way of understanding? All the nations are reckoned like a drop from a bucket, like the tipping of a balance, and they will be counted like spittle. Lebanon is not enough for the fire, nor are the four-footed beasts enough for a whole burnt offering. All the nations are nothing, and they have been counted as nothing.”¹⁸² [Isaiah 40: 12-17]

CHAPTER 51

It is Proved that This Prophecy Has Been Fulfilled.

1 When I had finished, Trypho said, “All the words of this prophecy you recite, sir, are ambiguous, and they contain nothing decisive to prove what you want to prove.” I answered, “Trypho, if the prophets had not ceased, and there had still been prophets in your nation after this John, perhaps you might think what is said was ambiguous.”¹⁸³ 2 John came first, crying out to people to repent. While he was still sitting by the river Jordan, Christ came and put an end to his prophesying and baptizing. Christ himself also preached the good news. He said that the kingdom of heaven is at hand, and that he must suffer many things from the scribes and Pharisees, be crucified, and rise on the third day. He said that he would appear again in Jerusalem and would then eat and drink with his disciples again. He also foretold that in the time before his coming, as I said before, there would be sects and false prophets in his name, and this is plainly what we see. If all this is so, how can anyone still doubt, when the facts themselves can convince you?¹⁸⁴ [Matthew 3: 1-2; Matthew 16: 21; Matthew 24: 11; Matthew 26: 29]

3 He had also spoken about how there would no longer be any prophet in your nation. He spoke too of recognizing that the new covenant, which God had long ago announced he would establish, was already present, that is,

182. “Spittle” follows the Greek Septuagint of Isaiah 40:15. Hebrew-based English Bibles read “fine dust.”

183. The older translation reverses the condition (“If the prophets had not ceased, so that there were no more...”) and adds “in reference to Jesus Christ.” Neither is in the Greek. Justin’s point is that prophecy stopped with John, which shows that John and Jesus fulfilled it.

184. The Greek word *haireseis* means “sects” or “factions.” Later it came to mean “heresies.”

Christ himself. He said it like this: “The law and the prophets were until John the Baptist. From then on the kingdom of heaven is taken by force, and violent men seize it. And if you are willing to accept it, he is Elijah who is to come. Let anyone who has ears to hear, hear.”¹⁸⁵ [*Matthew 11:12-15; Luke 16:16*]

CHAPTER 52

Jacob Predicted Two Advents of Christ.

¹ Through the patriarch Jacob it was also prophesied that there would be two comings of Christ, and that in the first he would suffer. I went on to say that after he came there would be neither prophet nor king in your nation, and that the Gentiles, believing in the suffering Christ, would look forward to his coming again. “And for this reason,” I said, “the Holy Spirit spoke these things in a parable and in veiled language.” ² I added that he had spoken like this: “Judah, your brothers have praised you. Your hands will be on the back of your enemies; the sons of your father will worship you. Judah is a lion’s cub. From a shoot, my son, you have come up. Lying down, he slept like a lion and like a cub. Who will raise him up? A ruler will not fail from Judah, nor a leader from his thighs, until the things stored up for him come. And he will be the expectation of the nations, binding his foal to the vine, and the foal of his donkey to the tendril. He will wash his robe in wine and his garment in the blood of the grape. His eyes are bright with wine, and his teeth are white as milk.”¹⁸⁶ [*Genesis 49:8-12*]

³ You will not dare, however shameless you are, to say that your nation ever lacked a prophet or a ruler from the time it began until this Jesus Christ was born and suffered. Nor can you prove it. You say that Herod, under whom he suffered, was from Ascalon. Even so, you say that there was a high priest in your nation. So at that time you had a high priest who, according to the law of Moses, presented offerings and kept the other legal requirements. You also had prophets in succession down to John. Even when your people were carried off to Babylon, when the land was ravaged by war and the sacred

185. The Greek word *diatheke* can mean both “covenant” and “testament” (a will). Here it means the new covenant, not the book.

186. The quotation is *Genesis 49:8-12*, in the Greek Septuagint form. At points this differs from the Hebrew. For example, “until the things stored up for him come” stands where the Hebrew has a hard phrase often rendered “until Shiloh comes,” and “expectation of the nations” stands where the Hebrew has “the obedience of the peoples.”

vessels were taken away, a prophet never ceased to be among you, one who was lord, leader and ruler of your people. For the Spirit in the prophets anointed your kings and set them in place.¹⁸⁷

⁴ After the appearing and death of Jesus, our Christ, in your nation, there has been no prophet anywhere, and there is none now. Rather, you have ceased to live under a king of your own. On top of this, your land has been laid waste and left like a watchman's hut in an orchard. When the word was spoken through Jacob, "And he will be the expectation of the nations," it pointed in symbol to his two comings, and to the fact that the nations would believe in him. You can see this at last, late as it is. For we, from all the nations, who through faith in Christ have become devout and righteous, are waiting for him to come again.¹⁸⁸ [Isaiah 1: 8; Genesis 49:10]

CHAPTER 53

Jacob Predicted that Christ Would Ride on an Ass, and Zechariah Confirms It.

¹ The words "binding his foal to the vine, and the donkey's foal to the tendril" were an advance announcement both of the works he did at his first coming and of the nations who would believe in him. For these nations were like an unharnessed foal with no yoke on its neck, until this Christ came and, by sending his disciples, made disciples of them. Then they took up the yoke of his word and bent their backs to endure everything, for the sake of the good things they expected and he had announced.¹⁸⁹ [Genesis 49:11] ² Our Lord Jesus Christ was about to enter Jerusalem. At the entrance of a village called Bethphage there was in fact a donkey tied up with her foal. He told His disciples to bring them to Him, and He mounted and rode into Jerusalem. It had been plainly prophesied beforehand that the Christ would do this. When He did it and people recognized what it meant, it made plain that He was the Christ. Yet although all this has happened and is proved from the Scriptures, you are still hard-hearted.¹⁹⁰

³ Zechariah, one of the twelve prophets, foretold that this would happen, saying: "Rejoice greatly, daughter of Zion; shout aloud, proclaim it, daugh-

187. The Herod sentence is compressed, and its sense is uncertain. The words rendered "under whom he suffered" could also mean "from the time he suffered," and the older English has "after whose [reign]." The point seems to be that even if the ruler, Herod, was of foreign descent, there was still a lawful high priest, so the line of leadership had not yet failed. A tradition that Herod's family came from Ascalon is also preserved by the later writer Julius Africanus.

188. "Left like a watchman's hut in an orchard" echoes Isaiah 1:8 in the Greek Septuagint, where the same word (*oporophylakion*) is used.

ter of Jerusalem. Look, your king will come to you, righteous and bringing salvation, gentle and poor, riding on a beast of burden and on a donkey's foal."¹⁹¹ [Zechariah 9:9] 4 The Spirit of prophecy, together with the patriarch Jacob, names a donkey that was already a beast of burden, along with her foal, as belonging to Him. As I said before, He Himself also told His disciples to bring both animals. All this was an announcement ahead of time that people from your synagogue, together with people from the nations, would believe in Him. For just as the foal that had never carried a load was a symbol of those from the nations, so the donkey that carried a load was a symbol of those from your people. For you have the law laid on you through the prophets.¹⁹² [Genesis 49:11; Matthew 21:2]

5 Zechariah the prophet also foretold that this same Christ would be struck and His disciples scattered, and that is just what happened. After He was crucified, the disciples who had been with Him were scattered, until He rose from the dead and convinced them that it had been prophesied that He would suffer in this way. Convinced, they went out into the whole world and taught these things. [Zechariah 13:7; Luke 24:25-27] 6 So we also are firm in our faith in Him and in being His disciples. We have our conviction from the prophets, and from those throughout the world who are seen to have become devout worshippers of God in the name of that crucified One. These are the words Zechariah spoke: "Sword, awake against my shepherd and against the man of my people, says the Lord of hosts. Strike the shepherd, and his sheep will be scattered."¹⁹³ [Zechariah 13:7]

CHAPTER 54

What the Blood of the Grape Signifies.

1 Moses also recorded, and the patriarch Jacob prophesied, these words: "He will wash his robe in wine, and his garment in the blood of the grape." This

190. The Greek says only that He "sat on" and does not say on what. Of the four Gospels, only Matthew (21:1-7) mentions both a donkey and her foal. Mark, Luke and John speak of a single young animal.

189. The Greek says literally that they placed their "back" (noton) under the yoke.

191. "The twelve" means the twelve shorter prophetic books at the end of the Old Testament, not the apostles. The quotation is Zechariah 9:9.

192. The reference to Jacob is to Genesis 49:11, where Jacob speaks of the ruler from Judah tying his foal to the vine and his donkey's colt to the choice vine, a verse Justin discussed just before this.

193. The quotation is Zechariah 13:7. Jesus applies the same verse to Himself and His disciples in Matthew 26:31 and Mark 14:27.

showed that Christ would wash those who believe in Him with His own blood. For the Holy Spirit called “His robe” those who have received forgiveness of sins through Him. He is always present among them in power, and He will be plainly present at His second coming.¹⁹⁴ [Genesis 49:11] 2 When the Word spoke of “the blood of the grape,” it showed by this skilful figure that Christ does have blood, but not from human seed. His blood comes from the power of God. Just as it was God and not man who produced the blood of the vine, so the prophecy foretold that the blood of Christ would come from the power of God and not from the human race. This prophecy that I quoted, gentlemen, shows that Christ is not a man born of men in the ordinary way that people are born.¹⁹⁵ [Genesis 49:11]

CHAPTER 55

Trypho Asks that Christ Be Proved God, But Without Metaphor. Justin Promises to Do So.

1 Trypho answered, “We will remember this explanation of yours, if you also back up this difficult point with other arguments. But for now, take up your argument again and prove to us that the Spirit of prophecy acknowledges another God besides the Maker of all things. Be careful not to bring up the sun and the moon, which, it is written, God allowed the nations to worship as gods. The prophets, using the word in this loose way, often say, ‘Your God is God of gods and Lord of lords,’ and often add ‘the great and mighty and terrible.’”¹⁹⁶ [Deuteronomy 4:19; Deuteronomy 10:17] 2 “These words are not said as though there really were other gods. The saying is teaching us that, among those thought to be gods and lords, the one who truly is God, who made all things, is the only Lord. To expose this too, the Holy Spirit said through the holy David, ‘The gods of the nations, who are thought to be gods, are idols of demons and not gods.’ And He pronounces a curse on those who make them and worship them.”¹⁹⁷

194. The quotation is from Genesis 49:11.

195. “The Word” (Greek *logos*) may mean the prophetic word of Scripture, or Christ the Word, who Justin believed spoke through the prophets; the Greek says the point was made “through art” or “skill,” meaning a deliberate figure of speech.

196. The idea that God allotted the sun, moon and stars to the nations recalls Deuteronomy 4:19, and “God of gods and Lord of lords ... the great, the mighty and the terrible” echoes Deuteronomy 10:17; the Greek verb here means God “allowed” or “conceded” this.

197. Trypho is still speaking here; the quotation is a loose form of Psalm 96:5 (Psalm 95:5 in the Greek Old Testament), which in the Greek reads “all the gods of the nations are demons.”

3 I said, “Trypho, I was not going to bring those proofs, which I know condemn people who worship such idols and things like them. I will give proofs that no one will be able to speak against. They will seem strange to you, even though you read them every day. From this you may understand that, because of your wickedness, God has hidden from you the ability to grasp the wisdom in his words. There are a few exceptions, to whom, by the grace of his great compassion, as Isaiah said, he has left a seed for salvation, so that your race should not be utterly destroyed like the people of Sodom and Gomorrah. So pay attention to what I am going to recall from the holy Scriptures. They do not need to be explained, only heard.”¹⁹⁸ [*Isaiah 1: 9*]

CHAPTER 56

God Who Appeared to Moses is Distinguished from God the Father.

1 “Moses, then, the blessed and faithful servant of God, shows that the God who appeared to Abraham by the oak of Mamre was sent, together with the two angels who were with him to judge Sodom, by Another. That Other always remains in the regions above the heavens. He has never appeared to anyone or spoken with anyone in person, and he is the one we understand to be Maker and Father of all things.”¹⁹⁹ [*Numbers 12: 7; Genesis 18: 1*] 2 “For this is what he says: ‘God appeared to him by the oak of Mamre, as he sat at the door of his tent at midday. And he looked up and saw, and there were three men standing above him. When he saw them, he ran from the door of his tent to meet them, and bowed down to the ground and said...’” and so on, down to: “‘Abraham rose early in the morning to the place where he had stood before the Lord. And he looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah and toward the surrounding land, and he saw, and a flame was going up from the earth like the smoke of a furnace.’” When I stopped speaking, I asked them whether they had understood what was said.²⁰⁰ [*Genesis 18: 1-2; Genesis 19: 27-28*]

3 They said they had understood it, but that the words quoted gave no proof that there is any other God or Lord besides the Maker of all things, or that the Holy Spirit speaks of one. 4 Then I answered again, “Since you have

198. The reference to Isaiah’s “seed” left for salvation is to Isaiah 1:9, as Paul also quotes it in Romans 9:29.

199. In the Greek this sentence is grammatically unfinished. It has no main verb, and it runs straight into the quotation in the next section. It has been completed here so that it reads clearly.

200. The quotation is from Genesis 18:1-2 and 19:27-28; one word in the Greek text (the verb “stood”) is garbled in the source edition.

understood the Scriptures, I will try to persuade you of what I say: that there is, and is said to be, another God and Lord under the Maker of all things. He is also called an Angel, because he announces to people whatever the Maker of all things, above whom there is no other God, wants to announce to them.” Then I went back over the passage I had quoted and asked Trypho, “Do you think God appeared to Abraham under the oak of Mamre, as the text says?” He said, “Certainly.” ⁵ “Was he one of those three,” I asked, “whom the Holy Spirit of prophecy says Abraham saw as men?” Trypho answered, “No. God appeared to him before the vision of the three. Those three, whom the text calls men, were angels. Two of them were sent to destroy Sodom. The third was sent to announce to Sarah that she would have a child. When he had finished that task, he left.”

⁶ “Then how is it,” I said, “that the one of the three who was in the tent, who also said, ‘I will come back to you at this time, and Sarah will have a son,’ is shown coming back when Sarah’s son was born? And how does the prophetic word there also indicate that he is God? To make what I am saying clear to you, listen to what Moses expressly says.” [*Genesis 18:10; Genesis 18:14*]

⁷ These are his words: “When Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian slave girl, who had been born to Abraham, playing with Isaac her son, she said to Abraham, ‘Cast out this slave girl and her son. For the son of this slave girl will not inherit with my son Isaac.’ But this word seemed very hard in Abraham’s eyes, because of his son. And God said to Abraham, ‘Do not let it seem hard in your eyes because of the boy and because of the slave girl. In everything Sarah tells you, listen to her voice, for it is through Isaac that your seed will be named.’”²⁰¹ [*Genesis 21:9-12*]

⁸ “Have you understood, then, that the one who said under the oak that he would return did come back, as it is written? He knew beforehand that it would be necessary to advise Abraham to do what Sarah wanted. And he is God, as the words show when they say, ‘God said to Abraham, Do not let it seem hard in your eyes because of the boy and because of the slave girl.’” That is what I asked. [*Genesis 21:12*] ⁹ Trypho said, “Certainly. But you have not shown from this that there is a God other than the one who appeared to Abraham, and who also appeared to the other patriarchs and prophets. What you have shown is that we were wrong to think that the three who came to

201. The quotation is from Genesis 21:9–12. Paul quotes the last line (“through Isaac your seed will be named”) in Romans 9:7, and it also appears in Hebrews 11:18.

Abraham in the tent were all angels.”¹⁰ I answered again, “Suppose I could not prove to you from the Scriptures that one of those three is God, and is also called an Angel because, as I said before, he brings messages from God, the Maker of all things, to whomever God wishes. Then it would be reasonable for you to think that the one who appeared to Abraham on earth, in the form of a man like the two angels who came with him, was the God who existed even before the world was made. That is how your whole nation understands him.” “Quite so,” he said, “for that is what we have believed until now.”

¹¹ Then I said, “I will go back to the Scriptures and try to persuade you that this one, who is said and written to have appeared to Abraham, to Jacob, and to Moses, and who is called God, is other than the God who made all things. I mean other in number, not in purpose. For I say he has never done or said anything except what the Maker of the world, above whom there is no other God, wanted him to do and to say.”²⁰² ¹² Trypho said, “Then prove that this is so, so that we can agree with you on this point too. For we take it that you are not saying he has done or spoken anything against the purpose of the Maker of all things.” I answered, “The passage I quoted earlier will make this plain to you. It says: ‘The sun rose over the earth, and Lot entered Zoar. And the Lord rained sulfur and fire on Sodom from the Lord out of heaven, and overthrew these cities and all the surrounding region.’”²⁰³ [*Genesis 19: 23–25*]

¹³ Then the fourth of those who had stayed with Trypho said, “So one of the two angels who went down to Sodom is the one whom the Scripture, speaking through Moses, calls Lord. That means we must speak of God himself, who appeared to Abraham, as someone besides him.”²⁰⁴ ¹⁴ “It is not for this reason alone,” I said, “that we must fully admit that the Holy Spirit calls someone else Lord besides the one understood as Maker of all things. It is so not only through Moses but also through David. For through David it is said, ‘The Lord says to my Lord, Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet,’ as I said before. And again in other words:

202. “In number, not in purpose”: the Greek word for purpose (*gnōmē*) can also mean mind or will. Justin means they are two, not one, and yet they never differ in what they intend.

203. *Genesis 19:23–25*. Justin’s point is the double “Lord”: the Lord rains fire “from the Lord” out of heaven.

204. “The Scripture” translates the Greek *ho logos*, “the word.” Here it means the words of the account given through Moses, not Christ the Word.

‘Your throne, O God, is forever and ever. The rod of your kingdom is a rod of uprightness. You have loved righteousness and hated lawlessness. Therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your companions.’”²⁰⁵ [*Psalm 110:1*]

¹⁵ “So if you say that the Holy Spirit speaks of someone else as God and Lord besides the Father of all and his Christ, then answer me. For I promise to prove to you from the Scriptures themselves that the one the Scripture calls Lord is not one of the two angels who went down to Sodom. He is the one who was with them, who is also called God, and who appeared to Abraham.” ¹⁶ Trypho said, “Prove it. As you see, the day is passing, and we are not ready to give answers on such dangerous ground, since we have never heard anyone examine, inquire into, or demonstrate these things. We would not have put up with you as you spoke, if you were not bringing everything back to the Scriptures. For you are eager to make your proofs from them, and you declare that there is no one who is God above the Maker of all things.”

¹⁷ I said, “You know, then, that the Scripture says, ‘And the Lord said to Abraham, Why did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I truly give birth, now that I am old? Is any word impossible with God? At this time I will return to you, in due season, and Sarah will have a son.’ And a little later: ‘The men rose up from there and looked down toward Sodom and Gomorrah. And Abraham went with them, seeing them on their way. And the Lord said, I will not hide from Abraham my servant what I am about to do.’”²⁰⁶ [*Genesis 18:13-14; Genesis 18:16-17*] ¹⁸ “And a little later it says again: ‘The Lord said, The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah has grown loud, and their sins are very great. So I will go down and see whether they are doing everything according to the cry that has come to me, and if not, that I may know. And the men turned away from there and went to Sodom. But Abraham was standing before the Lord. And Abraham came near and said, Will you destroy the righteous along with the ungodly?’” And so on. I do not think it necessary to write out the same words again, since they have all been written above. I need only give those passages by which I made the proof to Trypho and his companions.²⁰⁷ [*Genesis 18:20-23*]

205. The quotations are Psalm 110:1 and Psalm 45:6-7. Both are applied to Christ in the New Testament (for example, Matthew 22:44 and Hebrews 1:8-9).

206. Genesis 18:13-14 and 18:16-17, quoted from the Greek Old Testament.

207. Genesis 18:20-23. In this aside Justin steps out of the conversation and speaks as the writer of the account.

19 So I went on to the passages that follow, where these words are written: “And the Lord went away, when he had finished speaking to Abraham, and Abraham went to his place. And the two angels came to Sodom in the evening. Lot was sitting by the gate of Sodom.” I continued likewise as far as: “The men stretched out their hands and pulled Lot into the house to them, and shut the door of the house.” And what follows, down to: “And the angels took hold of his hand, and the hand of his wife, and the hands of his daughters, because the Lord was sparing him.”²⁰⁸ [*Genesis 18:33; Genesis 19:1; Genesis 19:10; Genesis 19:16*] 20 “And it came about, when they had brought them outside, that they said, Save, save your own life. Do not look behind you, and do not stop anywhere in the surrounding region. Escape to the mountain, or you will be swept away with them. And Lot said to them, I beg you, Lord, since your servant has found mercy before you, and you have magnified your righteousness, which you show to me by keeping my soul alive. But I cannot escape to the mountain, or the evil will overtake me and I will die.”²⁰⁹ [*Genesis 19:17-19*]

21 “Look, this city is near enough to flee to, and it is small. I will be saved there, since it is small, and my life will be spared.’ And he said to him, ‘See, I have shown you favor in this matter also, and I will not overthrow the city you spoke about. Hurry, and be saved there, for I cannot do anything until you have gone in.’ For this reason he named the city Zoar. The sun had risen over the earth, and Lot entered Zoar. And the Lord rained sulphur and fire on Sodom and Gomorrah from the Lord out of heaven, and he overthrew these cities and all the surrounding region.”²¹⁰ [*Genesis 19:20-25*] 22 I paused again, and then went on: “Now do you not understand, my friends, that one of the three, who is both God and Lord and serves the One who is in the heavens, is Lord of the two angels? When the angels went on to Sodom, he stayed behind and spoke with Abraham, as Moses recorded. When he had finished speaking and left, Abraham returned to his place. [*Genesis 18:33*]

23 When he came to Sodom, it was no longer two angels who spoke with Lot, but he himself, as the account makes clear. He is Lord, and he received

208. The Greek here says only “and he went to his place,” with no name given, but *Genesis 18:33* names Abraham, so the translation supplies “Abraham.”

209. Lot speaks “to them,” which is plural, but he addresses them with the singular “Lord.” In 56.23 Justin argues that the one speaking with Lot is the Lord himself, not the two angels.

210. The Greek literally says “I have marveled at your face,” a Septuagint rendering of the Hebrew idiom “to lift up someone’s face,” meaning to show favor or grant a request.

from the Lord in heaven, that is, the Maker of all things, the commission to bring on Sodom and Gomorrah the things the account lists. It says: "The Lord rained sulphur and fire on Sodom and Gomorrah from the Lord out of heaven."²¹¹ [*Genesis 19:24*]

CHAPTER 57

The Jew Objects, Why is He Said to Have Eaten, If He Be God? Answer of Justin.

¹ When I fell silent, Trypho said, "The Scripture clearly forces us to admit this. But there is a point that deserves to be puzzled over, and you would agree: it says that he ate what Abraham prepared and set before him." [*Genesis 18:8*] ² I answered, "It is written that they ate. But suppose we take it that all three are said to have eaten, and not only the two. Those two were truly angels, and it is plain to us that they are nourished in heaven, even if not with the same food we humans use. (Scripture says of the manna that fed your fathers in the desert that they ate 'bread of angels.') In that case I would say that the text, in saying they ate, speaks as we ourselves might say of fire that it consumed everything. We would not necessarily understand that they ate by chewing with teeth and jaws. So here too we need not be perplexed about anything, if we have even a little skill in figurative language."²¹²

³ Trypho said, "That point too, about the manner of eating, can be settled in this way: the text says they ate in the sense that they consumed what Abraham had prepared. So now come and give us your explanation of how this God who appeared to Abraham, and who is a servant of God the Maker of all things, was born of the virgin and became a man subject to the same weaknesses as all people, as you said before." ⁴ I said, "Allow me first, Trypho, to bring together at some length some other proofs on this main point, so that you may be convinced about this as well. After that I will give the explanation you ask for." He said, "Do as you see fit. You will be doing what I very much want."

CHAPTER 58

The Same is Proved from the Visions Which Appeared to Jacob.

¹ I said, "I am going to go through Scriptures for you. I am not eager to put on a display of words by skill alone. I have no such ability. God's grace alone

211. This is *Genesis 19:24*. Justin takes the two mentions of "the Lord" in this verse as two distinct persons: the Lord on earth, and the Lord in heaven who is the Maker of all things.

has been given to me to understand his Scriptures. I urge everyone to share in that grace freely and generously, so that I am not condemned for failing in this at the judgment that God, the Maker of all things, will carry out through my Lord Jesus Christ.”²¹³ Trypho said, “In this too you act in a way worthy of reverence for God. But you seem to me to be falsely modest when you say you have no skill in crafted argument.” I answered again, “Since that is how it seems to you, so be it. But I am convinced that what I said is true. Now, so that I may go on to present the rest of the proofs, pay attention.” He said, “Go on.”

³ I said, “Again it is written by Moses, my brothers, that the one who appeared to the patriarchs, who is called God, is also called Angel and Lord. I say this so that from these passages too you may recognize that he serves the Father of all things, as you have already agreed, and that, convinced by more evidence, you may stand firm.” ⁴ So the word of God, speaking through Moses about Jacob, the grandson of Abraham, says this: “And it happened, when the sheep were in heat and conceiving, that I saw them with my eyes in a dream. And look, the male goats and the rams that were mounting the sheep and the she-goats were white-streaked, spotted, and speckled with ash-colored flecks. And the angel of God said to me in the dream, ‘Jacob, Jacob.’”²¹⁴ [*Genesis 31:10-11*] ⁵ “And I said, ‘What is it, Lord?’ And he said, ‘Lift up your eyes and look at the male goats and the rams mounting the sheep and the she-goats, white-streaked, spotted, and speckled with ash-colored flecks. For I have seen everything that Laban is doing to you. I am the God who appeared to you in the place of God, where you anointed a pillar for me and made a vow there. Now then, get up and leave this land, and go to the land of your birth, and I will be with you.’”²¹⁵ [*Genesis 31:12-13*]

⁶ And again, in another passage about this same Jacob, it says: “And he got up that night and took his two wives, his two female servants, and his el-

212. The older translation ends with “and able to rise above them.” Nothing in the Greek corresponds to these words.

213. The older translation says that “they” (the others) might incur condemnation. In the Greek the subject is “I.” Justin fears that he himself will be judged if he does not share freely what God has given him.

214. “The word of God” (ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ) could mean Scripture or Christ the Word speaking through the prophet; Justin elsewhere says the prophets spoke as the divine Word moved them (1 Apology 36).

215. This is Genesis 31:12–13 (see 31:3 for “I will be with you”); Justin’s Greek, like the Septuagint at Genesis 31:13, reads “in the place of God” (ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ) where the Hebrew has “Bethel.”

even children, and crossed the ford of the Jabbok. He took them and crossed the stream, and he brought across everything that was his. But Jacob was left alone, and a man wrestled with him until dawn. When he saw that he could not overcome him, he touched the broad part of his thigh, and the broad part of Jacob's thigh went numb while he wrestled with him. And he said to him, 'Let me go, for the day has broken.'²¹⁶ [*Genesis 32: 22-26*] ⁷ "But he said, 'I will not let you go unless you bless me.' And he said to him, 'What is your name?' He said, 'Jacob.' And he said to him, 'Your name will no longer be called Jacob. Your name will be Israel, because you have prevailed with God, and you will be strong among men.' Then Jacob asked him, 'Tell me your name.' And he said, 'Why do you ask my name?' And he blessed him there. And Jacob named that place 'Form of God,' for 'I have seen God face to face, and my soul rejoiced.'²¹⁷ [*Genesis 32: 26-30*]

⁸ And again, in another place, it reports these things about the same Jacob: "Jacob came to Luza, which is in the land of Canaan, which is Bethel, he and all the people who were with him. And he built an altar there, and called the name of that place Bethel, because God appeared to him there when he was running away from his brother Esau. And Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, died, and was buried below Bethel under the oak, and Jacob called its name 'Oak of Mourning.' And God appeared to Jacob again in Luza, when he came from Mesopotamia of Syria, and he blessed him. And God said to him, 'Your name will no longer be called Jacob, but Israel will be your name.'²¹⁸ [*Genesis 35: 6-10*] ⁹ He is called God, and he is God, and he will be God. ¹⁰ When they all nodded their heads in agreement, I said: "I think it is necessary to go on and tell you also the words that report how he was seen by Jacob when he was fleeing from his brother Esau. This is the one who is angel and God and Lord, who appeared to Abraham in the form of a man, and wrestled with Jacob in the form of a human being."

¹¹ "These are the words: 'And Jacob left the well of the oath and went to Haran. And he came upon a certain place and slept there, for the sun had set. He took some of the stones of the place and put them at his head, and he

216. The quotation is from *Genesis 32:22-26*; the Greek says "a man" (άνθρωπος), and Justin later identifies him as the one who is called angel, God, and Lord.

217. This is *Genesis 32:26-30*. Where the older translation gives the place name as "Peniel" (Hebrew, "face of God"), Justin's Greek has "Eidos Theou" ("Form of God"), which is how the Greek Old Testament translates the name.

218. The quotation is from *Genesis 35:6-10*.

slept in that place and had a dream. And look, a ladder was set firmly on the earth, with its top reaching to heaven, and the angels of God were going up and coming down on it, and the Lord stood firmly upon it.”²¹⁹ [*Genesis 28:10-13*] ¹² And he said, “I am the Lord, the God of Abraham your father, and of Isaac. Do not be afraid. The land on which you are sleeping, I will give it to you and to your seed. Your seed will be like the sand of the earth, and it will spread out toward the sea, the south, the north and the east. In you and in your seed all the tribes of the earth will be blessed. And look, I am with you, guarding you on every road you travel, and I will bring you back to this land. For I will not leave you until I have done everything I have told you.”²²⁰ [*Genesis 28:13-15*]

¹³ Then Jacob woke up from his sleep and said, “The Lord is in this place, and I did not know it.” He was afraid and said, “How fearful this place is! This is nothing other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.” Jacob got up in the morning and took the stone he had put under his head. He set it up as a pillar and poured oil on top of it. Jacob called the name of the place “House of God.” The name of the city had formerly been Oulam-maous.²²¹ [*Genesis 28:16-19*]

CHAPTER 59

God Distinct from the Father Conversed with Moses.

¹ When I had said this, I went on: “Bear with me while I also show you from the book of Exodus how this same one, who is angel and God and Lord, a man and a human being, and who appeared to Abraham and Jacob, appeared in a flame of fire out of a bush and spoke with Moses.” They said they would listen gladly, tirelessly and eagerly, and I continued:²²² [*Exodus 3:2*] ² “These things are in the book titled Exodus: ‘After those many days the king of Egypt died, and the sons of Israel groaned because of their labors.’ And so

219. The quotation is from Genesis 28:10–13.

220. Justin is quoting Genesis 28:13–15 from the Greek Old Testament, which has “sand” where the Hebrew has “dust,” and “toward the sea” where English Bibles have “west”; in Hebrew idiom “the sea” (the Mediterranean) stands for the west.

221. Genesis 28:16–19. The printed Greek reads ἐλαθε (“escaped notice”), which is an obvious slip for ἐλαβε (“took”), and we translate it as “took.” “House of God” is Bethel. The name Oulam-maous comes from the Greek Old Testament, which ran together the Hebrew words “but Luz” as if they were one name. The Hebrew text says the city was formerly called Luz.

222. Justin uses two Greek words here, ἀνὴρ (“man”) and ἀνθρώπος (“human being”). The Greek Old Testament uses the first for the “men” who visited Abraham (Genesis 18:2) and the second for the “man” who wrestled with Jacob (Genesis 32:24). Justin may be echoing both stories.

on, down to this: ‘Go and gather the council of elders of Israel and say to them, “The Lord, the God of your fathers, appeared to me, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob. He said, ‘I am surely watching over you and over all that has happened to you in Egypt.’”’²²³ [Exodus 2: 23; Exodus 3: 16]

³ And I went on to add: “Men, have you understood that the one whom Moses calls an angel speaking to him in a flame of fire is himself God, and makes known to Moses that he is the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob?” [Exodus 3: 2; Exodus 3: 6]

CHAPTER 60

Opinions of the Jews with Regard to Him Who Appeared in the Bush.

¹ Trypho said, “We do not understand that from the words quoted earlier. What we understand is that the one who appeared in the flame of fire was an angel, but the one who spoke with Moses was God. So both an angel and God, two together, were present in that vision.” [Exodus 3: 2] ² I answered again: “Even if it happened that way, my friends, so that both an angel and God were together in the vision given to Moses, still, as has been shown to you from the passages quoted above, the God who told Moses he was the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob will not be the Maker of all things. He will be the one who was shown to you to have appeared to Abraham and Jacob, who serves the will of the Maker of all things, and who likewise served his purpose in the judgment of Sodom. So even if it is as you say, that there were two, an angel and God, no one with even a little sense will dare to say that the Maker and Father of all things left everything above the heavens and appeared in one small corner of the earth.” [Exodus 3: 6]

³ Trypho said, “It has already been shown that the one who appeared to Abraham, called God and Lord, received from the Lord in the heavens the judgment that he brought on the land of Sodom. So now too, even if an angel was present with the God who appeared to Moses, we will understand that the God who spoke to Moses from the bush was not the Maker of all things. He was the one shown to have appeared to Abraham and Jacob. He is also called an angel of God the Maker of all things, and is understood to be one, because he announces to people what comes from the Father and Maker of

223. The quotation runs from Exodus 2:23 to 3:16. “I am surely watching over” translates a Greek phrase that is literally “I am visiting you with a visitation.” It copies a Hebrew way of stressing a verb by repeating it.

all.” [Genesis 19:24] 4 I answered, “Now, Trypho, I will show that in the vision of Moses it was this same One alone, who is called an angel and who is God, who appeared to Moses and spoke with him. For the Scripture says: ‘The angel of the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire out of a bush. And he sees that the bush is burning with fire, yet the bush was not being burned up. And Moses said, “I will go over and see this great sight, why the bush is not burned up.” And when the Lord saw that he was coming over to look, the Lord called to him out of the bush.’”²²⁴ [Exodus 3:2-4]

5 “Scripture calls the one who appeared to Jacob in his sleep an angel. Then it says that this same angel who appeared in his sleep said to him, ‘I am the God who appeared to you when you were running away from your brother Esau.’ In the case of Abraham, at the judgment of Sodom, it said that a Lord brought the judgment from the Lord who is in the heavens. In the same way, Scripture says here that an angel of the Lord appeared to Moses, and then shows that he is Lord and God. It is speaking of the same one it points to in many of the passages already cited: one who serves the God who is above the world, above whom there is no other.”²²⁵ [Genesis 31:13; Genesis 35:1; Genesis 19:24; Exodus 3:2]

CHAPTER 61

Wisdom is Begotten of the Father, as Fire from Fire.

1 “I will give you another testimony from the Scriptures, my friends,” I said. “Before all creatures, God begot from himself a certain rational power as a beginning. The Holy Spirit calls this power the Glory of the Lord, and at other times Son, at other times Wisdom, at other times Angel, at other times God, at other times Lord and Word. At another time he calls himself Commander-in-chief, when he appeared in human form to Joshua the son of Nun. He can be given all these names because he serves the Father’s will, and because he was begotten from the Father by the Father’s will.”²²⁶ [Proverbs 8:22; Joshua 5:14] 2 “Do we not see something like this happening among ourselves? When we put forth a word, we beget a word, but not by cutting

224. The quotation is Exodus 3:2-4.

225. The Sodom passage is Genesis 19:24: “the Lord rained ... brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven.” The appearance to Moses is Exodus 3:2-6.

226. “Commander-in-chief” (archistratēgos) is the title in the Greek Old Testament at Joshua 5:14, where the figure says he is “commander of the army of the Lord.” The older translation has “Captain.” It also calls Joshua “the son of Nave,” which is the Greek spelling of Nun.

anything off, as if the word within us were made smaller when we put it forth. We also see something like it with fire. Another fire is kindled, yet the fire from which it was lit is not diminished but stays the same. And what was lit from it is plainly a fire in its own right, without making smaller the fire from which it was lit.”

3 “The Word of Wisdom will testify for me. He is himself this God, begotten from the Father of all things. He is Word, Wisdom, Power and Glory of the one who begot him. He says through Solomon: ‘If I tell you what happens day by day, I will remember to recount what has been from eternity. The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways, for his works. Before the age he established me, in the beginning, before he made the earth, before he made the depths, before the springs of water came forth, before the mountains were set in place. Before all the hills he begets me.’”²²⁷ [*Proverbs* 8: 21-25]

4 “God made the land, both the uninhabited and the highest inhabited places under heaven. When he was preparing the heaven, I was there with him. When he marked out his throne upon the winds, when he made the clouds above strong, and made the springs of the deep secure, when he made the foundations of the earth strong, I was beside him, fitting things together. I was the one in whom he delighted. Day by day I rejoiced in his presence, at every moment, because he rejoiced when he finished the inhabited world, and he rejoiced in the sons of men.” [*Proverbs* 8: 26-31]

5 “Now then, son, listen to me. Blessed is the man who will listen to me, and the person who will keep my ways, watching at my doors every day, guarding the posts of my entrances. For my goings out are goings out of life, and favor from the Lord has been prepared. But those who sin against me act wickedly against their own souls, and those who hate me love death.”²²⁸ [*Proverbs* 8: 32-36]

CHAPTER 62

The Words “Let Us Make Man” Agree with the Testimony of Proverbs.

1 My friends, the word of God said this very same thing through Moses too. It made known to us that, when man was made, God spoke with this same

227. Justin quotes Proverbs 8:21-36 in the Greek (Septuagint) form. The opening line (“If I tell you what happens day by day...”) is found in the Greek but not in the Hebrew. The Greek reads “created me” in 8:22, where the meaning of the Hebrew verb is disputed (“acquired,” “possessed,” or “created”). It also reads “begets me” in 8:25.

meaning about the one it has pointed out. These are the words: “Let us make man in our image and likeness. And let them rule over the fish of the sea, the birds of heaven, the cattle, all the earth, and all the creeping things that creep on the earth.” And God made man; in the image of God he made him; male and female he made them. And God blessed them, saying, “Increase and multiply, fill the earth, and have dominion over it.”²²⁹ [*Genesis 1:26-28*]

2 Now you must not twist the words I have just quoted and say what your teachers say. They claim either that God was speaking to himself when he said “Let us make,” just as we often say “Let us make” to ourselves when we are about to do something. Or they claim that God said “Let us make” to the elements, that is, the earth and the other things from which we understand man was formed. So I will quote again the words Moses himself recorded. From them we can know beyond dispute that God was speaking with someone who was numerically distinct from himself and who was also rational.

3 These are the words: “And God said, Behold, Adam has become as one of us, to know good and evil.” So when he says “as one of us,” he points to a number of persons who are together, and at the very least two. For I would not say that the teaching of the sect among you is true. Nor would I say that its teachers can prove that God was speaking to angels, or that the human body was made by angels.²³⁰ [*Genesis 3:22*] 4 No, this offspring, truly brought forth from the Father, was with the Father before all created things, and the Father speaks to him. The word of Scripture made this plain through Solomon: the one whom Solomon calls Wisdom was begotten by God as a beginning before all created things, and as his offspring. The same thing was also stated in the revelation given to Joshua the son of Nun. So that what I say may be clear to you from this too, listen to the words from the book of Joshua.²³¹

5 They are these: “And it happened, when Joshua was at Jericho, that he looked up and saw a man standing opposite him. Joshua went up to him and

228. The Greek of Proverbs 8:35 reads literally “favor (thelēsis) from the Lord has been prepared”; here the word means God’s goodwill toward the one who finds Wisdom.

229. Justin quotes *Genesis 1:26-28*.

230. *Genesis 3:22*. “Sect” translates the Greek “hairesis,” which can also mean a school of thought or party.

231. Justin is thinking of Proverbs 8:22-25, part of the passage from Proverbs 8 that he quoted in chapter 61.

said, ‘Are you on our side or on our enemies’ side?’ And he said to him, ‘I am the commander of the army of the Lord. I have come now.’ Joshua fell on his face to the ground and said to him, ‘Master, what do you command your servant?’ And the commander of the Lord’s army said to Joshua, ‘Take the sandals off your feet, for the place where you are standing is holy ground.’ Now Jericho was shut up and fortified, and no one went out of it. And the Lord said to Joshua, ‘Look, I am handing Jericho over to you, and its king who is in it, men mighty in strength.’”²³² [Joshua 5:13–15; Joshua 6:1–2]

CHAPTER 63

It is Proved that This God Was Incarnate.

1 Trypho said, “You have proved this strongly and with many arguments, my friend. What remains is for you to prove that he submitted to being born a man through the virgin, according to the will of his Father, and to being crucified and dying. Show also that after this he rose again and went up into heaven.”²³³ 2 I answered, “This too, gentlemen, has already been proved by me in the prophecies I recounted earlier. For your sake I will recall them and explain them again, and try to bring you to agree with me on this matter as well. Take the word Isaiah spoke: ‘Who will declare his generation? For his life is taken away from the earth.’ Does it not seem to you that this was said of one whose origin was not from men, the one whom God said was handed over to death for the lawless deeds of the people? Moses also spoke of his blood, as I said before. Speaking in a parable, he said that he would wash his robe in the blood of the grape. He meant that his blood was not born of human seed but of the will of God.”²³⁴ [Isaiah 53:8; Genesis 49:11; John 1:13]

3 Consider also what David said: “In the splendors of your holy ones, from the womb before the morning star I have begotten you. The Lord has sworn and will not change his mind: You are a priest forever, after the order of Melchizedek.” Does this not show you that God, the Father of all things, intended him to be born from above, and through a human womb?²³⁵ 4 And in other words, which I have also quoted already, David says: “Your throne,

232. Joshua 5:13–6:2.

233. The older translation reads “proved to me,” but the Greek “soi” here means “by you”: Trypho grants that Justin has proved his point.

234. The phrase “not of human seed but of the will of God” may echo John 1:13.

235. Psalm 110:3–4 in the Greek (Septuagint) version. “From above” can also mean “from of old”; the older translation chose “from of old.”

O God, is for ever and ever; the rod of your kingdom is a rod of uprightness. You have loved righteousness and hated lawlessness; therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness beyond your companions. Myrrh, sweet resin and cassia come from your garments, from ivory palaces, by which they made you glad. Daughters of kings are in your honor. The queen stood at your right hand, clothed in a garment woven with gold, in many colors. Hear, O daughter, and see, and incline your ear, and forget your people and your father's house; and the King will desire your beauty, for he is your Lord, and you will worship him."²³⁶

5 These words also state plainly that he is to be worshiped, and that he is God and Christ, as the one who made these things bears witness. The same words also announce, just as clearly, that the word of God speaks as to a daughter to those who believe in him, since they are one soul, one assembly and one church. This is the church that came into being through his name and shares his name (for we are all called Christians). The words teach us also to forget our old ancestral customs, and they read: "Hear, O daughter, and see, and incline your ear, and forget your people and your father's house; and the King will desire your beauty, for he is your Lord, and you will worship him."²³⁷

CHAPTER 64

Justin Adduces Other Proofs to the Jew, Who Denies that He Needs This Christ.

1 Then Trypho said: "Let him be acknowledged as Lord and Christ and God, as the Scriptures indicate, by you who are from the Gentiles, all of you who have come to be called Christians after his name. But we are worshipers of the God who made even this man himself, and we have no need to confess him or to worship him." 2 I answered: "Trypho, if I were as fond of quarreling and as empty-headed as you are, I would no longer stay to share these discussions with you. You do not set yourselves to understand what is said. You only sharpen yourselves to say something back. But as it is, I fear the judgment of God, and so I do not rush to declare of anyone from your people that he cannot be among those who can be saved by the grace of the Lord of hosts. So even if you act wickedly, I will stay and answer whatever you put

236. "Sweet resin" translates the Greek "staktē," a fragrant resin (oil of myrrh).

237. "Assembly" translates the Greek "synagogue," which here simply means a gathering.

forward and whatever objection you raise. I do the same for all people, of every nation, who want to discuss or ask me about these things.”²³⁸

³ “If you had paid attention to the Scriptures I have already quoted, you would have understood by now that those from your people who are saved are saved through him and have their share in him. You would not have needed to ask me about this. So I will say again what I quoted earlier from David. I ask you to take it in so that you understand, and not to stir yourselves up only to act wickedly and contradict.” ⁴ “These, then, are the words that David speaks: ‘The Lord has become king; let the peoples be angry. He who sits upon the cherubim, let the earth be shaken. The Lord is great in Zion, and high above all the peoples. Let them give thanks to your great name, for it is fearful and holy; and the honor of the king loves justice. You have prepared uprightness; you have done justice and righteousness in Jacob. Exalt the Lord our God, and worship at the footstool of his feet, for he is holy. Moses and Aaron were among his priests, and Samuel among those who call on his name. They called on the Lord, and he answered them. He spoke to them in a pillar of cloud, because they kept his testimonies and the commands he gave them.’”²³⁹

⁵ “There are also other words spoken through David, which I have set out before as well. You foolishly say they were spoken about Solomon, because they carry the heading ‘for Solomon.’ Yet these words show that they were not spoken about Solomon. They show that he existed even before the sun, and that those from your people who are saved will be saved through him.”²⁴⁰ ⁶ The words are these: “O God, give your judgment to the king, and your righteousness to the king’s son. He will judge your people in righteousness, and your poor in judgment. Let the mountains take up peace for the people, and the hills righteousness. He will judge the poor of the people and save the children of the needy, and he will humble the slanderer. He will remain alongside the sun, and before the moon, to generations of generations.” The passage goes on like this until: “Before the sun his name endures. And in him all the tribes of the earth will be blessed; all nations will call him

238. “Lord of hosts” translates the Greek “Lord Sabaoth” (the Hebrew title). The older translation has “Lord of Sabaoth.”

239. The quotation is Psalm 99:1–7 (Psalm 98 in the Greek Old Testament).

240. The psalm in question is Psalm 72 (71 in the Greek Old Testament), whose heading reads “for Solomon.” Justin quoted it in full and argued that it is not about Solomon earlier in the *Dialogue*, in chapter 34.

blessed. Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel, who alone does wonders. Blessed be the name of his glory forever and ever, and the whole earth will be filled with his glory. So be it, so be it.”²⁴¹

7 Remember also the other words I quoted earlier, spoken in the same way through David. They revealed that he was going to come forth from the ends of the heavens and go up again to the same places. This is so that you may recognize him as God who came forth from above and became a man among men. It is also so that you may recognize that he will come again, and that those who pierced him will see him and mourn.²⁴² [*Zechariah 12:10*]

8 The words are these: “The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament proclaims the work of his hands. Day pours out speech to day, and night announces knowledge to night. There are no speeches or words whose voices are not heard. Their sound has gone out into all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world. In the sun he has set his tent. And he, like a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, will rejoice, strong as a giant, to run his course. His going out is from the end of heaven, and his circuit reaches to the end of heaven, and there is no one who will be hidden from his heat.”²⁴³

CHAPTER 65

The Jew Objects that God Does Not Give His Glory to Another. Justin Explains the Passage.

1 Trypho said, “I am hard pressed by so many Scriptures, and I do not know what to say about the passage Isaiah spoke, in which God says he will give his glory to no one else. It says: ‘I am the Lord God; this is my name. My glory I will not give to another, nor my excellences.’”²⁴⁴ [*Isaiah 42:8*] 2 I said: “Trypho, if you recited these words simply and without malice and then fell silent, without quoting what comes before or adding what follows, you are to be excused. But if you did it because you thought you could throw the argument

241. “So be it, so be it” translates the Greek “genoito, genoito,” which is how the Greek Old Testament renders the Hebrew “Amen, Amen” at Psalm 72:19.

242. “Those who pierced him will see him and mourn” echoes Zechariah 12:10. John 19:37 and Revelation 1:7 also apply this verse to Christ.

243. The quotation is Psalm 19:1–6 (Psalm 18 in the Greek Old Testament). The Greek reads “in the sun he has set his tent,” while the Hebrew says God set a tent for the sun in the heavens.

244. The quotation is Isaiah 42:8. In the Greek Old Testament the word given here as “excellences” stands for the Hebrew “my praise.” The verse goes on, “to carved images,” but Trypho stops before those words. Justin’s reply in the next section turns to the surrounding verses.

into difficulty and make me say that the Scriptures contradict one another, you are mistaken. I would never dare to think or say such a thing. If a passage is put forward that seems to be of this kind, and it gives some excuse for calling it contradictory, I am fully convinced that no Scripture contradicts another. So I will rather admit that I myself do not understand what is said, and I will work hard to persuade those who think the Scriptures are contradictory to think as I do.”

3 God knows with what purpose you raised the difficulty. But I will remind you of what the passage says, so that from this very text you may know that God gives his glory to his Christ alone. I will take up a few short passages, gentlemen: the ones connected with what Trypho said, and those that follow on from it in sequence. I will not take them from some other section, but as they stand joined together in one. Give me your attention. 4 The words are these: “Thus says the Lord God, who made the heaven and fixed it firm, who made the earth firm and everything in it, who gives breath to the people on it and spirit to those who walk on it: I, the Lord God, have called you in righteousness. I will take hold of your hand and strengthen you. I have given you as a covenant of a people, as a light for the nations, to open the eyes of the blind, to bring out of chains those who are bound, and out of the prison house those who sit in darkness.”²⁴⁵ [Isaiah 42: 5-7]

5 “I am the Lord God; this is my name. My glory I will not give to another, nor my praise to carved idols. Look, the things from the beginning have come; I am announcing new things, and before I announce them they are made clear to you. Sing to God a new song. His rule is from the end of the earth. Sing, you who go down to the sea and sail on it, you islands and those who live on them.”²⁴⁶ [Isaiah 42: 8-10] 6 “Rejoice, desert, and their villages and farmsteads. The people who live in Kedar will rejoice, and those who live in the rock will shout from the top of the mountains. They will give glory to God, and they will announce his praise in the islands. The Lord God of hosts will go out. He will crush war, he will stir up zeal, and he will shout against his enemies with strength.”²⁴⁷ [Isaiah 42: 11-13]

7 When I had said this, I said to them, “My friends, have you understood that God says he will give glory to the one he has set up as a light for the na-

245. The Greek *genos* means “race” or “people”; the Hebrew has “a covenant of the people.”

246. “Praise” translates the Greek *aretai*, which can mean “excellencies” or “virtues”; here and in 65.6 it stands where the Hebrew of Isaiah has “praise.”

247. “Hosts” is literally “powers” (Greek *dynameis*).

tions, and to no one else? So it is not, as Trypho said, that God keeps the glory for himself.” Trypho answered, “We have understood this too. So go on with the rest of your argument.” [Isaiah 42:6]

CHAPTER 66

He Proves from Isaiah that God Was Born from a Virgin.

¹ I took up the argument again at the point where I had first stopped. I had been showing that he was born of a virgin, and that Isaiah had prophesied his birth through a virgin. So I recited the same prophecy again. [Isaiah 7:14]

² It is this: “And the Lord went on to speak to Ahaz, saying, ‘Ask a sign for yourself from the Lord your God, in the depth or in the height.’ And Ahaz said, ‘I will not ask, and I will not test the Lord.’ And Isaiah said, ‘Listen now, house of David. Is it too little for you to cause trouble for men? How is it, then, that you cause trouble for the Lord? Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign: Look, the virgin will conceive in the womb and bear a son, and they will call his name Immanuel. He will eat butter and honey.’”²⁴⁸ [Isaiah 7:10-15]

³ Before he knows or chooses evil, he will choose the good. For before the child knows evil or good, he refuses evil in order to choose the good. For before the child knows how to call father or mother, he will take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria in the presence of the king of the Assyrians. And the land will be seized, the land that you will bear with difficulty because of the two kings. But God will bring upon you, your people and your father’s house days such as have not yet come, from the day when Ephraim took the king of the Assyrians away from Judah.”²⁴⁹ [Isaiah 7:15-16; Isaiah 8:4; Isaiah 7:17] ⁴ And I went on: “Now it is plain to everyone that no one in the family of Abraham according to the flesh has ever been born of a virgin, or is said to have been, except this Christ of ours.”

248. This is Isaiah 7:10-15 in the Greek (Septuagint) version.

249. The Greek here reads “will be seized.” The Septuagint of Isaiah 7:16 has an almost identical word meaning “will be left” or “forsaken.” The two words sounded alike, so the difference may be a copying slip.

CHAPTER 67

Trypho Compares Jesus with Perseus; And Would Prefer [to Say] that He Was Elected [to Be Christ] on Account of Observance of the Law. Justin Speaks of the Law as Formerly.

¹ Trypho answered, "The Scripture does not say, 'Look, the virgin will conceive and bear a son.' It says, 'Look, the young woman will conceive and bear a son,' and the rest as you quoted it. The whole prophecy was spoken about Hezekiah, and it is shown that it was fulfilled in him according to this prophecy.²⁵⁰ [Isaiah 7:14] ² "In the myths of the so-called Greeks it is said that Perseus was born of Danae, who was a virgin, when the one they call Zeus poured down on her in the form of gold. You ought to be ashamed to say the same things they do. You should rather say that this Jesus was a man born of men. And if you can show from the Scriptures that he is the Christ, then say that he was counted worthy to be chosen as Christ because he lived lawfully and perfectly. But do not dare to tell tales of marvels, so that you are not proved to be as foolish as the Greeks."²⁵¹

³ To this I said, "Trypho, I want you and all people to be convinced of this. Even if you say worse things in mockery or jest, you will not drive me from the matter before us. Whatever arguments or facts you think you are bringing forward to refute me, from those very things I will always draw the proofs of what I say, with the witness of the Scriptures. ⁴ "But you are not acting rightly or like a lover of truth when you try to undo even those points on which we have always agreed: that some of the commandments were laid down through Moses because of the hardness of your people's hearts. For you said that he was chosen and became Christ because he lived lawfully, if he should indeed be shown to be the Christ." ⁵ Trypho said, "But you admitted to us that he was circumcised and kept the other legal ordinances commanded through Moses."

⁶ I answered, "I admitted it, and I admit it still. But I did not admit that he went through all this as one being justified by these things. I said he did it to complete the plan that his Father wanted, who is Maker, Lord and God of

250. Trypho's point is that the Greek word he cites (*neanis*) means simply "young woman," whereas Justin's text, like the Septuagint, has *parthenos*, "virgin." Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 3.21.1) reports that the Jewish translators Theodotion and Aquila rendered the word *neanis*.

251. The older translation adds "[it is well]" to complete the sentence. The Greek has no such phrase. The sentence continues with "say that he was counted worthy."

all things. For I also admit that he endured being crucified and dying, and becoming man, and suffering all that people of your race did to him.”²⁵²

7 But since, Trypho, you again withdraw your agreement from what you just agreed to, answer me this. The righteous men and patriarchs who lived before Moses kept none of the things that, as the Scripture shows, were first commanded through Moses. Are they saved, with a share in the inheritance of the blessed, or not? 8 Trypho said, “The Scriptures force me to admit that they are.” I asked him in the same way again: “Did God command your fathers to bring the offerings and sacrifices because he lacked something? Or was it because of their hardness of heart and their readiness to fall into idolatry?” “This too,” he said, “the Scriptures likewise force us to admit.”

9 “And did the Scriptures likewise foretell,” I said, “that God promised to make a new covenant, different from the one made on Mount Horeb?” He answered that this too had been foretold. Then I said again, “Was the old covenant given to your fathers with fear and trembling, so that they could not even listen to God?” He admitted that also.²⁵³ [Jeremiah 31:31-32] 10 “Well then,” I said, “God promised that there would be another covenant. He said it would not be given as that one was, and that it would be given to them without fear, trembling or lightning. It would show what commandment and deed God knows to be eternal and fitting for every nation, and what he had commanded to suit the hardness of heart of your people, as he also proclaims through the prophets.”²⁵⁴ 11 “To this too,” he said, “lovers of truth, rather than lovers of quarrels, must by all means agree.” I replied, “I do not know how you can call some people quarrelsome, when you yourself have often been seen doing just that, repeatedly contradicting what you had agreed to.”

CHAPTER 68

He Complains of the Obstinacy of Trypho; He Answers His Objection; He Convicts the Jews of Bad Faith.

1 Trypho said, “You are trying to prove something unbelievable and almost impossible: that God submitted to being born and becoming man.” I said,

252. “Plan” translates *oikonomia*, which can also be rendered “dispensation” or “arrangement.” It means God’s ordered purpose for salvation.

253. Justin is recalling Exodus 20:18–19, where the people were terrified by the thunder and lightning at the mountain and asked Moses to speak to them instead of God.

254. “Not as that one was” echoes Jeremiah 31:31–32, where God promises a new covenant “not like the covenant I made with their fathers.”

“If I had set out to prove this from human teachings or arguments, you would not need to put up with me. But I am quoting Scriptures, many of them, spoken on this very point, and I often repeat them. I ask you to understand them, and you grow hard-hearted when it comes to knowing the mind and will of God. If you want to stay like that forever, I will not be harmed at all. I will keep the same convictions I had before I met you, and I will take my leave of you.” ² Trypho said, “Consider, my friend, that you acquired these things with great effort and toil. So we too must test everything that comes up, and then agree to what the Scriptures compel us to accept.” To this I answered, “I am not asking you to stop striving in every way as you examine the questions before us. I ask that, when you have nothing to say, you not contradict again the points you said you agreed to.”

³ Trypho said, “We will try to do that.” I said again, “In addition to the questions I have already put to you, I want to ask you more now. For through these questions I will work to bring the discussion quickly to its end.” Trypho said, “Ask.” I said, “Do you think that anyone else in the Scriptures is called worthy of worship, and Lord and God, apart from the one who made this universe and the Christ, who by so many Scriptures was shown to you to have become man?” ⁴ Trypho said, “How can we agree to that, when we have made such a long inquiry into whether there is anyone else besides the Father alone?” I answered, “I need to ask you this as well, so that I may know whether you think anything different from what you have agreed to so far.” He said, “No, sir.” Then I said, “Since you truly agree with these things, and the Word says, ‘Who will declare his generation?’, should you not also understand that he is not the offspring of human stock?”²⁵⁵ [Isaiah 53:8]

⁵ Trypho said, “How then does the Word say to David that God will take for himself a son from David’s loins, will establish his kingdom, and will set him on the throne of his glory?”²⁵⁶ [Psalm 132:11] ⁶ I said, “Trypho, if the prophecy Isaiah spoke, ‘Behold, the virgin will conceive,’ had not been addressed to the house of David but to some other house among the twelve tribes, perhaps the matter would be puzzling. But this prophecy too was spoken to the house of David. So what God had said to David in a hidden way was explained through Isaiah: he showed how it was going to come

255. “Who will declare his generation?” is from Isaiah 53:8 in the Greek Old Testament (the Septuagint). Justin reads “generation” as Christ’s origin or birth.

256. Trypho is recalling God’s promise to David in 2 Samuel 7:12–16 (compare Psalm 132:11). His wording is a free summary, not an exact quotation.

about. Or perhaps you do not know this, my friends: many sayings that were spoken in a hidden way, in parables, in mysteries, or in symbolic actions were explained by prophets who came after those who had spoken or acted.”²⁵⁷ [Isaiah 7:14] 7 “Certainly,” said Trypho. “Then,” I went on, “suppose I show that this prophecy of Isaiah was spoken of this Christ of ours and not of Hezekiah, as you say. Will I not also, on this point, shame you out of trusting your teachers? They dare to say that the translation made by your seventy elders, when they were with Ptolemy king of the Egyptians, is not true in some places.”²⁵⁸

8 Whatever passages in the Scriptures plainly expose their foolish and self-loving opinion, they dare to say were not written that way. But whatever passages they think they can twist to fit human events, they say were not spoken of this Jesus Christ of ours but of whatever person they themselves choose to apply them to. For example, they taught you that this passage, which we are now discussing, was spoken of Hezekiah. As I promised, I will show that what they say is false. 9 When we cite to them the Scriptures that plainly show Christ to be one who suffers, one to be worshipped, and God (I have already set these out for you), they are forced to agree that these were spoken of Christ. Yet they dare to say that this man is not the Christ. They do admit that the Christ will come, suffer, reign, and be worshipped as God. I will show that this view is likewise ridiculous and foolish. But first I am pressed to answer what you said in a mocking way. I will answer that now, and I will give the proofs on the remaining points later.”²⁵⁹

CHAPTER 69

The Devil, Since He Emulates the Truth, Has Invented Fables About Bacchus, Hercules, and Aesculapius.

1 “Know well then, Trypho,” I went on, “that the devil, as he is called, made imitations and caused them to be told among the Greeks, just as he worked through the magicians in Egypt and through the false prophets in Elijah’s time. These things too have made my knowledge of the Scriptures, and my

257. Isaiah 7:13–14 addresses the prophecy to the “house of David.” Justin’s point is that Isaiah’s sign explains how God’s earlier promise to David would be fulfilled.

258. Tradition credited the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, to seventy elders working for King Ptolemy of Egypt. In Isaiah 7:14 it reads “virgin,” while Justin’s opponents read “young woman” (see chapters 43 and 71).

259. The mocking remark is Trypho’s comparison, in chapter 67, of the virgin birth to the Greek myth of Perseus born of the virgin Danaë.

faith in them, firm.²⁶⁰ 2 For they say that Dionysus was the son of Zeus by his union with Semele. They say he was the discoverer of the vine, that he was torn to pieces and died, and that he rose again and went up to heaven. And they bring a donkey forward in his mysteries. When they say these things, do I not understand that the devil has imitated the prophecy of the patriarch Jacob, which was spoken beforehand and written down by Moses?²⁶¹ [*Genesis 49:11*] 3 They say that Heracles was strong, that he travelled all over the earth, that he too was born to Zeus by Alcmene, and that he died and went up to heaven. Do I not understand that in this the devil has likewise imitated the Scripture spoken about Christ, “Strong as a giant to run his course”? And when he puts forward Asclepius as one who raised the dead and healed other ailments, do I not say that in this too he has imitated the prophecies about Christ?²⁶²

4 I have not yet cited to you a Scripture saying that Christ will do these things. So I must mention one. From it you can see how the Word foretold that people without the knowledge of God would renounce their idols and put their hope in this Christ. I mean the Gentiles, who had eyes and did not see, and had a heart and did not understand, and who worshipped things made out of matter.²⁶³ 5 It is written like this: “Rejoice, thirsty desert; let the desert be glad and blossom like a lily. The deserts of the Jordan will blossom and be glad, and the glory of Lebanon was given to it, and the honor of Carmel. And my people will see the height of the Lord and the glory of God. Be strong, you slack hands and paralyzed knees. Be comforted, you fainthearted; be strong, do not fear. Look, our God pays back judgment, and he will pay it back. He himself will come and save us. Then the eyes of the blind will be opened, and the ears of the deaf will hear. Then the lame man will leap like a deer, and the tongue of the stammerers will be clear. For water has burst out in the desert, and a ravine in the thirsty land. The waterless land will become marshes, and in the thirsty land there will be a spring of water.”²⁶⁴

6 This Christ is the spring of living water from God, which gushed out in the desert, the land of the Gentiles, that had no knowledge of God. He also

260. Justin is referring to Pharaoh’s magicians (Exodus 7–8) and the prophets of Baal (1 Kings 18).

261. The older translation has “wine” where this Greek text reads “donkey” (onos). Justin is thinking of Jacob’s blessing of Judah, which mentions a donkey’s colt tied to the vine (Genesis 49:10–11).

262. The quotation is from Psalm 19:5 (Psalm 18:6 in the Greek numbering).

263. “Had eyes and did not see” echoes Jeremiah 5:21 (compare Isaiah 6:9–10).

appeared among your own people. He healed those who were blind, deaf, and lame in their bodies from birth. By his word he made one leap, another hear, another see. He also raised the dead and made them live. By these works he pressed the people of that time to recognize him.²⁶⁵ 7 But those who saw these things happen said it was a magic illusion. They even dared to call him a magician and a deceiver of the people. Yet he did these things also to persuade those who were going to believe in him of this: if anyone who has some bodily defect keeps the teachings that Christ handed down, Christ will raise him up whole at his second coming. He will also make him immortal, incorruptible, and free from sorrow.²⁶⁶

CHAPTER 70

So Also the Mysteries of Mithras are Distorted from the Prophecies of Daniel and Isaiah.

1 “When the men who hand down the mysteries of Mithras say that he was born from a rock, and call the place where they initiate his followers a cave, do I not know that here they have imitated what Daniel said, that ‘a stone was cut out of a great mountain without hands’? And they have likewise imitated what Isaiah said. They even tried to imitate all of his words, for they contrived to have words of righteous dealing spoken among them too.²⁶⁷

[*Daniel 2: 34; Daniel 2: 45*] 2 “I must go through the words of Isaiah that I mentioned, so that from them you may know that this is so. They are these: ‘Hear, you who are far off, what I have done; those who are near will know my strength. The lawless ones in Zion have departed; trembling will seize the ungodly. Who will tell you of the eternal place? The one who walks in righteousness, speaks what is straight, hates lawlessness and injustice, keeps his hands clear of bribes, stops his ears so as not to hear an unjust sentence of bloodshed, and shuts his eyes so as not to see injustice. He will dwell in the high cave of the strong rock. [*Isaiah 33: 13-16*]

264. Isaiah 35:1-7, quoted in a Greek form close to the Septuagint. It differs in places from the Hebrew-based wording in most English Bibles.

265. The Greek word here (*pēros*) can mean “maimed” or “blind.” It is taken as “blind” because Justin matches the three conditions with leaping, hearing, and seeing, as in Isaiah 35:5-6.

266. The older translation says Christ will raise him “after He has made him immortal.” The Greek means “along with” making him immortal, so the raising and the making immortal go together.

267. Mithras was a god of a mystery cult popular in the Roman Empire. He was commonly pictured as born from a rock, and he was worshiped in cave-like sanctuaries. Justin’s claim that the cult copied the prophets is his own polemical argument, not an established historical fact.

3 Bread will be given to him, and his water will be sure. You will see the King with glory, and your eyes will see from far off. Your soul will meditate on the fear of the Lord. Where is the scribe? Where are the counselors? Where is the one who counts those who are fed, small and great alike? They took no counsel with him, nor did they know the depths of the voices, so that they did not hear. A despised people, and the one who hears has no understanding.²⁶⁸ [Isaiah 33:16-19] 4 “Now it is plain that this prophecy speaks of the bread which our Christ handed down to us to do in remembrance of his taking a body for the sake of those who believe in him, for whose sake he also became subject to suffering. It also speaks of the cup, which he handed down to us to do, giving thanks, in remembrance of his blood. And this prophecy shows that we will see this same one as King in glory.²⁶⁹ [Luke 22:19-20; 1 Corinthians 11:24-25; Isaiah 33:16-17]

5 “The words of the prophecy cry out that the people foreknown to believe in him were foreknown to meditate on the fear of the Lord. These same Scriptures likewise cry out that those who think they understand the letter of the Scriptures, and who hear the prophecies, have no understanding. And when I hear, Trypho,” I said, “that Perseus was born of a virgin, I understand that the deceiving serpent imitated this as well.

CHAPTER 71

The Jews Reject the Interpretation of the LXX., from Which, Moreover, They Have Taken Away Some Passages.

1 “But I do not trust your teachers. They refuse to agree that the seventy elders who were with Ptolemy, king of the Egyptians, translated well, and they try to translate the Scriptures themselves.²⁷⁰ 2 “I want you to know that they have removed entirely many Scriptures from the translation made by those elders who were with Ptolemy. From these passages it is plainly shown that this very man who was crucified was proclaimed as God and man, and as one who would be crucified and die. I know that all of your people deny these passages, so I do not take up such questions. Instead I go on to make my arguments from the passages that you still admit.²⁷¹ 3 “For you accept all the

268. The whole quotation is Isaiah 33:13–19 in a Greek form close to the Septuagint. It differs considerably from the Hebrew-based wording in most English Bibles.

269. “To do in remembrance” echoes Jesus’ words at the Last Supper (Luke 22:19; 1 Corinthians 11:24–25), where the same Greek verb “do” is used.

270. The ‘seventy elders’ are the traditional translators of the Septuagint, the Greek Old Testament.

passages I have brought to you, except that you objected to the phrase ‘Behold, the virgin will conceive,’ saying that it was written, ‘Behold, the young woman will conceive.’ I promised to prove that the prophecy was not spoken about Hezekiah, as you were taught, but about this Christ of mine. And I will now give that proof.²⁷² [Isaiah 7:14]

4 Then Trypho said, “First, we ask you to tell us some of the Scriptures that you say have been completely removed.”

CHAPTER 72

Passages Have Been Removed by the Jews from Esdras and Jeremiah.

1 I said, “I will do as you wish. From the explanations that Esdras gave of the law about the Passover, they removed this explanation: ‘And Esdras said to the people: This Passover is our Savior and our refuge. If you understand, and it enters your heart, that we are going to humble him on a sign, and after this we put our hope in him, this place will never be made desolate, says the God of hosts. But if you do not believe him and do not listen to his preaching, you will be a laughingstock to the nations.’²⁷³ 2 And from the words spoken through Jeremiah they cut out this: “I was like a harmless lamb led away to be sacrificed. They devised a plan against me, saying: Come, let us put wood into his bread, and let us wipe him out from the land of the living, and his name shall never be remembered again.”²⁷⁴ [Jeremiah 11:19]

3 This passage from the words of Jeremiah is still written in some copies in the Jewish synagogues, for it was only a short time ago that they cut it out. These words prove that the Jews plotted against Christ himself, planning to crucify and kill him. He himself is shown here as a harmless lamb, just as Isaiah had prophesied that he would be “led like a sheep to the slaughter.” So, being at a loss, they turn to blasphemy.²⁷⁵ [Isaiah 53:7; Jeremiah 11:19] 4 In the same way they cut this out of the words of the same Jeremiah: “The Lord

271. Justin gives examples in chapters 72–73. Modern scholars generally think the passages he names were not removed by Jewish teachers. Most were probably Christian additions or variant readings. One example is “the Lord reigned from the tree” in Psalm 96:10.

272. In Isaiah 7:14 the Septuagint, the Greek translation Justin uses, has *parthenos*, “virgin.” The Hebrew word (*‘almah*) means a young woman. Later Jewish Greek translations, such as those of Aquila and Theodotion, used *neanis*, “young woman,” which is the reading Trypho gives.

273. “On a sign” translates the Greek literally. The older translation has “on a standard,” and Justin probably means the cross.

274. “Put wood into his bread” follows the Greek. English Bibles, translating the Hebrew, usually have “let us destroy the tree with its fruit.”

275. The quotation from Isaiah is Isaiah 53:7.

God, the Holy One of Israel, remembered his dead who had fallen asleep in the earth of the grave, and he went down to them to proclaim to them the good news of his salvation.”²⁷⁶

CHAPTER 73

[*the Words*] “*From the Wood*” Have Been Cut Out of Ps. XCVI.

¹ And from the ninety-fifth Psalm, from the words spoken through David, they removed a few short words: “from the wood.” The text said, “Say among the nations: The Lord has reigned from the wood.” They left only, “Say among the nations: The Lord has reigned.”²⁷⁷ [*Psalm 96:10*] ² But among the nations, none of your people has ever been said to have reigned as God and Lord, except this one alone who was crucified. In the same psalm the Holy Spirit says that he has been saved by rising again. The Spirit thus shows that he is not like the gods of the nations, for those are idols of demons.²⁷⁸

³ But so that you may understand what is being said, I will recite the whole psalm to you. It is this: “Sing to the Lord a new song; sing to the Lord, all the earth. Sing to the Lord and bless his name; proclaim the good news of his salvation day after day. Declare his glory among the nations, and his wonders among all the peoples. For the Lord is great and greatly to be praised; he is to be feared above all gods. For all the gods of the nations are demons, but the Lord made the heavens. Praise and beauty are before him; holiness and majesty are in his sanctuary. Bring to the Lord, you families of the nations, bring to the Lord glory and honor; bring to the Lord glory in his name.

⁴ “Take up offerings and enter his courts; worship the Lord in his holy court. Let all the earth be shaken before his face. Say among the nations: The Lord has reigned from the wood. For he has set the world right, and it will not be shaken; he will judge the peoples with fairness. Let the heavens be glad and the earth rejoice; the sea will be shaken, and all that fills it. The fields will rejoice, and everything in them. All the trees of the forest will exult before the Lord, for he is coming, he is coming to judge the earth. He

276. This saying is not found in any known text of Jeremiah or any other Old Testament book. Irenaeus also quotes it several times, sometimes under the name of Jeremiah and sometimes under the name of Isaiah.

277. The words “from the wood” are not in the Hebrew text or in the main manuscripts of the Greek Old Testament. They do appear in some early Christian quotations and in Old Latin versions. Most scholars think they were a Christian addition, not a Jewish deletion.

278. The older translation reads “freed from [the grave],” supplying words in brackets. The Greek says only that he “has been saved, having risen.”

will judge the world in righteousness, and the peoples in his truth.”⁵ Trypho said, “Whether the rulers of the people really removed anything from the Scriptures, as you say, God may know. But such a thing seems unbelievable.”

⁶ “Yes,” I said, “it does seem unbelievable. For it is more dreadful than the making of the calf, which they did when they had been filled with manna on earth. It is more dreadful than sacrificing their children to demons, or than killing the prophets themselves. But,” I said, “let us suppose you have never even heard the Scriptures which I said they cut out. For the many passages I have already recounted are more than enough to prove the points in question. And there are others still to be quoted, which have been preserved among you.”²⁷⁹

CHAPTER 74

The Beginning of Ps. XCVI. Is Attributed to the Father [by Trypho]. But [It Refers] to Christ by These Words: "Tell Ye Among the Nations that the Lord," Etc.

¹ Trypho said, “We know that you recounted these passages because we asked you to. But about this psalm, which you quoted last from the words of David, it does not seem to me that it was spoken of anyone other than the Father, who made the heavens and the earth. You, however, say that it was spoken of this suffering one, whom you are also eager to prove to be the Christ.”² I answered: Pay attention, I beg you, as I speak about the very words the Holy Spirit uttered in this psalm. Then you will know that I am not speaking wrongly, and that you have not really been put under a spell. In this way you will be able, on your own, to understand many other things the Holy Spirit has said. “Sing to the Lord a new song. Sing to the Lord, all the earth. Sing to the Lord and bless his name. Proclaim his salvation day after day, and his wonders among all the peoples.”²⁸⁰

³ He commands people from all the earth who have come to know this saving mystery, that is, the suffering of Christ, by which he saved them, to keep singing and chanting psalms to God, the Father of all. They are to recognize that the one who accomplished this salvation for the human race is to be praised and feared, and is the maker of heaven and earth. And they are to recognize Christ as the one who died after being crucified, and whom

279. The older translation said “retained by us.” The Greek says “preserved among you,” meaning among the Jews.

280. The quotation is Psalm 96:1–3 (Psalm 95 in the Greek Old Testament); parallel lines appear in 1 Chronicles 16:23–24.

God counted worthy to reign over all the earth, as also through . . .²⁸¹ 4 . . . of the land into which this people is entering, and they will forsake me and break my covenant, which I made with them in that day. I will forsake them and turn my face away from them. They will be devoured, and many evils and afflictions will find them. They will say in that day, “Because the Lord my God is not among us, these evils have found us.” But I will surely turn my face away from them in that day, because of all the evils they have done, for they turned to foreign gods.²⁸² [Deuteronomy 31:16-18]

CHAPTER 75

It is Proved that Jesus Was the Name of God in the Book of Exodus.

1 We have also understood that in the book of Exodus the name of God himself was Jesus. God says this name was not made known to Abraham or to Jacob, and it was likewise announced in a mystery through Moses. It is written like this: “And the Lord said to Moses, Say to this people: Behold, I am sending my angel before your face, to guard you on the way, so that he may bring you into the land I have prepared for you. Pay attention to him and listen to him. Do not disobey him. For he will not hold back from you, for my name is on him.”²⁸³ [Exodus 6:3; Exodus 23:20-21] 2 So who brought your fathers into the land? Understand at last that it was the one who was given the name Jesus, who was formerly called Auses. For if you understand this, you will also recognize that the name of the one who said to Moses, “for my name is on him,” was Jesus. Indeed, he was himself also called Israel, and he likewise renamed Jacob with this name.²⁸⁴ [Exodus 23:21; Numbers 13:16; Genesis 32:28]

3 Isaiah has also shown that the prophets who are sent to announce what comes from God are called both angels and apostles of God. For there Isaiah

281. The Greek text breaks off at the end of this section, and the next section begins in the middle of a sentence, so some text is lost between them. The older English supplies bracketed words to bridge the gap.

282. This section opens in the middle of a quotation of Deuteronomy 31:16-18; the lost words are probably “This people will rise up and prostitute themselves after the foreign gods” (31:16), to which “of the land” belongs.

283. God’s statement that his name was not made known to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob is in Exodus 6:3. The quotation is Exodus 23:20-21, given in the Greek Old Testament’s form. There, “he will not hold back from you” stands where the Hebrew has “he will not pardon your transgressions.”

284. The Greek has an active verb, “he renamed Jacob,” with the one who spoke to Moses as the apparent subject.

says, “Send me.” And it is plain to everyone that the man who was given the name Jesus became a mighty and great prophet.²⁸⁵ [Isaiah 6:8] 4 If, then, we know that this God appeared in so many forms to Abraham, to Jacob and to Moses, how can we be at a loss and refuse to believe that, according to the will of the Father of all, he could also be born a man of a virgin? And this when we have so many Scriptures, from which we can plainly understand that this too happened according to the Father’s will.²⁸⁶

CHAPTER 76

From Other Passages the Same Majesty and Government of Christ are Proved.

1 When Daniel speaks of one “like a son of man” who receives the everlasting kingdom, is he not hinting at this very thing? To say “like a son of man” shows that he appeared and became a man, but it also makes clear that he did not come from human seed. Likewise, to say that this stone was cut out “without hands” proclaims the same thing in a mystery. To say it was cut out without hands shows that it is not a human work, but comes from the will of God, the Father of all, who brought him forth.²⁸⁷ [Daniel 7:13-14; Daniel 2:34]

2 When Isaiah says, “Who will declare his generation?” he was showing that this one has an origin that cannot be told. No one who is a man born of men has an origin that cannot be told. And when Moses says that he will wash his robe in the blood of the grape, is that not what I have already told you many times, that Moses prophesied in veiled terms? He foretold that this one would have blood, but not from men, just as it is not man but God who produced the blood of the vine.²⁸⁸ [Isaiah 53:8; Genesis 49:11]

3 And when Isaiah called him “messenger of great counsel,” was he not announcing in advance that he would become the teacher of the very things he taught when he came? The Father had made great plans for all people who have pleased him and will please him. He had also made plans for those who have turned away from his counsel, whether men or angels. This one alone taught those plans openly, without veiling them, when he said:²⁸⁹ [Isaiah 9:6]

285. “Angel” in Greek means “messenger,” and “apostle” means “one sent.” That is why Justin can say the prophets are called both. “Send me” is from Isaiah 6:8.

286. “This God” translates Justin’s “that God,” meaning the one who appeared to the patriarchs. Justin distinguishes him from “the Father of all,” whose will he carries out.

287. The “son of man” who receives the everlasting kingdom is from Daniel 7:13–14. The stone cut out without hands is from Daniel 2:34 (see also 2:45).

288. The washing of the robe in the blood of the grape is from Genesis 49:11, Jacob’s blessing of Judah. Justin calls it a word of Moses because Moses was held to be the author of Genesis.

⁴ “They will come from east and west, and will sit at table with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven. But the sons of the kingdom will be thrown out into the outer darkness.”²⁹⁰ [Matthew 8:11-12] ⁵ And: “Many will say to me on that day, ‘Lord, Lord, did we not eat and drink and prophesy and cast out demons in your name?’ And I will say to them, ‘Depart from me.’” And in other sayings, by which he will condemn those who are unworthy to be saved, he said that he will say: “Go into the outer darkness, which the Father has prepared for Satan and his angels.”²⁹¹ [Matthew 7:22-23; Matthew 25:41]

⁶ And again, in other sayings, he said: “I give you authority to trample on snakes and scorpions and centipedes, and over all the power of the enemy.” And now we who believe in Jesus our Lord, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, have all demons and evil spirits subject to us when we exorcise them. For even though it had been proclaimed through the prophets, in veiled language, that Christ would suffer and afterward be Lord of all, still no one could understand it. That remained so until he himself convinced the apostles that these things had been plainly proclaimed in the Scriptures.²⁹² [Luke 10:19; Luke 24:25-27] ⁷ For before he was crucified he cried out: “The Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the scribes and Pharisees, and be crucified, and rise on the third day.” David also proclaimed that, according to the Father’s counsel, he would be born from the womb before the sun and moon. And David showed that he, being Christ, is a mighty God, worthy of worship.²⁹³ [Luke 9:22; Mark 8:31]

289. The phrase “messenger (angel) of great counsel” comes from the Greek Old Testament of Isaiah 9:6 (9:5 in the Greek and Hebrew numbering). The Hebrew text has “Wonderful Counselor” instead.

290. Matthew 8:11-12.

291. Justin is quoting from memory and blending sayings. The first is close to Matthew 7:22-23, but “eat and drink” is not there; compare Luke 13:26, “We ate and drank in your presence.” The second combines “outer darkness” (Matthew 25:30) with Matthew 25:41, where Jesus speaks of “the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels.”

292. The saying is from Luke 10:19. “Centipedes” is not in Luke; it is Justin’s addition or comes from the form of the saying he knew.

293. Justin appears to be combining Psalm 110:3 in the Greek Old Testament (“from the womb, before the morning star, I have begotten you”) with Psalm 72:5 and 72:17 (“before the moon,” “before the sun”).

CHAPTER 77

He Returns to Explain the Prophecy of Isaiah.

¹ Trypho said: “I agree with you that such things, and so many of them, are enough to give anyone pause. But I want you to know that I am still asking you to prove the passage you have often brought up. So carry that one through for us as well, so that we may see how you show that it was spoken about this Christ of yours. For we say it was prophesied about Hezekiah.”²⁹⁴

² I said: “I will do this too, as you wish. But first you show me that it was said about Hezekiah that, before he knew how to call father or mother, he took the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria in the presence of the king of Assyria. You will not be allowed to explain it as you like, by saying that Hezekiah made war on the people of Damascus or Samaria in the presence of the king of Assyria. For the prophetic word said: ‘Before the child knows how to call father or mother, he will take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria in the presence of the king of Assyria.’”²⁹⁵ [Isaiah 8:4]

³ Suppose the prophetic Spirit had not added this clause, “Before the child knows how to call father or mother, he will take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria.” Suppose he had said only, “And she will bear a son, and he will take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria.” Then you could say that God had said it beforehand because he foreknew that the child would take these things. But as it is, the prophecy was spoken with this added clause: “Before the child knows how to call father or mother, he will take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria.” You cannot show that this ever happened to anyone among the Jews, but we can show that it happened in the case of our Christ. [Isaiah 8:4; Isaiah 7:14] ⁴ For as soon as he was born, Magi came from Arabia and worshiped him. They had first gone to Herod, who was then reigning in your land. Scripture calls him king of Assyria because of his godless and lawless character. For you know,” I said, “that the Holy Spirit often speaks of such things in parables and comparisons. He did

294. The passage is Isaiah 7:14 (“the virgin shall conceive and bear a son”). Justin quoted it earlier in the dialogue together with Isaiah 8:4 (the child who takes the power of Damascus), and Trypho had already said that Jews apply it to Hezekiah.

295. The quotation is Isaiah 8:4 as found in the Greek Old Testament, where “he will take” is read of the child; the Hebrew is usually rendered impersonally: the wealth of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria “will be carried away before the king of Assyria.”

this also with all the people in Jerusalem, often saying to them, ‘Your father is an Amorite and your mother a Hittite.’²⁹⁶ [Matthew 2:1-2; Ezekiel 16:3]

CHAPTER 78

He Proves that This Prophecy Harmonizes with Christ Alone, from What is Afterwards Written.

1 Now the Magi from Arabia came to this King Herod. They said that from a star which had appeared in the sky they knew a king had been born in your country, “and we have come to worship him.” Herod then learned from the elders of your people that it would be in Bethlehem, for they said it is written in the prophet in this way: “And you, Bethlehem, land of Judah, are by no means least among the rulers of Judah. For out of you will come a ruler who will shepherd my people.”²⁹⁷ [Matthew 2:2; Matthew 2:6; Micah 5:2] 2 So the Magi from Arabia came to Bethlehem and worshipped the child, and they offered him gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh. Then, by a revelation after they had worshipped the child in Bethlehem, they were told not to go back to Herod. [Matthew 2:11; Matthew 2:12] 3 Joseph, who was betrothed to Mary, had at first wanted to send away his betrothed, Mary. He supposed she was pregnant by intercourse with a man, that is, by fornication. But he was commanded in a vision not to send his wife away. The angel who appeared to him told him that what she carried in her womb was from the Holy Spirit. [Matthew 1:19; Matthew 1:20]

4 So he was afraid, and he did not send her away. At the time of the first census in Judea, under Quirinius, he went up from Nazareth, where he lived, to Bethlehem, where he came from, to be registered. His family came from the tribe of Judah, which lived in that region. Then he was commanded to go out into Egypt with Mary and to stay there with the child, until it should again be revealed to them that they should return to Judea.²⁹⁸ [Matthew 1:24; Luke 2:2; Luke 2:4; Matthew 2:13] 5 When the child was born in Bethlehem, Joseph had nowhere to lodge in that village, so he stayed in a cave near it. While they were there, Mary gave birth to the Christ and laid him in a manger.

296. The saying about the Amorite father and Hittite mother is from Ezekiel 16:3, where it is spoken to Jerusalem. Justin’s point is that “Assyria” and “Amorite” are figurative labels, not literal descriptions.

297. Justin’s quotation follows the wording of Matthew 2:6 rather than Micah 5:2 (5:1 in the Hebrew), whether in the Hebrew or the Greek Old Testament.

298. The older translation’s “Cyrenius” follows the Greek spelling of the name (Kyrenios). The Latin form, Quirinius, is the one usually used today. The census is the one in Luke 2:1–5.

That is where the Magi from Arabia came and found him.²⁹⁹ [Luke 2:7] 6 “I have already told you,” I said, “that Isaiah proclaimed beforehand the sign connected with the cave. But for the sake of those who have come with you today, I will mention the passage again.” So I recounted the passage from Isaiah that I had written out earlier. I added that, because of those words, the devil was at work in the men who hand down the mysteries of Mithras. He moved them to say that people are initiated by them in a place that they call a cave.³⁰⁰

7 Herod had asked the Magi from Arabia to come back to him. But they did not. As they had been commanded, they left for their own country by another road. Joseph, with Mary and the child, had also already gone out into Egypt, as had been revealed to them. So Herod did not know which child the Magi had come to worship, and he ordered all the children in Bethlehem, without exception, to be killed. [Matthew 2:12; Matthew 2:16] 8 This too had been prophesied through Jeremiah, since the Holy Spirit spoke through him in these words: “A voice was heard in Ramah, weeping and much mourning. Rachel was weeping for her children, and she would not be comforted, because they are no more.” Now the voice was to be heard from Ramah, that is, from Arabia. (There is still today a place in Arabia called Ramah.) So weeping was to seize the place where Rachel is buried, that is, Bethlehem. Rachel was the wife of Jacob, the holy patriarch, who was also called Israel. The women wept for their own children who had been killed, and they had no comfort in what had happened to them.³⁰¹ [Jeremiah 31:15; Matthew 2:18]

9 Isaiah said, “He will take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria.” By this he meant that the power of the wicked demon living in Damascus would be defeated by Christ as soon as he was born. And it is shown that this happened. The Magi had been carried off as plunder into every evil practice worked by that demon. Yet they came and worshipped Christ, and so they clearly broke away from that power which had plundered

299. The cave is not mentioned in the Gospels. Luke 2:7 speaks only of a manger. Matthew 2:1 says the Magi came “from the east.” The claim that they came from Arabia is Justin’s own.

300. The Greek says “with you” where the older translation has “with us.” It also says the initiation is done “by them,” meaning the leaders of the cult, where the older translation has “by him,” meaning the devil.

301. Justin’s claim that Ramah was in Arabia is his own. In Jeremiah 31:15 and Matthew 2:18, Ramah is the town of that name in the territory of Benjamin, north of Jerusalem. Rachel’s burial near Bethlehem comes from Genesis 35:19.

them. In a hidden way, the Scripture showed us that this power lived in Damascus.³⁰² [Isaiah 8:4] 10 Because that power is sinful and unjust, Isaiah rightly calls it “Samaria” in a figure. And none of you can deny that Damascus was and is part of the land of Arabia, even if it is now assigned to what is called Syrophenicia. So, gentlemen, it would be good for you to learn what you have not understood from those who have received grace from our God, that is, from us Christians. You should not fight in every way to defend your own teachings and so dishonor the things of God.³⁰³

11 For this reason this grace has been transferred to us, as Isaiah says: “This people draws near to me. They honor me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. They worship me in vain, teaching the commandments and doctrines of men. Therefore, see, I will go on to remove this people, and I will remove them. I will take away the wisdom of their wise men, and I will set aside the understanding of their intelligent men.”³⁰⁴ [Isaiah 29:13-14]

CHAPTER 79

He Proves Against Trypho that the Wicked Angels Have Revolted from God.

1 Trypho was somewhat indignant, but he still respected the Scriptures, as his face showed. He said to me, “The words of God are holy, but your interpretations are contrived, as is plain from what you have just explained. Worse, they are blasphemous, for you say that angels did evil and fell away from God.” 2 I spoke in a gentler tone, because I wanted him to be ready to listen to me. I answered, “I admire this reverence of yours, sir, and I pray that you will have the same attitude toward the one whom, as Scripture records, the angels serve. Daniel says that one like a son of man is brought to the Ancient of Days, and that every kingdom is given to him forever and ever. But I want you to know, sir, that we have not used our own daring to produce this interpretation that you object to. I will give you testimony from Isaiah himself,

302. Justin reads Isaiah 8:4 as a prophecy about the Magi. “Plundered” plays on the word for “spoils” in the quotation.

303. Ancient writers usually counted Damascus as part of Syria. Justin places it in Arabia so that the Magi “from Arabia” fit Isaiah’s prophecy about Damascus. In Paul’s day the city was for a time under an official of the Nabataean Arab king Aretas (2 Corinthians 11:32).

304. The quotation is Isaiah 29:13–14 in the Greek Old Testament. Jesus quotes verse 13 in Matthew 15:8–9, and Paul quotes verse 14 in 1 Corinthians 1:19. Justin connects the two halves of his point with the same Greek verb: the grace was “transferred” (metetethē), and God will “remove” (metatheinai) this people.

who says that evil angels have lived, and still live, in Tanis in the land of Egypt.³⁰⁵ [*Daniel 7:13-14*]

3 “These are his words: ‘Woe to you, rebellious children, says the Lord. You have made a plan, but not through me, and agreements, but not through my Spirit, so as to add sins to sins. They set out to go down to Egypt, but they did not ask me, so that Pharaoh might help them and they might be sheltered under the shelter of the Egyptians. The shelter of Pharaoh will become your shame, and a reproach to those who trust in the Egyptians, because in Tanis there are rulers who are evil angels. They will labor in vain for a people that will not help them, but will bring them shame and reproach.’³⁰⁶ [*Isaiah 30:1-5*] 4 “Zechariah also says, as you yourself mentioned, that the devil stood at the right hand of Jesus the priest to oppose him, and that the Lord said, ‘The Lord rebuke you, the Lord who has chosen Jerusalem.’ Again, it is written in Job, as you also said, that the angels came to stand before the Lord, and the devil came with them. We also have it written by Moses at the beginning of Genesis that the serpent deceived Eve and was cursed. We know that in Egypt magicians tried to match the power that God worked through his faithful servant Moses. And you know that David said, ‘The gods of the nations are demons.’”³⁰⁷ [*Zechariah 3:1-2; Job 1:6; Genesis 3:13-14*]

CHAPTER 80

The Opinion of Justin with Regard to the Reign of a Thousand Years. Several Catholics Reject It.

1 Trypho answered, “I told you, sir, that you are careful to stay on safe ground in everything, since you cling closely to the Scriptures. But tell me, do you truly agree that this place, Jerusalem, will be rebuilt? Do you expect your people to be gathered and to rejoice with the Christ, together with the patriarchs and the prophets and the holy ones of our nation, and also those who became proselytes before your Christ came? Or did you give in and agree to this only so that you might seem to get the better of us in our debates?” 2 I said, “I am not so wretched, Trypho, as to say one thing and think another. I

305. The reference is to Daniel 7:13–14.

306. This is Isaiah 30:1–5 as it reads in the Greek Old Testament (the Septuagint). The Hebrew text of verse 4 reads “his princes are at Zoan (Tanis), and his envoys reach Hanes.” The phrase “evil angels” comes from the Greek version, and Justin’s argument depends on it.

307. The other passages are Job 1:6 and 2:1, Genesis 3:1–14, and Exodus 7–8. The David quotation is Psalm 96:5 (95:5 in the Greek numbering). The Greek Old Testament reads “demons” there, where the Hebrew has “idols” or “worthless things.”

admitted to you earlier that I and many others hold this view, and that we know for certain it will happen. But I also pointed out to you that many Christians who are of pure and godly mind do not acknowledge this.”³⁰⁸

3 “I made clear to you that there are people called Christians who are really godless and impious heretics, because they teach things that are blasphemous, godless and foolish in every respect. And so that you may know I am not saying this to you alone, I will compile a record, as well as I can, of all the discussions we have had. In it I will record that I confess the very thing I confess to you. For I choose to follow not men, or the teachings of men, but God and the teachings that come from him.” 4 “Suppose you have met some who are called Christians but do not confess this, and who even dare to blaspheme the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob. They say there is no resurrection of the dead, but that their souls are taken up into heaven at the moment they die. Do not think they are Christians. In the same way, anyone who examines the matter rightly would not agree that the Sadducees, or similar sects, are Jews. I mean the Genistae, Meristae, Galileans, Hellenians, Pharisees and Baptists. Do not be offended to hear me say everything I think. They are called Jews and children of Abraham, and they confess God with their lips, as God himself cried out, but their heart is far from him.”³⁰⁹ [*Isaiah 29:13; Matthew 15:8*]

5 I, however, and every other Christian who is right-minded in all things, know that there will be a resurrection of the flesh, and a thousand years in Jerusalem, rebuilt, adorned and enlarged, as the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah and the others declare.³¹⁰

CHAPTER 81

He Endeavours to Prove This Opinion from Isaiah and the Apocalypse.

1 For Isaiah spoke about this thousand-year period in these words: “For there shall be a new heaven and a new earth, and they shall not remember the former things, nor shall these come into their heart. But they shall find gladness and rejoicing in it, in all that I create. For behold, I make Jerusalem a rejoicing and my people a gladness, and I will rejoice over Jerusalem and be

308. Justin openly admits here that many Christians of pure and godly mind did not share his belief in a rebuilt Jerusalem and a thousand-year reign.

309. The closing words echo Isaiah 29:13 (compare Matthew 15:8).

310. In the next chapter (81) Justin supports the thousand years by quoting Isaiah 65 and by citing the Revelation of John (see Revelation 20:4–6).

glad over my people. No longer shall the sound of weeping be heard in her, nor the sound of crying. And there shall no longer be there a child who lives only a few days, or an old man who does not fill out his time. For the young man shall be a hundred years old, and the sinner who dies at a hundred years old shall be accursed.³¹¹ [Isaiah 65:17-20] 2 “And they shall build houses and live in them themselves, and they shall plant vineyards and eat their fruits themselves. They shall not build for others to live in, nor plant for others to eat. For the days of my people shall be like the days of the tree of life, and they shall wear out the works of their labors. My chosen ones shall not labor in vain, nor bear children for a curse. For they shall be a righteous seed, blessed by the Lord, and their offspring with them. And before they cry out, I will answer them; while they are still speaking, I will say, ‘What is it?’ Then wolves and lambs shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox, and the serpent shall eat earth like bread. They shall not do wrong or cause ruin on the holy mountain, says the Lord.”³¹² [Isaiah 65:21-25]

3 I said: “We have understood that these words, ‘For the days of my people shall be like the days of the tree, they shall wear out the works of their labors,’ point in a hidden way to a thousand years. For Adam was told that on the day he ate from the tree he would die, and we know that he did not complete a thousand years. We have also understood that the saying, ‘A day of the Lord is as a thousand years,’ bears on this.”³¹³ [Isaiah 65:22; Genesis 2:17; 2 Peter 3:8] 4 And furthermore, among us a certain man named John, one of the apostles of Christ, prophesied in a revelation given to him that those who believed in our Christ would spend a thousand years in Jerusalem. After that, he said, the universal and, in short, eternal resurrection and judgment of all together would take place. Our Lord also said this: “They will neither marry nor be given in marriage, but will be equal to the angels, being children of the God of the resurrection.”³¹⁴ [Revelation 20:4-6; Luke 20:35-36]

311. Justin quotes Isaiah 65:17-25 in a form close to the Greek Septuagint, with some differences in wording. Here I have translated his Greek as he gives it.

312. The older translation adds “and drink the wine” after “eat the produce of them.” The Greek has no such words. It also gives “the works of their toil shall abound,” where the Greek says they will “wear out” or “make old” the works of their labors. The older translation’s last sentence, “Now we have understood...,” belongs to the start of 81.3 in the Greek and is translated there.

313. Justin is drawing on the warning about the tree in Genesis 2:17 and on Genesis 5:5, where Adam dies at 930 years, short of a thousand. The saying about a day and a thousand years echoes Psalm 90:4, and its wording is closer to 2 Peter 3:8.

CHAPTER 82

The Prophetical Gifts of the Jews Were Transferred to the Christians.

¹For among us even until now there are prophetic gifts. From this you yourselves ought to understand that what was once in your nation has been transferred to us. And just as there were false prophets in the time of your holy prophets, so among us now there are many false teachers. Our Lord warned us to be on guard against them, so that we would lack nothing, since we know that he foresaw what would happen to us after his resurrection from the dead and his ascent into heaven. [2 *Peter* 2:1; *Matthew* 7:15] ²For he said that we would be killed and hated because of his name, and that many false prophets and false christs would come in his name and deceive many. And that is exactly what is happening.³¹⁵ [*Matthew* 24:9; *Matthew* 24:5; *Matthew* 24:11; *Matthew* 24:24] ³For many have taught godless, blasphemous and unjust things, counterfeiting them in his name. They have taught, and still teach to this day, the things that the unclean spirit, the devil, put into their minds. We struggle to persuade them, as we do you, not to be led astray, knowing that everyone who is able to speak the truth and does not will be judged by God. God testified to this through Ezekiel when he said, “I have set you as a watchman for the house of Judah. If the sinner sins and you do not warn him, he will perish in his sin, but I will require his blood from you. But if you warn him, you will be clear of guilt.”³¹⁶ [*Ezekiel* 3:17-19]

⁴So it is out of fear that we too are eager to speak according to the Scriptures, and not out of love of money, love of reputation, or love of pleasure. In none of these things can anyone prove us guilty. Nor do we want to live like the rulers of your people, whom God rebukes when he says, “Your rulers are partners of thieves, lovers of gifts, chasing after payment.” And if you know of some among us who are like that, do not, because of such people, blaspheme the Scriptures and Christ, and do not work so eagerly to twist the meaning of the Scriptures.³¹⁷ [*Isaiah* 1:23]

314. The saying of the Lord is from Luke 20:35–36 (compare Matthew 22:30). Luke has “they are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection.” Justin’s shorter Greek most naturally reads “children of the God of the resurrection,” as the older translation gives it.

315. Compare Matthew 24:5, 9, 11 and 24.

316. The Ezekiel quotation is a loose paraphrase of Ezekiel 3:17–21 and 33:7–9. Ezekiel has “the house of Israel,” where Justin has “the house of Judah.” I have translated it as Justin wrote it.

317. The rulers’ quotation is a shortened form of Isaiah 1:23 in the Greek Septuagint.

CHAPTER 83

It is Proved that the Psalm, "The Lord Said to My Lord," Etc., Does Not Suit Hezekiah.

1 For your teachers have even dared to explain the words "The Lord says to my Lord: Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet" as spoken about Hezekiah. They say he was told to sit at the right side of the temple when the king of the Assyrians sent him threats, and Isaiah told him not to be afraid. We know and agree that what Isaiah said did happen this way. The king of the Assyrians turned back from making war on Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah, and an angel of the Lord killed about 185,000 men from the Assyrian camp.³¹⁸ [*Psalm 110:1; Isaiah 37:36*] 2 But it is plain that the psalm was not spoken about him. For it reads: "The Lord says to my Lord: Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet. He will send out a rod of power to Jerusalem, and will rule in the midst of your enemies. In the splendor of the holy ones, before the morning star, I have begotten you. The Lord has sworn and will not change his mind: You are a priest forever, after the order of Melchizedek."³¹⁹

3 Who does not admit, then, that Hezekiah is not a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek? Who does not know that he is not the redeemer of Jerusalem? And who does not know that he did not send a rod of power to Jerusalem, or rule in the midst of his enemies, but that it was God who turned the enemies away from him as he wept and grieved? 4 But our Jesus, who has not yet come in glory, has sent a rod of power to Jerusalem. This is the word of calling and repentance to all the nations, where demons held sway over them, as David says: "The gods of the nations are demons." His powerful word has persuaded many to leave the demons they used to serve, and through him to believe in the Almighty God, because the gods of the nations are demons. And the words "In the splendor of the holy ones, from the womb, before the morning star, I have begotten you" were spoken to Christ, as we said before.³²⁰

318. The quotation is from Psalm 110:1. For the events with Hezekiah and the Assyrians, see 2 Kings 19 and Isaiah 37.

319. Justin quotes the Greek (Septuagint) form of Psalm 110 (Psalm 109 in the Greek numbering), including "from the womb, before the morning star, I have begotten you." The Septuagint has the Lord sending out a rod of power "for you from Zion," and the Hebrew has "your mighty scepter from Zion." Justin's wording here is "to Jerusalem."

CHAPTER 84

That Prophecy, "Behold, a Virgin," Etc., Suits Christ Alone.

¹ The words "Behold, the virgin will conceive and bear a son" were also spoken beforehand about him. For if the one Isaiah spoke of was not to be born of a virgin, then of whom was the Holy Spirit crying out: "Behold, the Lord himself will give us a sign: behold, the virgin will conceive and bear a son"? If he too were going to be born from sexual union, like all other first-born children, why did God say he would do a sign that is not common to all firstborn children?³²¹ [*Isaiah 7:14*] ² But God foretold what was truly a sign, one that would be trustworthy for the human race: that the firstborn of all things made would become flesh through a virgin's womb and truly become a child. He announced this ahead of time through the prophetic Spirit in one way after another, as I have recounted to you. He did this so that when it happened it would be recognized as done by the power and will of the Maker of all things. It is just as Eve came from one of Adam's ribs, and as all the other living creatures came into being in the beginning by the word of God.

³²² [*Colossians 1:15; Genesis 2:21-22*]

³ But you dare, even in these matters, to set aside the translation that your elders made when they were with Ptolemy, king of the Egyptians. You say the Scripture does not read as they translated it but says, "Behold, the young woman will conceive." As if great things were being signaled if a woman were going to give birth after sexual union! That is what all young women do, except the barren, and God can make even them bear if he wishes.³²³ [*Isaiah 7:14*] ⁴ Samuel's mother, who could not bear children, gave birth by the will of God. So did the wife of the holy patriarch Abraham, and Elizabeth, who bore John the Baptist, and some others likewise. So you must not think it impossible that God can do whatever he wishes. This is especially so because it was prophesied that this would happen. Do not dare to alter the

320. "The gods of the nations are demons" is from the Greek (Septuagint) of Psalm 96:5 (Psalm 95:5 in the Greek numbering). The Hebrew has "idols" or "worthless things." The Septuagint heading assigns this psalm to David.

321. The prophecy is Isaiah 7:14.

322. "Firstborn of all things made" echoes Colossians 1:15 ("firstborn of all creation"). However, Justin's Greek word here (*poiēmata*, "things made") is different from Paul's word for "creation" (*ktisis*).

323. Justin refers to the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, which has "virgin" (*parthenos*) in Isaiah 7:14. The Jewish teachers he argues with preferred "young woman" (*neanis*), as in later Greek versions.

prophecies or twist their meaning, for you will wrong only yourselves, and you will not harm God. [*Genesis 21: 2; Luke 1: 57*]

CHAPTER 85

He Proves that Christ is the Lord of Hosts from Ps. XXIV., and from His Authority Over Demons.

1 And some of you likewise dare to explain the prophecy that says, “Lift up your gates, you rulers, and be lifted up, you everlasting gates, that the King of glory may come in,” as if it were spoken of Hezekiah, while others say it is about Solomon. But it cannot be shown that it was spoken of Hezekiah, or of Solomon, or of any other man called your king. It was spoken only of this Christ of ours, who appeared without form or honor, as Isaiah, David and all the Scriptures said. He is the Lord of hosts by the will of the Father who gave this to him. He also rose from the dead and went up into heaven, as the Psalm and the other Scriptures made clear, and they proclaimed him Lord of hosts. And you could more easily be persuaded of this, if you are willing, by what is happening before your eyes.³²⁴ [*Psalm 24: 7; Isaiah 53: 2*]

2 For every demon that is exorcised in the name of this very Son of God is overcome and made subject. He is the firstborn of all creation, born of a virgin, and he became a man who could suffer. He was crucified under Pontius Pilate by your people and died, and he rose from the dead and went up into heaven.³²⁵ [*Colossians 1: 15*] 3 But if you exorcise in the name of any of those who lived among you, whether kings, or righteous men, or prophets, or patriarchs, no demon will submit. But if one of you were to exorcise in the name of the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, perhaps it would submit. Yet your exorcists, I said, already use the magic art when they exorcise, just as the Gentiles do. They use incense and binding spells.³²⁶ 4 The word of David likewise showed that it is angels and powers whom the prophecy through David tells to lift up the gates, so that this one who rose from the dead, Jesus Christ, the Lord of hosts according to the Father’s will, might enter. I will bring up that word of David again for the sake of those

324. “Hosts” translates the Greek “dynameis” (powers), which can also mean armies or heavenly powers.

325. “Firstborn of all creation” quotes Colossians 1:15.

326. “Binding spells” translates “katadesmoi,” a word for magical spells that “bind” a person or spirit. The older translation’s “incantations” is looser.

who were not with us yesterday. For their sake I am also summarizing much of what was said yesterday.

5 And if I say this to you now, even though I have repeated it many times, I know that it is not out of place. Think how ridiculous it would be. We see the sun, the moon and the other stars always keep the same course and bring round the seasons. A man who works with numbers, if he is asked what twice two is, does not stop saying “four” just because he has said it many times before. Everything else that is firmly agreed is likewise always stated and agreed in the same way. Yet a man who gives talks from the prophetic Scriptures is supposed to leave them alone and not keep speaking the same Scriptures, and to think he can produce something better than Scripture! 6 So this is the passage by which I showed that God makes known that there are angels and powers in heaven: “Praise the Lord from the heavens, praise him in the highest places. Praise him, all his angels; praise him, all his powers.” Then one of those who had come with them on the second day, a man named Mnaseas, said, “We too are glad that you try to say the same things again for our sake.”³²⁷

7 And I said, “Listen, friends, to the Scripture I am obeying in doing this. Jesus commanded us to love even our enemies. This had also been proclaimed through Isaiah in several passages. These include the mystery of our new birth, and, in short, the new birth of all who expect that Christ will appear in Jerusalem and who strive by their works to please him.”³²⁸ [Matthew 5:44; Luke 6:27] 8 These are the words through Isaiah: ‘Hear the word of the Lord, you who tremble at his word. Say, “Our brothers,” to those who hate you and detest you, so that the name of the Lord may be glorified. He appeared in their joy, and those people will be put to shame. A voice of outcry from the city, a voice of the people, a voice of the Lord who pays back the proud what they deserve. Before the woman in labor gave birth, and before the pain of labor came, she bore a male child.’³²⁹ [Isaiah 66:5-7]

9 Who has heard of such a thing, and who has seen such a thing? Did the earth go into labor in one day? Was a nation born all at once? Yet Zion went into labor and gave birth to her children. But I have given this expectation

327. The quotation is Psalm 148:1-2. “Powers” here is the same Greek word (“*dynameis*”) as “hosts” in “Lord of hosts.” Justin’s argument links the two.

328. Jesus’ command to love enemies is found in Matthew 5:44 and Luke 6:27.

329. This is Isaiah 66:5-7. Where Justin’s text reads “a voice of the people” (*laou*), the Septuagint reads “a voice from the temple” (*ek naou*), a very similar-looking word.

even to her who does not bear, said the Lord. Look, I have made her who bears, and her who is barren, says the Lord. Rejoice, Jerusalem, and keep a festival, all you who love her. Be glad, all you who mourn over her, so that you may nurse and be filled from the breast of her comfort, and that, having nursed, you may delight yourselves from the entrance of his glory.”³³⁰ [*Isaiah 66: 8-11*]

CHAPTER 86

There are Various Figures in the Old Testament of the Wood of the Cross by Which Christ Reigned.

¹ When I had said this, I added: “The Scriptures show that this man will come again in glory after he has been crucified. Hear how he was represented by a symbol of the tree of life, which was said to have been planted in paradise, and of the things that would happen to all the righteous. Moses was sent with a rod to redeem the people. Holding it in his hand at the head of the people, he divided the sea. Through it he saw water gush out of the rock. And when he threw a piece of wood into the water at Marah, which was bitter, he made it sweet.”³³¹ [*Genesis 2: 9; Exodus 14: 16; Exodus 15: 25; Exodus 17: 6*] ² By putting rods into the water troughs, Jacob succeeded in making the sheep of his uncle conceive, so that he could gain for himself the young born from them. The same Jacob boasts that he crossed the river with his rod. He said that he had seen a ladder, and the Scripture has made clear that God was standing firmly on it. We have shown from the Scriptures that this was not the Father. And in that same place Jacob poured oil on a stone. The very God who appeared to him bears witness that Jacob had anointed a pillar to the God who appeared to him.”³³² [*Genesis 30: 37-38; Genesis 32: 10; Genesis 28: 12-13; Genesis 31: 13*]

³ We have likewise shown that Christ was proclaimed in symbol as a stone through many Scriptures. And we have shown that all anointing, whether with oil or with myrrh or with the other ingredients of the com-

330. This is Isaiah 66:8-11. Justin’s wording in verse 9 (“even to her who does not bear”) differs from the standard Septuagint text, and it is translated here as he wrote it.

331. Throughout this chapter Justin collects Old Testament passages that mention wood, a tree, a rod or a staff, and reads them as pointing to the cross. The Greek word *xylon* means both “tree” and “wood,” so the same word covers the tree of life, the wood thrown into the water at Marah (Exodus 15:23-25), and the “tree” of the cross. The other events are the sea divided (Exodus 14:16) and water from the rock (Exodus 17:5-6).

332. Justin argued earlier in the Dialogue that the God who appeared to the patriarchs was not the Father but the one Christians call the Son.

pounded ointment, belonged to him, since the word says: "Therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your companions." For all the kings and anointed ones received from him their share in being called kings and anointed ones. In the same way he himself received from the Father the titles King, Christ, Priest and Angel, and whatever other such titles he has or has had.³³³ 4 Aaron's rod, which put forth a shoot, showed that Aaron was the high priest. Isaiah prophesied that Christ would be a rod from the root of Jesse. And David says that the righteous man is like the tree planted beside the channels of water, which will give its fruit in its season, and whose leaf will not fall off. It is also said that the righteous will blossom like a palm tree.³³⁴ [Numbers 17: 8; Isaiah 11: 1]

5 God appeared to Abraham from a tree, as it is written, by the oak of Mamre. The people found seventy willows and twelve springs after crossing the Jordan. David says that he was comforted by God with a rod and a staff.³³⁵ [Genesis 18: 1; Exodus 15: 27] 6 Elisha threw a piece of wood into the river Jordan and brought up the iron head of the axe. The sons of the prophets had gone with it to cut wood for building the house in which they wanted to speak and study the law and the commandments of God. In the same way our Christ, by being crucified on the tree and by cleansing us with water, redeemed us when we were sunk in the heaviest sins we had committed, and made us a house of prayer and worship. And it was a rod that showed Judah to be the father of the children born of Tamar, through a great mystery."³³⁶ [Genesis 38: 25]

CHAPTER 87

Trypho Maintains in Objection These Words: "And Shall Rest on Him," Etc. They are Explained by Justin.

1 When I had said this, Trypho said: "Do not suppose that I ask the questions I ask in order to overthrow what you say. I want to learn about the very

333. "Angel" (angelos) also means "messenger." Justin uses it as a title for the Son, as the one who carries the Father's message.

334. The references are Numbers 17:1-8 (Aaron's rod), Isaiah 11:1, Psalm 1:3, and Psalm 92:12 (Psalm 91:13 in the Greek Old Testament).

335. The "seventy willows and twelve springs" seem to echo the oasis at Elim (Exodus 15:27). In the Bible, Elim has seventy palm trees and twelve springs and comes after the crossing of the Red Sea, not the Jordan. The last line echoes Psalm 23:4.

336. In Genesis 38:18-26, Judah's staff, which he left with Tamar as a pledge along with his seal and cord, proves that he is the father of her twins.

things I am asking. ² So tell me this. The word spoke through Isaiah: ‘A rod will come out of the root of Jesse, and a flower will rise from the root of Jesse, and the Spirit of God will rest on him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and strength, the spirit of knowledge and godliness, and the spirit of the fear of God will fill him.’ You agreed with me that this was said about Christ. Yet you say that he pre-existed as God, and you say that by God’s will he was made flesh and was born a man through the virgin. How can he be shown to have pre-existed, when he is filled with the powers of the Holy Spirit, which the word through Isaiah lists, as though he lacked them?”³³⁷ [*Isaiah 11:1-3*]

³ I answered, “You have asked a very sensible and thoughtful question. It truly does seem to be a difficulty. But listen to what I say, and you will see the answer to this as well. The Scripture does not say that these powers of the Spirit, which it lists, came upon him because he lacked them. It says they came upon him because they were going to find their rest in him. That is, they would come to their end in him, so that there would be no more prophets in your nation in the old way. You can see this with your own eyes, for after him there has been no prophet at all among you.”³³⁸ ⁴ “Consider also what I say next. Each of your prophets received one power from God, or perhaps two, and they did and said the things we have learned from the Scriptures. Solomon had the spirit of wisdom. Daniel had understanding and counsel. Moses had strength and godliness. Elijah had fear, and Isaiah had knowledge. The others were the same: each had one power, or one power joined in turn with another. So it was with Jeremiah, the twelve prophets, David, and, in short, all the others who have been prophets among you.”³³⁹

⁵ “So the Spirit ‘rested,’ that is, ‘ceased,’ when he came. After him, during the time of his dispensation among men, these gifts were to cease among you. Having found their rest in him, they were to become gifts again, as had been prophesied. These are the gifts which he gives, from the grace of that Spirit’s power, to those who believe in him, as he knows each one to be worthy.”³⁴⁰ ⁶ “I have already said, and I say again, that it was prophesied he would do this after his ascent into heaven. So it says, ‘He went up on high, he

337. The quotation is Isaiah 11:1–3, following the Greek Old Testament, which reads “fear of God” where the Hebrew has “fear of the LORD.”

338. Justin takes “rest” (Isaiah’s word) to mean “come to an end,” and he builds his argument on that sense.

339. “The twelve” means the twelve shorter prophetic books (Hosea to Malachi).

led captivity captive, he gave gifts to the sons of men.’ And again, in another prophecy it is said, ‘And after this it shall be that I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh, and on my male servants and on my female servants, and they shall prophesy.’”³⁴¹ [*Ephesians* 4: 8; *Joel* 2: 28-29]

CHAPTER 88

Christ Has Not Received the Holy Spirit on Account of Poverty.

¹ “Among us too one can see women and men who have gifts from the Spirit of God. So it was not because he lacked power that it was prophesied the powers listed by Isaiah would come upon him. It was because they would not continue to exist after him. Let this also serve as a witness for you, namely what I told you was done by the Magi from Arabia. As soon as the child was born, they came and worshiped him.”³⁴² ² “For even when he was born he had his power. He grew up like all other people, using what was fitting, and gave to each stage of growth what belonged to it. He was nourished with every kind of food. He remained thirty years, more or less, until John came forward as the herald of his coming and went ahead of him on the way of baptism, as I have already shown.” [*Luke* 3: 23]

³ “Then Jesus came to the river Jordan, where John was baptizing. When Jesus went down into the water, a fire was kindled in the Jordan. And the apostles of this very Christ of ours wrote that when he came up out of the water, the Holy Spirit flew down upon him like a dove.”³⁴³ [*Matthew* 3: 16; *Mark* 1: 10] ⁴ “We know that he did not come to the river because he needed to be baptized, or needed the Spirit that came upon him in the form of a dove. In the same way, he did not endure being born and being crucified because he needed those things. He did it for the human race, which from Adam had fallen under death and the deceit of the serpent, and each person had also done evil by his own fault.” [*Luke* 3: 22] ⁵ “God made angels and men with free choice and power over themselves, and he wished them to do whatever he

340. “Dispensation” translates *oikonomia*, God’s plan or arrangement, here meaning Christ’s coming in the flesh.

341. The second quotation is Joel 2:28–29 in a shortened form. Its closing words, “and they shall prophesy,” are not in Joel 2:29 but appear in Peter’s quotation of Joel in Acts 2:18.

342. Matthew 2:1 says only that the Magi came “from the east.” Justin identifies their homeland as Arabia, as he also does in chapters 77–78.

343. The fire in the Jordan is not found in our New Testament Gospels. A few other early sources tell of fire or a great light at Jesus’ baptism, including some Old Latin manuscripts at Matthew 3:15. In Justin’s Greek, “the apostles wrote” governs only the dove clause. The fire is stated in his own voice and is not said to come from the apostles’ writings.

had given each of them strength to do. He made them so that, if they chose what pleased him, he would keep them free from corruption and from punishment. But if they did evil, he would punish each one as he saw fit.”³⁴⁴

6 “Nor did his riding into Jerusalem on a donkey, which we showed was prophesied, give him power to be the Christ. It was a sign to people that he is the Christ. In the same way, in John’s time a sign was needed, so that people could recognize who the Christ is.”³⁴⁵ 7 “When John was sitting by the Jordan and preaching a baptism of repentance, he wore only a leather belt and a garment of camel’s hair, and ate nothing but locusts and wild honey. People supposed that he was the Christ. But he cried out to them, ‘I am not the Christ, but the voice of one crying out. For one stronger than I is coming, and I am not fit to carry his sandals.’”³⁴⁶ [Matthew 3:4; Matthew 3:11; Luke 3:15-16; John 1:20-23] 8 “Then Jesus came to the Jordan. He was thought to be the son of Joseph the carpenter, and he appeared without good looks, as the Scriptures had proclaimed. He was also thought to be a carpenter. For while he was among people he did this carpenter’s work, making plows and yokes, and by these he taught the symbols of righteousness and a life of activity. Then the Holy Spirit, also for the sake of people, as I said before, flew down on him in the form of a dove. At the same time a voice came from heaven. This was the same voice that was spoken through David, who spoke as if in Christ’s person what the Father was going to say to him: ‘You are my Son; today I have begotten you.’”³⁴⁷ [Psalm 2:7; Isaiah 53:2; Luke 3:23; Mark 6:3]

CHAPTER 89

The Cross Alone is Offensive to Trypho on Account of the Curse, Yet It Proves that Jesus is Christ.

1 Trypho said, “Be assured that our whole people is waiting for the Christ, and we agree that all the Scriptures you have mentioned were spoken about him. I will also admit that the name Jesus, which was given to the son of Nun, has put pressure on me to be open to this view as well.”³⁴⁸ 2 “But we are

344. “Free from corruption” translates *aphthartous* (incorruptible, not subject to decay). The older translation’s “free from death” gives the general sense.

345. The prophecy of the king riding on a donkey is Zechariah 9:9 (see Matthew 21:4-5).

346. Justin weaves together Gospel material: John’s clothing and food (Matthew 3:4), people wondering whether he was the Christ (Luke 3:15), and his answer (John 1:20, 23; Matthew 3:11).

347. “Without good looks” is Justin’s reading of Isaiah 53:2. On Jesus as a carpenter, see Mark 6:3. The detail about plows and yokes is not in the Gospels. The quotation is Psalm 2:7. A few ancient manuscripts of Luke 3:22 give these same words as the voice at Jesus’ baptism.

perplexed about whether the Christ was to be crucified in such a dishonorable way. For the law says that the one who is crucified is cursed, so on this point I am still hard to persuade. It is clear that the Scriptures proclaim a suffering Christ. But we want to learn whether you can also prove that he was to suffer in the way the law calls cursed.”³⁴⁹ [Deuteronomy 21:23] 3 I said to him, “If the Christ were not going to suffer, and the prophets had not foretold that he would be led to death because of the lawless deeds of the people, that he would be dishonored and scourged, counted among the lawless, and led like a sheep to slaughter (the prophet says that no one can describe his generation), then you would be right to wonder. But if this is what marks him out and makes him known to everyone, how can we not believe in him with confidence? And all who have understood the prophets will say that this is the one and no other, if only they hear that he was crucified.”³⁵⁰ [Isaiah 53:7-8; Isaiah 53:12]

CHAPTER 90

The Stretched-Out Hands of Moses Signified Beforehand the Cross.

1 “Then lead us forward from the Scriptures,” he said, “so that we too may be persuaded by you. We know that he was to suffer and be led like a sheep. But prove to us that he was also to be crucified, and to die so shamefully and dishonorably by the death that the law calls cursed. We cannot even conceive of such a thing.” [Isaiah 53:7; Deuteronomy 21:23] 2 “You know,” I said, “that everything the prophets said and did, as you yourselves agreed, they disclosed in parables and types. So most of it was not easily understood by everyone. They hid the truth in them, so that those who seek to find and learn it must labor for it.” They said, “We did agree to that.” 3 “Then listen to what comes next,” I said. “Moses was the first to make known this apparent curse on the Christ, by the signs he performed.” “Which signs do you mean?” he asked.

4 “When the people were fighting against Amalek,” I said, “and the son of Nun, who had been given the name Jesus, was leading the battle, Moses himself prayed to God with his hands stretched out on both sides. Hur and Aaron held his hands up all day, so that they would not drop when he grew tired. For if he gave up anything of this posture, which imitates the cross, the

348. “Nun” is written “Nave” in Justin’s Greek (the Septuagint form). Joshua and Jesus are the same name in Greek.

349. The law’s statement is in Deuteronomy 21:23, about a person hanged on a tree.

350. Justin is drawing on Isaiah 53 in its Greek form (see especially verses 3, 7, 8 and 12).

people were beaten, as it is written in the writings of Moses. But as long as he stayed in this position, Amalek was defeated to the same degree, and the one who prevailed did so through the cross.”³⁵¹ [Exodus 17:8-12] 5 “The people did not become stronger because Moses prayed in this way. It was because, with the name of Jesus leading the battle, Moses himself made the sign of the cross. Which of you does not know that prayer with grief and tears does most to win God’s favor, whether lying face down or kneeling? But Moses did not pray in that way, sitting on a stone, and neither did anyone else afterward. And the stone also has a symbolic meaning that points to the Christ, as I showed.”³⁵² [Exodus 17:12]

CHAPTER 91

The Cross Was Foretold in the Blessings of Joseph, and in the Serpent that Was Lifted Up.

1 God also showed the power of the mystery of the cross in another way, through Moses, in the blessing he pronounced on Joseph: “His land is from the Lord’s blessing, from the seasons of heaven and the dews, from the deep springs below, from the fruits that ripen in their season under the turning of the sun, from the meeting of the months, from the top of the ancient mountains, from the top of the hills, from the ever-flowing rivers, and from the fullness of the fruits of the earth. And may the things acceptable to him who appeared in the bush come upon the head of Joseph, and upon his crown. Glorified among his brothers, his beauty is that of a firstborn bull, and his horns are the horns of a unicorn. With them he will gore the nations together, to the end of the earth.”³⁵³ [Deuteronomy 33:13-17] 2 No one could say or show that the horns of a one-horned animal stand for anything other than the figure that displays the cross. One beam stands upright, and its top end rises up like a horn when the other beam is fitted to it. The ends of the cross-piece then appear on each side like horns joined to the one horn. The piece fixed in the middle, on which the crucified rest their weight, also sticks

351. The story is in Exodus 17:8-13. Exodus says Moses “lifted up” his hands, with Aaron and Hur supporting them one on each side. Moses had given Joshua his name in Numbers 13:16. The cross-shaped posture is Justin’s reading of the scene.

352. The Greek says the stone also carries a symbolic meaning pointing to Christ, whom Justin has earlier shown Scripture calls “the stone.”

353. The “unicorn” (Greek monokerōs, “one-horned”) is the Septuagint’s rendering of a Hebrew word that modern Bibles usually translate “wild ox.” Justin’s argument in the next section builds on this Greek word.

out like a horn. It is seen as a horn, shaped and fixed together with the other horns.³⁵⁴

³ The words “With them he will gore the nations together, to the end of the earth” point to what has now happened among all the nations. People from every nation have been “gored,” that is, pierced to the heart. Through this mystery they have turned from worthless idols and demons to the worship of God. But to unbelievers the same shape signifies destruction and condemnation. In the same way, when the people came out of Egypt, Amalek was defeated and Israel won. That victory came through the figure of Moses’ outstretched hands and through the name Jesus given to the son of Nun.³⁵⁵

[Exodus 17: 8–13] ⁴ The bronze serpent was also set up as a figure and sign against the serpents that bit Israel. It evidently was set up for the salvation of those who believe. For it proclaimed even then that death would come to the serpent through the One who was to be crucified. It also proclaimed salvation to those bitten by the serpent who take refuge in the One who sent his crucified Son into the world. The Spirit of prophecy through Moses did not teach us to believe in a serpent, since the Spirit shows that the serpent was cursed by God at the beginning. And in Isaiah the Spirit indicates that the serpent will be destroyed as an enemy by the great sword, which is Christ.³⁵⁶ [Numbers 21: 8–9; John 3: 14–15; Genesis 3: 14; Isaiah 27: 1]

CHAPTER 92

Unless the Scriptures Be Understood Through God's Great Grace, God Will Not Appear to Have Taught Always the Same Righteousness.

¹ So if someone has not received, by God's great grace, the ability to understand what the prophets said and did, it will not help him to be able to repeat their words or the events, if he cannot also give an account of them. And surely these things will seem easy to despise to most people, when they are told by those who do not understand them. ² Suppose someone wanted to question you like this. Enoch, and Noah with his children, and any others like them, were neither circumcised nor keepers of the Sabbath, and yet they

354. The “piece fixed in the middle” is a projecting peg or seat on which a crucified person's body rested; the Greek verb means “ride upon” or “be borne upon.” Irenaeus (Against Heresies 2.24.4) likewise describes a fifth point of the cross on which the body rests.

355. The battle with Amalek is in Exodus 17:8–13. In Greek, Joshua's name is the same as “Jesus.” Moses gave the son of Nun this name in Numbers 13:16.

356. The Greek can also be read “for the salvation of those who believe that death was proclaimed...” This is how the older English takes it. The overall sense is the same either way.

pleased God. So why did God see fit, after so many generations, to act through other leaders and a giving of the law? Why did he require that those from Abraham to Moses be justified through circumcision, and those from Moses onward through circumcision and the other commandments, that is, the Sabbath, sacrifices, ashes and offerings? What could the reason be, unless you show, as I said before, that it was because God, who knows all things beforehand, knew that your people would deserve to be driven out of Jerusalem, and that no one would be allowed to enter it?³⁵⁷

3 For, as I said before, you are recognized by nothing other than the circumcision of the flesh. Abraham, too, was not declared righteous by God because of circumcision, but because of faith. Before he was circumcised, this was said about him: “Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him as righteousness.”³⁵⁸ [*Genesis 15:6; Romans 4:10-11*] 4 And we too, in the uncircumcision of our flesh, believe God through Christ. We have the circumcision that benefits those who possess it, that is, the circumcision of the heart. So we hope to appear righteous and pleasing to God, since he has already borne witness to us through the words of the prophets. As for your being commanded to keep the Sabbath and bring offerings, and the Lord’s agreeing to have a place called by God’s name: this was so that, as has been said, you would not become ungodly and godless by worshiping idols and forgetting God, as you have always shown yourselves to be.

5 I have already shown from what I said earlier that God gave the commands about Sabbaths and offerings for these reasons. But for the sake of those who have come today, I want to go over nearly all of it again. For if this is not so, God will be slandered, as though he had no foreknowledge and did not teach everyone to know and do the same righteous things (for many generations of people clearly lived before Moses). And then there would be no truth in the saying that God is true and just, that all his ways are judgments, and that there is no injustice in him.³⁵⁹ [*Deuteronomy 32:4*] 6 But the saying is true, and God always wants you not to be like this, senseless and self-loving, so that you may be saved with Christ. Christ pleases God and has received his testimony, as I said before when I worked out the proof from the holy words of the prophets.

357. After the revolt of AD 132–135 the emperor Hadrian barred Jews from Jerusalem. Justin refers to this elsewhere (*Dialogue 16; First Apology 47*).

358. The quotation is *Genesis 15:6*. Paul makes the same argument from it in *Romans 4:9–11*.

359. The last words echo *Deuteronomy 32:4*, which Justin quotes loosely.

CHAPTER 93

The Same Kind of Righteousness is Bestowed on All. Christ Comprehends It in Two Precepts.

¹For God provides what is always and everywhere righteous, and all righteousness, among every race of people. Every race knows that adultery is evil, and so are fornication, murder, and other such things. Even though everyone does them, they still do not escape knowing that they do wrong whenever they do them. The exceptions are those who are filled with an unclean spirit, and who have been corrupted by upbringing, bad customs, and wicked laws. These have lost their natural ideas of right and wrong, or rather have quenched them or keep them suppressed. ²For you can see that such people do not want to suffer the same things they do to others, and that with hostile consciences they reproach one another for the very things they do. So it seems to me that our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ spoke well when he said that all righteousness and godliness is fulfilled in two commandments. These are: "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your strength, and your neighbor as yourself." For the one who loves God with all his heart and all his strength is full of a God-fearing mind and will honor no other god. And since God wills it, he would honor that angel who is loved by the Lord and God himself. And the one who loves his neighbor as himself will wish for him the same good things he wishes for himself. No one wishes evil for himself.³⁶⁰ [*Matthew 22:37-40; Mark 12:30-31; Deuteronomy 6:5; Leviticus 19:18*]

³So the one who loves his neighbor would pray that his neighbor have the same things he wants for himself, and would work for it. A person's neighbor is nothing other than a being who feels as he does and is rational: a human being. All righteousness is divided in two, toward God and toward people. So whoever, as the word says, loves the Lord God with all his heart and all his strength, and his neighbor as himself, would truly be righteous. [*Mark 12:30-31; Deuteronomy 6:5; Leviticus 19:18*] ⁴But you have never been shown to have friendship or love toward God, toward the prophets, or toward one another. Instead, as has been shown, you are always found to be idolaters and murderers of the righteous. You even laid hands on Christ himself, and to this day you persist in your wickedness, cursing those who prove that this

360. By "that angel" Justin probably means Christ. Elsewhere in the Dialogue he calls Christ the angel (messenger) of God.

man, crucified by you, is the Christ. On top of that, you think you can prove that he was crucified as an enemy of God and accursed. That is the product of your senseless thinking.

5 You have starting points in the signs that were done through Moses for understanding that this is the Christ, and yet you are unwilling. Besides this, you suppose that you can leave us without an answer, so you raise whatever questions come to mind. Then you find yourselves at a loss for words whenever you meet a vigorous Christian.

CHAPTER 94

In What Sense He Who Hangs on a Tree is Cursed.

1 Tell me: was it not God who commanded through Moses that no image or likeness at all be made, of anything in heaven above or on the earth? Yet he himself, in the wilderness, had Moses make the bronze serpent, and set it up as a sign, and through that sign those bitten by snakes were saved. And is he not free of any wrongdoing?³⁶¹ [*Exodus 20: 4; Numbers 21: 8-9*] 2 For through this, as I said before, God was proclaiming a mystery. By it he announced that he would destroy the power of the serpent, who brought about Adam's transgression. He also announced salvation for those who believe in the one who was going to be put to death by means of this sign, that is, the cross. This salvation is from the bites of the serpent, which are evil deeds, idolatry, and other kinds of injustice.³⁶² 3 Otherwise, if this is not understood, give me a reason why Moses set up the bronze serpent as a sign, and ordered those who were bitten to look at it, and those who were bitten were healed. And he did this although he himself had commanded that no likeness of anything at all be made.³⁶³ [*Numbers 21: 8-9; Exodus 20: 4*]

4 Then the other of those who had come on the second day said, "You have spoken truly. We have no answer to give. I have often asked our teachers about this very thing, and none of them gave me an answer. So go on and say what you have to say. We are listening to you as you reveal a mystery. It is because of things like this that the teachings of the prophets are open to false accusation." 5 And I said: "In the same way that God commanded the sign to

361. The references are to Exodus 20:4 and Numbers 21:8-9.

362. "As I said before" refers to chapter 91, where Justin first explained the bronze serpent as a figure of the cross.

363. One word in the Greek is damaged here, in the phrase translated "why." The sense is clear from the context.

be made through the bronze serpent and is not to blame for it, so also there is a curse in the law on men who are crucified. But there is no such curse on the Christ of God, through whom he saves all who have done things deserving a curse.”³⁶⁴ [*Deuteronomy 21:23*]

CHAPTER 95

Christ Took Upon Himself the Curse Due to Us.

¹ For the whole human race will be found to be under a curse according to the law of Moses. It says, “Cursed is everyone who does not remain in all the things written in the book of the law, to do them.” No one has done everything exactly, and you will not dare to say otherwise. Some have kept the commands more, and some less, than others. But if those under this law are shown to be under a curse because they did not keep everything, will not all the nations be shown to be under a curse far more, since they practice idolatry, corrupt boys, and do other evil things?³⁶⁵ [*Deuteronomy 27:26; Galatians 3:10*]

² The Father of all wished his own Christ to take on himself the curses of all, for the sake of people from every race, and he knew that he would raise him up after he had been crucified and had died. If so, why do you speak of the one who submitted to suffer these things by the Father’s will as if he were cursed? Why do you not rather mourn for yourselves? For even though his Father, and he himself, brought it about that he suffered these things for the human race, you did not do this as people serving the purpose of God. Nor did you act with piety when you killed the prophets.³⁶⁶

³ And let none of you say, “If the Father wanted him to suffer these things so that the human race might be healed by his wound, we have done nothing wrong.” If you say this while repenting of your sins, recognizing that this is the Christ, and keeping his commandments, then, as I said before, you will have forgiveness of sins.³⁶⁷ [*Isaiah 53:5*] ⁴ But if you curse him and those who believe in him, and kill them whenever you have the power, how

364. The curse in the law is Deuteronomy 21:23 (“anyone hung on a tree is under God’s curse”). Paul applies it to Christ in Galatians 3:13, in the form “Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree.”

365. The quotation is Deuteronomy 27:26. Justin’s wording is closer to the form Paul gives in Galatians 3:10 than to the Greek Old Testament of Deuteronomy.

366. The older English says only that “His Father” caused him to suffer. The Greek says that “his Father, and he himself” brought it about.

367. “Healed by his wound” echoes Isaiah 53:5 (the Greek uses the word for a bruise or stripe).

will it not be required of you, as of unjust and sinful men, utterly hard of heart and without understanding, that you laid your hands on him?

CHAPTER 96

That Curse Was a Prediction of the Things Which the Jews Would Do.

¹ For the statement in the law, “Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree,” strengthens our hope, which hangs on the crucified Christ. It does so not because God curses this crucified man, but because in it God foretold what all of you, and those like you, would do. You do not know that this is the one who existed before all things, and who was to become the eternal priest of God, and king, and Christ.³⁶⁸ [Deuteronomy 21: 23; Galatians 3: 13] ² You can see this happening with your own eyes. In your synagogues you curse all who have become Christians through him. The other nations also make the curse effective by killing those who do nothing more than confess that they are Christians. To all of these we say: “You are our brothers. Rather, come to recognize the truth of God.” But neither they nor you are persuaded by us. Instead you both strive to make us deny the name of Christ. And we choose rather to be put to death, and we endure it, fully convinced that God will give us all the good things he promised through Christ.³⁶⁹

³ On top of all this, we also pray for you, that you may receive mercy from Christ. For he taught us to pray even for our enemies, when he said, “Be kind and compassionate, as your heavenly Father is.” We see that almighty God is kind and compassionate. He makes his sun rise on the ungrateful and the righteous, and sends rain on the devout and the wicked. And he taught that he is also going to judge all of them.³⁷⁰ [Matthew 5: 44; Matthew 5: 45; Luke 6: 35; Luke 6: 36]

CHAPTER 97

Other Predictions of the Cross of Christ.

¹ It was not for nothing that the prophet Moses stayed in this posture until evening, while Hur and Aaron held up his hands. In the same way the Lord stayed on the tree almost until evening, and toward evening they buried

368. The quotation is from Deuteronomy 21:23. Justin’s wording matches Paul’s form of the verse in Galatians 3:13 more closely than the Greek Old Testament.

369. “The other nations” translates *ta alla ethnē*, the usual word for the Gentiles. Justin means the non-Jewish peoples, under whose authorities Christians were being put to death.

370. In the last sentence the Greek does not make clear who “taught” and who “will judge.” It may be Christ or God, so the translation keeps “he.”

him. Then he rose on the third day. David spoke of this when he said: “I cried to the Lord with my voice, and he answered me from his holy mountain. I lay down and slept; I woke up, because the Lord took hold of me.”³⁷¹

[Exodus 17:12] ²In the same way Isaiah spoke of the manner in which he was going to die: “I spread out my hands to a disobedient and contradicting people, to those who walk in a way that is not good.” Isaiah also said that he was going to rise again: “His burial has been taken out of the midst.” And: “I will give the rich in exchange for his death.”³⁷² [Isaiah 65:2; Isaiah 57:2; Isaiah 53:9]

³In other words again, David spoke of the suffering and the cross in a mysterious parable, in the twenty-first Psalm: “They dug my hands and my feet; they counted all my bones. They themselves examined me and stared at me. They divided my garments among themselves, and for my clothing they cast lots.” When they crucified him, they drove in the nails and dug through his hands and feet. And those who crucified him divided his garments among themselves. Each man cast lots for what he wanted to choose, and took it according to how the lot fell.³⁷³ ⁴Yet you say that this psalm was not spoken about the Christ. You are blind in every way. You do not understand that no one in your nation who was ever called king has had his hands and feet dug through while alive, or died by this mystery, that is, by being crucified. Only this Jesus did.³⁷⁴

CHAPTER 98

Predictions of Christ in Ps. XXII.

¹I will recite the whole psalm, so that you may also hear his devotion to the Father. You will hear how he refers everything to the Father, and asks to be saved from this death through him. At the same time, in the psalm he makes clear what kind of people were rising up against him. And he shows that he truly became a man who could feel suffering. ²The psalm is this: “O God, my God, attend to me. Why have you forsaken me? The words of my transgressions are far from my salvation. My God, I will cry out to you by day, and

371. The story of Moses is in Exodus 17:12. The quotation is from Psalm 3:4–5 (3:5–6 in the Greek Old Testament).

372. The quotations are from Isaiah 65:2, Isaiah 57:2, and Isaiah 53:9, broadly following the wording of the Greek Old Testament.

373. “Dug” is the literal sense of the Greek verb, which the older translation renders “pierced.” The psalm is numbered 21 in the Greek Old Testament Justin used (22 in most English Bibles; these are verses 16–18). At this point the standard Hebrew text reads “like a lion” instead.

374. The older translation says “King or Christ.” The Greek has only “king.”

you will not hear; and by night, and it is not for lack of understanding in me. But you dwell in the holy place, you, the praise of Israel. Our fathers hoped in you; they hoped, and you delivered them. They cried out to you and were saved; they hoped in you and were not put to shame.³⁷⁵

3 “But I am a worm and not a man, a reproach among men and despised by the people. All who saw me mocked me. They spoke with their lips and shook their heads: ‘He hoped in the Lord; let him rescue him, let him save him, because he delights in him.’ For you are the one who drew me out of the womb, my hope since my mother’s breasts. I was cast upon you from the womb; from my mother’s belly you have been my God. Do not stand far from me, for trouble is near, and there is no one to help me.³⁷⁶ 4 “Many calves surrounded me; fat bulls closed in on me. They opened their mouths against me like a lion tearing its prey and roaring. I was poured out like water, and all my bones were scattered. My heart became like wax melting in the middle of my belly. My strength dried up like a piece of broken pottery, and my tongue sticks to my throat, and you have brought me down into the dust of death. For many dogs surrounded me; a gang of evildoers closed in on me. They dug into my hands and my feet; they counted all my bones. And they themselves looked closely at me and stared.³⁷⁷

5 “They divided my garments among themselves, and for my clothing they cast lots. But you, Lord, do not keep your help far from me; give heed to come to my aid. Rescue my soul from the sword, and my only-begotten from the hand of the dog. Save me from the lion’s mouth, and my lowliness from the horns of the one-horned beasts. I will declare your name to my brothers; in the midst of the church I will sing your praise. You who fear the Lord, praise him. All the seed of Jacob, glorify him. Let all the seed of Israel stand in fear of him.”³⁷⁸

375. This is Psalm 22 (Psalm 21 in the Greek numbering). Justin quotes the Greek Septuagint version, which differs from the Hebrew in places. In the Hebrew, “attend to me” is missing. The Hebrew has “the words of my groaning” where the Greek has “the words of my transgressions.” Where the Greek has “it is not for lack of understanding in me,” the Hebrew has “I find no rest.”

376. The mockers’ words are echoed by the chief priests at the cross in Matthew 27:43.

377. “Dug into” renders the Greek verb *ōryxan*, literally “they dug.” Older English versions render it “pierced.” The Hebrew text at this point (Psalm 22:16) is disputed: the standard Hebrew text reads “like a lion.”

378. “One-horned beasts” renders the Greek *monokerōs*, which older English renders “unicorns.” The Hebrew word probably means a wild ox. “Church” translates *ekklēsia*, which also means “assembly.”

CHAPTER 99

In the Commencement of the Psalm are Christ's Dying Words.

¹ When I had said this, I went on: "I will show you that the whole psalm was spoken about Christ, by going through it again and explaining it. Look at what it says right at the start: 'O God, my God, attend to me; why have you forsaken me?' This foretold long beforehand what Christ was going to say. For when he was crucified he said, 'O God, O God, why have you forsaken me?'"³⁷⁹ [*Psalm 22:1; Matthew 27:46*] ² "Then come the following words: 'The words of my transgressions are far from my salvation. My God, I will cry out to you by day, and you will not hear, and by night, and it is not for lack of understanding in me.' These words were spoken in advance, just like the things he was going to do. On the day he was to be crucified, he took three of his disciples to the hill called Olivet, which lies right next to the temple in Jerusalem, and prayed: 'Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from me.' Then he went on praying: 'Not as I want, but as you want.' By this he showed that he had truly become a man who could suffer."³⁸⁰ [*Matthew 26:39*]

³ "But so that no one would say, 'Then he did not know he was going to suffer,' the psalm adds at once: 'and it is not for lack of understanding in me.' God was not ignorant when he asked Adam where he was, or asked Cain where Abel was. He asked in order to expose what sort of man each one was, and so that knowledge of everything might reach us by being written down. In the same way Christ indicated that the lack of understanding was not his own. It belonged to those who thought he was not the Christ. They supposed they would put him to death and that he would stay in Hades like any ordinary man."³⁸¹ [*Genesis 3:9; Genesis 4:9*]

CHAPTER 100

In What Sense Christ is [Called] Jacob, and Israel, and Son of Man.

¹ "The next words are: 'But you dwell in the holy place, you the praise of Israel.' This showed that he would do something worthy of praise and wonder. After being crucified he was going to rise from the dead on the third day, and this he has received from his Father. I have already shown that Christ is

379. Compare Matthew 27:46 and Mark 15:34. In Justin's Greek, the cry from the cross reads "O God, O God," without "my."

380. Compare Matthew 26:36–44 and Mark 14:32–39 (Gethsemane, on the Mount of Olives, with Peter, James, and John).

381. See Genesis 3:9 and 4:9.

called both Jacob and Israel. I also showed that what concerns him was proclaimed in a mystery, and not only in the blessings of Joseph and Judah. It is also written in the Gospel that he said: ‘All things have been handed over to me by the Father, and no one knows the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father and those to whom the Son reveals him.’³⁸² [*Matthew 11:27*]

2 “So he has revealed to us everything that we have also come to understand from the Scriptures by his grace. We know him as the firstborn of God and before all created things. We know him also as the son of the patriarchs, since he was made flesh through the virgin who came from their family. He endured becoming a man without beauty, without honor, and able to suffer.

³⁸³ [*Colossians 1:15; Isaiah 53:2-3*]

3 That is why, when he spoke in his teaching about his coming suffering, he said: “The Son of Man must suffer many things, be rejected by the Pharisees and scribes, be crucified, and rise on the third day.” So he called himself Son of Man. One reason may be his birth through the virgin, who was, as I said, from the family of David, Jacob, Isaac and Abraham. Or the reason may be that Adam himself was the father of those I have just listed, from whom Mary traces her descent. For we know that the fathers of women are also the fathers of the children their daughters bear.³⁸⁴ [*Mark 8:31; Luke 9:22*]

4 For he gave the name Peter to one of his disciples, who had earlier been called Simon, because that disciple, by revelation from the Father, recognized him as the Christ, the Son of God. We find it written in the memoirs of his apostles that he is the Son of God, and we call him Son. So we have understood that before all created things he came forth from the Father by the Father’s power and will. (In the words of the prophets he is called by various names, in one way and another: Wisdom, Day, East, Sword, Stone, Rod, Jacob and Israel.) We have also understood that he became man through the virgin, so that the disobedience that began with the serpent might be undone by the same road by which it began.³⁸⁵ [*Matthew 16:16-18*]

382. Judah’s blessing is Jacob’s in Genesis 49:8–12. Joseph’s blessing is probably Moses’ blessing in Deuteronomy 33:13–17, which Justin discussed earlier in the *Dialogue*. Both blessings are treated earlier in the work.

383. “Firstborn ... before all created things” echoes Colossians 1:15–17. “Without beauty” echoes the description of the Servant in Isaiah 53:2–3.

384. The older translation makes Adam the father “both of Himself and of those” listed. The Greek more naturally says “Adam himself was the father of these.” The argument still works: Adam is the ancestor of Mary’s forefathers, and so, by the principle in the next sentence, of her child.

5 For Eve was a virgin and undefiled. She conceived the word of the serpent and gave birth to disobedience and death. But the virgin Mary received faith and joy. When the angel Gabriel brought her the good news that the Spirit of the Lord would come upon her and the power of the Most High would overshadow her, and that therefore the holy thing born from her is the Son of God, she answered, "Let it be to me according to your word."³⁸⁶ [Luke 1:35; Luke 1:38] 6 And through her was born the one about whom we have shown that so many Scriptures speak. Through him God destroys the serpent and the angels and people who have become like him. But for those who repent of their evil deeds and believe in him, God brings release from death.

CHAPTER 101

Christ Refers All Things to the Father

1 Now the next words of the psalm are these: "Our fathers hoped in you; they hoped, and you rescued them. They cried out to you and were saved. They hoped in you and were not put to shame. But I am a worm and not a man, a reproach of men and an object of contempt to the people." These words show that he acknowledges as his fathers those who hoped in God and were saved by him. These were also the fathers of the virgin, through whom he was born and became man. He also declares that he himself will be saved by the same God, and he does not boast of doing anything by his own will or strength.³⁸⁷ 2 For he did the same thing on earth. When someone said to him, "Good teacher," he answered, "Why do you call me good? There is one who is good, my Father in heaven." And when he says, "I am a worm and not a man, a reproach of men and an object of contempt to the people," he was foretelling things that are clearly true of him and are happening to him. For everywhere he is a reproach to us, the people who believe in him. And he is an object of contempt to the people, because he was despised and dishonored by your people and suffered the things you did to him.³⁸⁸ [Matthew 19:16-17; Mark 10:17-18; Luke 18:18-19]

385. "East" translates the Greek *anatolē*, meaning the "rising" of the sun and so "the East." In the Greek Old Testament it stands for the Hebrew word "Branch" in Zechariah 3:8 and 6:12, and elsewhere in the Dialogue (e.g. ch. 106) Justin applies Zechariah 6:12 to Christ. Here he lists the titles without citing particular verses.

386. Luke 1:35, 38. Luke has "the Holy Spirit will come upon you"; Justin writes "the Spirit of the Lord."

387. Psalm 22:4-6 (21:5-7 in the Greek Old Testament).

388. The Greek reads literally "he is a reproach to us, the men who believe in him."

3 And the words that follow: “All who saw me mocked me. They spoke with their lips and shook their heads: ‘He hoped in the Lord; let him rescue him, let him save him, because he delights in him.’” He foretold that these same things would happen to him. For those who saw him crucified each shook his head and twisted his lips. They sneered at one another and said in mockery the words that are also written in the memoirs of his apostles: “He said he was the Son of God. Let him come down and walk about. Let God save him.”³⁸⁹ [*Matthew 27:39-43; Mark 15:29-31*]

CHAPTER 102

The Prediction of the Events Which Happened to Christ When He Was Born. Why God Permitted It.

1 And what comes next: “My hope has been from my mother’s breasts. I was cast upon you from the womb. From my mother’s belly you are my God, for there is no one to help me. Many calves have surrounded me; fat bulls have closed me in. They opened their mouths against me like a lion tearing its prey and roaring. All my bones were poured out like water and scattered. My heart has become like wax melting in the middle of my belly. My strength has dried up like a piece of pottery, and my tongue is stuck to my throat.” In these words he was announcing in advance what has happened.³⁹⁰ 2 Take first the words “My hope has been from my mother’s breasts.” As soon as he was born in Bethlehem, as I said earlier, King Herod learned about him from the Magi who came from Arabia and plotted to kill him. By God’s command Joseph took him, together with Mary, and went away to Egypt. For the Father had decided that the one he had begotten would be put to death only after he had grown to manhood and proclaimed the word that came from him.³⁹¹

[*Matthew 2:1-3; Matthew 2:13-14*]

3 But suppose someone says to us, “Could God not rather have killed Herod?” I answer in advance: could God not have removed even the serpent at the very beginning, so that he did not exist, instead of saying, “And I will put enmity between him and the woman, and between his seed and her seed”? Could he not have made a great crowd of people all at once?³⁹² [*Genesis*

389. Psalm 22:7–8. The mockery in the Gospels is at Matthew 27:39–43 (compare Mark 15:29–32). The words “and walk about” are not found in our Gospels.

390. Psalm 22:9–15. Justin’s quotation passes over the words “Do not be far from me, for trouble is near” (verse 11) before “for there is no one to help me.”

391. “Arabia” is Justin’s usual description of the Magi’s home. Matthew 2:1 says only “from the east.” For the flight to Egypt, see Matthew 2:13–14.

3:15] 4 But because he knew it was good that things be this way, he made both angels and men free to practice righteousness. He also set limits of time, for as long as he knew it was good for them to have that freedom. And because he knew that this was likewise good, he carried out judgments, both general and particular, while still keeping their freedom intact. This is why the Word says the following about the building of the tower and the many voices and changing of languages: “And the Lord said, Behold, there is one race and one language for all, and this is what they have begun to do. And now none of all that they set their hands to do will fail them.”³⁹³ [*Genesis 11:6*]

5 The words “My strength dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue has stuck to my throat” were likewise a prediction of what he would do according to the Father’s will. His mighty word had power, and by it he always refuted the Pharisees and scribes who argued with him, and, in short, the teachers of your people. That power was halted, like a full and powerful spring whose water has been turned away. This happened when he fell silent and, before Pilate, no longer wished to give any answer to anyone, as is shown in the memoirs of his apostles. It happened so that what was said through Isaiah might bear effective fruit, where it says, “The Lord gives me a tongue, so that I may know when I must speak a word.”³⁹⁴ [*Matthew 27:14; Mark 15:5; Isaiah 50:4*] 6 His saying, “You are my God, do not stand far from me,” also teaches that everyone must hope in God, who made all things, and must look for salvation and help from him alone. They must not think, as the rest of men do, that they can be saved through birth, wealth, strength or wisdom. You too have always acted like that. At one time you made a calf, and you have always shown yourselves ungrateful, murderers of the righteous, and puffed up because of your descent.³⁹⁵

7 The Son of God is shown saying that he cannot be saved on the ground that he is a son, or strong, or wise. Instead he says that, sinless as he is, he cannot be saved without God. Isaiah says that he did not sin even in what he said: “for he did no lawlessness, nor was there deceit in his mouth.” If that is so, how can you, or the others who expect to be saved without this hope, not see that you are deceiving yourselves?³⁹⁶ [*Isaiah 53:9*]

392. The Greek phrase rendered “at the very beginning” can also mean “at all.”

393. The older translation has “destruction of the tower.” The Greek word usually means “laying down” or “foundation,” so “building” is used here.

394. The quotations are Psalm 22:15 and Isaiah 50:4.

395. The quotation is from Psalm 22:10–11. The calf refers to Exodus 32.

CHAPTER 103

The Pharisees are the Bulls: the Roaring Lion is Herod or the Devil.

¹ What the psalm says next is this: “For trouble is near, for there is no one to help me. Many calves have surrounded me; fat bulls have closed in on me. They opened their mouth against me like a lion tearing its prey and roaring. All my bones were poured out like water and scattered.” This too was a prediction of what happened to him. On that night, men from your people came against him on the Mount of Olives, sent by the Pharisees, scribes and teachers. They surrounded him, and these are the ones the Word called goring calves, doomed to an early end.³⁹⁷ ² By saying, “Fat bulls have closed in on me,” he foretold the men who did the same as the calves when he was led to your teachers. The Word called these men bulls because we know that bulls are the cause of there being calves. Just as bulls are the fathers of calves, so your teachers were the cause of their children going out to the Mount of Olives to seize him and bring him to them. The words “there is no one to help” also point to what happened. Not even one man was there to help him, sinless as he was.

³ The words “They opened their mouth against me like a roaring lion” point to the king of the Jews at that time, who was also called Herod. He was the successor of the Herod who killed all the children born in Bethlehem at the time Christ was born. That earlier Herod did it because he supposed that the child the Magi from Arabia had told him about must be among them. He did not know the plan of the One who is stronger than all. That One had ordered Joseph and Mary to take the child and go away to Egypt. They were to stay there until it was revealed to them that they should return to their own country. They went and stayed there until Herod, who had killed the children in Bethlehem, died and Archelaus took his place. Archelaus also died before Christ came to carry out the plan that was to be fulfilled by his being crucified, according to the Father’s will.³⁹⁸ [*Matthew 2:13; Matthew 2:16; Matthew 2:22*]

396. The Greek of this sentence is compressed; the phrase rendered “sinless as he is” literally reads “with respect to being sinless.”

397. The meaning of the rare Greek word translated “doomed to an early end” is uncertain. The older translation has “prematurely destructive.”

398. The quotation is Psalm 22:13. Matthew 2:1 says only that the Magi came “from the east”; Justin is the earliest known writer to say they came from Arabia.

4 Then Herod, who succeeded Archelaus, received the authority given to him. Pilate, to do him a favor, sent Jesus to him bound. God had foreseen this and said beforehand: "And they bound him and carried him off to the Assyrian as a gift to the king."³⁹⁹ [*Luke 23:7; Hosea 10:6*] 5 Or else, by the lion roaring against him, the Psalm meant the devil. Moses calls him the serpent. In Job and Zechariah he is called the devil, and Jesus addressed him as Satan. By that name Jesus showed that the devil had acquired a compound name from what he had done. In the language of the Jews and Syrians, "sata" means apostate, and "nas" is the word that, when translated, means serpent. From these two words together comes the single name Satanas.⁴⁰⁰ [*Genesis 3:1; Job 1:6; Zechariah 3:1*] 6 For it is written in the memoirs of the apostles that as soon as Jesus came up from the river Jordan, when the voice said to him, "You are my Son; today I have begotten you," this devil came to him and tempted him. He went so far as to say to him, "Worship me." Christ answered him, "Get behind me, Satan. You shall worship the Lord your God, and serve him alone." For just as the devil had led Adam astray, he said he could do something against Christ as well.⁴⁰¹ [*Psalm 2:7; Luke 3:22; Matthew 4:9-10; Luke 4:8*]

7 The words "My bones were all poured out like water and scattered; my heart became like wax melting in the middle of my belly" were a prediction of what happened to him that night, when men went out against him to the Mount of Olives to seize him. 8 It is written in the memoirs, which I say were composed by his apostles and those who followed them, that sweat poured down from him like thick drops while he prayed and said, "If it is possible, let this cup pass." His heart was plainly trembling, and his bones as well, and his heart was like wax melting inside his belly. This was so that we would know that the Father willed that his own Son should truly go through such sufferings for our sake. It was also so that we would not say that he, being the Son of God, did not feel what was being done to him and what was happening to him.⁴⁰² [*Luke 22:44; Matthew 26:39*]

399. The quotation is Hosea 10:6 in the Greek version. In Hosea the words describe the calf idol of Samaria being carried off to Assyria. Justin applies them to Jesus being sent to Herod.

400. Justin's explanation of the word is not accurate. In Hebrew, "satan" means "adversary," and the usual Hebrew word for serpent is "nachash."

401. The words at the Jordan match Psalm 2:7. They also match the reading of Luke 3:22 in a few ancient manuscripts. Most manuscripts have "You are my beloved Son; in you I am well pleased." The temptation is in Matthew 4:1-11 and Luke 4:1-13, and Jesus' answer quotes Deuteronomy 6:13.

9 The words “My strength was dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue is stuck to my throat” were also a prediction, as I said before, of his silence. He had shown all your teachers to be without wisdom, yet on that occasion he answered nothing at all. [Matthew 27:14]

CHAPTER 104

Circumstances of Christ's Death are Predicted in This Balm.

1 The words “You brought me down to the dust of death, for many dogs surrounded me; a gathering of evildoers closed in on me. They dug into my hands and my feet; they counted all my bones. They themselves looked closely at me and stared at me. They divided my garments among themselves, and cast lots for my clothing” were, as I said, a prediction of the kind of death to which the gathering of evildoers would condemn him. He calls them dogs, and by that he shows that they were hunters. They were the very ones who hunted him down and gathered together, struggling to get him condemned. This too is written in the memoirs of his apostles as having happened.⁴⁰³ 2 I have already shown that after he was crucified, those who crucified him divided his garments among themselves. [Matthew 27:35; John 19:23-24]

CHAPTER 105

The Psalm Also Predicts the Crucifixion and the Subject of the Last Prayers of Christ on Earth.

1 The next part of the Psalm reads: “But you, Lord, do not keep your help far from me; attend to my aid. Deliver my soul from the sword, and my only-begotten from the hand of the dog. Save me from the mouth of the lion, and my humiliation from the horns of the unicorns.” Again this is teaching and foretelling of what was true of him and what was going to happen to him. I have already shown that he was the only-begotten of the Father of all things, begotten from him in a unique way as Word and Power, and that he afterward became man through the virgin, as we have learned from the

402. The Greek says only “like clots” or “thick drops” (thromboi). The older translation adds “of blood,” as in Luke 22:44. Luke 22:43-44 is missing from some early manuscripts, and Justin’s words here are an early witness to the passage.

403. The quotation is Psalm 22:15-18 (Psalm 21 in the Greek numbering), quoted from the Greek version. “Dug into” translates the Greek verb *ōryxan*, which literally means “they dug.” The older translation and most English Bibles have “pierced.” The Hebrew wording of this line is disputed, and many Hebrew manuscripts read “like a lion.”

memoirs.⁴⁰⁴ ² It was likewise foretold that he would die by crucifixion. For the words “Deliver my soul from the sword, and my only-begotten from the hand of the dog; save me from the mouth of the lion, and my humiliation from the horns of the unicorns” also point to the kind of suffering by which he was to die, that is, crucifixion. I have already explained to you that “the horns of the unicorns” represent the shape of the cross and nothing else.⁴⁰⁵

³ His asking that his soul be saved from the sword, the mouth of the lion and the hand of the dog was a request that no one should gain power over his soul. He asked this so that we too, when we come to the end of our life, may ask the same thing of God, who is able to turn away every shameless evil angel so that it cannot seize our souls. ⁴ I showed you that souls continue to exist from the fact that the soul of Samuel was called up by the medium, as Saul demanded. It also appears that the souls of all righteous men and prophets of that kind came under the power of such powers as the very facts show were at work in that medium.⁴⁰⁶ ⁵ For this reason God teaches us, through his Son as well, to strive by every means to become righteous, and at our departure to ask that our souls not fall under any such power. For when he gave up his spirit on the cross, he said, “Father, into your hands I entrust my spirit.” I learned this too from the memoirs.⁴⁰⁷ [Luke 23: 46]

⁶ It is also written in the memoirs that he urged his disciples to surpass the way of life of the Pharisees, and warned them that otherwise they should know they would not be saved. He said: “Unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven.”⁴⁰⁸ [Matthew 5: 20]

CHAPTER 106

Christ's Resurrection is Foretold in the Conclusion of the Psalm.

¹ The rest of the Psalm shows several things. He knew that his Father would give him everything he asked and would raise him from the dead. He urged all who fear God to praise God, because through the mystery of this crucified one God had shown mercy to every race of believing people. And he stood in

404. “Memoirs” is Justin’s usual name for the Gospels.

405. Justin’s earlier explanation is in chapter 91. There he says the horns of the unicorn in Deuteronomy 33:17 can stand only for the cross.

406. The idea that righteous souls before Christ fell under the power of evil spirits is Justin’s own inference from this story. Scripture does not state it.

407. The words on the cross are from Luke 23:46, which quotes Psalm 31:5.

408. The saying is Matthew 5:20.

the midst of his brothers, the apostles. After he rose from the dead, they were convinced by him that even before his suffering he had told them he must suffer these things, and that the prophets had announced them beforehand. They then repented of having deserted him when he was crucified. And while he was with them, he sang praise to God, as the memoirs of the apostles also show. ² The words are these: “I will declare your name to my brothers; in the midst of the congregation I will sing praise to you. You who fear the Lord, praise him; all the seed of Jacob, glorify him; let all the seed of Israel fear him.”⁴⁰⁹

³ It is also said that he gave one of the apostles the new name Peter, and this is written in his memoirs as having happened. It is also written that he gave two other brothers, the sons of Zebedee, the name Boanerges, which means “sons of thunder.” This was a sign that he is the one through whom the surname Israel was given to Jacob, and through whom Hoshea was given the name Jesus. By that name the people who were left of those who came out of Egypt were brought into the land promised to the patriarchs.⁴¹⁰ [Mark 3:16-17; Genesis 32:28; Numbers 13:16] ⁴ Moses also showed that he would rise like a star from the race of Abraham, saying: “A star will rise out of Jacob, and a leader out of Israel.” Another Scripture says: “Behold, a man; his name is Rising.” So when a star rose in heaven at the very time of his birth, as is written in the memoirs of his apostles, the Magi from Arabia recognized the sign from it, came, and worshiped him.⁴¹¹ [Numbers 24:17; Zechariah 6:12; Matthew 2:1-2]

CHAPTER 107

The Same is Taught from the History of Jonah.

¹ The memoirs also show that he was to rise on the third day after being crucified. It is written there that some of your own people were arguing with him and said, “Show us a sign.” He answered them, “An evil and adulterous generation seeks after a sign, and no sign will be given to them except the sign of Jonah.” When he said this, his meaning was veiled: his hearers were

409. Psalm 22:22–23 (Psalm 21:23–24 in the Greek Old Testament). “Congregation” translates “ekklēsia,” the same Greek word used for “church.”

410. For the new names Peter and Boanerges, see Mark 3:16–17. “His memoirs” may mean Peter’s memoirs rather than Jesus’ memoirs. Some scholars take this as a reference to Mark’s Gospel, which early tradition linked with Peter and which alone records “Boanerges.” The Greek is ambiguous.

411. For the star and the Magi, see Matthew 2:1–11. Matthew says only that the Magi came “from the east.” “From Arabia” is Justin’s own detail.

to understand that after he was crucified he would rise on the third day.⁴¹² [Matthew 12: 38-39; Matthew 16: 4] ² He was showing that your generation was more wicked and more adulterous than the city of Nineveh. When Jonah had been thrown up on the third day from the belly of the great fish, he preached to the Ninevites that after three days they would all be destroyed. Then they proclaimed a fast for every living creature, men and animals alike. They put on sackcloth and cried out earnestly, and they truly repented from the heart and renounced injustice. They believed that God is merciful and kind to all who turn from evil. Even the king of that city and his nobles put on sackcloth and kept up the fast and the pleading, and they obtained their request that their city not be overthrown.⁴¹³ [Jonah 2: 10]

³ But Jonah was upset that the city was not overthrown on the third day, as he had proclaimed. By God's arrangement a gourd plant grew up for him out of the ground, and he sat under it and was shaded from the heat. The gourd came up suddenly: Jonah had neither planted nor watered it, but it sprang up at once to give him shade. By a further arrangement it then dried up, and Jonah grieved over it. So God rebuked him for being wrongly discouraged because the city of Nineveh had not been overthrown. He said:⁴¹⁴ [Jonah 4: 1; Jonah 4: 6-9] ⁴ "You took pity on the gourd, though you did not labor over it, nor did you make it grow. It came in a night and perished in a night. And shall I not spare Nineveh, the great city, in which more than a hundred and twenty thousand people live, who do not know their right hand from their left, and many animals as well?"⁴¹⁵ [Jonah 4: 10-11]

CHAPTER 108

The Resurrection of Christ Did Not Convert the Jews. But Through the Whole World They Have Sent Men to Accuse Christ.

¹ All of your people know these things that happened with Jonah. Christ also cried out among you that He would give you the sign of Jonah. He was urging you that, at least after He had risen from the dead, you would repent of

412. The "memoirs" are the Gospels. Justin says elsewhere (First Apology 66) that these memoirs are called Gospels. Compare Matthew 12:38-40.

413. "Wicked and adulterous generation" echoes Jesus' words in Matthew 12:39. Justin's "three days" follows the Greek Old Testament (Septuagint) at Jonah 3:4. The Hebrew text, followed by most English Bibles, has "forty days." That is why the older translation adds "(in other versions, forty)."

414. See Jonah 4:1-9.

415. Jonah 4:10-11.

the evil things you had done. He wanted you to weep before God as the Ninevites did, so that your nation and your city would not be captured and destroyed, as they have been.⁴¹⁶ [Matthew 12: 39] 2 Yet when you learned that He had risen from the dead, not only did you not repent, but, as I said before, you appointed chosen men and sent them out into the whole world. They announced: “A godless and lawless sect has arisen from a certain Jesus, a Galilean deceiver. We crucified him, but his disciples stole him by night from the tomb where he was laid after he was unnailed from the cross. Now they deceive people by saying that he has risen from the dead and gone up to heaven.” You also accused Him of having taught the godless, lawless and unholy things that you tell every race of people about those who confess Him to be Christ, Teacher, and Son of God.⁴¹⁷ [Matthew 28: 13]

3 On top of this, even though your city has been captured and your land laid waste, you do not repent. You even dare to curse Him and all who believe in Him. We do not hate you, nor those who because of you have formed such opinions about us. Instead we pray that even now all of you will repent and receive mercy from God, the Father of all, who is tenderhearted and rich in mercy.⁴¹⁸

CHAPTER 109

The Conversion of the Gentiles Has Been Predicted by Micah.

1 Now, as for the Gentiles, bear with me while I say a few words from the prophecy of Micah, one of the Twelve. He foretold that they would repent of the evil in which they had lived in error, when they heard the word preached from Jerusalem by His apostles and learned it through them.⁴¹⁹ 2 These are his words: “And in the last days the mountain of the Lord will be plainly seen, established on the top of the mountains, lifted up above the hills. Peoples will make a river flow to it, and many nations will go and say, ‘Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord and to the house of the God of Jacob. They will give us light about His way, and we will walk in His paths.’ For out of Zion will go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from

416. For “the sign of Jonah,” see Matthew 12:39–41, 16:4, and Luke 11:29–30.

417. Justin made the same charge earlier, in chapter 17. The story that the disciples stole the body also appears in Matthew 28:11–15.

418. The older English has “long-suffering” for the Greek “polyeleos,” which means “of much mercy.”

419. “The Twelve” are the twelve shorter prophetic books, the Minor Prophets, counted as one.

Jerusalem. He will judge between many peoples and will rebuke strong nations far away. They will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation will not lift up sword against nation, and they will not learn war any more.”⁴²⁰ [Micah 4:1-3]

3 And each man will sit under his own vine and under his own fig tree, and there will be no one to frighten him, for the mouth of the Lord of hosts has spoken. For all the peoples will walk in the name of their gods, but we will walk in the name of the Lord our God forever. And in that day, I will gather her who was afflicted, and I will assemble her who was thrust out, and her whom I had brought low. I will make the afflicted one a remnant, and the crushed one a strong nation. And the Lord will reign over them on Mount Zion from now on and forever.⁴²¹ [Micah 4:4-7]

CHAPTER 110

A Portion of the Prophecy Already Fulfilled in the Christians: the Rest Shall Be Fulfilled at the Second Advent.

1 When I had finished these quotations, I added: I know, gentlemen, that your teachers admit that all the words of this passage were spoken about the Christ. I also know that they say he has not yet come. Or if they say he has come, they say it is not known who he is, but when he becomes visible and glorious, then, they say, it will be known who he is. 2 And then, they say, what is spoken in this passage will come to pass, as if no fruit at all had yet come from the words of the prophecy. You senseless people! You do not understand what has been shown through all these passages: that two comings of him have been announced. One is the coming in which he was proclaimed as suffering, without glory, without honor, and crucified. The other is the coming in which he will arrive from heaven with glory. That will be when the man of apostasy, who also speaks outrageous things against the Most High, will dare to do lawless things on the earth against us Christians. We have come to know the worship of God from the law and the word that went out from Jerusalem through the apostles of Jesus, and we have fled for

420. Micah 4:1-3, which is nearly the same as Isaiah 2:2-4. Justin's Greek says literally that peoples "will set a river" toward the mountain, a very literal rendering of the Hebrew verb for "flow," which shares its root with the word for "river." The usual Septuagint of Micah reads "peoples will hasten to it."

421. Micah 4:4-7.

refuge to the God of Jacob and the God of Israel.⁴²² [*Daniel 7:25; 2 Thessalonians 2:3; Micah 4:2*]

3 We were filled with war, mutual slaughter, and every kind of wickedness. But every one of us, all over the earth, has changed our weapons of war: our swords into plows, and our spears into farming tools. Now we farm godliness, righteousness, love for humanity, faith, and the hope that comes from the Father himself through the one who was crucified. Each of us sits under his own vine; that is, each of us has relations only with his own lawfully married wife. For you know that the prophetic word says, “And his wife is like a thriving vine.”⁴²³ [*Micah 4:3; Micah 4:4*] 4 It is plain that no one can frighten us or make us slaves, we who have believed in Jesus all over the earth. We are beheaded, crucified, thrown to wild beasts, and subjected to chains, fire, and all the other tortures, and it is clear that we do not abandon our confession. On the contrary, the more such things happen, the more other people, in ever greater numbers, become believers and worshippers of God through the name of Jesus. If someone cuts away the parts of a vine that have borne fruit, it sends up other shoots that are healthy and fruitful. The same thing happens with us. For the vine planted by God and by Christ the Savior is his people. [*Micah 4:4*]

5 The rest of the prophecy will be fulfilled at his second coming. As for “the afflicted and thrust-out one,” that is, thrust out of the world: as far as you and all other people are concerned, every Christian has been driven out not only from his own possessions but from the whole world, since you and they allow no Christian to live.⁴²⁴ [*Micah 4:6*] 6 You say that this has happened to your own people. But if you were driven out after being attacked in war, you have suffered this justly, as all the Scriptures testify. We, however, have done nothing of the kind since coming to know the truth of God. Yet God testifies about us, together with Christ, the most righteous, the only one without stain or sin, that we are being taken away from the earth. For Isaiah cries out: “See how the righteous man has perished, and no one takes it to

422. The older English has “the true worship of God”; the Greek has only “the worship of God” (θεοσέβεια).

423. The swords, plows and vine come from Micah 4:3–4, quoted in chapter 109. Justin reads the “vine” as a man’s own wife, supporting this with Psalm 128:3 (127:3 in the Greek Old Testament), which reads “your wife,” not “his wife.”

424. Justin is quoting Micah 4:6, part of the prophecy given in chapter 109; in the Greek, “the afflicted and thrust-out one” is feminine, as in Micah.

heart. Righteous men are taken away, and no one pays attention.”⁴²⁵ [Isaiah 57:1]

CHAPTER 111

The Two Advents Were Signified by the Two Goats. Other Figures of the First Advent, in Which the Gentiles are Freed by the Blood of Christ.

1 I said earlier that Moses too foretold, in symbols, that there would be two comings of this Christ. I showed this through the symbol of the goats offered at the fast. Again, what Moses and Joshua did announced the same thing in advance, in symbol and in word. Moses stretched out his hands and stayed on the hill until evening, with his hands held up, and this shows a type of nothing other than the cross. The other, who had his name changed to Jesus, led the battle, and Israel won.⁴²⁶ [Exodus 17:11-12; Numbers 13:16] 2 It is possible to see that this happened in the case of both of those holy men, prophets of God: one of them was not able to carry both mysteries. I mean the type of the cross and the type of bearing the name. This power belongs to one alone. It was his, it is his, and it will be his. Every ruling power fears his name and is in agony, because they are going to be destroyed through him. So our Christ, who suffered and was crucified, was not cursed by the law. Rather, he showed that he alone would save those who do not fall away from faith in him.⁴²⁷ [Deuteronomy 21:23]

3 And when the firstborn of the Egyptians were being destroyed, the blood of the passover rescued those who were saved in Egypt. It had been smeared on both doorposts and on the lintel. For the passover was Christ, who was sacrificed later, as Isaiah also said: “He was led like a sheep to the slaughter.” It is written that you seized him on the day of the passover, and that you likewise crucified him at the passover. Just as the passover blood saved those in Egypt, so the blood of Christ will rescue from death those who have believed.⁴²⁸ [Exodus 12:7; 1 Corinthians 5:7; Isaiah 53:7] 4 Would God, then, have been mistaken if this sign had not been put on the doors? I do not say that. I say that God was announcing in advance the salvation that was going

425. The quotation is Isaiah 57:1.

426. “Jesus” and “Joshua” are the same name in Greek (Ἰησοῦς). Moses renamed Hoshea “Joshua” (Numbers 13:16), and Justin relies on this.

427. On the law’s curse, compare Deuteronomy 21:23 and Galatians 3:13; Justin discusses this curse at length in chapters 89–96.

428. The quotation is Isaiah 53:7. Compare 1 Corinthians 5:7: “Christ, our passover lamb, has been sacrificed.”

to come to the human race through the blood of Christ. The scarlet thread was a symbol in the same way. Joshua son of Nun sent spies to Jericho, and they gave the thread to Rahab the prostitute. They told her to tie it to the window through which she had let them down so that they would escape their enemies. This thread likewise showed the symbol of the blood of Christ. By that blood, people from all the nations who were once sexually immoral and unrighteous are saved. They receive forgiveness of sins and no longer sin.⁴²⁹ [*Exodus 12:13; Joshua 2:15; Joshua 2:18*]

CHAPTER 112

The Jews Expound These Signs Jejunely and Feebly, and Take Up Their Attention Only with Insignificant Matters.

¹ But you explain these things in a lowly way, and so you charge God with great weakness. That is what happens if you hear them in this bare, literal way and do not examine the meaning of what was said. By that reasoning Moses too would be judged a lawbreaker. He commanded that no likeness be made of anything in heaven, on earth or in the sea. Yet he himself then made a bronze serpent, set it up on a standard, and told those who had been bitten to look at it. And they were saved by looking at it.⁴³⁰ [*Exodus 20:4; Numbers 21:8-9*] ² Are we then to understand that the serpent saved the people at that time? As I said before, God cursed that serpent from the beginning, and he will destroy it with the great sword, as Isaiah cries out. Are we to accept such things as foolishly as your teachers say, and not as symbols? Shall we not rather refer the sign to the image of Jesus who was crucified? After all, Moses with his outstretched hands, together with the one who was called by the name Jesus (Joshua), brought about the victory of your people.⁴³¹ [*Genesis 3:14; Isaiah 27:1; Exodus 17:11-12*]

³ In this way we will stop being puzzled about what the lawgiver did. He was not abandoning God and persuading the people to put their hope in a beast, the creature through which transgression and disobedience began. This was done and said by the blessed prophet with great insight and mystery. And there is nothing at all in what any of the prophets said or did that

429. See Joshua 2:1, 15–21.

430. See Exodus 20:4 and Numbers 21:8–9. The word for the “standard” or pole is *σημείον*, which also means “sign.” It is the word used in the Greek of Numbers 21:8, and Justin builds on it in the next section.

431. For Moses’ outstretched hands and Joshua’s victory over Amalek, see Exodus 17:8–13.

anyone can justly blame, if you have the knowledge that is in them. ⁴ But suppose all your teachers explain to you only why female camels are not mentioned in this passage, or what the so-called female camels are, or why the offerings call for so many measures of fine flour and so many measures of oil. And suppose they explain these things in a lowly and earthbound way, while they never dare to speak of or explain the great matters that deserve inquiry. Or suppose that when we explain them, they order you not to listen at all and not to join in conversation with us. Will they not deserve to hear what our Lord Jesus Christ said to them? “Whitewashed tombs, which look beautiful outside and inside are full of dead men’s bones, paying tithes on mint but swallowing the camel, blind guides!”⁴³² [Matthew 23:27; Matthew 23:23-24]

⁵ So you must despise the teachings of those who exalt themselves and want to be called “Rabbi, Rabbi.” You must come to the words of the prophets with such firm resolve and understanding that you suffer from your own people the same things the prophets themselves suffered. Unless you do this, you can get no benefit at all from the writings of the prophets.⁴³³ [Matthew 23:7]

CHAPTER 113

Joshua Was a Figure of Christ.

¹ Here is what I mean. As I have said many times, Moses gave the name Jesus (Joshua) to the man called Oshea, who was sent with Caleb to spy out the land of Canaan. You do not ask why he did this. You are not puzzled by it, and you do not care to find out. So Christ has escaped your notice. You read, but you do not understand. Even now, when you hear that Jesus is our Christ, you do not stop to reason that this name was not given to that man idly or by chance.⁴³⁴ [Numbers 13:16] ² But you offer theological explanations of why one alpha was added to Abraham’s first name. In the same way you make grand speeches about why one rho was added to Sarah’s name. Yet you do not ask in the same way why the name Oshea, the son of Nun, which his father had given him, was changed completely to Jesus.⁴³⁵ [Genesis 17:5; Genesis 17:15]

432. Justin combines phrases from Matthew 23:23–24, 27.

433. Compare Matthew 23:7–8. Many manuscripts of Matthew 23:7 have the doubled “Rabbi, Rabbi.”

434. Greek “Jesus” and Hebrew “Joshua” are the same name. Justin uses “Jesus” for both men, which is how the Greek Old Testament reads. “Oshea” here is Justin’s Ἀὐση, i.e. Hoshea (Numbers 13:16).

3 His name was not the only thing changed. He also became Moses' successor. Of all the grown men who came out of Egypt, he alone led the people who were left into the holy land. Moses did not do this; he did. And he distributed the land by lot to those who entered with him. In the same way Jesus the Christ will bring back the scattered people and will give the good land to each one. But it will no longer be done in the same way.⁴³⁶ 4 For Joshua gave them a temporary inheritance, since he was not the Christ who is God, nor the Son of God. But Jesus Christ will give us an eternal possession after the holy resurrection. Joshua had earlier been renamed Jesus, and he had received strength from His Spirit when he made the sun stand still. For I have shown that it was Jesus who appeared to Moses, to Abraham, and to all the other patriarchs without exception, and who spoke with them, serving the Father's will. He also came to be born as a man of the virgin Mary, and he exists forever.⁴³⁷ [*Joshua 10:12-13*]

5 For this is the one from whom and through whom the Father will make the heaven and the earth new. This is the one who will shine as an eternal light in Jerusalem. This is the one who is king of Salem after the order of Melchizedek, and who is the eternal priest of the Most High.⁴³⁸ [*Isaiah 60:19-20; Genesis 14:18*] 6 Joshua is said to have circumcised the people a second time with knives of stone. This was a proclamation in advance of the circumcision with which Jesus Christ himself has circumcised us from stones and other idols. He gathered into heaps those from the uncircumcision, that is, from the error of the world, who in every place have been circumcised with knives of stone. These knives are the words of Jesus our Lord. For I have shown that through the prophets Christ was proclaimed in parables as a stone and a rock.⁴³⁹ [*Joshua 5:2-3*] 7 So we will understand the knives of stone to be his words. Through them so many who were wandering in error have

435. Justin's Greek names the letters alpha (Abram to Abraham) and rho (Sarai to Sarah, which the Greek Old Testament spells Σάρρα and then Σάρρα). See Genesis 17:5, 15.

436. Justin says Joshua "alone" of the adults who left Egypt entered the land. Numbers 14:30 names Caleb as well.

437. Joshua's stopping of the sun is told in Joshua 10:12-14. "His Spirit" probably means the Spirit of Christ, though the Greek pronoun is ambiguous.

438. The eternal light in Jerusalem recalls Isaiah 60:19-20. Melchizedek appears as king of Salem and priest of the Most High God in Genesis 14:18, and as a priest "forever after the order of Melchizedek" in Psalm 110:4 (compare Hebrews 7). Justin applies both titles to Christ.

439. The second circumcision with stone knives is in Joshua 5:2-3. Justin's word for "heaps" (thēmōnia, a stack, as of sheaves) is not the word the Greek Old Testament uses for the "hill of foreskins" in Joshua 5:3 (bounos). Still, he seems to have that scene in mind.

been circumcised from their uncircumcision with a circumcision of the heart. From that time on, through Jesus (Joshua), God urged that even those who had the circumcision that began with Abraham should be circumcised in this way. He did so when he said that Jesus (Joshua) had circumcised those who entered that holy land a second time with knives of stone.⁴⁴⁰ [Joshua 5: 2]

CHAPTER 114

Some Rules for Discerning What is Said About Christ. The Circumcision of the Jews is Very Different from that Which Christians Receive.

¹Sometimes the Holy Spirit caused something to be done in plain sight which was a type of what was going to happen. Sometimes he spoke words about things that were still to come, speaking as if they were happening then or had already happened. Readers who do not know this skill will not be able to follow the words of the prophets as they should. So I will give some prophetic words as an example, so that you may follow what I am saying. ²When he says through Isaiah, “He was led like a sheep to slaughter, and like a lamb before its shearer,” he speaks as though the suffering had already happened. And when he says again, “I spread out my hands to a disobedient and contrary people,” and when he says, “Lord, who has believed our report?”, these words too are spoken as if announcing things already done. For I have shown that Scripture often calls Christ a stone in parable, and in figurative speech calls him Jacob and Israel.⁴⁴¹ [Isaiah 53: 7; Isaiah 65: 2; Isaiah 53: 1]

³And again, when he says, “I will see the heavens, the works of your fingers,” I must understand how he uses words, or I will not hear it with understanding. I would hear it the way your teachers claim it should be heard. They suppose that the Father of all, the unbegotten God, has hands, feet, fingers and a soul, like a composite living creature. For this reason they teach that it was the Father himself who appeared to Abraham and to Jacob.⁴⁴² [Psalm 8: 3] ⁴Blessed are we, then, who have been circumcised a second time with knives of stone. Your first circumcision was and is done with iron, for you remain hard of heart. But our circumcision is the second in order, and it appeared after yours. It comes through sharp stones, that is, through the

440. The Greek perfect infinitive means Joshua “had circumcised” them, a completed past act (Joshua 5:2–3), so the older English rendering “would circumcise” does not match.

441. The quotations are Isaiah 53:7, Isaiah 65:2 and Isaiah 53:1. Elsewhere in the Dialogue Justin argues that Christ is figuratively called Jacob and Israel.

442. The quotation is Psalm 8:3 (8:4 in the Greek and Hebrew numbering).

words of the cornerstone, the stone cut out without hands, spoken through the apostles. It circumcises us from idolatry and, in short, from every kind of wickedness. Our hearts have been so circumcised from evil that we even rejoice to die for the name of the good Rock. That Rock makes living water spring up in the hearts of those who through him have loved the Father of all, and it gives the water of life to drink to all who are willing.⁴⁴³ [Joshua 5:2; Isaiah 28:16; Daniel 2:34; Revelation 22:17]

5 But you do not understand me when I say these things. You have not understood what was prophesied that the Christ would do, and you do not believe us when we point you to what has been written. For Jeremiah cries out like this: “Woe to you, because you have forsaken the living fountain and have dug for yourselves broken cisterns, which will not be able to hold water. Is the place where Mount Zion stands to be a desert? For I gave Jerusalem a certificate of divorce in front of you.”⁴⁴⁴ [Jeremiah 2:13; Isaiah 16:1; Jeremiah 3:8]

CHAPTER 115

Prediction About the Christians in Zechariah. The Malignant Way Which the Jews Have in Disputations.

1 But you ought to believe Zechariah, who shows the mystery of the Christ in a parable and proclaims it in a hidden way. These are his words: “Rejoice and be glad, daughter of Zion, for look, I am coming, and I will dwell in the midst of you, says the Lord. Many nations will be joined to the Lord on that day, and they will be my people. I will dwell in the midst of you, and they will know that the Lord of hosts has sent me to you.”⁴⁴⁵ [Zechariah 2:10-11]

2 “The Lord will take possession of Judah and his portion in the holy land, and he will again choose Jerusalem. Let all flesh be in awe before the face of the Lord, for he has been roused from his holy clouds. And he showed me Jesus, the high priest, standing before the angel of the Lord. The devil stood at his right hand to oppose him. And the Lord said to the devil, ‘May the Lord,

443. “Sharp stones” echoes the Greek of Joshua 5:2, where the stone knives are made from sharp rock. The “cornerstone” recalls Isaiah 28:16 and Psalm 118:22, and the “stone cut out without hands” recalls Daniel 2:34. Justin reads these as Christ, whose words come through the apostles’ preaching. The water of life for all who are willing echoes Revelation 22:17.

444. Only the words about the fountain and the broken cisterns come from Jeremiah 2:13. The rest of the quotation is not found in that passage. It seems to combine wording like Isaiah 16:1 (Mount Zion as a desert) with the certificate of divorce in Jeremiah 3:8 or Isaiah 50:1.

445. Justin quotes Zechariah 2:10-11 (2:14-15 in the Greek Old Testament), continuing in the next section to Zechariah 3:2.

who chose Jerusalem, rebuke you. Look, is this not a brand plucked out of the fire?”⁴⁴⁶ [Zechariah 2:12-13; Zechariah 3:1-2]

³ Trypho was about to answer and argue with me, so I said: “First wait and hear what I have to say. I am not going to give the explanation you expect, as though there had been no priest named Jesus in the land of Babylon, where your people were captives. Even if I were to argue that way, I would show that there was indeed a priest named Jesus among your people. But the prophet did not see the man himself in his revelation. In the same way, he did not see the devil and the angel of the Lord with his own eyes while in his ordinary state. He saw them in a trance, when a revelation was given to him.”⁴⁴⁷

⁴ “But now I say this. It was said that the son of Nun, through the name Jesus, did certain mighty deeds and acts that announced in advance what our Lord would do. In the same way, I now come to show that the revelation given among your people concerning Jesus the priest in Babylon was an announcement in advance of what our Priest would do. He is God and Christ, the Son of the Father of all.”⁴⁴⁸

⁵ “Indeed, I was already wondering,” I said, “why you stayed silent a little while ago when I was speaking, and why you did not catch me out when I said that the son of Nun was the only one of his own age group who came out of Egypt and entered the holy land, along with those listed as underage in that generation. For you rush to sores and settle on them like flies.”⁴⁴⁹

⁶ “For even if someone says ten thousand things well, if there is one small thing that does not please you, or that you do not understand, or that is not exact, you pay no attention to the many good things. You seize on the little remark and work hard to make it out to be impiety and wrong. So when God judges you by the same standard, you will have to give an account all the more for your own great acts of daring. These may be evil deeds or worthless interpretations, which you twist the text to produce. For it is just that you should be judged by the judgment with which you judge.”⁴⁵⁰ [Matthew 7:2]

446. Where Hebrew-based Bibles read “his holy dwelling,” the Greek Old Testament that Justin uses reads “his holy clouds.”

447. Justin does not deny that a priest named Joshua (Jesus) lived among the exiles. His point is that Zechariah saw him in a vision, not in person.

448. In the Greek Old Testament, Joshua son of Nun is called “Jesus son of Nave.” This is why Justin links his name to Christ.

449. Numbers 14:29–31 says that Caleb as well as Joshua would enter the land, along with those under twenty. Justin’s earlier claim that Joshua alone entered left out Caleb, a slip Trypho could have seized on.

CHAPTER 116

It is Shown How This Prophecy Suits the Christians.

¹ But to give you the account of the revelation of the holy Jesus Christ, I take up my argument again. I say that this revelation too was given for us, who believe in Christ, this crucified One, as our High Priest. We were living in fornication and, simply put, in every kind of filthy practice. But through the grace that comes from our Jesus, according to the will of his Father, we have stripped off all the filthy evils we were clothed in. The devil stands over us continually as our opponent, wanting to drag everyone to himself. But the angel of God, that is, the power of God sent to us through Jesus Christ, rebukes him, and he withdraws from us.⁴⁵¹ [Zechariah 3:1-4] ² And we are like people snatched out of a fire. We have been cleansed from our former sins, and rescued from the affliction and the fiery trial that the devil and all his servants bring on us. Jesus the Son of God snatches us out of these yet again. He has promised to clothe us in the garments prepared for us, if we keep his commandments, and he has promised to provide an eternal kingdom.⁴⁵²

[Zechariah 3:2]

³ That Jesus, whom the prophet calls a priest, appeared wearing filthy clothes, because he is said to have taken a prostitute as a wife. He was called a brand snatched from the fire because he had received forgiveness of sins, and the devil who opposed him was rebuked. In the same way, we have believed in God, the maker of all things, through the name of Jesus, as one man. Through the name of his firstborn Son we have taken off the filthy clothes, that is, our sins. We were set on fire by the word of his calling, and we are the true high-priestly race of God. God himself bears witness to this when he says that in every place among the Gentiles people offer him pure sacrifices that please him. God accepts sacrifices from no one except through his priests.⁴⁵³ [Zechariah 3:1-4; Malachi 1:11]

450. The last sentence echoes Jesus' words in Matthew 7:2.

451. Justin is applying the vision of Joshua the high priest in Zechariah 3. There Satan stands to oppose him, and Joshua's filthy clothes are taken off.

452. The older translation says Jesus "has promised again to deliver us." The Greek says he does rescue us again now. The promise concerns the garments and the kingdom.

453. God's words about pure sacrifices offered in every place among the Gentiles come from Malachi 1:11.

CHAPTER 117

Malachi's Prophecy Concerning the Sacrifices of the Christians. It Cannot Be Taken as Referring to the Prayers of Jews of the Dispersion.

¹ So God, speaking beforehand, testifies that all the sacrifices made through this name are pleasing to him. These are the sacrifices Jesus the Christ handed down for us to perform, that is, at the thanksgiving of the bread and the cup, which Christians offer in every place on earth. But he rejects the sacrifices made by you and by those priests of yours. He says: "I will not accept your sacrifices from your hands. For from the rising of the sun to its setting my name has been glorified among the Gentiles, he says, but you profane it."⁴⁵⁴ [*Malachi 1:10-12*] ² Yet even now, in your love of quarreling, you say this. You say that God does not accept the sacrifices offered in Jerusalem by the people who lived there at that time and were called Israelites. But you say that he said he accepts the prayers of the people of that race who were then scattered abroad, and that he calls their prayers sacrifices. Now I myself also say that prayers and thanksgivings, when offered by worthy people, are the only perfect sacrifices that please God.

³ These are the only sacrifices that Christians too have been taught to offer. They offer them at the memorial of their food, both dry and liquid, in which they also recall the suffering the Son of God endured for them. The chief priests and teachers of your people have caused his name to be profaned and blasphemed over all the earth. You have put filthy clothes on all who have become Christians through the name of Jesus. But God will show that these clothes are taken off us when he raises everyone. He will set some, incorruptible, immortal and free from grief, in an eternal kingdom that will never be dissolved, and he will send others away to the eternal punishment of fire.⁴⁵⁵ [*Matthew 25:46*] ⁴ You and your teachers deceive yourselves when you explain that the word spoke about people of your race in the dispersion, and that it meant their prayers and sacrifices, offered in every place, were pure and pleasing. Understand that you are lying and trying in every way to deceive yourselves. First of all, even now your race does not extend from the

454. The quotation is from Malachi 1:10-12; "thanksgiving" translates eucharistia, the word from which "Eucharist" comes.

455. The "filthy clothes" recall Zechariah 3:3-5, where the filthy garments of Joshua the high priest are taken off him. Justin discussed that passage in the chapters just before this one.

rising of the sun to its setting. There are nations among whom not one of your race has ever lived. [*Malachi 1:11*]

5 For there is no race of people at all among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered to the Father and Maker of all through the name of the crucified Jesus. This is true whether they are barbarians or Greeks or are called by any other name at all, whether they are wagon-dwellers, or people called homeless, or herdsmen living in tents. Next, when the prophet Malachi said this, your dispersion over the whole earth, as widely as you are now scattered, had not yet happened. The Scriptures themselves show this.

CHAPTER 118

He Exhorts to Repentance Before Christ Comes; In Whom Christians, Since They Believe, are Far More Religious Than Jews.

1 So stop your love of quarreling, and repent before the great day of judgment comes. On that day all those from your tribes who pierced this Christ will mourn, as I showed from Scripture that it was foretold. I have also explained that the Lord swore “after the order of Melchizedek,” and what that statement means. I said earlier that Isaiah’s prophecy, “His burial has been taken away from the midst,” was about the Christ who was going to be buried and to rise again. And I have said in many places that this same Christ is the judge of all the living and the dead.⁴⁵⁶ [*Zechariah 12:10; Isaiah 57:2; Acts 10:42*]

2 Nathan likewise spoke of him to David and said: “I will be a father to him, and he will be a son to me. I will not take my mercy away from him, as I did from those before him. I will establish him in my house and in his kingdom forever.” The prince in the house, of whom Ezekiel speaks, is none other than this same one. For the Christ, as Son of God, is the chosen priest and eternal king. Do not think that Isaiah or the other prophets say that at his second coming sacrifices of blood or drink offerings will be brought to the altar. They speak of true and spiritual praises and thanksgivings.⁴⁵⁷

3 It is not for nothing that we have believed in him, and we were not led astray by those who taught us this. It happened by God’s wonderful provid-

456. The mourning of those who pierced him alludes to Zechariah 12:10–12 (compare Revelation 1:7). “After the order of Melchizedek” is from Psalm 110:4. “His burial has been taken away from the midst” is the Greek Old Testament (Septuagint) of Isaiah 57:2, which Justin has quoted earlier in the Dialogue.

ence. Through the calling of the new and eternal covenant, that is, of Christ, we were to be found wiser and more devout than you. You are thought to be lovers of God and people of understanding, but you are not.⁴⁵⁸

⁴ Isaiah marveled at this and said: “Kings will shut their mouths. For those who were told nothing about him will see, and those who have not heard will understand. Lord, who has believed our message? And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?” I went on, “Trypho, in saying these things I am trying, as far as is possible, to say the same things again for the sake of those who have come with you today. But I am doing it briefly and in shortened form.”⁴⁵⁹ [*Isaiah 52:15; Isaiah 53:1*]

⁵ He replied, “You do well. Even if you say the same things again at greater length, know that I and those with me are glad to listen.”

CHAPTER 119

Christians are the Holy People Promised to Abraham. They Have Been Called Like Abraham.

¹ Then I said again, “Gentlemen, do you think we could ever have understood these things in the Scriptures, if we had not received, by the will of the One who willed it, the grace to understand them? So that what was said by Moses might also come true: ² ‘They provoked me with strange gods; with their abominations they embittered me. They sacrificed to demons whom they did not know. New and recent gods have come, whom their fathers did not know. You abandoned God who begot you, and forgot God who nourishes you. And the Lord saw, and was jealous, and was provoked to anger by the wrath of his sons and daughters. He said, “I will turn my face away from them, and I will show what will happen to them at the last. For they are a perverse generation, sons in whom there is no faith. They made me jealous with what is not God; they provoked me to anger with their idols. And I will make them jealous with what is not a nation; with a senseless nation I will provoke them to anger. For a fire has been kindled by my anger, and it will

457. The older translation puts a quotation in Ezekiel’s mouth (“There shall be no other prince in the house but He”). The Greek has only Justin’s paraphrase: Ezekiel’s “prince in the house” is none other than Christ. The “prince” (or “leader”) appears in Ezekiel’s vision of the new temple (for example Ezekiel 44:3).

458. “Providence” translates *pronoia*, God’s forethought and care.

459. The quotation is Isaiah 52:15–53:1 in the Greek Old Testament (Septuagint), which has “Lord” at the start of 53:1. Paul quotes these verses in Romans 15:21 and 10:16, and John quotes Isaiah 53:1 in John 12:38.

burn down to Hades. It will devour the earth and its produce, and set the foundations of the mountains ablaze. I will heap evils upon them.”⁴⁶⁰

3 After that righteous one was put to death, we sprang up again as another people. We shot up as new and flourishing ears of grain, as the prophets said: “And many nations will take refuge with the Lord on that day, to be his people, and they will settle in the middle of the whole earth.” We are not only a people but a holy people, as we have already shown: “And they will call it a holy people, redeemed by the Lord.”⁴⁶¹ [*Zechariah 2:11; Isaiah 62:12*] 4 So we are not a contemptible people, or a barbarian tribe, or a nation like the Carians or the Phrygians. God has chosen us too, and he made himself plain to those who did not ask after him. “Behold, I am God,” he says, “to a nation, to those who did not call on my name.” For this is the nation that God promised long ago to Abraham, when he announced that he would make him the father of many nations. He did not mean the Arabians, the Egyptians or the Idumeans, since Ishmael also became the father of a great nation, and so did Esau, and there is now a great multitude of Ammonites. Noah, moreover, was the father of Abraham himself and, put simply, of the whole human race, and different men were the forefathers of different peoples.⁴⁶² [*Isaiah 65:1; Genesis 17:5*]

5 What more, then, does Christ grant to Abraham here? This: he called him by his voice with a calling like ours, telling him to go out from the land in which he lived. By that same voice he has called all of us. We have already come out from the way of life in which we lived, spending our days in evil like the other inhabitants of the earth. With Abraham we shall inherit the holy land, and we shall receive the inheritance for endless ages, because we are children of Abraham through the same faith.⁴⁶³ [*Genesis 12:1; Galatians 3:7*]

6 Abraham believed the voice of God, and it was counted to him as righteousness. In the same way we have believed the voice of God, spoken again

460. Deuteronomy 32:16–23, from the Song of Moses, quoted from the Greek Old Testament. Paul quotes verse 21 (“I will make them jealous with what is not a nation”) in Romans 10:19.

461. The first quotation is close to Zechariah 2:11, though there the nations dwell “in your midst” rather than “in the middle of the whole earth.” The second is from Isaiah 62:12.

462. “He made himself plain to those who did not ask after him” and the words that follow come from Isaiah 65:1, which Paul also quotes in Romans 10:20. Our texts of Isaiah read “Here I am” rather than “I am God.” The promise to make Abraham “the father of many nations” is Genesis 17:4–5.

463. The call to leave his land is Genesis 12:1. For believers as children of Abraham through faith, compare Galatians 3:7.

through the apostles of Christ and proclaimed to us through the prophets. We have renounced everything in the world, even to the point of death. So God promises Abraham a nation of like faith, God-fearing and righteous, one that gladdens the Father. He does not promise it to you, “in whom is no faith.”⁴⁶⁴ [*Genesis 15:6; Deuteronomy 32:20*]

CHAPTER 120

Christians Were Promised to Isaac, Jacob, and Judah.

¹ Notice, though, that God promises the same things to Isaac and to Jacob. For he says to Isaac, “And in your seed all the nations of the earth shall be blessed.” To Jacob he says, “And in you all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed, and in your seed.” He does not say this to Esau, or to Reuben, or to anyone else. He says it only to those from whom Christ was to come, according to the plan carried out through the virgin Mary.⁴⁶⁵ [*Genesis 26:4; Genesis 28:14*]

² If you will also study the blessing of Judah, you will see what I mean. The seed is divided from Jacob and comes down through Judah, Phares, Jesse and David. This was a symbol that some of your race would be found to be children of Abraham and would be found in the portion of Christ. Others would be children of Abraham, but only like the sand on the seashore. That sand is barren and fruitless. There is a great deal of it, too much to count, yet it bears no fruit at all and only drinks the water of the sea. The great multitude in your race is shown to be like this. They drink down teachings of bitterness and godlessness, and they spit out the word of God.⁴⁶⁶ [*Genesis 22:17*]

³ In the blessing of Judah it says: “A ruler shall not fail from Judah, nor a leader from his thighs, until he comes for whom it is laid up, and he shall be the expectation of the nations.” It is clear that this was said not about Judah but about Christ. For all of us from all the nations do not look for Judah. We look for Jesus, who also led your fathers out of Egypt. For the prophecy was looking ahead to the coming of Christ when it said: “Until he comes for whom it is laid up, and he shall be the expectation of the nations.”⁴⁶⁷ [*Genesis*

464. “Renounced” translates a Greek verb that means to say farewell to something or to bid it goodbye.

465. The promises are *Genesis 26:4* (to Isaac) and *Genesis 28:14* (to Jacob).

466. The blessing of Judah is *Genesis 49:8–12*. Phares is Perez, son of Judah (*Genesis 38:29; Ruth 4:18–22*). “Like the sand on the seashore” echoes the promise to Abraham in *Genesis 22:17*.

467. Justin believes that Christ, before he was born as a man, was the one who led Israel out of Egypt. In chapter 75 he links this to *Exodus 23:20–21*, where God says of the angel sent before Israel, “my name is in him.” In Greek, “Jesus” and “Joshua” are the same name.

49:10] 4 So he has come, as we have shown at length, and Jesus is expected to appear again above the clouds. You profane his name, and you work hard to have it profaned over all the earth. I could have argued with you, gentlemen, I said, about the wording that you explain as “Until the things laid up for him come.” The Seventy did not translate it that way. They wrote, “Until he comes for whom it is laid up.”⁴⁶⁸ [Daniel 7:13; Genesis 49:10]

5 But the words that follow show that this was said about Christ. For it reads: “And he will be the expectation of the nations.” So I am not coming to argue with you over a small point of wording. In the same way, I have not tried to prove my case about Christ from the Scriptures you do not accept, which I quoted earlier, from the words of the prophet Jeremiah, of Ezra, and of David. I have argued from the Scriptures you still accept to this day. If your teachers had understood those, be well assured they would have made them disappear. They did this with the account of the death of Isaiah, whom you sawed in two with a wooden saw. That too was a mystery pointing to Christ. He is going to cut your people in two. He will count the worthy, together with the holy patriarchs and prophets, fit for the eternal kingdom. As he has already said, he will send the others, together with similar disobedient and unrepentant people from all the nations, to the condemnation of the unquenchable fire.⁴⁶⁹ [Genesis 49:10]

6 “For they will come,” he said, “from the west and the east, and will recline at table with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of the heavens. But the sons of the kingdom will be thrown out into the outer darkness.” I say this, I said, because I care about nothing except speaking the truth. I will not hold back out of regard for anyone, even if I must be torn limb from limb by you right now. I did not hold back even out of concern for anyone of my own people, I mean the Samaritans. When I addressed Caesar in writing, I said they were being led astray by trusting the magician Simon, who came from their own people. They say he is God above every rule, authority and power.⁴⁷⁰ [Matthew 8:11-12; Ephesians 1:21]

468. The “Seventy” are the translators of the Greek Old Testament (the Septuagint). Justin says they wrote “for whom it is laid up.” However, the wording he attributes to the Jews, “the things laid up for him,” is also widely found in surviving Septuagint manuscripts of Genesis 49:10. The difference is a matter of variant readings.

469. The Old Testament does not record how Isaiah died. The story that he was sawn in two comes from later Jewish tradition, and Hebrews 11:37 likely alludes to it (“they were sawn in two”).

CHAPTER 121

From the Fact that the Gentiles Believe in Jesus, It is Evident that He is Christ.

¹ While they stayed silent, I went on: My friends, when the Scripture speaks about this Christ through David, it no longer says that the nations will be blessed in his seed, but in him. It reads this way: “His name is for ever; it will rise above the sun; and in him all the nations will be blessed.” But if all the nations are blessed in Christ, and we from all the nations believe in him, then he is the Christ, and we are the ones blessed through him.⁴⁷¹ ² God had earlier given the sun to be worshipped, as it is written. Yet no one has ever been seen to endure death out of faith in the sun. But for the name of Jesus you can see people of every race who have endured, and still endure, every kind of suffering rather than deny him. For the word of truth and wisdom is more fiery than the sun, and brighter than the sun’s powers, and it goes down into the depths of the heart and mind. So the word of Scripture said, “Above the sun his name will rise.” And again Zechariah says, “His name is the Rising.” And speaking about the same person he said, “Tribe by tribe they will mourn.”⁴⁷² [*Deuteronomy 4:19; Zechariah 6:12; Zechariah 12:12*]

³ Now at his first coming he was without honor, without beauty, and despised. Yet he shone and prevailed so much that he is unknown in no race. People from every race have repented of the old evil way of life of their own people. Even demons are subject to his name, and all rulers and kingdoms fear his name more than they fear all the dead. So at his glorious coming, will he not by every means destroy all who hated him and unjustly turned away from him? And will he not give rest to his own people, giving them everything they hope for?⁴⁷³ [*Isaiah 53:2-3; Luke 10:17*] ⁴ To us, then, it has been given to hear and understand, to be saved through this Christ, and to know all the things of the Father. This is why he said to him: “It is a great thing for you to be called my servant, to set up the tribes of Jacob and to bring back

470. Justin was born in Flavia Neapolis (modern Nablus) in Samaria. His family was probably Gentile, but he still calls the Samaritans his people. His written address to the emperor is his First Apology, which speaks of Simon in chapters 26 and 56. For Simon, compare Acts 8:9–10.

471. Justin is quoting Psalm 72:17 (Psalm 71 in the Greek numbering) freely. The Septuagint reads “his name will endure before the sun.” “In his seed” refers to God’s promise to Abraham (Genesis 22:18).

472. “Rising” (anatolē) can mean the rising of the sun, the east, or the dawn. In Zechariah 6:12 the Greek Old Testament uses it for the Hebrew word meaning “Branch.” “Tribe by tribe they will mourn” comes from Zechariah 12:12.

473. The words “without honor, without beauty, and despised” echo Isaiah 53:2–3.

the scattered people of Israel. I have made you a light for the nations, so that you may be their salvation to the end of the earth.”⁴⁷⁴ [Isaiah 49:6]

CHAPTER 122

The Jews Understand This of the Proselytes Without Reason.

¹ You think these words were spoken about the “stranger” and the proselytes. In fact they were spoken about us, who have been enlightened through Jesus. Otherwise Christ would have borne witness to those people too. But as it is, “you become twice as much sons of Gehenna,” as he himself said. So what was said through the prophets was not said to them but to us. Of us the word says: “I will lead the blind by a way they did not know, and they will walk paths they never knew. And I am a witness, says the Lord God, and so is my servant whom I have chosen.”⁴⁷⁵ [Matthew 23:15; Isaiah 42:16; Isaiah 43:10] ² Who, then, does Christ bear witness to? Clearly, to those who have believed. But the proselytes not only do not believe; they blaspheme his name twice as much as you do. They also want to kill and torture us who believe in him, for in every way they are eager to become like you.⁴⁷⁶

³ And again in other passages he cries out: “I, the Lord, have called you in righteousness, and I will take hold of your hand and strengthen you, and I will appoint you as a covenant for a race, as a light for the nations, to open the eyes of the blind, to bring out of their chains those who are bound.” Gentlemen, these words too were spoken to Christ and about the enlightened Gentiles. Or will you say again, “He is speaking of the law and the proselytes”?⁴⁷⁷ [Isaiah 42:6–7] ⁴ And some of those who had come on the second day cried out, as if they were in a theatre, “Well, what? Does he not speak of the law and of those who are enlightened by it? And these are the proselytes.” ⁵ “No,” I said, looking at Trypho. “If the law had the power to enlighten the nations and those who hold it, what need would there be of a new covenant? But God announced beforehand that he would send a new covenant, an everlasting law and a commandment. So we will not understand these words of

474. The quotation is Isaiah 49:6 from the Greek Old Testament, slightly abridged. The Greek word “pais” can mean “servant” or “child.” Here it translates the Hebrew word for “servant.”

475. “Twice as much sons of Gehenna” echoes Jesus’ words to the scribes and Pharisees about their converts in Matthew 23:15. The prophetic quotations are Isaiah 42:16 and Isaiah 43:10.

476. “Proselytes” are Gentiles who had converted to Judaism.

477. The quotation is Isaiah 42:6–7. The older translation has “covenant of the people”; the Greek here says “covenant of a race” (genous).

the old law and its proselytes, but of Christ and his proselytes, that is, of us Gentiles, whom he has enlightened. As he says somewhere: ‘Thus says the Lord: In an acceptable time I heard you, and in a day of salvation I helped you, and I gave you as a covenant of nations, to establish the earth and to inherit desolate places as an inheritance.’”⁴⁷⁸ [Isaiah 49: 8; Jeremiah 31: 31]

6 “What, then, is Christ’s inheritance? Is it not the nations? What is God’s covenant? Is it not Christ? As he says elsewhere: ‘You are my Son; today I have begotten you. Ask of me, and I will give you the nations as your inheritance, and the ends of the earth as your possession.’”⁴⁷⁹

CHAPTER 123

Ridiculous Interpretations of the Jews. Christians are the True Israel.

1 “Just as all these words were spoken to Christ and about the Gentiles, so you should suppose the earlier ones were too. For the proselytes have no need of a covenant, since one and the same law is laid down for all who are circumcised. About them the Scripture speaks like this: ‘And the stranger will also be added to them, and will be added to the house of Jacob.’ The proselyte who is circumcised, so as to join the people, is like a native-born Israelite. But we, though thought worthy to be called a people, are still Gentiles, because we are uncircumcised.”⁴⁸⁰ [Isaiah 14: 1] 2 “It is also ridiculous for you to think that the eyes of the proselytes have been opened but not yours, and that you are the ones called blind and deaf while they are the enlightened ones. It will become still more ridiculous if you claim that the law was given to the Gentiles, when you yourselves have not understood that law.”

3 “For if you had known it, you would have feared God’s anger, and you would not be lawless, wandering sons. You would be ashamed to hear him say, time after time: ‘Sons, in whom there is no faith’; and, ‘Who is blind, but my servants, and who is deaf, but those who rule over them? And the servants of God have been made blind. You have often seen, and you did not take heed; your ears are open, and you did not hear.’”⁴⁸¹ [Deuteronomy 32: 20; Isaiah 42: 19–20] 4 “Is this God’s praise of you a fine one? Is this the kind of testi-

478. The quotation is Isaiah 49:8 (Greek Septuagint), where the Greek has “covenant of nations” (diathēkēn ethnōn).

479. The quotation is Psalm 2:7–8.

480. The quotation is Isaiah 14:1. The point seems to be that a circumcised proselyte joins Israel under the one law and needs no new covenant, while Gentile Christians remain “nations” yet are called God’s people, so the prophecies of a covenant for the nations refer to them.

481. The quotations are Deuteronomy 32:20 and Isaiah 42:19–20.

mony God gives that suits servants? You are not ashamed, though you hear the same things again and again, and you do not shudder when God threatens you. You are a foolish and hard-hearted people. ‘Therefore, behold, I will go on to remove this people,’ says the Lord, ‘and I will remove them, and I will destroy the wisdom of the wise and hide the understanding of the prudent.’ And rightly so. For you are neither wise nor prudent, but shrewd and crafty. You are wise only in doing evil, but unable to know the hidden counsel of God, or the faithful covenant of the Lord, or to find the everlasting paths.”⁴⁸² [*Isaiah 29:14; Jeremiah 4:22*]

5 “That is why he says, ‘I will raise up for Israel and for Judah the seed of men and the seed of beasts.’ And through Isaiah he speaks like this about another Israel: ‘On that day there will be a third Israel among the Assyrians and the Egyptians, blessed in the land which the Lord of hosts blessed, saying: Blessed will be my people who are in Egypt and in Assyria, and Israel my inheritance.’”⁴⁸³ [*Jeremiah 31:27; Isaiah 19:24-25*] 6 So God blesses this people, calls them Israel, and declares aloud that they are his inheritance. Why, then, do you not repent of deceiving yourselves, as if you alone were Israel, and of cursing the people whom God has blessed? For when he was speaking to Jerusalem and the lands around it, he went on to say: “And I will bring forth men upon you, my people Israel, and they will inherit you, and you will be their possession, and you will never again be bereaved of them.”⁴⁸⁴ [*Ezekiel 36:12*]

7 “What then?” said Trypho. “Are you Israel? Is he saying these things about you?” I said to him: “If we had not already spent a long time on this subject, I might have doubted whether you were asking out of ignorance. But we have brought this question to a conclusion too, with proof and with your agreement. So I do not think you are ignorant of what was said earlier, or that you want to quarrel again. I think you are calling on me to give the same proof to these men as well.” 8 He signaled his agreement with his eyes, and I went on: “Again, in Isaiah, if you have ears to hear it, God speaks about the Christ in a figure and calls him Jacob and Israel. He says: ‘Jacob is my servant; I will uphold him. Israel is my chosen one; I will put my Spirit upon him, and he will bring forth justice to the nations. He will not quarrel or cry

482. The quotation is Isaiah 29:14, and “wise only in doing evil” echoes Jeremiah 4:22.

483. “Lord of hosts” translates “Lord of Sabaoth,” a Hebrew title meaning “Lord of hosts” (or armies).

484. The quotation is Ezekiel 36:12, from the Greek Old Testament (the Septuagint).

out, and no one will hear his voice in the streets. A crushed reed he will not break, and a smoldering wick he will not put out. But he will bring it forth to truth. He will take up justice, and he will not be broken, until he has set justice on the earth. And in his name the nations will hope.”⁴⁸⁵ [Isaiah 42:1-4]

9 “Just as your whole race was called Jacob and Israel after that one man Jacob, who was also named Israel, so we too take our names from Christ, who gave us birth to God. Like him, we are called Jacob and Israel and Judah and Joseph and David. We are called true children of God, and that is what we are, we who keep the commandments of Christ.”⁴⁸⁶ [1 John 3:1]

CHAPTER 124

Christians are the Sons of God.

1 When I saw that they were disturbed because I said that we too are children of God, I spoke before they could ask a question. I said: “Listen, gentlemen, to what the Holy Spirit says about this people: that they are all sons of the Most High, and that this very Christ will be present in their assembly, carrying out judgment on every race of people.” [Psalm 82:1; Psalm 82:6] 2 “These words were spoken through David, and as you translate them, they run like this: ‘God stands in the assembly of gods; in their midst he judges the gods. How long will you judge unjustly and show favor to sinners? Give judgment for the orphan and the poor; do justice to the lowly and the needy. Rescue the needy, and deliver the poor from the hand of the sinner. They did not know and did not understand; they walk about in darkness. All the foundations of the earth will be shaken. I said, “You are gods, and all of you are sons of the Most High. But you die like a man, and you fall like one of the rulers.” Rise up, O God, judge the earth, for you will take all the nations as your inheritance.’”⁴⁸⁷

3 “But in the Septuagint version it is written: ‘Behold, you die like men, and fall like one of the rulers.’ This is to show the disobedience of human

485. The Greek manuscript of Justin reads “he will take up justice.” The Septuagint reads “he will bring forth justice in truth; he will shine out and not be broken,” and the older translation follows that. Here Justin’s text is translated as it stands.

486. The Greek here is compressed. The older translation renders it “like Jacob, and Israel, and Judah, and Joseph, and David.” Justin seems to mean that Christians bear these names because Christ bears them in the prophets (he has just shown Christ called “Jacob” and “Israel”). The wording “are called... and are” may echo 1 John 3:1.

487. “As you translate them” contrasts the Jews’ own rendering with the Septuagint wording that Justin gives next. It is not certain which Jewish version Justin had in mind.

beings, I mean Adam and Eve, and the fall of one of the rulers, that is, the one called the serpent, who fell with a great fall because he led Eve astray.”⁴⁸⁸

⁴ “But my argument now is not aimed at that point. I want to show you that the Holy Spirit rebukes human beings. They were made like God, free from suffering and death, if they kept his commands, and he counted them worthy to be called his sons. Yet they become like Adam and Eve and bring death on themselves. So take the interpretation of the psalm however you wish. Even so, it has been shown that they were counted worthy to become gods, and that all of them were counted worthy to be able to become sons of the Most High. It is also shown that they will be judged and condemned through their own fault, as Adam and Eve were. And that he also calls the Christ God has been shown in many places.”⁴⁸⁹ [*Psalm 82: 6*]

CHAPTER 125

He Explains What Force the Word Israel Has, and How It Suits Christ.

¹ “I wanted, gentlemen,” I said, “to learn from you what the name Israel means.” They stayed silent, so I went on: “I will tell you what I know. I do not think it right to keep quiet when I know something. Nor do I think it right to keep worrying about you, even if I suspect that you do know and are deceiving yourselves out of envy or out of inexperience. Rather, I should say everything plainly and without guile, as my Lord said: ‘The sower went out to sow the seed. Some fell on the road, some among the thorns, some on rocky ground, and some on good ground.’”⁴⁹⁰ [*Luke 8: 5-8; Matthew 13: 3-8*] ² So I must speak in the hope that there is good ground somewhere. That Lord of mine is strong and powerful, and he will come and demand what is his from everyone. He will not condemn his steward if he recognizes him as faithful. Such a steward knows that his lord is powerful and will come to demand what is his. So he gives it out at every banker’s table and has not buried it for any reason at all.”⁴⁹¹ [*Luke 19: 23*]

³ “Now the name Israel means this: a man who overcomes power. For ‘isra’ means ‘a man overcoming,’ and ‘el’ means ‘power.’ This was foretold

488. The “Seventy” are the translators of the Greek Old Testament, the Septuagint. Their wording adds “Behold” and has “men” (plural) where the version in 124.2 has “a man.”

489. “Free from suffering” renders the Greek *apatheis*, “not subject to suffering.”

490. The Greek of the phrase about envy and inexperience is difficult; *apeiria* normally means “inexperience.”

491. In the Greek, “if he recognizes him” could also mean “if the steward acknowledges him.” I have followed the more natural reading, in which the lord is still the subject.

through the mystery of the wrestling match in which Jacob wrestled with the one who appeared. He appeared because he served the Father's will, but he was God because he is the firstborn child of all created things. In this way it was prophesied that Christ, once he became man, would also struggle."⁴⁹²

[*Genesis 32:24; Colossians 1:15*] 4 "For when he became man, as I said before, the devil came to him. I mean that power which is also called the serpent and Satan. He tempted him and tried to bring him down by demanding that he worship him. But Christ broke him and threw him down. He proved the devil wicked, since, contrary to the Scripture, he demanded to be worshipped as God, having become a rebel against God's purpose. For Christ answered him, 'It is written: You shall worship the Lord your God and serve him alone.' Then the devil, defeated and exposed, withdrew."⁴⁹³ [*Matthew 4:10; Luke 4:8; Deuteronomy 6:13*]

5 "But our Christ was also going to be 'numbed,' that is, to be in pain and to feel his suffering, when he was about to be crucified. He announced this in advance too, by touching Jacob's thigh and making it go numb. Israel, however, had been his name from of old. He gave this name to the blessed Jacob, blessing him with his own name. By this he also proclaimed that all who take refuge in the Father through him are the blessed Israel. But you have understood none of this and are not preparing to understand it. Because you are children of Jacob by physical descent, you expect to be saved no matter what. But I have shown in many places that you deceive yourselves in this too."⁴⁹⁴ [*Genesis 32:25; Genesis 32:28*]

CHAPTER 126

The Various Names of Christ According to Both Natures. It is Shown that He is God, and Appeared to the Patriarchs.

1 "But who is this one? If you knew, Trypho," I said, "you would not blaspheme him, now that he has come, been born, suffered and ascended into heaven. He is called at one time the Angel of great counsel, and a Man through Ezekiel, and like a Son of Man through Daniel, and a Child through Isaiah. Through David he is called Christ and God to be wor-

492. This is Justin's explanation of the name. Modern scholars usually explain "Israel" differently, as something like "God strives" or "he struggles with God."

493. The temptation is told in Matthew 4:1-11 and Luke 4:1-13. Jesus' reply quotes Deuteronomy 6:13 in the form found in Matthew 4:10 and Luke 4:8.

494. The Greek word translated "from of old" (*anōthen*) can mean either "from the beginning" or "from above."

shipped. Through many he is called Christ and Stone, through Solomon Wisdom, and through Moses Joseph, Judah and a Star. Through Zechariah he is called the Rising, and through Isaiah again the Suffering One, Jacob and Israel. He has also been called a Rod, a Flower, a Cornerstone and the Son of God. He will be present again, and then your twelve tribes will mourn.”⁴⁹⁵ [*Isaiah 9:6; Daniel 7:13; Isaiah 11:1; Matthew 24:30*] 2 “If you had understood what the prophets said, you would not have denied that he is God, the Son of the only, unbegotten and unutterable God. For it is said somewhere through Moses in Exodus: ‘The Lord spoke to Moses and said to him, I am the Lord. I appeared to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as their God, and I did not make my name known to them, and I established my covenant with them.’”

[*Exodus 6:2-4*]

3 “And again he speaks this way: ‘A man wrestled with Jacob.’ And he says that this was God, for he says that Jacob said, ‘I saw God face to face, and my soul was saved.’ He also recorded that Jacob named the place where the man wrestled with him, appeared to him and blessed him, ‘Form of God.’”⁴⁹⁶ [*Genesis 32:24; Genesis 32:30*] 4 Moses also says that God appeared to Abraham in the same way, by the oak of Mamre, while Abraham was sitting at the door of his tent at midday. After saying this he continues: “And lifting up his eyes he saw, and behold, three men were standing over him. And when he saw them, he ran to meet them.” A little later one of them promises Abraham a son: “Why did Sarah laugh, saying, ‘Shall I really bear a child? I am old.’ Is any word impossible with God? At this time I will return, at the appointed season, and Sarah shall have a son.” And they depart from Abraham.⁴⁹⁷ [*Genesis 18:1-2; Genesis 18:13-14*]

5 Again he speaks of them in this way: “And the men rose up from there and looked down toward Sodom.” Then again the one who was and is speaks to Abraham in this way: “I will not hide from my servant Abraham what I am about to do.” I repeated what follows in the writings of Moses, as I had explained it before. By these passages, I said, it has been shown that this one who appeared to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and the other patriarchs, and who is recorded as God, is placed under the Father and Lord and serves his will.⁴⁹⁸

495. “The Rising” is the Greek word *anatolē*, which means the rising of the sun, or the east. In the Greek Old Testament it is used in Zechariah for the “Branch.”

496. “Form of God” (Greek *Eidos theou*) is how the Greek Old Testament renders the place name Peniel in Genesis 32:30; in Hebrew the name means “Face of God.”

497. Justin is quoting excerpts from Genesis 18:1-2 and 18:13-14 in the Greek Old Testament.

[*Genesis 18:16-17*] ⁶ I added something I had not said earlier: “So also, when the people longed to eat meat, Moses did not believe the one who in that passage too is called an angel, who promised that God would give them enough to be filled. And it is shown that he himself, being both God and an angel sent by the Father, said and did these things. For this is how the Scripture goes on: ‘And the Lord said to Moses, “Will the Lord’s hand not be enough? Now you will know whether my word will overtake you or not.”’ And again, in other words, it says: ‘But the Lord said to me, “You will not cross this Jordan. The Lord your God, who goes before your face, he will destroy the nations.”’”⁴⁹⁹

[*Numbers 11:23; Deuteronomy 31:2-3*]

CHAPTER 127

These Passages of Scripture Do Not Apply to the Father, But to the Word.

¹ Many other things of this kind are said by the lawgiver and the prophets. I think I have said enough to show this: when my God says, “God went up from Abraham,” or “The Lord spoke to Moses,” or “The Lord came down to see the tower which the sons of men had built,” or when “God shut Noah in the ark from outside,” you must not suppose that the unbegotten God himself came down or went up from anywhere.⁵⁰⁰ [*Genesis 17:22; Genesis 11:5; Genesis 7:16*] ² For the ineffable Father and Lord of all neither has arrived anywhere, nor walks, nor sleeps, nor rises. He remains in his own place, wherever it is, sharp in sight and sharp in hearing, not with eyes or ears but by an indescribable power. He oversees all things and knows all things, and none of us escapes his notice. He is not moved, for he cannot be contained by any place or by the whole world, since he existed even before the world came to be.

³ How then could he speak to anyone, or be seen by anyone, or appear in the smallest corner of the earth? The people at Sinai were not even able to look at the glory of the one he sent. Moses himself could not enter the tent he had made when it was filled with the glory from God. And the priest could not bear to stand before the temple when Solomon brought the ark into the house in Jerusalem which Solomon himself had built.⁵⁰¹ [*Exodus 40:35*]

498. The quotations are from *Genesis 18:16-17*; Justin had already gone through this passage earlier in the *Dialogue* (chapter 56).

499. The two quotations are from *Numbers 11:23* and *Deuteronomy 31:2-3*.

500. The quotations are from *Genesis 17:22*, the frequent phrase “The Lord spoke to Moses,” *Genesis 11:5*, and *Genesis 7:16*.

501. See *Exodus 40:35* (Moses could not enter the tent of meeting) and *1 Kings 8:10-11* (the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud and the glory).

4 So neither Abraham, nor Isaac, nor Jacob, nor any other human being saw the Father, the ineffable Lord of absolutely all things, and of Christ himself. They saw the one who, by the Father's will, is God, his Son, and is an angel because he serves the Father's purpose. He is the one whom the Father also willed to be born a man through the virgin, and who once became fire when he spoke with Moses from the bush. [*Exodus 3:2*]

5 If we do not understand the Scriptures in this way, it will follow that the Father and Lord of all was not in heaven when it was said through Moses: "And the Lord rained on Sodom fire and sulfur from the Lord out of heaven." The same would follow when it was said through David: "Lift up your gates, you rulers, and be lifted up, you everlasting gates, and the King of glory will come in," and again when he says: "The Lord says to my Lord, 'Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet.'"⁵⁰²

[*Genesis 19:24; Psalm 24:7; Psalm 110:1*]

CHAPTER 128

The Word is Sent Not as an Inanimate Power, But as a Person Begotten of the Father's Substance.

1 Christ is Lord, and God, the Son of God. He appeared in power at an earlier time as a man and an angel, and in the glory of fire as at the bush. He also appeared at the judgment carried out on Sodom. All this has been demonstrated in much of what has been said. Then I went back over everything I had set out earlier from Exodus, about the vision at the bush and the naming of Jesus (Joshua), and I went on.⁵⁰³ 2 Gentlemen, do not suppose that I say these things so often out of mere wordiness. I know that some want to head off my argument. They say that the power from the Father of all which appeared to Moses, or to Abraham, or to Jacob is called an angel as it goes forth to men, because through it the Father's messages are announced to men. They say it is called glory because it sometimes appears in a vision too great to be contained. They say it is sometimes called a man or a human being because it appears shaped in whatever forms the Father wishes. And they call it the Word because it carries the Father's words to men.

502. The quotations are Genesis 19:24, Psalm 24:7 and Psalm 110:1. In Psalm 24:7 Justin follows the Greek Old Testament, which reads "Lift up your gates, you rulers," where the Hebrew has "Lift up your heads, O gates."

503. In Greek, "Jesus" and "Joshua" are the same name. Earlier in the Dialogue (ch. 75), Justin argued from Exodus 23:20–21 ("my name is in him") that the angel sent before Israel bore this name, the name Moses gave to Hoshea (Numbers 13:16).

3 They insist, however, that this power cannot be cut off or separated from the Father. They compare it to the light of the sun on earth, which they say cannot be cut off or separated from the sun in heaven. When the sun sets, the light goes away with it. In the same way, they say, the Father makes his power spring forth when he wishes, and when he wishes draws it back into himself. They teach that this is also how he makes the angels.⁵⁰⁴ 4 But it has been shown that there are angels, and that they remain always and are not dissolved back into that from which they came. This power is called God by the prophetic word, as has likewise been shown from many passages, and it is also called Angel. I examined briefly, in what I said earlier, how it is not distinct in name only, like the sun's light, but is something different in number as well. I said that this power has been begotten from the Father by his power and will, but not by being cut off, as if the Father's essence were divided. Everything else that is divided and cut is not the same afterward as it was before. By way of example, I had taken up the case of fires kindled from a fire. We see that they are other fires, yet the fire from which many can be kindled is not made any less, but stays the same.

CHAPTER 129

That is Confirmed from Other Passages of Scripture.

1 Now I will repeat once more the words I used to prove this. When it says, "The Lord rained fire from the Lord out of heaven," the prophetic word shows that there are two in number. One is on earth, and it says he came down to see the outcry of Sodom. The other is in heaven. He is also the Lord of the Lord on earth, as his Father and God. He is the cause of his being powerful, and Lord, and God.⁵⁰⁵ [Genesis 19:24; Genesis 18:21] 2 Again, the word says that God said in the beginning, "Behold, Adam has become as one of us." These words, "as one of us," also point to number. They do not allow a figurative meaning, though the sophists try to explain them that way. They can neither state the truth nor understand it.⁵⁰⁶ [Genesis 3:22] 3 And it is said in Wisdom: "If I announce to you what happens day by day, I will remember to

504. This is the view of Justin's opponents, not his own. In the next section (128.4) he rejects it, arguing that this power is distinct in number from the Father and not like the sun's light, and that angels exist permanently.

505. The last phrase in the Greek can also be read as "the cause of his existence, and of his being powerful, Lord and God."

506. The quotation is Genesis 3:22.

recount what has been from eternity. The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways, for his works. Before the age he founded me, in the beginning, before he made the earth, and before he made the depths, and before the springs of water came forth, before the mountains were settled. Before all the hills he begets me.”⁵⁰⁷ [*Proverbs* 8: 22-25]

⁴ When I had said this, I added: Understand, my hearers, if you really give your minds to it. The word made clear that this offspring was begotten by the Father before absolutely all created things. And anyone at all would agree that what is begotten is different in number from the one who begets.

CHAPTER 130

He Returns to the Conversion of the Gentiles, and Shows that It Was Foretold.

¹ When they all agreed, I said: I could now give some passages that I did not mention before. They were spoken in a veiled way by the faithful servant Moses. They read: “Rejoice, O heavens, together with him, and let all the angels of God worship him.” And I went on with the rest of the passage: “Rejoice, O nations, with his people, and let all the angels of God be strong in him. For he avenges the blood of his sons, and will avenge, and will repay vengeance to his enemies, and will repay those who hate him, and the Lord will cleanse the land of his people.”⁵⁰⁸ [*Deuteronomy* 32: 43] ² Having said this, he says that we, the nations, rejoice with his people. By his people I mean Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the prophets, and in short all those of that people who are pleasing to God, as we agreed earlier. But we will not take it to mean everyone of your race. For we know from Isaiah that the limbs of those who have transgressed will be devoured by worm and unquenchable fire, yet remain undying, so that they become a sight for all flesh.⁵⁰⁹ [*Isaiah* 66: 24]

³ “I want to add to these, gentlemen,” I said, “some other words, taken from Moses’ own words. From them you can understand that from the beginning God scattered all people, with their nations and languages. Out of all the nations he took your nation for himself, a useless, disobedient and faithless nation. And he showed that those from every nation who choose to obey his purpose through Christ, whom he also calls Jacob and names Israel,

507. “Wisdom” here means the book of Proverbs, quoted from the Greek Old Testament (Proverbs 8:21a–25). The first sentence appears in the Greek version but not in the Hebrew text.

508. This is from the Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32:43), in the Greek form Justin used, which differs from the Hebrew text.

509. The reference to the worm and fire is Isaiah 66:24.

must be Jacob and Israel, as I said earlier in many places.⁵¹⁰ 4 For when he says, ‘Rejoice, you nations, with his people,’ he assigns them the same inheritance and gives them the same name. But by speaking of them as ‘nations’ who rejoice with his people, he speaks to the shame of your nation. You provoked him to anger by worshiping idols. In the same way he has deemed these people, who were idolaters, worthy to know his purpose and to inherit the inheritance that is with him.⁵¹¹ [Deuteronomy 32: 43]

CHAPTER 131

How Much More Faithful to God the Gentiles are Who are Converted to Christ Than the Jews.

1 “I will also give the words that show God divided all the nations. They are these: ‘Ask your father, and he will tell you, your elders, and they will tell you. When the Most High divided the nations, as he scattered the sons of Adam, he set the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the sons of Israel. And the Lord’s portion became his people Jacob, and Israel the measured share of his inheritance.’” After saying this, I added that the Seventy translated it, “He set the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the angels of God.” But my argument loses nothing from this either, so I gave your interpretation.⁵¹² [Deuteronomy 32: 7-9] 2 “And you yourselves, if you are willing to confess the truth, must admit that we are more faithful to God. God called us through the despised mystery of the cross, which is full of shame. Because of our confession, our obedience and our reverence, punishments even to the point of death have been inflicted on us by the demons and the devil’s army, with the help you have given them. We endure everything rather than deny Christ even in word, the Christ through whom we were called to the salvation that the Father prepared beforehand. We are more faithful—

3 than you, who were redeemed from Egypt with an upraised arm and a visitation of great glory. The sea was divided for you and became a dry road.

510. The scattering of the nations refers to Deuteronomy 32:8, part of the passage (Deuteronomy 32:7-9) that Justin goes on to quote.

511. Justin is alluding to Deuteronomy 32:21, where God says Israel provoked him with idols and he will provoke them with “a people that is no people.”

On it God killed those who pursued you with a very great force and splendid chariots, by flooding over them the sea that had been made into a road for your sake. A pillar of light shone for you, so that, unlike every other people in the world, you might have your own light, which never failed and never set. He rained down bread for you to eat, the manna, through heavenly angels, so that you would not even need to make bread or go looking for it. And the water at Marah was made sweet.⁵¹³ [*Exodus 13:21; Exodus 16:4; Exodus 15:23-25*] 4 A sign of the one who was going to be crucified also came about with the serpents that bit you, as I said before. God was giving you all these mysteries ahead of their proper times, yet you are always proved to have been ungrateful to him. It came about also through the type of Moses' outstretched hands, when he and the man who was given the name Jesus were fighting Amalek. God said that the event should be written down. He said the name of Jesus was to be placed in your ears, saying, "This is the one who will wipe out the memory of Amalek from under heaven."⁵¹⁴ [*Numbers 21:8-9; Exodus 17:11-12; Exodus 17:14*]

5 It is plain that the memory of Amalek remained even after the son of Nun. But through Jesus who was crucified, God makes it plain that the demons are going to be destroyed and to fear his name. All rulers and kingdoms will likewise be wary of him. And those from every race of people who believe in him will be shown to be God-fearing and peaceable. Those symbols were advance announcements of everything concerning him. The things I related earlier, Trypho, point to the same thing.⁵¹⁵ [*Exodus 17:14*] 6 So many quails were given to you when you craved meat that they could not be counted. For you, water also burst out of the rock. A cloud followed you to give shade from the heat and protection from the cold. It declared the pat-

512. The quotation is Deuteronomy 32:7-9. "The Seventy" are the translators traditionally credited with the Greek Old Testament (the Septuagint). In verse 8 most Septuagint manuscripts read "angels of God," while the standard Hebrew text reads "sons of Israel." A Hebrew copy found among the Dead Sea Scrolls reads "sons of God." Justin treats "sons of Israel" as the Jewish reading and "angels" as the Seventy's.

513. The Greek says the manna was given "through heavenly angels"; compare Psalm 78:25, where the manna is called "bread of angels."

514. The serpents are in Numbers 21:6-9, and Moses' outstretched hands in Exodus 17:8-13. In Exodus 17:14 God tells Moses to write the event down and recite it in Joshua's ears, and God says, "I will blot out the memory of Amalek." Justin reads this as placing the name of Jesus in Israel's ears, and as saying that Jesus himself will blot out Amalek.

515. "Son of Nun" is Joshua. The Greek has "Naue," the Septuagint spelling of Nun, which the older translation gives as "Nave."

tern of another, new heaven and announced it in advance. The straps of your sandals did not break, your sandals did not wear out, and your clothes did not wear away. Even the clothes of the younger ones grew along with them.

⁵¹⁶ [Numbers 11: 31-32; Exodus 17: 6; Deuteronomy 29: 5]

CHAPTER 132

How Great the Power Was of the Name of Jesus in the Old Testament.

¹ And besides this, you made a calf. You were eager to commit sexual immorality with the daughters of foreigners and to worship idols. Then later the land was handed over to you with such great power that you saw the sun stand still in the sky at the command of that man who was given the name Jesus, and not set for thirty-six hours. You also saw all the other mighty acts done for you from time to time. I think it good to recount one more of these now, because it helps you understand from it Jesus, whom we too have recognized as Christ, the Son of God. He was crucified, rose again, went up into the heavens, and will come again as judge of all people without exception, right back to Adam himself.⁵¹⁷ [Exodus 32: 4; Numbers 25: 1-2; Joshua 10: 12-13] ² “You know, then,” I said, “that the tent of testimony was seized by the enemies around Ashdod, and a terrible, incurable plague struck them. They decided to put it on a cart, harnessing to it cows that had just calved. They wanted to test whether they had been struck by God’s power because of the tent, and whether God wanted it taken back to the place it had been seized from.”⁵¹⁸

³ When they had done this, the cows, with no one leading them, did not go back to the place the tent had been taken from. Instead they went to the field of a man called Ause. He had the same name as the man whose name was changed to Jesus, as I said earlier, the man who brought the people into the land and gave it to them as an inheritance. The cows came to that field and stayed there. This also showed you that they were guided by the name of power, just as, earlier, the people who survived from those who came out of

516. Deuteronomy 8:4 says Israel’s clothes did not wear out in the wilderness, and 29:5 says their clothes and sandals did not wear out. The idea that the children’s clothes grew with them is not in the Bible; it seems to reflect a Jewish tradition.

517. The calf is in Exodus 32, and the daughters of foreigners in Numbers 25:1-3. “Jesus” here is Joshua son of Nun. Joshua 10:13 says the sun did not hurry to set “for about a whole day.” The figure of thirty-six hours is not in the Joshua account, and it is unclear where Justin got it.

518. Justin writes “tent of testimony,” but the story is the capture of the ark of the covenant by the Philistines (1 Samuel 4-6). The older translation renders it “ark.”

Egypt had been led into the land by the man who took the name Jesus and was first called Ause.⁵¹⁹ [Numbers 13:16]

CHAPTER 133

The Hard-Heartedness of the Jews, for Whom the Christians Pray.

1 These and all such strange and wonderful things were done among you and seen by you from time to time. Yet the prophets convict you of going so far as to sacrifice your own children to demons. On top of all this, you have dared to do such things against the Christ, and you still dare to do them. Even so, after all this, may you receive mercy from God and his Christ and be saved.

2 For God knew beforehand that you would do these things, and through the prophet Isaiah he pronounced this curse: “Woe to their soul! They have planned an evil plan against themselves, saying, ‘Let us bind the righteous man, because he is troublesome to us.’ So they will eat the fruit of their own deeds. Woe to the lawless man! Evil will come on him according to the works of his hands. My people, your tax collectors strip you bare like gleaners, and those who demand payment will rule over you.”⁵²⁰ [Isaiah 3: 9-12]

3 “My people, those who call you blessed lead you astray and confuse the path of your ways. But now he will bring his people to judgment, and the Lord himself will come into judgment with the elders of the people and their rulers. But you, why have you set my vineyard on fire, and why is the plunder of the poor in your houses? Why do you wrong my people and put the face of the lowly to shame?”⁵²¹ [Isaiah 3:12-15] 4 In another passage the same prophet again spoke to the same effect: “Woe to those who drag their sins along as with a long rope, and their lawless acts as with the strap of a heifer’s yoke. They say, ‘Let his speed draw near, and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel come, so that we may know it.’ Woe to those who call evil good and good evil, who make light darkness and darkness light, who make bitter sweet and sweet bitter. Woe to those who are wise in themselves and clever in their own sight.”⁵²² [Isaiah 5:18-21]

5 “Woe to the strong among you, who drink wine, and to the powerful, who mix strong drink. They declare the wicked righteous for the sake of

519. The Greek here says “the tent” (skēnē), where the older translation says “the ark.” I have kept “tent.”

520. Isaiah 3:9-12, quoted from the Greek Old Testament (Septuagint). The Hebrew of Isaiah 3:10 reads differently: “Tell the righteous that it will be well with them.”

521. Isaiah 3:12-15, from the Greek Old Testament.

gifts, and take away the right of the righteous. Therefore, as stubble will be burned by a coal of fire and consumed by a blazing flame, so their root will be like chaff and their blossom will rise up like dust. For they did not want the law of the Lord of Hosts, but provoked the word of the Lord, the Holy One of Israel. The Lord of Hosts burned with anger. He laid his hands on them and struck them, and he was provoked against the mountains. Their corpses lay in their midst like dung on the road. And in all this they did not turn back, but their hand is still raised high.”⁵²³ [Isaiah 5: 22-25] 6 For truly your hand is still raised high to do evil. You killed the Christ, and even so you do not repent. Instead, whenever you get the power, you hate and murder us, who through him have believed in God, the Father of all. You also curse him without ceasing, and those who belong to him. Yet all of us pray for you and for all people without exception. This is what our Christ and Lord taught us to do, when he commanded us to pray even for our enemies, to love those who hate us, and to bless those who curse us.⁵²⁴ [Matthew 5: 44; Luke 6: 27-28]

CHAPTER 134

The Marriages of Jacob are a Figure of the Church.

1 If, then, the teachings of the prophets and of Christ himself put you to shame, it is better for you to follow God than your senseless and blind teachers. Even to this day they allow each of you to have four or five wives. And if a man sees a beautiful woman and desires her, they recount the deeds of Jacob, who was called Israel, and of the other patriarchs, and say that those who do the same things do no wrong. In this too they are wretched and foolish.⁵²⁵

2 As I said before, in each such action some planned purpose involving great mysteries was being carried out. I will tell you what plan was being carried out, and what was being foretold, in the marriages of Jacob. Then you will see that in this matter too your teachers never looked to the more divine purpose for which each action took place. Instead they looked only to low, earthly things and to corrupting passions. So pay attention to what I say.⁵²⁶

3 The marriages of Jacob were types of the work that Christ was going to complete. For it was not permitted for Jacob to marry two sisters at the same

522. Isaiah 5:18-21.

523. The Greek word *chnous* can mean fine dust, chaff, or down. “Provoked” translates *paroxynan*, meaning they angered God by rejecting his word.

524. Compare Jesus’ words in Matthew 5:44 and Luke 6:27-28.

time. He served Laban for the daughters, and when he was deceived over the younger one, he served again for seven years. Now Leah is your people and the synagogue, and Rachel is our church. For these, and for the servants in both, Christ serves even to this day.⁵²⁷ [Genesis 29:30] 4 Noah gave the offspring of his third son to the other two sons as slaves. Now, on the other hand, Christ has come to restore both the free children and the slaves among them. He counts worthy of the same honor all who keep his commandments. In the same way, all who were born to Jacob, whether from the free wives or from the servant wives, became his sons and were equal in honor. But what each one would be, according to rank and according to foreknowledge, was declared beforehand.⁵²⁸ [Genesis 9:25-27]

5 Jacob served Laban for the speckled and many-colored flocks. Christ also served, even to the slavery of the cross, for people of every race, varied and of many kinds. He won them by the blood and the mystery of the cross. Leah's eyes were weak, and the eyes of your souls are very weak indeed. Rachel stole Laban's gods and hid them, and they are hidden to this very day. For us too, our ancestral and material gods have been lost.⁵²⁹ [Genesis 30:32; Genesis 29:17; Genesis 31:19; Genesis 31:34] 6 Jacob was hated by his brother the whole time. In the same way we now, and our Lord himself, are hated by you and by other people generally, though all are brothers by nature. Jacob was given the further name Israel. And it has been shown that the Christ, who is and is called Jesus, is also Israel. [Genesis 27:41; Genesis 32:28]

CHAPTER 135

Christ is King of Israel, and Christians are the Israelitic Race.

1 And when the Scripture says, "I am the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel, who revealed Israel as your king," will you not hear this as truly spoken of

526. "Planned purpose" and "plan" translate *oikonomia*, God's ordering of events. The older translation renders it "dispensation."

525. "Christ himself" translates a Greek phrase meaning "that one himself." Where the older translation says the teaching "moves" you, the Greek verb (*dysōpei*) usually means to put to shame. It can also mean to move someone through a sense of shame.

527. The story is in Genesis 29:15-30. The Law of Moses, given long after Jacob's time, forbids marrying a woman's sister while the wife is still alive (Leviticus 18:18).

528. See Genesis 9:25-27. There Noah curses Canaan, the son of Ham, and makes him a servant to Ham's brothers Shem and Japheth. Justin's phrase "the offspring of the third" refers to Canaan as Ham's son. Justin discusses this passage more fully in chapter 139.

the Christ, the eternal King? For you know that Jacob, the son of Isaac, never became a king. For this reason the Scripture explains to us again whom it means by the king called Jacob and Israel, and speaks as follows:⁵³⁰ [Isaiah 43:15] 2 “Jacob is my servant; I will take hold of him. Israel is my chosen one; my soul will welcome him. I have put my Spirit on him, and he will bring out justice for the nations. He will not cry out, and his voice will not be heard outside. A bruised reed he will not break, and a smoldering wick he will not put out, until he brings out victory and takes up judgment. He will not be broken until he sets justice on the earth. And in his name the nations will hope.”⁵³¹ [Isaiah 42:1-4]

3 Do the Gentiles, then, and you yourselves as well, put their hope in Jacob the patriarch and not in Christ? So just as the text calls Christ both Israel and Jacob, we too, who were cut out of the womb of Christ, are the true Israelite race. But let us pay closer attention to the text itself.⁵³² 4 “And I will bring out,” he says, “the seed from Jacob and from Judah. It will inherit my holy mountain. My chosen ones and my servants will inherit it and live there. In the woodland there will be folds for flocks, and the valley of Achor will be a resting place for herds, for the people who sought me. But you who abandon me and forget my holy mountain, who set a table for the demons and fill a cup of mixed wine for the demon, I will hand you over to the sword. All of you will fall in slaughter, because I called and you did not answer, I spoke and you did not listen. You did evil before me and chose what I did not want.”⁵³³ [Isaiah 65:9-12]

5 That is what the Scripture says. Now think it through for yourselves: the “seed from Jacob” mentioned here is something different, and it is not spoken of the people, as someone might suppose. For it makes no sense that

529. The Greek text printed here begins with a word meaning “advised” or “planned” (ebouleusen). This is almost certainly a slip for the very similar “served” (edouleusen), which the context requires and the older translation follows. See Genesis 30:31-43 (the flocks), 29:17 (Leah’s eyes), and 31:19, 34-35 (the stolen gods).

530. The quotation is Isaiah 43:15 in the Greek version (the Septuagint).

531. The older translation reads “He shall shine.” The Greek printed here has “he will take up judgment” (analēpsei), which may be a copying error for the Septuagint’s “he will shine forth” (analampei). The words “until he brings out victory” are closer to Matthew 12:20 than to the Septuagint of Isaiah.

532. The Greek word translated “cut out” is used of stone cut from a quarry. It may echo Isaiah 51:1, “Look to the rock from which you were hewn.” The older translation says “quarried out from the bowels of Christ.”

533. The quotation is Isaiah 65:9-12 in the Greek Septuagint.

those born of Jacob should leave room for a further bringing-in of those sown from Jacob. Nor can it be that God reproaches the people as unworthy of the inheritance and then promises it again to the same people, as though he had taken them back.⁵³⁴ ⁶ Rather, just as the prophet says in that other place, “And now, house of Jacob, come, let us walk in the light of the Lord. For he has let go of his people, the house of Jacob, because their land was filled, as from the beginning, with divinations and omens.” In the same way we must understand here that there are two seeds of Judah and two races, just as there are two houses of Jacob. One is born of blood and flesh, the other of faith and the Spirit.⁵³⁵ [*Isaiah* 2: 5-6]

CHAPTER 136

The Jews, in Rejecting Christ, Rejected God Who Sent Him.

¹ Look at how he is speaking to the people now. A little earlier he said: “As a grape will be found in the cluster, and they will say, ‘Do not spoil it, for there is a blessing in it,’ so I will do for the sake of my servant. For his sake I will not destroy them all.” After this he adds: “And I will bring out what is from Jacob and from Judah.” It is clear, then, that if he is this angry with those people and threatens to leave very few of them, he is promising to bring out certain others, who will live on his mountain.⁵³⁶ [*Isaiah* 65: 8-9] ² These are the ones he said he would sow and beget. For you will not put up with him when he calls, and you do not listen when he speaks. Instead you have done evil before the Lord. The height of your wickedness is this: you hate the Righteous One whom you murdered, and you also hate those who have received from him what they now are, people who are godly, righteous and kind to others. So the Lord says, “Woe to their soul, for they have devised an evil plan against themselves. They said, ‘Let us take away the righteous one, because he is troublesome to us.’”⁵³⁷ [*Isaiah* 65: 12; *Isaiah* 3: 9-10]

³ For it is not that you, like your fathers, sacrificed to Baal, or made cakes in shady places or on high places for the host of heaven. It is that you did not

534. The Greek of the second sentence is difficult; the sense seems to be that the promised “seed from Jacob” must be a different group from the natural descendants rebuked in the same passage.

535. The quotation is *Isaiah* 2:5-6 in the Greek Septuagint.

536. Justin’s Greek here has only “what is from Jacob and from Judah,” though *Isaiah* 65:9 itself says “seed from Jacob.”

537. “You will not put up with him when he calls... you have done evil” echoes *Isaiah* 65:12. The “woe” is quoted from *Isaiah* 3:9-10.

receive his Christ. Whoever does not know him does not know God's purpose. Whoever insults and hates him clearly also hates and insults the one who sent him. And if anyone does not believe in him, he does not believe the message of the prophets, who preached the good news of him and proclaimed him to all.⁵³⁸ [*Jeremiah 7:18*]

CHAPTER 137

He Exhorts the Jews to Be Converted.

¹So, my brothers, do not say anything evil against that crucified man, and do not mock his wounds, by which everyone can be healed, as we were healed. It would be good if, persuaded by these words, you would be circumcised from your hardness of heart. I do not mean the circumcision you hold to by a notion that has grown up among you. That was given as a sign, not as a work of righteous living, as these words force us to admit.⁵³⁹ [*Isaiah 53:5*] ²So agree with me, and do not revile the Son of God. Do not let Pharisee teachers persuade you ever to mock the King of Israel, as the heads of your synagogues teach you to do after your prayers. For if the one who touches those who are not pleasing to God is like one who touches the apple of God's eye, how much more is the one who attacks the Beloved! That this is he has already been sufficiently demonstrated.⁵⁴⁰ [*Zechariah 2:8*]

³While they kept silent, I said: "My friends, I am now quoting the Scriptures as the Seventy interpreted them. When I quoted them earlier as you have them, I was testing how you were already disposed in mind. I cited the Scripture that says, 'Woe to them, for they have devised an evil plan against themselves, saying,' and then I went on, as the Seventy translated it, 'Let us take away the righteous one, because he is troublesome to us.' But at the start of our discussion I had quoted the wording you prefer, 'Let us bind the righteous one, because he is troublesome to us.'⁵⁴¹ [*Isaiah 3:9-10*] ⁴You were busy with other things, and you do not seem to me to have listened attentively to my words. But now the day is about to end, for the sun is already setting. I

538. The cakes for "the host of heaven" recall Jeremiah 7:18 and 19:13. On hating the one who sent him, compare Luke 10:16 and John 15:23.

539. "His wounds, by which... we were healed" echoes Isaiah 53:5 (compare 1 Peter 2:24).

540. "Apple of God's eye" renders Greek "pupil (literally 'girl') of God" and echoes Zechariah 2:8. "Not pleasing to God" sits oddly with the argument, and the text may be faulty here.

541. Most surviving manuscripts of the Septuagint (the Greek translation by "the Seventy") actually read "bind" at Isaiah 3:10, so it is unclear exactly which texts Justin is contrasting here.

will add one thing to what I have said and then stop. I did say this very thing already, but it seems right to me to work it out again.

CHAPTER 138

Noah is a Figure of Christ, Who Has Regenerated Us by Water, and Faith, and Wood: [I.e., The Cross.]

¹ “You know, then, gentlemen,” I said, “that in Isaiah God said to Jerusalem, ‘In the flood of Noah I saved you.’ What God meant is that the mystery of saved humanity took place in the flood. For the righteous Noah, together with the other people at the flood, that is, his wife, his three sons and his sons’ wives, were eight in number. They bore a symbol of the eighth day, on which our Christ appeared after rising from the dead. By its number it is the eighth day, but in power it is always the first.”⁵⁴² [Isaiah 54:9] ² For Christ, who is the firstborn of all creation, also became the beginning of another race, the one reborn by him through water, faith and wood, which holds the mystery of the cross. In the same way Noah was saved on wood, carried over the waters with his own family. So when the prophet says, ‘In the time of Noah I saved you,’ as I said before, he is speaking to the people who are likewise faithful to God and who have these symbols. For Moses, too, with a rod in his hand, led your people through the sea.”⁵⁴³ [Colossians 1:15; Isaiah 54:9; Exodus 14:16]

³ But you suppose that he was speaking only to your race, or to the land. Yet the whole earth, as the Scripture says, was flooded, and the water rose fifteen cubits above all the mountains. So God clearly was not speaking to the land but to the people who obeyed him, for whom he had also prepared a rest in Jerusalem. I have already shown this from all the symbols of the flood. For I said that those who are prepared beforehand through water, faith and wood, and who repent of the sins they have committed, will escape the judgment of God that is going to come.”⁵⁴⁴ [Genesis 7:19–20]

542. In the Greek, “always the first in power” is feminine and describes the eighth day, not Christ.

543. “Firstborn of all creation” is from Colossians 1:15. Moses’ rod at the sea is from Exodus 14:16.

544. “Fifteen cubits above all the mountains” comes from Genesis 7:20. The words Justin is explaining here come from Isaiah 54:9, where God compares his promise to his oath in Noah’s day.

CHAPTER 139

The Blessings, and Also the Curse, Pronounced by Noah Were Prophecies of the Future.

¹ Another mystery was also prophesied in the time of Noah and has been fulfilled, and you do not know it. It is this. In the blessings with which Noah blessed his two sons, he also curses the son of his son. The Spirit of prophecy was not going to curse the son, since God had blessed him along with the others. But the penalty for the sin was going to fall on the whole line of the son who laughed at his father's nakedness, so the curse was made to begin from that son's son.⁵⁴⁵ ² In what he said, Noah also foretold that Shem's descendants would take possession of the lands and dwellings of Canaan. Again, he foretold that Japheth's descendants would take possession of those same lands, which Shem's descendants had received from the sons of Canaan and held. They would take them from Shem's descendants, just as Shem's descendants had held them after taking them from the sons of Canaan.

³ Listen to how this has come true. You, who trace your descent from Shem, came against the land of the sons of Canaan by God's purpose and took possession of it. And it is plain that the sons of Japheth, who in turn came against you by God's judgment, have taken your land from you and possess it. It was said like this: "Noah woke from the wine and learned what his younger son had done to him. And he said, 'Cursed be Canaan, a servant; he shall be a household slave to his brothers.' And he said, 'Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. May the Lord enlarge Japheth, and let him dwell in the houses of Shem, and let Canaan be his servant.'"⁵⁴⁶ [*Genesis 9:24-27*] ⁴ So two peoples were blessed, those from Shem and those from Japheth. The descendants of Shem were known to be the first to take the houses of Canaan. The descendants of Japheth were foretold to take over those same possessions from them in turn. And the one people, that of Canaan, was handed over into slavery to the two peoples. Then Christ came, by the power given to him by the almighty Father. He called people to

545. The son who was blessed by God along with his brothers is Ham (*Genesis 9:1*). Noah's curse falls instead on Ham's son Canaan (*Genesis 9:25*). The Greek says only that the curse was made "from the son," and it is not fully clear which son is meant. The older translation's "originate with his son" keeps that ambiguity. Since the curse falls on Canaan, "that son's son" seems to be the sense.

546. The quotation is *Genesis 9:24-27* in the Greek Old Testament. The Greek word *pais*, used of Canaan, can mean "child" or "servant"; here it means servant.

friendship, blessing, repentance and living together, the life together of all the saints that is to take place in that same land. As has already been shown, possession of it has been promised.

5 So people from every quarter, whether slave or free, who believe in Christ and recognize the truth in his words and in those of his prophets, know that they will be with him in that land and will inherit what is eternal and incorruptible.

CHAPTER 140

In Christ All are Free. The Jews Hope for Salvation in Vain Because They are Sons of Abraham.

1 This is also why Jacob, as I said before, who was himself a type of Christ, married the two slave women of his two free wives and had sons by them. It was to show in advance that Christ would take to himself all those from Canaan who belong to the race of Japheth, just like the free, and would have them as children and fellow heirs. We are those people. But you cannot understand this, because you cannot drink from the living spring of God. You drink instead from broken cisterns that cannot hold water, as the Scripture says.⁵⁴⁷ [Jeremiah 2:13] 2 The broken cisterns that cannot hold water are the ones your own teachers have dug for you, as the Scripture says plainly: they are “teaching as doctrines the commandments of men.” On top of this, they deceive themselves and you. They suppose that the eternal kingdom will certainly be given to those who are of the seed of Abraham according to the flesh, even if they are sinners, unbelieving and disobedient toward God. The Scriptures have shown that this is not so.⁵⁴⁸ [Jeremiah 2:13; Isaiah 29:13; Matthew 15:9; Mark 7:7]

3 If it were so, would Isaiah have said this: “Unless the Lord of hosts had left us a seed, we would have become like Sodom and Gomorrah”? And Ezekiel: “Even if Noah and Jacob and Daniel ask for sons or daughters, it will not be given to them. Neither father for son nor son for father; but each will perish by his own sin, and each will be saved by his own righteous conduct.” And again Isaiah: “They will see the corpses of those who have transgressed. Their worm will not cease, and their fire will not be quenched, and

547. The Greek phrase about Japheth and Canaan is awkward, and its exact meaning is uncertain. The rendering here follows the wording as it stands.

548. The older translation has “those of the dispersion,” which is not in the Greek. The Greek says “those who are of the seed of Abraham according to the flesh.”

they will be a sight for all flesh.”⁵⁴⁹ [Isaiah 1:9; Ezekiel 14:20; Ezekiel 18:20; Isaiah 66:24] 4 And our Lord, according to the will of the Father who sent him, the Master of all, would not have said: “They will come from west and east and will recline at table with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, but the sons of the kingdom will be thrown out into the outer darkness.” I have also shown earlier that those who are foreknown as going to be unrighteous, whether angels or men, do not become wicked through any fault of God. It is by his own fault that each one is what he will be shown to be.⁵⁵⁰ [Matthew 8:11-12]

CHAPTER 141

Free-Will in Men and Angels.

1 I do not want you to have an excuse for saying that Christ had to be crucified, or that there had to be transgressors in your nation, and that it could not have been otherwise. So I said briefly beforehand that God wanted angels and men to follow his will. He therefore chose to make them free to act righteously. He gave them reason, so that they might know who made them and to whom they owe their existence, when before they did not exist. And he gave them a law, by which they will be judged by him if they act against right reason. And so by our own fault, we men and angels will be convicted of wickedness, unless we repent beforehand. 2 But if the word of God foretells that some angels and men will certainly be punished, it foretold this because it foreknew that they would become wicked beyond any change. It did not say it because God made them such. So if they repent, all who wish to can obtain mercy from God. The word pronounces them blessed in advance, saying, “Blessed is he to whom the Lord will not count sin.” That means the man who has repented of his sins and received forgiveness of them from God. It does not mean what you, and some others like you in this, deceive yourselves into believing. They say that even if they are sinners, so long as they know God, the Lord will not count sin against them.⁵⁵¹

3 We have a proof of this in the one fall of David, which came about through his boasting. It was forgiven when he wept and mourned, as it is

549. Modern editors print the lines about father and son as part of the Ezekiel quotation, and they do echo Ezekiel 18:20. In the older translation they read like Justin’s own comment.

550. The quotation is Matthew 8:11–12 (compare Luke 13:28–29). Justin’s wording has “west and east” where Matthew has “east and west.”

551. The quotation is Psalm 32:2 (Greek Psalm 31:2), which Paul also quotes in Romans 4:8.

written. But if no forgiveness was given even to such a man before he repented, but only when this great king, anointed one and prophet had wept and acted as he did, how can the unclean and the utterly reckless have any hope that the Lord will not count sin against them, unless they mourn and beat their breasts and repent?⁵⁵² 4 “And this one act, David’s fall with the wife of Uriah, sirs,” I said, “shows that the patriarchs did not have many wives in order to commit fornication. Rather, a certain plan of God and all the mysteries were being fulfilled through them. Suppose it had been permitted to take whatever wife one wants, in whatever way and as many as one wants. That is what the men of your nation do in every land where they live or are sent, taking wives under the name of marriage. In that case David would much more have been permitted to do this.”⁵⁵³

5 When I had said this, my dear Marcus Pompeius, I stopped.⁵⁵⁴

CHAPTER 142

The Jews Return Thanks, and Leave Justin.

1 Trypho waited a little while and then said, “You see that we did not come to discuss these matters by design. I admit that I was especially pleased with the conversation, and I think these men feel the same as I do. For we found more than we expected, more than we could ever have hoped for. If we could do this more often, we would be helped more by examining these very words. But since you are about to leave and expect to sail any day now, do not hesitate to remember us as friends when you have gone.”⁵⁵⁵ 2 “For my part,” I said, “if I were staying, I would want the same thing to happen every day. But I expect to set sail soon, if God permits and helps. So I urge you to take up this very great contest for your own salvation, and to be eager to value the Christ of the almighty God above your teachers.”

3 After this they left, wishing me safety on the voyage and safety from every evil. And I prayed for them and said, “I cannot pray for anything greater for you, sirs, than this: that you may recognize that it is by this way

552. As the next section shows, the “one fall” Justin means is David’s sin with Uriah’s wife. Scripture does not describe that sin as “boasting.” “As it is written” probably points to 2 Samuel 12 and Psalm 51.

553. Justin’s charge is polemical. Polygamy was still allowed under Jewish law in his time, but it seems to have been fairly uncommon.

554. Justin addresses his written account to this Marcus Pompeius, who is otherwise unknown.

555. “These very words” could mean the arguments themselves or the Scriptures discussed. The older translation takes it as “the Scriptures,” but the Greek does not say so.

that happiness is given to every person, and that you will in every respect do as we do, and acknowledge that Jesus is the Christ of God.”⁵⁵⁶

556. These are the last words of the Dialogue. The Greek of the final sentence is awkward and may be damaged. It speaks of happiness or well-being (eudaimonein) being given to everyone through this way, not “intelligence” as the older translation has it.

Exhortation to the Greeks

JUSTIN MARTYR

c. AD 100–165

Philosopher turned Christian teacher in Rome; martyred under Marcus Aurelius.

INTRODUCTION

[Translated by the Rev. M. Dods, M.a.]

CHAPTER I.—REASONS FOR ADDRESSING THE GREEKS.

As I begin this hortatory address to you, ye men of Greece, I pray God that I may know what I ought to say to you, and that you, shaking off your habitual love of disputing, and being livered from the error of your fathers, may now choose what is profitable; not fancying that you commit any offence against your forefathers, though the things which you formerly considered by no means salutary should now seem useful to you. For accurate investigation of matters, putting truth to the question with a more searching scrutiny, often reveals that things which have passed for excellent are of quite another sort. Since, then, we propose to discourse of the true religion (than which, I think, there is nothing which is counted more valuable by those who desire to pass through life without danger, on account of the judgment which is to be after the termination of this life, and which is announced not only by our forefathers according to God, to wit the prophets and lawgivers, but also by those among yourselves who have been esteemed wise, not poets alone, but also philosophers, who professed among you that they had attained the true and divine knowledge), I think it well first of all to examine the teachers of religion, both our own and yours, who they were, and how great, and in what times they lived; in order that those who have formerly received from their fathers the false religion, may now, when they perceive this, be extricated from that inveterate error; and that we may clearly and

manifestly show that we ourselves follow the religion of our forefathers according to God.

CHAPTER II-THE POETS ARE UNFIT TO BE RELIGIOUS TEACHERS.

¹ Whom, then, ye men of Greece, do ye call your teachers of religion? The poets? It will do your cause no good to say so to men who know the poets; for they know how very ridiculous a theogony they have composed,-as we can learn from Homer, your most distinguished and prince of poets. For he says, first, that the gods were in the beginning generated from water; for he has written thus: - "Both ocean, the origin of the gods, and their mother Tethys" And then we must also remind you of what he further says of him whom ye consider the first of the gods, and whom he often calls "the father of gods and men; "for he said: - "Zeus, who is the dispenser of war to men." Indeed, he says that he was not only the dispenser of war to the army, but also the cause of perjury to the Trojans, by means of his daughter; and Homer introduces him in love, and bitterly complaining, and bewailing himself, and plotted against by the other gods, and at one time exclaiming concerning his own son: -

² "Alas! he falls, my most beloved of men! Sarpedon, vanquished by Patroclus, falls. So will the fates." And at another time concerning Hector: "Ah! I behold a warrior dear to me Around the walls of Ilium driven, and grieve For Hector." And what he says of the conspiracy of the other gods against Zeus, they know who read these words: "When the other Olympians-Juno, and Neptune, and Minerva-wished to bind him." And unless the blessed gods had feared him whom gods call Briareus, Zeus would have been bound by them. And what Homer says of his intemperate loves, we must remind you in the very words he used. For he said that Zeus spake thus to Juno: - "For never goddess pour'd, nor woman yet, So full a tide of love into my breast; I never loved Ixion's consort thus, Nor sweet Acrisian Danaë, from whom Sprang Perseus, noblest of the race of man;

³ Nor Phoenix' daughter fair, of whom were born Minos, unmatch'd but by the powers above, And Rhadamanthus; nor yet Semele, Nor yet Alcmene, who in Thebes produced The valiant Hercules; and though my son By Semele were Bacchus, joy of man; Nor Ceres golden-hair'd, nor high-enthron'd Latona in the skies; no-nor thyself As now I love thee, and my soul perceive O'erwhelm'd with sweetness of intense desire." It is fit that we now mention what one can learn from the work of Homer of the other gods, and what

they suffered at the hands of men. For he says that Mars and Venus were wounded by Diomed, and of many others of the gods he relates the sufferings. For thus we can gather from the case of Dione consoling her daughter; for she said to her: - "Have patience, dearest child; though much enforc'd Restrain thine anger: we, in heav'n who dwell,

4 Have much to bear from mortals; and ourselves Too oft upon each other suffrings lay: Mars had his suffrings; by Alöeus sons, Otus and Ephialtes, strongly bound, He thirteen months in brazen fetters lay: Juno, too, suffer'd, when Amphitryon's son Thro'her right breast a three-barb'd arrow sent: Dire, and unheard of, were the pangs she bore, Great Pluto's self the stinging arrow felt, When that same son of Aegis-bearing Jove Assail'd him in the very gates of hell, And wrought him keenest anguish; pierced with pain, To high Olympus, to the courts of Jove, Groaning, he came; the bitter shaft remain'd Deep in his shoulder fix'd, and griev'd his soul." But if it is right to remind you of the battle of the gods, opposed to one another, your own poet himself will recount it, saying: - "Such was the shock when gods in battle met; For there to royal Neptune stood oppos'd

5 Phoebus Apollo with his arrows keen; The blue-eyed Pallas to the god of war; To Juno, Dian, heav'nly archeress, Sister of Phoebus, golden-shafted queen. Stout Hermes, helpful god, Latona fac'd." These and such like things did Homer teach you; and not Homer only, but also Hesiod. So-that if you believe your most distinguished poets, who have given the genealogies of your gods, you must of necessity either suppose that the gods are such beings as these, or believe that there are no gods at all.

CHAPTER III.-OPINIONS OF THE SCHOOL OF THALES.

1 And if you decline citing the poets, because you say it is allowable for them to frame myths, and to relate in a mythical way many things about the gods which are far from true, do you suppose you have some others for your religious teachers, or how do you say that they themselves have learned this religion of yours? For it is impossible that any should know matters so great and divine, who have not themselves learned them first from the initiated. You will no doubt say, "The sages and philosophers. For to them, as to a fortified wall, you are wont to flee, when any one quotes the opinions of your poets about the gods. Therefore, since it is fit that we commence with the ancients and the earliest, beginning thence I will produce the opinion of each, much more ridiculous as it is than the theology of the poets. For Thales of Miletus,

who took the lead in the study of natural philosophy, declared that water was the first principle of all things; for from water he says that all things are, and that into water all are resolved. And after him Anaximander, who came from the same Miletus, said that the infinite was the first principle of all things; for that from this indeed all things are produced, and into this do all decay. Thirdly, Anaximenes-and he too was from Miletus-says that air is the first principle of all things; for he says that from this all things are produced, and into this all are resolved.

2 Heraclitus and Hippasus, from Metapontus, say that fire is the first principle of all things; for from fire all things proceed, and in fire do all things terminate. Anaxagoras of Clazomenae said that the homogeneous parts are the first principles of all things. Archelaus, the son of Apollodorus, an Athenian, says that the infinite air and its density and rarity are the first principle of all things. All these, forming a succession from Thales, followed the philosophy called by themselves physical.

CHAPTER IV.-OPINIONS OF PYTHAGORAS AND EPICURUS.

Then, in regular succession from another starting-point, Pythagoras the Samian, son of Mnesarchus, calls numbers, with their proportions and harmonies, and the elements composed of both, the first principles; and he includes also unity and the indefinite binary. Epicurus, an Athenian, the son of Neocles, says that the first principles of the things that exist are bodies perceptible by reason, admitting no vacuity, unbegotten, indestructible, which can neither be broken, nor admit of any formation of their parts, nor alteration, and are therefore perceptible by reason. Empedocles of Agrigentum, son of Meton, maintained that there were four elements-fire, air, water, earth; and two elementary powers-love and hate, of which the former is a power of union, the latter of separation. You see, then, the confusion of those who are considered by you to have been wise men, whom you assert to be your teachers of religion: some of them declaring that water is the first principle of all things; others, air others, fire; and others, some other of these forementioned elements; and all of them employing persuasive arguments for the establishment of their own errors, and attempting to prove their own peculiar dogma to be the most valuable. These things were said by them. How then, ye men of Greece, can it be safe for those who desire to be saved, to fancy that they can learn the true religion from these philosophers, who were neither able so to convince themselves as to prevent sectarian wrangling

with one another, and not to appear definitely opposed to one another's opinions?

CHAPTER V.-OPINIONS OF PLATO AND ARISTOTLE.

1 But possibly those who are unwilling to give up the ancient and inveterate error, maintain that they have received the doctrine of their religion not from those who have now been mentioned, but from those who are esteemed among them as the most renowned and finished philosophers, Plato and Aristotle. For these, they say, have learned the perfect and true religion. But I would be glad to ask, first of all, from those who say so, from whom they say that these men have learned this knowledge; for it is impossible that men who have not learned these so great and divine matters from some who knew them, should either themselves know them, or be able correctly to teach others; and, in the second place, I think we ought to examine the opinions even of these sages. For we shall see whether each of these does not manifestly contradict the other. But if we find that even they do not agree with each other, I think it is easy to see clearly that they too are ignorant. For Plato, with the air of one that has descended from above, and has accurately ascertained and seen all that is in heaven, says that the most high God exists in a fiery substance. But Aristotle, in a book addressed to Alexander of Macedon, giving a compendious explanation of his own philosophy, clearly and manifestly overthrows the opinion of Plato, saying that God does not exist in a fiery substance:

2 but inventing, as a fifth substance, some kind of aetherial and unchangeable body, says that God exists in it. Thus, at least, he wrote: "Not, as some of those who have erred regarding the Deity say, that God exists in a fiery substance. Then, as if he were not satisfied with this blasphemy against Plato, he further, for the sake of proving what he says about the aetherial body, cites as a witness him whom Plato had banished from his republic as a liar, and as being an imitator of the images of truth at three removes, for so Plato calls Homer; for he wrote: "Thus at least did Homer speak, 'And Zeus obtained the wide heaven in the air and the clouds, "' wishing to make his own opinion appear more worthy of credit by the testimony of Homer; not being aware that if he used Homer as a witness to prove that he spoke truth, many of his tenets would be proved untrue. For Thales of Miletus, who was the founder of philosophy among them, taking occasion from him, will contradict his first opinions about first principles. For Aristotle himself, hav-

ing said that God and matter are the first principles of all things, Thales, the eldest of all their sages, says that water is the first principle of the things that exist; for he says that all things are from water, and that all things are resolved into water.

³ And he conjectures this, first, from the fact that the seed of all living creatures, which is their first principle, is moist; and secondly, because all plants grow and bear fruit in moisture, but when deprived of moisture, wither. Then, as if not satisfied with his conjectures, he cites Homer as a most trustworthy testimony, who speaks thus:- ⁴ "Ocean, who is the origin of all." May not Thales, then, very fairly say to him, "What is the reason, Aristotle, why you give heed to Homer, as if he spoke truth, when you wish to demolish the opinions of Plato; but when you promulgate an opinion contrary to ours, you think Homer untruthful?"

CHAPTER VI.-FURTHER DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN PLATO AND
ARISTOTLE.

And that these very wonderful sages of yours do not even agree in other respects, can be easily learned from this. For while Plato says that there are three first principles of all things, God, and matter, and form,-God, the maker of all; and matter, which is the subject of the first production of all that is produced, and affords to God opportunity for His workmanship; and form, which is the type of each of the things produced,-Aristotle makes no mention at all of form as a first principle, but says that there are two, God and matter. And again, while Plato says that the highest God and the ideas exist in the first place of the highest heavens, and in fixed sphere, Aristotle says that, next to the most high God, there are, not ideas, but certain gods, who can be perceived by the mind. Thus, then, do they differ concerning things heavenly. So that one can see that they not only are unable to understand our earthly matters, but also, being at variance among themselves regarding these things, they will appear unworthy of credit when they treat of things heavenly. And that even their doctrine regarding the human soul as it now is does not harmonize, is manifest from what has been said by each of them concerning it. For Plato says that it is of three parts, having the faculty of reason, of affection, and of appetite. But Aristotle says that the soul is not so comprehensive as to include also corruptible parts, but only reason. And Plato loudly maintains that "the whole soul is immortal." But Aristotle, naming it "the actuality," would have it to be mortal, not immortal. And the

former says it is always in motion; but Aristotle says that it is immoveable, since it must itself precede all motion.

CHAPTER VII.-INCONSISTENCIES OF PLATO'S DOCTRINE.

¹ But in these things they are convicted of thinking in contradiction to each other. And if any one will accurately criticise their writings, they have chosen to abide in harmony not even with their own opinions. Plato, at any rate, at one time says that there are three first principles of the universe-God, and matter, and form; but at another time four, for he adds the universal soul. And again, when he has already said that matter is eternal, he afterwards says that it is produced; and when he has first given to form its peculiar rank as a first principle, and has asserted for its self-subsistence, he afterwards says that this same thing is among the things perceived by the understanding. Moreover, having first declared that everything that is made is mortal he afterwards states that some of the things that are made are indestructible and immortal. What, then, is the cause why those who have been esteemed wise among you disagree not only with one another but also with themselves? Manifestly, their unwillingness to learn from those who know, and their desire to attain accurate knowledge of things heavenly by their own human excess of wisdom though they were able to understand not even earthly matters. Certainly some of your philosophers say that the human soul is in us; others, that it is around us.

² For not even in this did they choose to agree with one another, but, distributing, as it were, ignorance in various ways among themselves, they thought fit to wrangle and dispute with one another even about the soul. For some of them say that the soul is fire, and some that it is the air; and others, the mind; and others, motion; and others, an exhalation; and certain others say that it is a power flowing from the stars; and others, number capable of motion; and others, a generating water. And a wholly confused and inharmonious opinion has prevailed among them, which only in this one respect appears praiseworthy to those who can form a right judgment, that they have been anxious to convict one another of error and falsehood.

CHAPTER VIII.-ANTIQUITY, INSPIRATION, AND HARMONY OF
CHRISTIAN TEACHERS.

Since therefore it is impossible to learn anything true concerning religion from your teachers, who by their mutual disagreement have furnished you with sufficient proof of their own ignorance, I consider it reasonable to recur

to our progenitors, who both in point of time have by a great way the precedence of your teachers, and who have taught us nothing from their own private fancy, nor differed with one another, nor attempted to overturn one another's positions, but without wrangling and contention received from God the knowledge which also they taught to us. For neither by nature nor by human conception is it possible for men to know things so great and divine, but by the gift which then descended from above upon the holy men, who had no need of rhetorical art, nor of uttering anything in a contentious or quarrelsome manner, but to present themselves pure to the energy of the Divine Spirit, in order that the divine plectrum itself, descending from heaven, and using righteous men as an instrument like a harp or lyre, might reveal to us the knowledge of things divine and heavenly. Wherefore, as if with one mouth and one tongue, they have in succession, and in harmony with one another, taught us both concerning God, and the creation of the world, and the formation of man, and concerning the immortality of the human soul, and the judgment which is to be after this life, and concerning all things which it is needful for us to know, and thus in divers times and places have afforded us the divine instruction.

CHAPTER IX.—THE ANTIQUITY OF MOSES PROVED BY GREEK WRITERS.

I will begin, then, with our first prophet and lawgiver, Moses; first explaining the times in which he lived, on authorities which among you are worthy of all credit. For I do not propose to prove these things only from our own divine histories, which as yet you are unwilling to credit on account of the inveterate error of your forefathers, but also from your own histories, and such, too, as have no reference to our worship, that you may know that, of all your teachers, whether sages, poets, historians, philosophers, or lawgivers, by far the oldest, as the Greek histories show us, was Moses, who was our first religious teacher. For in the times of Ogyges and Inachus, whom some of your poets suppose to have been earth-born, Moses is mentioned as the leader and ruler of the Jewish nation. For in this way he is mentioned both by Polemon in the first book of his *Hellenics*, and by Apion son of Posidonius in his book against the Jews, and in the fourth book of his history, where he says that during the reign of Inachus over Argos the Jews revolted from Amasis king of the Egyptians, and that Moses led them. And Ptolemaeus the Mendesian, in relating the history of Egypt, concurs in all this.

² And those who write the Athenian history, Hellanicus and Philochorus (the author of *The Attic History*), Castor and Thallus and Alexander Polyhistor, and also the very well informed writers on Jewish affairs, Philo and Josephus, have mentioned Moses as a very ancient and time-honoured prince of the Jews. Josephus, certainly, desiring to signify even by the title of his work the antiquity and age of the history, wrote thus at the commencement of the history: "The Jewish antiquities of Flavius Josephus,"-signifying the oldness of the history by the word "antiquities. And your most renowned historian Diodorus, who employed thirty whole years in epitomizing the libraries, and who, as he himself wrote, travelled over both Asia and Europe for the sake of great accuracy, and thus became an eye-witness of very many things, wrote forty entire books of his own history. And he in the first book, having said that he had learned from the Egyptian priests that Moses was an ancient lawgiver, and even the first, wrote of him in these very words: "For subsequent to the ancient manner" of living in Egypt which gods and heroes are fabled to have regulated, they say that Moses first persuaded the people to use written laws, and to live by them; and he is recorded to have been a man both great of soul and of great faculty in social matters. Then, having proceeded a little further, and wishing to mention the ancient lawgivers, he mentions Moses first. For he spoke in these words:

³ "Among the Jews they say that Moses ascribed his laws to that God who is called Jehovah, whether because they judged it a marvellous and quite divine conception which promised to benefit a multitude of men, or because they were of opinion that the people would be the more obedient when they contemplated the majesty and power of those who were said to have invented the laws. And they say that Sasunchis was the second Egyptian legislator, a man of excellent understanding. And the third, they say, was Sesonchosis the king, who not only performed the most brilliant military exploits of any in Egypt, but also consolidated that warlike race by legislation. And the fourth lawgiver, they say, was Bocchoris the king, a wise and surpassingly skilful man. And after him it is said that Amasis the king acceded to the government, whom they relate to have regulated all that pertains to the rulers of provinces, and to the general administration of the government of Egypt. And they say that Darius, the father of Xerxes, was the sixth who legislated for the Egyptians."

CHAPTER X-TRAINING AND INSPIRATION OF MOSES.

These things, ye men of Greece, have been recorded in writing concerning the antiquity of Moses by those who were not of our religion; and they said that they learned all these things from the Egyptian priests, among whom Moses was not only born, but also was thought worthy of partaking of all the education of the Egyptians, on account of his being adopted by the king's daughter as her son; and for the same reason was thought worthy of great attention, as the wisest of the historians relate, who have chosen to record his life and actions, and the rank of his descent,-I speak of Philo and Josephus. For these, in their narration of the history of the Jews, say that Moses was sprung from the race of the Chaldaeans, and that he was born in Egypt when his forefathers had migrated on account of famine from Phoenicia to that country; and him God chose to honour on account of his exceeding virtue, and judged him worthy to become the leader and lawgiver of his own race, when He thought it fit that the people of the Hebrews should return out of Egypt into their own land. To him first did God communicate that divine and prophetic gift which in those days descended upon the holy men, and him also did He first furnish that he might be our teacher in religion, and then after him the rest of the prophets, who both obtained the same gift as he, and taught us the same doctrines concerning the same subjects. These we assert to have been our teachers, who taught us nothing from their own human conception, but from the gift vouchsafed to them by God from above.

CHAPTER XI.-HEATHEN ORACLES TESTIFY OF MOSES.

¹ But as you do not see the necessity of giving up the ancient error of your forefathers in obedience to these teachers [of ours], what teachers of your own do you maintain to have lived worthy of credit in the matter of religion? For, as I have frequently said, it is impossible that those who have not themselves learned these so great and divine things from such persons as are acquainted with them, should either themselves know them, or be able rightly to teach others. Since, therefore, it has been sufficiently proved that the opinions of your philosophers are obviously full of all ignorance and deceit, having now perhaps wholly abandoned the philosophers as formerly you abandoned the poets, you will turn to the deceit of the oracles; for in this style I have heard some speaking. Therefore I think it fit to tell you at this step in our discourse what I formerly heard among you concerning their ut-

terances. For when one inquired at your oracle—it is your own story—what religious men had at any time happened to live, you say that the oracle answered thus: "Only the Chaldaeans have obtained wisdom, and the Hebrews, who worship God Himself, the self-begotten King."

² Since, therefore, you think that the truth can be learned from your oracles, when you read the histories and what has been written regarding the life of Moses by those who do not belong to our religion, and when you know that Moses and the rest of the prophets were descended from the race of the Chaldaeans and Hebrews, do not think that anything incredible has taken place if a man sprung from a godly line, and who lived worthily of the godliness of his fathers, was chosen by God to be honoured with this great gift and to be set forth as the first of all the prophets.

CHAPTER XII.—ANTIQUITY OF MOSES PROVED.

¹ And I think it necessary also to consider the times in which your philosophers lived, that you may see that the time which produced them for you is very recent, and also short. For thus you will be able easily to recognise also the antiquity of Moses. But lest, by a complete survey of the periods, and by the use of a greater number of proofs, I should seem to be prolix, I thing it may be sufficiently demonstrated from the following. For Socrates was the teacher of Plato, and Plato of Aristotle. Now these men flourished in the time of Philip and Alexander of Macedon, in which time also the Athenian orators flourished, as the *Philippics* of Demosthenes plainly show us. And those who have narrated the deeds of Alexander sufficiently prove that during his reign Aristotle associated with him. From all manner of proofs, then, it is easy to see that the history of Moses is by far more ancient than all profane histories. And, besides, it is fit that you recognise this fact also, that nothing has been accurately recorded by Greeks before the era of the Olympiads, and that there is no ancient work which makes known any action of the Greeks or Barbarians. But before that period existed only the history of the prophet Moses, which he wrote in the Hebrew character by the divine inspiration.

² For the Greek character was not yet in use, as the teachers of language themselves prove, telling us that Cadmus first brought the letters from Phoenicia, and communicated them to the Greeks. And your first of philosophers, Plato, testifies that they were a recent discovery. For in the *Timaeus* he wrote that Solon, the wisest of the wise men, on his return from Egypt,

said to Critias that he had heard this from a very aged Egyptian priest, who said to him, "O Solon, Solon, you Greeks are ever children, and aged Greek there is none." Then again he said, "You are all youths in soul, for you hold no ancient opinion derived through remote tradition, nor any system of instruction hoary with time; but all these things escape your knowledge, because for many generations the posterity of these ancient ages died mute, not having the use of letters. It is fit, therefore, that you understand that it is the fact that every history has been written in these recently-discovered Greek letters; and if any one would make mention of old poets, or legislators, or historians, or philosophers, or orators, he will find that they wrote their own works in the Greek character.

CHAPTER XIII.—HISTORY OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

¹ But if any one says that the writings of MoSes and of the rest of the prophets were also written in the Greek character, let him read profane histories, and know that Ptolemy, king of Egypt, when he had built the library in Alexandria, and by gathering books from every quarter had filled it, then learnt that very ancient histories written in Hebrew happened to be carefully preserved; and wishing to know their contents, he sent for seventy wise men from Jerusalem, who were acquainted with both the Greek and Hebrew language, and appointed them to translate the books; and that in freedom from all disturbance they might the more speedily complete the translation, he ordered that there should be constructed, not in the city itself, but seven stadia off (where the Pharos was built), as many little cots as there were translators, so that each by himself might complete his own translation; and enjoined upon those officers who were appointed to this duty, to afford them all attendance, but to prevent communication with one another, in order that the accuracy of the translation might be discernible even by their agreement. And when he ascertained that the seventy men had not only given the same meaning, but had employed the same words, and had failed in agreement with one another not even to the extent of one word;

² but had written the same things, and concerning the same things, he was struck with amazement, and believed that the translation had been written by divine power, and perceived that the men were worthy of all honour, as beloved of God; and with many gifts ordered them to return to their own country. And having, as was natural, marvelled at the books, and concluded them to be divine, he consecrated them in that library. These things,

ye men of Greece, are no fable, nor do we narrate fictions; but we ourselves having been in Alexandria, saw the remains of the little cots at the Pharos still preserved, and having heard these things from the inhabitants, who had received them as part of their country's tradition, we now tell to you what you can also learn from others, and specially from those wise and esteemed men who have written of these things, Philo and Josephus, and many others. But if any of those who are wont to be forward in contradiction should say that these books do not belong to us, but to the Jews, and should assert that we in vain profess to have learnt our religion from them, let him know, as he may from those very things which are written in these books, that not to them, but to us, does the doctrine of them refer. That the books relating to our religion are to this day preserved among the Jews, has been a work of Divine Providence on our behalf;

3 for lest, by producing them out of the Church, we should give occasion to those who wish to slander us to charge us with fraud, we demand that they be produced from the synagogue of the Jews, that from the very books still preserved among them it might clearly and evidently appear, that the laws which were written by holy men. for instruction pertain to us.

CHAPTER XIV.—A WARNING APPEAL TO THE GREEKS.

It is therefore necessary, ye Greeks, that you contemplate the things that are to be, and consider the judgment which is predicted by all, not only by the godly, but also by those who are irreligious, that ye do not without investigation commit yourselves to the error of your fathers, nor suppose that if they themselves have been in error, and have transmitted it to you, that this which they have taught you is true; but looking to the danger of so terrible a mistake, inquire and investigate carefully into those things which are, as you say, spoken of even by your own teachers. For even unwillingly they were on your account forced to say many things by the Divine regard for mankind, especially those of them who were in Egypt, and profited by the godliness of Moses and his ancestry. For I think that some of you, when you read even carelessly the history of Diodorus, and of those others who wrote of these things, cannot fail to see that both Orpheus, and Homer, and Solon, who wrote the laws of the Athenians, and Pythagoras, and Plato, and some others, when they had been in Egypt, and had taken advantage of the history of Moses, afterwards published doctrines concerning the gods quite contrary to those which formerly they had erroneously promulgated.

CHAPTER XV.-TESTIMONY OF ORPHEUS TO MONOTHEISM.

¹ At all events, we must remind you what Orpheus, who was, as one might say, your first teacher of polytheism, latterly addressed to his son Musaeus, and to the other legitimate auditors, concerning the one and only God. And he spoke thus:- "I speak to those who lawfully may hear: All others, ye profane, now close the doors, And, O Musaeus! hearken thou to me, Who offspring art of the light-bringing moon: The words I utter now are true indeed; And if thou former thoughts of mine hast seen, Let them not rob thee of the blessed life, But rather turn the depths of thine own heart Unto the place where light and knowledge dwell. Take thou the word divine to guide thy steps, And walking well in the straight certain path, Look to the one and universal King- One, self-begotten, and the only One, Of whom all things and we ourselves are sprung.

² All things are open to His piercing gaze, While He Himself is still invisible. Present in all His works, though still unseen, He gives to mortals evil out of good, Sending both chilling wars and tearful griefs; And other than the great King there is none. The clouds for ever settle round His throne, And mortal eyeballs in mere mortal eyes Are weak, to see Jove reigning over all. He sits established in the brazen heavens Upon His golden throne; under His feet He treads the earth, and stretches His right hand To all the ends of ocean, and around Tremble the mountain ranges and the streams, The depths, too, of the blue and hoary sea." And again, in some other place he says:- "There is one Zeus alone, one sun, one hell, One Bacchus; and in all things but one God; Nor of all these as diverse let me speak."

³ And when he swears he says:- "Now I adjure thee by the highest heaven, The work of the great God, the only wise; And I adjure thee by the Father's voice. Which first He uttered when He established The whole world by His counsel." What does he mean by "I adjure thee by the Father's voice, which first He uttered?" It is the Word of God which he here names "the voice," by whom heaven and earth and the whole creation were made, as the divine prophecies of the holy men teach us; and these he himself also paid some attention to in Egypt, and understood that all creation was made by the Word of God; and therefore, after he says, "I adjure thee by the Father's voice, which first He uttered," he adds this besides, "when by His counsel He established the whole world." Here he calls the Word "voice," for the sake of the

poetical metre. And that this is so, is manifest from the fact, that a little further on, where the metre permits him, he names it "Word." For he said:-

4 "Take thou the Word divine to guide thy steps."

CHAPTER XVI.-TESTIMONY OF THE SIBYL.

1 We must also mention what the ancient and exceedingly remote Sibyl, whom Plato and Aristophanes, and others besides, mention as a prophetess, taught you in her oracular verses concerning one only God. And she speaks thus:- "There is one only unbegotten God, Omnipotent, invisible, most high, All-seeing, but Himself seen by no flesh." Then elsewhere thus:- "But we have strayed from the Immortal's ways, And worship with a dull and senseless mind Idols, the workmanship of our own hands, And images and figures of dead men." And again somewhere else:- "Blessed shall be those men upon the earth Who shall love the great God before all else, Blessing Him when they eat and when they drink; Trusting it, this their piety alone. Who shall abjure all shrines which they may see, All altars and vain figures of dumb stones, Worthless and stained with blood of animals, And sacrifice of the four-fooled tribes,

2 Beholding the great glory of One God." These are the Sibyl's words.

CHAPTER XVII.-TESTIMONY OF HOMER.

And the poet Homer, using the license of poetry, and rivalling the original opinion of Orpheus regarding the plurality of the gods, mentions, indeed, several gods in a mythical style, lest he should seem to sing in a different strain from the poem of Orpheus, which he so distinctly proposed to rival, that even in the first line of his poem he indicated the relation he held to him. For as Orpheus in the beginning of his poem had said, "O goddess, sing the wrath of Demeter, who brings the goodly fruit," Homer began thus, "O goddess, sing the wrath of Achilles, son of Peleus," preferring, as it seems to me, even to violate the poetical metre in his first line, than that he should seem not to have remembered before all else the names of the gods. But shortly after he also clearly and explicitly presents his own opinion regarding one God only, somewhere saying to Achilles by the mouth of Phoenix, "Not though God Himself were to promise that He would peel off my old age, and give me the rigour of my youth," where he indicates by the pronoun the real and true God. And somewhere he makes Ulysses address the host of the Greeks thus: "The rule of many is not a good thing; let there be one ruler."

And that the rule of many is not a good thing, but on the contrary an evil, he proposed to evince by fact, recounting the wars which took place on account of the multitude of rulers, and the fights and factions, and their mutual counterplots. For monarchy is free from contention. So far the poet Homer.

CHAPTER XVIII.-TESTIMONY OF SOPHOCLES.

And if it is needful that we add testimonies concerning one God, even from the dramatists, hear even Sophocles speaking thus:- "There is one God, in truth there is but one, Who made the heavens and the broad earth beneath, The glancing waves of ocean and the winds But many of us mortals err in heart, And set up for a solace in our woes Images of the gods in stone and wood, Or figures carved in brass or ivory, And, furnishing for these our handiworks, Both sacrifice and rite magnificent, We think that thus we do a pious work." Thus, then, Sophocles.

CHAPTER XIX.-TESTIMONY OF PYTHAGORAS.

And Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus, who expounded the doctrines of his own philosophy, mystically by means of symbols, as those who have written his life show, himself seems to have entertained thoughts about the unity of God not unworthy of his foreign residence in Egypt. For when he says that unity is the first principle of all things, and that it is the cause of all good, he teaches by an allegory that God is one, and alone. And that this is so, is evident from his saying that unity and one differ widely from one another. For he says that unity belongs to the class of things perceived by the mind, but that one belongs to numbers. And if you desire to see a clearer proof of the opinion of Pythagoras concerning one God, hear his own opinion, for he spoke as follows: "God is one; and He Himself does not, as some suppose, exist outside the world, but in it, He being wholly present in the whole circle, and beholding all generations; being the regulating ingredient of all the ages, and the administrator of His own powers and works, the first principle of all things, the light of heaven, and Father of all, the intelligence and animating soul of the universe, the movement of all orbits." Thus, then, Pythagoras.

CHAPTER XX.-TESTIMONY OF PLATO.

But Plato, though he accepted, as is likely, the doctrine of Moses and the other prophets regarding one only God, which he learned while in Egypt, yet fearing, on account of what had befallen Socrates, lest he also should

raise up some Anytus or Meletus against himself, who should accuse him before the Athenians, and say, "Plato is doing harm, and making himself mischievously busy, not acknowledging the gods recognised by the state; "in fear of the hemlock-juice, contrives an elaborate and ambiguous discourse concerning the gods, furnishing by his treatise gods to those who wish them, and none for those who are differently disposed, as may readily be seen from his own statements. For when he has laid down that everything that is made is mortal, he afterwards says that the gods were made. If, then, he would have God and matter to be the origin of all things, manifestly it is inevitably necessary to say that the gods were made of matter; but if of matter, out of which he said that evil also had its origin, he leaves right-thinking persons to consider what kind of beings the gods should be thought who are produced out of matter. For, for this very reason did he say that matter was eternal, that he might not seem to say that God is the creator of evil. And regarding the gods who were made by God, there is no doubt he said this: "Gods of gods, of whom I am the creator." And he manifestly held the correct opinion concerning the really existing God. For having heard in Egypt that God had said to Moses, when He was about to send him to the Hebrews, "I am that I am," he understood that God had not mentioned to him His own proper name.

CHAPTER XXI.-THE NAMELESSNESS OF GOD.

1 For God cannot be called by any proper name, for names are given to mark out and distinguish their subject-matters, because these are many and diverse; but neither did any one exist before God who could give Him a name, nor did He Himself think it fit to name Himself, seeing that He is one and unique, as He Himself also by His own prophets testifies, when He says, "I God am the first," and after this, "And beside me there is no other God. On this account, then, as I before said, God did not, when He sent Moses to the Hebrews, mention any name, but by a participle He mystically teaches them that He is the one and only God. "For," says He; "I am the Being; "manifestly contrasting Himself, "the Being," with those who are not, that those who had hitherto been deceived might see that they were attaching themselves, not to beings, but to those who had no being. Since, therefore, God knew that the first men remembered the old delusion of their forefathers, whereby the misanthropic demon contrived to deceive them when he said to them, "If ye obey me in transgressing the commandment of God, ye shall be as

gods," calling those gods which had no being, in order that men, supposing that there were other gods in existence, might believe that they themselves could become gods.

² On this account He said to Moses, "I am the Being," that by the participle "being" He might teach the difference between God who is and those who are not. Men, therefore, having been duped by the deceiving demon, and having dared to disobey God, were cast out of Paradise, remembering the name of gods, but no longer being taught by God that there are no other gods. For it was not just that they who did not keep the first commandment, which it was easy to keep, should any longer be taught, but should rather be driven to just punishment. Being therefore banished from Paradise, and thinking that they were expelled on account of their disobedience only, not knowing that it was also because they had believed in the existence of gods which did not exist, they gave the name of gods even to the men who were afterwards born of themselves. This first false fancy, therefore, concerning gods, had its origin with the father of lies. God, therefore, knowing that the false opinion about the plurality of gods was burdening the soul of man like some disease, and wishing to remove and eradicate it, appeared first to Moses, and said to him, "I am He who is. For it was necessary, I think, that he who was to be the ruler and leader of the Hebrew people should first of all know the living God.

³ Wherefore, having appeared to him first, as it was possible for God to appear to a man, He said to him, "I am He who is;" then, being about to send him to the Hebrews, He further orders him to say, "He who is hath sent me to you."

CHAPTER XXII.-STUDIED AMBIGUITY PLATO.

¹ Plato accordingly having learned this in Egypt, and being greatly taken with what was said about one God, did indeed consider it unsafe to mention the name of Moses, on account of his teaching the doctrine of one only God, for he dreaded the Areopagus; but what is very well expressed by him in his elaborate treatise, the *Timaeus*, he has written in exact correspondence with what Moses said regarding God, though he has done so, not as if he had learned it from him, but as if he were expressing his own opinion. For he said, "In my opinion, then, we must first define what that is which exists eternally, and has no generation, and what that is which is always being generated, but never really is. Does not this, ye men of Greece, seem to those

who are able to understand the matter to be one and the same thing, saving only the difference of the article? For Moses said, "He who is," and Plato, "That which is. But either of the expressions seems to apply to the ever-existent God. For He is the only one who eternally exists, and has no generation. What, then, that other thing is which is contrasted with the ever-existent, and of which he said, "And what that is which is always being generated, but never really is," we must attentively consider.

2 For we shall find him clearly and evidently saying that He who is unbegotten is eternal, but that those that are begotten and made are generated and perish -as he said of the same class, "gods of gods, of whom I am maker"-for he speaks in the following words: "In my opinion, then, we must first define what that is which is always existent and has no birth, and what that is which is always being generated but never really is. The former, indeed, which is apprehended by reflection combined with reason, always exists in the same way; while the latter, on the other hand, is conjectured by opinion formed by the perception of the senses unaided by reason, since it never really is, but is coming into being and perishing. These expressions declare to those who can rightly understand them the death and destruction of the gods that have been brought into being. And I think it necessary to attend to this also, that Plato never names him the creator, but the fashioner of the gods, although, in the opinion of Plato, there is considerable difference between these two. For the creator creates the creature by his own capability and power, being in need of nothing else; but the fashioner frames his production when he has received from matter the capability for his work.

CHAPTER XXIII.-PLATO'S SELF-CONTRADICTION.

But, perhaps, some who are unwilling to abandon the doctrines of polytheism, will say that to these fashioned gods the maker said, "Since ye have been produced, ye are not immortal, nor at all, imperishable; yet shall ye not perish nor succumb to the fatality of death, because you have obtained my will, which is a still greater and mightier bond." Here Plato, through fear of the adherents of polytheism, introduces his "maker" uttering words which contradict himself. For having formerly stated that he said that everything which is produced is perishable, he now introduces him saying the very opposite; and he does not see that it is thus absolutely impossible for him to escape the charge of falsehood. For he either at first uttered what is false when he said that everything which is produced is perishable, or now, when he

propounds the very opposite to what he had formerly said. For if, according to his former definition, it is absolutely necessary that every created thing be perishable, how can he consistently make that possible which is absolutely impossible? So that Plato seems to grant an empty and impossible prerogative to his "maker," when he propounds that those who were once perishable because made from matter should again, by his intervention, become imperishable and enduring. For it is quite natural that the power of matter, which, according to Plato's opinion, is uncreated, and contemporary and coeval with the maker, should resist his will. For he who has not created has no power, in respect of that which is uncreated, so that it is not possible that it (matter), being free, can be controlled by any external necessity. Wherefore Plato himself, in consideration of this, has written thus: "It is necessary to affirm that God cannot suffer violence."

CHAPTER XXIV.-AGREEMENT OF PLATO AND HOMER.

1 How, then, does Plato banish Homer from his republic, since, in the embassy to Achilles, he represents Phoenix as saying to Achilles, "Even the gods themselves are not inflexible," though Homer said this not of the king and Platonic maker of the gods, but of some of the multitude whom the Greeks esteem as gods, as one can gather from Plato's saying, "gods of gods?" For Homer, by that golden chain, refers all power and might to the one highest God. And the rest of the gods, he said, were so far distant from his divinity, that he thought fit to name them even along with men. At least he introduces Ulysses saying of Hector to Achilles, "He is raging terribly, trusting in Zeus, and values neither men nor gods." In this passage Homer seems to me without doubt to have learnt in Egypt, like Plato, concerning the one God, and plainly and openly to declare this, that he who trusts in the really existent God makes no account of those that do not exist. For thus the poet, in another passage, and employing another but equivalent word, to wit, a pronoun, made use of the same participle employed by Plato to designate the really existent God, concerning whom Plato said, "What that is which always exists, and has no birth." For not without a double sense does this expression of Phoenix seem to have been used: "Not even if God Himself were to promise me, that, having burnished off my old age, He should set me forth in the flower of youth." For the pronoun "Himself" signifies the really existing God. For thus, too, the oracle which was given to you concerning

the Chaldaeans and Hebrews signifies. For when some one inquired what men had ever lived godly, you say the answer was:-

²"Only the Chaldaeans and the Hebrews found wisdom, Worshipping God Himself, the unbegotten King."

CHAPTER XXV.-PLATO'S KNOWLEDGE OF GOD'S ETERNITY.

¹How, then, does Plato blame Homer for saying that the gods are not inflexible, although, as is obvious from the expressions used, Homer said this for a useful purpose? For it is the property of those who expect to obtain mercy by prayer and sacrifices, to cease from and repent of their sins. For those who think that the Deity is inflexible, are by no means moved to abandon their sins, since they suppose that they will derive no benefit from repentance. How, then, does Plato the philosopher condemn the poet Homer for saying, "Even the gods themselves are not inflexible," and yet himself represent the maker of the gods as so easily turned, that he sometimes declares the gods to be mortal, and at other times declares the same to be immortal? And not only concerning them, but also concerning matter, from which, as he says, it is necessary that the created gods have been produced, he sometimes says that it is uncreated, and at other times that it is created; and yet he does not see that he himself, when he says that the maker of the gods is so easily turned, is convicted of having fallen into the very errors for which he blames Homer, though Homer said the very opposite concerning the maker of the gods. For he said that he spoke thus of himself:-

²"For ne'er my promise shall deceive, or fail, Or be recall'd, if with a nod confirm'd." ³But Plato, as it seems, unwillingly entered not these strange dissertations concerning the gods, for he feared those who were attached to polytheism. And whatever he thinks fit to tell of all that he had learned from Moses and the prophets concerning one God, he preferred delivering in a mystical style, so that those who desired to be worshippers of God might have an inkling of his own opinion. For being charmed with that saying of God to Moses, "I am the really existing," and accepting with a great deal of thought the brief participial expression, he understood that God desired to signify to Moses His eternity, and therefore said, "I am the really existing; "for this word "existing" expresses not one time only, but the three-the past, the present, and the future. For when Plato says, "and which never really is," he uses the verb "is" of time indefinite. For the word "never" is not spoken, as some suppose, of the past, but of the future time. And this has been accur-

ately understood even by profane writers. And therefore, when Plato wished, as it were, to interpret to the uninitiated what had been mystically expressed by the participle concerning the eternity of God, he employed the following language: "God indeed, as the old tradition runs, includes the beginning, and end, and middle of all things. In this sentence he plainly and obviously names the law of Moses "the old tradition," fearing, through dread of the hemlock-cup, to mention the name of Moses;

⁴for he understood that the teaching of the man was hateful to the Greeks; and he clearly enough indicates Moses by the antiquity of the tradition. And we have sufficiently proved from Diodorus and the rest of the historians, in the foregoing chapters, that the law of Moses is not only old, but even the first. For Diodorus says that he was the first of all lawgivers; the letters which belong to the Greeks, and which they employed in the writing of their histories, having not yet been discovered.

CHAPTER XXVI.-PLATO INDEBTED TO THE PROPHETS.

¹And let no one wonder that Plato should believe Moses regarding the eternity of God. For you will find him mystically referring the true knowledge of realities to the prophets, next in order after the really existent God. For, discoursing in the *Timaeus*. us about certain first principles, he wrote thus: "This we lay down as the first principle of fire and the other bodies, proceeding according to probability and necessity. But the first principles of these again God above knows, and whosoever among men is beloved of Him. And what men does he think beloved of God, but Moses and the rest of the prophets? For their prophecies he read, and, having learned from them the doctrine of the judgment, he thus proclaims it in the first book of the *Republic*: "When a man begins to think he is soon to die, fear invades him, and concern about things which had never before entered his head. And those stories about what goes on in Hades, which tell us that the man who has here been unjust must there be punished, though formerly ridiculed, now torment his soul with apprehensions that they may be true. And he, either through the feebleness of age, or even because he is now nearer to the things of the other world, views them more attentively. He becomes, therefore, full of apprehension and dread, and begins to call himself to account and to consider whether he has done any one an injury.

²And that man who finds in his life many iniquities, and who continually starts from his sleep as children do, lives in terror, and with a forlorn

prospect. But to him who is conscious of no wrong-doing, sweet hope is the constant companion and good nurse of old age, as Pindar says. For this, Socrates, he has elegantly expressed, that 'whoever leads a life of holiness and justice, him sweet hope, the nurse of age, accompanies, cheering his heart, for she powerfully sways the changeful mind of mortals.'" This Plato wrote in the first book of the Republic.

CHAPTER XXVII.—PLATO'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE JUDGEMENT.

¹ And in the tenth book he plainly and manifestly wrote what he had learned from the prophets about the judgement, not as if he had learned it from them, but, on account of his fear of the Greeks, as if he had heard it from a man who has been slain in battle—for this story he thought fit to invent—and who, when he was about to be buried on the twelfth day, and was lying on the funeral pile, came to life again, and described the other world. The following are his very words: "For he said that he was present when one was asked by another person where the great Ardiaeus was. This Ardiaeus had been prince in a certain city of Pamphylia, and had killed his aged father and his elder brother, and done many other unhallowed deeds, as was reported. He said, then that the person who was asked said: He neither comes nor ever will come hither. For we saw, among other terrible sights, this also. When we were close to the mouth [of the pit], and were about to return to the upper air, and had suffered everything else, we suddenly beheld both him and others likewise, most of whom were tyrants. But there were also some private sinners who had committed great crimes. And these, when they thought they were to ascend, the mouth would not permit, but bellowed when any of those who were so incurably wicked attempted to ascend, unless they had paid the full penalty.

² Then fierce men, fiery to look at, stood close by, and hearing the din, took some and led them away; but Ardiaeus and the rest, having bound hand and foot, and striking their heads down, and flaying, they dragged to the road outside, tearing them with thorns, and signifying to those who were present the cause of their suffering these things, and that they were leading them away to cast them into Tartarus. Hence, he said, that amidst all their various fears, this one was the greatest, lest the mouth should bellow when they ascended, since if it were silent each one would most gladly ascend; and that the punishments and torments were such as these, and that, on the other hand, the rewards were the reverse of these. Here Plato seems to me to

have learnt from the prophets not only the doctrine of the judgment, but also of the resurrection, which the Greeks refuse to believe. For his saying that the soul is judged along with the body, proves nothing more clearly than that he believed the doctrine of the resurrection. Since how could Ardiaeus and the rest have undergone such punishment in Hades, had they left on earth the body, with its head, hands, feet, and skin? For certainly they will never say that the soul has a head and hands, and feet and skin.

³ But Plato, having fallen in with the testimonies of the prophets in Egypt, and having accepted what they teach concerning the resurrection of the body, teaches that the soul is judged in company with the body.

CHAPTER XXVIII.-HOMER'S OBLIGATIONS TO THE SACRED WRITERS.

¹ And not only Plato, but Homer also, having received similar enlightenment in Egypt, said that Tityus was in like manner punished. For Ulysses speaks thus to Alcinous when he is recounting his divination by the shades of the dead: - "There Tityus, large and long, in fetters bound, O'erspread nine acres of infernal ground; Two ravenous vultures, furious for their food, Scream o'er the fiend, and riot in his blood, Incessant gore the liver in his breast, Th' immortal liver grows, and gives th' immortal feast." ² For it is plain that it is not the soul, but the body, which has a liver. And in the same manner he has described both Sisyphus and Tantalus as enduring punishment with the body. And that Homer had been in Egypt, and introduced into his own poem much of what he there learnt, Diodorus, the most esteemed of historians, plainly enough teaches us. For he said that when he was in Egypt he had learnt that Helen, having received from Theon's wife, Polydamna, a drug, "lulling all sorrow and melancholy, and causing forgetfulness of all ills," brought it to Sparta. And Homer said that by making use of that drug Helen put an end to the lamentation of Menelaus, caused by the presence of Telemachus. And he also called Venus "golden," from what he had seen in Egypt. For he had seen the temple which in Egypt is called "the temple of golden Venus," and the plain which is named "the plain of golden Venus." And why do I now make mention of this? To show that the poet transferred to his own poem much of what is contained in the divine writings of the prophets. And first he transferred what Moses had related as the beginning of the creation of the world. For Moses wrote thus: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," then the sun, and the moon, and the stars. For having learned this in Egypt, and having been much taken

with what Moses had written in the Genesis of the world, he fabled that Vulcan had made in the shield of Achilles a kind of representation of the creation of the world. For he wrote thus: -

3 "There he described the earth, the heaven, the sea, The sun that rests not, and the moon full-orb'd; There also, all the stars which round about, As with a radiant frontlet, bind the skies." And he contrived also that the garden of Alcinous should preserve the likeness of Paradise, and through this likeness he represented it as ever-blooming and full of all fruits. For thus he wrote: - "Tall thriving trees confess'd the fruitful mould; The reddening apple ripens here to gold. Here the blue fig with luscious juice o'erflows, With deeper red the full pomegranate glows; The branch here bends beneath the weighty pear, And verdant olives flourish round the year. The balmy spirit of the western gale Eternal breathes on fruits, untaught to fail; Each dropping pear a following pear supplies, On apples, figs on figs arise. The same mild season gives the blooms to blow, The buds to harden, and the fruits to grow.

4 Here order'd vines in equal ranks appear, With all th' united labours of the year. Some to unload the fertile branches run, Some dry the blackening clusters in the sun, Others to tread the liquid harvest join. The groaning presses foam with floods of wine. Here are the vines in early flower descri'd Here grapes discoloured on the sunny side, And there in autumn's richest purple dy'd." Do not these words present a manifest and clear imitation of what the first prophet Moses said about Paradise? And if any one wish to know something of the building of the tower by which the men of that day fancied they would obtain access to heaven, he will find a sufficiently exact allegorical imitation of this in what the poet has ascribed to Otus and Ephialtes. For of them he wrote thus: - "Proud of their strength, and more than mortal size,

5 The gods they challenge, and affect the skies. Heav'd on Olympus tottering Ossa stood; On Ossa, Pelion nods with all his wood." And the same holds good regarding the enemy of mankind who was cast out of heaven, whom the Sacred Scriptures call the Devil, a name which he obtained from his first devilry against man; and if any one would attentively consider the matter, he would find that the poet, though he certainly never mentions the name of "the devil," yet gives him a name from his wickedest action. For the poet, calling him Ate, says that he was hurled from heaven by their god, just as if he had a distinct remembrance of the expressions which Isaiah the

prophet had uttered regarding him. He wrote thus in his own poem: - "And, seizing by her glossy locks The goddess Ate, in his wrath he swore That never to the starry skies again,

6 And the Olympian heights, he would permit The universal mischief to return. Then, whirling her around, he cast her down To earth. She, mingling with all works of men, Caused many a pang to Jove."

CHAPTER XXIX.-ORIGIN OF PLATO'S DOCTRINE OF FORM.

And Plato, too, when he says that form is the third original principle next to God and matter, has manifestly received this suggestion from no other source than from Moses, having learned, indeed, from the words of Moses the name of form, but not having at the same time been instructed by the initiated, that without mystic insight it is impossible to have any distinct knowledge of the writings of Moses. For Moses wrote that God had spoken to him regarding the tabernacle in the following words: "And thou shalt make for me according to all that I show thee in the mount, the pattern of the tabernacle." And again: "And thou shalt erect the tabernacle according to the pattern of all the instruments thereof, even so shalt thou make it." And again, a little afterwards: "Thus then thou shalt make it according to the pattern which was showed to thee in the mount." Plato, then, reading these passages, and not receiving what was written with the suitable insight, thought that form had some kind of separate existence before that which the senses perceive, and he often calls it the pattern of the things which are made, since the writing of Moses spoke thus of the tabernacle: "According to the form showed to thee in the mount, so shalt thou make it."

CHAPTER XXX.-HOMER'S KNOWLEDGE OF MAN'S ORIGIN.

1 And he was obviously deceived in the same way regarding the earth and heaven and man; for he supposes that there are "ideas" of these. For as Moses wrote thus, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," and then subjoins this sentence, "And the earth was invisible and unfashioned," he thought that it was the pre-existent earth which was spoken of in the words, "The earth was," because Moses said, "And the earth was invisible and unfashioned; "and he thought that the earth, concerning which he says, "God created the heaven and the earth," was that earth which we perceive by the senses, and which God made according to the pre-existent form. And so also, of the heaven which was created, he thought that the heaven which was

created-and which he also called the firmament-was that creation which the senses perceive; and that the heaven which the intellect perceives is that other of which the prophet said, "The heaven of heavens is the Lord's, but the earth hath He given to the children of men." And so also concerning man: Moses first mentions the name of man, and then after many other creations he makes mention of the formation of man, saying, "And God made man, taking dust from the earth." He thought, accordingly, that the man first so named existed before the man who was made, and that he who was formed of the earth was afterwards made according to the pre-existent form. And that man was formed of earth, Homer, too, having discovered from the ancient and divine history which says, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return," calls the lifeless body of Hector dumb clay. For in condemnation of Achilles dragging the corpse of Hector after death, he says somewhere: -

2 "On the dumb clay he cast indignity, Blinded with rage." And again, somewhere else, he introduces Menelaus, thus addressing those who were not accepting Hector's challenge to single combat with becoming alacrity, - "To earth and water may you all return," - resolving them in his violent rage into their original and pristine formation from earth. These things Homer and Plato, having learned in Egypt from the ancient histories, wrote in their own words.

CHAPTER XXXI.-FURTHER PROOF OF PLATO'S ACQUAINTANCE WITH
SCRIPTURE.

For from what other source, if not from his reading the writings of the prophets, could Plato have derived the information he gives us, that Jupiter drives a winged chariot in heaven? For he knew this from the following expressions of the prophet about the cherubim: "And the glory of the Lord went out from the house and rested on the cherubim; and the cherubim lift up their wings, and the wheels beside them; and the glory of the Lord God of Israel was over them above." And borrowing this idea, the magniloquent Plato shouts aloud with vast assurance, "The great Jove, indeed, driving his winged chariot in heaven." For from what other source, if not from Moses and the prophets, did he learn this and so write? And whence did he receive the suggestion of his saying that God exists in a fiery substance? Was it not from the third book of the history of the Kings, where it is written, "The Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire, but the Lord was

not in the fire; and after the fire a still small voice? " But these things pious men must understand in a higher sense with profound and meditative insight. But Plato, not attending to the words with the suitable insight, said that God exists in a fiery substance.

CHAPTER XXXII.-PLATO'S DOCTRINE OF THE HEAVENLY GIFT.

¹ And if any one will attentively consider the gift that descends from God on the holy men,-which gift the sacred prophets call the Holy Ghost,-he shall find that this was announced under another name by Plato in the dialogue with Meno. For, fearing to name the gift of God "the Holy Ghost," lest he should seem, by following the teaching of the prophets, to be an enemy to the Greeks, he acknowledges, indeed, that it comes down from God, yet does not think fit to name it the Holy Ghost, but virtue. For so in the dialogue with Meno, concerning reminiscence, after he had put many questions regarding virtue, whether it could be taught or whether it could not be taught, but must be gained by practice, or whether it could be attained neither by practice nor by learning, but was a natural gift in men, or whether it comes in some other way, he makes this declaration in these very words: "But if now through this whole dialogue we have conducted our inquiry and discussion aright, virtue must be neither a natural gift, nor what one can receive by teaching, but comes to those to whom it does come by divine destiny. These things, I think, Plato having learned from the prophets regarding the Holy Ghost, he has manifestly transferred to what he calls virtue. For as the sacred prophets say that one and the same spirit is divided into seven spirits, so he also, naming it one and the same virtue, says this is divided into four virtues;

² wishing by all means to avoid mention of the Holy Spirit, but clearly declaring in a kind of allegory what the prophets said of the Holy Spirit. For to this effect he spoke in the dialogue with Meno towards the close: "From this reasoning, Meno, it appears that virtue comes to those to whom it does come by a divine destiny. But we shall know clearly about this, in what kind of way virtue comes to men, when, as a first step, we shall have set ourselves to investigate, as an independent inquiry, what virtue itself is. You see how he calls only by the name of virtue, the gift that descends from above; and yet he counts it worthy of inquiry, whether it is right that this [gift] be called virtue or some other thing, fearing to name it openly the Holy Spirit, lest he should seem to be following the teaching of the prophets.

CHAPTER XXXIII.-PLATO'S IDEA OF THE BEGINNING OF TIME DRAWN
FROM MOSES.

And from what source did Plato draw the information that time was created along with the heavens? For he wrote thus: "Time, accordingly, was created along with the heavens; in order that, coming into being together, they might also be together dissolved, if ever their dissolution should take place." Had he not learned this from the divine history of Moses? For he knew that the creation of time had received its original constitution from days and months and years. Since, then, the first day which was created along with the heavens constituted the beginning of all time (for thus Moses wrote, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," and then immediately subjoins, "And one day was made," as if he would designate the whole of time by one part of it), Plato names the day "time," lest, if he mentioned the "day," he should seem to lay himself open to the accusation of the Athenians, that he was completely adopting the expressions of Moses. And from what source did he derive what he has written regarding the dissolution of the heavens? Had he not learned this, too, from the sacred prophets, and did he not think that this was their doctrine?

CHAPTER XXXIV.-WHENCE MEN ATTRIBUTED TO GOD HUMAN FORM.

And if any person investigates the subject of images, and inquires on what ground those who first fashioned your gods conceived that they had the forms of men, he will find that this also was derived from the divine history. For seeing that Moses history, speaking in the person of God, says, "Let Us make man in our image and likeness," these persons, under the impression that this meant that men were like God in form, began thus to fashion their gods, supposing they would make a likeness from a likeness. But why, ye men of Greece, am I now induced to recount these things? That ye may know that it is not possible to learn the true religion from those who were unable, even on those subjects by which they won the admiration of the heathen, to write anything original, but merely propounded by some allegorical device in their own writings what they had learned from Moses and the other prophets.

CHAPTER XXXV.-APPEAL TO THE GREEKS.

¹ The time, then, ye men of Greece, is now come, that ye, having been persuaded by the secular histories that Moses and the rest of the prophets were

far more ancient than any of those who have been esteemed sages among you, abandon the ancient delusion of your forefathers, and read the divine histories of the prophets, and ascertain from them the true religion; for they do not present to you artful discourses, nor speak speciously and plausibly-for this is the property of those who wish to rob you of the truth-but use with simplicity the words and expressions which offer themselves, and declare to you whatever the Holy Ghost, who descended upon them, chose to teach through them to those who are desirous to learn the true religion. Having then laid aside all false shame, and the inveterate error of mankind, with all its bombastic parade and empty noise, though by means of it you fancy you are possessed of all advantages, do you give yourselves to the things that profit you. For neither will you commit any offence against your fathers, if you now show a desire to betake yourselves to that which is quite opposed to their error, since it is likely enough that they themselves are now lamenting in Hades, and repenting with a too late repentance; and if it were possible for them to show you thence what had befallen them after the termination of this life, ye would know from what fearful ills they desired to deliver you.

² But now, since it is not possible in this present life that ye either learn from them, or from those who here profess to teach that philosophy which is falsely so called, it follows as the one thing that remains for you to do, that, renouncing the error of your fathers, ye read the prophecies of the sacred writers, not requiring from them unexceptionable diction (for the matters of our religion lie in works, not in words), and learn from them what will give you life everlasting. For those who bootlessly disgrace the name of philosophy are convicted of knowing nothing at all, as they are themselves forced, though unwillingly, to confess, since not only do they disagree with each other, but also expressed their own opinions sometimes in one way, sometimes in another.

CHAPTER XXXVI.-TRUE KNOWLEDGE NOT HELD BY THE PHILOSOPHERS.

¹ And if "the discovery of the truth" be given among them as one definition of philosophy, how are they who are not in possession of the true knowledge worthy of the name of philosophy? For if Socrates, the wisest of your wise men, to whom even your oracle, as you yourselves say, bears witness, saying, "Of all men Socrates is the wisest"-if he confesses that he knows nothing, how did those who came after him profess to know even things heavenly? For Socrates said that he was on this account called wise, because, while other

men pretended to know what they were ignorant of, he himself did not shrink from confessing that he knew nothing. For he said, "I seem to myself to be wisest by this little particular, that what I do not know, I do not suppose I know. Let no one fancy that Socrates ironically reigned ignorance, because he often used to do so in his dialogues. For the last expression of his apology which he uttered as he was being led away to the prison, proves that in seriousness and truth he was confessing his ignorance: "But now it is time to go away, I indeed to die, but you to live. And which of us goes to the better state, is hidden to all but God. Socrates, indeed, having uttered this last sentence in the Areopagus, departed to the prison, ascribing to God alone the knowledge of those things which are hidden from us;

2 but those who came after him, though they are unable to comprehend even earthly things, profess to understand things heavenly as if they had seen them. Aristotle at least-as if he had seen things heavenly with greater accuracy than Plato-declared that God did not exist, as Plato said, in the fiery substance (for this was Plato's doctrine) but in the fifth element, air. And while he demanded that concerning these matters he should be believed on account of the excellence of his language, he yet departed this life because he was overwhelmed with the infamy and disgrace of being unable to discover even the nature of the Euripus in Chalcis. Let not any one, therefore, of sound judgment prefer the elegant diction of these men to his own salvation, but let him, according to that old story, stop his ears with wax, and flee the sweet hurt which these sirens would inflict upon him. For the above-mentioned men, presenting their elegant language as a kind of bait, have sought to seduce many from the right religion, in imitation of him who dared to teach the first men polytheism. Be not persuaded by these persons, I entreat you, but read the prophecies of the sacred writers.

3 And if any slothfulness or old hereditary superstition prevents you from reading the prophecies of the holy men through which you can be instructed regarding the one only God, which is the first article of the true religion, yet believe him who, though at first he taught you polytheism, yet afterwards preferred to sing a useful and necessary recantation-I mean Orpheus, who said what I quoted a little before; and believe the others who wrote the same things concerning one God. For it was the work of Divine Providence on your behalf, that they, though unwillingly, bore testimony that what the prophets said regarding one God was true, in order that, the doctrine of a

plurality of gods being rejected by all, occasion might be afforded you of knowing the truth.

CHAPTER XXXVII.-OF THE SIBYL.

¹ And you may in part easily learn the right religion from the ancient Sibyl, who by some kind of potent inspiration teaches you, through her oracular predictions, truths which seem to be much akin to the teaching of the prophets. She, they say, was of Babylonian extraction, being the daughter of Berosus, who wrote the Chaldaean History; and when she had crossed over (how, I know not) into the region of Campania, she there uttered her oracular sayings in a city called Cumae, six miles from Baiae, where the hot springs of Campania are found. And being in that city, we saw also a certain place, in which we were shown a very large basilica cut out of one stone; a vast affair, and worthy of all admiration. And they who had heard it from their fathers as part of their country's tradition, told us that it was here she used to publish her oracles. And in the middle of the basilica they showed us three receptacles cut out of one stone, in which, when filled with water, they said that she washed, and having put on her robe again, retires into the inmost chamber of the basilica, which is still a part of the one stone; and sitting in the middle of the chamber on a high rostrum and throne, thus proclaims her oracles. And both by many other writers has the Sibyl been mentioned as a prophetess, and also by Plato in his *Phaedrus*.

² And Plato seems to me to have counted prophets divinely inspired when he read her prophecies. For he saw that what she had long ago predicted was accomplished; and on this account he expresses in the *Dialogue with Meno* his wonder at and admiration of prophets in the following terms: "Those whom we now call prophetic persons we should rightly name divine. And not least would we say that they are divine, and are raised to the prophetic ecstasy by the inspiration and possession of God, when they correctly speak of many and important matters, and yet know nothing of what they are saying," -plainly and manifestly referring to the prophecies of the Sibyl. For, unlike the poets who, after their poems are penned, have power to correct and polish, specially in the way of increasing the accuracy of their verse, she was filled indeed with prophecy at the time of the inspiration, but as soon as the inspiration ceased, there ceased also the remembrance of all she had said. And this indeed was the cause why some only, and not all, the metres of the verses of the Sibyl were preserved. For we ourselves, when in that city, ascer-

tained from our cicerone, who showed us the places in which she used to prophesy, that there was a certain coffer made of brass in which they said that her remains were preserved.

³ And besides all else which they told us as they had heard it from their fathers, they said also that they who then took down her prophecies, being illiterate persons, often went quite astray from the accuracy of the metres; and this, they said, was the cause of the want of metre in some of the verses, the prophetess having no remembrance of what she had said, after the possession and inspiration ceased, and the reporters having, through their lack of education, failed to record the metres with accuracy. And on this account, it is manifest that Plato had an eye to the prophecies of the Sibyl when he said this about prophets, for he said, "When they correctly speak of many and important matters, and yet know nothing of what they are saying.

CHAPTER XXXVIII. - CONCLUDING APPEAL.

¹ But since, ye men of Greece, the matters of the true religion lie not in the metrical numbers of poetry, nor yet in that culture which is highly esteemed among you, do ye henceforward pay less devotion to accuracy of metres and of language; and giving heed without contentiousness to the words of the Sibyl, recognise how great are the benefits which she will confer upon you by predicting, as she does in a clear and patent manner, the advent of our Saviour Jesus Christ; who, being the Word of God, inseparable from Him in power, having assumed man, who had been made in the image and likeness of God, restored to us the knowledge of the religion of our ancient forefathers, which the men who lived after them abandoned through the bewitching counsel of the envious devil, and turned to the worship of those who were no gods. And if you still hesitate and are hindered from belief regarding the formation of man, believe those whom you have hitherto thought it right to give heed to, and know that your own oracle, when asked by some one to utter a hymn of praise to the Almighty God, in the middle of the hymn spoke thus, "Who formed the first of men, and called him Adam. And this hymn is preserved by many whom we know, for the conviction of those who are unwilling to believe the truth which all bear witness to.

² If therefore, ye men of Greece, ye do not esteem the false fancy concerning those that are no gods at a higher rate than your own salvation, believe, as I said, the most ancient and time-honoured Sibyl, whose books are preserved in all the world, and who by some kind of potent inspiration both

teaches us in her oracular utterances concerning those that are called gods, that have no existence; and also clearly and manifestly prophecies concerning the predicted advent of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and concerning all those things which were to be done by Him. For the knowledge of these things will constitute your necessary preparatory training for the study of the prophecies of the sacred writers. And if any one supposes that he has learned the doctrine concerning God from the most ancient of those whom you name philosophers, let him listen to Ammon and Hermes: to Ammon, who in his discourse concerning God calls Him wholly hidden; and to Hermes, who says plainly and distinctly, "that it is difficult to comprehend God, and that it is impossible even for the man who can comprehend Him to declare Him to others. From every point of view, therefore, it must be seen that in no other way than only from the prophets who teach us by divine inspiration, is it at all possible to learn anything concerning God and the true religion.

On the Resurrection (Fragments)

JUSTIN MARTYR

c. AD 100–165

Philosopher turned Christian teacher in Rome; martyred under Marcus Aurelius.

INTRODUCTION

[Translated by the Rev. M. Dods, M.A.]

CHAPTER I.—THE SELF-EVIDENCING POWER OF TRUTH.

¹ The word of truth is free, and carries its own authority, disdaining to fall under any skilful argument, or to endure the logical scrutiny of its hearers. But it would be believed for its own nobility, and for the confidence due to Him who sends it. Now the word of truth is sent from God; wherefore the freedom claimed by the truth is not arrogant. For being sent with authority, it were not fit that it should be required to produce proof of what is said; since neither is there any proof beyond itself, which is God. For every proof is more powerful and trustworthy than that which it proves; since what is disbelieved, until proof is produced, gets credit when such proof is produced, and is recognised as being what it was stated to be. But nothing is either more powerful or more trustworthy than the truth; so that he who requires proof of this is like one who wishes it demonstrated why the things that appear to the senses do appear. For the test of those things which are received through the reason, is sense; but of sense itself there is no test beyond itself. As then we bring those things which reason hunts after, to sense, and by it judge what kind of things they are, whether the things spoken be true or false, and then sit in judgment no longer, giving full credit to its decision;

² so also we refer all that is said regarding men and the world to the truth, and by it judge whether it be worthless or no. But the utterances of truth we judge by no separate test, giving full credit to itself. And God, the Father of the universe, who is the perfect intelligence, is the truth. And the

Word, being His Son, came to us, having put on flesh, revealing both Himself and the Father, giving to us in Himself resurrection from the dead, and eternal life afterwards. And this is Jesus Christ, our Saviour and Lord. He, therefore, is Himself both the faith and the proof of Himself and of all things. Wherefore those who follow Him, and know Him, having faith in Him as their proof, shall rest in Him. But since the adversary does not cease to resist many, and uses many and divers arts to ensnare them, that he may seduce the faithful from their faith, and that he may prevent the faithless from believing, it seems to me necessary that we also, being armed with the invulnerable doctrines of the faith, do battle against him in behalf of the weak.

CHAPTER II.-OBJECTIONS TO THE RESURRECTION OF THE FLESH.

They who maintain the wrong opinion say that there is no resurrection of the flesh; giving as their reason that it is impossible that what is corrupted and dissolved should be restored to the same as it had been. And besides the impossibility, they say that the salvation of the flesh is disadvantageous; and they abuse the flesh, adducing its infirmities, and declare that it only is the cause of our sins, so that if the flesh, say they, rise again, our infirmities also rise with it. And such sophistical reasons as the following they elaborate: If the flesh rise again, it must rise either entire and possessed of all its parts, or imperfect. But its rising imperfect argues a want of power on God's part, if some parts could be saved, and others not; but if all the parts are saved, then the body will manifestly have all its members. But is it not absurd to say that these members will exist after the resurrection from the dead, since the Saviour said, "They neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but shall be as the angels in heaven?" And the angels, say they, have neither flesh, nor do they eat, nor have sexual intercourse; therefore there shall be no resurrection of the flesh. By these and such like arguments, they attempt to distract men from the faith. And there are some who maintain that even Jesus Himself appeared only as spiritual, and not in flesh, but presented merely the appearance of flesh: these persons seek to rob the flesh of the promise. First, then, let us solve those things which seem to them to be insoluble; then we will introduce in an orderly manner the demonstration concerning the flesh, proving that it partakes of salvation.

CHAPTER III.-IF THE MEMBERS RISE, MUST THEY DISCHARGE THE
SAME FUNCTIONS AS NOW?

¹ They say, then, if the body shall rise entire, and in possession of all its members, it necessarily follows that the functions of the members shall also be in existence; that the womb shall become pregnant, and the male also discharge his function of generation, and the rest of the members in like manner. Now let this argument stand or fall by this one assertion. For this being proved false, their whole objection will be removed. Now it is indeed evident that the members which discharge functions discharge those functions which in the present life we see but it does not follow that they necessarily discharge the same functions from the beginning. And that this may be more clearly seen, let us consider it thus. The function of the womb is to become pregnant; and of the member of the male to impregnate. But as, though these members are destined to discharge such functions, it is not therefore necessary that they from the beginning discharge them (since we see many women who do not become pregnant, as those that are barren, even though they have wombs), so pregnancy is not the immediate and necessary consequence of having a womb; but those even who are not barren abstain from sexual intercourse, some being virgins from the first, and others from a certain time. And we see men also keeping themselves virgins, some from the first, and some from a certain time; so that by their means, marriage, made lawless through lust, is destroyed.

² And we find that some even of the lower animals, though possessed of wombs, do not bear, such as the mule; and the male mules do not beget their kind. So that both in the case of men and the irrational animals we can see sexual intercourse abolished; and this, too, before the future world. And our Lord Jesus Christ was born of a virgin, for no other reason than that He might destroy the begetting by lawless desire, and might show to the ruler that the formation of man was possible to God without human intervention. And when He had been born, and had submitted to the other conditions of the flesh,-I mean food, drink, and clothing,-this one condition only of discharging the sexual function He did not submit to; for, regarding the desires of the flesh, He accepted some as necessary, while others, which were unnecessary, He did not submit to. For if the flesh were deprived of food, drink, and clothing, it would be destroyed; but being deprived of lawless desire, it suffers no harm. And at the same time He foretold that, in the future world,

sexual intercourse should be done away with; as He says, "The children of this world marry, and are given in marriage; but the children of the world to come neither marry nor are given in marriage, but shall be like the angels in heaven.

³Let not, then, those that are unbelieving marvel, if in the world to come He do away with those acts of our fleshly members which even in this present life are abolished.

CHAPTER IV.-MUST THE DEFORMED RISE DEFORMED?

Well, they say, if then the flesh rise, it must rise the same as it falls; so that if it die with one eye, it must rise one-eyed; if lame, lame; if defective in any part of the body, in this part the man must rise deficient. How truly blinded are they in the eyes of their hearts! For they have not seen on the earth blind men seeing again, and the lame walking by His word. All things which the Saviour did, He did in the first place in order that what was spoken concerning Him in the prophets might be fulfilled, "that the blind should receive sight, and the deaf hear," and so on; but also to induce the belief that in the resurrection the flesh shall rise entire. For if on earth He healed the sicknesses of the flesh, and made the body whole, much more will He do this in the resurrection, so that the flesh shall rise perfect and entire. In this manner, then, shall those dreaded difficulties of theirs be healed.

CHAPTER V.-THE RESURRECTION OF THE FLESH IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE.

¹But again, of those who maintain that the flesh has no resurrection, some assert that it is impossible; others that, considering how vile and despicable the flesh is, it is not fit that God should raise it; and others, that it did not at the first receive the promise. First, then, in respect of those who say that it is impossible for God to raise it, it seems to me that I should show that they are ignorant, professing as they do in word that they are believers, yet by their works proving themselves to be unbelieving, even more unbelieving than the unbelievers. For, seeing that all the heathen believe in their idols, and are persuaded that to them all things are possible (as even their poet Homer says, "The gods can do all things, and that easily; "and he added the word "easily" that he might bring out the greatness of the power of the gods), many do seem to be more unbelieving than they. For if the heathen believe in their gods, which are idols ("which have ears, and they hear not; they have eyes, and they see not"), that they can do all things, though they be but devils, as

saith the Scripture, "The gods of the nations axe devils," much more ought we, who hold the right, excellent, and true faith, to believe in our God, since also we have proofs [of His power], first in the creation of the first man, for he was made from the earth by God;

2 and this is sufficient evidence of God's power; and then they who observe things can see how men are generated one by another, and can marvel in a still greater degree that from a little drop of moisture so grand a living creature is formed. And certainly if this were only recorded in a promise, and not seen accomplished, this too would be much more incredible than the other; but it is rendered more credible by accomplishment. But even in the case of the resurrection the Saviour has shown us accomplishments, of which we will in a little speak. But now we are demonstrating that the resurrection of the flesh is possible, asking pardon of the children of the Church if we adduce arguments which seem to be secular and physical: first, because to God nothing is secular, not even the world itself, for it is His workmanship; and secondly, because we are conducting our argument so as to meet unbelievers. For if we argued with believers, it were enough to say that we believe; but now we must proceed by demonstrations. The foregoing proofs are indeed quite sufficient to evince the possibility of the resurrection of the flesh; but since these men are exceedingly unbelieving, we will further adduce a more convincing argument still,-an argument drawn not from faith, for they are not within its scope, but from their own mother unbelief,-I mean, of course, from physical reasons.

3 For if by such arguments we prove to them that the resurrection of the flesh is possible, they are certainly worthy of great contempt if they can be persuaded neither by the deliverances of faith nor by the arguments of the world.

CHAPTER VI.-THE RESURRECTION CONSISTENT WITH THE OPINIONS OF
THE PHILOSOPHERS.

1 Those, then, who are called natural philosophers, say, some of them, as Plato, that the universe is matter and God; others, as Epicurus, that it is atoms and the void; others, like the Stoics, that it is these four-fire, water, air, earth. For it is sufficient to mention the most prevalent opinions. And Plato says that all things are made from matter by God, and according to His design; but Epicures and his followers say that all things are made from the atom and the void by some kind of self-regulating action of the natural

movement of the bodies; and the Stoics, that all are made of the four elements, God pervading them. But while there is such discrepancy among them, there are some doctrines acknowledged by them all in common, one of which is that neither can anything be produced from what is not in being, nor anything be destroyed or dissolved into what has not any being, and that the elements exist indestructible out of which all things are generated. And this being so, the regeneration of the flesh will, according to all these philosophers, appear to be possible. For if, according to Plato, it is matter and God, both these are indestructible and God; and God indeed occupies the position of an artificer, to wit, a potter; and matter occupies the place of clay or wax, or some such thing. That, then, which is formed of matter, be it an image or a statue, is destructible;

² but the matter itself is indestructible, such as clay or wax, or any other such kind of matter. Thus the artist designs in the clay or wax, and makes the form of a living animal; and again, if his handiwork be destroyed, it is not impossible for him to make the same form, by working up the same material, and fashioning it anew. So that, according to Plato, neither will it be impossible for God, who is Himself indestructible, and has also indestructible material, even after that which has been first formed of it has been destroyed, to make it anew again, and to make the same form just as it was before. But according to the Stoics even, the body being produced by the mixture of the four elementary substances, when this body has been dissolved into the four elements, these remaining indestructible, it is possible that they receive a second time the same fusion and composition, from God pervading them, and so re-make the body which they formerly made. Like as if a man shall make a composition of gold and silver, and brass and tin, and then shall wish to dissolve it again, so that each element exist separately, having again mixed them, he may, if he pleases, make the very same composition as he had formerly made. Again, according to Epicurus, the atoms and the void being indestructible, it is by a definite arrangement and adjustment of the atoms as they come together, that both all other formations are produced, and the body itself;

³ and it being in course of time dissolved, is dissolved again into those atoms from which it was also produced. And as these remain indestructible, it is not at all impossible, that by coming together again, and receiving the same arrangement and position, they should make a body of like nature to

what was formerly produced by them; as if a jeweller should make in mosaic the form of an animal, and the stones should be scattered by time or by the man himself who made them, he having still in his possession the scattered stones, may gather them together again, and having gathered, may dispose them in the same way, and make the same form of an animal. And shall not God be able to collect again the decomposed members of the flesh, and make the same body as was formerly produced by Him?

CHAPTER VII.-THE BODY VALUABLE IN GOD'S SIGHT.

But the proof of the possibility of the resurrection of the flesh I have sufficiently demonstrated, in answer to men of the world. And if the resurrection of the flesh is not found impossible on the principles even of unbelievers, how much more will it be found in accordance with the mind of believers! But following our order, we must now speak with respect to those who think meanly of the flesh, and say that it is not worthy of the resurrection nor of the heavenly economy, because, first, its substance is earth; and besides, because it is full of all wickedness, so that it forces the soul to sin along with it. But these persons seem to be ignorant of the whole work of God, both of the genesis and formation of man at the first, and why the things in the world were made. For does not the word say, "Let Us make man in our image, and after our likeness?" What kind of man? Manifestly He means fleshly man, For the word says, "And God took dust of the earth, and made man." It is evident, therefore, that man made in the image of God was of flesh. Is it not, then, absurd to say, that the flesh made by God in His own image is contemptible, and worth nothing? But that the flesh is with God a precious possession is manifest, first from its being formed by Him, if at least the image is valuable to the former and artist; and besides, its value can be gathered from the creation of the rest of the world. For that on account of which the rest is made, is the most precious of all to the maker.

CHAPTER VIII.-DOES THE BODY CAUSE THE SOUL TO SIN?

1 Quite true, say they; yet the flesh is a sinner, so much so, that it forces the soul to sin along with it. And thus they vainly accuse it, and lay to its charge alone the sins of both. But in what instance can the flesh possibly sin by itself, if it have not the soul going before it and inciting it? For as in the case of a yoke of oxen, if one or other is loosed from the yoke, neither of them can plough alone; so neither can soul or body alone effect anything, if they

be unyoked from their communion. And if it is the flesh that is the sinner, then on its account alone did the Saviour come, as He says, "I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Since, then, the flesh has been proved to be valuable in the sight of God, and glorious above all His works, it would very justly be saved by Him.

² We must meet, therefore, those who say, that even though it be the special handiwork of God, and beyond all else valued by Him, it would not immediately follow that it has the promise of the resurrection. Yet is it not absurd, that that which has been produced with such circumstance, and which is beyond all else valuable, should be so neglected by its Maker, as to pass to nonentity? Then the sculptor and painter, if they wish the works they have made to endure, that they may win glory by them, renew them when they begin to decay; but God would so neglect His own possession and work, that it becomes annihilated, and no longer exists. Should we not call this labour in vain? As if a man who has built a house should forthwith destroy it, or should neglect it, though he sees it falling into decay, and is able to repair it: we would blame him for labouring in vain; and should we not so blame God? But not such an one is the Incorruptible, -not senseless is the Intelligence of the universe. Let the unbelieving be silent, even though they themselves do not believe.

³ But, in truth, He has even called the flesh to the resurrection, and promises to it everlasting life. For where He promises to save man, there He gives the promise to the flesh. For what is man but the reasonable animal composed of body and soul? Is the soul by itself man? No; but the soul of man. Would the body be called man? No, but it is called the body of man. If, then, neither of these is by itself man, but that which is made up of the two together is called man, and God has called man to life and resurrection, He has called not a part, but the whole, which is the soul and the body. Since would it not be unquestionably absurd, if, while these two are in the same being and according to the same law, the one were saved and the other not? And if it be not impossible, as has already been proved, that the flesh be regenerated, what is the distinction on the ground of which the soul is saved and the body not? Do they make God a grudging God? But He is good, and will have all to be saved. And by God and His proclamation, not only has your soul heard and believed on Jesus Christ, and with it the flesh, but both were washed, and both wrought righteousness. They make God, then un-

grateful and unjust, if, while both believe on Him, He desires to save one and not the other.

⁴ Well, they say, but the soul is incorruptible, being a part of God and inspired by Him, and therefore He desires to save what is peculiarly His own and akin to Himself; but the flesh is corruptible, and not from Him, as the soul is. Then what thanks are due to Him, and what manifestation of His power and goodness is it, if He purposed to save what is by nature saved and exists as a part of Himself? For it had its salvation from itself; so that in saving the soul, God does no great thing. For to be saved is its natural destiny, because it is a part of Himself, being His inspiration. But no thanks are due to one who saves what is his own; for this is to save himself. For he who saves a part himself, saves himself by his own means, lest he become defective in that part; and this is not the act of a good man. For not even when a man does good to his children and offspring, does one call him a good man; for even the most savage of the wild beasts do so, and indeed willingly endure death, if need be, for the sake of their cubs. But if a man were to perform the same acts in behalf of his slaves, that man would justly be called good. Wherefore the Saviour also taught us to love our enemies, since, says He, what thank have ye?

⁵ So that He has shown us that it is a good work not only to love those that are begotten of Him, but also those that are without. And what He enjoins upon us, He Himself first of all does.

CHAPTER IX.—THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST PROVES THAT THE BODY
RISES.

If He had no need of the flesh, why did He heal it? And what is most forcible of all, He raised the dead. Why? Was it not to show what the resurrection should be? How then did He raise the dead? Their souls or their bodies? Manifestly both. If the resurrection were only spiritual, it was requisite that He, in raising the dead, should show the body lying apart by itself, and the soul living apart by itself. But now He did not do so, but raised the body, confirming in it the promise of life. Why did He rise in the flesh in which He suffered, unless to show the resurrection of the flesh? And wishing to confirm this, when His disciples did not know whether to believe He had truly risen in the body, and were looking upon Him and doubting, He said to them, "Ye have not yet faith, see that it is I; " and He let them handle Him, and showed them the prints of the nails in His hands. And when they

were by every kind of proof persuaded that it was Himself, and in the body, they asked Him to eat with them, that they might thus still more accurately ascertain that He had in verity risen bodily; and He did eat honey-comb and fish. And when He had thus shown them that there is truly a resurrection of the flesh, wishing to show them this also, that it is not impossible for flesh to ascend into heaven (as He had said that our dwelling-place is in heaven), "He was taken up into heaven while they beheld," as He was in the flesh. If, therefore, after all that has been said, any one demand demonstration of the resurrection, he is in no respect different from the Sadducees, since the resurrection of the flesh is the power of God, and, being above all reasoning, is established by faith, and seen in works.

CHAPTER X.-THE BODY SAVED, AND WILL THEREFORE RISE.

1 The resurrection is a resurrection of the flesh which died. For the spirit dies not; the soul is in the body, and without a soul it cannot live. The body, when the soul forsakes it, is not. For the body is the house of the soul; and the soul the house of the spirit. These three, in all those who cherish a sincere hope and unquestioning faith in God, will be saved. Considering, therefore, even such arguments as are suited to this world, and finding that, even according to them, it is not impossible that the flesh be regenerated; and seeing that, besides all these proofs, the Saviour in the whole Gospel shows that there is salvation for the flesh, why do we any longer endure those unbelieving and dangerous arguments, and fail to see that we are retrograding when we listen to such an argument as this: that the soul is immortal, but the body mortal, and incapable of being revived? For this we used to hear from Pythagoras and Plato, even before we learned the truth. If then the Saviour said this, and proclaimed salvation to the soul alone, what new thing, beyond what we heard from Pythagoras and Plato and all their band, did He bring us? But now He has come proclaiming the glad tidings of a new and strange hope to men. For indeed it was a strange and new thing for God to promise that He would not keep incorruption in incorruption, but would make corruption incorruption.

2 But because the prince of wickedness could in no other way corrupt the truth, he sent forth his apostles (evil men who introduced pestilent doctrines), choosing them from among those who crucified our Saviour; and these men bore the name of the Saviour, but did the works of him that sent them, through whom the name itself has been spoken against. But if the

flesh do not rise, why is it also guarded, and why do we not rather suffer it to indulge its desires? Why do we not imitate physicians, who, it is said, when they get a patient that is despaired of and incurable, allow him to indulge his desires? For they know that he is dying; and this indeed those who hate the flesh surely do, casting it out of its inheritance, so far as they can; for on this account they also despise it, because it is shortly to become a corpse. But if our physician Christ, God, having rescued us from our desires, regulates our flesh with His own wise and temperate rule, it is evident that He guards it from sins because it possesses a hope of salvation, as physicians do not suffer men whom they hope to save to indulge in what pleasures they please.

³ [N.b.-These Fragments are Probably Genuine.]

On the Sovereignty of God

JUSTIN MARTYR

c. AD 100–165

Philosopher turned Christian teacher in Rome; martyred under Marcus Aurelius.

INTRODUCTION

[Translated by the Rev. G. Reith, M.A.]

CHAPTER I.—OBJECT OF THE AUTHOR.

¹ Although human nature at first received a union of intelligence and safety to discern the truth, and the worship due to the one Lord of all, yet envy, insinuating the excellence of human greatness, turned men away to the making of idols; and this superstitious custom, after continuing for a long period, is handed down to the majority as if it were natural and true. It is the part of a lover of man, or rather of a lover of God, to remind men who have neglected it of that which they ought to know. For the truth is of itself sufficient to show forth, by means of those things which are contained under the pole of heaven, the order [instituted by] Him who has created them. But forgetfulness having taken possession of the minds of men, through the long-suffering of God, has acted recklessly in transferring to mortals the name which is applicable to the only true God; and from the few the infection of sin spread to the many, who were blinded by popular usage to the knowledge of that which was lasting and unchangeable. For the men of former generations, who instituted private and public rites in honour of such as were more powerful, caused forgetfulness of the Catholic faith to take possession of their posterity;

² but I, as I have just stated, along with a God-loving mind, shall employ the speech of one who loves man, and set it before those who have intelligence, which all ought to have who are privileged to observe the administration of the universe, so that they should worship unchangeably Him who

knows all things. This I shall do, not by mere display of words, but by altogether using demonstration drawn from the old poetry in Greek literature, and from writings very common amongst all. For from these the famous men who have handed down idol-worship as law to the multitudes, shall be taught and convicted by their own poets and literature of great ignorance.

CHAPTER II.-TESTIMONIES TO THE UNITY OF GOD.

¹ First, then, Aeschylus, in expounding the arrangement of his work, expressed himself also as follows respecting the only God:- "Afar from mortals place the holy God, Nor ever think that He, like to thyself, In fleshly robes is clad; for all unknown Is the great God to such a worm as thou. Divers similitudes He bears; at times He seems as a consuming fire that burns Unsated; now like water, then again In sable folds of darkness shrouds Himself. Nay, even the very beasts of earth reflect His sacred image; whilst the wind, clouds, rain, The roll of thunder and the lightning flash, Reveal to men their great and sovereign Lord. Before Him sea and rocks, with every fount, And all the water floods, in reverence bend; And as they gaze upon His awful face, Mountains and earth, with the profoundest depths Of ocean, and the highest peaks of hills,

² Tremble: for He is Lord Omnipotent; And this the glory is of God Most High." But he was not the only man initiated in the knowledge of God; for Sophocles also thus describes the nature of the only Creator of all things, the One God:- "There is one God, in truth there is but one, Who made the heavens and the broad earth beneath, The glancing waves of ocean, and the winds; But many of us mortals err in heart, And set up, for a solace in our woes, Images of the gods in stone and brass, Or figures carved in gold or ivory; And, furnishing for these, our handiworks, Both sacrifice and rite magnificent, We think that thus we do a pious work." And Philemon also, who published many explanations of ancient customs, shares in the knowledge of the truth; and thus he writes:- "Tell me what thoughts of God we should conceive?

³ One, all things seeing, yet Himself unseen." Even Orpheus, too, who introduces three hundred and sixty gods, will bear testimony in my favour from the tract called *Diathecae*, in which he appears to repent of his error by writing the following:- "I'll speak to those who lawfully may hear; All others, ye profane, now close the doors! And, O Musaeus, hearken thou to me, Who offspring art of the light-bringing moon. The words I tell thee now are true

indeed, And if thou former thoughts of mine hast seen, Let them not rob thee of the blessed life; But rather turn the depths of thine own heart Unto that place where light and knowledge dwell. Take thou the word divine to guide thy steps; And walking well in the straight certain path, Look to the one and universal King, One, self-begotten, and the only One Of whom all things, and we ourselves, are sprung.

4 All things are open to His piercing gaze, While He Himself is still invisible; Present in all His works, though still unseen, He gives to mortals evil out of good, Sending both chilling wars and tearful griefs; And other than the Great King there is none. The clouds for ever settle round His throne; And mortal eyeballs in mere mortal eyes Are weak to see Jove, reigning over all. He sits established in the brazen heavens Upon His throne; and underneath His feet He treads the earth, and stretches His right hand To all the ends of ocean, and around Tremble the mountain ranges, and the streams, The depths, too, of the blue and hoary sea." He speaks indeed as if he had been an eyewitness of God's greatness. And Pythagoras agrees with him when he writes:- "Should one in boldness say, Lo, I am God! Besides the One-Eternal-Infinite, Then let him from the throne he has usurped

5 Put forth his power and form another globe, Such as we dwell in, saying, This is mine. Nor only so, but in this new domain For ever let him dwell. If this he can, Then verily he is a god proclaimed."

CHAPTER III.-TESTIMONIES TO A FUTURE JUDGMENT.

1 Then further concerning Him, that He alone is powerful, both to institute judgment on the deeds performed in life, and on the ignorance of the Deity [displayed by men], I can adduce witnesses from your own ranks; and first Sophocles, who speaks as follows:- "That time of times shall come, shall surely come, When from the golden ether down shall fall Fire's teeming treasure, and in burning flames All things of earth and heaven shall be consumed; And then, when all creation is dissolved, The sea's last wave shall die upon the shore, The bald earth stript of trees, the burning air No winged thing upon its breast shall bear. There are two roads to Hades, well we know; By this the righteous, and by that the bad, On to their separate fates shall tend; and He, Who all things had destroyed, shall all things save." And Philemon again:- "Think'st thou, Nicostratus, the dead, who here

2 Enjoyed whate'er of good life often man, Escape the notice of Divinity, As if they might forgotten be of Him? Nay, there's an eye of Justice watching

all; For if the good and bad find the same end, Then go thou, rob, steal, plunder, at thy will, Do all the evil that to thee seems good. Yet be not thou deceived; for underneath There is a throne and place of judgment set, Which God the Lord of all shall occupy; Whose name is terrible, nor shall I dare To breathe it forth in feeble human speech." And Euripides: - "Not grudgingly he gives a lease of life, That we the holders may be fairly judged; And if a mortal man doth think to hide His daily guilt from the keen eye of God, It is an evil thought; so if perchance He meets with leisure-taking Justice, she Demands him as her lawful prisoner:

3 But many of you hastily commit A twofold sin, and say there is no God. But, ah! there is; there is. Then see that he Who, being wicked, prospers, may redeem The time so precious, else hereafter waits For him the due reward of punishment."

CHAPTER IV.-GOD DESIRES NOT SACRIFICES, BUT RIGHTEOUSNESS.

1 And that God is not appeased by the libations and incense of evil-doers, but awards vengeance in righteousness to each one, Philemon again shall bear testimony to me:- "If any one should dream, O Pamphilus, By sacrifice of bulls or goats-nay, then, By Jupiter-of any such like things; Or by presenting gold or purple robes, Or images of ivory and gems; If thus he thinks he may propitiate God, He errs, and shows himself a silly one. But let him rather useful be, and good, Committing neither theft nor lustful deeds, Nor murder foul, for earthly riches' sake. Let him of no man covet wife or child, His splendid house, his wide-spread property, His maiden, or his slave born ill his house, His horses, or his cattle, or his beeves, Nay, covet not a pin, O Pamphilus, For God, close by you, sees whate'er you do. He ever with the wicked man is wroth,

2 But in the righteous takes a pleasure still, Permitting him to reap fruit of his toil, And to enjoy the bread his sweat has won. But being righteous, see thou pay thy vows, And unto God the giver offer gifts. Place thy adorning not in outward shows, But in an inward purity of heart; Hearing the thunder then, thou shall not fear, Nor shall thou flee, O master, at its voice, For thou art conscious of no evil deed, And God, close by you, sees whate'er you do." Again, Plato, in Timaeus, says: "But if any one on consideration should actually institute a rigid inquiry, he would be ignorant of the distinction between the human and the divine nature; because God mingles many things up into one, [and again is able to dissolve one into many things,] see-

ing that He is endued with knowledge and power; but no man either is, or ever shall be, able to perform any of these."

CHAPTER V.-THE VAIN PRETENSIONS OF FALSE GODS.

¹ But concerning those who think that they shall share the holy and perfect name, which some have received by a vain tradition as if they were gods, Menander in the *Auriga* says:- "If there exists a god who walketh out With an old woman, or who enters in By stealth to houses through the folding-doors, He ne'er can please me; nay, but only he Who stays at home, a just and righteous God, To give salvation to His worshippers." The same Menander, in the *Sacerdos*, says:- "There is no God, O woman, that can save One man by another; if indeed a man, With sound of tinkling cymbals, charm a god Where'er he listeth, then assuredly He who doth so is much the greater god. But these, O Rhode, are but the cunning schemes Which daring men of intrigue, unabashed, Invent to earn themselves a livelihood, And yield a laughing-stock unto the age."

² Again, the same Menander, stating his opinion about those who are received as gods, proving rather that they are not so, says:- "Yea, if I this beheld, I then should wish That back to me again my soul returned. For tell me where, O Getas, in the world 'Tis possible to find out righteous gods?" And in the *Depositum*:- "There's an unrighteous judgment, as it seems, Even with the gods." And Euripides the tragedian, in *Orestes*, says:- "Apollo having caused by his command The murder of the mother, knoweth not What honesty and justice signify. We serve the gods, whoever they may be; But from the central regions of the earth You see Apollo plainly gives response To mortals, and whate'er he says we do. I him obeyed, when she that bore me fell Slain by my hand: he is the wicked man. Then slay him, for 'twas he that sinned, not I."

³ What could I do? Think you not that the god Should free me from the blame which I do bear?" The same also in *Hippolytus*:- "But on these points the gods do not judge right." And in *Ion*:- "But in the daughter of Erechtheus What interest have I? for that pertains Not unto such as me. But when I come With golden vessels for libations, I The dew shall sprinkle, and yet needs must warn Apollo of his deeds; for when he weds Maidens by force, the children secretly Begotten he betrays, and then neglects When dying. Thus not you; but while you may Always pursue the virtues, for the gods Will surely punish men of wickedness. How is it right that you, who have pre-

scribed Laws for men's guidance, live unrighteously? But ye being absent, I shall freely speak, And ye to men shall satisfaction give For marriage forced, thou Neptune, Jupiter,

4 Who over heaven presides. The temples ye Have emptied, while injustice ye repay. And though ye laud the prudent to the skies, Yet have ye filled your hands with wickedness. No longer is it right to call men ill If they do imitate the sins of gods; Nay, evil let their teachers rather be." And in Archelaus:- "Full oft, my son, do gods mankind perplex." And in Bellerophon:- "They are no gods, who do not what is right." And again in the same:- "Gods reign in heaven most certainly, says one; But it is false,-and let not him Who speaks thus, be so foolish as to use Ancient tradition, or to pay regard Unto my words: but with unclouded eye Behold the matter in its clearest light. Power absolute, I say, robs men of life And property; transgresses plighted faith; Nor spares even cities, but with cruel hand Despoils and devastates them ruthlessly.

5 But they that do these things have more success Than those who live a gentle pious life; And cities small, I know, which reverence gods, Submissive bend before the many spears Of larger impious ones; yea, and methinks If any man lounge idly, and abstain From working with his hands for sustenance, Yet pray the gods; he very soon will know If they from him misfortunes will avert." And Menander in Diphilus: - "Therefore ascribe we praise and honour great To Him who Father is, and Lord of all; Sole maker and preserver of mankind, And who with all good things our earth has stored." The same also in the Piscatores:- "For I deem that which nourishes my life Is God; but he whose custom 'tis to meet The wants of men,-He needs not at our hands Renewed supplies, Himself being all in all." The same in the Fratres:- "God ever is intelligence to those

6 Who righteous are: so wisest men have thought." And in the Tibicinae:- "Good reason finds a temple in all things Wherein to worship; for what is the mind, But just the voice of God within us placed? " And the tragedian in Phrixus:- "But if the pious and the impious Share the same lot, how could we think it just, If Jove, the best, judges not uprightly? " In Philoctetes:- "You see how honourable gain is deemed Even to the gods; and how he is admired Whose shrine is laden most with yellow gold. What, then, doth hinder thee, since it is good To be like gods, from thus accepting gain? " In Hecuba:- "O Jupiter I whoever thou mayest be, Of whom except in word all knowledge

fails; " and,- "Jupiter, whether thou art indeed A great necessity, or the mind of man, I worship thee!"

CHAPTER VI.-WE SHOULD ACKNOWLEDGE ONE ONLY GOD.

Here, then, is a proof of virtue, and of a mind loving prudence, to recur to the communion of the unity, and to attach one's self to prudence for salvation, and make choice of the better things according to the free-will placed in man; and not to think that those who are possessed of human passions are lords of all, when they shall not appear to have even equal power with men. For in Homer, Demodocus says he is self-taught- "God inspired me with strains"- though he is a mortal. Aesculapius and Apollo are taught to heal by Chiron the Centaur,-a very novel thing indeed, for gods to be taught by a man. What need I speak of Bacchus, who the poet says is mad? or of Hercules, who he says is unhappy? What need to speak of Mars and Venus, the leaders of adultery; and by means of all these to establish the proof which has been undertaken? For if some one, in ignorance, should imitate the deeds which are said to be divine, he would be reckoned among impure men, and a stranger to life and humanity; and if any one does so knowingly, he will have a plausible excuse for escaping vengeance, by showing that imitation of godlike deeds of audacity is no sin. But if any one should blame these deeds, he will take away their well-known names, and not cover them up with specious and plausible words. It is necessary, then, to accept the true and invariable Name, not proclaimed by my words only, but by the words of those who have introduced us to the elements of learning, in order that we may not, by living idly in this present state of existence, not only as those who are ignorant of the heavenly glory, but also as having proved ourselves ungrateful, render our account to the Judge.

Justin Martyr

SHORTER WRITINGS

c. AD 100–165

Philosopher turned Christian teacher in Rome; martyred under Marcus Aurelius.

INTRODUCTION

Alternative Sources: ccel.org, newadvent.org Translated by the Rev. M. Dods, M.A. – part of ANF series.

CHAPTER I.--JUSTIN JUSTIFIES HIS DEPARTURE FROM GREEK CUSTOMS.

¹Do not suppose, ye Greeks, that my separation from your customs is unreasonable and unthinking; for I found in them nothing that is holy or acceptable to God. For the very compositions of your poets are monuments of madness and intemperance. For any one who becomes the scholar of your most eminent instructor, is more beset by difficulties than all men besides. For first they say that Agamemnon, abetting the extravagant lust of his brother, and his madness and unrestrained desire, readily gave even his daughter to be sacrificed, and troubled all Greece that he might rescue Helen, who had been ravished by the leprous [2493] shepherd. But when in the course of the war they took captives, Agamemnon was himself taken captive by Chryseis, and for Briseis' sake kindled a feud with the son of Thetis. And Pelides himself, who crossed the river, [2494] overthrew Troy, and subdued Hector, this your hero became the slave of Polyxena, and was conquered by a dead Amazon; and putting off the god-fabricated armour, and donning the hymeneal robe, he became a sacrifice of love in the temple of Apollo. And the Ithacan Ulysses made a virtue of a vice. [2495] And indeed his sailing past the Sirens [2496] gave evidence that he was destitute of worthy prudence, because he could not depend on his prudence for stopping his ears. Ajax, son of Telamon, who bore the shield of sevenfold ox-hide,

went mad when he was defeated in the contest with Ulysses for the armour. Such things I have no desire to be instructed in. Of such virtue I am not covetous, that I should believe the myths of Homer. For the whole rhapsody, the beginning and end both of the Iliad and the Odyssey is--a woman.

²[2493] Potter would here read *liparou*, "elegant" [ironically for effeminate]; but the above reading is defended by Sylburg, on the ground that shepherds were so greatly despised, that this is not too hard an epithet to apply to Paris. [2494] Of the many attempts to amend this clause, there seems to be none satisfactory. [2495] Or, won the reputation of the virtue of wisdom by the vice of deceit. [2496] That is, the manner in which he did it, stopping his companions' ears with wax, and having himself bound to the mast of his ship.

CHAPTER II.--THE GREEK THEOGONY EXPOSED.

¹But since, next to Homer, Hesiod wrote his *Works and Days*, who will believe his drivelling theogony? For they say that Chronos, the son of Ouranos, [2497] in the beginning slew his father, and possessed himself of his rule; and that, being seized with a panic lest he should himself suffer in the same way, he preferred devouring his children; but that, by the craft of the Curetes, Jupiter was conveyed away and kept in secret, and afterwards bound his father with chains, and divided the empire; Jupiter receiving, as the story goes, the air, and Neptune the deep, and Pluto the portion of Hades. But Pluto ravished Proserpine; and Ceres sought her child wandering through the deserts. And this myth was celebrated in the Eleusinian fire. [2498] Again, Neptune ravished Melanippe when she was drawing water, besides abusing a host of Nereids not a few, whose names, were we to recount them, would cost us a multitude of words. And as for Jupiter, he was a various adulterer, with Antiopé as a satyr, with Danaë as gold, and with Europa as a bull; with Leda, moreover, he assumed wings. For the love of Semele proved both his unchastity and the jealousy of Semele. And they say that he carried off the Phrygian Ganymede to be his cup-bearer. These, then, are the exploits of the sons of Saturn. And your illustrious son of Latona [Apollo], who professed soothsaying, convicted himself of lying. He pursued Daphne, but did not gain possession of her;

²and to Hyacinthus, [2499] who loved him, he did not foretell his death. And I say nothing of the masculine character of Minerva, nor of the feminine nature of Bacchus, nor of the fornicating disposition of Venus. Read to

Jupiter, ye Greeks, the law against parricides, and the penalty of adultery, and the ignominy of p^āderasty. Teach Minerva and Diana the works of women, and Bacchus the works of men. What seemliness is there in a woman's girding herself with armour, or in a man's decorating himself with cymbals, and garlands, and female attire, and accompanied by a herd of bacchanalian women? ³[2497] Or, Saturn son of Heaven. [2498] In the mysteries of Eleusis, the return of Proserpine from the lower world was celebrated. [2499] Apollo accidentally killed Hyacinthus by striking him on the head with a quoit.

CHAPTER III.--FOLLIES OF THE GREEK MYTHOLOGY.

¹For Hercules, celebrated by his three nights, [2500] sung by the poets for his successful labours, the son of Jupiter, who slew the lion and destroyed the many-headed hydra; who put to death the fierce and mighty boar, and was able to kill the fleet man-eating birds, and brought up from Hades the three-headed dog; who effectually cleansed the huge Augean building from its dung, and killed the bulls and the stag whose nostrils breathed fire, and plucked the golden fruit from the tree, and slew the poisonous serpent (and for some reason, which it is not lawful to utter, killed Achelous, and the guest-slaying Busiris), and crossed the mountains that he might get water which gave forth an articulate speech, as the story goes: he who was able to do so many and such like and so great deeds as these, how childishly he was delighted to be stunned by the cymbals of the satyrs, and to be conquered by the love of woman, and to be struck on the hips by the laughing Lyda! And at last, not being able to put off the tunic of Nessus, himself kindling his own funeral pile, so he died. Let Vulcan lay aside his envy, and not be jealous if he is hated because he is old and club-footed, and Mars loved, because young and beautiful.

²Since, therefore, ye Greeks, your gods are convicted of intemperance, and your heroes are effeminate, as the histories on which your dramas are founded have declared, such as the curse of Atreus, the bed of Thyestes [2501] and the taint in the house of Pelops, and Danaus murdering through hatred and making ^Āgyptus childless in the intoxication of his rage, and the Thyestean banquet spread by the Furies. [2502] And Procne is to this day flitting about, lamenting; and her sister of Athens shrills with her tongue cut out. For what need is there of speaking of the goad [2503] of OEdipus, and the murder of Laius, and the marrying his mother, and the mutual slaughter

of those who were at once his brothers and his sons? ³[2500] Triesperon, so called, as some think, [from his origin: "ex concubitu trium noctium."] [2501] Thyestes seduced the wife of his brother Atreus, whence the tragic career of the family. [2502] There is no apodosis in the Greek. [2503] Not, as the editors dispute, either the tongue of the buckle with which he put out his eyes, nor the awl with which his heels were bored through, but the goad with which he killed his father.

CHAPTER IV.--SHAMELESS PRACTICES OF THE GREEKS.

And your public assemblies I have come to hate. For there are excessive banquetings, and subtle flutes which provoke to lustful movements, and useless and luxurious anointings, and crowning with garlands. With such a mass of evils do you banish shame; and ye fill your minds with them, and are carried away by intemperance, and indulge as a common practice in wicked and insane fornication. And this further I would say to you, why are you, being a Greek, indignant at your son when he imitates Jupiter, and rises against you and defrauds you of your own wife? Why do you count him your enemy, and yet worship one that is like him? And why do you blame your wife for living in unchastity, and yet honour Venus with shrines? If indeed these things had been related by others, they would have seemed to be mere slanderous accusations, and not truth. But now your own poets sing these things, and your histories noisily publish them.

CHAPTER V.--CLOSING APPEAL.

¹ Henceforth, ye Greeks, come and partake of incomparable wisdom, and be instructed by the Divine Word, and acquaint yourselves with the King immortal; and do not recognise those men as heroes who slaughter whole nations. For our own Ruler, [2504] the Divine Word, who even now constantly aids us, does not desire strength of body and beauty of feature, nor yet the high spirit of earth's nobility, but a pure soul, fortified by holiness, and the watchwords of our King, holy actions, for through the Word power passes into the soul. O trumpet of peace to the soul that is at war! O weapon that putteth to flight terrible passions! O instruction that quenches the innate fire of the soul! The Word exercises an influence which does not make poets: it does not equip philosophers nor skilled orators, but by its instruction it makes mortals immortal, mortals gods; and from the earth transports them to the realms above Olympus. Come, be taught; become as I am, for I, too,

was as ye are. [2505] These have conquered me--the divinity of the instruction, and the power of the Word: for as a skilled serpent-charmer lures the terrible reptile from his den and causes it to flee, so the Word drives the fearful passions of our sensual nature from the very recesses of the soul; first driving forth lust, through which every ill is begotten--hatreds, strife, envy, emulations, anger, and such like. Lust being once banished, the soul becomes calm and serene. And being set free from the ills in which it was sunk up to the neck, it returns to Him who made it. For it is fit that it be restored to that state whence it departed, whence every soul was or is. [2506]

²[2504] Autos gar hemon. [2505] [He seems to quote Gal. iv. 12.] [2506] [N. B. --It should be stated that modern critics consider this work as not improbably by another author.]

INTRODUCTION

[Translated by the Rev. A. Roberts, D.D.]

I.

The most admirable Justin rightly declared that the aforesaid demons resembled robbers.--Tatian's Address to the Greeks, chap. xviii.

II.

And Justin well said in his book against Marcion, that he would not have believed the Lord Himself, if He had announced any other God than the Fashioner and Maker [of the world], and our Nourisher. But since, from the one God, who both made this world and formed us and contains as well as administers all things, there came to us the only-begotten Son, summing up His own workmanship in Himself, my faith in Him is stedfast, and my love towards the Father is immoveable, God bestowing both upon us.--Irenaeus: Heresies, iv. 6.

III.

Justin well said: Before the advent of the Lord, Satan never ventured to blaspheme God, inasmuch as he was not yet sure of his own damnation, since that was announced concerning him by the prophets only in parables and allegories. But after the advent of the Lord learning plainly from the discourses of Christ and His apostles that eternal fire was prepared for him who voluntarily departed from God and for all who, without repentance, persevere in apostasy, then, by means of a man of this sort, he, as if already condemned, blasphemes that God who inflicts judgment upon him, and im-

putes the sin of his apostasy to his Maker, instead of to his own will and predilection.-Irenaeus: *Heresies*, v. 26.

IV.

Expounding the reason of the incessant plotting of the devil against us, he declares: Before the advent of the Lord, the devil did not so plainly know the measure of his own punishment, inasmuch as the divine prophets had but enigmatically announced it; as, for instance, Isaiah, who in the person of the Assyrian tragically revealed the course to be followed against the devil. But when the Lord appeared, and the devil clearly understood that eternal fire was laid up and prepared for him and his angels, he then began to plot without ceasing against the faithful, being desirous to have many companions in his apostasy, that he might not by himself endure the shame of condemnation, comforting himself by this cold and malicious consolation.-From the writings of John of Antioch.

V.

And Justin of Neapolis, a man who was not far separated from the apostles either in age or excellence, says that that which is mortal is inherited, but that which is immortal inherits; and that the flesh indeed dies, but the kingdom of heaven lives.-From Methodius *On the Resurrection*, in Photius.

VI.

Neither is there straitness with God, nor anything that is not absolutely perfect.-From manuscript of the writings of Justin.

VII.

We shall not injure God by remaining ignorant of Him, but shall deprive ourselves of His friendship.

VIII.

The unskilfulness of the teacher proves destructive to his disciples, and the carelessness of the disciples entails danger on the teacher, and especially should they owe their negligence to his want of knowledge.

IX.

The soul can with difficulty be recalled to those good things from which it has fallen, and is with difficulty dragged away from those evils to which it has become accustomed. If at any time thou showest a disposition to blame thyself, then perhaps, through the medicine of repentance, I should cherish

good hopes regarding thee. But when thou altogether despisest fear, and rejectest with scorn the very faith of Christ, it were better for thee that thou hadst never been born from the womb.-From the writings of John of Damascus.

x.

¹By the two birds Christ is denoted, both dead as man, and living as God. He is likened to a bird, because He is understood and declared to be from above, and from heaven. And the living bird, having been dipped in the blood of the dead one, was afterwards let go. For the living and divine Word was in the crucified and dead temple [of the body], as being a partaker of the passion, and yet impossible to God. By that which took place in the running water, in which the wood and the hyssop and the scarlet were dipped, is set forth the bloody passion of Christ on the cross for the salvation of those who are sprinkled with the Spirit, and the water, and the blood. Wherefore the material for purification was not provided chiefly with reference to leprosy, but with regard to the forgiveness of sins, that both leprosy might be understood to be an emblem of sin, and the things which were sacrificed an emblem of Him who was to be sacrificed for sins.

²For this reason, consequently, he ordered that the scarlet should be dipped at the same time in the water, thus predicting that the flesh should no longer possess its natural [evil] properties. For this reason, also, were there the two birds, the one being sacrificed in the water, and the other dipped both in the blood and in the water and then sent away, just as is narrated also respecting the goats. The goat that was sent away presented a type of Him who taketh away the sins of men. But the two contained a representation of the one economy of God incarnate. For He was wounded for our transgressions, and He bare the sins of many, and He was delivered for our iniquities.-From manuscript of writings of Justin.

x i.

When God formed man at the beginning, He suspended the things of nature on his will, and made an experiment by means of one commandment. For He ordained that, if he kept this, he should partake of immortal existence; but if he transgressed it, the contrary should be his lot. Man having been thus made, and immediately looking towards transgression, naturally became subject to corruption. Corruption then becoming inherent in nature,

it was necessary that He who wished to save should be one who destroyed the efficient cause of corruption. And this could not otherwise be done than by the life which is according to nature being united to that which had received the corruption, and so destroying the corruption, while preserving as immortal for the future that which had received it. It was therefore necessary that the Word should become possessed of a body, that He might deliver us from the death of natural corruption. For if, as ye say, He had simply by a nod warded off death from us, death indeed would not have approached us on account of the expression of His will; but none the less would we again have become corruptible, inasmuch as we carried about in ourselves that natural corruption.-Leontius against Eutychians, etc., book ii.

XII.

As it is inherent in all bodies formed by God to have a shadow, so it is fitting that God, who is just, should render to those who choose what is good, and to those who prefer what is evil, to every one according to his deserts.-From the writings of John of Damascus.

XIII.

He speaks not of the Gentiles in foreign lands, but concerning [the people] who agree with the Gentiles, according to that which is spoken by Jeremiah: "It is a bitter thing for thee, that thou hast forsaken me, saith the Lord thy God, that of old thou hast broken thy yoke, and torn asunder thy bands, and said, I will not serve Thee, but will go to every high hill, and underneath every tree, and there shall I become dissolute in my fornication." -From manuscript of the writings of Justin.

XIV.

Neither shall light ever be darkness as long as light exists, nor shall the truth of the things pertaining to us be controverted. For truth is that than which nothing is more powerful. Every one who might speak the truth, and speaks it not, shall be judged by God.-Manuscript and works of John of Damascus.

XV.

And the fact that it was not said of the seventh day equally with the other days, "And there was evening, and there was morning," is a distinct indication of the consummation which is to take place in it before it is finished, as the fathers declare, especially St. Clement, and Irenaeus, and Justin the martyr and philosopher, who, commenting with exceeding wisdom on the

number six of the sixth day, affirms that the intelligent soul of man and his five susceptible senses were the six works of the sixth day. Whence also, having discoursed at length on the number six, he declares that all things which have been framed by God are divided into six classes,-viz., into things intelligent and immortal, such as are the angels; into things reasonable and mortal, such as mankind; into things sensitive and irrational, such as cattle, and birds, and fishes; into things that can advance, and move, and are insensible, such as the winds, and the clouds, and the waters, and the stars; into things which increase and are immoveable, such as the trees; and into things which are insensible and immoveable, such as the mountains, the earth, and such like. For all the creatures of God, in heaven and on earth, fall under one or other of these divisions, and are circumscribed by them.-From the writings of Anastasius.

XVI.

Sound doctrine does not enter into the hard and disobedient heart; but, as if beaten back, enters anew into itself.

XVII.

As the good of the body is health, so the good of the soul is knowledge, which is indeed a kind of health of soul, by which a likeness to God is attained.-From the writings of John of Damascus.

XVIII.

To yield and give way to our passions is the lowest slavery, even as to rule over them is the only liberty. The greatest of all good is to be free from sin, the next is to be justified; but he must be reckoned the most unfortunate of men, who, while living unrighteously, remains for a long time unpunished. Animals in harness cannot but be carried over a precipice by the inexperience and badness of their driver, even as by his skilfulness and excellence they will be saved. The end contemplated by a philosopher is likeness to God, so far as that is possible.-From the writings of Antonius Melissa.

XIX.

[The words] of St. Justin, philosopher and martyr, from the fifth part of his Apology: -I reckon prosperity, O men, to consist in nothing else than in living according to truth. But we do not live properly, or according to truth, unless we understand the nature of things. It escapes them apparently, that he who has by a true faith come forth from error to the truth, has truly

known himself, not, as they say, as being in a state of frenzy, but as free from the unstable and (as to every variety of error) changeable corruption, by the simple and ever identical truth.—From the writings of John of Damascus.

INTRODUCTION

Justin, Chariton, Charites, Paeon, and Liberianus, Who Suffered at Rome.

[Translated by the Rev. M. Dods, M.A.]

CHAPTER I.—EXAMINATION OF JUSTIN BY THE PREFECT.

In the time of the lawless partisans of idolatry, wicked decrees were passed against the godly Christians in town and country, to force them to offer libations to vain idols; and accordingly the holy men, having been apprehended, were brought before the prefect of Rome, Rusticus by name. And when they had been brought before his judgment-seat, said to Justin, "Obey the gods at once, and submit to the kings." Justin said, "To obey the commandments of our Saviour Jesus Christ is worthy neither of blame nor of condemnation." Rusticus the prefect said, "What kind of doctrines do you profess?" Justin said, "I have endeavoured to learn all doctrines; but I have acquiesced at last in the true doctrines, those namely of the Christians, even though they do not please those who hold false opinions." Rusticus the prefect said, "Are those the doctrines that please you, you utterly wretched man?" Justin said, "Yes, since I adhere to them with right dogma." Rusticus the prefect said, "What is the dogma?" Justin said, "That according to which we worship the God of the Christians, whom we reckon to be one from the beginning, the maker and fashioner of the whole creation, visible and invisible; and the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who had also been preached beforehand by the prophets as about to be present with the race of men, the herald of salvation and teacher of good disciples. And I, being a man, think that what I can say is insignificant in comparison with His boundless divinity, acknowledging a Certain prophetic power, since it was prophesied concerning Him of whom now I say that He is the Son of God. For I know that of old the prophets foretold His appearance among men."

CHAPTER II.—EXAMINATION OF JUSTIN CONTINUED.

Rusticus the prefect said, "Where do you assemble?" Justin said, "Where each one chooses and can: for do you fancy that we all meet in the very same place? Not so; because the God of the Christians is not circumscribed by place; but being invisible, fills heaven and earth, and everywhere is wor-

shipped and glorified by the faithful." Rusticus the prefect said, "Tell me where you assemble, or into what place do you collect your followers?" Justin said, "I live above one Martinus, at the Timiotinian Bath; and during the whole time (and I am now living in Rome for the second time) I am unaware of any other meeting than his. And if any one wished to come to me, I communicated to him the doctrines of truth." Rusticus said, "Are you not, then, a Christian?" Justin said, "Yes, I am a Christian."

CHAPTER III.-EXAMINATION OF CHARITON AND OTHERS.

Then said the prefect Rusticus to Chariton, "Tell me further, Chariton, are you also a Christian?" Chariton said, "I am a Christian by the command of God." Rusticus the prefect asked the woman Charito, "What say you, Charito?" Charito said, "I am a Christian by the grace of God." Rusticus said to Euelpistus, "And what are you?" Euelpistus, a servant of Caesar, answered, "I too am a Christian, having been freed by Christ; and by the grace of Christ I partake of the same hope." Rusticus the prefect said to Hierax, "And you, are you a Christian?" Hierax said, "Yes, I am a Christian, for I revere and worship the same God." Rusticus the prefect said, "Did Justin make you Christians?" Hierax said, "I was a Christian, and will be a Christian." And Paeon stood up and said, "I too am a Christian." Rusticus the prefect said, "Who taught you?" Paeon said, "From our parents we received this good confession." Euelpistus said, "I willingly heard the words of Justin. But from my parents also I learned to be a Christian." Rusticus the prefect said, "Where are your parents?" Euelpistus said, "In Cappadocia." Rusticus says to Hierax, "Where are your parents?" And he answered, and said, "Christ is our true father, and faith in Him is our mother; and my earthly parents died; and I, when I was driven from Iconium in Phrygia, came here." Rusticus the prefect said to Liberianus, "And what say you? Are you a Christian, and unwilling to worship [the gods]?" Liberianus said, "I too am a Christian, for I worship and reverence the only true God."

CHAPTER IV.-RUSTICUS THREATENS THE CHRISTIANS WITH DEATH.

The prefect says to Justin, "Hearken, you who are called learned, and think that you know true doctrines; if you are scourged and beheaded, do you believe you will ascend into heaven?" Justin said, "I hope that, if I endure these things, I shall have His gifts. For I know that, to all who have thus lived, there abides the divine favour until the completion of the whole world."

Rusticus the prefect said, "Do you suppose, then, that you will ascend into heaven to receive some recompense?" Justin said, "I do not suppose it, but I know and am fully persuaded of it." Rusticus the prefect said, "Let us, then, now come to the matter in hand, and which presses. Having come together, offer sacrifice with one accord to the gods." Justin said, "No right-thinking person falls away from piety to impiety." Rusticus the prefect said, "Unless ye obey, ye shall be mercilessly punished." Justin said, "Through prayer we can be saved on account of our Lord Jesus Christ, even when we have been punished, because this shall become to us salvation and confidence at the more fearful and universal judgment-seat of our Lord and Saviour." Thus also said the other martyrs: "Do what you will, for we are Christians, and do not sacrifice to idols."

CHAPTER V.-SENTENCE PRONOUNCED AND EXECUTED.

Rusticus the prefect pronounced sentence, saying, "Let those who have refused to sacrifice to the gods and to yield to the command of the emperor be scourged, and led away to suffer the punishment of decapitation, according to the laws." The holy martyrs having glorified God, and having gone forth to the accustomed place, were beheaded, and perfected their testimony in the confession of the Saviour. And some of the faithful having secretly removed their bodies, laid them in a suitable place, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ having wrought along with them, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

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1 Clement

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2 Clement

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The Letters of Ignatius

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Polycarp to the Philippians

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The Martyrdom of Polycarp

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The Shepherd of Hermas

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Papias of Hierapolis: Fragments

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Quadratus of Athens: Fragments

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Aristides of Athens: Apology

English translation: The Apology of Aristides, translated from the Syriac by J. Rendel Harris (Cambridge, 1891; Texts and Studies, vol. 1), the Syriac translation as reprinted in the Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 10, public domain, from the Writings-Database collection (HistoricalChristianFaith). SermonIndex has only divided it into numbered sections; the wording is the translator's. No usable Greek text is available, so no Greek column is shown. *Licence: Public domain.*

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Dionysius of Corinth: Fragments

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First and Second Apology

Greek text: Gerhard Rauschen’s edition of the two Apologies (Bonn, Hanstein, 1911; Florilegium Patristicum 2), digitized by the First Thousand Years of Greek project (CC BY-SA 4.0); editorial page markers and cross-references typed into the digital text have been removed. English (older translation): Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 1 (1885), public domain, from the Writings-Database collection (HistoricalChristianFaith); we matched its sentences to the Greek rows, and the translator’s chapter titles are kept. English (older translation): Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 1 (1885), public domain, from the Writings-Database collection (HistoricalChristianFaith); we matched its sentences to the Greek rows, and the translator’s chapter titles are kept. Modern English: prepared for SermonIndex with AI, based on that older English translation and checked clause by clause against the Greek, then checked again in a second AI pass, and released under CC BY-SA 4.0. Where the older translation departs from the Greek, our wording follows the Greek and a translator’s note says so. Translator’s notes also explain hard words and mark places where the author departs from Scripture. *Licence: CC BY-SA 4.0.*

Dialogue with Trypho

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SCRIPTURE INDEX

Passages marked in the text. Page numbers are the pages on which the reference appears.

GENESIS

1:1-2 354	17:15 513
1:1-3 349	17:22 533
1:2 350	18:1 438 , 483
1:26 19	18:1-2 438 , 532
1:26-27 60	18:8 443
1:26-28 449	18:10 439
1:27 88	18:13-14 441 , 532
1:28 19	18:14 439
2:7 419	18:16-17 441 , 532
2:9 276 , 482	18:20-23 441
2:17 476	18:21 535
2:21-22 479	18:33 442 , 442
3:1 503	19:1 442
3:9 497	19:10 442
3:13-14 474	19:16 442
3:14 489 , 512	19:17-19 442
3:15 500	19:20-25 442
3:19 379	19:23-25 440
3:22 450 , 535	19:24 345 , 442 , 447 , 448 , 534 , 535
4:4 393	19:27-28 438
4:9 497	21:2 479
5:24 393	21:9-12 439
6:2 361	21:12 439
7:16 533	22:17 523
7:19-20 546	25:22-23 29
9:3 394	26:4 523
9:3-4 394	27:41 542
9:24-27 547	28:10-13 445
9:25-27 542	28:12-13 482
11:5 533	28:13-15 446
11:6 501	28:14 523
12:1 522	28:16-19 446
12:1-3 45	29:17 542
13:14-16 45	29:30 541
14:18 514	30:32 542
14:18-20 393 , 410	30:37-38 482
15:4-5 46	31:10-11 444
15:6 30 , 399 , 490 , 522	31:12-13 444
17:4-5 30	31:13 448 , 482
17:5 384 , 513 , 522	31:19 542
17:12 421	31:34 542
17:12-13 382	32:10 482
17:14 382 , 399	32:22-26 444
	32:24 530 , 532

32:25 531
32:26-30 445
32:28 467 , 506 , 531 , 542
32:30 532
35:1 448
35:6-10 445
38:25 483
48:18-19 29
49:8-12 434
49:10 435 , 523 , 524 , 524
49:10-11 327 , 328 , 346
49:11 328 , 435 , 436 , 436 , 437 , 451 , 461 ,
468

EXODUS

2:14 42
2:23 446
3:2 352 , 353 , 354 , 446 , 447 , 447 , 448 ,
534
3:2-4 448
3:5 352
3:6 353 , 447 , 447
3:10 352 , 353
3:14 353 , 354 , 354
3:15 354
3:16 446
4:10 51
6:2-4 532
6:3 467
12:7 419 , 511
12:9 419
12:13 511
13:21 537
14:16 482 , 546
15:23-25 537
15:25 482
15:27 483
16:4 537
17:6 482 , 538
17:8-12 487
17:8-13 489
17:11-12 511 , 512 , 538
17:12 488 , 494
17:14 538 , 538
17:16 431
20:4 492 , 492 , 512
20:13-17 4
23:20-21 467
23:21 467
24:18 30
28:33-34 421
32:4 539
32:6 394
32:19 30
40:35 533

LEVITICUS

12:3 403 , 421

14:10 420

16:7-10 420

19:18 3 , 491 , 491

26:40-41 390

NUMBERS

6:25-26 77

11:17 431

11:23 533

11:31-32 538

12:7 426 , 438

13:16 467 , 506 , 511 , 513 , 539

17:8 483

19 21

21:6-9 350

21:8-9 28 , 489 , 492 , 492 , 512 , 538

24:17 329 , 506

25:1-2 539

27:16 76 , 78

27:18 431

DEUTERONOMY

1:16 5

4:19 437 , 525

5:11 35

6:5 491 , 491

6:8 426

6:13 531

9:12 72

9:12-17 30

9:13-14 72

10:16 390

10:16-17 390

10:17 437

16:5-6 419

21:23 408 , 486 , 487 , 492 , 494 , 511

27:26 493

29:5 538

30:9 77

30:15 337

30:19 337

31:2-3 533

31:16-18 467

32:4 490

32:7-9 537

32:15 394

32:20 395 , 403 , 522 , 527

32:22 350

32:43 536 , 537

33:13-17 488

JOSHUA

2:1-8 46

2:9-10 47

2:15 511

2:18 511

5:2 384 , 399 , 514 , 515

5:2-3 514

5:13-15 450

5:14 448

6:1-2 450

10:12-13 514 , 539

JOB

1:6 474 , 503

3 120

5 76

PSALM

1 25

2:7 486 , 503

4:2 6

8:3 515

18 35

19:7 410

22:1 497

24:7 480 , 534

37:11 4

69 210

72:1 411

82:1 529

82:6 529 , 530

86 158

96:10 465

99:6 415

100 172

110:1 409 , 415 , 440 , 478 , 534

112 188

132:11 459

PROVERBS

8:21-25 449

8:22 448

8:22-25 535

8:26-31 449

8:32-36 449

20:27 53

31:9 5

ISAIAH

1 22

1:1-15 12

1:3 353 , 354

1:3-4 332

1:7 340 , 390

1:8 435

1:9 345 , 438 , 548

1:10 22

1:11-15 332

1:12-14 332

1:15 402

1:16 384 , 392 , 424

1:16-20 337 , 351

1:20 337

1:23 36 , 402 , 477

2:3 399

2:3-4 333

2:5-6 399 , 544

3:9-10 18 , 544 , 545

3:9-11 391

3:9-12 540

3:12-15 540

3:16 403

5:18-20 391

5:18-21 540

5:20 341

5:21 15 , 418

5:22-25 540

6:8 467

6:10 384

7:10-15 423 , 456

7:14 329 , 346 , 423 , 456 , 457 , 459 , 463 ,
470 , 479 , 479

7:15-16 423 , 456

7:16-17 423

7:17 456

8:4 423 , 456 , 470 , 470 , 472

9:6 330 , 468 , 531

11:1 329 , 483 , 531

11:1-3 484

11:2 418

14:1 527

16:1 516

19:24-25 528	52:13-15 341
24:15 158	52:14-15 385
26:2-3 399	52:15 521
27:1 489 , 512	53:1 341 , 515 , 521
28:16 17 , 515	53:1-2 385 , 421
29:13 403 , 418 , 429 , 475 , 548	53:2 408 , 421 , 480 , 486
29:13-14 473	53:2-3 342 , 388 , 415 , 430 , 498 , 525
29:14 409 , 527	53:2-4 386
30:1-5 474	53:4-5 342
33:13 22	53:5 391 , 422 , 493 , 545
33:13-16 462	53:5-7 386
33:16-17 463	53:5-9 408
33:16-19 463	53:6-7 342
35:5-6 340	53:7 464 , 487 , 511 , 515
37:36 478	53:7-8 342 , 487
39:8 432	53:8 387 , 422 , 451 , 459 , 468
40:1-5 432	53:8-10 386
40:6-11 432	53:8-11 342
40:10 60	53:9 495 , 501
40:12 32	53:10-12 386
40:12-17 433	53:12 341 , 343 , 487
42:1-4 528 , 543	54:1 345
42:5-7 455	54:1-3 386
42:6 455	54:4-6 387
42:6-7 401 , 526	54:9 546 , 546
42:8 454	55:3-5 384 , 388
42:8-10 455	55:6-9 388
42:11-13 455	55:10-11 388
42:16 526	55:12-13 388
42:19-20 527	56:7 392
43:5-6 344	57:1 510
43:10 526	57:1-2 340
43:15 542	57:1-4 391
45:2-3 26	57:2 495 , 520
45:23 344	57:5 427
49:6 525	57:15 76
49:6-7 31	58:1-2 389
49:8 526	58:2-4 389
50:4 501	58:4-5 13
50:6-8 332	58:5-6 389
51:4-5 383	58:6 420
51:5 329	58:6-7 332
52:5 391	58:7-9 389
52:10-13 385	58:9-11 389

58:13-14 402
59:7-8 403
60:19-20 514
62:10-12 401
62:11 60
62:12 522
63:1 401
63:2-6 402
63:15-17 400
63:17 344
63:17-19 400
64:1-2 400
64:3-6 400
64:7-12 401
64:10-12 340
64:11 344
65:1 399 , 522
65:1-3 341 , 400
65:2 330 , 331 , 332 , 495 , 515
65:8-9 544
65:9-12 543
65:12 544
65:17-20 475
65:21-25 476
65:22 476
66:1 332 , 398
66:5-7 481
66:8-11 481
66:24 91 , 344 , 424 , 536 , 548

JEREMIAH

2:13 387 , 393 , 516 , 548 , 548
3:8 516
4:3-4 404
4:4 390
4:22 409 , 527
7:11 392
7:18 544
7:21-22 397
7:22-23 13
9:25-26 404
9:26 345
11:19 464 , 464
21:10 77
31:15 472
31:27 528
31:31 410 , 526
31:31-32 383 , 458

LAMENTATIONS

4:20 347

EZEKIEL

3:17-19 477
14:20 548
16:3 470
18:20 548
18:21-24 428
20:12 394
20:19-21 395
20:21-24 395
20:25-26 395
36:12 528
37:7-8 344
47:1-12 27
47:9 27

DANIEL

2:34 462 , 468 , 515
2:45 462
6:22 174
7:7 14
7:9-10 406
7:10 61
7:11-13 407
7:13 343 , 388 , 406 , 524 , 531
7:13-14 408 , 468 , 473
7:14-18 407
7:19-22 407
7:23-25 408
7:25 409 , 409 , 509
7:26-28 408
9:24-27 33

HOSEA

1:9 393
10:6 503

JOEL

2:12 183
2:13 344
2:28-29 484

AMOS

5:18-21 396
5:22-26 396
5:27 396
6:1-2 396
6:3-7 396

JONAH

2:10 507
4:1 507
4:6-9 507
4:10-11 507

MICAH

4:1-3 508
4:2 509
4:3 510
4:4 510 , 510
4:4-7 509
4:6 510
5:2 330 , 471

ZECHARIAH

2:8 545
2:10-11 516
2:11 522
2:12-13 516
3:1 503
3:1-2 474 , 516
3:1-4 518 , 518
3:2 518
6:12 506 , 525
9:9 331 , 435
12:10 388 , 454 , 520
12:10-12 344 , 408
12:12 525
13:7 436 , 436
14:5 10

MALACHI

1:10-12 404 , 420 , 519
1:11 9 , 518 , 519
1:11-12 421
4:5 430

MATTHEW

- 1:19 471
- 1:20 471
- 1:21 329 , 330
- 1:23 329
- 1:24 471
- 2:1-2 470 , 506
- 2:1-3 500
- 2:2 471
- 2:6 330 , 471
- 2:11 471
- 2:12 471 , 472
- 2:13 471 , 502
- 2:13-14 500
- 2:16 472 , 502
- 2:18 472
- 2:22 502
- 3:1-2 433
- 3:4 486
- 3:11 486
- 3:11-12 430
- 3:15 123
- 3:16 485
- 4:9-10 503
- 4:10 531
- 4:23 327
- 5:3 134
- 5:5 4
- 5:10 134
- 5:16 316
- 5:20 505
- 5:22 316
- 5:23-24 9
- 5:26 3
- 5:28 315
- 5:29 315
- 5:32 178 , 315
- 5:34-37 317
- 5:39 3
- 5:41 3 , 316
- 5:42 316
- 5:44 3 , 314 , 315 , 414 , 481 , 494 , 541
- 5:45 316 , 494
- 5:46 315
- 5:46-47 3
- 5:48 3
- 6:1 316
- 6:9-13 6
- 6:19-20 316
- 6:21 316
- 6:25-26 316
- 6:25-31 274
- 6:31-33 316
- 7:1-2 134
- 7:2 517
- 7:6 7
- 7:12 3
- 7:15 413 , 477
- 7:15-16 317
- 7:19 317
- 7:21 317
- 7:21-23 317
- 7:22-23 469
- 8:11-12 469 , 524 , 549
- 9:35 327
- 10:22 10
- 10:28 319
- 10:33 307
- 11:5 340 , 384
- 11:12-15 433
- 11:27 353 , 354 , 497
- 12:5 403
- 12:31 8
- 12:38-39 506
- 12:39 507
- 13:3-8 530
- 13:42-43 317
- 15:8 82 , 475
- 15:8-9 403
- 15:9 429 , 548
- 15:13 119
- 16:4 506
- 16:16-18 498
- 16:21 433
- 16:26 316
- 17:11 430
- 17:11-13 431
- 19:9 178

19:12 315	MARK
19:16-17 499	1:10 485
19:18 4	3:16-17 506
19:30 19	6:3 486
20:16 15 , 19	6:52 179
21:2 328 , 436	7:6 82
21:9 8	7:7 429 , 548
21:12-13 392	8:31 469 , 498
21:22 208	9:42 68
22:17-21 318	9:48 85
22:32 354	10:11 178
22:37-39 3	10:17-18 499
22:37-40 491	10:18 317
22:42-49 29	11:2 328
23:7 513	12:30 317
23:15 526	12:30-31 3 , 491 , 491
23:23-24 513	14:22-24 356
23:24 392	15:5 501
23:27 392 , 513	15:29-31 500
24:5 413 , 413 , 477	
24:9 477	
24:10 10	
24:11 433 , 477	
24:13 10	
24:24 10 , 413 , 477	
24:30 10 , 531	
24:30-31 10	
24:31 7	
24:42 10	
25:41 325 , 343 , 364 , 469	
25:46 310 , 519	
26:24 68	
26:26-28 356	
26:29 433	
26:39 497 , 503	
26:41 137	
26:64 10	
27:14 501 , 504	
27:35 504	
27:39-43 500	
27:46 497	
28:13 508	
28:19 6 , 351	

LUKE

1:17 430
1:31-32 329
1:35 329 , 329 , 499
1:38 499
1:57 479
1:75 69
2:2 330 , 471
2:4 471
2:7 471
3:15-16 486
3:16-17 430
3:22 485 , 503
3:23 485 , 486
4:8 503 , 531
5:32 315
6:20 134
6:27 140 , 481
6:27-28 541
6:28 315
6:29 316
6:30 3
6:31 3
6:32-33 3
6:35 494
6:36 494
6:36-38 134
8:5-8 530
9:22 469 , 498
10:16 353
10:17 406 , 525
10:19 469
11:42 392
11:52 392
12:4-5 319
12:35 10
12:48 318
16:16 433
17:2 68
18:18-19 499
18:27 319
19:23 530
20:35-36 476
22:19 356 , 420

22:19-20 463
22:44 503
23:7 503
23:46 505
24:25-27 436 , 469

JOHN

1:1-3 362
1:13 451
1:14 308
1:20-23 486
3:3-5 351
3:5 229
3:14-15 489
4:24 309
7:22-23 403
7:42 102 , 117
12:49-50 204
15:17 138
15:18-19 271
18:37 313
19:23-24 504

ACTS

2:24 133
10:14 394
10:42 520
13:22 51
17:25 311
21:14 146

ROMANS

1:3 102 , 103 , 117 , 123
1:29-30 6
3:12-17 403
3:21-26 273
4:7-9 71
4:10-11 399 , 490
4:11 384
8:11 134
11:3-4 417
12:9 6
13:8 138
14:10 137
14:12 137

1 CORINTHIANS

1:7 122
1:31 47
2:5 350
2:9 87 , 144
2:10 120
5:7 511
5:7-8 387
6:2 139
7:11 178
11:18-19 413
11:24-25 356 , 463
12:12 421
13:4-7 70
15:8 117
15:22 10
15:53 319 , 343
16:22 8

2 CORINTHIANS

4:14 134
5:10 137

GALATIANS

1:1 140
3:7 522
3:10 493
3:13 494
5:17 136

EPHESIANS

1:18 76
1:21 524
2:8-9 133
4:4 230 , 230
4:8 418 , 484
4:26 139
4:30 189

PHILIPPIANS

2:10 134
4:13 124

COLOSSIANS

1:15 479 , 480 , 498 , 530 , 546
2:11-12 422

1 THESSALONIANS

2:15 390
4:16 10

2 THESSALONIANS

2:3 409 , 509
2:9 10

1 TIMOTHY

2:6 274
6:6-7 135

2 TIMOTHY

2:8 102

HEBREWS

1:3-4 62
1:13 62
3:1 313
3:5 426
9:13 385
11:5 45 , 393

JAMES

2:7 215
2:19 431
3:18 235
4:11 176
4:12 237

1 PETER

1:13-14 134
1:21 134
2:6 17
2:11 3
2:12 138
2:22 137
2:24 137
4:8 90
4:15-16 240
5:7 171

2 PETER

2:1 477

3:8 31, 476

1 JOHN

3:1 529

4:2 137

REVELATION

4:11 7

12:9 325

20:4-6 476

22:17 515

