

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 2

THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS WRITINGS

Volume 2

Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Melito and the Writers
of the Later Second Century

c. AD 170 – 220

S E R M O N I N D E X

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 2: Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Melito and the Writers of the Later Second Century

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

How this book is arranged

This is the second 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 writings from roughly AD 170 to 220, the generation after 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. The modern English versions of Tatian's Address to the Greeks, Athenagoras's Plea and On the Resurrection, and Theophilus's To Autolycus are used here; the other works are printed in older translations.

Short notes by the translator appear at the foot of the page of the modern English versions. 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

In the works printed in modern English, 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 older translations are not marked in this way. The Scripture Index

at the end of the book lists the marked references and the pages on which they are found.

In this volume

The first part of the book gathers the Greek apologists: Tatian, a pupil of Justin who later broke with the Church of Rome, Athenagoras of Athens, and Theophilus, bishop of Antioch. Each writes to educated pagans, answering the charges brought against Christians and setting the Christian account of God, the world and the resurrection beside the teaching of the philosophers.

The second part collects what remains of many other writers and churches: Melito's sermon On the Passover, letters and fragments touching the dispute over the date of Easter, writings against the new prophecy that began in Phrygia, and the record of the Scillitan martyrs, among the earliest Christian documents from North Africa.

The third part belongs to the Syriac-speaking East. It contains Tatian's Diatessaron, a continuous Gospel made from the four, Bardesanes of Edessa's dialogue on fate and the laws of the nations, and the letter of Mara bar Serapion. The letter is hard to date, and it is placed here for its language and setting rather than because its date is known.

Dates and authorship

Dates are approximate and are debated by scholars. Each work begins with a short introduction that states what is known about its author and its date, and what is uncertain.

PART ONE

The Greek Apologists

*Defences of the Christian faith written for pagan readers in the
generation after Justin Martyr.*

Address to the Greeks

TATIAN

c. AD 170

A sharp defense of Christianity addressed to Greek readers, written about AD 170 by a former pupil of Justin Martyr. Tatian rejects Greek philosophy and religion, argues that Moses is older than Homer, and tells how he came to the Scriptures.

A note for readers. Tatian wrote this while he was still in the church, but he later left it and taught a very strict way of life, refusing marriage, meat and wine. Early church writers counted that as error, and some readers see the harshness of his attitude beginning to show here. Read it with care.

CHAPTER 1

The Greeks Claim, Without Reason, the Invention of the Arts.

^{1a} Greeks, do not be so bitterly hostile to the barbarians, and do not begrudge them their teachings. Which of your pursuits did not get its start from the barbarians? The most distinguished of the Telmessians invented divination by dreams. The Carians invented foretelling the future by the stars. The Phrygians and the most ancient of the Isaurians invented divination from the flight of birds, and the Cypriots divination from sacrifices. The Babylonians gave you astronomy, the Persians magic, the Egyptians geometry, and the Phoenicians learning through letters. So stop calling your imitations discoveries. Orpheus taught you to practice poetry and song, and he also taught you initiation into the mysteries. The Tuscans taught you sculpture, and the Egyptian records of past times taught you to compose histories. You took flute-playing from Marsyas and Olympus, two Phrygian countrymen who devised the music of the shepherd's pipe. The Tyrrhenians invented the trumpet, and the Cyclopes invented bronze-working. A woman who once ruled the Persians, as Hellanicus says, was the first to compose letters. Her name was Atossa.¹

1b So lay down this arrogance, and do not put forward the elegance of your phrases. You praise yourselves, and naturally you have your own people at home to speak up for you. A person with any sense should wait for the testimony of others. People should also agree with one another in the way they speak. But you alone have ended up not even speaking alike in everyday conversation. The Dorians do not speak the same way as the people of Attica, and the Aeolians do not speak like the Ionians. With so much disagreement where there ought to be none, I do not know whom I am supposed to call a Greek. And the most absurd thing of all is that you have honored ways of speaking that are not your own. By sometimes making free use of foreign words, you have made your language a jumble. This is why we have said goodbye to your wisdom, even though someone was highly regarded in it.²

1c As the comic poet says: “These are gleanings and chatter, music-halls of swallows, ruiners of art.” Those who chase after this bawl until they are hoarse and croak like ravens. You devised rhetoric for injustice and slander. You sell the freedom of your words for pay, and you often present as not good what you just now presented as right. And you devised poetry so that you could compose battles, the love affairs of the gods, and the corruption of the soul.³

CHAPTER 2

The Vices and Errors of the Philosophers.

2a What impressive thing have you produced by philosophizing? Which of your most serious men has stayed free of boasting? Diogenes was proud of his self-sufficiency and boasted about his jar. Then he ate a raw octopus, was seized by a bowel disease, and died of it through his lack of self-control. Aristippus walked about in purple and lived a dissolute life with an air of respectability. Plato, the philosopher, was sold by Dionysius because of his gluttony. And Aristotle ignorantly set a limit to providence and fenced in happiness with the things that pleased him. With no sense of what a teacher owes his pupil, he flattered Alexander and forgot that he was only a youth.

1. “Tuscans” and “Tyrrhenians” are both names for the Etruscans of Italy, though Tatian lists them separately.

2. “Someone” may be Tatian’s modest way of referring to himself. The older translation takes it that way: “though I was once a great proficient in it.”

3. Tatian does not name the poet. The lines are from Aristophanes, *Frogs* 92–93, where they mock the young tragic poets.

Alexander, in true Aristotelian fashion, shut up his own friend because the friend would not bow down to him, and carried him around like a bear or a leopard. He certainly followed his teacher's doctrines! He showed off his courage and virtue at drinking parties, running his own dearest friend through with a spear. Then he wept and starved himself, on the pretext of grief, so that his own people would not hate him.⁴

^{2b} I would also laugh at those who still misuse his teachings. They say that the things below the moon are not under providence. Yet they are nearer to the earth than the moon, and lower than its course, and they exercise providence over things that have none! And according to Aristotle, those who have no beauty, no wealth, no bodily strength, and no noble birth have no happiness. Let people like that go on philosophizing.

CHAPTER 3

Ridicule of the Philosophers.

^{3a} I could not approve of Heraclitus, who said, "I searched myself out," because he was self-taught and proud. Nor could I praise him for hiding his writing in the temple of Artemis, mysteriously, so that it might be published later. Those who care about such things say that the tragic poet Euripides went down there and read it. Little by little he committed it to memory and carefully passed on the darkness of Heraclitus. His death exposed his ignorance. He was seized by dropsy and practiced medicine as if it were philosophy. He plastered himself with cow dung, and when the dung hardened it drew his whole body into contractions. He died in convulsions. Zeno must also be rejected. He declares that after the world-fire the same people will rise again to do the same things: Anytus and Meletus to accuse, Busiris to murder strangers, and Heracles again to perform his labors. Yet in his teaching about the world-fire he brings back more wicked men than just ones. There is one Socrates and a Heracles, and a few others like them, but only a few, not many.⁵

^{3b} For the wicked will turn out to be far more numerous than the good. And by his account God will be shown to be the maker of evils, since he dwells in sewers and worms and in those who do unspeakable things. The

4. The older translation says Aristippus lived loosely "in accordance with his professed opinions." The Greek word means something like "plausibly" or "with an air of respectability."

5. The older translation says Heraclitus was "pulled in pieces"; *σπασθείς* can mean "torn," but after the contractions just described it more likely means "seized with spasms."

eruptions of fire in Sicily exposed the boasting of Empedocles: he was no god, yet he all but passed himself off as one. I also laugh at the old wives' tales of Pherecydes, at the teaching Pythagoras inherited from him, and at Plato's imitation of Pythagoras, even if some would rather not admit it. Who would give his support to the dog-like mating of Crates? Would he not rather turn away from the puffed-up, mad chatter of men like him and set himself to seek what is truly worthwhile? So do not let yourselves be swept away by the gatherings of these philosophers who are no philosophers. They teach doctrines that contradict one another, and each one blurts out whatever comes into his head. They also have many quarrels among themselves. Each hates the other. They hold opposing opinions, and in their arrogance they choose the most prominent places for themselves. They ought not to court kings uninvited or to fawn on rulers, but to wait until the great men come to them.⁶

CHAPTER 4

The Christians Worship God Alone.

^{4a} Why, men of Greece, do you want to pit the governments against us, as if in a boxing match? And if I do not wish to follow the customs of certain people, why am I hated like the vilest criminal? Does the emperor order me to pay taxes? I am ready to pay. Does my master order me to serve him as a slave? I recognize my slavery. A man is to be honored as a man, but God alone is to be feared. He cannot be seen with human eyes, and no human craft can grasp him. Only if I am commanded to deny him will I not obey. I would rather die than be shown to be a liar and ungrateful. Our God has no origin in time. He alone is without beginning, and he himself is the beginning of all things. God is spirit. He does not run through matter. He is the maker of material spirits and of the forms found in matter. He is invisible and cannot be touched, and he himself is the Father of things perceived by the senses and of things unseen. We know him through his creation, and through his works we grasp his invisible power.⁷ [John 4:24; Romans 1:20; Romans

13:7; 1 Peter 2:17]

^{4b} I do not wish to worship the created work that he made for our sake. The sun and moon came into being for us. How then can I worship my own

6. The older translation reads "cynogamy" for *κυνογαμία*. The word refers to the Cynic Crates' reported public sexual union with Hipparchia, which Tatian compares to the mating of dogs.

servants? How can I declare wood and stone to be gods? The spirit that runs through matter is lower than the more divine Spirit. And that lower spirit, which is likened to the soul, must not be honored equally with the perfect God. Nor should the God who has no name be bribed with gifts. He who needs nothing must not be slandered by us as though he were in need. But I will set out our teaching more plainly.⁸

CHAPTER 5

The Doctrine of the Christians as to the Creation of the World.

^{5a} God was in the beginning. And the beginning, we have been taught, is the power of the Word. The Master of all things, who is himself the foundation of everything, was alone, since creation had not yet come into being. But since he was all power and himself the foundation of things seen and unseen, all things were with him. With him, by his power of reason, the Word himself, who was in him, also came to exist. By the will of his simple being the Word springs forth. The Word did not go out in vain but became the first-born work of the Father. We know him to be the beginning of the world. He came into being by distribution, not by cutting off. What is cut off is separated from the original. But what is distributed takes on its own role in God's plan and does not leave the one from whom it was taken lacking anything. Just as many fires are lit from one torch, yet the light of the first torch is not made less by the lighting of the many, so the Word, coming forth from the power of the Father, did not leave the one who begot him without Word.⁹

[*John 1:1; Colossians 1:15*]

^{5b} I myself am speaking and you are listening. Yet surely I, who am addressing you, do not become empty of speech because my speech has passed over to you. By sending out my voice I intend to put in order the unordered matter in you. And just as the Word, begotten in the beginning, in turn begot our creation, having made the matter for himself, so I too, born again in imitation of the Word and having gained a grasp of the truth, am reshaping the confusion of the matter that is akin to me. For matter is not without be-

7. The last sentence echoes Romans 1:20, where God's invisible qualities and eternal power are understood through the things he has made.

8. The older translation has "ineffable" for *ἀνώνμαστον*, literally "unnamable." It also renders *δαροδοκητέον* ("be bribed with gifts") as "presented with gifts," which loses the word's sense of bribery.

9. The last clause says the Father is not made *ἀλογος*, "without Word" or "without reason."

ginning as God is. Nor is it equal in power to God, as it would be if it had no beginning. It came into being, and it was not made by anyone else. It was brought forth by the Maker of all things alone.¹⁰

CHAPTER 6

Christians' Belief in the Resurrection.

^{6a} For this reason we also believe that there will be a resurrection of bodies after the end of all things. We do not mean what the Stoics teach, that things come round in certain cycles, the same things always coming into being and passing away to no useful purpose. We mean a resurrection that happens once for all, when our ages have run their course. This restoring will be of human beings only, and it will be for the purpose of judgment. Our judges are not Minos or Rhadamanthus, before whose death, according to the myths, no soul was ever judged. The one who tests us is God himself, our Maker. You may think us complete babblers and scrap-gatherers, but we do not care, because we have put our faith in this teaching. Before I was born I did not exist, and I did not know who I was; I existed only in the substance of fleshly matter. But once I was born, though I had not existed before, my birth made me sure that I exist. In the same way, I was born, and through death I will exist no longer and be seen no longer. Yet I will exist again, just as before I did not exist and then was born.¹¹ [*Acts 17:18*]

^{6b} Even if fire wipes out my poor flesh, the world takes in the vaporized matter. Even if I am consumed in rivers or seas, or torn apart by wild beasts, I am laid up in the storerooms of a rich Master. The poor and godless man does not know what is stored away. But God the King, when he wishes, will restore to its original state the substance that only he can see.

CHAPTER 7

Concerning the Fall of Man.

^{7a} The heavenly Word became spirit from the Father, and Word out of the rational power. In imitation of the Father who begot him, he made man an image of immortality. The purpose was that, as incorruption is with God, so man, by sharing in a portion of God, might also have immortality. Before

10. Tatian is rejecting the view, common among Greek philosophers and especially Platonists of his day, that matter is eternal and uncreated.

11. The Greek of the clause about "human beings only" is difficult and probably damaged in the manuscripts. The older translation takes it differently ("the constitution of things under which men alone live").

the making of men, then, the Word became the maker of angels. Each of these two kinds of creature was made with free will. Neither has goodness by nature, for that again belongs to God alone. Goodness is brought to completion by human beings through the freedom of their choice. The result is that the wicked man is justly punished, having become depraved through his own fault, while the righteous man is rightly praised for his good deeds, because in the exercise of his free will he did not transgress God's will.¹² 7b That is how matters stand with angels and men. The power of the Word has in itself foreknowledge of what is going to happen. What happens comes about not by fate, but by the decisions of free agents who make their choices. So the Word's power announced beforehand the outcomes of things to come. It also forbade wickedness by prohibitions, and it praised those who remained good. Men followed one who was shrewder than the rest, because he was the firstborn, and they declared him to be God, though he was rising up against the law of God. Then the power of the Word shut out from its company the one who began this madness and those who followed him. So the one who was made in the image of God became mortal, because the stronger spirit was separated from him. The firstborn one, through his transgression and ignorance, was shown to be a demon. Those who imitated him and his illusions became an army of demons, and because of their free will they were handed over to their own folly.¹³ [Genesis 1:27]

CHAPTER 8

The Demons Sin Among Mankind.

8a Men became the occasion for the demons' revolt. The demons drew up a chart of the arrangement of the stars for men and, like people playing at dice, they introduced Fate, which is grossly unjust. Under this Fate the judge and the one judged were both made, and the killers and the killed, the rich and the poor, are all the offspring of the same Fate. Every birth, as in a theater, provides entertainment for these beings, among whom, as Homer says, "unquenchable laughter arose among the blessed gods." They watch men fighting in single combat, and each eagerly takes a side. One of them marries, corrupts boys, and commits adultery; he laughs and is angry, runs away

12. Tatian speaks of the Word as "becoming spirit" from the Father. This language differs from the later, more settled wording of Christian teaching about the Son.

13. The Greek phrase about "his illusions" (*phantasmata*) is unclear. It may mean that his followers imitated his illusions, or that they were themselves his phantoms.

and is wounded. How can such a being not be thought mortal? The very deeds by which they showed people what kind of beings they really are have urged those who hear of them to do the same.¹⁴

^{8b} Surely the demons themselves, with Zeus their leader, have fallen under fate too, since they are mastered by the same passions as men? And besides, how can we honor beings whose teachings contradict each other so much? Rhea, whom the people of the Phrygian mountains call Cybele, is said to have made a law of castration because of Attis, whom she loved. But Aphrodite delights in the embraces of marriage. Artemis is a sorceress, while Apollo heals. The Gorgon, Poseidon's beloved, was beheaded, and from her sprang the horse Pegasus and Chrysaor. Athena and Asclepius then shared out the drops of her blood. He used his share to save lives, while she, from the same gore, became a killer of men and a maker of wars. It seems to me that the Athenians did not want to slander Athena. So they attribute to the Earth the child born from Hephaestus's union with her. They did this so that Athena would not be thought, like Atalanta because of Meleager, to have lost her manly courage through Hephaestus.¹⁵

^{8c} For the lame god, who makes brooches and curled spiral ornaments, probably tricked the motherless, orphaned girl with girlish trinkets. Poseidon goes sailing. Ares delights in wars. Apollo plays the lyre. Dionysus rules as tyrant over the Thebans. Kronos kills a tyrant. Zeus sleeps with his own daughter, and she becomes pregnant by him. Eleusis will now bear witness for me, and so will the mystic serpent, and Orpheus, who says, "Shut the doors against the uninitiated." Aidoneus seizes the Maiden, and his deeds have become mysteries. Demeter weeps for her daughter, and some people are deceived because of the Athenians. In the sacred precinct of Leto's son there is something called the Omphalos, but the Omphalos is the tomb of Dionysus. I praise you now, Daphne! By overcoming Apollo's lack of self-control you proved his gift of prophecy false. He did not foresee what would happen to you, so his art did him no good. Let the far-shooter tell me now how Zephyrus killed Hyacinthus. Zephyrus overcame him. The tragic poet

14. The older translation reads "the material of their apostasy." The Greek hypothesis can mean the basis, subject matter, or occasion. The pronoun "they/them" in this section refers to the demons.

15. Where the older translation has "poisoner," the Greek says Artemis is a magos, a "sorcerer" or "magician." The child born to the Earth is Erichthonius in Athenian legend, though Tatian does not name him.

says, “A breeze is the most honored carriage of the gods.” Yet Apollo was beaten by a mere breeze and lost the one he loved.¹⁶

CHAPTER 9

They Give Rise to Superstitions.

9a Such are the demons, and these are the ones who laid down fate. Their starting point was the making of animal figures. They had been thrown out of their dwelling in heaven, and they now lived among the creeping things on the earth, the swimming things in the waters, and the four-footed animals on the mountains. These creatures they thought worthy of heavenly honor. They wanted to be thought of as living in heaven themselves. By placing these creatures among the stars, they also wanted to make the senseless life on earth look reasonable. So the hot-tempered and the hard-worked, the self-controlled and the self-indulgent, the poor and the rich, all owe what they are to the very ones who legislated their birth. For the drawing of the zodiac is the work of gods. They say that when the light of one of them gains the upper hand, it robs most of the others of their due. And the one that is beaten usually prevails again later.

9b The seven planets are pleased with them, like men amusing themselves at a board game. But we are even higher than fate. Instead of wandering demons, we have learned to know one Master who does not wander. We are not led by fate, so we have rejected those who laid down its laws. Tell me, in God’s name, did Triptolemus sow the wheat and help the Athenians after the time of mourning? And why was Demeter not a benefactor to humankind before her daughter was lost? Erigone’s dog is shown in the sky, and so are the Scorpion, Artemis’s helper, Chiron the Centaur, the half-ship Argo, and Callisto’s bear. Then how was the sky left without decoration before these did the deeds mentioned? And to whom will it not seem ridiculous that the Delta is set among the stars? Some say this is because of Sicily, and others say it is the first letter of Zeus’s name.¹⁷

9c Why are Sardinia and Cyprus not honored in heaven too? And Zeus’s brothers divided the kingdoms among them. Why, then, have figures shaped like the letters of their names not been fixed in the sky as well? How can

16. “The Omphalos” is the “navel” stone at Delphi. Tatian says it was the tomb of Dionysus. “Lyre” translates the Greek *kitharistēs*, one who plays the *kithara*.

17. The “Delta” (Deltoton) is the triangle-shaped constellation. In Greek, Zeus’s name in the genitive is *Dios*, which begins with delta. Sicily was called “the Triangle” because of its shape.

Kronos, who was put in chains and thrown out of his kingdom, be made the manager of fate? And how can someone who no longer reigns give out kingdoms? So drop this nonsense. Do not break the law by hating us unjustly.

CHAPTER 10

Ridicule of the Heathen Divinities.

10a Men are said in the myths to be changed into other forms, but among you the gods are changed as well. Rhea becomes a tree. Zeus becomes a dragon because of Persephone. The sisters of Phaethon become poplars. Leto becomes a lowly creature, and because of her the island now called Delos was once named Ortygia. Tell me, does a god become a swan, take the form of an eagle, and take pride in his love for boys because Ganymede pours his wine? Why should I worship gods who take bribes and grow angry if they do not receive them? Let them keep their Fate. I do not want to bow down to wandering stars. What is this lock of hair of Berenice? Where were her stars before she died? How was the dead Antinous, a handsome youth, set up in the moon? Who took him up there? Perhaps it went like this. A man once mocked the gods by swearing falsely, for pay, that kings had gone up to heaven, and he was believed. In the same way someone made a god of Antinous, and was thought worthy of honor and reward for it.¹⁸

10b Tell me, why have you robbed God? Why do you dishonor his creation? You sacrifice a sheep, yet you worship the same animal. There is a Bull in the sky, and you slaughter its image. The Kneeler crushes a harmful creature, and the eagle that ate Prometheus, the maker of men, is honored. The swan is beautiful, of course, because he was an adulterer! The Dioscuri are beautiful too, who live on alternate days and carried off the daughters of Leucippus. Helen is better still, who left fair-haired Menelaus and followed Paris with his turban and his gold. Just and wise indeed is the one who moved that harlot to the Elysian fields! Yet not even Tyndareus' daughter has been made immortal. Euripides wisely shows Orestes putting this woman to death.¹⁹

18. The perjured witness who swore he saw a ruler rise to heaven was a known Roman practice. Cassius Dio (56.46) reports that a senator was paid to swear he had seen Augustus ascend.

19. In Euripides' play "Orestes," Orestes tries to kill Helen, but Apollo snatches her away and makes her immortal. Tatian's summary simplifies the play.

CHAPTER 11

The Sin of Men Due Not to Fate, But to Free-Will.

11a How then can I accept a birth governed by Fate, when I see what kind of managers it has? I do not want to be a king. I do not wish to be rich. I have refused military command. I hate fornication. I do not sail the seas out of insatiable greed. I do not strive to win crowns. I am free from the mad craving for glory. I despise death. I am above every kind of disease. Grief does not eat up my soul. If I am a slave, I put up with slavery. If I am free, I take no pride in my noble birth. I see that the sun is the same for everyone, and that there is one death for all, whether they have lived in pleasure or in want. The rich man sows, and the poor man shares in the same sowing. The richest die, and those who beg have the same limit to their lives. The rich need more things, and they gain credit along with reputation. But the poor man, and the one who is most modest, who reaches only for what suits his own station, gets by more easily. Why do you lie awake at night out of love of money, as if Fate made you do it?

11b Why, as if by Fate, do you reach for things again and again, and die again and again? Die to the world, and refuse its madness. Live to God, and by coming to know him, put away your old birth. We were not made in order to die. We die through our own doing. Our free will has destroyed us. We who were free have become slaves. We were sold because of sin. God made nothing wicked. It was we who brought wickedness forth. But we who brought it forth are able to refuse it again.²⁰ [*Romans 7:14; Romans 6:1f*]

CHAPTER 12

The Two Kinds of Spirits.

12a We recognize two kinds of spirit. One is called the soul. The other is greater than the soul and is the image and likeness of God. Both were present in the first human beings, so that in one respect they were material, and in another they were above matter. It stands like this. One can see that the whole structure of the world, and all of creation, came from matter, and that matter itself was brought forth by God. So matter is to be thought of as crude and shapeless before it was divided, and as ordered and arranged after the division was made in it. So the heaven is made of matter, and so are the

20. "Sold because of sin" echoes Paul's "sold under sin" (Romans 7:14). "Die to the world... live to God" recalls Romans 6:10-11 and Galatians 2:19.

stars in it. The earth too, and everything we conceive as coming from it, has the same makeup, so that all things have a common origin.²¹ [*Genesis 1:26*]
12b Given all this, there are differences among the things made of matter. One is more beautiful. Another is beautiful too, but surpassed by something better. Take the body: its makeup follows a single plan, and the reason it was made is bound up with it. Even so, there are differences of honor within it. One part is an eye, another an ear, another the arrangement of the hair and the ordering of the inner organs, and another the joining together of marrow, bones and sinews. Each part differs from the others, yet in the way they are arranged there is a harmony, like voices in agreement. In the same way the world, by the power of the One who made it, has some things that are brighter and others unlike them. By the will of the Creator it has received a share of material spirit. A person can understand these matters in detail if he does not, out of empty conceit, push away the most divine explanations. These have been set forth in writing over the course of time, and they make those who give heed to them very dear to God.²²

12c Even so, the demons (as you call them) took their structure from matter and gained the spirit that comes from it. They have become dissolute and greedy. Some of them turned toward what is purer. Others chose the lesser part of matter and live in a way that matches it. These are the ones you worship, men of Greece: beings made of matter and found far from good order. For the ones I have described turned, through their own folly, to vain glory. They slipped the reins and were eager to become robbers of deity. The Master of all has let them revel until the world reaches its end and is dissolved and the Judge arrives. Then all people who, under the demons' attack, have reached out for the knowledge of the perfect God will receive, through their struggles, a fuller witness on the day of judgment. 12d So there is spirit in the heavenly lights, spirit in angels, spirit in plants and waters, spirit in people, spirit in animals. It is one and the same spirit, yet it has differences within itself. We say these things not from mere talk, nor from plausible notions and clever argument, but using words of a more divine utterance. So those of you who want to learn, make haste. You do not reject the Scythian Anacharsis, so

21. Tatian holds that matter is not eternal like God but was itself produced by God. He argues this earlier in the Address (chapter 5).

22. The older version has "great lovers of God." The Greek word *θεοφιλείς* can mean "loved by God" or "loving God"; the older version took the second sense, and "dear to God" follows the first.

do not now think it beneath you to be taught by people who follow a barbarian code of law. Make use of our teachings, at least as you would the foretelling of the Babylonians. Listen to us as we speak, at least as you would to an oak giving oracles. Yet those things I mentioned are only the rival cleverness of demons who have lost their senses. The things taught among us are higher than the world's way of grasping things.²³

CHAPTER 13

Theory of the Soul's Immortality.

13a The soul, men of Greece, is not immortal in itself. It is mortal. Yet it is possible for the same soul not to die. If it does not know the truth, it dies and is dissolved along with the body. But at the end of the world it rises again with the body, and receives death by way of punishment, in immortality. Again, if it has gained the knowledge of God, it does not die, even though it is dissolved for a time. For in itself it is darkness, and there is nothing luminous in it. This is what was meant by the saying: "The darkness does not comprehend the light." For the soul did not save the Spirit; it was saved by the Spirit, and the light comprehended the darkness. Indeed the Logos is the light of God, and the soul that lacks knowledge is darkness.²⁴ [John 1:5]

13b This is why the soul, when it lives alone, bends downward toward matter and dies together with the flesh. But when it has joined itself to the divine Spirit, it is no longer without help. It goes up to the places where the Spirit leads it, for the Spirit's dwelling is above, while the soul's origin is from below. From the beginning the Spirit was the soul's companion. But the Spirit left the soul when it would not follow. The soul kept something like a spark of the Spirit's power, but because of the separation it could not see perfect things. In seeking God it went astray and invented many gods, following the demons with their rival cleverness. The Spirit of God is not present in everyone. But it took up its dwelling with some who lived justly and was joined with their souls, and through predictions it announced hidden things to the other souls. The souls that obeyed wisdom drew to themselves the kindred Spirit. The ones that did not obey, and rejected the servant of the God who

23. "The Babylonians' foretelling" refers to their astrology and divination. The speaking oak is probably the oracle at Dodona, where priests interpreted the rustling of a sacred oak. Anacharsis was a Scythian sage whom the Greeks admired.

24. The Greek verb translated "comprehend" can mean "grasp with the mind" or "overtake and overcome." Here it may carry something of both senses.

suffered, showed themselves to be fighters against God rather than worshippers of God.²⁵

CHAPTER 14

The Demons Shall Be Punished More Severely Than Men.

You Greeks are like that too. You are smooth talkers, but your thinking is strange. You have practiced the rule of many rather than the rule of one, supposing that in following demons you follow strong powers. A robber, being inhuman, usually overpowers people like himself by sheer daring. In the same way the demons, having drifted into great wickedness, have deceived the souls among you that are left on their own, using ignorance and illusions. These demons do not die easily, because they have no share in flesh. But while they live they practice the pursuits of death, and they themselves die as often as they train their followers in sins. So what is now their special advantage, that they do not die as men do, will still be theirs when they are about to be punished. They will not share in everlasting life. Instead of death they will receive their share in an immortal state. We, for whom dying comes easily now, will afterward receive either immortality with enjoyment or pain together with immortality. In the same way the demons misuse the present life for wrongdoing and die continually through living itself. Afterward they will have the same immortality, like that of the time when they lived. In its makeup it will be like that of the people who deliberately did what the demons laid down for them during their lifetime. Is it not the case that fewer kinds of sin blossom among men because they do not live long, while for these demons wrongdoing has grown greater because their life has no limit?²⁶

CHAPTER 15

Necessity of a Union with the Holy Spirit.

^{15a} So now we must seek again what we once had and have lost. We must join the soul to the Holy Spirit and work at the union that is according to God. The human soul has many parts and is not of one part only. It is composite,

25. The Greek has a perfect participle, "the God who has suffered," which most likely refers to Christ's suffering; interpreters differ on whether "the servant" is the Spirit or the prophets and messengers through whom the Spirit spoke.

26. The Greek has no word for "blessed." The clause is compressed but seems to mean that the demons receive, in place of death, a share in an immortal state, and that this endless existence is part of their punishment.

so that it can be seen through the body. It could never appear apart from a body, and the flesh does not rise again without a soul. Man is not, as the croakers teach, “a rational animal, able to receive understanding and knowledge.” By their own account even the irrational animals would then turn out to be able to receive understanding and knowledge. Man alone is the image and likeness of God. By “man” I do not mean the one who acts like the animals. I mean the one who has gone far beyond mere humanity, toward God himself.²⁷ [Genesis 1:26] 15b I have dealt with this more exactly in my work *On Animals*. For now I must say what the main point is: what the image and likeness according to God really is. What cannot be compared is nothing other than Being itself. What is compared is nothing other than what is like it. The perfect God is without flesh, but man is flesh. The soul is the bond of the flesh, and the flesh is what holds the soul. If this kind of composite creature is like a temple, God wants to dwell in it through the Spirit who acts as his representative. If the dwelling is not like that, man is better than the wild beasts only in his articulate speech. In everything else he lives as they do, and he is not a likeness of God.²⁸ [Genesis 1:26; 1 Corinthians 3:16]

15c No demon has any flesh. Their make-up is spiritual, like fire or air. Only people guarded by God’s Spirit can easily see the bodies of the demons. The rest cannot see them at all; I mean those who have only soul. The lesser cannot grasp the greater. For this reason the nature of the demons has no room for repentance, for they are reflections of matter and of wickedness. Matter wanted to rule over the soul. By their own free choice the demons handed down laws of death to men. But men, after losing immortality, have conquered death by the death that comes through faith. A calling through repentance has been given to them, in line with the saying: “Since they were made a little lower than the angels.” Anyone who has been defeated can win again, if he rejects what makes up death. What that is will be easy to see for those who desire immortality.²⁹ [Hebrews 2:7]

CHAPTER 16

Vain Display of Power by the Demons.

16a The demons who give orders to men are not the souls of men. How could human souls be active after death? Only if a man who was foolish and power-

27. “Croakers” translates a Greek word meaning “raven-voiced.” It is Tatian’s insult for the philosophers who define man as a “rational animal.”

28. *On Animals* is a work of Tatian’s that has not survived.

less while alive were believed to receive a more active power once he is dead. That is not so, as we have shown elsewhere. It is also hard to believe that the immortal soul, hindered by the parts of the body, becomes wiser once it leaves the body. The demons, in their wickedness, rage madly among men. They turn men's minds aside with various false stage-performances. Those minds already lean downward, and the demons make them unable to rise up for the journey to heaven. But the things of the world are not hidden from us. The divine is easily grasped by us, because the power that makes souls immortal has come to us.³⁰ 16b The demons are also seen by those who have only soul. Sometimes they show themselves to men so that they may be thought to be something. Sometimes they do it to harm them, as ill-intentioned friends might harm enemies. Sometimes they do it to give those who are like themselves occasions to honor them. If they could, they would certainly have dragged down heaven along with the rest of creation. But they do not do this at all, because they cannot. Instead they use the lower matter to make war on the matter that is like themselves. Anyone who wants to conquer them must renounce matter. Armed with the breastplate of the heavenly Spirit, he will be able to save everything it encloses. There are indeed diseases and disorders of the matter in us. But when these occur, the demons claim to be their cause. They attack whenever sickness overtakes a person. Sometimes they themselves shake the condition of the body with the storm of their own folly. But when they are struck by the word of God's power, they go away in fear, and the sick person is healed.³¹

CHAPTER 17

They Falsely Promise Health to Their Votaries.

17a What can we say about Democritus and his "sympathies and antipathies"? Only that, as the common saying goes, the man from Abdera is an "Abdera-talker." The man who gave the city its name was, they say, a friend of Heracles, and he was eaten by the horses of Diomedes. In the same way, the man who boasts of Ostanes the magician will be handed over on the day of the end as food for eternal fire. And you too, if you do not stop your laughter,

29. The last sentence of the Greek is awkward, and its exact sense is uncertain.

30. Here Tatian probably speaks of the "immortal soul" on his opponents' terms. Elsewhere (chapter 13) he says the soul is not immortal by nature, though it is able not to die. Souls lost immortality and receive it again through union with God's Spirit.

31. The "breastplate" recalls the armor imagery of Ephesians 6:14–17 and 1 Thessalonians 5:8.

will suffer the same punishments as the sorcerers. So listen to me, Greeks, as I cry out as if from a height. Do not mock me and so pin your own senselessness on the herald of the truth. An affliction is not destroyed by a counter-affliction. A madman is not cured by little leather charms hung on him.³²

17b Demons do visit people. The sick man, the man who says he is in love, the man who hates, and the man who wants revenge all take them as helpers. This is how their scheme works. The shapes of written letters, and the lines made from them, cannot in themselves signify what is written. Men have made them signs of their thoughts, and they know, from the particular combination, how the order of the letters has been fixed to mean something. In the same way, the many kinds of roots, and the use of sinews and bones, have no power of their own. They are only the “alphabet” of the demons’ wickedness, and the demons have set what each is good for. When the demons see that men have accepted the service these things offer, they take hold of the men and make them their slaves.³³

17c How could it be good to serve adultery? How could it be worthy to help those who come wanting to hate others? Or how is it right to credit matter, and not God, with help for the insane? By craft the demons turn men away from the worship of God, and persuade them to trust in herbs and roots. But if God had made these things to do whatever men want, He would be the maker of evil things. In fact He Himself made everything that is good in its way. It is the reckless excess of the demons that used what is in the world to do harm. The form of evil in these things belongs to them and not to the perfect God. Think about it. Suppose that while I am alive I am not wicked at all. How could it be that once I am dead, what remains of me will produce something perceptible? It does nothing of my doing, and it cannot move or even feel. And how will a man who has died a most pitiable death be able to serve in punishing someone? If that were so, he would much sooner avenge himself on his own enemy. If he could help others, he could much more make himself his own avenger.³⁴

32. Tatian is playing on words. “Sympathy” and “antipathy” are built on the Greek word *pathos* (“feeling,” “suffering,” “affliction”), and his last sentences turn that word against the theory.

33. The word rendered “alphabet” (*stoicheiōsis*) comes from *stoicheion*, which means both “element” and “letter of the alphabet.” That double meaning is what ties it to Tatian’s comparison with writing.

34. “Wicked” translates *mochthēros*, which can also mean “wretched” or “worthless.” The exact point of the clause is uncertain. Tatian seems to mean that a person’s dead remains cannot have powers the living person never had.

CHAPTER 18

They Deceive, Instead of Healing.

18a Drug-lore in every form, whether medicine or sorcery, comes from the same contrivance. If someone is healed by matter because he trusts in it, he will be healed far better by looking to the power of God. Poisons are material compounds, and in the same way the remedies are made of the same stuff. Suppose we refuse the worse kind of material. Even so, people often try to heal by combining one of the bad things with another, and so they misuse bad things for a good end. Someone who dines with a robber may not be a robber himself, but he shares the punishment because he shared the table. In the same way, a man who is not wicked but mixes with the wicked, and joins them in using something for a supposed good, will be punished by God the Judge for sharing in it. Why will the man who trusts in the workings of matter not trust God?³⁵

18b Why do you not go to the more powerful Master? Why do you rather treat yourself, as the dog does with grass, the deer with a viper, the boar with river crabs, the lion with apes? Why do you make gods of the things in the world? And when you treat your neighbor, why are you called a benefactor? Follow the power of the Word. Demons do not heal. By their craft they take men captive. The most admirable Justin rightly declared that these beings are like robbers. Robbers are accustomed to take people alive and then give them back to their families for a ransom. In the same way, the so-called gods visit the limbs of certain people. Then they work through dreams to win glory for themselves. They order such people to come out in public, with everyone watching. When they have had their fill of worldly things, they fly away from the sufferers, cancel the sickness they had contrived, and restore the people to their former state.³⁶

CHAPTER 19

Depravity Lies at the Bottom of Demon-Worship.

19a You do not understand these things, so let us who know them teach you. You claim to despise death and to practice self-sufficiency. But your philo-

35. The Greek word *pharmakeia* covers drugs, medicine and sorcery, and since Tatian goes on to speak of healing remedies he seems to include all of these, so neither “medicine” nor “sorcery” alone captures it.

36. The older English says Justin “denounced them as robbers.” The Greek says he declared that they “are like robbers.”

sophers fall so far short of any such discipline that some of them take 600 gold pieces a year from the emperor of the Romans for nothing useful. They are paid so that not even their long beards go unpaid. Crescens, who made his nest in the great city, surpassed everyone in his love of boys, and he was thoroughly given to the love of money. He claimed to despise death, yet he feared death so much that he schemed to bring it on Justin, and on me too, as though death were an evil. He did so because Justin, by preaching the truth, exposed the philosophers as gluttons and cheats. Which of the philosophers was he accustomed to persecute, except you alone? If you say that death should not be feared, in agreement with our teachings, then do not die out of human craving for glory, as Anaxarchus did. Become despisers of death for the sake of the knowledge of God.³⁷

19b The structure of the world is good, but the way of life in it is bad. As at a public festival, you can see people who do not know God being cheered as if in a theater. For what is divination? Why have you been led astray by it? It is your servant in the greed of this world. You want to make war, and you take Apollo as your adviser in bloodshed. You want to carry off a girl, and you choose to have the demon fight on your side. You fall sick through your own fault, and just as Agamemnon wished for ten counselors, you want gods to be with you. A woman drinks water and goes into a frenzy, and from incense she loses her senses, and you say that she prophesies. Apollo was a foreseer and a teacher of prophets, yet in the matter of Daphne he deceived himself. Tell me, does an oak prophesy? Do birds, too, foretell the future? Are you, then, lower than animals and plants?³⁸

19c So it is a fine thing for you to become a prophesying piece of wood, and to take on what belongs to the creatures that roam the air! The one who makes you love money also predicts that you will be rich. The one who stirs up strife and fighting also forecasts victory in war. If you rise above the passions, you will despise everything in the world. We are people like this, so do not loathe us. Reject the demons and follow the one God. "All things came into being by him, and apart from him not one thing came into being." If there is poison among growing things, that has come about because of our

37. The question "Which of the philosophers...except you alone?" is obscure in the Greek, and the text may be faulty.

38. In Homer's *Iliad* (book 2), Agamemnon wishes he had ten counselors like Nestor. The prophesying oak is probably the famous oak oracle of Zeus at Dodona.

sinfulness. I can show you the likeness of these things. Only listen, and the one who believes will recognize it.³⁹ [John 1: 3]

CHAPTER 20

Thanks are Ever Due to God.

20a Even if you are healed by drugs (I grant you this as a concession), you must still credit the cure to God. For the world still drags us down, and in my weakness I go looking for material things. The wing of the soul is the perfect spirit. The soul threw this spirit off through sin and fluttered like a fledgling, and it fell to the ground. Having left its fellowship with heaven, it longed to share in lesser things. The demons were moved to another dwelling, and the first-formed human beings were driven out. The demons were thrown down from heaven. The humans were driven from earth, though not from this earth, but from an order of things better than the one here. Now, since we long for our former state, we must put aside everything that stands in the way. The heaven, my friend, is not boundless. It is limited and has an end. Beyond it are the better realms. They have no change of seasons, which is what brings on various diseases. They enjoy a perfect temperature, and they have a day that never ends and a light that people down here cannot approach. Those who worked on geographies recorded the regions as far as a man can go. They had nothing to say about what lies beyond, because it cannot be observed. So they pointed instead to ebbing tides, to seas full of weed or mud, and to places scorched with fire or frozen solid.⁴⁰ [1 Timothy 6: 16]

20b But we have learned through the prophets what we did not know ourselves. They were convinced, along with their souls, that the heavenly spirit would acquire a covering over mortality, and so they foretold what other souls did not know. Everyone who is stripped bare can obtain this adornment and run back to the ancient kinship.⁴¹ [2 Corinthians 5: 4]

CHAPTER 21

Doctrines of the Christians and Greeks Respecting God Compared.

21a We are not being foolish, men of Greece, and we are not talking nonsense when we announce that God came to be in the form of a man. You

39. Tatian's words echo John 1:3, though he writes "by him" where John has "through him."

40. "The better realms" translates Greek *aiones* (literally "ages"), used here for the higher worlds beyond the heavens. "A light that people...cannot approach" recalls 1 Timothy 6:16.

who revile us, compare your myths with our accounts. Athena, they say, became Deiphobus for Hector's sake. Phoebus, with his uncut hair, pastured the shambling cattle for Admetus's sake. And the wife of Zeus came to Semele as an old woman. When you dwell on such stories, how can you laugh at us? Your Asclepius is dead. The man who deflowered the fifty virgins at Thespieae in one night gave himself up to be eaten by fire and is gone. Prometheus, chained to the Caucasus, suffered punishment for the good he did to humans. By your own account Zeus is jealous, and he hides the dream from people because he wants them to perish. So look at your own records, and at least accept us as telling myths like yours.⁴² [*Philippians* 2: 7]

21b We are not out of our minds; it is your stories that are nonsense. If you speak of the birth of gods, you also show them to be mortal. Why is Hera not pregnant now? Has she grown old, or is there no one to inform you? Listen to me now, men of Greece, and do not turn your myths and your gods into allegory. If you try to do this, you yourselves do away with the divinity you believe in. If your demons are what they are said to be, they are bad in character. If they are given a more natural meaning, they are not what they are said to be. As for worshiping the substance of the elements, I could never be persuaded to do it, and I could never persuade my neighbor to do it. Metrodorus of Lampsacus, in his work on Homer, has argued very foolishly, turning everything into allegory.⁴³

21c Metrodorus says that Hera, Athena, and Zeus are not what the people think who set up sacred enclosures and precincts for them. They are, he says, forms of nature and arrangements of the elements. And of course you will say the same about Hector, Achilles, Agamemnon, and absolutely all the Greeks and barbarians, with Helen and Paris. Since they are all of the same nature, you will say they were brought into the poem for the sake of its plot, and that none of these men existed. We have put these points forward only for the sake of argument. It is not right even to compare our grasp of God with the views of people who wallow in matter and mud.

41. The Greek is compact: "along with their souls" may go with "convinced" or with "the heavenly spirit." Compare 2 Corinthians 5:1–4, where Paul speaks of being clothed over (*ependysasthai*), the same root as the Greek word for "covering" here.

42. This is probably an allusion to *Iliad* 2, where Zeus sends Agamemnon a deceptive dream in order to bring ruin on the Greeks.

43. Metrodorus of Lampsacus was a Greek thinker of the fifth century BC, an associate of Anaxagoras. He was known for explaining Homer's gods and heroes as symbols of natural forces.

CHAPTER 22

Ridicule of the Solemnities of the Greeks.

22a What are your teachings like, anyway? Who would not mock your public festivals? They are held in honor of wicked demons, and they bring men into disgrace. I have often seen a certain man. I was amazed at the sight, and after the amazement I felt contempt. Inwardly he is one person, but outwardly he pretends to be what he is not. He puts on great airs of delicacy and twists himself about in every way. Now he flashes his eyes, now he bends his hands about, and he raves like a man possessed behind a face of clay. At one moment he becomes Aphrodite, at another Apollo. He is a single man who accuses all the gods, a summary of superstition, a slanderer of heroic deeds, an actor of murders, a recorder of adultery, a storehouse of madness, a teacher of perverts, and a cause of men being condemned. Yet such a man is praised by everyone. I have rejected him, false in everything as he is. I reject his godlessness, his practices, and the man himself.⁴⁴

22b But you are carried off like plunder by such people, and you abuse those who do not share your pursuits. I do not want to stand gaping at a crowd of singers, and I do not want to share the feelings of a man who nods and moves in unnatural ways. What wonderful or exceptional thing is done among you? They speak shameful things through the nose. They make movements they should not make. Your daughters and sons watch men on the stage play the teacher on how one ought to commit adultery. Fine places your auditoriums are! They proclaim everything that is wickedly done at night, and they delight their hearers with the sound of shameful words. Fine, too, are your lying poets, who deceive their hearers with their artful devices.

CHAPTER 23

Of the Pugilists and Gladiators,

I have seen men weighed down by bodily training, carrying around the load of the flesh on them. Prizes and crowns are set before them, and the organizers of the games urge them on, not to courage but to a contest of violence and strife, and the one who hits hardest is crowned. These are the lesser evils. Who would not hesitate to speak of the greater ones? Some give themselves

44. "A face of clay" is uncertain. It may mean a mask, or a face smeared with paint or mud. The man described is evidently a stage performer, probably a mime or dancer.

up to idleness because of their dissolute living, and they sell themselves to be killed. The poor man sells himself, and the rich man buys the killers. Spectators sit down to watch them, and the fighters battle one another in single combat over nothing, and no one comes down to help. Is this really something you do well? The man who stands highest among you gathers an army of murderers, promising to keep a band of robbers. These robbers go out from him, and all of you come together for the show. There you become judges, partly of the wickedness of the organizer and partly of the wickedness of the men who fight. The man who has missed the killing is grieved, because he was not sentenced to be a spectator of wicked, godless and foul deeds. You sacrifice animals to have meat to eat, and you buy men to provide your soul with cannibal feasting, feeding it with the most godless bloodshed. The robber kills in order to take; the rich man buys gladiators in order that they may be killed.

CHAPTER 24

Of the Other Public Amusements.

What good does it do me to watch a man playing Euripides' madman and acting out the matricide of Alcmaeon? He does not even keep his own natural appearance. He gapes wide, carries a sword about, shrieks, is set on fire, and wears an inhuman costume. Away, too, with the mythical tales of Acusilaus, and with Menander, who put that same kind of talk into verse. Why should I stand amazed at the legendary flute-player? Why should I busy myself with Aristoxenus and the Theban Antigenides? We leave to you the things that bring no benefit. Either be persuaded by our teachings, or in the same way give up your own.⁴⁵

CHAPTER 25

Boastings and Quarrels of the Philosophers.

^{25a} What great and wonderful thing do your philosophers do? They neglect one of their shoulders and leave it bare. They wear their hair long and grow beards, and they go about with nails like the claws of wild beasts. They say they need nothing, but like Proteus they need a tanner for their wallet, a weaver for their cloak, and a woodcutter for their staff. Because of their glut-

45. The Greek about Aristoxenus can be read two ways. He may be named alongside Antigenides, as here, or he may be a comparison ("like Aristoxenus"), as in the older translation. Aristoxenus wrote on music, and Antigenides of Thebes was a famous flute-player.

tony they need the rich, and a cook as well. You who imitate the dog, you do not know God, and so you have turned to imitating an animal without reason. You cry out in public with an air of authority and make yourself the avenger of your own cause. If you receive nothing, you hurl abuse, and philosophy becomes for you a trade for making a living. You follow the teachings of Plato, and a loud Epicurean debater stands up against you. Again, you want to follow Aristotle, and someone who follows Democritus abuses you.⁴⁶

^{25b} Pythagoras says that he was once Euphorbus, and he is the heir of Pherecydes' teaching. Aristotle, on the other hand, attacks the immortality of the soul. The schools that succeed one another among you are quarrelsome, so you who disagree with each other fight against those who agree among themselves. One of you says that God is a body; I say that He is without a body. One says the world cannot be dissolved; I say it will be dissolved. One says a burning up of the world happens at set times; I say it happens once for all. One says that Minos and Rhadamanthus are the judges; I say God Himself is. One says that only the soul is made immortal; I say that the poor flesh joined to it is made immortal too. What harm are we doing you, men of Greece? Why do you hate those who follow the word of God as if they were the most defiled of men? There is no cannibalism among us. It is you, the educated, who have become false witnesses. Among you, Pelops becomes a meal for the gods and also the beloved of Poseidon. Kronos eats up his sons, and Zeus swallows Metis.⁴⁷

CHAPTER 26

Ridicule of the Studies of the Greeks.

^{26a} Stop parading the words of others in triumph, like the jackdaw decking itself out in feathers that are not its own. If every city took back its own dialect from you, your clever arguments would fail. You search for who God is, yet you do not know what is within you. You gape at the sky and fall into pits. Your books are like labyrinths, and their readers are like the jar of the Danaids. Why do you divide time for me, saying that one part of it is past, another present, and another future? How can the future go by if the present

46. "Proteus" is probably Peregrinus Proteus, a Cynic philosopher of the second century. "Dog" alludes to the Cynics, whose name comes from the Greek word for dog.

47. Tatian refers to the myths of Pelops, served up to the gods by his father Tantalus, and of Zeus swallowing Metis. The Greek simply adds "and the beloved of Poseidon." The old translation's "although beloved by Poseidon" is an interpretation.

is here? Sailors on a moving ship think in their ignorance that the mountains are running past. In the same way you do not realize that it is you who are running past, while the age stands still for as long as the One who made it wills it to exist.⁴⁸

26b Why am I accused for speaking what is my own, while you hurry to tear down everything I say? Were you not born in the same way as we were, and did you not share in the same ordering of the world? Why do you claim that wisdom is found among you alone? You have no other sun, no different risings of the stars, no more distinguished kind of birth, and no special kind of death set apart from other men. The grammarians started all this foolish talk. You divide wisdom into parts, and so you have been cut off from the wisdom that is according to truth. You then gave the names of those parts to particular men. You do not know God, and you fight among yourselves and pull each other down. For this reason you are all nothing. You claim the words of others as your own, and you talk together like a blind man to a deaf one. Why do you keep a carpenter's tools when you do not know how to build? Why do you take up words while staying far away from deeds? You are puffed up with glory, and brought low when misfortunes come.⁴⁹

26c You make irrational use of outward appearances. In public you parade yourselves, but you hide your teachings away in corners. When we recognized you for what you were, we left you. We no longer touch anything of yours, and we follow the word of God. Why, my friend, do you stir up a war among the letters? Why do you make their sounds clash like fists in a boxing match, with your Athenian lisping, when you ought to speak more naturally? If you speak Attic though you are not an Athenian, tell me why you do not speak Doric. Why does one dialect seem to you more barbarous, and the other more pleasant for conversation?⁵⁰

CHAPTER 27

The Christians are Hated Unjustly.

27a If you hold on to the education of those people, why do you fight against me for choosing the teachings I want? Is it not absurd that you do not punish

48. The Danaids were punished in the underworld by having to fill a leaking jar forever. The Greek word *aiōn* (translated "age") can mean "age," "world," or "time."

49. The old translation reads "you arrogate to yourselves the sole right of discussion." The Greek says that you appropriate (take as your own) the words, that is, the arguments of others.

a robber just because of the name he is charged with, until you have learned the truth exactly, yet you hate us on the strength of an unexamined slander? Diagoras was an Athenian, but you punished him for divulging the mysteries of the Athenians. And yet you read his Phrygian discourses and hate us. You own the writings of Leo, but you resent the refutations we bring against them. You have the opinions of Apion about the gods of Egypt on your own shelves, and yet you proclaim us the most godless of men. Among you the tomb of Olympian Zeus is shown, even if someone says the Cretans are liars. The whole assembly of your many gods is nothing. Even if Epicurus, who despises them, serves as torchbearer, I still do not hide from the rulers the understanding of God that I hold concerning the universe.⁵¹

27b Why do you advise me to be false to my way of life? You say we should despise death, so why do you teach us to escape it by skill? I do not have the heart of a deer. But the pursuits of your discourses are like Thersites, who spoke without measure. How could I be persuaded by someone who says the sun is a red-hot lump of metal and the moon is earth? Such claims are contests of words, not an orderly setting out of the truth. And is it not foolish to trust the books of Herodorus on the story of Heracles? They proclaim that there is an upper earth, and that the lion killed by Heracles came down from it. What good are Attic style, the philosophers' heaped-up chains of argument, the plausibility of syllogisms, the measurements of the earth, the positions of the stars and the courses of the sun? Anyone who busies himself with such inquiries is making his own doctrines into law for himself.⁵²

CHAPTER 28

Condemnation of the Greek Legislation.

This is why I also condemned your legislation. There ought to be one way of life, common to all. As it is, there are as many sets of laws as there are kinds of cities, so that what is shameful among some people is admirable among others. The Greeks, for example, think that sleeping with one's mother is to be avoided, but the Persian Magi hold this practice to be most noble. Sex

50. "Outward appearances" translates *schēmata*, which can mean dress, bearing, or manner (here probably the philosophers' costume and pose). Attic and Doric were Greek dialects.

51. The last sentence is obscure in the Greek, and the text may be damaged. The sense given here follows the older translation.

52. "Heaped-up chains of argument" translates a word meaning "heap." The same word was also a technical term for the "sorites," a type of chain argument.

with boys is punished by the barbarians, but the Romans honor it with special privileges, as they try to gather herds of boys like herds of grazing mares.

CHAPTER 29

Account of Tatian's Conversion.

29a So I saw these things. I also took part in the mysteries, and I examined the religions found everywhere, which are carried on by effeminate men and men-women. Among the Romans I found their Latiarian Zeus delighting in human gore and in the blood of men killed. I found Artemis, not far from the great city, taking up the same kind of deeds. And I found one demon in one place and another in another, stirring up outbreaks of evil. So I withdrew by myself and looked for a way to discover the truth. While I was thinking over serious matters, I happened to come across some barbarian writings. They were older than the doctrines of the Greeks and more divine than the Greeks' error. I was persuaded by them for these reasons: the plainness of their language, the lack of artifice in those who spoke, the easily grasped account of the making of the universe, the foretelling of things to come, the extraordinary quality of the commandments, and the teaching that one ruler governs the whole.⁵³

29b When my soul had been taught by God, I understood that some things have the character of a sentence of condemnation, while others set us free from slavery in the world. They pull us away from many rulers and ten thousand tyrants. They give us not something we had never received, but what we had received and were prevented by error from keeping.⁵⁴

CHAPTER 30

How He Resolved to Resist the Devil.

Now that I have been initiated into the grasp of these things and have made it my own, I want to strip off, like a child, the things of infancy. For we know that the make-up of wickedness is like that of the tiniest seeds. It grew strong from a small starting point, but it will be dissolved again if we obey the words of God and do not scatter ourselves. For through a certain hidden

53. "Latiarian Zeus" is Jupiter Latiaris, worshiped at the Latin festival. Other early Christian writers also claimed that human blood was offered to him. "The great city" is Rome. The Artemis meant is probably Diana of Aricia, near Rome, whose priest was said to win his office by killing his predecessor.

54. The Greek says only "some things... others," without saying which is which. The older English takes the first group to be the Greek writings, but that is an interpretation.

treasure he gained mastery over what is ours. In digging for it we are filled with dust, but we give it the basis for its standing. By accepting the whole of his possession, he took control of the more precious wealth. Let this be said to our own people. To you Greeks, what else should I say than this: do not abuse those who are better than you, and do not take it as a reason for mockery if they are called barbarians. If you wish, you will be able to find the reason why not everyone can understand one another's language. For to those who want to examine our teachings I will give an easy and plentiful account.

⁵⁵ [1 Corinthians 13: 11; Matthew 13: 44]

CHAPTER 31

The Philosophy of the Christians More Ancient Than that of the Greeks.

^{31a} But now I think it right to show that our philosophy is older than the pursuits of the Greeks. Moses and Homer will be our boundary markers, since both are very ancient. Homer is older than all the poets and historians, and Moses is the founder of all barbarian wisdom. Let us now take the two of them and compare them. We will find that our teachings are older not only than Greek learning but even than the invention of letters. I will not call on witnesses from among our own people. I will rather use Greeks as my helpers. The first course would be foolish, since you would not accept it anyway. The second, if it can be done, is remarkable, because I fight back against you with your own weapons and take from your own side proofs that are beyond suspicion. The earliest writers have already investigated Homer's poetry, his family, and the time when he flourished. They include Theagenes of Rhegium, who lived in the time of Cambyses, Stesimbrotus of Thasos, Antimachus of Colophon, Herodotus of Halicarnassus, and Dionysius of Olynthus. After them came Ephorus of Cyme, Philochorus the Athenian, and the Peripatetics Megacleides and Chamaeleon. Then came the grammarians Zenodotus, Aristophanes, Callimachus, Crates, Eratosthenes, Aristarchus, and Apollodorus. Of these, Crates and his followers say that Homer flourished before the return of the Heraclidae, within eighty years after the Trojan War. Eratosthenes and his followers say it was after the hundredth year from the capture of Ilium. Aristarchus and his followers place him at the time of the Ionian migration, which was 140 years after the Trojan War. Philochorus

55. The sentences about the "hidden treasure" are very obscure, and the Greek does not make clear who "he" is or what "it" refers to; the hidden-treasure image may recall Jesus' parable of the treasure hidden in a field, for which a man sells all he has (Matthew 13:44).

puts him after the Ionian migration, in the archonship of Archippus at Athens, 180 years after the Trojan War. Apollodorus and his followers say it was 100 years after the Ionian migration, which would be 240 years after the Trojan War.⁵⁶

31b Some said that he lived ninety years before the Olympiads, that is, 317 years after the capture of Ilium. Others brought the date further down and said that Homer was a contemporary of Archilochus. Archilochus flourished around the twenty-third Olympiad, in the time of Gyges the Lydian, 500 years after the Trojan War. So, for those who are able to investigate accurately, let this summary be enough about the date of this poet (I mean Homer), about his origin, and about the disagreement of those who have written about him. It is possible to show that the opinions they hold about their accounts are false as well. Where the record of dates does not hold together, the history cannot be true either. For what causes error in writing, if not putting together things that are not true?⁵⁷

CHAPTER 32

The Doctrine of the Christians, is Opposed to Dissensions, and Fitted for All.

32a Among us there is no longing for empty glory, and we do not deal in a medley of doctrines. We have separated ourselves from the public and earthly teaching. We obey the commands of God and follow the law of the Father of incorruption. So we reject everything that rests on human opinion. Not only the rich practice philosophy among us. The poor also receive the teaching free of charge, for what comes from God is far beyond any payment the world could give. So we welcome everyone who wishes to listen, even old women and young people. In short, every age receives honor among us, while licentiousness is kept far away. We do not lie in what we say. As for your stubborn persistence in unbelief, it would be good if it were brought to an end. If not, let our teachings stand confirmed by the judgment of God.

32b You laugh, but you will also weep. Is it not absurd that, by your own account, Nestor is admired for trying to fight on equal terms with the young

56. The Greek says only “the one... the other” and does not name either man. But the sense is clearly that Homer is the oldest of the poets and historians and Moses is the founder of all barbarian wisdom, and we have named them to make this plain. “Barbarian” here simply means non-Greek. Ilium is another name for Troy.

57. The sense of συστάσεως (here “his origin”) is uncertain, and the phrase τὰς περὶ τοὺς λόγους δόξας (“the opinions about the accounts” or “about the teachings”) is compressed; its exact meaning is uncertain.

men, though he was slow at cutting his horse's traces because of the weakness and sluggishness of his age? Yet those among us who wrestle with old age and busy themselves with the things of God are laughed at! Who would not laugh when you claim that the Amazons, Semiramis, and certain other war-like women existed, and yet you slander our maidens? Achilles was a youth, and he is believed to have been very noble. Neoptolemus was younger still, but he was strong. Philoctetes was sick, but the divine power needed him against Troy. What was Thersites like? Yet he served as a commander. And if his ignorance had not made him unrestrained in speech, he would not have been mocked as pointy-headed and bald. With all who want to practice philosophy among us, we do not judge by what is seen. We do not judge those who come to us by their outward appearance. We reckon that strength of mind can be found in anyone, even if their bodies are weak. But your ways are full of envy and a great deal of dullness.⁵⁸ [Luke 6:25]

CHAPTER 33

Vindication of Christian Women.

^{33a} For this reason I was eager to show, from the things you hold in honor, that our customs are sober and sensible, while your customs are full of madness. You say that we babble among women and youths, maidens and old men, and you mock us for not being with you. Then listen to the nonsense that goes on among the Greeks. Your pursuits are foolish, though you hold them in greater honor than your gods. And you disgrace yourselves where women are concerned. Lysippus cast Praxilla in bronze, though her poems said nothing useful. Menestratus cast Learchis. Silanion cast Sappho the courtesan. Naucydes cast Erinna the Lesbian. Boiscus cast Myrtis. Cephisodotus cast Myro of Byzantium. Gomphus cast Praxigoris, and Amphistratus cast Cleito. And what should I say of Anyte, Telesilla and Mystis?⁵⁹ ^{33b} The sculptors were Euthykrates and Cephisodotus for the first of these, Niceratus for the second, and Aristodotus for the third. Euthykrates made Mnesiarchis the Ephesian, Silanion made Corinna, and Euthykrates made Thalarchis the Argive. I was eager to name these women so that you would not think any-

58. In Homer (Iliad 2.212–219), Thersites is a common soldier, not a commander. Homer calls him “unmeasured in speech” and describes his pointed head and thin hair. Tatian’s statement that he commanded does not match Homer.

59. The sentence about “your pursuits” is obscure in the Greek. It may instead mean that your gods’ pursuits are foolish, all the more because of their great fame.

thing strange goes on among us. I want you to compare the practices that lie before your eyes, and then stop mocking the women among us who pursue philosophy. Sappho was a lewd, love-crazed little woman who sang of her own shamelessness. All our women are chaste, and our maidens, working at their distaffs, speak of the things of God more earnestly than that girl of yours. So be ashamed. You are found to be disciples of mere women, yet you mock the women who share our way of life, along with the gatherings they attend with us. What noble child did Glaucippe give you? She bore a monster, as her statue shows, which Niceratus, son of Euctemon, an Athenian by birth, cast in bronze.

^{33c} If she gave birth to an elephant, why should Glaucippe enjoy public honor? Praxiteles and Herodotus made Phryne the courtesan for you. Euthykrates cast in bronze Panteuchis, pregnant by a seducer. Besantis, queen of the Paeonians, bore a black child, and Deinomenes saw to it that she was remembered through his art. I condemn Pythagoras too, who set Europa on the bull. I condemn you also, who honor this accuser of Zeus because of that sculptor's skill. I laugh as well at the skill of Myron, who made a calf and put a Victory on it, because by carrying off Agenor's daughter it had won the prize for adultery and lack of self-control. Herodotus of Olynthus made Glycera the courtesan and Argeia the harp-player. Bryaxis set up Pasiphae. By keeping her wantonness in memory, you have all but chosen to have the women of today be like her. Melanippe was a wise woman, and that is why Lysistratus made her statue. And yet you refuse to believe that there are wise women among us!⁶⁰

CHAPTER 34

Ridicule of the Statues Erected by the Greeks.

^{34a} Very dignified, certainly, is the tyrant Phalaris, who feasted on babies at the breast. Through the work of Polystratus of Ambracia he is shown to this day as a kind of marvelous man. The people of Agrigentum dreaded to look at that face because of his cannibalism, but those who care about culture now boast that they can look at him in a portrait. Is it not shameful that you honor the killing of a brother? You look at the figures of Polynices and Eteocles, and you have not buried them along with their maker Pythagoras.

60. The Pythagoras named here is a sculptor, not the philosopher. The statue "accuses" Zeus because it shows his abduction of Europa, Agenor's daughter, in the form of a bull.

Destroy these memorials of wickedness along with them! Why should I regard as a marvel, because of Periclymenus, the work showing a little woman who bore thirty children? She carried off the first prize for great lack of self-control, and it would have been right to be disgusted at her. She is compared to the Roman sow, which, they say, was likewise thought worthy of a more mysterious kind of worship for the same reason.⁶¹

^{34b} Ares committed adultery with Aphrodite, and Andron made their daughter Harmonia for you. Sophron handed down nonsense and trifles in his writings, yet he became more famous thanks to a bronze statue, which still stands today. Not only his fables but also the sculpture of Aristodemus have made Aesop, that teller of lies, remembered forever and greatly admired. Then are you not ashamed? You have so many women poets who were of no use for anything, and countless prostitutes and worthless men, yet you slander the dignity of our women. Why should it matter to me to learn that Euanthe gave birth in the Peripatos? Why should I gape at the art of Callistratus, or fix my eyes on the Neaera of Calliades? She was a courtesan. Laïs was a prostitute, and Turnus made her a monument to prostitution. Why are you not ashamed of the fornication of Hephaestion, even if Philo portrays him very skillfully?⁶²

^{34c} Why did you honor the effeminate Ganymede, made by Leochares, as if you owned some precious treasure? Praxiteles also fashioned a woman who is stained with impurity. You ought to have rejected everything of this kind and looked for what is truly worth your attention. Instead you claim the unspeakable inventions of Philaenis and Elephantis for yourselves, and yet you turn in disgust from our way of life.⁶³

CHAPTER 35

Tatian Speaks as an Eye-Witness.

I have not learned what I have set out here from anyone else. I have traveled through many lands. I practiced the sophist's trade in your own learning, I came across many arts and inventions, and finally I lived for a time in the

61. The "Roman sow" is the sow of Roman legend that bore thirty piglets, a sign tied to the founding of Alba Longa (Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.390–392; 8.42–45). The Greek says the woman is compared to this Roman sow.

62. Sophron was a writer of mimes (short comic sketches) from Syracuse. The Greek more likely means his fame owed something to a bronze statue of him, though the phrase is not certain.

63. "Philaenis and Elephantis" were women remembered in antiquity as authors of erotic handbooks.

city of the Romans and studied the great variety of statues that you Greeks have carried off there. I do not try, as most people do, to support my own position with other people's opinions. In everything I put forward, I want to set down my own understanding and write the record myself. So I said goodbye to the boasting of the Romans and the cold chatter of the Athenians, with their disconnected doctrines, and took up our barbarian philosophy. I had begun to write about how this philosophy is older than your pursuits, but I put it off because the matter I was explaining was pressing. Now that the time has come, I will try to speak about its teachings. Do not take offense at our teaching. Do not prepare a reply against us full of nonsense and buffoonery, saying, "Tatian, going beyond the Greeks and beyond the countless multitude of philosophers, is introducing the doctrines of barbarians as something new." What is so hard about people who have been shown to be ignorant being refuted by a man who shares their human nature? And what is out of place, as your own sophist puts it, in growing old while always learning everything?⁶⁴

CHAPTER 36

Testimony of the Chaldeans to the Antiquity of Moses.

Let Homer be no later than the Trojan events. Let him be understood to belong to the very time of that war, and even to have served in the army with Agamemnon's men. If anyone likes, let him even have lived before the invention of letters. Even so, the Moses I mentioned earlier will be shown to have lived many years before the capture of Troy itself, and to be far more ancient than the founding of Ilium and than Tros and Dardanus. To prove this I will use as witnesses the Chaldeans, the Phoenicians, and the Egyptians. Why should I say more? A man who promises to persuade should keep his accounts of events brief for his hearers. Berosus was a Babylonian, a priest of their god Belus, who lived in the time of Alexander. He arranged the history of the Chaldeans in three books for Antiochus, the third after Alexander. In setting out the history of the kings he tells of one named Nebuchadnezzar, who marched against the Phoenicians and the Jews. We know that these events were proclaimed by our prophets. They happened much later than the time of Moses, seventy years before the rule of the Persians. Berosus

64. "Your own sophist" is probably Solon, who wrote, "I grow old always learning many things." Herodotus counts Solon among the "sophists," that is, the wise men of Greece. Tatian does not name him.

is a very reliable authority. Proof of this is Juba, who, writing *On the Assyrians*, says he learned the history from Berosus. Juba has two books *On the Assyrians*.⁶⁵

CHAPTER 37

Testimony of the Phoenicians.

After the Chaldeans, the Phoenician evidence stands as follows. Among them there were three men: Theodotus, Hysicrates, and Mochus. Chaitus, who also wrote an exact account of the lives of the philosophers, translated their books into Greek. The histories of these writers show that the abduction of Europa happened under one of the kings. They also record the arrival of Menelaus in Phoenicia and the affairs of Chiramus. He gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon, king of the Jews, and gave him timber of every kind for building the temple. Menander of Pergamum also wrote a record of these same matters. The time of Chiramus comes close to the Trojan events. Solomon, who lived in the time of Chiramus, is far later than the age of Moses.⁶⁶

CHAPTER 38

The Egyptians Place Moses in the Reign of Inachus.

The Egyptians have accurate chronicles of dates. The interpreter of their history is Ptolemy, not the king but a priest of Mendes. In setting out the deeds of the kings, he says that the Jews left Egypt under the leadership of Moses, for the lands they went to, in the time of Amosis, king of Egypt. He puts it this way: "Amosis lived in the time of king Inachus." After him comes Apion the grammarian, a highly esteemed man. In the fourth book of his *Egyptian History* (he wrote five books), among many other things, he says that Amosis, who lived in the time of the Argive Inachus, destroyed Avaris, as Ptolemy of Mendes wrote in his *Chronicles*. The time from Inachus to the capture of Troy amounts to twenty generations. The proof runs as follows.⁶⁷

65. "Letters" translates a Greek word for the basic elements of writing, the letters of the alphabet.

66. Chiramus is the Greek form of Hiram, king of Tyre. The Bible tells how Hiram supplied Solomon with timber for the temple (1 Kings 5). It does not say that Hiram gave Solomon his daughter. That detail comes from the non-biblical histories Tatian cites.

67. Avaris was the capital of the Hyksos, the foreign rulers whom the pharaoh Ahmose (Amosis) drove out of Egypt. Some ancient writers linked their departure with the Exodus.

CHAPTER 39

Catalogue of the Argive Kings.

^{39a} These were the kings of the Argives: Inachus, Phoroneus, Apis, Criasis, Triopas, Argeius, Phorbas, Crotopas, Sthenelaus, Danaus, Lynceus, Proetus, Abas, Acrisius, Perseus, Sthenelaus, Eurystheus, Atreus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon. In the eighteenth year of Agamemnon's reign Troy was taken. Anyone with sense should understand, with full care, that by the Greeks' own tradition they had no written historical record at all. For Cadmus, who gave the letters to the people I have mentioned, came into Boeotia many generations later. After Inachus, in the time of Phoroneus, a limit was set, and only with difficulty, to their beast-like, wandering way of life, and people began to live in an ordered society. So if Moses is shown to have lived in the time of Inachus, he is four hundred years older than the Trojan War. This is proved from the succession of the Attic kings [and of the Macedonian, Ptolemaic, and Antiochene kings as well].⁶⁸

^{39b} So if the more notable events among the Greeks were recorded and became known only after Inachus, it is clear that this was also after Moses. In the time of Phoroneus, who came after Inachus, the Athenians remember Ogygus, in whose time the first flood occurred. In the time of Phorbas came Actaeus, from whom Attica was called Actaea. In the time of Triopas came Prometheus, Epimetheus, Atlas, Cecrops of the double nature, and Io. In the time of Crotopas came the burning of the earth in the days of Phaethon, and the flood in the days of Deucalion. In the time of Sthenelus came the reign of Amphictyon, the arrival of Danaus in the Peloponnese, the founding of Dardania by Dardanus, and the bringing of Europa from Phoenicia to Crete. In the time of Lynceus came the abduction of Kore, the founding of the sacred precinct at Eleusis, the farming of Triptolemus, the arrival of Cadmus at Thebes, and the reign of Minos. In the time of Proetus came the war of Eumolpus against the Athenians. In the time of Acrisius came Pelops' crossing from Phrygia, the arrival of Ion at Athens, the second Cecrops, the deeds of Perseus and Dionysus, and Musaeus, the pupil of Orpheus. In the reign of Agamemnon, Ilium was taken.⁶⁹

68. The last clause is in square brackets in the Greek text, which marks it as possibly a later addition.

CHAPTER 40

Moses More Ancient and Credible Than the Heathen Heroes.

So it is clear from what I have said that Moses is older than the ancient heroes, the wars, and the demons. We should trust the one who is older in age, rather than the Greeks, who drew his teachings from the spring without understanding them. Many of their sophists, driven by meddling curiosity, tried to counterfeit whatever they learned from the followers of Moses and from those who philosophized as he did. Their first aim was to be thought to have something of their own to say. Their second was to cover over, with some artificial wordiness, whatever they did not understand, and so to pass off the truth as a mere fable. As for our way of life and the history behind our laws, I will show in my work against those who have made pronouncements about God what the learned among the Greeks have said about them, and how many of them there are and who they are.⁷⁰

CHAPTER 41

^{41a} Now I must make every effort to make the main point perfectly clear: Moses is older not only than Homer, but also than the writers before Homer. These are Linus, Philammon, Thamyris, Amphion, Musaeus, Orpheus, Demodocus, Phemius, the Sibyl, Epimenides of Crete (who came to Sparta), Aristaeus of Proconnesus (who wrote the *Arimaspiæ*), Asbolus the Centaur, Isatis, Drymon, Euclus of Cyprus, Horus of Samos, and Pronapis of Athens. Linus was the teacher of Heracles, and Heracles lived one generation before the Trojan War. This is plain from his son Tlepolemus, who campaigned against Ilium. Orpheus lived at the same time as Heracles. Besides, the writings circulated under his name are said to have been composed by Onomacritus of Athens, who lived under the rule of the Pisistratids, around the fiftieth Olympiad. Musaeus was a pupil of Orpheus.⁷¹ ^{41b} Amphion lived two generations before the Trojan War, and that keeps me from writing more about him for those who want to learn. Demodocus and Phemius lived at the time of the Trojan War itself, for one stayed with the suitors and the other

69. Kore ("the Maiden") is Persephone. Cecrops is called "of the double nature" probably because legend made him half man and half serpent, though ancient writers also gave other explanations.

70. The Greek says literally "from those of Moses' school" (that is, Moses' followers), not simply "from Moses."

71. In Homer's *Iliad* (book 2), Tlepolemus, son of Heracles, leads the men of Rhodes to Troy.

with the Phaeacians. Thamyris and Philammon were not much older than these. I think I have written to you very fully and accurately about the work of each of these writers, their dates, and the record of them. To fill in what is still lacking, I will also give proof concerning the men who are thought to be wise. Minos was considered supreme in every kind of wisdom, sharpness of mind, and lawgiving. He lived in the eleventh generation after Inachus, in the time of Lynceus, who reigned after Danaus. Lycurgus was born long after the capture of Troy, and he gave laws to the Lacedaemonians a hundred years before the Olympiads began.

^{41c} Draco is found to have lived about the thirty-ninth Olympiad, Solon about the forty-sixth, and Pythagoras about the sixty-second. I have shown that the Olympiads began 407 years after the events at Troy. With this demonstrated, I will now write briefly about the age of the seven wise men. Thales, the oldest of them, lived about the fiftieth Olympiad. So in giving his date I have in effect already told you briefly about those who came after him as well.⁷²

CHAPTER 42

Concluding Statement as to the Author.

I, Tatian, who practice philosophy in the barbarian way, have composed these things for you, men of Greece. I was born in the land of the Assyrians. I was educated first in your learning, and then in the teaching that I now profess to proclaim. Now that I know who God is and what his creation is, I present myself to you ready for an examination of my doctrines. My way of life according to God remains firm, and I will not deny it.⁷³

72. "Olympiads" here means the Greek system of dating by the four-year cycle of the Olympic Games, traditionally counted from 776 BC.

73. "Barbarian" was the Greek term for non-Greeks, and Tatian applies it to himself with pride. The Greek **ho kata barbarous philosophōn** means "who philosophizes in the barbarian manner." The Ante-Nicene Fathers translation renders it "a disciple of the barbarian philosophy."

A Plea for the Christians

ATHENAGORAS OF ATHENS

c. AD 177

A petition to the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, written about AD 177, defending Christians against the charges of atheism, cannibalism and immorality. Athenagoras argues for one God from reason and from the prophets, and describes how Christians actually live.

OPENING ADDRESS

Injustice Shown Towards the Christians.

To the Emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus, conquerors of Armenia and Sarmatia, and above all, philosophers.¹

CHAPTER 1

Injustice Shown Towards the Christians.

^{1a} Throughout your empire, greatest of kings, different peoples follow different customs and laws. No one is kept by law or by fear of punishment from loving his ancestral ways, however ridiculous they may be. The man of Ilium calls Hector a god, and he worships Helen, believing her to be Adrasteia. The Spartan reveres Agamemnon as Zeus, and also Philonoe, the daughter of Tyndareus. The man of Tenedos worships Tennes. The Athenian sacrifices to Erechtheus as Poseidon. The Athenians also hold rites and mysteries for Agraulus and Pandrosus, who were judged guilty of impiety for opening the chest. In a word, every nation and every community establishes whatever sacrifices and mysteries people want. The Egyptians regard even cats, crocodiles, snakes, asps and dogs as gods. And both you and your laws allow all of this. You consider it impious and unholy to believe in no god at all, but necessary for each person to worship whatever gods he chooses, so that through fear of the divine they may keep from doing wrong.²

1. "Armeniakos" and "Sarmatikos" are victory titles taken from conquered peoples.

1b But why is a name hateful to you? (Do not be misled by hearsay, as most people are.) Names do not deserve hatred. It is wrongdoing that deserves trial and punishment. That is why individuals, who admire your mildness and gentleness and your peaceful and kindly spirit toward everyone, enjoy equal rights. Cities share equal honor according to their worth, and the whole world, thanks to your wisdom, enjoys deep peace. But we who are called Christians you have not taken thought for. You allow us, though we do nothing wrong, to be hounded, plundered and persecuted, while the crowds make war on us for our name alone. As the argument goes on it will be shown that we are, of all people, the most devout and just in our attitude toward God and toward your empire. So we have dared to explain our situation. You will learn from this discourse that we suffer unjustly and against every law and reason. We ask you to give some thought to us as well, so that we may at last stop being slaughtered by false accusers.³

1c The loss our persecutors inflict does not stop at our money, nor the disgrace at our reputation, nor the harm at any other of the greater things. These we despise, though most people think them important. For we have learned not to hit back when we are beaten, and not to go to law against those who drag us away and plunder us. More than that, we have learned to offer the other side of the head to those who strike us on the cheek, and to give our cloak as well to those who take our tunic. But when we have given up our property, they plot against our bodies and our souls, heaping up a crowd of charges against us. These charges do not touch us even in thought. They belong to the babblers who make them, and to their whole kind.⁴ [*Matthew 5: 39-40; Luke 6: 29*]

CHAPTER 2

Claim to Be Treated as Others are When Accused.

2a If anyone can prove that we are guilty of wrongdoing, small or great, we do not refuse to be punished. We consider it right to suffer even the harshest and most merciless penalty. But if the accusation goes no further than a

2. The “chest” is the one Athena gave the daughters of Cecrops to guard. In most surviving versions of the myth, Aglauros (Agraulus) and Herse opened it, while Pandrosus obeyed. Athenagoras’ account differs from these versions.

3. The Greek calls the accusers “sycophants,” meaning informers who bring malicious charges.

4. The teaching on turning the other cheek and giving the cloak echoes the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:39–40; Luke 6:29). Athenagoras does not name the source.

name, then it is your task, great and kindly and most learned emperors, to remove this abuse from us by law. (Up to this very day, what people say about us rests on common, undiscerning rumor, and no Christian has been proved guilty of any wrong.) Then, just as the whole world, both individuals and cities, shares in your benefits, we too may thank you and be proud that we are no longer falsely accused. It does not fit your justice that others who are charged with crimes are not punished until they are convicted, while in our case the name counts for more than the proofs at the trial. The judges do not inquire whether the accused has done any wrong, but heap abuse on the name as though it were a crime.

2b No name is considered good or bad in itself or by itself. A name seems good or bad because of the good or bad actions that lie behind it. You know this very clearly, since you come to the matter with all the learning of philosophy and education. That is why people brought to trial before you are confident, even when they stand accused of the gravest crimes. They know that you will examine their lives. You will not be swayed by names, if the names are empty, or by the grounds of the accusations, if they are false. They accept a verdict of condemnation as readily as one of acquittal, since they trust it to be fair. We ask for the same fairness that is shown to everyone. We ask that we not be hated and punished because we are called Christians (for what can the name contribute to wickedness?). We ask instead to be tried on whatever charges anyone brings against us. Those cleared of the accusations should be released, and those found guilty of wrongdoing should be punished. This should be for the crime, not for the name, since no Christian is wicked unless he only pretends to hold our teaching.⁵

2c This is how we see philosophers treated when they are tried. Before the trial, none of them is thought by the judge to be good or bad because of his knowledge or craft. If he is judged guilty of wrongdoing, he is punished, and no blame is attached to philosophy itself (for the wicked man is the one who does not practice philosophy as the law requires, while the discipline itself is blameless). If he clears himself of the slanders, he is released. Let the same fairness be shown to us. Let the lives of the accused be examined, and let the name be cleared of every charge. As I begin my defense of our teaching, I must ask you, most mighty emperors, to be fair listeners to us. Do not be car-

5. The older translation's "unless he falsely profess our doctrines" renders the Greek "unless he plays a part regarding the word (logos)." Here *logos* means the Christian message or teaching.

ried away and prejudiced by common, unreasoning rumor. Instead, give your love of learning and your love of truth a place in considering our teaching as well. Then you will not sin through ignorance, and we, once cleared of the charges that come from the undiscerning talk of the crowd, will stop being attacked.

CHAPTER 3

Charges Brought Against the Christians.

They pin three charges on us: atheism, Thyestean feasts, and Oedipean intercourse. If these things are true, spare no one. Prosecute the crimes. Kill us, root and branch, with our wives and children, if any Christian lives like a wild beast. Yet even wild animals do not touch their own kind. By a law of nature they mate only at one time, the season for bearing young, and not without restraint. They also recognize those who do them good. So if anyone is more savage than the beasts, what penalty could he suffer for such great crimes that would be thought a fitting punishment? But if these are only invented stories and empty slanders, then they arise from the natural opposition of vice to virtue, and from the fact that opposites make war on each other by a divine law. You yourselves are witnesses that we do none of these wrongs, since you order that no one inform against us. What remains is for you to examine our way of life, our teachings, and our zeal and obedience toward you, your house and your empire. Then, at last, grant us the same treatment as those who persecute us, and nothing more. For we will defeat them, since we give up even our lives for the truth without hesitation.⁶

CHAPTER 4

The Christians are Not Atheists, But Acknowledge One Only God.

^{4a} I will answer each charge in turn, so that we are not ridiculed for failing to refute our accusers. First, that we are not atheists. The Athenians were right to charge Diagoras with atheism. He not only made public the Orphic teaching, exposed the mysteries at Eleusis and those of the Cabiri, and chopped up the wooden statue of Heracles to boil his turnips, but declared outright that there is no god at all. But we separate God from matter. We show that matter is one thing and God another, with a great gap between

6. "Thyestean feasts" refers to the Greek myth of Thyestes, who was tricked into eating his own children. "Oedipean intercourse" refers to Oedipus, who unknowingly married his mother. These stood for the charges of cannibalism and incest.

them. The divine is uncreated and eternal, perceived only by mind and reason, while matter is created and perishable. Is it not unreasonable to call us by the name of atheism? ^{4b} Suppose we thought as Diagoras did, even though we have so many pledges pointing us to the worship of God: the good order of the world, its constant harmony, its size, color, shape, and arrangement. Then the reputation for not worshipping God, and the reason for our being harassed, might fairly be pinned on us. But our teaching brings us to one God, the Maker of this whole universe. He was not himself made (because what is does not come into being, only what is not), but he made all things through the Logos that comes from him. So we are wronged in both respects, spoken of badly and persecuted, and both without reason.⁷ [*John 1:3*]

CHAPTER 5

Testimony of the Poets to the Unity of God.

^{5a} Poets and philosophers were not thought to be atheists for thinking carefully about God. Euripides speaks about the gods that people name without knowledge, following common assumption, and he expresses doubt: “If Zeus really is in heaven, he ought not to make the same man unfortunate.” But when he speaks of the God who is grasped by the mind through knowledge, he states his view as his understanding holds it: “Do you see this boundless ether on high, which holds the earth around in its moist arms? Think of this as Zeus. Consider this to be God.” He did not see that the beings to which the name is applied actually exist (as he says, “Zeus, whoever Zeus is, I know only by report”). Nor did he see that the names are applied to things that really exist. (For those whose beings do not exist, what do they have beyond names?) But the other God he understood from his works. By sight he perceived the unseen through what is visible: the air, the ether, the earth.⁸ [*Romans 1:20*]

^{5b} So the one whose works these are, and by whose Spirit they are steered, Euripides grasped to be God. Sophocles agrees with him: “One, in truth there is one God, who made heaven and the wide earth.” Concerning the nature of God, which fills both heaven and earth with his beauty, Euripides teaches where God must be and that there must be only one.⁹

7. “Logos” means “Word” or “reason.” Athenagoras uses it here for God’s Word through whom all things were made.

8. The older translation turns Euripides’ line into “He ought not on the righteous ills to send.” The Greek says only that Zeus ought not to make “the same man” unfortunate.

CHAPTER 6

Opinions of the Philosophers as to the One God.

^{6a} Philolaus also says that all things are enclosed by God as in a guardpost, and so he shows that God is one and above matter. Of Lysis and Opsimus, the one defines God as an ineffable number. The other defines him as the amount by which the greatest number exceeds the one nearest to it. The Pythagoreans hold that the greatest number is ten, since it is the tetractys and contains all the numerical and harmonic ratios. Nine lies next to it. So God is a monad, that is, one, because the greatest number exceeds the nearest below it by one. Then there are Plato and Aristotle. I will not go through what they said about God as if I were giving an exact account of the philosophers' teachings. I know that you surpass everyone in understanding and in the power of your rule, and that you also excel everyone in exact knowledge of every branch of learning. You succeed in each part of it better than even those who devote themselves to a single part.¹⁰

^{6b} But it is impossible to show, without citing names, that we are not the only ones who confine God to a unity, so I have turned to their opinions. Plato says: "To find the Maker and Father of this universe is a hard task, and having found him, it is impossible to declare him to everyone." He is thinking of one uncreated and eternal God. If Plato also knows other gods, such as the sun, moon and stars, he knows them as created: "Gods of gods, of whom I am the craftsman and father of the works. They are indissoluble unless I will it, though everything that has been bound can be dissolved." So if Plato is not an atheist, since he understands the Craftsman of all things to be one uncreated God, neither are we atheists. We know and hold as God the one by whom all things were made through the Logos and are held together by the Spirit from him.¹¹

^{6c} Aristotle and his followers also bring in one God, but they speak of him as a kind of composite living being, made up of soul and body. They take his body to be the ethereal region: the wandering stars and the sphere of

9. These lines are attributed to Sophocles here and by other early Christian writers, but they are not found in his surviving works. Many scholars think they were composed later and attributed to him.

10. The tetractys was the Pythagoreans' sacred figure of the first four numbers (1+2+3+4), which add up to ten.

11. Both quotations are from Plato's *Timaeus* (28c and 41a–b).

the fixed stars, which move in circles. His soul is the reason that governs the movement of the body. This reason is not itself moved, but it becomes the cause of the body's motion. The Stoics multiply the divine by names according to the changes of the matter through which they say God's Spirit passes. Yet in practice they too hold God to be one. They say God is a craftsmanlike fire proceeding by a set path toward the making of the world. He contains all the seminal principles by which each thing comes to be according to fate, and his Spirit pervades the whole world. So according to them God is one. He is called Zeus from the boiling (zeon) of matter, and Hera from the air (aēr), and given other names from each part of matter through which he has passed.¹²

CHAPTER 7

Superiority of the Christian Doctrine Respecting God.

7a Almost everyone agrees that the divine is one, even when they do not mean to, whenever they come to the first principles of the universe. And we hold that the one who set this whole universe in order is God. So why are others free to say and write whatever they like about the divine, while a law is set against us? We have something to show for what we think and have rightly believed, that there is one God, and we can establish it with signs and arguments of truth. The poets and philosophers, as in other matters, only made guesses. Each was stirred by his own soul, through its kinship with the breath that comes from God, to search for whether he could find and grasp the truth. But they could only go as far as thinking around it, and they did not find it, because they did not think it right to learn about God from God. Instead, each one learned from himself. So each of them taught something different about God, about matter, about forms, and about the world.¹³

7b But we have prophets as witnesses to what we think and believe. Moved by a divine Spirit, they spoke out about God and about the things of God. You too, who surpass others in understanding and in reverence toward what is truly divine, would say that it is unreasonable to leave off believing the Spirit from God, who moved the mouths of the prophets as though they were instruments, and to pay attention to human opinions.

12. The Stoic naming rests on Greek wordplay: Zeus (Zeus) from zeon, "boiling" or "ferment," and Hera (Hērā) from aēr, "air."

13. The older translation reads "affinity with the afflatus from God"; the Greek speaks of a shared feeling or kinship (sympatheia) with the "breath" (pnoë) from God.

CHAPTER 8

Absurdities of Polytheism.

^{8a} Now consider, in the following way, that the Maker of this universe has been one God from the beginning, so that you may also have the reasoning behind our faith. Suppose there were two gods from the beginning, or more. Either they were in one and the same place, or each was in a place of his own. They could not be in one and the same place. Being gods does not make them alike. Because they are uncreated, they are not alike. Created things are like their patterns, but uncreated things are unlike, since they came from no one and were made after no one's likeness. Or is God one in the way that a hand, an eye and a foot are parts of one body, together making up one person? But Socrates is made up of parts and can be divided into them precisely because he was created and is perishable. God is uncreated, beyond suffering and indivisible, so he is not made up of parts.

^{8b} But suppose each of them is in a place of his own. The one who made the world is above the things that have come to be, and around the things he made and put in order. Where, then, is the second god, or the others? The world has been made spherical and is enclosed by the circles of heaven. Its Maker is above what he made and holds it together by his care for it. What place is left for the second god or the rest? He is not in the world, because the world belongs to the other. He is not around the world, because God, the Maker of the world, is above it. And if he is neither in the world nor around it (for everything around it is held by this God), where is he? Is he above the world and above God? In another world, or around another?

^{8c} But if he is in another world or around another, then he is no longer concerned with us, since he does not rule our world. Nor is his power great, since he is in a limited place. And if he is not in another world (for all things are filled by this God), nor around another (for all things are held by him), then he does not exist at all, since there is no place for him to be. Or what is he doing? Another has the world, and he himself is above the Maker of the world, yet he is neither in the world nor around it. Is there some other place for him to stand? But God, and what belongs to God, are above that place. And what place could there be, when this God has filled everything above the world? Does he, then, exercise providence? But if he does not, he has made nothing. And if he does not make, does not exercise providence, and

there is no other place in which he exists, then this one is the one God from the beginning, and the sole Maker of the world.

CHAPTER 9

The Testimony of the Prophets.

If we were content with arguments like these, someone might think our teaching merely human. But the voices of the prophets confirm our reasoning. I think that you, who love learning so much and are so well informed, cannot be unfamiliar with the writings of Moses, of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and of the other prophets. In an ecstasy, with their own reasoning set aside, they spoke out what was working in them as the divine Spirit moved them. The Spirit used them as a flute player breathes into a flute. What, then, do these men say? “The Lord is our God; no other will be reckoned alongside him.” And again: “I am God, the first and the one hereafter, and apart from me there is no God.” Likewise: “Before me no other god came to be, and after me there will be none; I am God, and there is none besides me.” And about his greatness: “Heaven is my throne, and the earth is the footstool of my feet. What house will you build for me, or what is the place of my rest?” I leave it to you, when you take up the books themselves, to examine their prophecies more carefully, so that with sound reasoning you may throw off the abuse heaped on us.¹⁴ [Isaiah 44:6; Isaiah 43:10-11; Isaiah 66:1]

CHAPTER 10

The Christians Worship the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

10a I have shown sufficiently that we are not atheists. We hold that God is one: uncreated, eternal, invisible, beyond suffering, beyond comprehension, and beyond containment. He is grasped only by mind and reason, and he is surrounded by light, beauty, spirit and indescribable power. By him, through his Word, the whole universe was made, set in order, and is held together. For we also recognize a Son of God. Do not think it ridiculous that God should have a Son. We do not think about God the Father or about the Son as the poets do in their myths, who show their gods to be no better than men. The Son of God is the Word of the Father, in idea and in activity. For

14. Athenagoras quotes the Greek (Septuagint) Old Testament loosely and sometimes blends passages: the first quotation begins like Deuteronomy 6:4 and continues with Baruch 3:35 (3:36 in the Septuagint), “no other will be reckoned alongside him”; the others are close to Isaiah 44:6, Isaiah 43:10 (with 45:5) and Isaiah 66:1.

all things were made by him and through him, since the Father and the Son are one.¹⁵ [John 1: 3; John 10: 30] 10b The Son is in the Father and the Father is in the Son, in the unity and power of the Spirit. The Son of God is the mind and word of the Father. But if, in your great understanding, you wish to ask what “the Child” means here, I will say briefly: he is the first offspring of the Father. This does not mean he came into being, for from the beginning God, who is eternal mind, had the Word in himself, since he was eternally rational. Rather, he came forth to be the idea and the working power for all material things. These lay underneath like a nature without qualities, a useless earth, with the heavier particles mixed together with the lighter ones. The prophetic Spirit agrees with this account: “The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways, for his works,” it says. Moreover, we say that the Holy Spirit himself, who is at work in those who speak prophetically, is an outflow from God. He flows out from God and returns, like a ray of the sun. Who, then, would not be amazed to hear us called atheists, when we speak of God the Father, God the Son and the Holy Spirit, and show both their power in unity and their distinction in order?¹⁶ [John 10: 38; John 14: 10–11; Proverbs 8: 22]

10c Our teaching about God does not stop here. We also speak of a multitude of angels and servants. God, the maker and builder of the world, assigned and appointed them through his Word to watch over the elements, the heavens, the world and what is in it, and to keep all of it in good order.

CHAPTER 11

The Moral Teaching of the Christians Repels the Charge Brought Against Them.

11a Do not be surprised that I explain our teaching so precisely. I am being exact so that you will not be swept along by the common, unreasoning opinion, and so that you can know the truth. For through the very teachings we hold, which are not human but spoken by God and taught by God, we can persuade you not to think of us as atheists. What, then, are the words on which we are raised? “I tell you: Love your enemies, bless those who curse you, pray for those who persecute you, so that you may be sons of your Father

15. “All things were made ... through him” echoes John 1:3, and “the Father and the Son are one” echoes John 10:30.

16. The quotation is Proverbs 8:22 in the Greek Septuagint, which reads “created me” (the older translation has “made me”). Athenagoras applies the verse to the Son as the Word. He takes care to say the Son is the Father’s offspring “not as having come into being,” since God always had his Word in himself. The Son “came forth” to give shape and working power to creation.

in heaven, who makes his sun rise on the evil and the good and sends rain on the just and the unjust.” Since this subject has become widely known amid much clamor, allow me here to speak about it openly, as one making a defense before philosopher-kings.¹⁷ [Matthew 5: 44-45; Luke 6:27-28] 11b Take those who unravel syllogisms, clear up ambiguities and explain the origins of words. Take those who teach about homonyms and synonyms, predicates and propositions, what the subject is and what is predicated of it. They promise to make their students happy by these and similar arguments. Are any of them so cleansed in soul that, instead of hating their enemies, they love them? Instead of speaking ill of those who started the abuse (which is the very least one would expect), do they bless them? Do they pray for those who plot against their lives? On the contrary, they go on forever, with evil intent, digging out these hidden matters for themselves. They are always eager to do some harm, since they have made their business an art of words and not a showing of deeds. Among us, however, you would find uneducated people, craftsmen and old women. Even if they cannot prove in words the benefit of our teaching, they show by their deeds the benefit of the choice they have made. They do not recite speeches; they show good works. When struck, they do not strike back. When robbed, they do not take anyone to court. They give to those who ask, and they love their neighbors as themselves.¹⁸ [Matthew 5: 44; Luke 6: 28; Matthew 5: 39-42; Matthew 22: 39]

CHAPTER 12

Consequent Absurdity of the Charge of Atheism.

If we did not believe that God presides over the human race, would we purify ourselves like this? Certainly not. But we are persuaded that we will give an account of our whole life here to God, who made us and the world. So we choose a life that is moderate and kind, a life that others readily look down on. We think that no harm we suffer here, even if someone takes our life, can compare with what we will receive there from the great Judge for our gentle, kind and fair-minded life. Plato said that Minos and Rhadamanthus would judge and punish the wicked. But we say that even if someone is a Mi-

17. The Greek of the last sentence is difficult. It seems to mean that the matter has become notorious “with much outcry,” so Athenagoras asks leave to speak freely about it. The older translation takes the outcry to be his own.

18. The closing list echoes Jesus’ teaching in Matthew 5:39-42 and Luke 6:29-30, and the command to love one’s neighbor as oneself (Leviticus 19:18; Matthew 22:39).

nos or a Rhadamanthus, or the father of them both, he will not escape the judgment of God. Now compare. Some think this life comes down to “Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die.” They treat death as deep sleep and forgetfulness (“sleep and death, twin brothers”). Yet these people are believed to be godly. We, on the other hand, count this present life as worth little. We are guided on our way by this alone: knowing God and the Word who comes from him. We know what the oneness of the Son with the Father is, what the fellowship of the Father with the Son is, and what the Spirit is. We know what the union and the distinction is of those who are so united, the Spirit, the Son and the Father. We know that the life that awaits us is far better than words can say, if we are brought to it pure of every wrong. And we are so kind that we do not love only our friends. For “If you love those who love you,” he says, “and lend to those who lend to you, what reward will you have?” We are like this, and we live such a life in order to escape condemnation. Yet we are not believed when we say we are godly! These are only small points out of great ones, a few out of many, so that we may not trouble you any longer. After all, people who test honey and whey judge from a small sample whether the whole is good.¹⁹ [1 Corinthians 15: 32; Isaiah 22:13; Matthew 5: 46;

Luke 6: 32-34]

CHAPTER 13

Why the Christians Do Not Offer Sacrifices.

^{13a} Most of those who charge us with atheism have no idea, not even in a dream, what God is. They are ignorant, with no insight into natural or divine matters, and they measure piety by the law of sacrifices. They accuse us of not honoring the same gods as the cities do. Consider both points, emperors, and first the matter of not sacrificing. The Maker and Father of this whole universe has no need of blood, or of the smell of burning fat, or of the fragrance of flowers and incense. He himself is perfect fragrance, lacking nothing and needing nothing. The greatest sacrifice to him is for us to know who stretched out the heavens and rounded them into a sphere, and who set the earth firm like a center. It is to know who gathered the water into seas and separated light from darkness. It is to know who adorned the sky with stars and made the earth send up every kind of seed, and who made the animals and formed man.²⁰ [Genesis 1: 4; Genesis 1: 9-10]

19. The saying of Jesus freely combines Matthew 5:46 and Luke 6:32-34.

13b We hold that God is the Maker who holds all things together and watches over them with the knowledge and skill by which he guides everything. When we lift up holy hands to him, what further need does he have of a hundred-ox sacrifice? As the poet says: “People turn the gods with sacrifices and gentle prayers, with drink offerings and the savor of burnt fat, begging them, when someone has overstepped and sinned.” But what are whole burnt offerings to me, when God has no need of them? Yet we ought to offer a bloodless sacrifice and bring the worship of the mind, the “reasonable service.”²¹ [*1 Timothy 2: 8; Isaiah 1: 11; Romans 12: 1*]

CHAPTER 14

Inconsistency of Those Who Accuse the Christians.

14a The other complaint is that we do not come to worship the same gods as the cities, and that is a very silly one. Even the people who accuse us of atheism, because we do not regard as gods the ones they know, do not agree among themselves about the gods. The Athenians have set up Celeus and Metanira as gods. The Spartans have set up Menelaus, and they sacrifice to him and hold festivals for him. The people of Ilium cannot bear even to hear his name; they honor Hector. The people of Ceos honor Aristaeus, regarding him as the same as Zeus and Apollo. The Thasians honor Theagenes, the man responsible for a killing at the Olympic games. The Samians honor Lysander, in spite of all his slaughters and so many evils. Alcman and Hesiod honor Medea, and the Cilicians Niobe. The Sicilians honor Philip, son of Butacides; the people of Amathus, Onesilus; the Carthaginians, Hamilcar. The day would run out before I finished listing them all. When they disagree with one another about their own gods, why do they accuse us of not agreeing with them?²²

14b And is not the Egyptian practice actually ridiculous? At their festivals they beat their breasts in the temples as though mourning the dead, and yet they sacrifice to the same beings as gods. That is no surprise, for they treat animals as gods. They shave themselves when the animals die, bury them in

20. The list echoes Scripture’s account of creation: stretching out the heavens (Isaiah 40:22; 42:5), gathering the waters and separating light from darkness (Genesis 1:4, 9–10), and the earth bringing forth seed (Genesis 1:11–12).

21. “Reasonable service” (logikē latreia) is the phrase of Romans 12:1, also translated “spiritual worship.”

22. The Greek of the Alcman, Hesiod, Medea and Niobe clause is very compressed, and how the names pair up is uncertain; the older translation’s pairing is followed here.

temples, and hold public mourning. So if we are guilty of impiety because we do not worship as these people do, then every city and every nation is guilty of impiety, for not everyone holds the same gods.²³

CHAPTER 15

The Christians Distinguish God from Matter.

15a But suppose they all did hold the same gods. What then? Most people cannot tell what matter is and what God is, or how great the gap between them is, and so they approach images made of matter. Are we to do the same on their account? We distinguish and separate the uncreated from the created, what is from what is not, what is grasped by the mind from what is perceived by the senses, and we give each its proper name. Shall we then go up and worship statues? If matter and God were the same thing, two names for one reality, then we would be impious for not regarding stones and wood, gold and silver as gods. But if they are very far apart, as far apart as a craftsman is from the materials he prepares for his craft, why are we accused? 15b The potter and the clay are a picture of it. The clay is the matter and the potter is the craftsman. In the same way God is the Maker, and matter is subject to him for the work of his craft. Clay cannot become vessels by itself without craftsmanship, and likewise matter, which receives every form, did not receive distinction, shape and order without God the Maker. We do not value the pottery more than the man who made it, nor the bowls and gold cups more than the smith who made them. If there is some skill to admire in them, we praise the craftsman, and he is the one who enjoys the glory for the vessels. So it is with matter and God. The glory and honor for the ordering of what has been arranged belong rightly not to matter but to God, its Maker. Therefore, if we regarded the forms of matter as gods, we would seem to have no perception of the God who truly is, since we would be putting what can be dissolved and destroyed on a level with the eternal.²⁴

CHAPTER 16

The Christians Do Not Worship the Universe.

16a The world is indeed beautiful, in its vast extent, in the arrangement of the stars in the zodiac and those around the Bear, and in its spherical shape.

23. Herodotus (2.66) reports that Egyptians shaved their eyebrows when a household cat died and their whole bodies when a dog died.

But it is not the world we must worship; it is the world's Craftsman. When your subjects come to you, they do not pass by you, their rulers and lords, from whom they may get what they need, in order to seek out the grandeur of your residence instead. They may come upon the royal palace and admire in passing how well it is built, but it is you whom they honor as all in all. You emperors furnish royal residences for yourselves, but the world did not come into being because God needed it. For God is everything to himself: unapproachable light, a perfect world-order, spirit, power, reason.²⁵ [1 *Timothy* 6:16]

16b So if the world is a well-tuned instrument moving in rhythm, then I worship the one who tuned it, who strikes its notes and sings the harmonious song. I do not worship the instrument. At musical contests the judges do not pass over the lyre players and crown their lyres. Suppose the world is God's handiwork, as Plato says. Then I admire its beauty and come to the craftsman. Suppose instead it is God's substance and body, as the Peripatetics say. Even then we do not abandon the worship of God, the cause of the body's motion, in order to fall down before "the poor and weak elements," worshiping matter that is subject to change in what they call the impassible air. Suppose someone takes the parts of the world to be powers of God. Even then we do not approach and serve the powers, but their Maker and Master. I do not ask matter for what it does not have. I do not leave God to serve the elements, which are allowed to do nothing beyond what they were commanded. They may be beautiful to look at because of the Creator's skill, but in their own nature they are still matter.²⁶ [*Galatians* 4:9]

16c Plato bears witness to this argument too. He says: "What he has named heaven and world has received many blessings from the Father, yet it has also come to share in body. So it cannot possibly be free from change." Now I admire the heavens and the elements for the skill shown in them, yet I do not worship them as gods, because I know the principle of dissolution that governs them. So how could I call gods things whose makers I know to be human beings? Consider this briefly with me.²⁷

24. "Bowls and gold cups": the older translation's "glass and gold" does not match the Greek, which names two kinds of vessel, bowls (phialai) and gold cups.

25. "Unapproachable light" echoes 1 *Timothy* 6:16, where God "dwells in unapproachable light."

26. The Greek about "the impassible air" is compressed, and its exact sense is uncertain.

27. The quotation is from Plato's *Statesman* (269d–e); "things whose makers I know to be human beings" looks ahead to the idols discussed next.

CHAPTER 17

The Names of the Gods and Their Images are But of Recent Date.

17a Anyone making a defense has to give more exact arguments. Here I must show that the names of the gods are fairly recent. I must also show that their images came into being only yesterday or the day before, so to speak. You yourselves know these things thoroughly, since in every field, and more than anyone else, you are at home with the ancients. I say, then, that Orpheus, Homer and Hesiod are the ones who gave both genealogies and names to the gods they speak of. Herodotus bears witness to this as well: "I think that Hesiod and Homer lived four hundred years before me, and no more. They are the ones who composed a theogony for the Greeks. They gave the gods their titles, divided up their honors and their skills, and described their forms." As for images, they were not even in use as long as modeling, painting and statue-making did not exist. They arose only when Saurias of Samos, Crato of Sicyon, Cleanthes of Corinth and the Corinthian girl came along. Saurias invented shadow-drawing when he traced the outline of a horse in the sun. Crato invented painting when he painted in the shadows of a man and a woman on a whitened panel. The girl was the source of clay figure-making. She was in love with a young man, and while he slept, she traced his shadow on a wall. Her father was a potter, and he was delighted with how exact the likeness was. He carved out the outline and filled it in with clay. That figure is still preserved in Corinth today.²⁸

17b After these came Daedalus and Theodorus of Miletus, who went on to invent statue-making and modeling. So the time since images and idol-making began is so short that one can name the craftsman of each god. The Artemis at Ephesus was made by Endoeus, a pupil of Daedalus. So was the Athena (or rather Athela, as those more given to the mysteries call her, since that was the name of the ancient image made from the olive tree), and also the seated figure. The Pythian Apollo was the work of Theodorus and Telecles. The Delian Apollo and Artemis were the work of Tectaeus and Angelion. The Hera at Samos and the one at Argos came from the hands of Smilis, and the remaining idols from Phidias. The Aphrodite at Cnidus, a courtesan, was the work of Praxiteles. The Asclepius at Epidaurus was the work of

28. A similar story about a Corinthian potter's daughter tracing her lover's shadow is told by Pliny the Elder (Natural History 35.151), who names the potter Butades.

Phidias. In short, not one of them escapes having been made by a human being. If they are gods, then, why did they not exist from the beginning? Why are they younger than the people who made them? Why did they need human beings and craftsmanship in order to come into being? These things are earth and stones and raw material and overelaborate craftsmanship.²⁹

CHAPTER 18

The Gods Themselves Have Been Created, as the Poets Confess.

18a Some people say that these statues are only images, and that the gods are the ones the images represent. They say that the approaches made to the images and the sacrifices offered to them are really offered to those gods and take place for them. They also say there is no other way to come to the gods, since “gods are hard to see plainly.” As proof they point to the powers at work in some of the idols. So let us examine the power attached to their names. Before I begin, greatest of emperors, I ask you to bear with me while I offer true arguments. My aim is not to refute the idols. I am clearing away the slanders against us and giving an account of the way of life we have chosen. You can understand the heavenly kingdom from your own case. All things have been put under your hand, father and son, who have received your kingdom from above. (“The king’s soul is in God’s hand,” says the prophetic Spirit.) In the same way all things are subject to the one God and to the Word who is from him, whom we understand to be the Son, undivided from him.³⁰ [*Proverbs 21:1*]

18b Please consider this point before all the others. According to their own writers, the gods did not exist from the beginning. Each of them came to be in the way that we come to be. All their writers agree on this. Homer speaks of “Oceanus, origin of the gods, and mother Tethys.” Orpheus was the first to devise their names, to go through their births, and to tell what each of them did. They believe he speaks of the gods more truly than others, and Homer follows him in most matters, especially about the gods. Orpheus also sets their first origin in water: “Oceanus, who has become the origin of all.” For according to him water was the beginning of everything. From the water

29. Calling the Aphrodite of Cnidus “a courtesan” probably reflects the ancient story that Praxiteles used a courtesan as his model.

30. The “father and son” addressed here are the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. The words about the king’s soul recall Proverbs 21:1, which in the Greek Old Testament says “heart” rather than “soul.” The “hard to see plainly” line quotes Homer, *Iliad* 20.131.

mud settled, and from the two together a living creature was born. It was a serpent with a lion's head growing on to it, and between them was the face of a god, named Heracles and Chronos (Time).³¹

^{18c} This Heracles produced an enormous egg. It was filled by the force of the one who produced it, and the friction made it burst in two. The part at the top became heaven (Ouranos), and the part that fell down became earth (Ge). The goddess Earth also came forth in bodily form. Heaven then mingled with Earth and fathered three females, Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos. He also fathered the hundred-handed males Cottus, Gyges and Briareus, and the Cyclopes Brontes, Steropes and Argos. Heaven bound these and threw them down into Tartarus, because he had learned that his own children would drive him from power. Earth was enraged at this and bore the Titans: "Queenly Earth bore sons of heaven, whom they call Titans by name, because they took vengeance on great starry Heaven."³²

CHAPTER 19

The Philosophers Agree with the Poets Respecting the Gods.

^{19a} That is the beginning of the birth of their gods, and of the universe. What follows from this? Each of the things called gods is understood to have existed from the beginning. But if they came to be when they did not exist before, as the writers about the gods say, then they do not exist. A thing is either unbegotten and eternal, or begotten and perishable. And I am not saying one thing while the philosophers say another. "What is that which always is and has no coming-to-be? And what is that which comes to be but never truly is?" Plato, speaking of the intelligible and the sensible, teaches that what always is, the intelligible, is unbegotten. What "is not," the sensible, is begotten, beginning and ceasing to be. On this same principle the Stoics also say that all things will be consumed by fire and will exist again, when the world takes another beginning.³³

^{19b} By their own account there are two causes. One is active and originating, and this is providence. The other is passive and changeable, and this is matter. Even so, once the world has come to be, it cannot stay in the same

31. "Chronos" is the Greek word for time. The older translation spelled it "Kronos," which is the name of a different figure, the Titan father of Zeus.

32. The Greek says Earth came forth "through a body"; the exact sense of the phrase is unclear.

33. The question about "what always is" comes from Plato's *Timaeus* (27d–28a), quoted with small differences from Plato's wording.

state, even though providence cares for it. How then can the existence of these gods last, when they do not exist by nature but have come to be? And how are the gods better than matter, when they get their make-up from water? Yet even by their own account water is not the beginning of all things. And what could be put together from elements that are simple and of one kind? Matter needs a craftsman, and the craftsman needs matter. How could shapes be made without matter or without a craftsman? Nor is it reasonable that matter should be older than God. The cause that makes things must come before the things that are made.

CHAPTER 20

Absurd Representations of the Gods.

20a If their theology were absurd only in saying that the gods came into being and have their make-up from water, I would move on to the other charges, since I have shown that nothing that comes into being is free from dissolution. But they have also described the gods' bodies. They say Heracles is a god, a coiled serpent. They speak of others as hundred-handed. And the daughter of Zeus, whom he fathered by his mother Rhea (or by Demeter herself), they say has two eyes in the normal place, two more on her forehead, and a face on the back of her neck, and that she also has horns. Rhea was terrified at the monstrous child and ran from her, and would not let her have the breast. So in the mysteries she is called Athela, but commonly Persephone and Kore. She is not the same as Athena, who is called Kore from the "pupil" of the eye. They have also recounted in detail the deeds of the gods, as they think of them. Kronos cut off his father's genitals and threw him down from his chariot. He killed his own children by swallowing the males. Zeus bound his father and shut him in Tartarus, just as Ouranos had done to his sons, and he fought the Titans for the rule. He pursued his mother Rhea when she refused to marry him. She turned into a serpent, and he himself turned into a serpent, bound her with what is called the Heracleian knot, and lay with her. The rod of Hermes is a symbol of the shape of that union. Then he forced himself on his daughter Persephone, again in the form of a serpent, and by her he had a son, Dionysus. In the face of such stories I must at least say this: what is dignified or good in such a history, that we should believe Kronos, Zeus, Kore and the rest to be gods?³⁴

34. The rod of Hermes (the caduceus) was shown with two serpents twined around it.

20b Is it the descriptions of their bodies? What person of sound judgment and reflection could believe that a god fathered a viper? Orpheus says: “And Phanes fathered another terrible offspring from the sacred womb, a fearful-looking viper. From its head came hair and a lovely face to look at, but the rest of it, from the top of the neck down, was the body of a dreadful dragon.” Or who could accept that Phanes himself, a god and the first-born (he is the one poured out of the egg), has the body or shape of a dragon? Or that he was swallowed by Zeus so that Zeus might become boundless? If these gods are no different from the lowest of beasts, they are not gods. The divine, clearly, must differ from earthly things and from what is separated out of matter. Why then should we come to them, when their birth is like that of cattle, and they themselves are beast-shaped and ugly?³⁵

CHAPTER 21

Impure Loves Ascribed to the Gods.

21a But even if they said only that the gods are flesh-like, with blood and seed and the passions of anger and desire, we should still have to count such talk as nonsense and a laughingstock. For there is no anger in God, no desire or appetite, and no seed that produces children. So let them be flesh-like, but let them be above rage and anger. Otherwise we see Athena “angry at father Zeus, and savage wrath seizes her,” and we see Hera: “Hera’s breast could not hold her anger, but she spoke.” And let them be above grief: “Alas, I see with my own eyes a man I love chased around the wall, and my heart mourns for him.” For I call even human beings ignorant and boorish when they give in to anger and grief. But then the father of men and gods laments for his son: “Woe is me, that Fate has decreed that Sarpedon, dearest of men to me, be laid low by Patroclus, son of Menoitios!” He weeps, yet he cannot snatch him from danger: “Sarpedon, son of Zeus; but Zeus does not even defend his own child.” Who would not blame the ignorance of those who are devoted to the gods because of myths like these, or rather, who are really godless?³⁶

21b Let them have bodies like flesh, but let Aphrodite not be wounded in her body by Diomedes: “The son of Tydeus, high-spirited Diomedes, struck me.” Nor let her be wounded in her soul by Ares: “How Aphrodite, the

35. “Boundless” translates a Greek word meaning “that cannot be contained.” The verses are from the Orphic poems, about the god Phanes.

36. These lines are from Homer’s *Iliad*. In Homer the speaker of “Alas, I see...” is Zeus, and the “man I love” is Hector.

daughter of Zeus, always dishonors me because I am lame, and loves destructive Ares.” And of Ares: “He tore through the lovely skin.” The one who is terrible in wars, Zeus’s ally against the Titans, turns out to be weaker than Diomedes. “He raged as when Ares, brandishing his spear, rages.” Be quiet, Homer! A god does not rage. Yet you describe the god to me as blood-stained and a destroyer of men: “Ares, Ares, destroyer of mortals, blood-stained.” You also go through his adultery and his chains: “The two went to bed and lay down, and around them were poured the cunning bonds of resourceful Hephaestus, and they could not move a limb.” Do they not pour out a great deal of impious nonsense like this about the gods?³⁷

21c Uranus is castrated. Cronus is bound and thrown into Tartarus. The Titans rebel. Styx dies in the battle. So they now show the gods to be mortal. They love one another, and they love human beings: “Aeneas, whom divine Aphrodite bore to Anchises on the ridges of Ida, the goddess lying with a mortal.” Do they not love? Do they not suffer? Surely they are gods, and desire will not touch them! And if a god does take flesh according to a divine plan, is he then a slave of desire? Zeus says: “Never yet has love for goddess or woman poured over the heart in my chest and conquered me like this. Not when I loved the wife of Ixion, not when I loved Danaë of the slender ankles, daughter of Acrisius, not when I loved the daughter of far-famed Phoenix, not when I loved Semele or Alcmene in Thebes, not when I loved Demeter, the fair-tressed queen, nor glorious Leto, nor even you yourself.” He has come into being, he is perishable, and he has nothing of God in him.

38

21d Not only that, but they even work as hired servants for men: “O house of Admetus, where I, though a god, endured to accept a hired servant’s table.” And they herd cattle: “I came to this land and herded cattle for my host, and kept this house safe.” So Admetus was better than the god. O prophet, wise one, who foresee what will happen for others, you did not foretell the death of the one you loved. Instead you killed your friend with your

37. The line about Aphrodite always dishonoring “me because I am lame” is spoken by her husband Hephaestus in Homer’s *Odyssey* (book 8), where the story of the bonds also comes from. “He tore through the lovely skin” comes from *Iliad* book 5, where Diomedes wounds Ares. “He raged as when Ares...” is said of Hector in *Iliad* book 15. The Greek does not name Ares in these sentences; the name is added for clarity.

38. Zeus’s speech is from Homer’s *Iliad* (book 14), where he speaks to Hera. Athenagoras leaves out some lines.

own hand! “And I hoped that the divine mouth of Phoebus was free of falsehood, overflowing with the art of prophecy.” (This is how Aeschylus condemns Apollo as a false prophet.) “But he himself who sang the hymn, he himself who was at the feast, he himself who said these things, is the very one who killed my son.”³⁹

CHAPTER 22

Pretended Symbolical Explanations.

22a But perhaps these things are just the poets’ error, and there is a natural explanation behind them, such as this one. As Empedocles says: “Bright Zeus, life-bearing Hera, and Aidoneus, and Nestis, who moistens the mortal spring with tears.” Now suppose Zeus is fire, Hera is earth, Aidoneus is air, and Nestis is water. These are elements: fire, water, air. Then none of them is a god, neither Zeus nor Hera nor Aidoneus. For their makeup and origin come from matter that God has sorted out into parts. As Empedocles says: “Fire and water and earth and the gentle height of air, and Friendship with them.” But these things cannot last without Friendship. They are thrown into confusion by Strife. How then could anyone say they are gods?⁴⁰ 22b According to Empedocles, Friendship is the ruling principle. The compounds are ruled, and the ruling principle is the master. So if we assume one and the same power for the ruled and the ruler, we will unknowingly be making matter, which is perishable, fluid and changeable, equal in honor to God, who is unbegotten, eternal and always in harmony. According to the Stoics, Zeus is the boiling substance, and Hera is the air. The name itself shows this if it is joined to itself and pronounced as one. Poseidon is the drink. Others give other natural explanations. Some say that Zeus is air of a double nature, male and female. Others say he is the season that turns time into mild weather, and that is why he alone escaped Kronos. But to the Stoics we can say this. You consider the highest God to be one, unbegotten and eternal. You say the compounds are as many as the changes of matter. You also say that the Spirit of God, which passes through matter, receives one name after

39. The beloved friend whom Apollo killed is Hyacinthus, struck by Apollo’s discus in the Greek myth. The Aeschylus lines, which survive because Plato quotes them (*Republic*, book 2), are spoken by the sea-goddess Thetis about her son Achilles. Apollo had sung at her wedding and foretold good things for her child.

40. In Empedocles, Friendship (or Love) and Strife are the two forces that join the elements together and drive them apart.

another according to its changes. If so, the forms of matter will become the body of God. And when the elements are destroyed in the great fire, the names must be destroyed along with the forms, and only the Spirit of God will remain.⁴¹

22c So since these bodies change along with matter and perish, who could believe that they are gods? Next, some say that Kronos is time and Rhea the earth. They say Rhea conceives by Kronos and gives birth, which is why she is thought the mother of all, while he begets and devours. The cutting off of the private parts is the union of male and female. This union cuts off seed and drops it into the womb, and so produces a human being, who carries desire within him, and desire is Aphrodite. The “madness” of Kronos is the turning of the season, which destroys things living and lifeless. The “chains” and Tartarus are time, which is changed by the seasons and passes out of sight. To these people we say: if Kronos is time, he changes. If he is a season, he turns. If he is darkness, or frost, or a liquid substance, none of these remains. But the divine is immortal, unmoving and unchanging. So neither Kronos nor the idol made of him is God. As for Zeus: if he is air born from Kronos, with Zeus as the male part and Hera as the female (which is why she is both sister and wife), then he is altered. If he is a season, he turns. But the divine neither changes nor falls into another state.⁴²

22d Why should I trouble you with more, when you know better than I do what each of the natural philosophers has said, what the writers have thought about nature, and what they say about Athena, whom they call wisdom running through all things? They say Isis is the nature of eternity, from whom all things grew and through whom all exist. They tell how Osiris was killed by his brother Typhon, and how Isis, with her son Horus, searched for his limbs, found them and prepared them for burial. That burial is still called Osirian today. For these people keep turning this way and that among the forms of matter. They fall away from the God who is perceived by reason, and they make gods of the elements and their parts, giving them one name after another. The sowing of grain they call Osiris. (From this, they say, in the mysteries, at the finding of his limbs, or of the fruits, these words

41. “The great fire” translates *ekpyrōsis*. This is the Stoic teaching that the universe is periodically consumed by fire.

42. “Kronos” and “chronos” (time) sound alike in Greek, which is why the allegory identifies them. The cutting refers to the myth, told by Hesiod, of Kronos castrating his father Ouranos (Heaven).

are spoken to Isis: “We have found! We rejoice together!”) The fruit of the vine they call Dionysus, the vine itself Semele, and the sun’s flame the thunderbolt.⁴³

^{22e} Yet those who turn the myths into gods are doing anything but speaking about God. They do not realize that the very arguments they use to defend the gods confirm the stories told about them. What have Europa, the Bull, the Swan and Leda to do with earth and air, so that Zeus’s foul union with them could be a union of earth and air? In truth they have fallen short of the greatness of God. They cannot rise above this world by reason, for they have no fellow-feeling with the heavenly place. So they melt away into the forms of matter, and in their fall they make gods of the changes in the elements. It is as if someone were to take the ship he sailed in for the helmsman. A ship, however well fitted out, is no use without a helmsman. In the same way the elements, however well ordered, are no use apart from God’s providence. The ship will not sail by itself, and the elements will not move without their Maker.

CHAPTER 23

Opinions of Thales and Plato.

^{23a} Since you surpass everyone in understanding, you might say: “How is it, then, that some of the idols work effects, if those in whose honor we set up the statues are not gods? It is not likely that lifeless, motionless images could have power by themselves without something to move them.” We do not deny that in various places, cities and nations certain effects occur in the name of idols. But if some people have been helped and others harmed, we will not therefore think that those who produced either result are gods. We have examined carefully both why you think the idols have power, and who the beings are that work these effects by taking over their names. But I am about to show who those workers are and that they are not gods, so I must call on some witnesses from the philosophers. ^{23b} Thales was the first to make the division, according to those who have studied his views closely. He divides the beings above us into God, demons, and heroes. He takes God to be the mind of the world. By demons he means beings of a soul-like nature. By heroes he means the souls of men who have departed the body: good souls

43. In the myth, Semele, the mother of Dionysus, was destroyed by Zeus’s thunderbolt. The allegory makes her the vine and the thunderbolt the sun’s heat that ripens it.

are good heroes, and worthless souls are bad ones. Plato, who holds back his judgment on other matters, also divides these beings. He speaks of the unbegotten God. He speaks of those the unbegotten God made to adorn the heavens, the wandering stars and the fixed stars. And he speaks of demons. He does not think it worthwhile to speak about these demons himself, but thinks we should listen to those who have spoken about them. He says: "To speak about the other demons and to know how they came to be is beyond us. We must trust those who spoke before us. They were, as they said, offspring of the gods, and surely they knew their own ancestors well. It is impossible, then, to disbelieve the children of gods, even if they speak without likely or necessary proofs. They claim to be reporting matters of their own family, so we must believe them, as custom requires."⁴⁴

^{23c} "Following them, then, let us also hold and tell the origin of the gods themselves. Of Earth and Heaven were born Oceanus and Tethys. Of these were born Phorcys, Cronus, Rhea, and all who go with them. Of Cronus and Rhea were born Zeus, Hera, and all those we know are called their brothers and sisters, and then still other descendants of these." Now consider the man who conceived of God as the eternal mind, grasped by reason, and who described what belongs to him. He spoke of the one who truly is, whose nature is single, and of the good that flows out from him, which is truth. He spoke of the first power, and how all things are around the King of all and exist for his sake, and how he is the cause of everything. He spoke of two and three: the second around the second things, and the third around the third things. Did this man suppose that learning the truth about those said to have come from things perceived by the senses, earth and heaven, was beyond his ability?⁴⁵

^{23d} Surely not; no one can say that. But Plato thought it impossible for gods to beget and to be born, since an end follows everything that comes into being. He thought it even more impossible to change the minds of the many, who accept the myths without testing them. For these reasons he said it was beyond him to know and to tell how the other demons came to be. He could neither learn nor declare that gods are born. Take also his saying:

44. "Demon" (Greek *daimōn*) here is a general word for spirit beings between gods and men; it does not yet mean only evil spirits. The quotation comes from Plato's *Timaeus* (40d–e).

45. The opening genealogy is still Plato speaking; it continues the quotation from the *Timaeus* begun in the previous section. The phrases about "the King of all" and "the second" and "third" come from the Second Letter attributed to Plato.

“Zeus, the great leader in heaven, driving a winged chariot, goes first, arranging all things and caring for them, and an army of gods and demons follows him.” He does not mean the Zeus said to be the son of Cronus. In this saying the name stands for the Maker of all things. Plato makes this clear himself. He had no other expressive name by which to call him, so he used the common name. He did not use it as God’s own name but for the sake of clarity, since it is not possible to bring God before everyone as fully as one might wish. And he added the word “great” in order to distinguish the heavenly Zeus from the earthbound one, the unbegotten from the begotten. The begotten Zeus is younger than heaven and earth, and younger than the Cretans, who stole him away so that his father would not destroy him.⁴⁶

CHAPTER 24

Concerning the Angels and Giants.

^{24a} Speaking to you, who have explored every field of learning, why should I bring up the poets or examine other opinions? I can say this much. If the poets and philosophers did not recognize one God, and if they did not think of these gods as demons, or matter, or men who once lived, then we might reasonably be driven out, since we use an argument that distinguishes God from matter and the nature of each. But we speak of God, and of his Son the Word, and of the Holy Spirit. The Father, the Son and the Spirit are united in power, because the Son is the mind, word and wisdom of the Father, and the Spirit is an outflow, like light from fire. In the same way we have come to understand that there are other powers that rule over matter and work through it. One of them is opposed to God. I do not mean that anything is God’s rival or counterpart, as strife is to friendship in Empedocles, or as night is to day in the way things appear. If anything stood against God, it would cease to exist, because God’s power and strength would dissolve its structure. What I mean is that the spirit who is concerned with matter is opposed to the goodness of God. That goodness is an attribute of God and exists together with him, as color does with a body, which cannot exist without it. It is not a part of him but an accompanying quality that is necessarily there, united and blended with him, as yellow is with fire and deep blue with the upper air. This spirit was made by God, just as the other angels were made

46. The quotation is from Plato’s *Phaedrus*. The myth *Athenagoras* alludes to is that Cronus swallowed his children, and Rhea hid the infant Zeus in Crete.

by him, and was entrusted with the management of matter and of the forms of matter.⁴⁷

24b For this is why the angels were established: God made them to exercise providence over the things he has ordered. God keeps the complete and general care of the whole, while the angels appointed over the individual parts take care of those parts. The same is true of human beings, who have both virtue and vice by their own choice. (You would not honor the good or punish the wicked unless vice and virtue were in their own power. Some people are diligent in the duties you entrust to them, and others are found unfaithful.) The angels are in the same position. Some of them, free agents as God made them, stayed in the condition and the work that God made and appointed for them. But others abused both the nature of their being and their office. One was this ruler of matter and of the forms in it. The others were some of those who were around this first firmament. (You know that we say nothing without witnesses; we report what the prophets have proclaimed.) The latter fell into desire for virgins and were found to be overcome by the flesh. The ruler of matter became careless and wicked in managing what had been entrusted to him. From the angels who had to do with the virgins were born those called giants.⁴⁸ [*Genesis 6:1-4*]

24c If the poets too have given some partial account of the giants, do not be surprised. Worldly wisdom and wisdom about God differ as much as truth differs from what is merely plausible. The one is heavenly and the other earthly. And in the words of the ruler of matter: “We know how to say many lies that look like the truth.”⁴⁹

CHAPTER 25

The Poets and Philosophers Have Denied a Divine Providence.

25a These angels, then, who fell from the heavens, occupy the air and the earth. They can no longer rise to the realms beyond the heavens. The souls of the giants are the demons who wander about the world. Each group acts in keeping with what it is: the demons according to the natures they received,

47. The Greek verb here (*antidoxein*) usually means “to hold a contrary opinion.” From the examples Athenagoras gives, he seems to mean a rival opposite to God.

48. This draws on *Genesis 6:1-4*, where the “sons of God” take the daughters of men and the Greek Old Testament speaks of “giants.” Athenagoras’s account of angels lusting after women also resembles the Jewish Book of Enoch (1 Enoch 6-7).

49. The quoted line is from Hesiod, *Theogony* 27, where the Muses speak it. Athenagoras puts it in the mouth of the ruler of matter, implying that he inspired the poets’ falsehoods.

and the angels according to the desires they had. As can be seen from what actually happens, the ruler of matter governs and manages things contrary to the goodness of God. “Often the thought has passed through my mind whether chance or a spirit rules the affairs of life. Against hope and against justice, it leads some to fall from their homes without a livelihood, while others it leads on in good fortune.” People do well or badly against hope and justice. This left Euripides at a loss to say whose management of earthly affairs this is. Of such a management one might say: “Then, seeing these things, how can we say that there is a race of gods, or keep to the laws?”⁵⁰

^{25b} This is also what led Aristotle to say that the things below the heavens are not under providence. Yet God’s eternal providence rests equally on us. As the poet says: “The earth, by necessity, whether she wishes it or not, grows grass and fattens my flocks.” God’s particular providence goes out, in truth and not merely in appearance, to those who are worthy. All the rest are cared for by the law of reason, according to the common order of things. But demonic movements and workings, which come from the opposing spirit, cause these disorderly attacks. They also stir people up, each in a different way, as individuals and as nations, in part and as a whole. They do this from within and from without, according to the pull of matter and to a person’s sympathy with divine things. For this reason some men of no small reputation have supposed that this whole universe is not held together by any order, but is driven and tossed about by irrational chance. They do not understand that nothing in the constitution of the whole world is disordered or neglected. Each part came into being by reason, and so none of them oversteps the order assigned to it. Man himself, as far as his Maker is concerned, is also well ordered. He is ordered in the nature of his birth, which follows one common principle. He is ordered in the make-up of his body, which does not break the law set over it. And he is ordered in the end of his life, which remains the same and common to all. But according to his own individual reasoning, and according to the working of the ruling prince and the demons that attend him, each person is carried and moved in a different direction. All the while they all share the same reasoning power within them.⁵¹

50. The first quotation is a fragment of Euripides from an unidentified play; the second is an unattributed tragic fragment sometimes assigned to Euripides.

51. The lines about the earth and the flocks are from Euripides’ play *Cyclops* (lines 332–333), spoken by the Cyclops Polyphemus. Athenagoras seems to use them to illustrate the general providence that works through the fixed order of nature.

CHAPTER 26

The Demons Allure Men to the Worship of Images,

26a The ones who draw people to idols are the demons I mentioned earlier. They cling to the blood of the sacrificial animals and lick around it. But the gods who please the crowds and whose names are given to the images were human beings, as one can learn from their own histories. That it is demons who have taken over these names is proved by what each of them does. Some, the followers of Rhea, cut off their genitals. Others, the followers of Artemis, cut or gash themselves. The goddess among the Taurians kills strangers. I will say nothing of those who torture themselves with knives and knucklebone whips, or of all the kinds of demons there are. It is not the part of a god to drive people to things against nature. As the poet says: "When a demon prepares evil for a man, he first damages his mind."⁵²

26b But God is perfectly good, and so he is eternally a doer of good. Those who work these effects are not the same as those for whom the statues are set up. The strongest proof of this comes from Troas and Parium. Troas has statues of Neryllinus, a man of our own time. Parium has statues of Alexander and of Proteus. The tomb and the statue of Alexander are still in the marketplace. Now the other statues of Neryllinus are a public decoration, if a city can really be decorated by such things. But one of them is believed to give oracles and to heal the sick. Because of this the people of Troas offer sacrifices to it, and they smear the statue with gold and crown it with garlands. Then there are the statues of Alexander and of Proteus. (You know that Proteus threw himself into the fire near Olympia.) The statue of Proteus is likewise said to give oracles. To the statue of Alexander, "Ill-starred Paris, hand-somest of men, mad for women," sacrifices are offered and festivals are held at public expense, as to a god who hears prayer.⁵³

26c So is it Neryllinus, Proteus and Alexander who do these things through the statues? Or is it the material they are made of? But the material is bronze. What can bronze do by itself? It can be melted down and made

52. "Knucklebone whips" translates a word for animal knucklebones, which were sometimes fastened into whips. The last line is a tragic verse by an unknown author, also quoted by the orator Lycurgus (*Against Leocrates* 92).

53. Proteus is Peregrinus Proteus, a Cynic philosopher who burned himself to death near Olympia at the time of the Olympic games of AD 165. The satirist Lucian describes the event in *The Passing of Peregrinus*.

into another shape, as Amasis did with the footbath in Herodotus. And what use are Neryllinus, Proteus and Alexander to the sick? For the things the statue is said to do now were already being done while Neryllinus was alive and ill.⁵⁴

CHAPTER 27

Artifices of the Demons.

What then? First, the irrational and image-making movements of the soul, in matters of opinion, draw in now one image and now another. Some of these images they take from matter, and others they shape and bring to birth for themselves. The soul suffers this most when it has taken on the material spirit and been mixed with it. It no longer looks up to heavenly things and their Maker. It looks down to earthly things, wholly toward the earth, as if it had become only blood and flesh and no longer pure spirit. So these irrational, image-making movements of the soul give birth to fantasies that make people mad for idols. Now take a soul that is tender and easily led. It has never heard or tried strong arguments, has never seen the truth, and has never thought about the Father and Maker of all things. Such a soul may be stamped with false opinions about itself. Then the demons that hover around matter step in. They are greedy for the smoke of sacrifices and the blood of the victims, and they deceive people. They seize on these false-minded movements in the souls of the many and ride upon their thoughts. They make impressions flow into them as if they came from the idols and statues. And whenever the soul by itself moves rationally, as an immortal thing does, either foretelling the future or healing present troubles, the demons reap the credit for it.

CHAPTER 28

The Heathen Gods Were Simply Men.

28a In keeping with what I have said, it is perhaps necessary to say a little about the names. Herodotus, and Alexander the son of Philip in his letter to his mother, both say they learned from the priests that the gods had been men. Each of them is said to have talked with the priests at Heliopolis, Memphis and Thebes. Herodotus says: "They showed that those whose images these were had been men like these, very far from gods. But before these

54. Herodotus (Histories 2.172) tells how Amasis, king of Egypt, had a gold footbath melted down and made into the image of a god, which the Egyptians then worshipped.

men, they said, the gods were the rulers in Egypt. They did not live together with men, and one of them was always supreme. Later Horus, the son of Osiris, whom the Greeks call Apollo, was king. He put down Typhon and was the last to reign over Egypt. Osiris is Dionysus in the Greek language.”⁵⁵

^{28b} So these, the others and the last, were kings of Egypt. From them the names of the gods came to the Greeks. Apollo was the son of Dionysus and Isis, as Herodotus himself says: “They say that Apollo and Artemis are children of Dionysus and Isis, and that Leto was their nurse and protector.” The Egyptians had these as their first kings, men of heavenly origin. Partly from ignorance of true reverence toward the divine, and partly out of gratitude for their rule, they counted them as gods, together with their wives. “All the Egyptians sacrifice clean male cattle and calves. They are not allowed to sacrifice females, because these are sacred to Isis. Her image is that of a woman with cow’s horns, just as the Greeks paint Io.” Who could be more believable in saying these things than people who receive the priesthood and the history by family succession, child from father?

^{28c} It is not likely that the temple keepers, whose job is to make the idols seem holy, would falsely say that these gods had been men. Suppose Herodotus alone said that the Egyptians tell the stories of their gods as stories of men. He also says, “I am not eager to relate the divine parts of the accounts, as I heard them, except only their names, and those very briefly.” In that case we might well refuse to believe him, as a mere teller of tales. But Alexander, and Hermes called Trismegistus, linked the race of gods called everlasting to these men, and so did countless others whom I will not list one by one. So no argument is left for denying that they were kings who came to be regarded as gods. That they were men is also made clear by the most learned of the Egyptians. These men call the upper air, earth, sun and moon gods, but they consider the others mortal men and their tombs sacred places. Apollodorus makes it clear too, in his work *On the Gods*.⁵⁶

^{28d} Herodotus even calls their sufferings mysteries: “How they celebrate the festival of Isis in the city of Busiris I have told before. After the sacrifice, all the men and women, many tens of thousands of people, beat themselves. But in what manner they beat themselves, it is not right for me to say.” If

55. Greek god names are kept in this translation, where the older version used Latin ones (for example Bacchus for Dionysus, Diana for Artemis, Latona for Leto).

56. The older translation reverses the meaning here: it calls the temples tombs, but the Greek calls the tombs sacred places.

they were gods, they would be immortal. But if people beat themselves for them, and their sufferings are mysteries, then they were men, as Herodotus himself says: “There are also the burial places of him whose name I think it unholy to speak in such a matter. They are at Sais, in the temple of Athena, behind the shrine, along the whole wall of Athena’s temple. Next to it is a lake, ringed around with a stone curb. In size, it seems to me, it is as large as the one on Delos called the Circular.”

^{28e} “On this lake the Egyptians stage at night the representations of his sufferings, and they call them mysteries.” Not only is the tomb of Osiris shown, but also the embalming. “When a body is brought to them, they show the people who brought it wooden models of corpses, painted to look like the real thing. The most elaborate of these, they say, is the model of him whose name I do not think it right to mention in connection with such a matter.”⁵⁷

CHAPTER 29

Proof of the Same from the Poets.

^{29a} Greek poets and historians also say the same. Of Heracles one says: “Cruel man, he had no respect for the watching gods, nor for the table he had set before his guest; then he killed the man himself.” Being such a man, he naturally went mad, and naturally built a pyre and burned himself. Of Asclepius, Hesiod says: “The father of men and gods was angered, and hurling a smoky thunderbolt from Olympus he killed Leto’s dear son, stirring up his wrath.” And Pindar says: “But even wisdom is bound by profit. Gold shining in the hand turned even him with a lordly fee. Then the son of Kronos, hurling with his hands, swiftly took the breath from the chests of them both, and the blazing thunderbolt brought down their doom.” So either they were gods and had no craving for gold (as the poet says, “O gold, the fairest gift of welcome for mortals! Not even a mother gives such pleasures, nor do children,”⁵⁸

^{29b} for the divine is without need and stronger than desire), and they did not die; or else they were born men, and were wicked through ignorance and

57. The quoted lines are from the Greek historian Herodotus (Histories 2.171 and 2.86). Herodotus refuses to name the god. The sentence naming Osiris is Athenagoras’s own comment between the two quotations.

58. The Pindar lines are from Pythian Ode 3. “Both” refers to Asclepius and the dead man he was bribed to raise, not to “both hands.”

overcome by money. Why should I say more, mentioning Castor or Polydeuces or Amphiaraus? They were men born of men only yesterday and the day before, so to speak, and yet they are thought to be gods. People even imagine that Ino became a goddess after her madness and the sufferings of her madness: "Wanderers of the sea will call her Leucothea by name." And of her son: "Revered Palaemon he shall be called by sailors."

CHAPTER 30

Reasons Why Divinity Has Been Ascribed to Men.

^{30a} For even detestable people, hated by God, gained the reputation of being gods. Semiramis, the daughter of Derceto, a lustful and murderous woman, was thought to be a Syrian goddess. Because of Derceto, the Syrians worship doves, and Semiramis too (for, impossibly, the woman was changed into a dove; the story is in Ctesias). So what wonder is it if some were called gods by their contemporaries because of their rule and tyranny? The Sibyl, whom Plato also mentions, says: "And then came the tenth generation of speaking men, since the flood had come upon the men of former times. And Kronos reigned, with Titan and Iapetus, the noblest children of Earth and Heaven, whom people called Earth and Heaven, giving them those names because they were the first of speaking men." Others were called gods for their strength, like Heracles and Perseus, and others for their skill, like Asclepius.

⁵⁹

^{30b} So in the case of those to whom honor was given, either the subjects themselves or the rulers themselves gave it. Some shared in the title out of fear, others out of reverence. Antinous, too, came to be thought a god through the kindness of your ancestors toward their subjects. Those who came after them accepted such gods without testing them. "Cretans are always liars; for a tomb, O lord, the Cretans built for you; but you did not die." Callimachus, you believe in the birth of Zeus but disbelieve in his tomb. You think you are hiding the truth, yet you announce his death even to people who did not know it. If you look at the cave, you are reminded of Rhea giving birth; but when you see the coffin, you are trying to cover up the one who died. You do not know that only the unbegotten God is eternal. For either the stories told by the many and by the poets about the gods are unbelievable and the reverence paid to them is pointless (for those whose stories

⁵⁹. Plato mentions the Sibyl in his *Phaedrus* (244b).

are false do not exist), or else the births, the love affairs, the murders, the thefts, the castrations and the thunderbolts are true. In that case the gods no longer exist, having ceased to be, since they came into being out of non-existence.⁶⁰

30c What reason is there to believe some of these stories and disbelieve others, when the poets have told the history of the gods in a way that makes them more august? For those poets, through whom the gods came to be thought gods, and who made their history dignified, would not have invented the sufferings of those same gods. That we are not atheists, then, since we acknowledge as God the Maker of this universe and his Word (the Logos), has been shown as well as I am able, even if not as well as the subject deserves.

CHAPTER 31

Confutation of the Other Charges Brought Against the Christians.

31a They also spread stories against us about godless meals and unlawful unions. They do this so that they can think they have a reasoned basis for hating us. They also suppose that by frightening us they will either turn us from our steadfast way of life, or make the rulers harsh and unforgiving through the sheer size of the charges. But they are playing games with people who know that from long ago it has been the custom, and not only in our case, for wickedness to make war on virtue, according to some divine law and reason. So Pythagoras was burned in a fire along with three hundred others. Heraclitus was driven out of the city of the Ephesians, and Democritus out of Abdera, with the further charge that he was mad. The Athenians condemned Socrates to death. But those men were no worse in respect of virtue because of what the crowd thought of them. In the same way, the thoughtless slander of some does nothing to cloud our uprightness of life, for we have a good name with God.

31b Still, I will answer these charges too. I am well aware that what I have already said has defended me before you. You surpass everyone in understanding, and you know that people whose lives are ruled by God as their standard, so that each of us may be blameless and above reproach before him, will never let even the smallest sin enter their thoughts. If we were persuaded that we would live only this one life, we might be suspected of sinning, enslaved to

60. The verse is from Callimachus's Hymn to Zeus. Paul quotes the words "Cretans are always liars" in Titus 1:12.

flesh and blood or overcome by greed or desire. But we know that God stands over what we think and what we say, by night and by day. We know that he is wholly light and sees even what is in our heart. And we are persuaded that when we are released from this life we shall live another life. It will be better than the life here, and heavenly, not earthly. With God and alongside God we shall remain unshaken and untouched by suffering in soul, not as flesh, even if we still have flesh, but as a heavenly spirit. Or else, falling with the rest, we shall have a worse life, and one in fire. For God did not form us, as he did sheep or beasts of burden, as a mere side-work, to perish and vanish. Given this, it is not likely that we would choose to do evil, or hand ourselves over to the great Judge to be punished. [*1 John 1:5*]

CHAPTER 32

Elevated Morality of the Christians.

32a It is no wonder, then, that they invent about us what they say about their own gods. They even display the gods' passions as mysteries. But if they were going to judge unrestrained, indiscriminate intercourse to be a terrible thing, they ought to hate Zeus, who fathered children by his mother Rhea and his daughter Kore, and who took his own sister as his wife. Or they ought to hate Orpheus, who composed these stories, because he made Zeus more unholy and defiled than Thyestes. For Thyestes had intercourse with his daughter because of an oracle, wanting to become king and to take revenge. We, on the other hand, are so far from being indiscriminate that we are not even permitted to look with desire. For "the one who looks at a woman so as to desire her," he says, "has already committed adultery in his heart." Now these are people who are allowed to look at nothing beyond the purpose for which God made the eyes, which was to be a light for us. For them a pleasurable look is adultery, since eyes were made for other things, and they will be judged even down to a thought. How could anyone doubt that they are self-controlled?⁶¹ [*Matthew 5:28*]

32b We do not answer only to human laws, which a wicked person can break without being found out. (At the beginning, my lords, I gave you proof that our teaching is taught by God.) We have a law that makes it the measure of justice to treat ourselves and our neighbors alike. For this reason

61. Compare Matthew 5:28. Athenagoras quotes the saying with small differences from the Gospel's wording and introduces it only with "he says".

we regard people according to their age. Some we think of as sons and daughters, others we count as brothers and sisters, and to those further advanced in years we give the honor due to fathers and mothers. So we care deeply that the bodies of those we call brothers and sisters, or by other family names, stay unabused and uncorrupted. For the Logos tells us again: "If anyone kisses a second time because it pleased him..." And he goes on: "So the kiss, or rather the reverent greeting, must be guarded with great care. If it is clouded even a little in the mind, it puts us outside eternal life."⁶² [Matthew

22:39; 1 Timothy 5:1-2]

CHAPTER 33

Chastity of the Christians with Respect to Marriage.

^{33a} So because we have the hope of eternal life, we despise the things of this life, even the pleasures of the soul. Each of us regards as his wife the woman he married according to the laws we have laid down, and he regards her so only up to the point of having children. A farmer who has thrown seed into the ground waits for the harvest and does not sow more on top of it. In the same way, for us, having children is the limit of desire. You would find many among us, both men and women, growing old unmarried in the hope of being closer to God. If remaining a virgin or a eunuch brings a person nearer to God, while even going as far as a lustful thought or desire takes us away from him, then since we shun the thoughts, we refuse the deeds all the more. Our way is not a practice of fine words but a demonstration and teaching by deeds: either to remain as one was born, or to stay with one marriage. A second marriage is a respectable-looking adultery.⁶³

^{33b} "For whoever divorces his wife," he says, "and marries another, commits adultery." So he forbids a man to send away a woman whose virginity he has ended, and he forbids him to marry again. A man who deprives himself of his first wife, even if she has died, is a hidden adulterer. He transgresses the hand of God, because in the beginning God formed one man and one woman. He also breaks up the joining of flesh to flesh in union, which was

62. The Greek phrase about the law and "our neighbors" is compressed. The older translation paraphrases it as "dealing with our neighbour as ourselves," which probably echoes the command to love one's neighbor as oneself (Leviticus 19:18; Matthew 22:39).

63. "Eunuch" here most likely means a person who chose lifelong celibacy for God's sake, in the sense of Jesus' words in Matthew 19:12.

meant for the fellowship of the human race.⁶⁴ [Mark 10: 11; Matthew 19: 9; Matthew 19: 4; Genesis 2: 24]

CHAPTER 34

The Vast Difference in Morals Between the Christians and Their Accusers.

34a But though we are people like this (oh, why should I speak of things not to be spoken of?), we hear the proverb used against us: “The harlot reproves the chaste woman.” They have set up a market for fornication. They have made lawless dens for the young, offering every kind of shameful pleasure. They do not spare even males: males commit dreadful acts with males, outraging in every way the most dignified and best-looking bodies. In this way they dishonor the beauty God has made, for beauty on earth does not make itself but is sent by the hand and will of God. Yet these same people slander us for the very things they know about themselves and attribute to their own gods. They boast of these things as honorable, as worthy of gods. These adulterers and pederasts revile eunuchs and the once-married, while they themselves live like fish. Fish swallow whatever falls in their way, and the stronger hunts down the weaker.⁶⁵ [Romans 1: 27]

34b And this is what it really means to lay hands on human flesh: to do violence against the established laws, which you and your ancestors enacted after examining everything for justice. The violence is so great that not even the provincial governors you send out are enough to handle the cases. And the people treated this way are not even permitted to refuse to offer themselves when they are struck, or to refuse to bless when they are slandered. For it is not enough for us to be just, since justice is to repay like for like. We are called to be good and patient under wrong.⁶⁶ [Matthew 5: 39; Luke 6: 28-29]

CHAPTER 35

The Christians Condemn and Detest All Cruelty.

35a Who in his right mind, then, would say that people like us are murderers? We cannot eat human flesh without first killing someone. So they lie on the first charge. On the second, if anyone asks them whether they have seen what they claim, no one is so shameless as to say he has. And yet we have

64. “The hand of God” means God’s creating work. The older translation’s “resisting” is looser than the Greek, which means “transgressing.”

65. The proverb is quoted in its short form, with the verb left to be understood.

66. The words about being struck and slandered echo Jesus’ teaching (Matthew 5:39; Luke 6:28-29) and Paul’s “when reviled, we bless” (1 Corinthians 4:12).

slaves, some of us more and some fewer, from whom we cannot hide. Not one of these has invented such serious charges against us. They know that we cannot bear even to watch a man being put to death, even justly. So which of them would accuse us of murder or cannibalism? Who does not rank the contests with weapons and with wild beasts among the things worth keen attention, especially the ones you put on? But we think that watching a man being killed is close to killing him, so we have renounced such spectacles.

^{35b} Since we do not even watch, so as not to bring guilt and defilement on ourselves, how could we kill? We say that women who use drugs to cause abortion commit murder and will have to answer to God for it. On what ground, then, would we commit murder ourselves? The same person cannot consistently hold that the child in the womb is a living being, and therefore under God's care, and then kill it once it has come into life. He cannot refuse to expose a newborn because those who expose children are child-killers, and then destroy the child after raising it. No, we are the same in everything and everywhere, equal to ourselves, serving reason and not ruling over it.⁶⁷

CHAPTER 36

Bearing of the Doctrine of the Resurrection on the Practices of the Christians.

^{36a} Who, then, if he believes in a resurrection, would make himself a tomb for bodies that will rise again? It is not the mark of the same people to be persuaded that our bodies will rise, and then to eat them as though they will not rise. Nor would they believe that the earth will give back its own dead, and yet that the bodies a man has buried within himself will not be demanded of him. On the contrary, it is natural that some people would hold back from no daring crime. These are people who think they will give no account for their life here, whether wicked or good, and that there is no resurrection, and who reckon that the soul perishes along with the body and is, as it were, put out in it. But others are convinced that nothing will go unexamined by God, and that the body, which served the soul's irrational impulses and desires, will be punished together with it. It is unreasonable to suppose that such people would commit even the smallest sin. Suppose someone thinks it great nonsense that a body which has rotted, been broken down and vanished should be put together again. Then, in the eyes of those who do not be-

67. "Reason" translates the Greek *logos*, which can also mean "word"; Athenagoras elsewhere uses the same term for the divine *Logos*, the Son.

lieve, we could fairly be charged with foolishness, but not with wickedness. For by the arguments with which we deceive ourselves, we wrong no one.

^{36b} That the bodies will rise is not only our teaching but also that of many philosophers. But it would be needless to show this at present. We would seem to be bringing in arguments foreign to our subject if we spoke about the intelligible and the sensible and how they are constituted. We would also seem to do so if we argued that the incorporeal is older than the corporeal and that the intelligible comes before the sensible, even though we meet the sensible things first. On that view, intelligible bodies are formed by the combining of incorporeal things, and sensible bodies are formed from intelligible ones. For according to Pythagoras and Plato, nothing prevents bodies, once they are dissolved, from being put together again from the very things from which they were first composed. But let the discussion of the resurrection be put off for now.⁶⁸

CHAPTER 37

Entreaty to Be Fairly Judged.

And you, who in every way are good, moderate and kind by nature and by training, and worthy of your kingdom: I have answered the charges and shown that we are godly, fair-minded and disciplined in our souls. Now give me your royal nod of approval. For who has a juster claim to obtain what they ask than we do? We pray for your government, that you may receive the kingdom, son from father, in the most just way. We also pray that your rule may grow and increase as everyone is brought under your hand. This also serves our own interest, so that we may live a calm and quiet life and ourselves gladly carry out everything we are commanded.⁶⁹ [*1 Timothy 2:2*]

68. A separate treatise, *On the Resurrection of the Dead*, has come down under Athenagoras's name, though some scholars doubt that he wrote it.

69. "A calm and quiet life" echoes the Greek of 1 Timothy 2:2, where Paul urges prayer for kings "that we may lead a calm and quiet life."

On the Resurrection of the Dead

ATHENAGORAS OF ATHENS (ATTRIBUTED)

c. AD 177–200

A reasoned defense of the resurrection of the body, argued from God's power, his justice and the purpose for which people were made. It is attributed to Athenagoras, though some scholars doubt he wrote it.

CHAPTER 1

Defence of the Truth Should Precede Discussions Regarding It.

^{1a} Every doctrine and argument that holds to the truth about reality has some falsehood growing up beside it. This falsehood does not arise naturally from any underlying principle, nor from the cause that belongs to each thing as it is. It is promoted by people who have valued a lawless sowing of seed in order to corrupt the truth. We can see this first from those who long ago devoted themselves to these questions, and from how they disagreed with their elders and their contemporaries. We see it no less in the confusion of the debates going on today. For such people have left no truth free from slander. They have attacked the being of God, his knowledge and his working. They have also attacked the things that follow from these in order and set out for us the teaching of true piety.¹ ^{1b} Some of them reject the truth about these matters completely and once for all. Others twist it to suit their own opinion. Others make a practice of professing doubt even about things that are plain. So I think those who labor at these subjects need two kinds of argument: one on behalf of the truth, and one about the truth. The argument on behalf of the truth is for those who disbelieve or doubt. The argument about the truth is for those who are fair-minded and receive the truth with goodwill. Therefore, those who want to examine these questions must consider what the need is at the time and measure their arguments by it.

1. The Greek says “lawless sowing” (ἐκθεσμον σποράν), not merely “seed,” and the closing phrase has no word for “books”; it says only “the things that follow in sequence.”

They must adjust the order of treatment to what is required. They must not neglect what is fitting, and the proper place of each point, merely to seem to keep always the same starting point.

^{1c} As for proof and the natural order of things, the arguments about the truth always come before those on behalf of it. But as for usefulness, the order is reversed, and the arguments on behalf of the truth come before those about it. A farmer cannot properly sow seed in the ground unless he first removes the wild growth that harms the cultivated seed being sown. A physician cannot put healing medicines into a body that needs treatment unless he first cleans out the sickness already there, or checks what is flowing in. In the same way, a person who wants to teach the truth by speaking about it cannot persuade anyone while some false opinion lurks in the hearers' minds and stands against his words. So, looking to what is more useful, we sometimes put the arguments on behalf of the truth ahead of those about the truth. For those who consider what is needed, it seems not unhelpful to do the same now in the discussion of the resurrection.

^{1d} For here too we find some who disbelieve completely and some who doubt. Even among those who have accepted the first premises, some are as perplexed as the doubters. The most senseless thing of all is that they feel this way without having any starting point for their unbelief in the facts themselves. They cannot even find a reasonable cause to give for why they disbelieve or are perplexed.

CHAPTER 2

A Resurrection is Not Impossible.

^{2a} Let us consider it this way. Suppose all unbelief arose in people not off-hand, from some unexamined opinion, but with a strong reason and with the soundness that belongs to truth. For unbelief is reasonable only when the very thing people disbelieve really does seem unbelievable. But to disbelieve what is not unbelievable is the act of people who do not use sound judgment about the truth. So those who disbelieve or doubt the resurrection must not give their opinion on it carelessly, according to what merely seems right to them and pleases the undisciplined. They must do one of two things. Either they must attach the origin of human beings to no cause at all, which is very easy to refute. Or they must assign the cause of all that exists to God, look to the foundation on which this teaching rests, and from that foundation show that the resurrection has no credibility at all.²

^{2b} They will do this if they can show that it is either impossible for God, or against his will, to reunite and bring together bodies that have died, or even been completely broken up, so that they form the same human beings again. If they cannot show this, let them stop this godless unbelief and this forbidden blasphemy. What I am about to say will make it clear that they are wrong both when they call it impossible and when they call it against God's will. A thing is truly known to be impossible for someone in one of two cases: either he does not know what is to come about, or he does not have power enough to carry out well what he knows. A person who does not know something that needs to be done could never attempt it or do it at all, since he does not know it. And a person who knows well what is to be made, and from what and how it could be made, but has either no power at all to do what he knows, or not enough, would not even attempt it, if he is sensible and takes stock of his own power. If he attempted it without thinking, he would not finish what he had decided on.

^{2c} But God cannot be ignorant of the nature of the bodies that are to be raised, either of each whole member or of each particle. Nor can he be ignorant where each dissolved part goes, or which of the elements has received what was broken down and has passed into what is akin to it. This holds even

2. The Greek sentence beginning "If all unbelief..." is never completed (an anacoluthon), and the translation leaves it unfinished, as the Greek has it.

though, to men, what has been naturally joined back into the whole may seem entirely indistinguishable from it. Before each body was formed, God was not ignorant of the nature of the elements from which human bodies would be made. Nor was he ignorant of the parts of those elements from which he was going to take what he chose for forming the human body. So it is plain that after the whole has been dissolved, he will not be ignorant where each part has gone that he took to complete each body. By the present order of things among us, and by the way we judge in other matters, it is the greater thing to know in advance what has not yet come into being. But in light of God's dignity and wisdom, both are natural to him. It is just as easy for him to know things that have been dissolved as to know in advance things that have not yet come to be.

CHAPTER 3

He Who Could Create, Can Also Raise Up the Dead.

^{3a} Moreover, the very creation of human bodies shows that God's power is sufficient to raise them. If at their first formation God made the bodies of men and their first elements when they did not exist, then he will raise them again with the same ease after they are dissolved, however that may happen. For this is equally possible for him. It also does no harm to the argument if some suppose that the first beginnings come from matter, or that human bodies come from the elements as their first constituents, or from seeds. Consider the power that can give shape to what they regard as shapeless matter, and adorn with many different forms what had no form or order. This power can gather the parts of the elements into one, divide the seed, which is one and simple, into many parts, give structure to what had none, and give life to what did not live. That same power can reunite what has been dissolved, raise up what lies fallen, make the dead alive again, and change the corruptible into incorruption.³

^{3b} It belongs to the same power and wisdom to deal with a body that has been torn to pieces by a multitude of animals of every kind, such as usually attack such bodies and feed their hunger on them. God can separate it from them and join it again to its own parts and members. It makes no difference whether it has passed into one animal or into many, or from these into others, or whether, dissolved along with those animals, it has been carried back

3. "Change the corruptible into incorruption" echoes Paul's language in 1 Corinthians 15:42, 53.

to the first elements by the natural breaking down into them. This is the very point that has seemed to trouble some people most, even some who are admired for their wisdom. For some reason I cannot understand, they thought that the objections commonly raised by the crowd were strong.

CHAPTER 4

Objection from the Fact that Some Human Bodies Have Become Part of Others.

^{4a} These people say that many bodies of those who died miserably in shipwrecks and rivers became food for fish. Many others died in wars, or from some other harsh cause or turn of events, and were left without burial; these lie exposed as food for whatever animals come upon them. So bodies are consumed in this way, and the members and parts that make them up are broken into pieces and spread among a great multitude of animals. Through nourishment these parts are united with the bodies of the creatures that feed on them. In the first place, they say, it is impossible to separate these parts again. And on top of this they raise a second point, which they think still harder. Some of the animals that have fed on human bodies are of the kind that people use for food. When these pass through the stomach of those who eat them, they become united with the bodies of the eaters. They say it is then entirely unavoidable that the parts of the first men, which became food for those animals, should pass into the bodies of other men. For the animals in between carry the nourishment they received from the first men over into the men for whom they themselves become food.

^{4b} Next they dramatize all this by adding the cases of children eaten in famines and in fits of madness, and children eaten by their own parents through the plotting of enemies. They add the famous Median banquet and the tragic feast of Thyestes, and they string together other unheard-of horrors of this kind that have happened among Greeks and barbarians. From these they argue, as they suppose, that the resurrection is impossible. Their reasoning is that the same parts cannot rise again with one body and with another as well. Either the bodies of the earlier owners cannot be put together again, because the parts that made them up have passed over into others; or, if those parts are given back to the earlier owners, the bodies of the later owners will be left incomplete.⁴

CHAPTER 5

Reference to the Processes of Digestion and Nutrition.

It seems to me that such people, first of all, do not understand the power and wisdom of the One who made and governs this whole universe. He fitted to the nature and kind of each living creature the food that is natural and suited to it. He did not decide that every nature should go into union or mixture with every body, nor is he at a loss to separate what has been united. He allows the nature of each created thing to do or to undergo what it naturally does, but at other times he also hinders it. He permits anything he wishes, or turns it toward whatever he wishes. Besides this, they have not considered the power and nature of each of the creatures that feed or are fed. Otherwise they would have known that not everything a creature takes in, under the pressure of outward necessity, becomes suitable nourishment for it. Some things are naturally destroyed as soon as they touch the folds of the stomach. They are vomited up, or passed out, or got rid of in some other way, so that they do not even undergo the first, natural digestion for a little while, much less become blended into the creature being fed. In the same way, not everything that has been digested and has undergone the first change reaches the parts being nourished. Some of it is separated off from the nourishing power in the stomach itself. Some is separated in the second change, the digestion that takes place in the liver, and passes into something else that has no power to nourish. Even the change that takes place in the liver does not all go to nourish people; part of it is separated off as waste, as nature intends. And the nourishment that is left in the parts and members being fed sometimes changes into something else, depending on which element is present in excess and tends to destroy, or to turn into itself, whatever comes near it.⁵

CHAPTER 6

Everything that is Useless or Hurtful is Rejected.

^{6a} There is great natural difference among all living creatures. Even the food that suits each kind of creature varies along with the body being fed. In the

4. The “Median banquet” refers to the story in Herodotus (Histories 1.119) of the Median king Astyages, who served Harpagus the flesh of his own son. In Greek legend, Thyestes was likewise tricked by his brother Atreus into eating his own sons. Both are examples of children eaten by their parents through an enemy’s plot.

5. The author follows the medical theory of his time, which held that food is digested in stages: first in the stomach, then in the liver, and finally in the parts of the body.

feeding of every creature there is a threefold cleansing and separating. So whatever is foreign to the creature's nourishment must be destroyed and passed out in the natural way, or changed into something else, since it cannot be mixed in. The power of the food must be in agreement with the nature and powers of the creature fed. When it has passed through the filters appointed by nature and been thoroughly purified by the natural cleansings, it becomes the purest intake into the creature's substance. This alone, if one speaks truly of the matter, could be called nourishment. It throws off everything that is foreign and harmful to the makeup of the creature fed, and that great bulk of material taken in merely to fill the stomach and satisfy the appetite.

^{6b} No one could dispute that proper nourishment is united with the body that is fed. It is woven together with all the parts and members of that body and molded around them. The other kind, which is contrary to nature, is quickly destroyed if it mixes with a stronger power. If it overpowers a weaker one, it easily destroys it. It also turns into bad humors and poisonous qualities, since it brings nothing that is akin or friendly to the body being fed. The strongest proof is that many living creatures suffer pain, danger or death from such things. This happens when a too-eager appetite draws in something poisonous and contrary to nature, mixed in with the food. That would certainly destroy the body being fed, since living things are nourished by what is proper and natural to them and destroyed by what is opposite. ^{6c} Natural food is distinguished according to the natural differences among living creatures. Even then, not everything an animal takes in, and not just any part of it, is blended with the body being fed. Only what has been purified through the whole process of digestion is blended. That food has been thoroughly changed for union with the particular body, and it fits the parts being nourished. It is therefore clear that nothing contrary to nature can ever be united with bodies for which it is not suitable and fitting food. Instead, one of two things happens. Either it passes out of the belly itself before it produces some other humor that is raw and spoiled. Or it stays longer and produces suffering, or a disease that is hard to cure. That disease also destroys the natural nourishment, or even the very flesh that needs feeding. Even if it is finally driven out, overcome by some medicines, by better food or by the body's natural powers, it leaves only after doing considerable harm. It brings

nothing peaceful to what is natural, because it cannot be blended with nature.

CHAPTER 7

The Resurrection-Body Different from the Present.

7a Even if someone were to grant that the food entering from these sources is, though contrary to nature, separated out and changed into one of the moistening, drying, warming or cooling elements, our opponents still gain nothing from the concession. (Let it be called “food,” as that is the usual word.) The bodies that rise are put together again from their own proper parts. None of the things just mentioned is a part, nor does it hold the position or order of a part. Nor does it always remain with the parts of the body that are fed, or rise again with the parts that rise. For neither blood, nor phlegm, nor bile, nor breath will any longer contribute anything to life. The bodies that were once fed will also not need then what they needed before. When the bodies themselves are no longer in need and no longer perishing, the need for what fed them is removed as well.⁶

7b Next, suppose someone were to assume that the change from such food reaches as far as flesh. Even so, there would be no necessity that flesh newly changed from such food, once it joined the body of some other man, should again serve as a part to complete that body. The flesh that takes it in does not always keep what it has taken in. Nor is the flesh joined to it lasting, so as to remain ... [the Greek text appears to have a gap here; see note] ... to remain with the parts, namely those things that are fitted by nature to bind together, cover or warm the flesh that nature has chosen. That flesh has grown onto the parts with which it lived out its natural life and the labors of that life. So the points just examined may be judged as they ought to be, or the further arguments built on them may be granted as a concession. Either way, what our opponents say cannot be shown to be true. Human bodies could never be blended with other bodies of the same nature. This holds even if men have been tricked without knowing it and have eaten such a body through someone else. It also holds if they have knowingly defiled themselves with a body of their own kind through need or madness. That is, unless there are beasts in human form that have escaped our notice, or creatures

6. “Breath” translates *pneuma*, which can also mean “spirit” or “wind.” Here it refers to a bodily element.

of mixed nature, part man and part beast, of the sort the bolder poets like to invent.⁷

CHAPTER 8

Human Flesh Not the Proper or Natural Food of Men.

And why should I speak about bodies that were not assigned as food to any living creature? They are set apart only for burial in the earth, as an honor to nature. Indeed, the Maker has not assigned any kind of animal as food for creatures of its own kind, though among some different kinds one does naturally serve as food for another. Suppose, then, that they could show that human flesh was assigned to human beings to eat. Then nothing would stop cannibalism from being natural, like anything else that nature allows. Nothing would stop those who dare to say such things from feasting on the bodies of their dearest friends as something closer to themselves, or from serving these same bodies to their most devoted friends. But it is impious even to say such a thing. For men to share in the flesh of men is utterly hateful and abominable, and more defiling than any other lawless or unnatural food or deed. What is against nature could never become nourishment for the parts and members that need nourishing. What does not become nourishment could never be united with those parts, which it was never made to feed. So human bodies could never be built into other, similar bodies, for which they are unnatural food. This is so even if they should pass many times through those bodies' stomachs by some most bitter misfortune. Instead, they escape the nourishing power and are scattered back into the things from which they were first formed. They stay united with those things for whatever length of time falls to each. Then they are separated from them again by the wisdom and power of him who put together the whole nature of every living creature with its own proper powers. Each part is then joined fittingly to its own part. This holds whether the body was burned by fire, rotted by water, devoured by wild beasts or whatever other animals happened by, or cut off from the whole body and dissolved before the other parts. When the parts are united with one another again, they take the same place in the harmony and structure of the same body. So the one who had died, or had even been completely dissolved, rises and lives again. It is not the right moment

7. The Greek reads "unless some beasts in human form have escaped our notice," an ironic hint that those who eat human flesh are such beasts.

to spend longer on these matters. The judgment on them is agreed, at least among those who are not half-beasts.⁸

CHAPTER 9

Absurdity of Arguing from Man's Impotency.

There are many points more useful to the inquiry before us. So for now I decline to answer those who take refuge in the works of men and in the men who make them. These craftsmen cannot make new again their works that have been smashed, or worn out by age, or ruined in some other way. The objectors then reason from potters and carpenters and try to show that God would not want to raise a body that has died or been dissolved, or that if he wanted to, he could not. They do not realize that by this they commit the worst insult against God. They put on the same level the powers of beings that are altogether different, or rather the very natures of those who use those powers, and they treat things made by craft as if they were things made by nature. It is not free from blame to take such arguments seriously, for it really is foolish to argue against shallow and empty objections. It is far more reputable, and the truest thing of all, to say that what is impossible with men is possible with God. The argument has shown that the resurrection is possible, both by these very statements, taken as reputable ones, and by everything we examined a little earlier. If so, it is plain that it is not impossible. Neither is it something God would not will.⁹ [Luke 18: 27]

CHAPTER 10

It Cannot Be Shown that God Does Not Will a Resurrection.

^{10a} For what God does not will, he does not will either because it is unjust or because it is unworthy of him. Again, injustice would concern either the one who is to be raised or someone else besides him. But it is quite plain that no one outside him, among those counted as existing, is wronged. The spiritual beings could not be wronged by the resurrection of men. It is no obstacle to their existing, and it is no harm or insult to them. The same holds for the nature of irrational creatures and of lifeless things. They will not exist after the resurrection, and nothing can be unjust toward what does not exist. But

8. "Half-beasts" renders an uncommon Greek word (*mioxothēroi*), meaning those of mixed human and animal nature. It picks up the creatures "part man and part beast" mentioned at the end of 7.b.

9. "Reputable" renders a Greek word used in philosophical argument for views that are widely accepted or held by respected authorities.

suppose someone assumes that they do exist forever. Even then they would not be wronged by the renewal of human bodies. Now they give way to human nature and serve human needs while humans are in need. They are brought under the yoke and every kind of slavery, and still they are not wronged. How much less will they be wronged when human beings have become imperishable and free from need and no longer require their service, and when they themselves have been set free from all slavery.¹⁰

^{10b} If irrational creatures and lifeless things could speak, they would not accuse the Creator of treating them unjustly by making them lower than human beings, on the ground that they did not receive the same resurrection. Those whose nature is not equal are not given an equal end by the Just One. Besides, where there is no judgment of what is just, there is no complaint of injustice either. Nor can anyone say that some injustice is done to the human being who is raised. He is made of soul and body, and he is wronged in neither soul nor body. No one in his right mind will say that the soul is wronged, because by saying so he would, without realizing it, be rejecting the present life as well. If the soul suffers no wrong now, while it lives in a body that is perishable and subject to suffering, then much less will it be wronged when it shares its life with a body that is imperishable and free from suffering.

^{10c} Nor is the body wronged. If a perishable body is not wronged now, while it is joined to a soul that is imperishable, then clearly an imperishable body will not be wronged when joined to an imperishable soul. Nor could anyone say that it is a work unworthy of God to raise up a body that has been dissolved and to bring it together again. If the lesser thing was not unworthy of him, namely making a body that is perishable and subject to suffering, then much more is the greater thing not unworthy, namely making one that is imperishable and free from suffering.¹¹

CHAPTER 11

Recapitulation.

^{11a} Each of the points we have examined has been shown from the things that come first by nature and from what follows from them. So it is plain

10. "Spiritual beings" translates a Greek phrase meaning "intelligible natures," that is, beings known by the mind rather than the senses. The author probably means angels and similar beings, though he does not name them here.

that the resurrection of dissolved bodies is a work that is possible, that is willed, and that is worthy of the Creator. By these arguments the opposite view has been shown to be false, and the position of the unbelievers has been shown to be unreasonable. Why should I speak of how each of these points implies each of the others, and how they are linked together? We may not even need to speak of a link, as though they were separated by some difference. Should we not rather say that what is possible is also willed, that what God wills is altogether possible, and that it fits the worth of the one who wills it? I have already said, adequately, that an argument about the truth is one thing and an argument in defense of the truth is another. I explained how each differs from the other, and when and toward whom each is useful. But perhaps nothing prevents us from making a fresh start from these same points and from those that belong with them. This will make the whole argument secure and connect what has been said with what remains.¹²

11b It is fitting that one kind of argument should hold first place by nature, and that the other should act as its bodyguard: making the road for the first and clearing away beforehand everything that stands in the way or is hostile to it. The argument about the truth is necessary for all people, for their security and salvation, and it takes the lead in nature, in order and in usefulness. It leads in nature because it gives knowledge of the realities. It leads in order because it exists in and along with the very things it makes known. It leads in usefulness because it brings security and salvation to those who come to know it. The argument in defense of the truth is lower in nature and in power, because refuting falsehood is less than establishing truth. It is also second in order, because its strength is directed against those who hold false opinions, and false opinion has grown up from a later sowing and from corruption.¹³

11c Yet even though this is so, the defensive argument is often put first, and sometimes it becomes the more useful. It removes and clears away beforehand the unbelief that troubles some people, and the doubt or false opinion of those who are just now coming to the faith. Both arguments are

11. The Greek says only “perishable joined to imperishable” and “imperishable joined to imperishable.” The word “soul” is not in the text, but it is clearly meant, and I have supplied it.

12. The distinction between an argument about the truth and one in defense of the truth refers back to the opening chapter of this treatise.

13. The word for “later sowing” (*episorá*) may echo the parable of the weeds, where an enemy came and sowed weeds among the wheat after the good seed was planted (Matthew 13:25).

directed to one end. The one that refutes falsehood and the one that strengthens truth both aim at piety. But they are not altogether one and the same. The argument for the truth is necessary, as I said, for all who believe, and for those who care about the truth and their own salvation. The defensive argument is sometimes more useful for certain people and in dealing with certain people. Let this be said briefly by way of summary, to remind us of what has already been said. Now we must go on to our subject and show that the teaching about the resurrection is true. We will argue first from the cause itself, according to which and for the sake of which the first man was made, and those after him as well, even though they were not made in the same way. Second, we will argue from the common nature of all human beings as human beings. Third, we will argue from the judgment which their Maker passes on them, concerning the whole time each one lived and the laws by which each one conducted his life. No one could dispute that this judgment is just.¹⁴

CHAPTER 12

Argument for the Resurrection. From the Purpose Contemplated in Man's Creation.

12a The argument from the cause goes like this. We ask whether man was made without reason and for nothing, or for some purpose. If for some purpose, was he made just to live and to remain in the nature in which he was created, or to serve someone's need? And if to serve a need, was it the need of the Maker himself, or of some other being who belongs to him and is thought worthy of greater care? Let us look at this in a more general way. We find that everyone of sound mind who is moved by reasoned judgment to make something does nothing he deliberately undertakes for nothing. He does it either for his own use, or for the need of someone else he cares for, or for the sake of the thing made, moved by a natural attraction and affection toward its coming into being. Take an illustration, so that the point is clear. A man builds a house for his own use. He also builds, for oxen and camels and other animals he needs, the shelter that suits each of them. To all appearance he does not do this for his own use, though in the end it is for that. The immediate reason is his care for the animals he looks after. He also has children. He does not have them for his own use or for the sake of anything

14. "Piety" translates *eusebeia*, which means right reverence toward God and a godly way of life.

else that belongs to him. He has them so that those he fathers may exist and last as long as possible. By the succession of children and grandchildren he consoles himself for his own death, and in this way he thinks he makes the mortal immortal.

12b That is how men act. But God would not have made man for nothing, because he is wise, and no work of wisdom is empty. Nor would he have made him for his own use, because he needs nothing. For one who needs nothing at all, nothing that he has made could serve his own use. Nor did he make man for the sake of any other work of his. For nothing that has reason and judgment, whether greater or lesser, has been or is made for another's use. It exists for the sake of its own life and continuing. Reason can find no need that could be the cause of man's creation. The immortals lack nothing and need no contribution from men in order to exist. The creatures without reason are by nature under rule, and they supply men with the services each is suited to give, but they are not made to use men in return. It was never right, and is not right, to bring what rules and leads down to the use of its inferiors, or to subject the rational to the irrational, which is unfit to rule.

12c So if man was not made without cause and for nothing (for nothing God has made is pointless, at least as far as its Maker's intention goes), and was not made to meet a need of the Maker himself or of any other work of God, then it is clear what follows. On the first and more general account, God made man for himself and for the goodness and wisdom seen in all his creation. But on the account that comes closer to the creatures themselves, he made man for the sake of their own life. That life is not lit for a little while and then put out altogether. To creeping things, I think, and birds and fish, or to speak more generally all creatures without reason, God gave a life of that kind. But to those who carry the Maker himself as an image within them, who bring with them a mind and share in rational judgment, the Maker assigned lasting existence for ever. He did this so that they might know their Maker, his power and his wisdom, and follow law and justice. In this way they might live through the ages, free from toil, together with the things by which they strengthened their former life, even though they lived in perishable, earthly bodies.¹⁵ [*Genesis 1: 26-27*]

15. The last clause is difficult; the Greek says "together with those things by which they strengthened their former life," which probably refers to what has just been named: knowledge of their Maker, and law and justice.

12d Whatever has been made for the sake of something else will naturally cease to exist once the thing it was made for has ceased. It would not go on existing in vain, since nothing useless has a place among the works of God. But things made for the sake of existing and living according to their nature are different. Their purpose is bound up with their nature and is seen only in their very existence, so they could never admit any cause that would wipe out their existence altogether. And since this purpose is always seen in existing, the living being that has been made must be preserved without fail, doing and experiencing what is natural to it. Each of the two parts of which it was made contributes its own share. The soul exists and remains unchanged in the nature in which it was made, and does the work natural to it. It is natural for the soul to govern the impulses of the body, and to judge and measure whatever comes upon it by the proper standards and measures. The body moves according to nature toward the things natural to it, and undergoes the changes allotted to it. These include changes of age, of appearance and of size, and along with them the resurrection. For the resurrection is a kind of change, and the last of all. So too is the change for the better of those who are still alive at that time.¹⁶ [*1 Corinthians 15: 51-52*]

CHAPTER 13

Continuation of the Argument.

13a Confident of these things, no less than of what has already happened, and looking at our own nature, we accept a life of want and decay as fitting for our present existence. And we firmly hope for a life that continues in incorruption. We do not idly make up this hope out of human ideas, deceiving ourselves with false hopes. We believe it on a guarantee that cannot mislead: the purpose of the one who made us. According to that purpose he made man from an immortal soul and a body. He fitted him with a mind and an innate law, to save and guard the gifts he had given, which belong to a sensible way of life and a rational existence. We know well that he would not have made such a living being, and adorned him with everything needed for lasting, unless he wanted what he made to last. So the maker of this whole universe made man to share in a life of understanding. Having become an observer of God's magnificence and of his wisdom in all things, man was to

16. The last sentence names two final changes: the resurrection of the dead, and the transformation of those still living when it happens; this echoes Paul in 1 Corinthians 15:51-52 ("we will not all sleep, but we will all be changed") and 1 Thessalonians 4:15-17.

remain always in the contemplation of them. If that is so, then, in keeping with God's purpose and with the nature man has received, the reason for man's creation guarantees that he will last forever. And his lasting forever guarantees the resurrection, without which man could not last.

13b From what has been said it is quite clear that the resurrection is plainly shown by the reason for man's creation and by the purpose of the one who made him. Since this is the reason for which man was brought into this world, the next step is to examine the argument that follows from it, either by nature or in sequence. In our inquiry, the nature of the human beings who were born comes after the reason for their creation. The just judgment of their maker upon them comes after the nature of those he made. And the end of life comes after all of these. Now that we have examined the point placed first, we must next look at the nature of human beings.

CHAPTER 14

The Resurrection Does Not Rest Solely on the Fact of a Future Judgment.

14a The proof of the teachings of the truth, or of any matter put forward for examination, is what brings unwavering confidence in what is said. It does not begin from anywhere outside, nor from what some people think or have decided. It begins from the common and natural understanding of the matter, or from the way later points follow from the first ones. For the question concerns either first principles, and then all that is needed is a reminder that stirs up the natural understanding. Or it concerns what naturally follows from the first principles, and their natural sequence, and then we need proper order in dealing with them. We must show what truly follows from the first points, or from those placed first. In this way we neither neglect the truth and our certainty about it, nor confuse what nature has arranged and distinguished, nor break up the natural chain of reasoning.

14b For this reason I think that those who take the matter seriously and fairly, and who want to judge sensibly whether there is a resurrection of human bodies or not, should first consider carefully the force of the arguments that help to prove it, and what place each one holds: which is first, which second, which third, and which last. When they have put these in order, they should place first the cause of the creation of human beings, that is, the purpose of the Creator in making man. Next they should fittingly join to this the nature of the human beings who were made. They do not join it because it is second in order. They join it because we cannot pass judgment on both

at once, even though the two very much exist together and carry equal weight for the question before us. ^{14c} These first arguments, which have their starting point in creation, clearly demonstrate the resurrection. Even so, we can also gain confidence about it from the arguments about providence. I mean the honor or penalty owed to each person by a just judgment, and the end of human life. Many who discuss the resurrection have rested the whole case on the third argument alone, supposing that judgment is the cause of the resurrection. But this is plainly shown to be false, because all people who die rise again, yet not all who rise are judged. If the justice of judgment were the only cause of the resurrection, then surely those who have done neither wrong nor right, that is, very young children, ought not to rise at all. But all are to rise, including those who died in earliest childhood. So these children themselves show that the resurrection does not happen first of all because of the judgment. It happens because of the purpose of the Creator and the nature of the creatures he made.

CHAPTER 15

Argument for the Resurrection from the Nature of Man.

^{15a} The cause seen in the creation of human beings is by itself enough to show that resurrection follows, by natural sequence, on the dissolving of bodies. Still, it is perhaps right not to hesitate over any of the points proposed. In keeping with what has been said, we should also point out the starting points that each of the following arguments provides, for those who cannot see them for themselves. First of all comes the nature of the human beings who were made. It leads to the same conclusion and gives the same assurance about the resurrection. Consider this. Human nature as a whole consists of an immortal soul and the body fitted to it at creation. God did not assign this kind of origin, or life, or whole course of existence to the soul's nature by itself, or to the body's nature apart from the soul. He assigned it to the human beings made from the two. He did this so that, when they have lived out their lives, they might come to one common end, made up of the same parts from which they are born and by which they live. The human being is one living creature made of both. It undergoes all the experiences of the soul and all those of the body. It acts and does whatever calls for judgment by the senses or by reason. So the whole chain of things that comes from these must be referred to one end. All of them, through every part, must come together into one harmony and one shared experience: man's

origin, man's nature, man's life, man's actions and sufferings, his course of life, and the end that fits his nature.

^{15b} But suppose there is one harmony and one shared experience for the whole living creature, covering what grows out of the soul and what is carried out through the body. Then the end of all these things must also be one. The end will be truly one if the living creature whose end it is remains the same in its makeup. The creature will be strictly the same if all the parts of which it consists are the same. And those parts will be the same, in their own proper union, if the parts that were dissolved are united again to form the creature. The reconstitution of these same human beings necessarily shows that the resurrection of dead and dissolved bodies follows. Without it, the same parts could not be united with one another according to nature, and the nature of these same human beings could not be reconstituted.¹⁷ ^{15c} Human beings have also been given mind and reason, so that they can discern things grasped by the mind. These include not only what exists but also the goodness, wisdom and justice of the One who gave these gifts. Now the things for which rational judgment was given continue to exist. So the judgment given for them must continue too. But this judgment cannot continue unless the nature that received it, the nature in which it dwells, continues. The one who received both mind and reason is the human being, not the soul by itself. So the human being, who consists of both, must continue forever. But a human being cannot continue unless he rises again. If there is no resurrection, human nature as human nature would not continue. And if human nature does not continue, then the soul has been joined in vain to the body's needs and experiences. In vain the body has been held back from getting what it craves, yielding to the soul's reins and guided by its bridle. In vain is the mind, in vain is wisdom, in vain the keeping of justice and the practice of every virtue, in vain the making and ordering of laws. In short, everything good that is in human beings or done for their sake is in vain, and even more, the very creation and nature of human beings. But emptiness has been driven out entirely, in every way, from all God's works and from the gifts he gives. So the body must last forever, according to its own nature, together with the soul's endless existence.

17. "Makeup" and "reconstitution" render the Greek word *sustasis*, literally a "standing together." Here it means the way the whole human being, body and soul, is put together.

CHAPTER 16

Analogy of Death and Sleep, and Consequent Argument for the Resurrection.

16a Let no one be surprised that we call a life that is cut off by death and decay a “continuance.” Consider that this word does not have only one meaning, and that there is not only one measure of continuing, because the nature of the things that continue is not one. Each thing that continues has its continuance according to its own nature. So the continuance of the purely incorruptible and immortal beings is not equal to that of beings below them, since the natures of higher beings are not put on the same level as those that stand lower. Nor is it right to look among human beings for that even, unchanging kind of continuance. The immortal beings were made immortal from the beginning and continue without end by the will of their Maker alone. Human beings, on the other hand, have an unchanging continuance in the soul from their birth, but in the body they receive incorruption through a change. This is what the doctrine of the resurrection means. With this in view, we expect the body to be dissolved, since that follows a life of want and decay. After this we hope for a continuance in incorruption. We do not put our death on a level with the death of the irrational animals, nor the continuance of human beings with the continuance of immortal beings. Otherwise we would unknowingly put human nature and life on a level with things that do not belong with it.

16b So we should not be troubled if some unevenness is seen in the continuance of human beings. Nor should we give up hope of the resurrection because the soul’s separation from the parts of the body, and the breaking up of its members, cuts off continuous life. For the loss of sensation and of natural powers that happens naturally in sleep seems to cut off the life of conscious awareness. People sleep at regular intervals of time and in a way come back to life again. Yet we do not refuse to call it the same life. For this reason, I think, some call sleep the brother of death. They do not mean that the two come from the same ancestors or fathers. They mean that like conditions come upon the dead and the sleeping, because of the stillness and because they feel nothing of what is present or happening, or rather not even their own existence and life.¹⁸

18. Calling sleep the brother of death goes back to Greek poetry. Homer calls Sleep “the brother of Death” (*Iliad* 14.231), and Hesiod makes both children of Night (*Theogony* 211–212). That is why the author says he does not mean they share the same parents.

16c So if we do not refuse to call the life of human beings the same life, though it is full of such unevenness from birth to dissolution and is interrupted by all the things we have mentioned, then we must not give up hope of the life beyond dissolution. That life brings the resurrection with it, even if for a time it is interrupted by the soul's separation from the body.

CHAPTER 17

The Series of Changes We Can Now Trace in Man Renders a Resurrection Probable.

17a Human nature has had this inequality assigned to it from the beginning, according to the purpose of its Maker. So human life and its duration are uneven. Life is broken off sometimes by sleep and sometimes by death. It is also broken by the changes of each stage of life, and what comes later is not plainly visible in the earlier stages. Who would have believed, unless experience had taught him, that so many great powers lie stored in seed that is soft and uniform? Or that so many different masses form and harden from it: bones, sinews and cartilage, and also muscles, flesh, internal organs and the other parts of the body? For none of these can be seen while the seed is still fluid. Nor does an infant show anything of what belongs to the grown person, nor the grown person anything of what belongs to those past their prime, nor these anything of what belongs to the old.¹⁹

17b Some of the things just mentioned give no sign at all of the natural order of events and of the changes that come upon human nature, and others give only a faint sign. Even so, everyone who is not blinded by vice or laziness in judging these things knows how it goes. First the seed must be sown. When it has been formed in every member and part and the child has come out into the light, there follows the growth of early life and the full maturity that growth leads to. After maturity the natural powers decline until old age, and then, when the body is worn out, it dissolves. Now the seed does not have written in it the life or form of the human being. Nor does life have written in it its dissolution back into its first elements. Yet in this case the sequence of natural events makes believable things that the appearances themselves do not make believable. Much more, then, does reason establish the resurrection when it traces out the truth from this natural order. Reason is a safer guide to the truth than experience, and stronger.

19. "Soft and uniform" renders two Greek words meaning "of like parts" and "moldable." The point is that the seed looks the same throughout and shows no visible structure.

CHAPTER 18

Judgment Must Have Reference Both to Soul and Body: There Will Therefore Be a Resurrection.

^{18a} The arguments we set out for examination a little while ago, which give assurance of the resurrection, all belong to one family, because they spring from one source. That source is the creation of the first human beings. But some of them draw their strength from that first source itself, from which they grew. Others follow the nature and the life of human beings and draw their credibility from God's providence over us. The cause according to which and for the sake of which human beings were made is joined to human nature, and it has its strength from creation. But the argument from justice, by which God judges people who have lived well or badly, takes its strength from the end of human life. These arguments do spring from creation, but they depend more on providence.²⁰ ^{18b} Now that we have shown the first of these as well as we could, it is fitting to prove our proposition from the later ones as well. I mean the honor or penalty owed to each person under a just judgment, and the end of human life. Of these I will put first the one that comes first by nature, and examine first the argument about the judgment. I will say only this much beforehand, for the sake of the proper starting point and order of our subject. Those who accept God as the Maker of this universe must attribute the keeping and care of everything made to his wisdom and justice, if they want to stay true to their own first principles. Holding this view, they must think that nothing on earth or in heaven is left without oversight or providence. They must recognize instead that the Creator's care reaches to everything, unseen and seen alike, small and great.

^{18c} For everything that has come into being needs the care of its Maker, and each thing needs it in its own way, according to what it is by nature and what it is naturally for. I think it would be a pointless show of effort to go through the list now, or to sort the cases out one by one, or to say what suits each kind of creature. But man, whom we are now to speak about, needs food because he is needy, needs succession (offspring) because he is mortal, and needs judgment because he is rational. Now suppose each of these belongs to man by nature. He needs food for the sake of life, he needs succession for the

20. The Greek verb for "spring" (*phyontai*) repeats the verb used earlier in this section for the arguments springing and growing from their source, so the last sentence most naturally refers to the arguments from justice.

continuing of the race, and he needs judgment so that food and succession may be lawful. Then it must follow that, since food and succession apply to the two parts together, judgment must apply to them as well. By “the two together” I mean the man who is made of soul and body. Such a man must be held answerable for everything he has done, and must receive either honor or punishment for it.²¹

18d Now just judgment brings its penalty for deeds done upon the two together, soul and body. The soul alone should not receive the wages for what was done with the body, for by itself the soul is not drawn to the faults that arise from bodily pleasures, food and care. Nor should the body alone receive them, for by itself it cannot judge law or justice. Instead, the man made of both receives judgment for each thing he has done. Yet reason finds that this does not happen in this life. In the present life people do not get what they deserve. Many godless people practice every lawlessness and wickedness and go on to the end of life untouched by troubles. On the other hand, those who have shown a life tested in every virtue live in pain, in abuse, in slander, in beatings and in every kind of suffering. Nor does it happen after death. For the two together no longer exist: the soul is parted from the body, and the body itself is scattered back into the things it was gathered from. It keeps nothing of its former build or shape, much less any memory of what was done. So what remains is plain to everyone. As the apostle says, this perishable thing, which can be scattered, must put on imperishability. This must happen so that the dead may be made alive by resurrection, and what was separated or even wholly dissolved may be joined together again. Then each person may justly receive what he did through the body, whether good or bad.²² [1 Corinthians 15: 53; 2 Corinthians 5:10]

CHAPTER 19

Man Would Be More Unfavourably Situated Than the Beasts If There Were No Resurrection.

19a Against those who admit providence and accept the same first principles as we do, but then somehow fall away from their own position, one could use

21. “Succession” translates the Greek *diadochē*, meaning the passing on of life to a next generation, that is, offspring or posterity.

22. The apostle is Paul; see 1 Corinthians 15:53, “this perishable must put on imperishability.” The words “which can be scattered” (Greek *skedaston*) are the author’s own addition to Paul’s wording. The last clause echoes 2 Corinthians 5:10.

arguments like these, and many more, if he wished to expand what has been said briefly and in passing. But against those who dispute the first principles, it may be well to set down another starting point before these. We would share their doubts about what they believe and examine it together with them. Is the life of men, their whole existence, completely overlooked? Has a deep darkness been poured over the earth, hiding in ignorance and silence both the people and their actions? Or is it far safer to believe that the Maker stands over his own creations, overseeing everything that exists or comes to be in any way, and judging both deeds and purposes? ^{19b} For if there were no judgment anywhere on what people have done, men would have no advantage over the animals without reason. In fact, those who keep their passions under control and care about godliness, justice and the other virtues would fare worse than the animals. The life of beasts would be the best life, virtue would be foolishness, the threat of judgment would be a big joke, and indulging every pleasure would be the greatest good. The shared creed of all such people, and their one law, would be the saying so dear to the undisciplined and lustful: "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die." For the end of such a life is not even pleasure, as some say, but total absence of feeling. But suppose the Maker of men does care about his own creations, and the distinction between those who have lived well and those who have lived badly is kept somewhere. Then it must happen either in the present life, while those who have lived in virtue or vice are still alive, or after death, when they have been separated and dissolved.²³ [*1 Corinthians 15: 32; Isaiah 22: 13*]

^{19c} But we cannot find a just judgment preserved on either of these suppositions. In the present life the good do not receive the reward of virtue, and the wicked do not receive the wages of vice. I will not even press the point that, if the nature we now have is kept as it is, mortal nature cannot bear a penalty proportionate to offenses that are many or heavy. A robber, a ruler or a tyrant who has unjustly killed ten thousand upon ten thousand could not pay for those deeds with a single death. Consider also a man who holds no true belief about God and lives in every kind of insolence and blasphemy. He disregards divine things and overthrows laws. He abuses children and women alike, razes cities unjustly, burns houses along with the people living in them, and ravages the countryside. Along with these things he wipes out

23. The saying "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die" is also found in 1 Corinthians 15:32 (quoting Isaiah 22:13).

whole communities and peoples, or even an entire nation. How could such a man, in a perishable body, suffer a penalty proportionate to these things? Death forestalls the punishment he deserves, and mortal nature is not equal even to any one of his crimes. So a judgment according to desert is shown to take place neither in the present life nor after death.

CHAPTER 20

Man Must Be Possessed Both of a Body and Soul Hereafter, that the Judgment Passed Upon Him May Be Just.

20a Death is either the complete extinguishing of life, with the soul dissolved and destroyed along with the body, or else the soul remains by itself, indissoluble, undispersed and incorruptible, while the body decays and is dissolved. In that second case the body no longer keeps any memory of what it has done, or any sense of what it experienced together with the soul. If human life is utterly extinguished, then no concern will be shown for people who are no longer alive, and there will be no judgment of those who lived in virtue or in vice. Instead the lawless life will come rolling back, with the whole swarm of absurdities that follow it, and the height of that lawlessness, atheism. Suppose instead that the body is destroyed and each of its parts goes to the element it is related to, while the soul remains by itself as incorruptible. Even so, a judgment against the soul would have no place, because justice would be missing from it. It is not right to suppose that any judgment coming from God and given by God could lack justice.

20b Justice is missing from the judgment if the one who practiced righteousness or lawlessness is not preserved. For the one who did each of the things in life for which judgment is passed was the human being, not the soul by itself. To put it in a word, this view does not preserve justice in any case.

CHAPTER 21

Continuation of the Argument.

21a For if good deeds are honored, the body will clearly be wronged. It shared with the soul in the labors of its earnest efforts, but it will not share in the honor given for what was done rightly. Often the soul gets pardon for certain faults because of the body's need and want, yet the body itself is shut out from any share in the good deeds for which it bore its part of the labors in life. Again, if faults are judged, justice is not kept toward the soul either, if it

alone pays the penalty for faults it committed while the body troubled it and dragged it toward its own appetites and impulses. Sometimes the soul was seized and carried off by stealth. Sometimes it was dragged along more forcefully. At other times it went along with the body as a kindness, out of care for keeping the body alive.

21b How could it be anything but unjust for the soul to be judged by itself for things toward which, in its own nature, it has no appetite, no movement, no impulse at all, such as lust, violence, greed, injustice, and the wrongs that follow from these? Most such evils come about because people do not master the passions that trouble them. And they are troubled by the body's neediness and want, and by the care and attention it demands. For the sake of these come all acquiring of property, and, prior to that, all use of things, and also marriage and all the actions of life, in which and around which faultiness, or the lack of it, is seen. Where, then, is the justice in having the soul alone judged? In all these matters the body is the first to be affected, and it draws the soul into sympathy and partnership in actions aimed at what the body needs. The appetites and pleasures, and also the fears and griefs, in which anything beyond moderation is liable to judgment, get their movement from the body. Yet the sins that come from them, and the punishments for the sins committed, would fall on the soul alone. The soul has no need of any such thing. It does not desire or fear, and of itself it does not suffer anything of the kind that a human being naturally suffers.

21c Suppose we grant that these passions belong not to the body alone but to the human being. We would be right to say so, because a person's life is one life made up of both. Still, we surely will not claim that these passions belong to the soul when we consider its own nature strictly by itself. If the soul needs no food at all, it could never desire things it does not need in order to exist. Nor could it feel an impulse toward things it is not made to use. It could not even be grieved by a lack of money or possessions, since these have nothing to do with it. And if it is also stronger than corruption, it fears nothing at all as able to destroy it. It dreads neither hunger nor disease, neither crippling nor disfigurement, neither fire nor sword. It cannot suffer any harm or pain from these, because neither bodies nor the powers of bodies touch it at all. Now if it is absurd to attach the passions to souls as their own, then it is unjust beyond measure, and unworthy of God's judgment, to

lay the sins that come from those passions, and the punishments for those sins, on souls alone.

CHAPTER 22

Continuation of the Argument.

^{22a} There is more to add. Is it not absurd that virtue and vice cannot even be conceived of in the soul apart from the body, yet the reward or punishment for them is assigned to the soul alone? We recognize the virtues as the virtues of a human being, and likewise the vice opposed to them. They do not belong to a soul separated from the body and existing by itself. How could anyone even conceive of courage or endurance in the soul alone? It has no fear of death, wounds, maiming, loss or ill-treatment, and no pain from these or hardship resulting from them. And how could there be self-control or temperance, when no desire draws the soul toward food, sexual union or other pleasures and delights, and nothing else troubles it from within or provokes it from outside? ^{22b} How could there be practical wisdom, when there are no things to be done or not done, nothing to choose or avoid? Rather, the soul would have no movement at all, and no natural impulse toward any action. And where would justice toward one another, or toward anything else of the same or a different kind, naturally belong to souls at all? They would have no source from which, no means by which, and no way in which to give out what is equal according to merit or proportion, apart from the honor owed to God. Nor would they have any impulse or movement toward using what is their own or keeping away from what belongs to others. The use of natural goods, or abstaining from them, is observed in beings that are made to use them. But the soul needs nothing, and is not made to use anything. For this reason, what is called “each part doing its own work” could not be found in a soul of that kind.²⁴

CHAPTER 23

Continuation of the Argument.

^{23a} Here is the most irrational thing of all: laws are given to human beings, yet the penalty for what is done lawfully or unlawfully is turned over to souls alone. The one who received the laws is the one who would justly receive the penalty for breaking them. It was the human being who received the laws,

24. “Each part doing its own work” translates the Greek *idiopragia*; the idea goes back to Plato’s *Republic*, where justice is each part of the soul, or of the city, doing its own work.

not the soul by itself. So it must be the human being who answers for the sins, not the soul by itself. For God did not command souls to abstain from things that have nothing to do with them, such as adultery, murder, theft, robbery, dishonoring parents, and in general every desire that aims at wronging or harming one's neighbors. Take the command "Honor your father and your mother." It does not fit souls alone, because such names do not belong to them. Souls do not beget souls and so take on the title of father or mother; human beings beget human beings. Nor could "You shall not commit adultery" ever be properly said of souls, or even be thought of in that way. Souls have no difference of male and female, no fitness for intercourse, and no desire for it.²⁵ [Exodus 20:12; Exodus 20:14]

^{23b} Where there is no such desire, intercourse is not possible either. Where there is no intercourse at all, there is no lawful intercourse, which is what marriage is. Where there is no lawful intercourse, there cannot be unlawful desire or intercourse with another man's wife, and that is what adultery is. Nor is the prohibition of theft, or of the desire to have more, suited to souls. They do not need the things that people in natural want or need are accustomed to steal or rob, such as gold, silver, an animal, or anything else useful for food, shelter, or use. For an immortal nature, everything that needy people desire as useful is useless. But let a fuller discussion of these matters be left to those who want to examine each point more carefully, or to argue more eagerly against opponents. ^{23c} For us, what has just been said is enough, together with the arguments that agree with it in establishing the resurrection. It would no longer be the right time to spend longer on the same points. Our aim has not been to say everything that could be said. It has been to show in summary form, to those who have gathered here, what ought to be thought about the resurrection, and to fit the arguments leading to it to the ability of those present.

CHAPTER 24

Argument for the Resurrection from the Chief End of Man.

^{24a} Now that the matters proposed have been examined to some extent, what remains is to consider the argument from the end, or purpose. It has already shown itself in what has been said, and it needs only a little more attention

25. The two commands quoted are from the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20:12, 14; Deuteronomy 5:16, 18).

and addition. That way I will not seem to have left unmentioned anything I touched on briefly, or to have damaged the subject or the division of topics made at the beginning. For the sake of these points, and of what will be set out after them, it is fitting simply to point out this much: everything that comes into being by nature, and everything made by skill, must have its own proper end. The common understanding of all people teaches us this, and the things going on before our eyes bear witness to it. Do we not see that farmers have one end in view and physicians another? And again, that the things that grow from the earth have one end, and the animals that are nourished on it and born in a natural sequence have another?²⁶

^{24b} If this is plain, and the natural or skilled powers, and the activities that come from them, must always be followed by an end that fits their nature, then the end of human beings must of necessity be set apart from what the rest have in common, since theirs is a distinct nature. It is not right to assume the same end for creatures with no share in rational judgment and for those who act according to the innate law and reason, and who live a thoughtful life and practice justice. So freedom from pain cannot be the proper end for human beings, because even creatures with no sensation at all would share in that. Nor can it be the enjoyment of things that feed or please the body, or an abundance of pleasures. If it were, the life of beasts would have to take first place, and the life of virtue would be without an end. This kind of end, I think, belongs to cattle and livestock, not to human beings, who have an immortal soul and rational judgment.

CHAPTER 25

Argument Continued and Concluded.

^{25a} Nor is the end of man the happiness of a soul separated from the body. We are not examining the life or end of just one of the two parts of which a human being is made, but of the being made of both together. Every man who has been given this present life is of that kind, and this life must have some end of its own. Now if the end belongs to the two together, it cannot be found while they are still alive in this present life, for the reasons we have often given already. Nor can it be found when the soul is separated, because such a man no longer exists once the body is dissolved or entirely scattered, even if the soul continues to exist by itself. So the end of human beings must

26. "End" translates *telos*, which means both the final point and the purpose a thing exists for.

appear in some other constitution of the two together, as the same living being.

^{25b} Since this follows of necessity, there must be a resurrection of bodies that have died or even been completely broken down, and the very same people must be formed again. For the law of nature sets the end not for people in general, or for just any people, but for those same people who lived the earlier life. And it is impossible for the same people to be formed again unless the same bodies are given back to the same souls. For the same body to receive the same soul is impossible in any other way. It is possible only through the resurrection, for if that takes place, the end that suits human nature follows. One would not be wrong to say that the end of an intelligent life and rational judgment is to live on forever, without distraction, with those things to which natural reason is first and chiefly fitted, and to rejoice without ceasing in the contemplation of him who is, and of his decrees. This is so even though most people, who are more strongly and passionately attached to the things of this world, never reach it. The great number who fall short of the end that belongs to them does not cancel the common lot of humanity. Each person is examined individually, and honor or punishment is measured out to each according to how well or badly he has lived.²⁷

27. "Him who is" translates *ton ontos*, which could also be read as "that which is" (true Being). The masculine reading recalls Exodus 3:14 in the Greek Old Testament, where God names himself "he who is."

To Autolycus

THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH

c. AD 180

Three books written about AD 180 to a pagan friend named Autolycus by the bishop of Antioch. Book 1 explains who God is and what the name “Christian” means. Book 2 sets the Greek poets and philosophers against the prophets. Book 3 argues from chronology that Moses is older than the Greek writers.

A note for readers. Theophilus is the earliest known Christian writer to use the Greek word for “triad” of God, but he applies it to God, his Word and his Wisdom, which is not the later church’s formulation of the Trinity. His reading of the early chapters of Genesis is also unusual. Read it as a witness to second-century thought, and weigh it against the Bible.

BOOK 1

Autolycus an Idolater and Scorned of Christians.

¹ A glib mouth and a pleasing style give delight, and the praise that feeds empty glory, to wretched people whose minds are corrupted. But the lover of truth pays no attention to polluted speeches. He examines the substance behind the speech: what it is and what kind of thing it is. So, my friend, you have overawed me with empty words, boasting of your gods of stone and wood, hammered, cast, molded and painted. They neither see nor hear, for they are idols, the work of human hands. You also call me a Christian, as if I bore a bad name. For my part, I admit that I am a Christian. I bear this name, which God loves, hoping to be useful to God. The name of God is not harsh, as you suppose. Perhaps you think this about God because you are still useless to Him yourself.¹

1. There is a wordplay here. “Useful” (euchrēstos) and “useless” (achrēstos) sound close to “Christian” (Christianos).

That the Eyes of the Soul Must Be Purged Ere God Can Be Seen.

^{2a} But if you say, “Show me your God,” I would answer, “Show me yourself, and I will show you my God.” Show me that the eyes of your soul can see and the ears of your heart can hear. People who see with the eyes of the body take in the affairs of this life and of the earth. At the same time they judge the differences between things: light or darkness, white or black, ugly or beautiful, well-proportioned and shapely or ill-proportioned and shapeless, oversized or stunted. It is the same with what falls under hearing: sounds that are shrill, deep or sweet. So it is also with the ears of the heart and the eyes of the soul: by them one can behold God.² ^{2b} God is seen by those who are able to see Him, when the eyes of their soul are open. All people have eyes, but in some they are clouded over, and these do not see the light of the sun. Yet it does not follow that the sunlight is not shining just because the blind cannot see. The blind must blame themselves and their own eyes. In the same way, you, my friend, have the eyes of your soul clouded by your sins and evil deeds. A person ought to have a pure soul, like a polished mirror. When there is rust on a mirror, a person’s face cannot be seen in it. So also, when sin is in a person, such a person cannot see God.

^{2c} So show me yourself. Show me that you are not an adulterer, or a fornicator, or a thief, or a robber, or a defrauder. Show me that you are not a man who has sex with males, or insolent, or abusive, or quick-tempered, or envious, or boastful, or arrogant, or violent, or greedy for money, or disobedient to your parents, and that you do not sell your children. For God does not reveal Himself to people who do these things, unless they first cleanse themselves from every defilement. All these things cast a darkness over you, just as a discharge of matter on the eyes keeps them from gazing at the light of the sun. In the same way, my friend, your ungodly deeds cast a darkness over you, so that you cannot see God.³ [*1 Corinthians 6: 9-10; Romans 1: 30; 2 Corinthians 7: 1*]

Nature of God.

³ You will say to me, “You who can see, describe to me the appearance of God.” Listen, my friend. The appearance of God is beyond speech and de-

2. The older translation runs on into the next section here (“For God is seen by those ... the light of the sun”). Following the Greek, that material belongs to 1.2b.

3. The list echoes Paul’s lists of sins, especially 1 Corinthians 6:9-10 and Romans 1:29-30. “Cleanse themselves from every defilement” echoes the Greek of 2 Corinthians 7:1.

scription, and cannot be seen with eyes of flesh. In glory He cannot be contained, in greatness He cannot be grasped, in height He cannot be conceived, in strength He has no equal, in wisdom He has no match, in goodness He cannot be imitated, and in His good works He cannot be described. If I call Him Light, I am speaking of something He made. If I call Him Word, I am speaking of His beginning. If I call Him Mind, I am speaking of His understanding. If I call Him Spirit, I am speaking of His breath. If I call Him Wisdom, I am speaking of what He begot. If I call Him Strength, I am speaking of His might. If I call Him Power, I am speaking of His working. If I call Him Providence, I am speaking of His goodness. If I call Him Kingdom, I am speaking of His glory. If I call Him Lord, I am calling Him judge. If I call Him Judge, I am calling Him just. If I call Him Father, I am calling Him everything. If I call Him Fire, I am speaking of His anger. You will ask me, "Is God angry?" Certainly. He is angry with those who do evil. But He is good, kind and compassionate toward those who love and fear Him. For He is the instructor of the godly and the father of the righteous, but the judge and punisher of the ungodly.⁴

Attributes of God.

^{4a} God has no beginning, because he was never begotten. He does not change, because he is immortal. He is called God (Theos) because he has set (tetheikenai) all things on his own firm foundation, and because of the word theein. Theein means to run, to move, to be active, to nourish, to watch over, to steer, and to give life to all things. He is Lord because he rules over the whole universe. He is Father because he exists before all things. He is Craftsman and Maker because he is the Creator and Maker of the universe. He is the Most High because he is above all things. He is Almighty because he himself holds and encloses all things. For the heights of heaven, the depths of the abysses, and the ends of the world are in his hand, and there is no place that can be his resting place.⁵ [*Isaiah 66:1*]

^{4b} For the heavens are his work, the earth is his creation, and the sea is what he made. Man is his molded work and his image. The sun, moon and

4. "I am calling Him everything" is the literal Greek, which is very terse. The older translation takes it to mean that all things come from Him. That is a possible reading, but the Greek does not say it outright.

stars are his elements, made as signs and for seasons, days and years, to serve mankind and to be their servants. God brought all things into being out of what did not exist, so that through his works his greatness might be known and understood.⁶ [*Genesis 1:14*]

The Invisible God Perceived Through His Works.

^{5a} The soul in a person cannot be seen, because it is invisible to human beings, yet it is recognized through the movement of the body. In the same way, God cannot be seen by human eyes, but he is seen and understood through his providence and his works. Suppose someone sees a ship at sea, fully fitted out, under way and coming into harbor. He will obviously conclude that it has a pilot steering it. So we must understand that God is the pilot of the whole universe, even though he cannot be seen with eyes of flesh, because he cannot be contained. If a man cannot look at the sun, which is a very small heavenly body, because of its overwhelming heat and power, how much less can a mortal man look directly at the glory of God, which is beyond words?⁷ ^{5b} A pomegranate has a rind around it, and inside it has many chambers and compartments divided by membranes, and many seeds living in it. In the same way, the whole creation is enclosed by the spirit of God, and the enclosing spirit, together with the creation, is held in the hand of God. The seed inside the pomegranate cannot see what lies outside the rind, because it is itself inside. In the same way a human being, enclosed with all creation in the hand of God, cannot see God. Again, people believe that an earthly king exists, even though not everyone sees him. He is known through his laws, his decrees, his authorities, his forces and his images. Do you refuse to let God be known through his works and his powers?⁸

5. "In his hand are ... the ends of the earth" echoes Psalm 95:4 (94:4 in the Greek Old Testament, which reads "ends of the earth" where English Bibles have "depths"). "There is no place of his rest" echoes Isaiah 66:1 ("What is the place of my rest?"). The point is that no place can contain God, not that God never rests.

6. "Out of what did not exist" is literally "out of things that are not." The wording is close to 2 Maccabees 7:28. Theophilus is one of the earliest Christian writers to state plainly that God created out of nothing. The idea that God's greatness is known through his works may be compared with Romans 1:20.

7. "Cannot be contained" renders *achōrētos*, which means "that which no space can hold." The older translation's "incomprehensible" is less exact.

8. The Greek *pneuma* means both "spirit" and "breath." Here Theophilus may be thinking of God's life-giving breath that fills creation rather than specifically of the Holy Spirit, so "spirit" is left lowercase.

God is Known by His Works.

^{6a} Consider his works, O man: the changing of the seasons in their times, the changes in the weather, the well-ordered course of the elements, and the orderly progress of days, nights, months and years. Consider the varied beauty of seeds, plants and fruits, and the many kinds of offspring among four-footed animals, birds, reptiles, and swimming creatures, both of rivers and of the sea. Consider the understanding given to the animals themselves for bearing and raising their young, not for their own use but so that man may have them. Consider the providence by which God prepares food for all flesh, and the subjection by which he has decreed that all things be placed under humankind. Consider the flow of sweet springs and ever-running rivers, and the supply of dews, showers and rains that comes in its seasons. Consider the many-sided movement of the heavenly bodies: the morning star rising and announcing the coming of the perfect light-bearer; the bond of the Pleiades and Orion; Arcturus; and the course of the remaining stars as they move around the circle of the heavens. The richly varied wisdom of God has given each of them its own name.⁹ [*Job 38:31; Ephesians 3:10*]

^{6b} He alone is God, who made light out of darkness. He brought out light from his treasures. He brought out the storerooms of the south wind, the treasures of the deep, the boundaries of the seas, and the treasures of snow and hail. He gathers the waters into the treasures of the deep, and gathers the darkness into his treasures. He brings out the light, sweet, longed-for and delightful, from his treasures. He lifts up clouds from the farthest edge of the earth, and multiplies lightning for the rain. He sends thunder to bring fear, and warns beforehand by the lightning that the crash of thunder is coming, so that no one, suddenly shaken, may faint away. He also measures out just enough of the lightning that comes down from heaven, so that it does not burn up the earth. For if the lightning received its full power, it would burn up the earth. And if the thunder did, it would overturn everything on the earth.¹⁰ [*2 Corinthians 4:6; Job 38:22*]

9. "The bond of the Pleiades and Orion" and the star names recall Job 38:31–32 and 9:9. That God names the stars echoes Psalm 147:4. "The richly varied wisdom of God" is the same Greek phrase as Ephesians 3:10. The "perfect light-bearer" is the sun, which the morning star announces.

10. The language draws on Scripture: the "storerooms of the south" (Job 9:9), the "treasures of snow and hail" (Job 38:22), and the waters gathered into storehouses (Psalm 33:7). The line about clouds and lightning closely follows Psalm 135:7 (also Jeremiah 10:13), except that where the Bible says God "makes" lightnings for the rain, Theophilus says he "multiplies" them.

We Shall See God When We Put on Immortality.

^{7a} This is my God, the Lord of all, who alone stretched out the heaven and fixed the breadth of the earth beneath it. He stirs up the depths of the sea and makes its waves roar. He rules its power and calms the surging of its waves. He founded the earth upon the waters and gave a spirit to nourish it. His breath gives life to everything, and if he holds back that breath for himself, everything will fail. It is he, O man, that you speak of, and his breath that you breathe, and yet you do not know him. This has happened to you because your soul is blind and your heart is hardened. But if you are willing, you can be healed. Put yourself in the hands of the Physician, and he will operate on the eyes of your soul and heart.¹¹ [*Job 9: 8; Isaiah 51:15; Ephesians 4:18*] ^{7b} Who is the Physician? God, who heals and gives life through his Word and Wisdom. God made all things through his Word and Wisdom. For by his Word the heavens were made firm, and by his Spirit all their power. His wisdom is most mighty. By wisdom God laid the foundation of the earth. He prepared the heavens with understanding. By knowledge the depths were broken open, and the clouds poured down dew. If you grasp these things, O man, and live purely, devoutly and justly, you can see God. But above all, let faith and the fear of God go before you in your heart, and then you will understand these things. When you put off what is mortal and put on incorruption, then you will see God as he deserves to be seen. For God will raise your flesh immortal together with your soul. Then, having become immortal, you will see the Immortal One, if you believe in him now. And then you will recognize that you spoke against him unjustly.¹² [*Proverbs 3:19-20; 1 Corinthians 15:53*]

Faith Required in All Matters.

^{8a} But you do not believe that the dead are raised. When it happens, then you will believe, whether you want to or not. And your faith will be counted as unbelief if you do not believe now. Why do you refuse to believe? Do you not know that faith comes first in everything? What farmer can reap unless he first entrusts the seed to the earth? Who can cross the sea unless he first entrusts himself to the ship and the captain? What sick person can be healed

11. The Greek says God's breath "gives life" to everything, and "you speak of him" renders the Greek "you speak him." The Greek word behind "operate" means to pierce, and it was used of the eye operation for cataracts.

12. The lines from "By wisdom God laid the foundation of the earth" to "dew" quote Proverbs 3:19-20. "Put off what is mortal and put on incorruption" echoes 1 Corinthians 15:53-54.

unless he first entrusts himself to the doctor? What skill or branch of knowledge can anyone learn unless he first gives himself over to a teacher and trusts him? If, then, the farmer trusts the earth, the traveler by sea trusts the ship, and the sick man trusts the doctor, will you not trust yourself to God, when you have so many pledges from him?¹³

^{8b} First, he made you out of nothing and brought you into being. For if your father did not exist, and your mother did not, then much more you yourself did not exist at one time. He formed you from a small amount of moist substance, from the tiniest drop, which itself also once did not exist. And God brought you forward into this present life. Yet you believe that statues made by men are gods and work mighty deeds. But when it comes to the God who made you, do you doubt that he is able to make you again afterward as well?¹⁴

Immoralities of the Gods.

^{9a} The names of the gods you say you worship are the names of dead men. And what sort of men were they? Is Kronos not found to be a devourer of children, consuming his own offspring? If you name his son Zeus, then learn his deeds and his way of life as well. First, he was nursed by a goat on Mount Ida, and then, according to the myths, he killed it, skinned it, and made himself a garment from the hide. As for his other deeds, his incest with his sister, his adulteries and his corruption of boys, Homer and the other poets tell them better than I can. Why should I go on listing his sons? Herakles burned himself to death. Dionysos was drunk and raving. Apollo feared Achilles and ran from him, was in love with Daphne, and did not know the fate of Hyacinthus. Aphrodite was wounded. Ares was a destroyer of men. And the so-called gods even have ichor flowing from them.¹⁵

^{9b} Yet these are the milder things to say, since there is a god called Osiris who is found torn limb from limb. Every year his rites are performed as if he were being lost, found again, and searched for piece by piece. For no one can make out whether he is lost, and no one shows whether he is found. Why

13. Throughout this passage Theophilus uses a single Greek verb that means both “believe” and “entrust.” The argument depends on this double meaning, which English cannot fully keep.

14. The Greek word translated “afterward” usually means “in between.” In later Greek, however, it can also mean “next” or “afterward” (compare Acts 13:42, “the next Sabbath”). That fits the point here: the God who made you once can make you again in the resurrection.

15. “Ichor” is the fluid that Homer says flows in the veins of the gods in place of blood; Theophilus uses the Greek names of the gods (Kronos, Zeus, and so on).

should I mention Attis being castrated? Or Adonis roaming the woods, hunting, and being wounded by a boar? Or Asklepios struck by lightning? Or Serapis, a fugitive from Sinope who ended up in Alexandria? Or the Scythian Artemis, who was herself a fugitive and a killer of men, a huntress, and in love with Endymion? We are not the ones saying these things. Your own writers and poets proclaim them.¹⁶

Absurdities of Idolatry.

^{10a} Why should I go on listing the many animals the Egyptians worship: reptiles, cattle, wild beasts, birds, and swimming creatures of the water? They even worship foot-basins and shameful noises. As for the Greeks and the other nations, they worship stones, wood and other material, which, as we have already said, are likenesses of dead men. Pheidias, for example, is found making the Olympian Zeus at Pisa for the people of Elis, and the Athena on the Acropolis for the Athenians. I would also ask you, my friend, how many Zeuses there are. First of all there is Zeus Olympios, then Zeus Latariios, Zeus Kasios, Zeus Keraunios, Zeus Propator, Zeus Pannychios, Zeus Poliouchos, and Zeus Kapitolios. The Zeus who was the son of Kronos and became king of the Cretans has a tomb in Crete. The rest, perhaps, were not even thought worthy of burial.¹⁷ ^{10b} If you mention the mother of the so-called gods, may I never bring myself to say her deeds aloud. It is forbidden for us even to name such things. The same goes for the deeds of her attendants, by whom she is served, and for the taxes and contributions that she and her sons bring in to the king. For these are not gods but idols, as we said before, works of human hands and unclean demons. May those who make them become just like them, and those who put their hope in them as well.¹⁸

The King to Be Honoured, God to Be Worshipped.

¹¹ So I will honor the king instead, though not by bowing down to him in worship but by praying for him. But I worship God, the One who is really and truly God, because I know that the king was made by Him. You will ask

16. Ancient writers such as Tacitus and Plutarch tell how the statue of Serapis was brought to Alexandria from Sinope on the Black Sea. The “Scythian Artemis” is the Artemis of the Taurians, whose cult was linked with human sacrifice and whose image, in the legend told by Euripides, was carried off by Orestes and Iphigenia.

17. The claim that Zeus had a tomb in Crete was well known in antiquity. The poet Callimachus mocks the Cretans as liars for building one.

18. The Greek word for “king” was the usual Greek term for the Roman emperor, and that is probably who is meant here.

me, “Why do you not worship the king?” Because he was not made to be worshipped but to be honored with lawful honor. He is not a god but a man, appointed by God, not to be worshipped but to judge justly. In a certain way he has been entrusted by God with a stewardship. Just as the king himself does not want those he has placed under him to be called kings (for “king” is his title, and no one else may use it), so no one may be worshipped except God alone. So you are wrong in every way, my friend. Honor the king: be well disposed toward him, be subject to him, and pray for him. By doing this you do the will of God. For the law of God says, “My son, honor God and the king, and do not be disobedient to either of them, for suddenly they will punish their enemies.”¹⁹ [*Proverbs 24: 21-22; 1 Peter 2: 17; Romans 13: 1*]

Meaning of the Name Christian.

¹² As for your laughing at me and calling me a Christian, you do not know what you are saying. First, what is “anointed” is pleasant and useful, and nothing to laugh at. What ship can be useful and stay afloat unless it is first anointed? What tower or house is handsome and useful when it has not been anointed? What man, when he comes into this life or enters the games, is not anointed with oil? What work or ornament can have beauty unless it is anointed and polished? Then the air, and everything under heaven, is in a certain way anointed with light and spirit. And are you unwilling to be anointed with the oil of God? This, then, is why we are called Christians: we are anointed with the oil of God.²⁰

The Resurrection Proved by Examples.

^{13a} You also deny that the dead are raised. You say, “Show me even one person raised from the dead, so that I may see and believe.” First, what is so great about believing when you have seen the thing happen? Next, you believe that Heracles burned himself up and lives, and that Asclepius was struck by lightning and raised. Yet you do not believe what God tells you. Perhaps I might even show you a dead man raised and alive, and you would disbelieve that too. God, however, gives you many proofs so that you may believe Him. If you wish, consider how seasons, days and nights come to an end, how they too die and rise again. And is there not also a resurrection of seeds and fruits, and that for the use of men? Take a grain of wheat or of any other seed.

19. Theophilus calls this “the law of God.” It closely matches the Greek (Septuagint) of Proverbs 24:21–22, which says “fear God and the king,” where Theophilus’s text has “honor.”

20. The Greek “pneuma” can mean “spirit” or “breath, wind.”

When it is thrown into the ground, it first dies and breaks down, then it is raised and becomes an ear of grain.²¹ [John 12: 24; 1 Corinthians 15: 36-37]

13b As for the nature of trees and fruit trees, do they not, at God's command, bring out their fruits at the proper seasons from what is hidden and unseen? Sometimes, too, a sparrow or another bird swallows the seed of an apple, a fig, or something else. It goes to a rocky hill or a tomb and leaves the seed there in its droppings. The seed takes hold and a tree grows up, though it was once swallowed and passed through so much heat. The wisdom of God works all these things to show, even through them, that God is able to bring about the general resurrection of all men. And if you want to see an even more wonderful sight as proof of resurrection, one that concerns not only earthly things but those in heaven, consider the monthly resurrection of the moon: how it wastes away, dies, and rises again.

13c Hear further, O man, that a work of resurrection is happening in you yourself, even if you do not know it. Perhaps at some time you fell ill and lost your flesh, your strength and your appearance. Then you received mercy and healing from God, and you got back your body, your appearance and your strength. You did not know where your flesh went when it disappeared, and in the same way you do not know where it came from, or from where it came back. But you will say, "From food and juices turned into blood." Very well. But this too is the work of God, who made things this way, and of no one else.

Theophilus an Example of Conversion.

14a So do not disbelieve, but believe. I myself once did not believe this would happen. But now that I have considered these things, I believe. I also came upon the sacred writings of the holy prophets. By the Spirit of God they foretold things that had already happened, just as they happened, things now taking place, as they are taking place, and things to come, in the order in which they will be fulfilled. Since I have received proof from events that happen as they were foretold, I do not disbelieve. I believe, and I obey God. If you wish, submit to Him as well and believe Him. Otherwise you may disbelieve now and be convinced later, when you are suffering in eternal punishments. The prophets foretold these punishments, and the poets and philosophers, who came later, stole them from the holy Scriptures to make their

21. The picture of a grain that dies and then rises echoes John 12:24 and 1 Corinthians 15:36-37, though Theophilus does not quote either passage.

own teachings credible. Even so, they too foretold the punishments that are to come on the ungodly and unbelieving. So this stands as a testimony to everyone, and no one can say, “We did not hear, and we did not know.”

^{14b} But if you are willing, read the prophetic Scriptures with eager care. They will guide you more plainly toward escaping the eternal punishments and receiving the eternal good things of God. For the one who gave the mouth for speaking, formed the ear for hearing, and made the eyes for seeing will examine everything and judge what is right, paying each person the reward he deserves. To those who seek incorruption by patience in good works, he will give eternal life, joy, peace, rest, and a fullness of good things, which no eye has seen, no ear has heard, and which have never entered the heart of man. But for those who have no faith, who are scornful and refuse to obey the truth but obey unrighteousness, who wallow in adulteries, fornications, homosexual acts, greed, and unlawful idol-worship, there will be anger and wrath, distress and anguish. In the end eternal fire will take hold of such people. You added, my friend, “Show me your God.” This is my God, and I advise you to fear him and trust him.²² [*Romans 2:6-9; 1 Corinthians 2:9*]

BOOK 2

Occasion of Writing This Book.

¹ Some days ago we had a conversation, my excellent Autolycus. You asked who my God is, and for a short while you gave me your attention while I explained my religion to you. Then we said a warm goodbye to each other and each went home, even though at first you had been harsh toward me. You know and remember that you took our teaching to be foolishness. Afterward you urged me to write, and although I am untrained in the art of speaking, I now want to use this treatise to show you more exactly the futile labor and empty religion in which you are held. I also want to make the truth plain to you from a few of the histories of your own people which you read, but perhaps do not yet understand.

The Gods are Despised When They are Made; But Become Valuable When Bought.

² It seems to me ridiculous that stonecutters, sculptors, painters, and metalcasters should shape, paint, carve, and cast, and so manufacture gods. Once the craftsmen have made these gods, no one thinks anything of them. But

22. The words about God who gave the mouth, formed the ear and made the eye recall Exodus 4:11 and Psalm 94:9.

when someone buys them and sets them up in a so-called temple or in some house, then not only do the buyers sacrifice to them, but the very men who made and sold them come with great eagerness and a display of sacrifices and drink offerings to worship them. They count them as gods, not realizing that these things are just what they were when they made them: stone, bronze, wood, paint, or some other material. The same thing has happened to you who read the histories and genealogies of the so-called gods. When you read of their births, you understand them to be men. Later you call them gods and worship them. You do not stop to consider or understand that they were exactly the kind of beings you read about at their birth.

What Has Become of the Gods?

3a If those gods were really born, then in their time there was plenty of divine begetting. But where is the birth of a god shown now? If they begot and were begotten then, it is clear that begotten gods ought to keep appearing down to this day. If not, this will be taken as a sign of weakness. Either they have grown old, and so no longer beget, or they have died, and no longer exist. For if gods were born, they ought to be born even now, just as men are. In fact there ought to be more gods than men, as the Sibyl says: "If gods beget, and yet remain immortal, the gods that were born would be more numerous than men, and there would never have been room for mortals to stand." Children are still born to men, who are mortal and short-lived. People have not stopped being born, and so cities and villages are crowded and the countryside is inhabited. How much more ought the gods, who according to the poets do not die, to beget and be begotten, if, as you say, the birth of the gods really took place?²³

3b Why was the mountain called Olympus once inhabited by the gods, but now stands empty? Or why did Zeus once live on Ida, and was known to live there according to Homer and the other poets, but is now unknown? And why was he not everywhere, but found in only one part of the earth? Either he neglected the rest, or he was unable to be everywhere and to care for everything. For if he was, say, in an eastern place, he was not in a western one; and if he was in the west, he was not in the east. But it belongs to God, the Most High, the Almighty, the God who truly is God, not only to be

23. The Sibyl was a legendary pagan prophetess. Verses under her name, the Sibylline Oracles, were widely used by Jews and Christians. These particular lines are known mainly because Theophilus preserved them.

everywhere, but also to watch over all things and hear all things. Nor can he be contained in a place. Otherwise the place that contained him would turn out to be greater than he is, for what contains is greater than what is contained. God is not contained; he himself is the place of all things. And why did Zeus leave Ida?

3c Did he die, or did that mountain no longer please him? And where did he go? To the heavens? No. Perhaps you will say, to Crete? Yes, for his tomb is shown there to this day. Or again you will say, to Pisa, where he still brings glory to the hands of Phidias. Let us turn, then, to the writings of the philosophers and poets.²⁴

Absurd Opinions of the Philosophers Concerning God.

4a Some of the Stoics deny altogether that there is a God. Or, if there is one, they say that God cares for nothing except himself. The folly of Epicurus and Chrysippus has declared these things outright. Others say that everything happens by chance, that the world was never created, and that nature is eternal. They have dared to say that there is no providence of God at all, and that God is only each person's conscience. Others again teach that the spirit that pervades everything is God. Plato and his school acknowledge that God is uncreated, the Father and Maker of all things. But then they assume that matter, as well as God, is uncreated, and they say that matter is as old as God. Yet if God is uncreated and matter is uncreated, then by the Platonists' own account God is no longer the Maker of all things. And as far as their view goes, the sole rule of God is not shown either.²⁵

4b Furthermore, just as God, being uncreated, is also unchangeable, so if matter were uncreated it too would be unchangeable and equal to God. For what is created is changeable and alterable, but what is uncreated is unchangeable and unalterable. And what is so great about God making the world out of matter that was already there? A human craftsman, too, when he receives material from someone, makes from it whatever he wishes. But God's power is shown in this: out of things that do not exist he makes whatever he wishes. In the same way, giving life and movement belongs to

24. Pisa was the district around Olympia, where Phidias made the famous statue of Zeus. The jab is that Zeus now survives only as a statue that brings fame to its sculptor. The Cretans were known in antiquity for claiming to show the tomb of Zeus.

25. Theophilus groups these views loosely. Epicurus was not a Stoic; he taught that gods exist but take no interest in the world. Chrysippus, a leading Stoic, actually defended divine providence. So the views here should not be read as an exact report of what each man taught.

no one but God alone. A man makes an image, but he cannot give reason, breath or sensation to what he has made. God has this power beyond man's: he makes a being that is rational, breathing and able to sense. So just as God is more powerful than man in all these things, so he is in this too: out of things that do not exist he makes, and has made, the things that exist, whatever he wishes and as he wishes.²⁶

Opinions of Homer and Hesiod Concerning the Gods.

^{5a} So the philosophers and writers do not agree with one another. While they have made these statements, the poet Homer is found explaining the origin not only of the world but also of the gods on a different basis. For he says somewhere: "Oceanus, the origin of the gods, and mother Tethys, from whom come all rivers and every sea." In saying this he does not establish God at all. For who does not know that the ocean is water? And if it is water, it is not God. And if God is the maker of all things, as he is, then he is also the creator of the water and the seas. Hesiod also declared the origin not only of the gods but of the world itself. And though he said the world was created, he was too weak to say by whom it was made.²⁷ ^{5b} Hesiod also called Cronus a god, and Cronus's son Zeus, and Poseidon and Pluto. Yet we find that these came after the world. He also records that Cronus was warred against by his own child Zeus. He says: "Having conquered his father Cronus by might, he arranged each matter well among the immortals alike, and declared their honors." Then he goes on to speak of the daughters of Zeus, whom he calls Muses. He appears as their suppliant, wanting to learn from them how all things came to be. He says: "Hail, children of Zeus, and give me lovely song. Celebrate the holy race of the immortals who live forever, who were born of Earth and starry Heaven, and of dusky Night, and whom the salt sea nourished. Tell how in the beginning the gods and the earth came to be, and the rivers, and the boundless sea raging with its swell, and the shining stars, and the wide heaven above. Tell also of the gods who were born from these, the givers of good things, and how they shared out their wealth and divided their honors."²⁸

26. Theophilus is one of the earliest Christian writers to argue plainly that God created out of nothing. Compare Romans 4:17, where God "calls into being things that do not exist," and 2 Maccabees 7:28.

27. The quotation joins two separate lines of Homer: Iliad 14.201 ("Oceanus, the origin of the gods, and mother Tethys") and Iliad 21.196 ("from whom come all rivers and every sea").

5c “And how at the first they came to hold many-folded Olympus. Tell me these things, Muses who have your homes on Olympus, from the beginning, and say which of them came first.” But how did the Muses know these things, when they came after the world? Or how could they tell them to Hesiod, when their father had not yet been born?²⁹

Hesiod on the Origin of the World.

6a In a certain way Hesiod does assume matter and a making of the world, when he says: “First of all Chaos came to be, and then broad-breasted Earth, the safe seat forever of all the immortals who hold the peak of snowy Olympus, and misty Tartarus in the recess of the wide-wayed earth, and Eros, the fairest among the immortal gods, who loosens the limbs and overpowers the mind and wise counsel in the breasts of all gods and all men. From Chaos came Erebus and black Night. And from Night again came Aether and Day, whom she bore after conceiving, mingling in love with Erebus. Earth first bore starry Heaven, equal to herself, to cover her on every side, so that he might be a safe seat forever for the blessed gods. She bore tall mountains, the pleasant haunts of the goddesses, the Nymphs who live in the wooded mountains. She also bore the barren sea, raging with its swell, Pontus, without any sweet union of love. Then, having lain with Heaven, she bore deep-swirling Ocean.”³⁰

6b Even after saying all this, Hesiod still has not shown by whom these things came to be. Suppose Chaos was among the first things, and some unbegotten matter already lay there beforehand. Who, then, was the one who reworked it, rearranged it and reshaped it? Did matter reshape itself and put itself in order? (It could not have been Zeus. He was born a long time afterward, after matter, and also after the world and a multitude of people, and so was his father Cronus.) Or rather, was there some ruling power that made it? I mean God, who also set it in order. Besides, Hesiod is found talking nonsense in every way, and contradicting himself. He names earth, heaven and sea, and wants the gods to have come from them. From these he then announces certain most fearsome men, kin to the gods: the race of the Titans and Cyclopes, and a multitude of giants, and of the demons of Egypt, or vain

28. The quotations come from Hesiod's Theogony: the lines about Zeus and Cronus are 73–74, and the hymn to the Muses is 104–115 (continued in the next section).

29. The Muses' father is Zeus.

30. The quotation is from Hesiod's Theogony, lines 116–133.

men. Apollonides, also called Horapius, records these things in the book entitled *Semenouthi* and in his other histories. These deal with the religion of the Egyptians, their kings, and their futile pursuits.

The Prophet's Inspired by the Holy Ghost.

7a Why should I go over the Greek myths? Pluto is said to rule over darkness. Poseidon is said to go down beneath the sea, embrace Melanippe, and father a man-eating son. Then there is everything the writers have dramatized about the children of Zeus. These writers themselves list the family lines of these figures, which shows they were born men and not gods. The comic poet Aristophanes, in the play called **The Birds**, took up the making of the world. He said that at the beginning the world's structure was an egg, in these words: "First of all, black-winged Night bore a wind-egg." Satyrus also wrote a history of the districts of Alexandria. He begins with Philopator, who was also called Ptolemy, and shows that Dionysus was the founder of his line. For this reason Ptolemy first set up the Dionysian tribe. Satyrus writes as follows. From Dionysus and Althaea, the daughter of Thestius, was born Deianeira. From her and Heracles, the son of Zeus, came Hyllus, I suppose. From him came Cleodemus, and from him Aristomachus, then Temenus, Ceisus, Maron, Thestius, Acous, Aristomidas, Caranus, Coenus, Tyrimmas, Perdiccas, Philip, Aeropus, Alcetas, Amyntas, Bocrus, and Meleager, and from him Arsinoe. From her and Lagus came Ptolemy Soter. From him and Berenice came Ptolemy Philadelphus. From him and Arsinoe came Ptolemy Euergetes. From him and Berenice, the daughter of Magas who was king in Cyrene, came Ptolemy Philopator.³¹

7b This, then, is how the kings who reigned in Alexandria were related to Dionysus. For this reason the Dionysian tribe also has districts assigned to it. There is Althais, from the woman who became Dionysus's wife, Althaea, the daughter of Thestius. There is Deianeiris, from the daughter of Dionysus and Althaea, who became the wife of Heracles. The districts under them take their names from the same source. Ariadnis is named for Ariadne, the daughter of Minos and wife of Dionysus, a child devoted to her father, who lay with Dionysus in a certain form. Thestis is named for Thestius, the father of Althaea. Thoantis is named for Thoas, a son of Dionysus. Staphylis is named for Staphylus, a son of Dionysus. Euainis is named for Eunoos, a son

31. The Aristophanes line is from *The Birds*, line 695. A "wind-egg" is an egg produced without mating.

of Dionysus. Maronis is named for Maron, a son of Ariadne and Dionysus. All of these were sons of Dionysus. Many other names have also arisen and remain to this day. The Heraclidae are named from Heracles, the Apollonidae and Apollonii from Apollo, and the Poseidonii from Poseidon. From Zeus come the Dii and the Diogenai.³²

The World Created by God Through the Word.

^{8a} Why should I go on listing the great number of such names and genealogies? In every way, all these writers, poets, and so-called philosophers are made fools of, and so are those who pay attention to them. For what they composed about their own gods was myths and foolishness rather than anything else. They did not show them to be gods at all, but men, some of them drunkards, others fornicators and murderers. They also said contradictory and worthless things about the origin of the world. First, some declared that the world was uncreated, as we showed earlier. Those who said it was uncreated and of eternal nature spoke in ways that do not fit with those who taught that it was created. For they said these things by guesswork and human reasoning, not according to the truth. Others, in turn, said that there is providence, and they overturned the teachings of the first group.

^{8b} Aratus, for example, says: "Let us begin with Zeus, whom we men never leave unspoken. All the streets are full of Zeus, and all the marketplaces of men. The sea is full of him, and the harbors. Everywhere we all have need of Zeus, for we are also his offspring. And he, kindly to men, gives favorable signs. He rouses the people to work, reminding them of their livelihood. He tells when the soil is best for oxen and mattocks. He tells when the seasons are right for digging around the plants and for sowing every kind of seed." So whom shall we believe? This Aratus, or Sophocles, who says: "Providence is clear to no one; it is best to live at random, as best one can"? Homer, in turn, does not agree with Sophocles, for he says: "Zeus increases and diminishes the excellence of men." And Simonides says: "No one has gained excellence without the gods, neither city nor mortal. God is all-wise."³³

^{8c} Simonides goes on: "Among mortals nothing is free from harm." Euripides says the same: "Apart from God, men have nothing." Menander says:

32. The Greek word describing the form in which Ariadne lay with Dionysus (πρύμνιδι) is obscure and probably corrupt, so its meaning is uncertain.

“Then no one cares for us, except God alone.” Euripides again: “For when it seems good to God to save, he gives many occasions for rescue.” And Thestius: “If God wills it, you are saved even if you sail on a reed mat.” They said countless things like this, and they contradicted themselves. Sophocles, for one, denies providence in one place, but in another he says: “No mortal can leap over the blow of God.” Besides, they brought in a multitude of gods, or else spoke of a single rule. And when they said there is providence, they said the opposite of those who say there is no providence. So Euripides admits: “We toil hard, driven by hopes, laboring in vain, knowing nothing.” Even against their will they confess that they do not know the truth. They were inspired by demons and puffed up by them, and whatever they said, they said through the demons.³⁴

^{3d} For the poets, Homer and Hesiod, who were inspired by the Muses, as they say, spoke from illusion and error, and not by a pure spirit but a deceiving one. This is clearly shown by the fact that even to this day people possessed by demons are sometimes exorcised in the name of the God who truly is. These deceiving spirits themselves confess that they are demons, the same ones who worked in those poets back then. Yet sometimes some of the poets became sober in soul and free of these spirits, and they said things in agreement with the prophets. This was to serve as a witness both to themselves and to all people, about the single rule of God, the judgment, and the other things they spoke of.

The Prophet's Inspired by the Holy Ghost.

⁹ But the men of God were bearers of the Holy Spirit. They became prophets, inspired and made wise by God himself, and so they became taught by God, holy and righteous. For this reason they were counted worthy to receive this reward: they became instruments of God and received the wisdom that comes from him. Through this wisdom they spoke about the creation of the world and everything else. They also foretold plagues, famines and wars. And there was not just one or two of them, but many, at different times and seasons among the Hebrews. Among the Greeks, too, there was the Sibyl. All of them spoke in friendly agreement with one another about what had

33. The Sophocles line is from *Oedipus the King* (lines 977–979, spoken by Jocasta), the Homer line is *Iliad* 20.242, and both Homer and Simonides use the same Greek word (*aretē*), here translated “excellence,” which in Homer means mainly prowess or valor.

34. “Reed mat” renders *ρίππος*, a mat or raft of woven reeds or wicker.

happened before their time, what happened in their own time, and what is now being fulfilled in our time. So we are convinced that the things still to come will happen too, just as the earlier things have been completed.³⁵ [2 Peter 1:2f]

The World Created by God Through the Word.

10a First, they taught us in agreement that God made all things out of nothing. For nothing existed alongside God. He is his own place and needs nothing, and he existed before the ages. He willed to make man, so that he might be known by him, and for man he prepared the world. For whatever is created also has needs, but the one who is uncreated needs nothing. So God had his own Word, internal within his own inward being. Before all things he begat him, bringing him forth along with his own wisdom. God used this Word as his servant in what he made, and through him he made all things. He is called “Beginning” because he rules and is lord over everything made through him. So this Word is the Spirit of God, and Beginning, and Wisdom, and Power of the Most High. He came down upon the prophets, and through them he spoke about the making of the world and everything else.³⁶

[John 1:3; Luke 1:35]

10b For the prophets did not exist when the world came into being. What existed was the wisdom of God that is in him, and his holy Word, who is always present with him. That is why he speaks this way through the prophet Solomon: “When he prepared the heaven, I was present with him, and when he made the foundations of the earth strong, I was beside him, fitting things together.” Moses, who lived many years before Solomon (or rather the Word of God speaking through Moses as through an instrument), says: “In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth.” First he named the “beginning” and the “making,” and only then did he bring in God. For one should not name God idly or for no reason. The divine wisdom knew in advance that some people would talk nonsense and name a multitude of gods who do not exist.³⁷ [Proverbs 8:27-30; Genesis 1:1]

35. The Sibyl was a legendary Greek prophetess. Theophilus treats her as a genuine prophet in agreement with the Hebrew prophets, and he quotes at length from the Sibylline Oracles (2.3, 2.36). These were verses circulating under her name, much of them composed by Jews.

36. Here Theophilus calls the Word “Spirit of God” and “Wisdom,” yet just before he says the Word was brought forth “with” God’s wisdom. In 2.15 he speaks of God, his Word, and his Wisdom as a “triad,” the earliest surviving Christian use of that word for God. His terms are not yet as fixed as in later creeds.

10c So that the God who truly is might be understood through his works, and so that people might know that God made heaven and earth and everything in them by his Word, Moses said: “In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth.” Then, after speaking of their making, he explains to us: “But the earth was invisible and unformed, and darkness was over the deep, and the Spirit of God was borne along above the water.” Divine Scripture teaches these things first of all: in some sense there was a created matter, brought into being by God, from which God made and fashioned the world.

³⁸ [Genesis 1:1-2]

The Six Days' Work Described.

11a The beginning of creation is light, because light makes visible the things that are put in order. So Scripture says: “And God said, Let there be light, and there was light. And God saw that the light was good,” plainly meaning that it was made good for man. “And he separated the light from the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And there was evening and there was morning, one day. And God said, Let there be a firmament in the middle of the water, and let it separate water from water. And it was so. And God made the firmament. And God separated the water that was beneath the firmament from the water that was above the firmament.”³⁹ [Genesis 1:3-7] 11b “And God called the firmament Heaven. And God saw that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning, a second day. And God said, Let the water under heaven be gathered into one gathering, and let the dry land appear. And it was so. And the water under heaven was gathered into its gatherings, and the dry land appeared. And God called the dry land Earth, and the collections of waters he called Seas. And God saw that it was good. And God said, Let the earth sprout vegetation, grass bearing seed according to its kind and likeness, and fruit trees producing fruit, whose seed is in it, according to its kind, on the earth.” [Genesis

1:8-11]

11c “And it was so. And the earth brought forth vegetation, grass bearing seed according to its kind and likeness, and fruit trees producing fruit, whose

37. The quotation from Solomon is Proverbs 8:27-30, abridged, following the Greek Old Testament (the Septuagint), which has “fitting together” (*ἀρμολογῶσα*). The Hebrew word in verse 30 is uncertain and is rendered variously, e.g. “master workman” or “one brought up with him.”

38. Theophilus insists that the matter the world was made from was itself created by God. Earlier in Book 2 he criticizes Plato and his followers for treating matter as uncreated.

39. Both the Greek and the Hebrew of Genesis 1:5 say “one day,” not “the first day.”

seed is in it, according to its kind, on the earth. And God saw that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning, a third day. And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven, to give light upon the earth, to separate the day from the night. And let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years. And let them be lights in the firmament of heaven, to shine upon the earth. And it was so. And God made the two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night, and the stars.”⁴⁰ [Genesis 1:11-16] 11d “And God set them in the firmament of heaven, to shine upon the earth, and to rule the day and the night, and to separate the light from the darkness. And God saw that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning, a fourth day. And God said, Let the waters bring forth moving creatures with living souls, and birds flying over the earth across the firmament of heaven. And it was so. And God made the great sea creatures, and every living soul of creeping animals which the waters brought forth according to their kinds, and every winged bird according to its kind. And God saw that they were good. And God blessed them, saying, Increase and multiply, and fill the waters of the sea. And let the birds multiply on the earth.” [Genesis 1:17-22]

11e And there was evening and there was morning, a fifth day. And God said, “Let the earth bring forth a living creature according to its kind: four-footed animals, creeping things, and wild beasts of the earth according to their kind.” And it was so. God made the wild beasts of the earth according to their kind, the livestock according to their kind, and all the creeping things according to their kind. And God saw that they were good. And God said, “Let us make man in our image and likeness. Let them rule over the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, the livestock, 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. [Genesis 1:23-27] 11f And God blessed them, saying, “Increase and multiply, fill the earth and subdue it. Rule over the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, all the livestock, all the earth, and all the creeping things that creep on the earth.” And God said, “Look, I have given you every seed-bearing plant that is on the whole earth, and every tree that has in it fruit with seed for sowing. These will be food for you. And to all the wild animals of the earth, all the birds of the sky, and

40. The Greek phrase *eis archas* uses *archē*, which can mean “beginning” or “rule”; here it means rule, as the Hebrew of Genesis 1:16 and the verb “to rule” in Genesis 1:18 show.

every creeping thing that creeps on the earth, which has in it the breath of life, I have given every green plant for food.” And it was so. And God saw all the things that he had made, and look, they were very good.⁴¹ [*Genesis 1: 28-31*]

11g And there was evening and there was morning, a sixth day. And heaven and earth were completed, and all their order. On the sixth day God completed his works that he had made, and on the seventh day he rested from all his works that he had made. And God blessed the seventh day and made it holy, because on it he rested from all his works that God had begun to make.

⁴² [*Genesis 1: 31; Genesis 2: 1-3*]

The Glory of the Six Days' Work.

12a No human being could explain the Six Days and set out the whole of God's ordering of them as they deserve, not even with ten thousand mouths and ten thousand tongues. Nor, if someone lived ten thousand years as a visitor in this life, would he even then be able to say anything worthy of these things. This is because of the surpassing greatness and riches of God's wisdom, which is found in the six-day work written above. Many writers have imitated it and wanted to give an account of these matters. They took their starting points from here, whether about the creation of the world or the nature of man, yet they did not utter even a chance spark worthy of the truth. What the philosophers, writers, and poets say seems trustworthy, because it is dressed up in fine language.⁴³ [*Romans 11: 33*] 12b But their discourse is shown to be foolish and empty, because the mass of their nonsense is great and not even a chance bit of truth is found in them. Even if something true seems to have been spoken through them, it is mixed with error. A poisonous drug mixed with honey, wine, or something else makes the whole mixture harmful and useless. In the same way, their long-windedness turns out to be wasted effort, and rather a harm to those who trust it. Then there is the seventh day. All people name it, but most do not know that what the Hebrews call “sabbath” is translated in Greek as “hebdomas” (a group of seven, that is, a week). Every race of mankind uses this name, but they do not know why they call it that.

41. The Greek has “they were very good” (plural, *kala lian*), referring to all the things God had made.

42. “On the sixth day God completed his works” follows the Septuagint. The Hebrew text of Genesis 2:2 says “seventh day.”

43. “Six Days” translates the Greek *Hexaemeron* (“six days”), a name for the six days of creation.

12c Hesiod the poet says that Erebus came from Chaos, and also Earth and Love, who rules over the gods and men of his poem. This statement is shown to be vain and cold, and foreign to all truth. For God must not be overcome by pleasure. Even self-controlled men keep away from every shameful pleasure and evil desire.⁴⁴

Remarks on the Creation of the World.

13a Hesiod's idea is also merely human, lowly and very weak when measured against God, because he begins his account of how things were made from the earthly things down below. A man, being down below, starts building from the ground. He cannot properly put on the roof unless he has first laid a foundation. God's power, however, is shown in this: first he makes the things that come to be out of things that did not exist, and then he makes them as he wishes. For what is impossible with men is possible with God. That is why the prophet said that the heaven was made first, serving as a kind of roof. He says, "In the beginning God made the heaven." That is, the heaven came to be through the beginning, as we have already shown.⁴⁵ [*Genesis 1:1; Luke 18:27*]

13b By "earth" he means, in effect, the ground and foundation. By "abyss" he means the great mass of waters. "Darkness" is mentioned because the heaven that God made covered the waters and the earth like a lid. The "Spirit borne above the water" is the one God gave to bring the creation to life, as he gave a soul to man. He blended what is fine with what is fine, for spirit is fine and water is fine. He did this so that the spirit might nourish the water, and the water, penetrating everywhere with the spirit, might nourish the creation. The one Spirit, holding the place of light, stood between the water and the heaven. Its purpose was that the darkness should in no way share in the heaven, which is nearer to God, before God said, "Let there be light."⁴⁶ [*Genesis 1:2; Genesis 1:3*]

13c So the heaven, being like a vaulted roof, enclosed the raw matter, which was like a clod of earth. Another prophet, Isaiah by name, also speaks about the heaven. He says, "This is God who made the heaven like a vault, and stretched it out like a tent to be lived in." So God's command, that is,

44. Theophilus is summarizing Hesiod's account of the first beings in the Theogony. "Love" here is Eros, the personified power of desire.

45. The Greek has "In the beginning" and the singular "heaven"; earlier (2.10) Theophilus explained that the Word is called "Beginning" (archē) because he rules over all things made through him, so "through the beginning" means through the Word.

46. "Spirit" (pneuma) can also mean breath or wind. The quoted phrases come from Genesis 1:2–3.

his Word, shone like a lamp in an enclosed room. It lit up the region under heaven, having made the light separate from the world. God called the light Day and the darkness Night. Otherwise man would not have known how to call the light day or the darkness night. Nor would he have known the names of the other things, unless he had received the naming from God, who made them. So at the very beginning of the history and of the creation of the world, the holy Scripture is speaking not about this firmament we see, but about another heaven that is invisible to us. After that heaven, this visible heaven was called “firmament.” Half of the water was taken up onto it, so that it might serve humanity as rains, showers and dews.⁴⁷ [Isaiah 40: 22; Genesis 1: 5]

^{13d} The other half of the water was left on the earth for rivers, springs and seas. The water was still covering the earth, especially its hollow places. So God, through his Word, had the water gathered into one gathering and made the dry land visible, which before had been invisible. But the earth, though now visible, was still unfurnished. So God furnished and adorned it with all kinds of grasses, seeds and plants.⁴⁸ [Genesis 1: 9; Genesis 1: 11]

The World Compared to the Sea.

^{14a} Now consider the variety, the differing beauty and the abundance in these things. Through them the resurrection is shown, as a sample of the resurrection of all people that is to come. For who that thinks about it will not marvel that a fig tree grows from a tiny fig seed, or that the other very small seeds produce enormous trees? We say that the world is like the sea. The sea would have dried up long ago because of its saltiness if rivers and springs did not flow into it and keep supplying it. In the same way, the world would already have failed because of the wickedness and sin that abound in it, if it did not have God’s law and the prophets. These flow and well up with sweetness, compassion and righteousness, and with the teaching of God’s holy commandments. ^{14b} In the sea there are islands. Some are inhabited, well watered and fruitful, with anchorages and harbors where storm-tossed sailors can find refuge. In the same way God has given to the world, which is tossed and

47. In the Greek, half the water is taken up “upon” the firmament, that is, the visible heaven, echoing the waters “above the firmament” in Genesis 1:7.

48. “Invisible” and “unfurnished” (*akataskeuastos*) echo the Greek Old Testament (Septuagint) of Genesis 1:2, where the earth is “invisible and unfurnished.” “Gathered into one gathering” follows the Septuagint of Genesis 1:9.

battered by sins, the assemblies, which we call holy churches. In these, as in sheltered island harbors, the teachings of the truth are found. Those who want to be saved run to them: lovers of the truth who wish to escape the wrath and judgment of God. But there are other islands, rocky, dry, barren, full of wild beasts and uninhabited. They harm those who sail and are caught in storms, so that ships are broken up on them and those who land there perish. In the same way there are teachings of error. I mean the heresies, which destroy those who come near them. For they are not guided by the word of truth. Pirates, when they have filled ships, drive them onto the places I have mentioned in order to destroy them. In the same way, those who wander from the truth are destroyed by error.⁴⁹

Of the Fourth Day.

15a On the fourth day the lights were made. God knows all things beforehand, and so he knew the empty talk of vain philosophers. They were going to say that the things growing on the earth come from the heavenly bodies, as a way of setting God aside. So that the truth might be shown, the plants and seeds came into being before the heavenly bodies. For what comes later cannot produce what came before it. These things also hold a sign and pattern of a great mystery. The sun is a type of God, and the moon a type of man. As the sun differs greatly from the moon in power and glory, so God differs greatly from humanity. As the sun always remains full and never grows smaller, so God always remains perfect, full of all power, understanding, wisdom, immortality and every good thing.⁵⁰ [Genesis 1:14-19] 15b The moon wanes each month and in a sense dies, being a type of man. Then it is born again and grows, as a sign of the resurrection that is to come. In the same way the three days that came before the lights are types of the Trinity: of God, his Word, and his Wisdom. The fourth type is man, who needs light. So there are God, the Word, Wisdom, and man. This is why the lights were made on the fourth day. The placement of the stars also has an order and arrangement that stands for the righteous, the godly, and those who keep the law and commandments of God. The conspicuous, bright stars are in imitation of the prophets. This is why they stay fixed and do not move from place

49. The printed Greek is accented as *peiratai*, “he tries” (*πειράται*), which makes no sense here; translators read it as *peiratai*, “pirates” (*πειραται*), as the older English translation also does.

50. “Heavenly bodies” translates the Greek *stoicheia*, usually “elements.” In later Greek the word could mean the heavenly bodies, and the context here shows that is what Theophilus means.

to place. Those that hold a second rank of brightness are types of the people of the righteous. But those that move and flee from place to place, which are also called “wanderers” (planets), are themselves a type of people who fall away from God and abandon his law and commands.⁵¹

Of the Fifth Day.

¹⁶ On the fifth day the living creatures came from the waters. Here too the many-sided wisdom of God is shown. Who could count the multitude of them and their wonderfully varied offspring? Further, the creatures that came from the waters were blessed by God. This too was to be a sign that people would receive repentance and forgiveness of sins through water and the washing of new birth. This is for all who come to the truth, are born again, and receive a blessing from God. But the great sea creatures and the flesh-eating birds are a likeness of the greedy and of lawbreakers. Water creatures and birds are of one nature, yet some stay within their nature. They do not harm those weaker than themselves, but keep God’s law and eat the seeds of the earth. Others of them break God’s law by eating flesh and wronging those weaker than themselves. In the same way the righteous, who keep God’s law, bite and harm no one, living holy and just lives. But robbers, murderers and the godless are like the sea monsters, the wild beasts and the flesh-eating birds. For by force they swallow up those weaker than themselves. The offspring of the water creatures and of the creeping things shared in God’s blessing, but they have nothing very distinctive of their own.⁵² [*Ephesians 3:10; Titus 3:5; Genesis 1:22*]

Of the Sixth Day.

^{17a} On the sixth day God made the four-footed animals, the wild beasts and the reptiles of the land. He says nothing about blessing them, because he was keeping his blessing for the man whom he was about to make on that sixth day. At the same time, the four-footed animals and wild beasts were made as a type of certain people who do not know God and are ungodly, who set their minds on earthly things and do not repent. But those who turn away from their lawless deeds and live righteously fly up in their souls like birds.

51. “Trinity” (Greek trias, “triad”) is generally regarded as the earliest surviving Christian use of the word for God. Here the three are God, his Word, and his Wisdom. Elsewhere Theophilus seems to connect Wisdom with the Holy Spirit.

52. “Creeping things” here are creatures of the water. The Greek Old Testament of Genesis 1:20 speaks of the waters bringing forth “creeping things.”

They set their minds on things above and are pleasing to God's will. Those who do not know God and are ungodly are like birds that have wings but cannot fly up, and cannot run to the heights of the divine. In the same way such people are called human beings, but they set their minds on low, ground-bound and earthly things, weighed down by their sins.⁵³ [*Genesis 1:24-25; Colossians 3:2; Philipians 3:19*]

17b The animals are called "wild beasts" (thēria) from being hunted (thēreuesthai). They were not made evil or venomous from the beginning. Nothing evil was made by God. Everything was good, and very good. It was man's sin that made them evil. When man transgressed, they transgressed along with him. Think of the master of a house. If he himself does well, his household servants of necessity live in good order. But if the master sins, the servants sin along with him. In the same way, since man, who is lord, sinned, the creatures that were his servants sinned with him. So when man turns back again to what is natural to him and no longer does evil, those creatures too will be restored to their original gentleness.⁵⁴ [*Genesis 1:31*]

The Creation of Man.

18 As for the making of man, man cannot put into words how he was created, even though the divine Scripture gives a short statement about it. When God says, "Let us make man in our image and according to our likeness," he first shows the dignity of man. God made everything else by his word and counted it all as secondary work. He counts the making of man alone as the work of his own hands. Then again, God is found speaking as though he needed help, when he says, "Let us make man in our image and according to our likeness." But he said "Let us make" to no one else than his own Word and his own Wisdom. When he had made man and blessed him to increase and fill the earth, he put everything under man's control and in his service. He also directed that from the beginning man should live on the fruits of the earth, on seeds, green plants and the fruit of trees. At the same time he ordered that the animals should share man's diet, so that they too would eat from all the seeds of the earth.⁵⁵ [*Genesis 1:26; Genesis 1:28; Genesis 1:29-30*]

53. Genesis 1:24-25 indeed records no blessing on the land animals. "Set their minds on things above" echoes Colossians 3:2, and "set their minds on earthly things" echoes Philipians 3:19.

54. "Very good" echoes Genesis 1:31. For the hope of peace among the animals, compare Isaiah 11:6-9 and Romans 8:19-21.

Man is Placed in Paradise.

19a In this way God finished the heaven, the earth, the sea and everything in them on the sixth day, and on the seventh day he rested from all his works that he had made. Then Holy Scripture sums up, saying, “This is the book of the origin of heaven and earth, when it came about, on the day when God made heaven and earth, and every green plant of the field before it came to be, and every herb of the field before it sprang up. For God had not sent rain on the earth, and there was no man to work the ground.” By this he showed us that at that time the whole earth was watered by a divine spring and did not need man to work it. Instead the earth sent up everything of itself, at God’s command, so that man would not have to toil in working it.⁵⁶ [*Genesis 2:1-2; Genesis 2:4-5*]

19b Now, so that the forming of man might also be shown, and so that it should not seem a problem men could never solve (since God had said, “Let us make man,” and the making of him had not yet been revealed), Scripture teaches us, saying: “A spring was going up out of the earth and watering the whole face of the earth. And God formed man, dust from the earth, and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul.” For this reason most people have also called the soul immortal. After forming man, God chose for him a place in the regions of the east. It was outstanding for its light, bright with clearer air, and full of very beautiful plants. In it he placed man.⁵⁷ [*Genesis 2:6-7*]

The Scriptural Account of Paradise.

20a Scripture gives the words of the sacred history this way: “And God planted Paradise in Eden toward the east, and there he put the man whom he had formed. And God made every tree grow out of the ground, pleasant to look at and good to eat. The tree of life was in the middle of Paradise, and so was the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. A river flows out of Eden to

55. Earlier in Book 2 (2.15), Theophilus names “God, his Word, and his Wisdom” as a triad. In his usage “Wisdom” often seems to refer to the Holy Spirit, though in some places he uses Word and Wisdom almost interchangeably.

56. Theophilus is paraphrasing Genesis 2:1-2 and quoting Genesis 2:4-5. His text has “God made” where the older translation (following the English Bible) has “the Lord made.” The usual Greek Old Testament reads “the Lord God.” I have translated the wording as Theophilus gives it.

57. The quotation is Genesis 2:6-7. Theophilus reports that “most people” call the soul immortal, but he does not say here that Scripture teaches it. Later (2.27) he says man was made neither mortal nor immortal by nature, but capable of either.

water Paradise, and from there it divides into four heads. The name of the first is Pison. This is the one that goes around the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold. The gold of that land is good, and there are also the carbuncle and the green stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon.⁵⁸

[Genesis 2:8-13] 20b “This is the one that goes around the whole land of Ethiopia. The third river is the Tigris. This is the one that flows opposite the Syrians. And the fourth river is the Euphrates. And the Lord God took the man whom he had formed and put him in Paradise to work it and keep it. And God commanded Adam, ‘You may eat food from every tree in Paradise. But from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat. On the day you eat from it, you will surely die.’ And the Lord God said, ‘It is not good for the man to be alone. Let us make him a helper like himself.’ And God also formed from the earth all the wild animals of the field and all the birds of the sky, and brought them to Adam.⁵⁹

20c “And whatever Adam called each living creature, that was its name. And Adam gave names to all the livestock, and to all the birds of the sky, and to all the wild animals of the field. But for Adam no helper like him was found. So God cast a trance over Adam, and he fell asleep. God took one of his ribs and filled up the place with flesh. And the Lord God built the rib he had taken from Adam into a woman, and brought her to Adam. And Adam said, ‘This now is bone from my bones and flesh from my flesh. She will be called Woman, because she was taken from man. For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two will become one flesh.’ And the two of them were naked, Adam and his wife, and they were not ashamed.”

Of the Fall of Man.

21a “Now the serpent was the shrewdest of all the wild animals on the earth that the Lord God had made. And the serpent said to the woman, ‘Why is it that God said, “You shall not eat from any tree of Paradise?”’ And the woman said to the serpent, ‘We may eat from every tree of Paradise. But of the fruit of the tree that is in the middle of Paradise, God said, “You shall not eat from it, and you shall not touch it, or you will die.”’ And the serpent said to

58. The older translation gives “bdellium and the onyx stone,” following the English Bible. The Greek has “the carbuncle (a red stone) and the green stone,” as in the Greek Old Testament.

59. Theophilus follows the Greek Old Testament’s “Let us make him a helper” (Genesis 2:18). The Hebrew has “I will make.”

the woman, ‘You will not surely die. For God knows that on the day you eat from it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like gods, knowing good and evil.’ And the woman saw that the tree was good for food, pleasing to the eyes to look at, and beautiful to contemplate.⁶⁰ [Genesis 3:1-6] 21b “And she took some of its fruit and ate, and gave some to her husband with her, and they ate. And the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked. They sewed fig leaves together and made themselves loincloths. And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in Paradise toward evening. And Adam and his wife hid from the face of God among the trees of Paradise. And the Lord God called Adam and said to him, ‘Where are you?’ And he said to him, ‘I heard your voice in Paradise, and I was afraid, because I am naked, and I hid.’ And he said to him, ‘Who told you that you are naked, unless you have eaten from the one tree I commanded you not to eat from?’⁶¹

[Genesis 3:6-11]

21c Adam said, “The woman whom you gave me, she gave me some fruit from the tree, and I ate.” God said to the woman, “What is this that you have done?” The woman said, “The serpent deceived me, and I ate.” The Lord God said to the serpent, “Because you have done this, you are cursed above all the wild animals on the earth. You will go on your chest and your belly, and you will eat earth all the days of your life. I will put hostility between you and the woman, and between your offspring and her offspring. He will watch for your head, and you will watch for his heel.” And to the woman he said, “I will greatly multiply your pains and your groaning.”⁶²

[Genesis 3:12-16] 21d “In pain you will bear children, and your turning will be toward your husband, and he will rule over you.” To Adam he said, “Because you listened to your wife’s voice and ate from the tree, the only one I commanded you not to eat from, cursed is the ground in your labors. It will grow

60. The older translation ends this section at “knowing good and evil” and puts the woman’s seeing at the start of the next section. There it reads “a tree to be desired to make one wise,” which follows the familiar English Bible. The Greek here, as in the Greek Old Testament (Septuagint), reads “beautiful to contemplate.”

61. The Greek literally says they hid “in the middle of the tree of Paradise,” with “tree” in the singular. The Greek Old Testament (Septuagint) has the same wording, and the singular is almost certainly collective, so “among the trees” gives the sense.

62. The older translation has “it shall bruise thy head... thou shalt bruise his heel,” following the familiar English Bible. The Greek here, like the Septuagint, has “watch (or guard, lie in wait for)” (tērēsei, tērēseis). The older translation also adds the words about childbirth and the husband’s rule, which in this Greek belong to the next section.

thorns and thistles for you, and you will eat the plants of the field. By the sweat of your face you will eat your bread, until you return to the earth from which you were taken. For you are earth, and to earth you will go back.”

[Genesis 3:16-19]

Why God is Said to Have Walked.

22a You will say to me, then, “You claim that God cannot be contained in a place. How can you now say that he walked in Paradise?” Listen to what I say. God, the Father of all, cannot be contained and is not found in any place, for there is no place of his rest. But his Word, through whom he made all things, who is his power and his wisdom, took on the person of the Father and Lord of all. This Word came into Paradise in the person of God and spoke with Adam. For the divine Scripture itself teaches us that Adam said he heard the voice. And what else is this voice but the Word of God, who is also his Son?⁶³

[Isaiah 66:1; John 1:3; 1 Corinthians 1:24; Genesis 3:10] 22b This is not like the poets and writers of myths, who tell of sons of gods born from sexual union. Rather, as the truth explains, the Word always exists, held within the heart of God. Before anything came into being, God had him as his counselor, since he was God’s own mind and thought. But when God wished to make what he had planned, he begot this Word as an uttered Word, the firstborn of all creation. God himself was not emptied of his Word. Having begotten the Word, he is always in conversation with his Word. This is why the holy Scriptures teach us, and all the Spirit-bearing men, one of whom is John. He says, “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God.” He shows that at first God was alone, and the Word was in him. Then he says, “And the Word was God. All things came into being through him, and apart from him not one thing came into being.” So the Word is God and is by nature born from God. Whenever the Father of all wills, he sends him to some place. Sent by the Father, the Word comes, is heard and seen, and is found in that place.⁶⁴ [John 1:1-3; Colossians 1:15]

The Truth of the Account in Genesis.

23 God made man, then, on the sixth day, but he made known his forming of him after the seventh day, when he also made Paradise, so that man would

63. The objection refers to God walking in the garden (Genesis 3:8), and Adam’s words “I heard your voice” (Genesis 3:10). “No place of his rest” echoes Isaiah 66:1. “His power and his wisdom” echoes 1 Corinthians 1:24.

64. “Firstborn of all creation” is from Colossians 1:15. The quotation is John 1:1-3.

be in a better place, a region set apart. The facts themselves show that this is true. For can we fail to see how women suffer the pains of childbirth and afterward forget the labor? This happens so that the word of God may be fulfilled, that the human race should grow and multiply. And can we fail to see the condemnation of the serpent, how loathsome it is, crawling on its belly and eating earth? This too is a proof for us of what was said earlier.⁶⁵ [*Genesis 1: 28; Genesis 3: 14; Genesis 3: 16; John 16: 21*]

The Beauty of Paradise,

^{24a} God then made to spring up further from the earth every tree that was beautiful to look at and good to eat. At first there were only the things made on the third day: plants, seeds and grasses. But the things in Paradise were made with a special loveliness and beauty. It is even called a “planting,” planted by God. The world also has plants like the rest of them. But the two trees, the tree of life and the tree of knowledge, exist in no other land, only in Paradise. Scripture says that Paradise is earth and was planted on the earth: “And God planted a paradise in Eden toward the east, and put the man there. And God made to spring up further from the earth every tree beautiful to look at and good to eat.”⁶⁶ [*Genesis 2: 8-9*] ^{24b} By the words “further from the earth” and “toward the east,” the divine Scripture clearly teaches us that Paradise is under this heaven, the same heaven under which the east and the earth lie. The Hebrew word Eden means “delight.” Scripture also indicates that a river flows out of Eden to water Paradise, and from there divides into four heads. Two of these, called Pison and Gihon, water the eastern parts. Gihon especially circles the whole land of Ethiopia, and they say it appears again in Egypt as the river called the Nile. The other two rivers are plainly known among us, the Tigris and the Euphrates, for they run close to our own regions. God put the man in Paradise, as we have said, to work it and guard it. He commanded him to eat from all the fruits, evidently including the tree of life. Only from the tree of knowledge did he command him not to taste. God moved him from the earth, out of which he had been made, into Paradise. He gave him an opportunity to advance, so that by growing

65. Theophilus means that man’s creation is reported on the sixth day (*Genesis 1:26-31*), but the account of his forming from the dust comes after the seventh day (*Genesis 2:7-8*). The allusions are to *Genesis 1:28* (“increase and multiply”), *Genesis 3:16* (pain in childbirth) and *Genesis 3:14* (the serpent on its belly, eating earth). On forgetting the pain of labor, compare *John 16:21*.

66. The quotation is *Genesis 2:8-9*.

and becoming perfect, and even being declared a god, he might then ascend into heaven. (For man had been made in a middle state, neither wholly mortal nor wholly immortal, but able to receive either.⁶⁷ [*Genesis 2:10-14; Genesis 2:15-17*])

24c In the same way the place called Paradise was made, in its beauty, midway between the world and heaven. So man was to go up to heaven possessing eternity. When God said “work,” He meant no other work than keeping God’s commandment, so that man would not disobey and destroy himself, as he did destroy himself through sin.⁶⁸ [*Genesis 2:15*]

God Was Justified in Forbidding Man to Eat of the Tree of Knowledge.

25a The tree of knowledge was itself good, and its fruit was good. It was not the tree that held death, as some suppose, but the disobedience. There was nothing in the fruit except knowledge, and knowledge is good when someone uses it properly. But Adam, at his age then, was still an infant, and so he could not yet take in knowledge as it deserves. Even now, when a child is born, it cannot at once eat bread. It is first raised on milk, and then, as it grows older, it comes to solid food. It would have been the same with Adam. So God did not forbid him to eat from the tree of knowledge out of jealousy, as some suppose. [*Hebrews 5:12-14*] 25b God also wanted to test him, to see whether he would obey His commandment. At the same time He wanted the man to stay simple and innocent a good while longer, while still an infant. This is right not only before God but also among people: to be subject to one’s parents in simplicity and without malice. If children ought to be subject to their parents, how much more to God, the Father of all? Besides, it is unseemly for infant children to think beyond their age. As a person grows in age step by step, so he also grows in understanding. So when a law commands people to keep away from something and someone does not obey, plainly it is not the law that brings the punishment but the refusal to obey and the disobedience.

25c Take a father, for example. He sometimes orders his own child to keep away from certain things. If the child does not obey the father’s command, he is beaten and punished for his disobedience. It is not the things them-

67. “Declared a god” means sharing in God’s immortality, not becoming a second God; Theophilus explains this in 2.27.

68. Genesis 2:15 says man was put in the garden “to work it and keep it.” Theophilus reads the “work” as keeping God’s commandment.

selves that bring the blows. It is the disobedience that brings disgrace on the one who refuses to listen. In the same way, disobedience brought about the expulsion of the first-formed man from Paradise. It was not that the tree of knowledge had anything bad in it. But through disobedience man had to drain to the dregs toil, pain and grief, and in the end he fell under death.⁶⁹

[*Genesis 3: 23-24*]

God's Goodness in Expelling Man from Paradise.

²⁶ In this too God gave man a great kindness: He did not let him stay in sin forever. In a way, He cast him out of Paradise as a kind of banishment. This was so that man would pay for his sin by this punishment over a set time, be disciplined, and afterward be called back. This is why, when man was formed in this world, Genesis says in a mystery that he was put into Paradise twice. The first was fulfilled when he was put there. The second will be fulfilled after the resurrection and the judgment. Think of a vessel that is flawed after it has been shaped. It is melted down or reshaped so that it becomes new and whole. The same happens to man through death. He is broken, in a sense, so that in the resurrection he may be found sound. I mean spotless, righteous and immortal. When God called out and said, "Where are you, Adam?", He did not do it because He did not know. He is patient, and He was giving Adam an opportunity for repentance and confession.⁷⁰ [*Genesis 2: 8; Genesis 2: 15; Genesis 3: 9*]

The Nature of Man.

^{27a} Someone will say to us, "Was man made mortal by nature?" Not at all. "Then was he immortal?" We do not say that either. "Then was he nothing?" Not that either. In my view, man was made neither mortal nor immortal by nature. If God had made him immortal from the beginning, He would have made him a god. If He had made him mortal, God would seem to be the cause of his death. So He made him neither immortal nor mortal. As we said above, He made him able to receive either. If he leaned toward the things of immortality by keeping God's commandment, he would receive immortality from God as his reward and become a god. If instead he turned to the things of death by disobeying God, he would be the cause of his own death.⁷¹

^{27b} For God made man free and in control of himself. What man brought

69. The verb (ἐξαντλέω), literally to draw or bail out completely, here means to endure something to the end; the older English "draw, as from a fountain" keeps the literal image.

70. "Where are you, Adam?" is from *Genesis 3:9*.

on himself through neglect and disobedience, God now gives him as a gift, out of His own love for mankind and His mercy, when man obeys Him. By disobeying, man drew death on himself. In the same way, anyone who wishes can obey the will of God and gain eternal life for himself. For God has given us a law and holy commandments. Everyone who does them can be saved, and by attaining the resurrection can inherit incorruption.⁷²

Why Eve Was Formed of Adam's Rib.

28a After Adam was cast out of Paradise, he knew Eve his wife, whom God had made for him as a wife from his rib. God did this not because He was unable to form Adam's wife separately. He knew beforehand that people would name a multitude of gods. He foresaw that error would use the serpent to name a multitude of gods that do not exist. There is only one God, yet even then error was working to sow a multitude of gods, saying, "You will be like gods." So that no one would suspect that one god made the man and another the woman, God Himself made them both. This was not only so that the mystery of God's sole rule would be shown through it. God made Adam's wife in this way also so that there would be greater goodwill between them.⁷³

[Genesis 4:1; Genesis 2:22; Genesis 3:5] 28b So Adam said to Eve, "This now is bone from my bones, and flesh from my flesh." He also prophesied, saying, "For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two will become one flesh." We see this fulfilled in our own lives. For who that marries lawfully does not think less of mother, father, all his relatives and his whole household, and join himself to his wife and become one with her, devoted to her more than to them? That is why some people often face even death because of their wives. The wicked demon, who is also called Satan, spoke to Eve through the serpent at that time. He is still at work to this day in people who are inspired by him into frenzy. Because Eve was deceived by the serpent in the beginning and became the originator of sin, he calls out "Eve" through them. He is called "demon" and "dragon" because he ran away from God, for at first he was an angel. There is much to say

71. "A god" renders θεός, which the older English gives as "God." In this passage Theophilus ties being a god to having immortality. He means that man would share in God's immortality as a reward. He does not mean that man would become the one God.

72. "Love for mankind" renders φιανθρωπία, which the older English leaves as "philanthropy."

73. The Greek says "the mystery of the monarchy (μοναρχία) of God," meaning that God alone rules. The older English has "sole government."

about him, so for now I will pass over the story. I have already spoken about him elsewhere.⁷⁴ [*Genesis 2: 23; Genesis 2: 24*]

Cain's Crime.

29a When Adam knew his wife Eve, she conceived and bore a son named Cain. She said, "I have acquired a man through God." She went on to bear a second son named Abel, who became a shepherd of sheep, while Cain worked the ground. Their story is told in fuller detail, and it also calls for careful explanation. Those who love learning can be taught the history more exactly by the book itself, which is titled "Genesis of the World." Now Satan saw that Adam and his wife were not only alive but had also had children, and that he had not been able to put them to death. He was swept along by envy. When he saw that Abel pleased God, he worked on Abel's brother, called Cain, and caused him to kill his brother Abel. [*Genesis 4: 1-2; Genesis 4: 8*]

29b In this way death began in this world, and it has gone on its way to this day through the whole human race. But God is merciful, and he wanted to give Cain, as he had given Adam, a chance for repentance and confession. So he said, "Where is Abel your brother?" Cain answered God defiantly: "I do not know. Am I my brother's keeper?" Then God was angry with him and said, "What have you done? The voice of your brother's blood is crying out to me from the earth, which opened wide to receive your brother's blood from your hand. You will be groaning and trembling on the earth." From that time the earth has been afraid and no longer takes in human blood, or the blood of any living creature. It is clear, then, that the earth is not to blame, but the man who transgressed.⁷⁵ [*Genesis 4: 9-12*]

Cain's Family and Their Inventions.

30a Cain also had a son, whose name was Enoch. He built a city and named it Enoch after his son. From then on cities began to be built, and this was before the flood. Homer is therefore wrong when he says, "For not yet was a city of mortal men built." To Enoch a son was born named Gaidad, who fathered the man called Meel. Meel fathered Mathusala, and Mathusala fathered Lamech. Lamech took two wives for himself, named Ada and Sela. From that time polygamy began, and music as well. Lamech had three sons: Obel, Jubal and Thobel. Obel became a man who kept livestock in tents.

74. The Greek phrase translated "at first" (ἐν πρώτοις) could also mean "among the foremost."

75. "Groaning and trembling" follows the Greek Septuagint of *Genesis 4:12*. Translations from the Hebrew read "a fugitive and a wanderer."

Jubal is the one who introduced the psaltery and the lyre.⁷⁶ [Genesis 4:17-21]
 30b Tubal became a hammerer, a smith working in bronze and iron. The descendants of Cain are listed up to this point. After this, his line of descent passed into oblivion, because he murdered his brother. In Abel's place God allowed Eve to conceive and bear a son, who was named Seth. From him the rest of the human race has descended down to the present day. For those who love learning and want to know, it is easy to show all the generations from the holy Scriptures. In fact, as I said above, I have already given part of this account in another work: the order of the genealogy is set out in the first book of my work on histories. The Holy Spirit, who spoke through Moses and the other prophets, teaches us all these things. So the writings that belong to us who worship God turn out to be older, and are also shown to be truer, than all the writers and poets.⁷⁷ [Genesis 4:22; Genesis 4:25]

30c Yet some have also talked nonsense about music, saying that Apollo invented it. Others say that Orpheus discovered music from the sweet singing of birds. Their story is shown to be empty and vain, for these men lived many years after the flood. The account of Noah, whom some call Deucalion, I have given in the book mentioned above. If you wish, you can read it there yourself.

The History After the Flood.

31a After the flood there was again a beginning of cities and kings, in this way. The first city was Babylon, along with Erech, Accad and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. Their king was named Nimrod. From these came a man named Asshur, from whom the Assyrians get their name. Nimrod built the cities of Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen, which lies between Nineveh and Calah. Nineveh became one of the first great cities. Another son of Shem, the son of Noah, named Mizraim, fathered the Ludim, the people called Anamim, the Lehabim, the Naphtuhim, the Pathrusim, and the Casluhim, from whom came the Philistines. As for the three sons of Noah, their end and their genealogy, I gave a brief listing in the book I mentioned.

⁷⁸ [Genesis 10:10-12; Genesis 10:13-14] 31b Now I will also mention what I left out

76. The names largely follow the Greek Septuagint of Genesis 4. In modern Bibles translated from the Hebrew they appear as Irad, Mehujael, Methushael (not Methuselah), Adah, Zillah, Jabal, Jubal and Tubal-cain.

77. The earlier work on histories that Theophilus mentions has not survived.

78. The Greek calls Mizraim "another son of Shem," but in Genesis 10:6 he is a son of Ham. This may be a slip by Theophilus or by an early copyist.

about cities and kings, and about what happened when there was one speech and one language. The cities written about above existed before the languages were divided. But when the people were about to be scattered, they made a plan by their own judgment, and not through God, to build a city and a tower whose top would reach heaven, so that they might make a glorious name for themselves. They dared to attempt a massive work against God's purpose. So God threw down their city and leveled the tower. From then on he changed the languages of men, giving each a different dialect. In the same way the Sibyl pointed to this, announcing that wrath was going to come on the world. This is what she said: "But when the threats of the great God are fulfilled, which he once threatened against mortals, when they built a tower in the land of Assyria."⁷⁹ [*Genesis 11: 1; Genesis 11: 4; Genesis 11: 7-9*]

^{31c} "They all spoke the same language and wanted to go up to starry heaven. At once the Immortal laid a great compulsion on the winds. Then the winds threw down the great tower from on high and stirred up strife among mortals against one another. And when the tower fell, and the languages of men were divided into many dialects of mortals, the earth was filled with mortals under divided kings." And so on. These things, then, happened in the land of the Chaldeans. In the land of Canaan there was a city named Haran. In those times the first king of Egypt was Pharaoh, who was also called Nechaoth by the Egyptians, and the kings after him followed in order. In the land of Shinar, among the people called Chaldeans, the first king was Arioch. After him came another, Ellasar. After him came Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and after him Tidal, king of the nations called Assyrians.⁸⁰

[*Genesis 14: 1*]

^{31d} There were also five other cities in the territory of Ham, the son of Noah. The first was called Sodom. Then came Gomorrah, Adama, Seboim, and the one called Segor. These are the names of their kings: Ballas, king of Sodom; Barsas, king of Gomorrah; Senaar, king of Adama; Hymor, king of Seboim; and Balach, king of Segor, which was also called Kephalak. These kings served Chodollagomor, king of the Assyrians, for twelve years. In the

79. "The Sibyl" refers to the Sibylline Oracles. These are Greek verses written in the name of an ancient prophetess, and much of them was composed by Jews and Christians. Theophilus treats them as a pagan witness. A similar tower passage appears in Book 3 of the surviving Oracles.

80. The kings come from Genesis 14:1, where Arioch is "king of Ellasar" and Tidal is "king of nations." Theophilus treats Ellasar as a separate king and adds that Tidal's nations were the Assyrians. Genesis does not say this.

thirteenth year they revolted from Chodollagomor. So it came about that the four kings of the Assyrians went to war against the five kings. This was the very first beginning of wars on the earth. They cut down the giants of Karanaein, and the strong nations with them in the city. They also cut down the Chorraeans in the mountains called Seir, as far as the place called the terebinth of Pharan, which is in the wilderness.⁸¹ [*Genesis 14:2; Genesis 14:4; Genesis 14:5-6*]

^{31e} At the same time there was a righteous king named Melchisedek in the city of Salem, which is now Jerusalem. He was the first priest of all the priests of God Most High. From him the city mentioned above, Hierosolyma, was named Jerusalem. From him also priests came to be found over all the earth. After him Abimelech reigned in Gerara, and after him another Abimelech. Then Ephron reigned, who was also called the Hittite. These, then, are the names the records give for these earlier kings. As for the Assyrians, the other kings of the many years in between have been passed over without record, since all the writers record only the latest times, those near our own. The kings of the Assyrians were Theglaphasar, then Selamanasar, then Sennacherim. Adramelech the Ethiopian, who also reigned over Egypt, became his “triarch.” Yet all these events are very recent compared with our writings.⁸² [*Genesis 14:18*]

How the Human Race Was Dispersed.

^{32a} Heading: How the Human Race Was Dispersed. From this, then, lovers of learning and lovers of antiquity can examine the histories and see whether what we say through the holy prophets is in any way recent. At first the people of that time were few, living in the land of Arabia and Chaldea. After their languages were divided, they gradually began to become many and to multiply over the whole earth. Some turned to settle in the east. Others went to the regions of the great mainland, and to the north, so that they reached as far as the Britons in the Arctic regions. Others settled in the land of Canaan, Judea, and the country called Phoenicia, and in the regions of

81. The “Chorraeans” are the Horites of Genesis 14:6. “Giants” follows the Septuagint, which uses this word for the Hebrew “Rephaim,” and “terebinth (a tree) of Pharan” is also the Septuagint wording, where Hebrew has “El-paran.”

82. “Triarch” (Greek *triarchos*) is a title for a person, perhaps “one of three chief officers.” Its exact sense here is uncertain. In the Bible, Adramelech is a son of Sennacherib who murdered him (2 Kings 19:37; Isaiah 37:38), not an Ethiopian ruler of Egypt. Theophilus’s account may be confused with Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia (2 Kings 19:9).

Ethiopia, Egypt, and Libya, and the country called the Scorched Zone, and stretched out to the lands of the west. The rest settled the coastlands, Pamphylia, Asia, Greece, Macedonia, and then Italy, and the lands called Gaul, Spain, and Germany. So now the whole earth is filled with those who live in it.

32b So at the beginning the settlement of the earth by human beings was in three parts: east, south, and west. Then the remaining parts of the earth were settled as the population grew large. The writers do not know these things, and so they want to say that the world is a sphere, and they compare it to a cube. But how can they claim to speak the truth about this, when they know neither how the world was made nor how it came to be inhabited? As people gradually grew in number and multiplied on the earth, as we have said, so the islands of the sea and the other regions were settled.⁸³

Profane History Gives No Account of These Matters.

33 Heading: Profane History Gives No Account of These Matters. Which of the so-called wise men, poets, or historians was able to tell the truth about these things? They were born much later. And they brought in a multitude of gods who were themselves born so many years after the cities, and came later even than the kings, nations, and wars. They ought to have remembered everything, even what happened before the flood: the creation of the world, the making of man, and the events that followed. The prophets of the Egyptians or the Chaldeans, and the other writers, ought to have told these things accurately, if they really spoke by a divine and pure spirit and what was spoken through them was true. And they ought to have foretold not only what had already happened or was now happening, but also what was coming upon the world. This shows that all the rest have gone astray, and that Christians alone have grasped the truth. We are taught by the Holy Spirit, who spoke in the holy prophets and foretold all things.

The Prophets Enjoined Holiness of Life.

34 From now on, be willing to search out the things of God with a friendly mind. I mean the things spoken through the prophets. Compare what we say with what the others say, and you will be able to find the truth. We have already shown, from the very histories they wrote, that the names of the so-

83. The Greek literally says they compare the world “as if to a cube.” What Theophilus means by this is unclear, and the passage may not have come down to us exactly as he wrote it.

called gods are found among them as names of men, as we explained above. Their images are made day after day, even to this present time. They are idols, the works of human hands. The crowd of empty-minded people serve these, and they reject the maker and creator of all things, the one who nourishes everything that breathes. They put their trust in worthless teachings, led astray by the error of a senseless opinion handed down from their fathers. Yet God, the Father and Creator of all things, did not abandon humanity. He gave a law and sent holy prophets to proclaim and teach the human race, so that each one of us might come to our senses and recognize that there is one God. These prophets also taught us to keep away from forbidden idolatry, adultery, murder, sexual immorality, theft, love of money, false oaths, anger, and every kind of indecency and impurity. They also taught that whatever a person would not want done to himself, he must not do to another. In this way, the one who does what is right will escape the eternal punishments and be counted worthy of eternal life from God.⁸⁴

Precepts from the Prophetic Books.

35a The divine law forbids not only bowing down to idols, but also to the elements: the sun, the moon, or the other stars. We must not offer worship to heaven, earth, sea, springs or rivers. We must serve only the one who truly is God, the maker of all things, in holiness of heart and sincerity of mind. So the holy law says: “You shall not commit adultery, you shall not murder, you shall not steal, you shall not bear false witness, you shall not covet your neighbor’s wife.” The prophets say the same. Solomon teaches us not to sin even by a nod of the eye, saying: “Let your eyes look straight ahead, and let your eyelids nod toward what is right.” Moses, who was also a prophet, speaks about the single rule of God: “This is your God, who makes firm the heaven and creates the earth. His hands displayed all the host of heaven, and he did not show them to you so that you would go after them.”⁸⁵ [*Exodus* 20:13-17; *Proverbs* 4:25; *Deuteronomy* 4:19]

35b Isaiah also says: “Thus says the Lord God, who made the heaven firm and laid the foundations of the earth and everything in it, who gives breath

84. The “golden rule” is given here in its negative form, as in Tobit 4:15 (“What you hate, do not do to anyone”) and the *Didache* (1.2). Compare the positive form in Matthew 7:12.

85. The Solomon quotation is *Proverbs* 4:25 in its Greek form. The words credited to Moses are not found in this form in the books of Moses. They appear to combine the warning of *Deuteronomy* 4:19 against worshipping the host of heaven with language like *Isaiah* 45:12 and *Amos* 4:13.

to the people on it and spirit to those who walk on it: this is the Lord your God.” And again through him he says: “I made the earth, and man upon it. I made the heaven firm with my hand.” And in another passage: “This is your God, who fashioned the ends of the earth. He will not hunger or grow weary, and there is no finding out his understanding.” Jeremiah likewise says: “He made the earth by his strength, set the inhabited world upright by his wisdom, and by his understanding stretched out the heaven, and a multitude of water in the heaven. He brought up clouds from the end of the earth, made lightnings for the rain, and brought out winds from his treasures.”⁸⁶

[*Isaiah 42: 5; Isaiah 45:12; Isaiah 40: 28; Jeremiah 10:12-13*]

^{35c} You can see how all the prophets spoke in friendly harmony, speaking out by one and the same Spirit about the single rule of God, the origin of the world, and the making of man. They also were in anguish, like a woman in labor, mourning over the godless race of men. And they put to shame those who seemed to be wise, because of the error in them and the hardness of their hearts. Jeremiah said: “Every man has become foolish and fallen away from his knowledge. Every goldsmith is put to shame by his carved images. The silversmith works silver in vain. There is no breath in them. In the day of their visitation they will perish.” David says the same: “They were corrupted and became abominable in their pursuits. There is no one who does good, not even one. All have turned aside, together they have become useless.”⁸⁷ [*Jeremiah 10:14-15*]

^{35d} Habakkuk says the same: “What good does a carved image do a man, that he carved it into a false appearance? Woe to him who says to the stone, ‘Wake up,’ and to the wood, ‘Rise.’” The other prophets of the truth spoke in the same way. Why should I list all the prophets? There are many of them, and they said countless things in friendly agreement. Anyone who wishes can read what they said and know the truth accurately, and not be led astray by mere opinion and futile labor. These prophets whom we have mentioned

86. The quotations are from *Isaiah 42:5; 45:12; 40:28; and Jeremiah 10:12-13* (repeated in *Jeremiah 51:15-16*), in the Greek form Theophilus knew.

87. The quotations are from *Jeremiah 10:14-15* (the silversmith line resembles the Greek of *Jeremiah 6:29*) and *Psalms 14:1-3* (*Psalms 13* in the Greek numbering; compare *Psalms 53* and *Romans 3:12*).

were, among the Hebrews, unlettered men, shepherds, and ordinary people.⁸⁸

[*Habakkuk 2: 18-19*]

Prophecies of the Sibyl.

^{36a} The Sibyl, who was a prophetess among the Greeks and the other nations, reproaches the human race at the beginning of her prophecy. She says: "Mortal men of flesh, who are nothing, why are you so quickly puffed up, never looking to the end of life? Do you not tremble or fear God, your overseer, the Most High, who knows and sees everything, the witness of all, the nourisher of all, the Creator, who placed a sweet breath in all things and made it the guide of all mortal men? There is one God, who alone rules, exceedingly great, unbegotten, almighty, invisible. He alone sees everything, yet he himself is not seen by any mortal flesh. For what flesh can see with its eyes the heavenly and true God, the immortal, who dwells in the heavens? Men cannot even stand facing the rays of the sun, since they are born mortal, mere men of veins and flesh on bones. Worship him who alone truly is, the ruler of the world, who alone was born for ever and from everlasting, self-begotten, unbegotten, ruling all things always, and who has placed the power of judgment in all mortals, in a light common to all."⁸⁹

^{36b} "You will receive the reward your bad counsel deserves, because you stopped glorifying the true and everlasting God and offering him holy sacrifices. Instead you made your sacrifices to the demons in Hades. You walk in pride and madness. You left the straight, upright path and went off along one through thorns and sharp stakes. Why do you wander? Stop, foolish mortals! Leave the darkness of night and take hold of the light. See, he is plain to all and never goes astray. Come, and do not keep chasing darkness and gloom. Look, the sweet-shining light of the sun shines out brilliantly. Learn this and store this wisdom in your hearts: there is one God, who sends rains, winds, earthquakes, lightning, famines, plagues and miserable sorrows, and snow and ice. Why do I list them one by one? He rules heaven and holds the earth; he himself is." Then, against those who are called "born"

88. "Ordinary people" translates *ιδιωται*, meaning private, unlearned people without office. Compare Amos, who calls himself a herdsman (Amos 7:14; see also 1:1).

89. These verses, of which Theophilus is a main source, are known today as fragments of the "Sibylline Oracles." Scholars generally think they were written by Jews or Christians imitating the pagan Sibyl, not by an ancient pagan prophetess.

gods, she said: “If what is born also perishes, then God cannot have been shaped from a man’s loins and a womb.”⁹⁰

^{36c} “But there is one God alone, supreme over all, who made heaven, the sun, the stars and the moon, the fruit-bearing earth, the swelling waves of the sea, the lofty mountains and the ever-flowing springs. He also brings forth the countless multitude of water creatures. He nourishes the creeping things that move on the earth, and the many kinds of birds, shrill-voiced and chattering, tawny and clear-voiced, that beat the air with their wings. In the glens of the mountains he set the wild race of beasts. He made all the cattle subject to us mortals, and he appointed man, made by God, as ruler of all, and put under man all the varied things we cannot grasp. For what mortal flesh can know all this? He alone knows, who made these things from the beginning: the incorruptible, the Creator, the eternal, who lives in the upper air. To the good he gives good, a far greater reward. But against the wicked and unjust he stirs up anger and wrath, and war, and plague, and tearful pains.”⁹¹

^{36d} “Why, men, are you puffed up in vain and torn up by the roots? Be ashamed, you who make gods of weasels and beasts. Is it not madness and raving of the mind, and empty folly, if gods steal dishes and rob cooking pots? Instead of living in a rich golden heaven, your gods look moth-eaten and are covered with thick cobwebs. You foolish people bow down to snakes, dogs and cats. You worship birds, the creeping beasts of the earth, stone images, hand-made statues, and heaps of stones along the roads. You worship these and many other empty things, which it is shameful even to name. These gods are deceivers of senseless men, and deadly poison pours from their mouths. But bow your neck to him alone, in whom is life and undying, everlasting light, and from whom flows a joy for men sweeter than sweet honey. And turn your path toward ages of godliness.”

^{36e} “You have left all this behind. In foolish, raving frenzy you have all drained a cup full of judgment, very strong, heavy and wholly undiluted. You refuse to sober up, to come to a sound mind, and to know God the King, who watches over everything. So the blaze of burning fire is coming upon you. You will be burned by flames for ever, all day long, put to shame for

90. “He is plain to all” translates the masculine οὗτος, which cannot agree with the neuter φῶς (“light”) and so most naturally refers to God.

91. Man’s rule over the animals echoes Genesis 1:26–28 and Psalm 8:6–8.

your lies and your useless idols. But those who honor the true and ever-living God inherit life for all eternity. They dwell in the flourishing garden of paradise and feast on sweet bread from the starry heaven.” It is clear, then, that these things are true, beneficial, just, and dear to all people. It is also clear that those who have done evil must necessarily be punished according to what their deeds deserve.⁹²

The Testimonies of the Poets.

^{37a} Some of the poets have already spoken as if giving oracles, both against themselves and as a witness against those who do unjust things, saying that they will be punished. Aeschylus said: “For the one who has done a deed, suffering in turn is owed.” Pindar likewise said: “Since it is fitting that one who does something should also suffer.” In the same way Euripides said: “Endure your suffering, for you took pleasure in doing. It is the rule to do harm to an enemy wherever you catch him.” And again the same poet said: “To do harm to an enemy I count part of a man’s duty.” Archilochus likewise said: “One great thing I know: how to repay with terrible evils the one who does harm.” Dionysius also spoke about the fact that God sees everything and nothing escapes him, and that in his patience he holds back until the time he is to judge: “The eye of Justice, looking on as if with a calm face, always sees all things alike.”⁹³

^{37b} Aeschylus also showed that God’s judgment is coming, and that evils will suddenly overtake the wicked. He said: “Evil comes swift-footed upon mortals, and so does his offense upon the one who oversteps Right. You see Justice, silent and unseen, whether a man is asleep, walking, or sitting. She presses on after him, now from the side, now later. Night does not hide a man who has done wrong. Whatever terrible thing you do, think that someone sees you.” And what of Simonides? “No evil is unlooked for among men, and in a short time God overturns everything.” Euripides again: “The good fortune of a wicked man, and a proud prosperity, we must never suppose to be secure, nor the offspring of the unjust. For time, which was born of no one, shows up the wickedness of men.” Euripides once more: “For the

92. The undiluted cup of judgment echoes the biblical cup of God’s wrath (Psalm 75:8; Jeremiah 25:15; Revelation 14:10).

93. The older translation begins with a clause not found in this Greek (“that evil-doers must necessarily be punished in proportion to their deeds”) and renders the verse quotations loosely. This version follows the Greek.

divine is not without understanding, but is able to take note of oaths that were wrongly made and forced out of people.”⁹⁴

^{37c} And Sophocles said: “If you have done terrible things, you must also suffer terrible things.” So whether it concerns a false oath or some other offense, the poets themselves have more or less foretold that God will call people to account. And about the burning up of the world they said things that agree with the prophets, whether they meant to or not. They lived much later than the prophets, and they stole these things from the law and the prophets.⁹⁵

The Teachings of the Greek Poets and Philosophers Confirmatory of Those of the Hebrew Prophets.

^{38a} But what does it matter whether they came last or first? At any rate, they too said things that agree with the prophets. About the burning up of the world, the prophet Malachi had already spoken: “Look, a day of the Lord is coming, like a burning oven, and it will set all the ungodly on fire.” And Isaiah said: “For the wrath of God will come like hail driven down with force, and like water sweeping along in a ravine.” So the Sibyl and the other prophets, and indeed the poets and philosophers too, have spoken plainly about righteousness, judgment, and punishment. They have also spoken about providence: God cares not only for us while we live, but also for the dead. They said this against their will, for they were being convicted by the truth. Among the prophets, Solomon said this about the dead: “There will be healing for the flesh, and care for the bones.”⁹⁶ [*Malachi 4:1; Isaiah 30:28-30; Proverbs 3:8*]

^{38b} David said the same: “The humbled bones will rejoice.” Timocles spoke in agreement with these words when he said: “A kindly god has mercy on the dead.” So the writers who spoke of a multitude of gods came around in the end to the rule of one God. Those who spoke against providence spoke of providence after all. Those who said there is no judgment admitted that there will be one. And those who denied that there is any awareness after

94. The older translation renders the Aeschylus lines as a loose rhymed poem and the other quotations as freer verse. This version follows the Greek wording. The Aeschylus text is difficult in places.

95. The older translation adds a closing sentence, “The poets corroborate the testimony of the prophets.” It is not in the Greek of this section.

96. Theophilus counts the Sibyl among the prophets. The saying he attributes to Solomon resembles Proverbs 3:8, which speaks of the living; he applies it to the dead.

death admitted that there is. Homer, for example, says in one place: “The soul flew off like a dream and fluttered away.” But in another he says: “The soul flew from his limbs and went down to Hades.” And again: “Bury me as quickly as possible, so that I may pass through the gates of Hades.”⁹⁷ ^{38c} For one of the prophets I mentioned earlier, named Hosea, said: “Who is wise, and will understand these things? Who is discerning, and will know them? For the ways of the Lord are straight, and the righteous will enter into them, but the ungodly will falter in them.” So the person who loves learning must keep on learning. Try, then, to meet with me more often, so that by hearing a living voice you may learn the truth accurately.⁹⁸ [*Hosea 14: 9*]

BOOK 3

Autolycus Not Yet Convinced.

¹ Theophilus to Autolycus, greetings. Writers like to produce huge numbers of books for empty glory. Some write about gods, wars or dates, and some about useless myths and other wasted labor. You yourself have practiced this kind of effort until now, and you do not hesitate to put up with that toil. But although you have talked with me, you still think the word of truth is nonsense, and you suppose that our writings are recent and modern. For this reason I will not hesitate, with God’s help, to sum up for you the antiquity of our writings. I will write you a brief account, so that you will not shrink from reading it, and so that you may recognize the foolish talk of the others.

Profane Authors Had No Means of Knowing the Truth.

^{2a} Those who write ought to have been eyewitnesses of what they affirm, or to have learned it accurately from people who saw it. People who write about things they do not know for certain are, in a way, beating the air. What good did it do Homer to write about the Trojan War and deceive many people? What good did it do Hesiod to compile a catalogue of the births of those he calls gods? What good did it do Orpheus to write of three hundred and sixty-five gods? He himself rejected them at the end of his life, saying in his Testaments that there is one God. What good did his description of the sphere of the heavens do Aratus, or those who said similar things? It brought

97. The Timocles line is compressed in Greek. It can also be read “For the dead, pity is a kindly god.” Theophilus takes it as saying that God cares for the dead.

98. The older translation has “the transgressors shall fall therein.” The Greek says the ungodly “will grow weak” or “falter” in the Lord’s ways. The quotation closely matches the last verse of Hosea (14:9; 14:10 in the Hebrew and Greek Bibles).

them only human reputation, and they did not even receive that as they deserved. And what true thing did they say? Or what good did their tragedies do Euripides and Sophocles, or the other writers of tragedy?⁹⁹ [1 Corinthians 9:26]

2b What good did their comedies do Menander and Aristophanes and the other comic writers? Or their histories do Herodotus and Thucydides? Or the sacred inner shrines and the pillars of Heracles do Pythagoras? Or Cynic philosophy do Diogenes? What good did it do Epicurus to teach that there is no providence? Or Empedocles to teach godlessness? Or Socrates to swear by the dog, the goose, the plane tree, and Asclepius who was struck by lightning, and by the demons he used to call on? Why did he even die willingly? What reward, and of what kind, did he hope to receive after death? What good did his kind of education do Plato? Or their doctrines do the other philosophers? I will not list them all, for they are many. We say these things to show how useless and godless their thinking is.¹⁰⁰

Their Contradictions.

3a All of these men were in love with empty and worthless glory. They neither knew the truth themselves nor urged others toward it. Their own statements prove them wrong, since they said things that do not agree, and most of them tore down their own doctrines. They not only overturned one another; some even made their own teachings void. So their glory ended in dishonor and folly, for sensible people condemn them. Either they spoke about gods and afterward taught that there are no gods, or they spoke about the origin of the world and ended by saying that everything came about by chance. Even when they spoke about providence, they went on to teach that the world has no providence. And what of this? When they tried to write about decency, they taught that licentiousness, fornication and adultery should be practiced, and they even introduced detestable and unspeakable practices.¹⁰¹

3b They proclaim that their own gods were the first to engage in unspeakable unions and in lawless meals. For who does not sing of Kronos eating his

99. Aratus wrote the "Phaenomena," a poem describing the constellations. Paul quotes a line from its opening in Acts 17:28.

100. In Plato's dialogues Socrates swears "by the dog" and, in the Phaedrus, "by this plane tree." Myth said Zeus killed Asclepius with a thunderbolt. "Demons" renders daimonia. Socrates spoke of a divine sign or "daimonion" that guided him, and Theophilus treats this as demonic.

101. "Unspeakable practices" renders a Greek word meaning literally "doing unspeakable things," a euphemism for shameful sexual acts.

children? Or of Zeus, his son, swallowing Metis and preparing foul feasts for the gods, where they say a lame blacksmith, Hephaestus, waited on them? They say that Zeus not only married his own sister Hera, but also did unspeakable things with an impure mouth. As for the rest of his deeds, all that the poets sing, you probably know them. Why should I go on to list the stories about Poseidon, Apollo, Dionysus and Heracles, about bosom-loving Athena and shameless Aphrodite? We have given a more careful account of them elsewhere.¹⁰²

How Autolycus Had Been Misled by False Accusations Against the Christians.

4 There would have been no need for me to refute these things, except that I see you still hesitating about the word of truth. You are a sensible man, yet you put up gladly with fools. Otherwise you would never have let senseless men lead you away with empty words, or believed a rumor that had already taken hold. Godless mouths falsely slander us, who worship God and are called Christians. They say that our wives are shared among us all and that we have promiscuous intercourse. They say that we even sleep with our own sisters. And, the most godless and savage charge of all, they say that we eat human flesh. They also say that our teaching has appeared only recently, that we have nothing to offer as proof that what we teach is true, and that our message is foolishness. I am especially surprised at you. In other matters you are diligent and look into everything, yet you listen to us rather carelessly. When you could, you did not hesitate to spend even the night in the libraries.¹⁰³ [2 Corinthians 11: 19]

Philosophers Inculcate Cannibalism.

5 Since you have read so much, what do you think of the writings of Zeno, Diogenes and Cleanthes? Their books teach cannibalism. They say fathers should be boiled and eaten by their own children. They say that if anyone is unwilling, or throws away any part of this foul food, he who did not eat should himself be eaten. Even more godless is the saying of Diogenes, who teaches that children should bring their own parents to sacrifice and eat them. Does not the historian Herodotus also tell the story of Cambyses, who

102. "Bosom-loving" (philokolpos) is an unusual, mocking epithet for Athena, and its exact point is unclear.

103. The older English renders the last clause as a conditional ("you would not grudge"). The Greek has no *ἄν*, so it can also be read as a statement of Autolycus's habit: "when it was possible, you did not shrink from spending even nights in the libraries."

slaughtered the children of Harpagus, boiled them, and set them before their father as food? He also tells the story that among the Indians fathers are eaten by their own children. What godless teaching from those who wrote down such things, or rather taught them! What impiety and godlessness! What a mind they had, those who philosophized so precisely and who profess philosophy! For those who laid down such doctrines filled the world with impiety.¹⁰⁴

Other Opinions of the Philosophers.

6a Indeed, nearly all who have wandered astray in the chorus of philosophy agree with one another about lawless conduct. Plato comes first, the one who seems to have philosophized most respectably among them. In the first book of his work called the *Republic* he plainly lays down, in a certain way, that the wives of all men should be held in common. He uses as his example the son of Zeus who was lawgiver of the Cretans. His pretext is that many children would be born from such unions, and that those who are grieving should supposedly be comforted by such relations. Epicurus, besides teaching atheism, also advises men to have intercourse with their mothers and sisters, going beyond the laws that forbid it. For Solon clearly legislated about this, so that children would be born lawfully of the man who married their mother and not of adultery. Then no one would honor as father one who is not his father, or dishonor the man who really is his father because he does not know that he is.¹⁰⁵

6b The other laws of the Romans and Greeks also forbid such things to be done. Why, then, do Epicurus and the Stoics teach that intercourse with sisters and sex between men should be practiced? They have filled libraries with these teachings, so that from boyhood people learn this lawless union. And why should I go on wasting time over them, when they have proclaimed the same sort of things even about the gods they speak of?

Varying Doctrine Concerning the Gods.

7a They said that there are gods, and then again they made them count for nothing. Some said the gods are made up of atoms. Others said that they dis-

104. In Herodotus (Histories 1.119) it is Astyages, king of the Medes, not Cambyes, who has Harpagus's son killed and served to him. Theophilus seems to have confused the names. Herodotus does mention an Indian people who ate their dead fathers (Histories 3.38).

105. Where the older English has "from the best persons," the Greek says only "from such" unions. Where it has "worn with toil," the Greek word means "grieving."

solve into atoms and that the gods can do no more than men. Plato says there are gods, but wants to make them out of matter. Pythagoras toiled so much over the gods and went up and down on his journeys. In the end he settled on nature as the explanation of everything. He says that all things happen by chance, and that the gods take no thought for men. There is also all that Clitomachus the Academic introduced in favor of atheism. And what of Critias, and Protagoras of Abdera, who said, "Whether there are gods I cannot say, nor can I make clear what they are like. For there are many things that prevent me"? As for Euhemerus, the most godless of all, it is pointless for me even to speak of him.¹⁰⁶

7b Euhemerus ventured to say many things about the gods, and in the end he wants there to be no gods at all, and all things to be governed by chance. As for Plato, he said so much about the single rule of God and about the human soul, claiming that the soul is immortal. Yet is he not later found contradicting himself, saying that some souls pass into other human beings, and that some go even into irrational animals? Will his teaching not seem terrible and unlawful to anyone with sense, that one who was once a man will again be a wolf, or a dog, or a donkey, or some other irrational beast? Pythagoras is found talking the same nonsense, and on top of that he cuts away providence. Which of them, then, shall we believe? Shall we believe the comic poet Philemon, who says: "Those who worship God have good hopes of salvation"?

7c Or shall we believe those we mentioned earlier, Euhemerus, Epicurus and Pythagoras, and the rest who deny that there is any reverence for God and who do away with providence? About God and providence, Ariston said: "Take heart. God is accustomed to help all who are worthy, and especially such people. If there is no place of honor set aside for those who live as they ought, what is the gain in being godly? Suppose that is so. But I see very often that those who have chosen to live devoutly fare badly, while those who care for nothing but profit and their own interest are held in higher esteem than we are, for the present. But we must look far ahead and wait for the final outcome of everything. For it is not as some have come to think, with a wicked opinion that does no good for life, that there is some automatic drift, which settles everything as chance would have it."¹⁰⁷

106. This picture of Pythagoras denying providence is Theophilus's own. Other ancient sources do not usually describe Pythagoras this way.

7d “For the wicked judge that these ideas give them a ready support for their own way of life. But there is an honored place for those who live in holiness, and for the wicked a fitting penalty. For nothing at all happens without providence.” Others too, indeed most of them, have said many things about God and providence, and you can see how inconsistent they are with one another. Some did away with God and providence altogether. Others affirmed God and agreed that all things are governed by providence. So the sensible hearer and reader must pay close attention to what is said. Simylus put it this way: “It is the custom to give the common name of poets both to those who are exceptional by nature and to those who are good. But one ought to judge between them.” Philemon likewise said: “A senseless listener sitting there is a hard thing, for in his folly he does not blame himself.” So one must pay attention and understand what is said, examining critically what the philosophers and the other poets have declared.

Wickedness Attributed to the Gods by Heathen Writers.

8 For while they deny that there are gods, they turn around and admit it, and say that these gods commit lawless acts. First of all, the poets sing the wicked deeds of Zeus in rather pleasing verse. And Chrysippus, who talked so much nonsense, is he not found suggesting that Hera did a foul thing with her mouth in her relations with Zeus? Why should I list the debaucheries of the one called the mother of the gods? Or of Zeus Latiaris, thirsty for human blood? Or of Attis, who was castrated? Or tell how the Zeus called “the Tragedian,” who, as they say, drenched his own hand, is now honored as a god among the Romans? I say nothing of the shrines of Antinous and of the others who are called gods. When these things are told to sensible people, they only bring laughter. So those who teach such philosophy are convicted by their own teachings, either of atheism or of promiscuity and lawless intercourse. Moreover, cannibalism is also found among them, in the writings they composed, and they record that the very gods they honored were the first to do these things.¹⁰⁷

Christian Doctrine of God and His Law.

9a We also confess God, but one God, the Creator, Maker and Fashioner of this whole universe. We know that all things are governed by providence,

107. The lines seem to come from a comedy. The poet named Ariston is otherwise little known.

but by Him alone. We have also learned a holy law, but the lawgiver we have is the One who truly is God. He teaches us to act justly, to be godly, and to do good. About godliness He says: “You shall have no other gods besides me. You shall not make for yourself an idol, or a likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or on the earth below, or in the waters beneath the earth. You shall not bow down to them or serve them. For I am the Lord your God.” About doing good He said: “Honor your father and your mother, so that it may go well with you, and so that you may live long on the land that I, the Lord God, give you.”¹⁰⁹ [*Exodus 20: 3-5; Exodus 20: 12*]

9b Again, concerning righteousness: “You shall not commit adultery. You shall not murder. You shall not steal. You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor. You shall not covet your neighbor’s wife. You shall not covet his house, or his field, or his servant, or his maidservant, or his ox, or his beast of burden, or any of his cattle, or anything that belongs to your neighbor. You shall not pervert the judgment of the poor man in his case. You shall keep yourself away from every unjust word. You shall not kill the innocent and righteous. You shall not acquit the ungodly. And you shall not take bribes, for bribes blind the eyes of those who see and ruin just words.” Moses, who was also God’s servant, became the minister of this divine law. He served the whole world, but above all the Hebrews, who are also called Jews. Long ago a king of Egypt had enslaved them. They were the righteous offspring of godly and holy men: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. God remembered these men and worked wonders and extraordinary signs through Moses. He rescued their descendants and brought them out of Egypt, leading them through the place called the desert. He brought them back to the land of Canaan, which was afterward named Judea. He set a law before them and taught them these things. This law is great and wonderful for promoting all righteousness, and its ten main points are the ones we have stated above.¹¹⁰ [*Exodus 20: 13-17; Exodus 23: 6-8; Deuteronomy 5: 17-21*]

108. Antinous was the young favorite of the emperor Hadrian. After he drowned in the Nile, he was declared a god.

109. Theophilus is quoting the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20:3-5, 12; compare Deuteronomy 5) somewhat freely from the Greek Old Testament. This is translated from his Greek, not from an English Bible.

110. Moses is called God’s “servant” (therapon) in Numbers 12:7, and Hebrews 3:5 echoes this. The Greek calls the Ten Commandments “ten heads” (kephalaia), meaning chief points.

Of Humanity to Strangers.

¹⁰ Now they had become foreigners living in the land of Egypt, since they were Hebrews by race, from the land of the Chaldeans. At that time a famine came, and they were forced to move to Egypt because grain was being sold there. They stayed there for a time as foreign residents. All this happened to them according to what God had foretold. So after they had lived in Egypt for 430 years, when Moses was about to lead them out into the desert, God taught them through the law, saying: “You shall not oppress a foreigner, for you know the soul of a foreigner. You yourselves were foreigners in the land of Egypt.”¹¹¹ [*Exodus 23: 9; Exodus 12: 40*]

Of Repentance.

^{11a} When the people broke the law that God had given them, God, who is good and compassionate, did not want to destroy them. Besides giving the law, he later sent prophets to them from among their own brothers, to teach them, to remind them of what the law said, and to turn them back to repentance so that they would sin no more. But he warned beforehand that if they kept on in their evil practices, they would be handed over into the power of all the kingdoms of the earth. It is plain that this has already happened to them. Concerning repentance, the prophet Isaiah speaks to all people in general, but in particular to the people of Israel: “Seek the Lord, and call on him when you find him. And when he draws near to you, let the ungodly forsake his ways, and the lawless man his plans. Let him turn back to the Lord his God, and he will be shown mercy, because he will forgive your sins abundantly.”¹¹² [*Isaiah 55: 6-7*]

^{11b} Another prophet, Ezekiel, says: “If the lawless man turns away from all the lawless acts he has done, and keeps my commandments and does my righteous requirements, he shall surely live and shall not die. None of the wrongs he has done will be remembered. He will live by the righteousness he has done. For I do not desire the death of the lawless man, says the Lord, but that he turn from his evil way and live.” Isaiah again: “Turn back, you who plan deep and lawless schemes, so that you may be saved.” And another prophet, Jeremiah: “Turn back to the Lord your God, like a grape-gatherer

111. God’s prediction is in Genesis 15:13. The 430 years come from Exodus 12:40, though the Greek Old Testament there counts the stay “in Egypt and in the land of Canaan.” The law quoted is Exodus 23:9.

112. The quotation is Isaiah 55:6–7, given in Theophilus’s Greek wording.

to his basket, and you will be shown mercy.” There are many sayings in the holy Scriptures about repentance, or rather, they are countless, since God always wants the human race to turn away from all its sins.¹¹³ [*Ezekiel 18: 21-23; Isaiah 31: 6; Jeremiah 6: 9*]

Of Righteousness.

12a Again, concerning the righteousness that the law spoke of, the writings of the prophets and of the Gospels are found to agree with it, because all of them were carriers of the Spirit and spoke by the one Spirit of God. Isaiah, for example, said: “Remove the evils from your souls. Learn to do good. Seek justice. Rescue the one who is wronged. Give judgment for the orphan, and do justice for the widow.” The same prophet also says: “Undo every bond of injustice. Loosen the knots of violent contracts. Send the broken away in freedom, and tear up every unjust written agreement. Break your bread for the hungry, and bring the homeless poor into your house. If you see someone naked, clothe him, and do not neglect your own relatives, your own family line. Then your light will break forth early, your healing will quickly spring up, and your righteousness will go before you.”¹¹⁴ [*Isaiah 1: 16-17; Isaiah 58: 6-8*]

12b Jeremiah likewise says: “Stand at the roads and look, and ask which is the good way of the Lord our God, and walk in it, and you will find rest for your souls. Judge with just judgment, for in these things is the will of the Lord your God.” In the same way Hosea says: “Keep justice, and draw near to the Lord your God, who made the heaven firm and created the earth.” Another prophet, Joel, said things that agree with these: “Gather the people, make the assembly holy, receive the elders, gather the infants at the breast. Let the bridegroom come out of his bedroom and the bride from her bridal chamber. Pray earnestly to the Lord your God, that he may have mercy on you, and he will wipe out your sins.”¹¹⁵ [*Jeremiah 6: 16; Hosea 12: 6; Joel 2: 16-17*]

12c Zechariah likewise says: “Thus says the Lord Almighty: Judge with true judgment, and let each of you show mercy and compassion to his neighbor.

113. The “grape-gatherer to his basket” image comes from Jeremiah 6:9, which Hebrew-based English Bibles also have (“as a grapegatherer into the baskets”). Theophilus seems to have joined it to a call to “turn to the Lord your God.”

114. The quotations are Isaiah 1:16–17 and 58:6–8. The older translation has “hide not thyself from thine own flesh.” Theophilus’s Greek says “do not overlook (or neglect) those of your own seed,” that is, your own kin. The older version also adds “of your doings” in the first quotation, which the Greek lacks.

115. The older translation has “assemble the elders”; the Greek says “receive” or “welcome” them.

Do not oppress the widow, the orphan, or the foreigner who has joined Israel. And let none of you hold a grudge in your hearts against his brother, says the Lord Almighty.”¹¹⁶ [*Zechariah 7: 9-10*]

Of Chastity.

¹³ Concerning purity, the holy word teaches us not only to avoid sin in deed but even in thought. We must not think anything evil in the heart, and we must not look with our eyes at another man’s wife and lust after her. Solomon, who was both a king and a prophet, said: “Let your eyes look straight ahead, and let your eyelids look at what is right. Make straight tracks for your feet.” The voice of the Gospel teaches about purity even more forcefully, saying: “Everyone who looks at another man’s wife so as to desire her has already committed adultery with her in his heart.” It also says: “He who marries a woman divorced from her husband commits adultery, and whoever divorces his wife, except on the ground of sexual immorality, makes her commit adultery.” For Solomon says: “Can anyone tie fire up in his garment and not burn his clothes? Or can anyone walk on burning coals and not scorch his feet? So it is with the man who goes in to a married woman: he will not go unpunished.”¹¹⁷ [*Proverbs 4: 25-26; Matthew 5: 28; Matthew 5: 32; Proverbs 6: 27-29*]

Of Loving Our Enemies.

¹⁴ Some people suppose that we are kind only to our own people. But the prophet Isaiah said: “Say to those who hate you and those who detest you, ‘You are our brothers,’ so that the name of the Lord may be glorified and be seen in their joy.” The Gospel says: “Love your enemies, and pray for those who mistreat you. For if you love those who love you, what reward do you have? Even robbers and tax collectors do this.” It teaches those who do good not to boast, so that they will not be people-pleasers. For it says: “Do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing.” The divine word also commands us to submit to rulers and authorities and to pray for them, so that we may lead a calm and quiet life. It teaches us to give everyone what is due: to the one owed honor, honor; to the one owed respect, respect; to the

116. “Foreigner who has joined Israel” translates “proselyte.” The older translation has “stranger” and “imagine evil”; the Greek verb means to hold a grudge or remember a wrong. The Greek has “neighbor” where the older English has “brother” in the first clause.

117. The Greek says “tie up fire in a garment,” while the Septuagint of Proverbs 6:27 has “in his bosom.”

one owed tribute, tribute. We are to owe nothing to anyone, except to love everyone.¹¹⁸ [Isaiah 66: 5; Matthew 5: 44-46; Matthew 6: 3; Romans 13: 7-8]

The Innocence of the Christians Defended.

15a Consider, then, whether people who learn such things could live carelessly, mix themselves up in unlawful sexual unions, or do what is most godless of all and eat human flesh. We are not even allowed to watch gladiator shows, so that we do not become sharers in murders or witnesses to them. Nor may we attend the other spectacles, so that our eyes and ears are not defiled by sharing in the words sung there. If someone speaks of cannibalism, there the children of Thyestes and Tereus are eaten. If he speaks of adultery, that too is acted out in their tragedies. It is not only the adultery of humans but also that of gods, which they proclaim in fine voices to win honors and prizes. Far be it from Christians even to think of doing anything like that. Among us self-control is present, restraint is practiced, one marriage is kept, purity is guarded, injustice is torn down, sin is rooted out, righteousness is cultivated, law governs our life, reverence for God is put into practice, God is confessed, truth rules, grace preserves, peace shelters, the holy word guides, wisdom teaches, life presides, and God reigns.¹¹⁹

15b We have much more to say about our way of life and about the righteous requirements of God, the Creator of all things. For now, though, we think we have said enough to make you stop and consider, especially in light of what you have been reading up to now. You have been a lover of learning, and we want you to go on being one.¹²⁰

Uncertain Conjectures of the Philosophers.

16a With God's help, I now want to show you more exactly the matter of the dates. Then you will see that our teaching is neither recent nor a made-up story. It is older and truer than all the poets and historians who wrote on uncertain ground. Some of them said the world was never created, and so they wandered off into the endless. Others said it was created, and claimed that 153,075 years have already passed. That is what Apollonius the Egyptian re-

118. "Rulers and authorities" echoes Titus 3:1, and "a calm and quiet life" is from 1 Timothy 2:2. The last sentences follow Romans 13:7-8. "Respect" translates the Greek "fear," as in Romans. Paul writes "love one another," while Theophilus has "love everyone."

119. The Greek "logos" here can mean God's word, that is, his teaching, or the divine Word himself. It is not certain which Theophilus intends.

120. The Greek says "from what you have read up to this point." This may refer to what Autolycus has read so far in these books, or to the Scriptures that Theophilus urged him to read.

ports. As for Plato, who is thought to have been the wisest of the Greeks, what nonsense he fell into! In his work entitled the *Republics* we find him saying, in so many words: “For how could anything new ever have been discovered, if these things had stayed the same for all time, arranged as they are now? For ten thousand times ten thousand years these things evidently remained unknown to the people of those times. And it is a thousand years, or twice that, since some things became clear to Daedalus, some to Orpheus, and some to Palamedes.”¹²¹

16b By saying these things happened, Plato shows that ten thousand times ten thousand years passed from the flood to Daedalus. He says a great deal about cities around the world, and about settlements and nations, but he admits that he said these things by guessing. For he says: “If then, stranger, some god were to promise us that, if we undertook a second time the examination of legislation, [we would hear words no worse than] the things now said...” Plainly he spoke by guesswork. And if it was guesswork, then what he said is not true.¹²²

Accurate Information of the Christians.

17 So one ought rather to become a student of God’s legislation. Plato himself admitted that there is no other way to learn exactly, unless God teaches through the law. And did not the poets Homer, Hesiod and Orpheus say that they had learned from divine providence? The historians also tell us that there were seers and foretellers, and they say that those who learned from them wrote accurately. How much more, then, shall we know the truth, we who learn from the holy prophets, who received the Holy Spirit of God! This is why all the prophets spoke in harmony and agreement with one another, and announced to the whole world beforehand what was going to happen. For those who love learning, or rather who love truth, the actual outcome of things foretold and now completed can teach them that the prophets’ announcements really are true. These concern the times and seasons before the flood, and from the creation of the world until now, as the years add up.

121. The older translation says “The Republic,” but Theophilus gives the title in the plural (*Politeiai*). The words he quotes are in fact from Plato’s *Laws* (book 3, 677c-d), not the *Republic*.

122. Theophilus’s quotation breaks off. The sentence comes from Plato’s *Laws* 3.683e, where it continues, roughly, “we would hear arguments no worse or fewer than those now spoken.” I have put that sense in brackets so the broken sentence can be read.

That will expose the emptiness of the historians' falsehood, and show that what they said is not true.

Errors of the Greeks About the Deluge.

¹⁸ As I said earlier, Plato stated that a flood had happened. But he said it covered not the whole earth, only the plains, and that those who escaped to the highest mountains were saved. Others say there were Deucalion and Pyrrha, and that they were saved in a chest. They say that after Deucalion came out of the chest he threw stones behind him, and that people grew from the stones. This, they say, is why a multitude of people is called *laoi*. Others again say that Clymenus lived at the time of a second flood. From what I have already said, it is plain that those who wrote such things and philosophized to no purpose are wretched, utterly godless and foolish. But our prophet Moses, the servant of God, in his account of the creation of the world, told how the flood came upon the earth and how it all took place. He tells no myth of Pyrrha, Deucalion or Clymenus. He does not say that only the plains were flooded, or that only those who escaped to the mountains were saved.¹²³

Accurate Account of the Deluge.

^{19a} Moses also does not say that there was a second flood. On the contrary, he said there would never again be a flood of water on the world. And indeed no such flood has happened again, nor will it. He says that eight human souls were saved in the ark. The ark was built at God's command, not by Deucalion but by Noah. "Noah" is a Hebrew name, which in Greek means "rest." As I showed in another work, Noah announced to the people of his day that a flood was coming. He prophesied to them, saying, "Come! God is calling you to repentance." That is why he was fittingly called Deucalion. This Noah had three sons, as I also showed in the second book. Their names were Shem, Ham and Japheth. They had three wives, one for each of them, and there was Noah himself with his wife.¹²⁴ [1 Peter 3: 20; Genesis 9: 11; Genesis 7: 13]

^{19b} Some have called this man "Eunuch." So eight human souls in all, those found in the ark, were saved. Moses made clear that the flood lasted forty days and forty nights. The floodgates of heaven poured out, and the springs

123. Theophilus calls Deucalion's chest a *larnax*, a different word from the one he uses for Noah's ark (*kibotos*).

124. The Greek of the last clause is brief and a little unclear. It is taken here to mean Noah and his wife, which makes eight.

of the deep burst forth. The water rose fifteen cubits above every high mountain. In this way the whole race of people living then was destroyed. Only those kept safe in the ark, the eight I mentioned, were saved. The remains of this ark are pointed out to this day in the Arabian mountains. That, in summary, is the history of the flood.¹²⁵ [*Genesis 7:11-12; Genesis 7:20; Genesis 7:23; 1 Peter 3:20*]

Antiquity of Moses.

^{20a} Now Moses led the Jews. As I have already said, they had been driven out of the land of Egypt by King Pharaoh, whose name was Tethmosis. They say he reigned twenty-five years and four months after the people were expelled, as Manetho gives it. After him Chebron reigned thirteen years. After him Amenophis reigned twenty years and seven months. After him his sister Amessa reigned twenty-one years and one month. After her Mephres reigned twelve years and nine months. After him Methramuthosis reigned twenty years and ten months. After him Tythmoses reigned nine years and eight months. After him Damphenophis reigned thirty years and ten months. After him Orus reigned thirty-five years and five months. His daughter reigned ten years and three months. After her Mercheres reigned twelve years and three months.¹²⁶ ^{20b} His son Armais reigned thirty years and one month. After him Messes, son of Miammus, reigned six years and two months. After him Rameses reigned one year and four months. After him Amenophis reigned nineteen years and six months. Then his sons Thoessus and Rameses reigned ten years. They are said to have had a large cavalry force and a naval fleet in their time. At that time the Hebrews were living as foreigners in Egypt. They were enslaved by the king, Tethmosis, as I said before, and they built him fortified cities: Peitho, Rameses, and On, which is Heliopolis. So the Hebrews, who are also our forefathers, are shown to be older than the cities then famous among the Egyptians. From them we have the sacred books, which are older than all other writers, as I said before. The country was called Egypt after King Sethos, for they say Sethos is called Egyptus. Sethos had a brother named Armais. He is the one called Danaus, who

125. See Genesis 7:11–12 and 7:20. Genesis 8:4 puts the ark's landing in the mountains of Ararat, but Theophilus here says "the Arabian mountains."

126. This king list closely follows the one Josephus quotes from Manetho (*Against Apion* 1.15), with variations in names and numbers. It is not a reliable record of Egypt's kings.

went from Egypt to Argos. The other writers mention him as a man of very ancient times.¹²⁷ [*Exodus 1: 11*]

Of Manetho's Inaccuracy.

21a Manetho, the Egyptian writer, talked a great deal of nonsense. He even spoke blasphemies against Moses and the Hebrews with him, claiming that they were driven out of Egypt because of leprosy. Yet he could not give an accurate account of the dates. He called them shepherds and enemies of the Egyptians. In calling them shepherds he spoke the truth against his will, because the truth refuted him. Our forefathers who lived as foreigners in Egypt really were shepherds, but they were not lepers. They came to the land called Jerusalem, and later they settled there. It is clear how their priests, by God's command, served constantly at the temple and in those days healed every disease. They even cured lepers and every kind of defect. King Solomon of Judea built the temple. That Manetho was wrong about the dates is plain from what he himself said. (This is also true of the king who expelled them, whose name was Pharaoh.¹²⁸

21b For he no longer ruled over them. He pursued the Hebrews with his army and was drowned in the Red Sea. Manetho also lies when he says that the shepherds made war on the Egyptians.) The Hebrews left Egypt 313 years before Danaus came to Argos, and from then on they lived in the country still called Judea. It is clear that most people consider Danaus older than any other figure in Greek history. So Manetho, against his will, has shown us two points of the truth in his own writings. First, he admitted that they were shepherds. Second, he said that they left the land of Egypt. So even from these records Moses and those with him are shown to be earlier than the Trojan War, by 900 or even 1,000 years.¹²⁹ [*Exodus 15: 4*]

Antiquity of the Temple.

22a Now consider the building of the temple in Judea, which King Solomon built 566 years after the Jews left Egypt. Among the Tyrians there is a written account of how the temple was built, and the documents are kept in their archives. In these records the temple is found to have been built 143 years and 8 months before the Tyrians founded Carthage. (The record was made

127. Josephus, quoting Manetho, also says that Sethos was called Aegyptus and that his brother Armais was Danaus (Against Apion 1.15).

128. "Pharaoh" was the title of the kings of Egypt, not a personal name.

129. In Greek legend, Danaus came from Egypt and settled at Argos in southern Greece.

by Hiram, the king of the Tyrians and son of Abimalus. He made it because he had become Solomon's friend through a friendship inherited from their fathers, and also because of Solomon's extraordinary wisdom. The two of them were always testing each other with hard questions. As evidence of this, they say that copies of their letters are still kept among the Tyrians to this day.¹³⁰ 22b They also sent letters to one another.) Menander of Ephesus recalls this when he records the history of the Tyrian kingdom. He writes as follows: "When Abimalus, king of the Tyrians, died, his son Hiram succeeded to the kingdom. He lived 53 years. Bazorus succeeded him. He lived 43 years and reigned 17. After him came Methuastartus, who lived 54 years and reigned 12. After him came his brother Atharymus, who lived 58 years and reigned 9. His brother, whose name was Helles, killed him. Helles lived 50 years and reigned 8 months. Juthobalus, a priest of Astarte, killed Helles. Juthobalus lived 40 years and reigned 12. His son Bazorus succeeded him. Bazorus lived 45 years and reigned 7. His son Metten followed, who lived 32 years and reigned 29."¹³¹

22c Pygmalion, son of Pygmalius, succeeded him. He lived 56 years and reigned 7. In the seventh year of his reign his sister fled to Libya and built the city that is still called Carthage. So the whole time from the reign of Hiram to the founding of Carthage adds up to 155 years and 8 months. The temple in Jerusalem was built in the twelfth year of Hiram's reign. So the whole time from the building of the temple to the founding of Carthage was 143 years and 8 months."¹³²

Prophets More Ancient Than Greek Writers.

23a That is enough, then, on the testimony of the Phoenicians and Egyptians. Manetho the Egyptian and Menander the Ephesian have written about the dates of our history. So has Josephus, who wrote the account of the war the Romans waged against the Jews. These ancient writers show that the writings of all the other authors are later than the books given to us through Moses, and later also than the prophets who came in between. For the last of

130. Scripture says that Hiram had always been a friend of David, Solomon's father (1 Kings 5:1).

131. Josephus quotes a longer form of this list from Menander in *Against Apion*, book 1. Theophilus probably took it from there. His copy gives no length for Hiram's reign, and some names and figures differ from Josephus. As printed here, the reigns do not add up to the total given in the next section.

132. Josephus does not name Pygmalion's sister; other sources (e.g. Timaeus, Justin) call her Elissa, and Latin writers such as Virgil know her as Dido.

the prophets, named Zechariah, flourished in the reign of Darius. The lawgivers, too, are all found to have made their laws in that in-between period. Take Solon the Athenian. He lived in the time of the kings Cyrus and Darius, the time of the prophet Zechariah I just mentioned, who came in between, a great many years after Moses. Or take the lawgivers Lycurgus, Draco, and Minos. Josephus says in his writings that the sacred books are older than they are. Indeed, the writings of the divine law given to us through Moses are shown to be older even than the reign of Zeus over the Cretans, and older than the Trojan War.¹³³

^{23b} With God's help, I want to make my proof of the times and dates more exact. So I will now cover not only the events after the flood but also those before it, so that I can give the total number of all the years, as far as that is possible. I will go back to the very beginning of the creation of the world, which Moses, the servant of God, recorded through the Holy Spirit. For Moses first spoke of the creation and origin of the world, of the first-formed man, and of what happened next. In doing so he also indicated the years that passed before the flood. I ask the only God for the grace to tell the whole truth accurately, according to his will, so that you and everyone who reads this may be guided by his truth and grace. I will begin with the recorded genealogies, starting from the first-formed man.

Chronology from Adam.

^{24a} Adam lived 230 years until he fathered a son. His son Seth lived 205 years until he fathered a son. His son Enos, 190. His son Cainan, 170. His son Mahaleel, 165. His son Jared, 162. His son Enoch, 165. His son Methuselah, 167. His son Lamech, 188. To Lamech was born the Noah I mentioned earlier. He fathered Shem when he was 500 years old. The flood came in his time, when he was 600 years old. So the total number of years up to the flood was 2,242. Right after the flood, Shem, who was 100 years old, fathered Arphaxad. Arphaxad was 135 when he fathered Salah. Salah was 130 when he fathered a son. [*Genesis 7:6; Genesis 11:10-12*] ^{24b} His son Eber was 134 when he fathered a son. The Hebrews take the name of their race from him. His son Phaleg was 130 when he fathered a son. His son Reu was 132. His son Serug was 130. His son Nahor was 75. His son Terah was 70. His son was Abraham, our patriarch, who fathered Isaac when he was 100. So the total up to Abraham is 3,278

133. Theophilus treats Zeus as a human king of Crete who was later worshipped as a god, a view he also argues elsewhere in this work.

years. The Isaac I just mentioned was 60 when he fathered Jacob. Jacob was 130 when the family moved to Egypt, which I described above. The Hebrews' stay in Egypt lasted 430 years. After they left the land of Egypt, they spent 40 years in the place called the wilderness. [*Genesis 21: 5; Genesis 47: 9; Exodus 12: 40*]

^{24c} The total, then, is 3,938 years. At that time Moses died, and Jesus the son of Nun succeeded him as ruler and led them for 27 years. After Jesus, the people turned aside from God's commandments, and they were subject to a king of Mesopotamia named Chusarathon for eight years. Then the people repented, and they had judges: Gothonoel for 40 years, Eglon for 18 years, and Aoth for 8 years. Next, because they stumbled, foreigners held power over them for 20 years. Then Deborah judged them for 40 years. Next the Midianites held power over them for 7 years. Then Gideon judged them for 40 years, Abimelech for 3 years, Thola for 22 years, and Jair for 22 years. Next the Philistines and the Ammonites held power over them for 18 years. Then Jephthah judged them for 6 years, Esbon for 7 years, Ailon for 10 years, and Abdon for 8 years. Next foreigners held power over them for 40 years. Then Samson judged them for 20 years. After that there was peace among them for 40 years. Then Samera judged them for one year, Eli for 20 years, and Samuel for 12 years.

From Saul to the Captivity.

^{25a} After the judges they had kings. The first was named Saul, who reigned 20 years. Then came David, our forefather, who reigned 40 years. So the total number of years up to the reign of David is 496. After these kings Solomon reigned for 40 years. By God's counsel he was also the first to build the temple in Jerusalem. After him came Rehoboam for 17 years, then Abias for 7 years, then Asa for 41 years, then Jehoshaphat for 25 years, then Joram for 8 years, then Ahaziah for 1 year, then Athaliah for 6 years. After her came Josiah for 40 years, then Amaziah for 39 years, then Uzziah for 52 years.¹³⁴ ^{25b} After him came Jotham for 16 years, then Ahaz for 17 years, then Hezekiah for 29 years, then Manasseh for 55 years, then Amon for 2 years, then Josiah for 31 years. After him Ochas reigned 3 months, then Jehoiakim for 11 years. Then another Jehoiakim reigned 3 months and 10 days. After him came Zedekiah for 11 years. After these kings the people stayed in their sins and did not repent. So, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, the king

134. The king who reigned 40 years after Athaliah is Joash (Jehoash) in the Bible (2 Kings 12:1). Theophilus, or his copyists, calls him "Josiah." Abias is the king usually called Abijah.

of Babylon, named Nebuchadnezzar, came up into Judea. He carried the people of the Jews off to Babylon and destroyed the temple that Solomon had built. In the exile in Babylon the people spent 70 years.¹³⁵ [Jeremiah 25:11]

^{25c} So the total, including the exile in the land of Babylon, comes to 4,954 years, 6 months and 10 days. God had foretold through the prophet Jeremiah that the people would be taken captive to Babylon. In the same way he also announced beforehand that they would return to their own land after 70 years. When the 70 years were being completed, Cyrus became king of the Persians. In the second year of his reign, in keeping with Jeremiah's prophecy, he made a proclamation. He ordered in writing that all the Jews in his kingdom should go back to their own country and rebuild for God the temple that the king of Babylon mentioned above had torn down. Besides this, Cyrus acted at God's command. He ordered his own bodyguards, Sabassar and Mithridates, to bring back the vessels that Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the temple in Judea and to put them back in the temple. So in the second year of Cyrus the 70 years foretold by Jeremiah were fulfilled.¹³⁶ [Jeremiah 25:11-12; Jeremiah 29:10]

Contrast Between Hebrew and Greek Writings.

^{26a} From this one can see how our sacred writings are shown to be older and truer than the writings of the Greeks and Egyptians, or of any other historians. Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and the other historians, most of them, began their records at about the reign of Cyrus and Darius. They were not able to speak accurately about the older and earlier times. For what great thing did they tell if they wrote about Darius and Cyrus, kings among the barbarians? Or, in Greek history, about Zopyrus and Hippas, or the wars of the Athenians and Spartans, or the deeds of Xerxes? Or about Pausanias, who was in danger of starving to death in the sacred precinct of Athena? Or about Themistocles and the Peloponnesian war, or Alcibiades and Thrasybulus?¹³⁷

^{26b} My purpose here is not to give material for long talk. It is to show the number of years from the foundation of the world, and to expose the wasted

135. "Ochas," who reigned three months, is the king called Jehoahaz in the Bible (2 Kings 23:31). The Greek also spells Amon as "Amos."

136. For the seventy years, see Jeremiah 25:11-12 and 29:10. Ezra 1:1 dates Cyrus's decree to his first year, not his second. In Ezra 1:8 Mithredath is Cyrus's treasurer, who hands the vessels over to Sheshbazzar (Theophilus's "Sabassar"). Ezra does not call them bodyguards.

137. Zopyrus was not a Greek but a Persian noble. Herodotus tells how he helped Darius take Babylon.

effort and nonsense of these writers. There have not been twenty thousand myriads of years, as Plato said, when he taught that this many years had passed from the flood down to his own time. Nor have there been 150,375 years, as I said earlier that Apollonius the Egyptian reports. Nor is the world uncreated, with everything coming about by itself, as Pythagoras and the others have babbled. The world was made, and it is governed by the providence of God, who made all things. The whole span of time and the years are made clear to those who are willing to be persuaded by the truth. I do not want it to seem that I have set out the dates only as far as Cyrus and neglected the times since then, as if I could not show them. So, with God's help, I will try as far as I can to set out the order of the following times as well.¹³⁸

Roman Chronology to the Death of M. Aurelius.

^{27a} Cyrus reigned twenty-nine years and was killed by Tomyris in the land of the Massagetae. This was in the sixty-second Olympiad. From that time the Romans grew great, for God was strengthening them. Rome had been founded by Romulus, said to be the son of Ares and Ilia, in the seventh Olympiad, on the eleventh day before the Kalends of May, when the year was still counted as ten months. Cyrus died, as we have said, in the sixty-second Olympiad, and that date falls 220 years after the founding of Rome. At that time a man named Tarquinius Superbus ruled the Romans. He was the first to send certain Romans into exile. He corrupted boys and made some of the native citizens eunuchs. He also corrupted virgins and then gave them in marriage. So he was fittingly called Superbus in the Roman language, which means "proud." For he was the first to decree that when people greeted him, another person should return the greeting for him.¹³⁹

^{27b} He reigned twenty-five years. After him came annual consuls, tribunes or aediles, who ruled for 453 years. We think it long and needless to list their names. Anyone who wants to learn them will find them in the records written by Chryserus the nomenclator, a freedman of Aurelius Verus. From the founding of Rome to the death of his own patron, the emperor Verus, he recorded everything clearly, both the names and the dates. So the annual magistrates, as we say, held power over the Romans for 453 years. After that

138. "Twenty thousand myriads" means 200 million; a myriad is 10,000. The older translation's "15 times 10, 375" is clumsy. The Greek means 15 myriads and 375, that is 150,375.

139. The "eleventh day before the Kalends of May" is 21 April by Roman reckoning. "Olympiad" means a four-year period between Olympic Games, used by Greek writers for dating.

came those called emperors, in this order. First was Gaius Julius, who reigned 3 years, 4 months and 6 days. Then Augustus reigned 56 years, 4 months and 1 day. Tiberius reigned 22 years. Then another Gaius reigned 3 years, 8 months and 7 days. Claudius reigned 23 years, 8 months and 24 days.¹⁴⁰ Nero reigned 13 years, 6 months and 28 days. Galba, 2 years, 7 months and 6 days. Otho, 3 months and 5 days. Vitellius, 6 months and 22 days. Vespasian, 9 years, 11 months and 22 days. Titus, 2 years and 22 days. Domitian, 15 years, 5 months and 6 days. Nerva, 1 year, 4 months and 10 days. Trajan, 19 years, 6 months and 16 days. Hadrian, 20 years, 10 months and 28 days. Antoninus, 22 years, 7 months and 6 days. Verus, 19 years and 10 days. So the time of the Caesars, down to the death of the emperor Verus, comes to 237 years and 5 days. From the death of Cyrus, which is also the start of Tarquinius Superbus's rule over the Romans, to the death of the emperor Verus whom we mentioned earlier, the whole time adds up to 744 years.¹⁴¹

Leading Chronological Epochs.

From the foundation of the world, the whole time can be summed up briefly like this. From the creation of the world to the flood, 2,242 years. From the flood to the birth of a child to Abraham, our forefather, 1,036 years. From Isaac, Abraham's son, to the time when the people were living in the desert with Moses, 660 years. From the death of Moses and the leadership of Joshua son of Nun, to the death of the patriarch David, 498 years. From the death of David and the reign of Solomon to the people's exile in the land of Babylon, 518 years, 6 months and 10 days. From the rule of Cyrus to the death of the emperor Aurelius Verus, 744 years. Altogether, from the creation of the world, the total comes to 5,698 years, plus the extra months and days.¹⁴²

Antiquity of Christianity.

With all these dates and the facts I have mentioned now gathered together, one can see how ancient the writings of the prophets are and how divine

140. The "Verus" here is almost certainly Marcus Aurelius, who died in AD 180. The reign Theophilus gives him, 19 years and 10 days, matches Marcus's reign from March 161 to March 180. So this book was written shortly after 180.

141. Some figures in this list differ from the known lengths of reign; for example, Galba ruled about 7 months (AD 68–69), not 2 years and 7 months. Theophilus's totals are built on his own figures.

142. The 2,242 years from creation to the flood follow the ages given in the Greek Old Testament (the Septuagint). The Hebrew text gives 1,656 years.

our teaching is. Our teaching is not recent, and our beliefs are not myths and falsehoods, as some think. On the contrary, they are older and truer. For Thallus mentions Belus, king of the Assyrians, and Cronus the Titan. He says that Belus, together with the Titans, fought against Zeus and those who are called the gods with him. There, he says, Gyges too was defeated and fled to Tartessus. . . . At that time the country was called Acte, but it is now called Attica, and Ogyges was then its ruler. We do not think it necessary to list the other countries and cities and the people they were named after, especially to you, since you know history.¹⁴³ 29b It is clear that Moses is shown to be older than all the historians, and not only he but most of the prophets who came after him. He is also older than Cronus, Belus and the Trojan War. For according to the history of Thallus, Belus is found to have lived 322 years before the Trojan War. I have shown above that Moses lived about ... or even 1000 years before the capture of Troy. Cronus and Belus flourished at the same time, and most people do not know who Cronus is or who Belus is. Some worship Cronus and call him Bel and Baal, especially those who live in the eastern regions. They do not know who Cronus is, nor who Belus is.¹⁴⁴

29c Among the Romans he is called Saturn. For they themselves do not know which of the two he is, Cronus or Belus. As for the Olympiads, they say that the observance began with Iphitus, but according to some it began with Linus, who was also called Ilius. I have shown above the number of the years and Olympiads and how they are ordered. So I think I have now said, as accurately as I can, what needed saying about the godlessness of your practices and about the whole count of the years. Even if some time has escaped us, say 50 or 100 or even 200 years, it is still not thousands or tens of thousands of years, as Plato and Apollonius and the rest have said, writing falsely. Perhaps we do not know the exact total of all the years because the extra months and days are not recorded in the sacred books.¹⁴⁵

29d Berosus also agrees with the dates I have given. He was a philosopher among the Chaldeans and made the Chaldean writings known to the Greeks. In his history he says some things in agreement with Moses about

143. Thallus was a historian whose work is now lost. He is known only from quotations in later writers.

144. The number of years is lost or corrupt in the Greek, which says Moses lived "about ... or even 1000" years before the fall of Troy. Any figure supplied for the gap is a conjecture.

145. The sentence beginning "Even if" is incomplete in the Greek. The words "it is still" have been supplied to complete the sense.

the flood and many other matters. He also partly agrees with the prophets Jeremiah and Daniel. He mentions what happened to the Jews at the hands of the king of the Babylonians, whom he calls Abobassar and the Hebrews call Nebuchadnezzar. He also speaks of the temple in Jerusalem, saying it was laid waste by the king of the Chaldeans. He says that the foundations of the temple were laid in the second year of the reign of Cyrus, and that the temple was finished in the second year of the reign of Darius.¹⁴⁶

Why the Greeks Did Not Mention Our Histories.

³⁰ The Greeks do not mention the histories that tell the truth. The first reason is that they themselves only recently came to share in the knowledge of writing. They admit this themselves, saying that letters were invented by the Chaldeans, or by the Egyptians, or, according to others, by the Phoenicians. The second reason is that they stumbled, and still stumble, by making no mention of God, but only of vain and useless things. They speak fondly of Homer and Hesiod and the other poets. But the glory of the only incorruptible God they have not only forgotten but spoken against. They have also persecuted those who worship him, and they persecute them every day. They even set prizes and honors for those who insult God in fine-sounding words. But those who press on toward virtue and practice a holy life they have stoned or put to death, and up to now they subject them to savage torments. So it follows that such people have lost the wisdom of God and have not found the truth. If you are willing, then, read these writings carefully, so that you may have a token and pledge of the truth.¹⁴⁷ [*Romans 1: 23*]

146. Scripture dates the temple's completion to the sixth year of Darius (Ezra 6:15). The second year of Darius is when the rebuilding resumed (Ezra 4:24; Haggai 1:1).

147. "Token and pledge" translates two Greek words; the second, arrabon, means a first payment that guarantees the rest, and Paul uses it of the Holy Spirit (2 Corinthians 1:22; Ephesians 1:14).

P A R T T W O

Bishops, Teachers and Martyrs

*Sermons, letters and fragments from the churches of Asia
Minor, Palestine, Syria, Rome and North Africa, with the
earliest record of Christian martyrs in the Latin West.*

On the Passover

MELITO OF SARDIS

d. c. AD 180

Bishop of Sardis; author of a famous Easter homily.

INTRODUCTION

Alternative Sources: 1, 2

Introduction (1-10)

1. First of all, the Scripture about the Hebrew Exodus has been read and the words of the mystery have been explained as to how the sheep was sacrificed and the people were saved. 2. Therefore, understand this, O beloved: The mystery of the passover is new and old, eternal and temporal, corruptible and incorruptible, mortal and immortal in this fashion: 3. It is old insofar as it concerns the law, but new insofar as it concerns the gospel; temporal insofar as it concerns the type, eternal because of grace; corruptible because of the sacrifice of the sheep, incorruptible because of the life of the Lord; mortal because of his burial in the earth, immortal because of his resurrection from the dead. 4. The law is old, but the gospel is new; the type was for a time, but grace is forever. The sheep was corruptible, but the Lord is incorruptible, who was crushed as a lamb, but who was resurrected as God. For although he was led to sacrifice as a sheep, yet he was not a sheep; and although he was as a lamb without voice, yet indeed he was not a lamb. The one was the model; the other was found to be the finished product.

5. For God replaced the lamb, and a man the sheep; but in the man was Christ, who contains all things. 6. Hence, the sacrifice of the sheep, and the sending of the lamb to slaughter, and the writing of the law—each led to and issued in Christ, for whose sake everything happened in the ancient law, and even more so in the new gospel. 7. For indeed the law issued in the gospel—the old in the new, both coming forth together from Zion and Jerusalem; and the commandment issued in grace, and the type in the finished product,

and the lamb in the Son, and the sheep in a man, and the man in God. 8. For the one who was born as Son, and led to slaughter as a lamb, and sacrificed as a sheep, and buried as a man, rose up from the dead as God, since he is by nature both God and man.

9. He is everything: in that he judges he is law, in that he teaches he is gospel, in that he saves he is grace, in that he begets he is Father, in that he is begotten he is Son, in that he suffers he is sheep, in that he is buried he is man, in that he comes to life again he is God. 10. Such is Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory forever. Amen.

I. THE MEANING OF THE OT PASSOVER (11-71)

A. The Biblical Setting—Exodus 12:11-30 (11-15)

11. Now comes the mystery of the passover, even as it stands written in the law, just as it has been read aloud only moments ago. But I will clearly set forth the significance of the words of this Scripture, showing how God commanded Moses in Egypt, when he had made his decision, to bind Pharaoh under the lash, but to release Israel from the lash through the hand of Moses.

12. For see to it, he says, that you take a flawless and perfect lamb, and that you sacrifice it in the evening with the sons of Israel, and that you eat it at night, and in haste. You are not to break any of its bones. 13. You will do it like this, he says: In a single night you will eat it by families and by tribes, your loins girded, and your staves in your hands. For this is the Lord's passover, an eternal reminder for the sons of Israel.

14. Then take the blood of the sheep, and anoint the front door of your houses by placing upon the posts of your entrance-way the sign of the blood, in order to ward off the angel. For behold I will strike Egypt, and in a single night she will be made childless from beast to man. 15. Then, when Moses sacrificed the sheep and completed the mystery at night together with the sons of Israel, he sealed the doors of their houses in order to protect the people and to ward off the angel.

B. Egypt's Calamities (16-29)

16. But when the sheep was sacrificed, and the passover consumed, and the mystery completed, and the people made glad, and Israel sealed, then the angel arrived to strike Egypt, who was neither initiated into the mystery, participant of the passover, sealed by the blood, nor protected by the Spirit, but who was the enemy and the unbeliever. 17. In a single night the angel struck

and made Egypt childless. For when the angel had encompassed Israel, and had seen her sealed with the blood of the sheep, he advanced against Egypt, and by means of grief subdued the stubborn Pharaoh, clothing him, not with a cloak of mourning, nor with a torn mantle, but with all of Egypt, torn, and mourning for her firstborn. 18. For all Egypt, plunged in troubles and calamities, in tears and lamentations, came to Pharaoh in utter sadness, not in appearance only, but also in soul, having torn not only her garments but her tender breasts as well.

19. Indeed it was possible to observe an extraordinary sight: in one place people beating their breasts, in another those wailing, and in the middle of them Pharaoh, mourning, sitting in sackcloth and cinders, shrouded in thick darkness as in a funeral garment, girded with all Egypt as with a tunic of grief. 20. For Egypt clothed Pharaoh as a cloak of wailing. Such was the mantle that had been woven for his royal body. With just such a cloak did the angel of righteousness clothe the self-willed Pharaoh: with bitter mournfulness, and with thick darkness, and with childlessness. For that angel warred against the firstborn of Egypt. Indeed, swift and insatiate was the death of the firstborn. 21. And an unusual monument of defeat, set up over those who had fallen dead in a moment, could be seen. For the defeat of those who lay dead became the provisions of death.

22. If you listen to the narration of this extraordinary event you will be astonished. For these things befell the Egyptians: a long night, and darkness which was touchable, and death which touched, and an angel who oppressed, and Hades which devoured their firstborn. 23. But you must listen to something still more extraordinary and terrifying: in the darkness which could be touched was hidden death which could not be touched. And the ill-starred Egyptians touched the darkness, while death, on the watch, touched the firstborn of the Egyptians as the angel had commanded. 24. Therefore, if anyone touched the darkness he was led out by death. Indeed one firstborn, touching a dark body with his hand, and utterly frightened in his soul, cried aloud in misery and in terror: What has my right hand laid hold of? At what does my soul tremble? Who cloaks my whole body with darkness? If you are my father, help me; if my mother, feel sympathy for me; if my brother, speak to me; if my friend, sit with me; if my enemy, go away from me since I am a firstborn son!

25. And before the firstborn was silent, the long silence held him in its power, saying: You are mine, O firstborn! I, the silence of death, am your destiny. 26. And another firstborn, taking note of the capture of the firstborn, denied his identity, so that he might not die a bitter death: I am not a first-born son; I was born like a third child. But he who could not be deceived touched that firstborn, and he fell forward in silence. In a single moment the firstborn fruit of the Egyptians was destroyed. The one first conceived, the one first born, the one sought after, the one chosen was dashed to the ground; not only that of men but that of irrational animals as well. 27. A lowing was heard in the fields of the earth, of cattle bellowing for their nurslings, a cow standing over her calf, and a mare over her colt. And the rest of the cattle, having just given birth to their offspring and swollen with milk, were lamenting bitterly and piteously for their firstborn.

28. And there was a wailing and lamentation because of the destruction of the men, because of the destruction of the firstborn who were dead. And all Egypt stank, because of the unburied bodies. 29. Indeed one could see a frightful spectacle: of the Egyptians there were mothers with dishevelled hair, and fathers who had lost their minds, wailing aloud in terrifying fashion in the Egyptian tongue: O wretched persons that we are! We have lost our firstborn in a single moment! And they were striking their breasts with their hands, beating time in hammerlike fashion to the dance for their dead.

C. Israel's Safety (30-33)

30. Such was the misfortune which encompassed Egypt. In an instant it made her childless. But Israel, all the while, was being protected by the sacrifice of the sheep and truly was being illumined by its blood which was shed; for the death of the sheep was found to be a rampart for the people. 31. O inexpressible mystery! the sacrifice of the sheep was found to be the salvation of the people, and the death of the sheep became the life of the people. For its blood ward off the angel. 32. Tell me, O angel, At what were you turned away? At the sacrifice of the sheep, or the life of the Lord? At the death of the sheep, or the type of the Lord? At the blood of the sheep, or the Spirit of the Lord? Clearly, you were turned away 33. because you saw the mystery of the Lord taking place in the sheep, the life of the Lord in the sacrifice of the sheep, the type of the Lord in the death of the sheep. For this reason you did not strike Israel, but it was Egypt alone that you made childless.

D. Model versus Finished Product (34-38)

34. What was this extraordinary mystery? It was Egypt struck to destruction but Israel kept for salvation. Listen to the meaning of this mystery: 35. Beloved, no speech or event takes place without a pattern or design; every event and speech involves a pattern—that which is spoken, a pattern, and that which happens, a prefiguration—in order that as the event is disclosed through the prefiguration, so also the speech may be brought to expression through its outline. 36. Without the model, no work of art arises. Is not that which is to come into existence seen through the model which typifies it? For this reason a pattern of that which is to be is made either out of wax, or out of clay, or out of wood, in order that by the smallness of the model, destined to be destroyed, might be seen that thing which is to arise from it—higher than it in size, and mightier than it in power, and more beautiful than it in appearance, and more elaborate than it in ornamentation.

37. So whenever the thing arises for which the model was made, then that which carried the image of that future thing is destroyed as no longer of use, since it has transmitted its resemblance to that which is by nature true. Therefore, that which once was valuable, is now without value because that which is truly valuable has appeared. 38. For each thing has its own time: there is a distinct time for the type, there is a distinct time for the material, and there is a distinct time for the truth. You construct the model. You want this, because you see in it the image of the future work. You procure the material for the model. You want this, on account of that which is going to arise because of it. You complete the work and cherish it alone, for only in it do you see both type and the truth.

E. Relationship Between OT and NT (39-45)

39. Therefore, if it was like this with models of perishable objects, so indeed will it also be with those of imperishable objects. If it was like this with earthly things, so indeed also will it be with heavenly things. For even the Lord's salvation and his truth were prefigured in the people, and the teaching of the gospel was proclaimed in advance by the law. 40. The people, therefore, became the model for the church, and the law a parabolic sketch. But the gospel became the explanation of the law and its fulfillment, while the church became the storehouse of truth. 41. Therefore, the type had value prior to its realization, and the parable was wonderful prior to its interpreta-

tion. This is to say that the people had value before the church came on the scene, and the law was wonderful before the gospel was brought to light. 42. But when the church came on the scene, and the gospel was set forth, the type lost its value by surrendering its significance to the truth, and the law was fulfilled by surrendering its significance to the gospel. Just as the type lost its significance by surrendering its image to that which is true by nature, and as the parable lost its significance by being illumined through the interpretation,

43. so indeed also the law was fulfilled when the gospel was brought to light, and the people lost their significance when the church came on the scene, and the type was destroyed when the Lord appeared. Therefore, those things which once had value are today without value, because the things which have true value have appeared. 44. For at one time the sacrifice to the sheep was valuable, but now it is without value because of the life of the Lord. The death of the sheep once was valuable, but now it is without value because of the salvation of the Lord. The blood of the sheep once was valuable, but now it is without value because of the Spirit of the Lord. The silent lamb once was valuable, but now it has no value because of the blameless Son. The temple here below once was valuable, but now it is without value because of the Christ from above.

45. The Jerusalem here below once had value, but now it is without value because of the Jerusalem from above. The meager inheritance once had value; now it is without value because of the abundant grace. For not in one place alone, nor yet in narrow confines, has the glory of God been established, but his grace has been poured out upon the uttermost parts of the inhabited world, and there the almighty God has taken up his dwelling place through Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory for ever. Amen.

F. Components of the Mystery of the Passover (46-71) — 1. The Passover (46-47a)

46. Now that you have heard the explanation of the type and of that which corresponds to it, hear also what goes into making up the mystery. What is the passover? Indeed its name is derived from that event—"to celebrate the passover" (to paschein) is derived from "to suffer" (tou pathein). Therefore, learn who the sufferer is and who he is who suffers along with the sufferer. 47. Why indeed was the Lord present upon the earth? In order that having clothed himself with the one who suffers, he might lift him up to the heights of heaven.

2. The Creation and Fall of Man (47b-48)

In the beginning, when God made heaven and earth, and everything in them through his word, he himself formed man from the earth and shared with that form his own breath, he himself placed him in paradise, which was eastward in Eden, and there they lived most luxuriously. Then by way of command God gave them this law: For your food you may eat from any tree, but you are not to eat from the tree of the one who knows good and evil. For on the day you eat from it, you most certainly will die. 48. But man, who is by nature capable of receiving good and evil as soil of the earth is capable of receiving seeds from both sides, welcomed the hostile and greedy counselor, and by having touched that tree transgressed the command, and disobeyed God. As a consequence, he was cast out into this world as a condemned man is cast into prison.

3. Consequences of the Fall (49-56)

49. And when he had fathered many children, and had grown very old, and had returned to the earth through having tasted of the tree, an inheritance was left behind by him for his children. Indeed, he left his children an inheritance—not of chastity but of unchastity, not of immortality but of corruptibility, not of honor but of dishonor, not of freedom but of slavery, not of sovereignty but of tyranny, not of life but of death, not of salvation but of destruction. 50. Extraordinary and terrifying indeed was the destruction of men upon the earth. For the following things happened to them: They were carried off as slaves by sin, the tyrant, and were led away into the regions of desire where they were totally engulfed by insatiable sensual pleasures—by adultery, by unchastity, by debauchery, by inordinate desires, by avarice, by murders, by bloodshed, by the tyranny of wickedness, by the tyranny of lawlessness.

51. For even a father of his own accord lifted up a dagger against his son; and a son used his hands against his father; and the impious person smote the breasts that nourished him; and brother murdered brother; and host wronged his guest; and friend assassinated friend; and one man cut the throat of another with his tyrannous right hand. 52. Therefore all men on the earth became either murderers, or parricides, or killers of their children. And yet a thing still more dreadful and extraordinary was to be found: A mother attacked the flesh which she gave birth to, a mother attacked those

whom her breasts had nourished; and she buried in her belly the fruit of her belly. Indeed, the ill-starred mother became a dreadful tomb, when she devoured the child which she bore in her womb. 53. But in addition to this there were to be found among men many things still more monstrous and terrifying and brutal: father cohabits with his child, and son and with his mother, and brother with sister, and male with male, and each man lusting after the wife of his neighbor.

54. Because of these things sin exulted, which, because it was death's collaborator, entered first into the souls of men, and prepared as food for him the bodies of the dead. In every soul sin left its mark, and those in whom it placed its mark were destined to die. 55. Therefore, all flesh fell under the power of sin, and every body under the dominion of death, for every soul was driven out from its house of flesh. Indeed, that which had been taken from the earth was dissolved again into earth, and that which had been given from God was locked up in Hades. And that beautiful ordered arrangement was dissolved, when the beautiful body was separated (from the soul). 56. Yes, man was divided up into parts by death. Yes, an extraordinary misfortune and captivity enveloped him: he was dragged away captive under the shadow of death, and the image of the Father remained there desolate. For this reason, therefore, the mystery of the passover has been completed in the body of the Lord.

4. Predictions of Christ's Sufferings (57-65)

57. Indeed, the Lord prearranged his own sufferings in the patriarchs, and in the prophets, and in the whole people of God, giving his sanction to them through the law and the prophets. For that which was to exist in a new and grandiose fashion was pre-planned long in advance, in order that when it should come into existence one might attain to faith, just because it had been predicted long in advance. 58. So indeed also the suffering of the Lord, predicted long in advance by means of types, but seen today, has brought about faith, just because it has taken place as predicted. And yet men have taken it as something completely new. Well, the truth of the matter is the mystery of the Lord is both old and new—old insofar as it involved the type, but new insofar as it concerns grace. And what is more, if you pay close attention to this type you will see the real thing through its fulfillment.

59. Accordingly, if you desire to see the mystery of the Lord, pay close attention to Abel who likewise was put to death, to Isaac who likewise was

bound hand and foot, to Joseph who likewise was sold, to Moses who likewise was exposed, to David who likewise was hunted down, to the prophets who likewise suffered because they were the Lord's anointed. 60. Pay close attention also to the one who was sacrificed as a sheep in the land of Egypt, to the one who smote Egypt and who saved Israel by his blood. 61. For it was through the voice of prophecy that the mystery of the Lord was proclaimed. Moses, indeed, said to his people: Surely you will see your life suspended before your eyes night and day, but you surely will not believe on your Life. Deut. 28:66. 62. And David said: Why were the nations haughty and the people concerned about nothing? The kings of the earth presented themselves and the princes assembled themselves together against the Lord and against his anointed. Ps. 2:1-2.

63. And Jeremiah: I am as an innocent lamb being led away to be sacrificed. They plotted evil against me and said: Come! let us throw him a tree for his food, and let us exterminate him from the land of the living, so that his name will never be recalled. Jer. 11:19. 64. And Isaiah: He was led as a sheep to slaughter, and, as a lamb is silent in the presence of the one who shears it, he did not open his mouth. Therefore who will tell his offspring? Isa. 53:7 65. And indeed there were many other things proclaimed by numerous prophets concerning the mystery of the passover, which is Christ, to whom be the glory forever. Amen.

5. Deliverance of Mankind through Christ (66-71)

66. When this one came from heaven to earth for the sake of the one who suffers, and had clothed himself with that very one through the womb of a virgin, and having come forth as man, he accepted the sufferings of the sufferer through his body which was capable of suffering. And he destroyed those human sufferings by his spirit which was incapable of dying. He killed death which had put man to death. 67. For this one, who was led away as a lamb, and who was sacrificed as a sheep, by himself delivered us from servitude to the world as from the land of Egypt, and released us from bondage to the devil as from the hand of Pharaoh, and sealed our souls by his own spirit and the members of our bodies by his own blood. 68. This is the one who covered death with shame and who plunged the devil into mourning as Moses did Pharaoh. This is the one who smote lawlessness and deprived injustice of its offspring, as Moses deprived Egypt. This is the one who delivered us from slavery into freedom, from darkness into light, from death into life,

from tyranny into an eternal kingdom, and who made us a new priesthood, and a special people forever.

69. This one is the passover of our salvation. This is the one who patiently endured many things in many people: This is the one who was murdered in Abel, and bound as a sacrifice in Isaac, and exiled in Jacob, and sold in Joseph, and exposed in Moses, and sacrificed in the lamb, and hunted down in David, and dishonored in the prophets. 70. This is the one who became human in a virgin, who was hanged on the tree, who was buried in the earth, who was resurrected from among the dead, and who raised mankind up out of the grave below to the heights of heaven. 71. This is the lamb that was slain. This is the lamb that was silent. This is the one who was born of Mary, that beautiful ewe-lamb. This is the one who was taken from the flock, and was dragged to sacrifice, and was killed in the evening, and was buried at night; the one who was not broken while on the tree, who did not see dissolution while in the earth, who rose up from the dead, and who raised up mankind from the grave below.

II. THE DEATH OF CHRIST AND ISRAEL'S SIN (72-99)

A. Place and Cause of Christ's Death (72-86)

72. This one was murdered. And where was he murdered? In the very center of Jerusalem! Why? Because he had healed their lame, and had cleansed their lepers, and had guided their blind with light, and had raised up their dead. For this reason he suffered. Somewhere it has been written in the law and prophets, "They paid me back evil for good, and my soul with barrenness Ps. 34:12 plotting evil against me Ps. 34:4; 40:8 saying, Let us bind this just man because he is troublesome to us." Isa. 3:10 (LXX). 73. Why, O Israel did you do this strange injustice? You dishonored the one who had honored you. You held in contempt the one who held you in esteem. You denied the one who publicly acknowledged you. You renounced the one who proclaimed you his own. You killed the one who made you to live. Why did you do this, O Israel?

74. Hast it not been written for your benefit: "Do not shed innocent blood lest you die a terrible death"? Nevertheless, Israel admits, I killed the Lord! Why? Because it was necessary for him to die. You have deceived yourself, O Israel, rationalizing thus about the death of the Lord. 75. It was necessary for him to suffer, yes, but not by you; it was necessary for him to be dishonored, but not by you; it was necessary for him to be judged, but not by you; it was necessary for him to be crucified, but not by you, nor by your

right hand. 76. O Israel! You ought to have cried aloud to God with this voice: "O Lord, if it was necessary for your Son to suffer, and if this was your will, let him suffer indeed, but not at my hands. Let him suffer at the hands of strangers. Let him be judged by the uncircumcised. Let him be crucified by the tyrannical right hand, but not by mine."

77. But you, O Israel, did not cry out to God with this voice, nor did you absolve yourself of guilt before the Lord, nor were you persuaded by his works. 78. The withered hand which was restored whole to its body did not persuade you; nor did the eyes of the blind which were opened by his hand; nor did the paralyzed bodies restored to health again through his voice; nor did that most extraordinary miracle persuade you, namely, the dead man raised to life from the tomb where already he had been lying for four days. Indeed, dismissing these things, you, to your detriment, prepared the following for the sacrifice of the Lord at eventide: sharp nails, and false witnesses, and fetters, and scourges, 79. and vinegar, and gall, and a sword, and affliction, and all as though it were for a blood-stained robber. For you brought to him scourges for his body, and the thorns for his head. And you bound those beautiful hands of his, which had formed you from the earth. And that beautiful mouth of his, which had nourished you with life, you filled with gall. And you killed your Lord at the time of the great feast.

80. Surely you were filled with gaiety, but he was filled with hunger; you drank wine and ate bread, but he vinegar and gall; you wore a happy smile, but he had a sad countenance; you were full of joy, but he was full of trouble; you sang songs, but he was judged; you issued the command, he was crucified; you danced, he was buried; you lay down on a soft bed, but he in a tomb and coffin. 81. O lawless Israel, why did you commit this extraordinary crime of casting your Lord into new sufferings—your master, the one who formed you, the one who made you, the one who honored you, the one who called you Israel? 82. But you were found not really to be Israel, for you did not see God, you did not recognize the Lord, you did not know, O Israel, that this one was the firstborn of God, the one who was begotten before the morning star, the one who caused the light to shine forth, the one who made bright the day, the one who parted the darkness, the one who established the primordial starting point, the one who suspended the earth, the one who quenched the abyss, the one who stretched out the firmament, the one who formed the universe,

83. the one who set in motion the stars of heaven, the one who caused those luminaries to shine, the one who made the angels in heaven, the one who established their thrones in that place, the one who by himself fashioned man upon the earth. This was the one who chose you, the one who guided you from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, from Abraham to Isaac and Jacob and the Twelve Patriarchs. 84. This was the one who guided you into Egypt, and guarded you, and himself kept you well supplied there. This was the one who lighted your route with a column of fire, and provided shade for you by means of a cloud, the one who divided the Red Sea, and led you across it, and scattered your enemy abroad. 85. This is the one who provided you with manna from heaven, the one who gave you water to drink from a rock, the one who established your laws in Horeb, the one who gave you an inheritance in the land, the one who sent out his prophets to you, the one who raised up your kings.

86. This is the one who came to you, the one who healed your suffering ones and who resurrected your dead. This is the one whom you sinned against. This is the one whom you wronged. This is the one whom you killed. This is the one whom you sold for silver, although you asked him for the didrachma.

B. Israel Brought to Trial (87-93)

87. O ungrateful Israel, come here and be judged before me for your ingratitude. How high a price did you place on being created by him? How high a price did you place on the discovery of your fathers? How high a price did you place on the descent into Egypt, and the provision made for you there through the noble Joseph? 88. How high a price did you place on the ten plagues? How high a price did you place on the nightly column of fire, and the daily cloud, and the crossing of the Red Sea? How high a price did you place on the gift of manna from heaven, and the gift of water from the rock, and the gift of law in Horeb, and the land as an inheritance, and the benefits accorded you there? 89. How high a price did you place on your suffering people whom he healed when he was present? Set me a price on the withered hand, which he restored whole to its body.

90. Put me a price on the men born blind, whom he led into light by his voice. Put me a price on those who lay dead, whom he raised up alive from the tomb. Inestimable are the benefits that come to you from him. But you, shamefully, have paid him back with ingratitude, returning to him evil for

good, and affliction for favor and death for life— 91. a person for whom you should have died. Furthermore, if the king of some nation is captured by an enemy, a war is started because of him, fortifications are shattered because of him, cities are plundered because of him, ransom is sent because of him, ambassadors are commissioned because of him in order that he might be surrendered, so that either he might be returned if living, or that he might be buried if dead. 92. But you, quite to the contrary, voted against your Lord, whom indeed the nations worshipped, and the uncircumcised admired, and the foreigners glorified, over whom Pilate washed his hands. But as for you—you killed this one at the time of the great feast.

93. Therefore, the feast of unleavened bread has become bitter to you just as it was written: "You will eat unleavened bread with bitter herbs." Bitter to you are the nails which you made pointed. Bitter to you is the tongue which you sharpened. Bitter to you are the false witnesses whom you brought forward. Bitter to you are the fetters which you prepared. Bitter to you are the scourges which you wove. Bitter to you is Judas whom you furnished with pay. Bitter to you is Herod whom you followed. Bitter to you is Caiaphas whom you obeyed. Bitter to you is the gall which you made ready. Bitter to you is the vinegar which you produced. Bitter to you are the thorns which you plucked. Bitter to you are your hands which you bloodied, when you killed your Lord in the midst of Jerusalem.

C. Gentiles Are Witnesses of Israel's Crime (94-98)

94. Pay attention, all families of the nations, and observe! An extraordinary murder has taken place in the center of Jerusalem, in the city devoted to God's law, in the city of the Hebrews, in the city of the prophets, in the city thought of as just. And who has been murdered? And who is the murderer? I am ashamed to give the answer, but give it I must. For if this murder had taken place at night, or if he had been slain in a desert place, it would be well to keep silent; but it was in the middle of the main street, even in the center of the city, while all were looking on, that the unjust murder of this just person took place. 95. And thus he was lifted up upon the tree, and an inscription was affixed identifying the one who had been murdered. Who was he? It is painful to tell, but it is more dreadful not to tell. Therefore, hear and tremble because of him for whom the earth trembled.

96. The one who hung the earth in space, is himself hanged; the one who fixed the heavens in place, is himself impaled; the one who firmly fixed all

things, is himself firmly fixed to the tree. The Lord is insulted, God has been murdered, the King of Israel has been destroyed by the right hand of Israel. 97. O frightful murder! O unheard of injustice! The Lord is disfigured and he is not deemed worthy of a cloak for his naked body, so that he might not be seen exposed. For this reason the stars turned and fled, and the day grew quite dark, in order to hide the naked person hanging on the tree, darkening not the body of the Lord, but the eyes of men. 98. Yes, even though the people did not tremble, the earth trembled instead; although the people were not afraid, the heavens grew frightened; although the people did not tear their garments, the angels tore theirs; although the people did not lament, the Lord thundered from heaven, and the most high uttered his voice.

D. Israel Questioned and Sentenced to Death (99)

99. Why was it like this, O Israel? You did not tremble for the Lord. You did not fear for the Lord. You did not lament for the Lord, yet you lamented for your firstborn. You did not tear your garments at the crucifixion of the Lord, yet you tore your garments for your own who were murdered. You forsook the Lord; you were not found by him. You dashed the Lord to the ground; you, too, were dashed to the ground, and lie quite dead.

III. THE FINAL TRIUMPH OF CHRIST (100-105)

100. But he arose from the dead and mounted up to the heights of heaven. When the Lord had clothed himself with humanity, and had suffered for the sake of the sufferer, and had been bound for the sake of the imprisoned, and had been judged for the sake of the condemned, and buried for the sake of the one who was buried, 101. he rose up from the dead, and cried aloud with this voice: Who is he who contends with me? Let him stand in opposition to me. I set the condemned man free; I gave the dead man life; I raised up the one who had been entombed. 102. Who is my opponent? I, he says, am the Christ. I am the one who destroyed death, and triumphed over the enemy, and trampled Hades under foot, and bound the strong one, and carried off man to the heights of heaven, I, he says, am the Christ.

103. Therefore, come, all families of men, you who have been befouled with sins, and receive forgiveness for your sins. I am your forgiveness, I am the passover of your salvation, I am the lamb which was sacrificed for you, I am your ransom, I am your light, I am your saviour, I am your resurrection, I am your king, I am leading you up to the heights of heaven, I will show you

the eternal Father, I will raise you up by my right hand. 104. This is the one who made the heavens and the earth, and who in the beginning created man, who was proclaimed through the law and prophets, who became human via the virgin, who was hanged upon a tree, who was buried in the earth, who was resurrected from the dead, and who ascended to the heights of heaven, who sits at the right hand of the Father, who has authority to judge and to save everything, through whom the Father created everything from the beginning of the world to the end of the age.

105. This is the alpha and the omega. This is the beginning and the end—an indescribable beginning and an incomprehensible end. This is the Christ. This is the king. This is Jesus. This is the general. This is the Lord. This is the one who rose up from the dead. This is the one who sits at the right hand of the Father. He bears the Father and is borne by the Father, to whom be the glory and the power forever. Amen. The *Peri Pascha* of Melito. Peace to the one who wrote, and to the one who reads, and to those who love the Lord in simplicity of heart.

Syriac fragments of Melito

MELITO OF SARDIS

d. c. AD 180

Bishop of Sardis; author of a famous Easter homily.

SYRIAC FRAGMENTS OF MELITO

BY MELITON, BISHOP OF SARDIS,

¹From the Discourse On the Soul and Body. FOR this reason the Father sent his Son from heaven incorporeal, that when He was become incarnate through the womb of the Virgin and was born man, He might save man, and collect those members of his which death had scattered when he divided man. And, further on. The earth quaked, and its foundations were shaken; the sun fled, and the elements turned back, and the day was changed; for they endured not that their Lord should hang upon a tree; and the whole creation was wonderstruck, marvelling, and saying, "What new mystery, then, is this? The judge is judged, and holds his peace; the invisible is seen, and is not ashamed; the incomprehensible is seized and is not indignant; the immeasurable is measured, and doth not resist; the impassible suffereth, and doth not avenge; the immortal dieth, and answereth not a word; the celestial is interred, and endureth! What new mystery is this?" The whole creation was astonished. But when our Lord arose from the dead, and trode death under foot, and bound the strong one, and loosed man,----then the whole creation perceived, that for man's sake the judge was condemned, and the invisible was seen, and the immeasurable was measured, and the impassible suffered, and the immortal died, and the celestial was interred: for our Lord, when he was born man, was condemned in order that He might shew mercy; was bound in order that He might loose; was seized upon in order that He might let go; suffered in order that He might have compassion; died that He might save; was buried that He might raise up.

²By the same, from the Discourse On the Cross. For the sake of these things He came to us; for the sake of these things, while He was incorporeal, He formed for himself a body of our construction; while He appeared as a sheep, He still remained the shepherd; while He was esteemed a servant, He denied not the soughship; while He was borne of Mary, He ⁵³also was invested with his Father; while he trode upon the earth., He also filled the heaven; while He appeared as an infant, He belied not the eternity of his nature; while He was clad with a body, He also hound not the singleness of his Godhead; while He was esteemed poor, He also was not divested of his riches; while, inasmuch as He was man, He needed food; still, inasmuch as He was God, He ceased not to feed the universe; while He was clad in the likeness of servant, He also changed not the likeness of the Father. He was every thing in an immutable nature. He was standing before Pilate, and yet was sitting with the Father. He was nailed upon the tree, and yet was upholding every thing.

³From Meliton the Bishop; On Faith. ⁴We have made collections from the Law and the Prophets relative to those things which have been declared respecting our Lord Jesus Christ, that we may prove to your love, that He is perfect reason, the Word of God; who was begotten before the light; who was Creator together with the Father; who was the fashioner of man; who was all in all; who among the Patriarchs was Patriarch; who in the law was the Law; among the priests Chief priest; amongst kings Governor; among prophets the Prophet; among the angels Archangel; in the Voice the Word; among spirits Spirit; in the Father the Son; in God God----the king for ever and ever. For this was He who was pilot to Noah; who conducted Abraham; ⁵who was bound with Isaac, who was in exile with Jacob, who was sold with Joseph, who was captain with Moses, who was the divider of the inheritance with Jesus the Son of Nun, who in David and the prophets foretold his own sufferings, who was incarnate in the Virgin, who was born at Bethlehem, who Avas wrapped in swaddling clothes in the manger, who was seen of the shepherds, who was glorified of the angels, who was worshipped of the Magi, who was pointed out by John, who assembled the Apostles, who preached the kingdom, who healed the maimed, who gave light to the blind, who raised the dead, who appeared in the temple, who was not believed on by the people, who was betrayed by ⁵⁴Judas, who was laid hold on by the priests, who was condemned by Pilate, who was transfixed in the flesh, who was

hanged upon the tree, who was buried in the earth, who rose from the dead, who appeared to the Apostles, who ascended to heaven, who sitteth on the right hand of the Father, who is the rest of those that are departed, the recoverer of those who were lost, the light of those who are in darkness, the deliverer of those who are captives, the guide of those who have gone astray, the refuge of the afflicted, the bridegroom of the Church, the charioteer of the Cherubim, the captain of the angels, God who is of God, the Son who is of the Father, Jesus Christ, the King for ever and ever.

6 Amen. 7 Of Meliton, Bishop of the city of Attica. 8 This is he that became incorporate in the Virgin, and was hanged upon a tree, and was buried in the midst of the earth, and did not undergo dissolution; he that rose from the dead, and raised up men from the earth, from the nether grave to the height of heaven. This is the lamb that was slain; this is the lamb that was dumb. This is He that was born of Mary a fair sheep. This is he that was taken from the flock, and was led to the slaughter, and was slain at eventide, and was buried at night; who had no bone in him broken upon the tree; who did not undergo dissolution in the midst of the earth; who rose from the dead, and raised up the race of Adam from the nether grave. This is he that was put to death. And where was he put to death? In the midst of Jerusalem. By whom? By Israel: because he healed their maimed, and cleansed their lepers, and gave light to their blind, and raised their dead. For this cause he died. Thou gavest the command, and he was crucified; thou wast exulting, and he was buried; thou wast reclining upon a soft bed, and he was watching in the grave and in the coffin; Oh, Israel, transgressor of the law, why hast thou done this fresh wickedness, in casting the Lord into fresh sufferings; thine own Lord, who himself fashioned thee, who made thee, who honoured thee, who called thee Israel.

9 But thou hast not been found to be Israel; for thou hast not seen God, nor understood the Lord. For thou |55 knewest not, oh Israel, that this was the first-born of God, who was begotten before the sun, who made the light to rise, who lighted up the day, who separated the darkness, who fixed the first foundation, who suspended the earth, who collected the ocean, who extended the firmament, who adorned the world. Bitter were thy nails, and keen; bitter was thy tongue, which thou sharpenedst; bitter was that Judas, to whom thou gavest hire; bitter were thy false witnesses whom thou stirredst up; bitter was thy gall which thou preparedst; bitter was thy vinegar which

thou madest; bitter were thy hands which were full of blood. Thou slewest thy Lord, and he was lifted upon the tree; and a tablet was fixed up to denote who he was that was put to death. And who was this?----what we would not speak harsh, and what we would speak very terrible, nevertheless still listen while ye tremble:---He, on whose account the earth quaked: he that suspended the earth, was hanged up; he that fixed the heavens was fixed with nails; he that supported the earth was supported upon a tree: the Lord was exposed to ignominy with a naked body; God put to death; the king of Israel slain by an Israelitish right hand. Ah! the fresh wickedness of the fresh murder! The Lord was exposed with a naked body: he was not deemed worthy even of covering;

¹⁰ but in order that lie may not be seen, the lights were turned away, and the day became dark, because they were slaying God, who was naked upon the tree. It was not the body of our Lord that the lights darkened when they fled, but men's eyes; for because the people quaked not, the earth quaked: because they feared not the creation feared. Thou smotest thy Lord, thou also has been smitten upon the earth; and thou indeed liest dead, but he is risen from the dead, and gone up to the heights of heaven, having suffered for the sake of those who were suffering, and having been bound for the sake of the race of Adam which was in bondage, having also been judged for the sake of him who was condemned, and been buried for the sake of him who was buried. And further on. This is he who made the heaven and the earth, and in the beginning together with the Father created man; who was preached by the law and the prophets; who ⁵⁶ was incarnate in the Virgin; who was hanged upon the tree; who was buried in the earth; who rose from the dead, and ascended to the height of heaven, and sitteth upon the right-hand of the Father.

¹¹ Of the Holy Meliton, Bishop of Ittica. He that supported the earth was supported upon a tree. The Lord was exposed to ignominy with a naked body; God put to death: the King of Israel slain. [Selected endnotes moved here and numbered] 1. The four following extracts are taken from one of the Syriac manuscripts brought from Nitria, now in the British Museum, No. 12,150, f. 70.70, 77, written A.D.562. As I have already given a description of this manuscript in my *Corpus Ignatianum*, p. 352, it is needless for me to repeat it here. 2. P. 52. Of Sardis. The Syriac has of Sardeon, which is the genitive of the Greek retained in the translation. 3. On the Soul and Body. This

treatise is named by Eusebius, see below, p. 98; and by Jerome, "De Anima et Corpore:" and by Ruffinus, " De Anima et Corpore et Mente." 4. On the Cross. B.H.C. has translated incorrectly "on the crucifixion." This is not one of those works of Meliton mentioned by Eusebius, who, however, speaks as if he had not seen all his writings.

12 5. P.53, L. 21. In the Voice the Word. This confirms the reading of the Syriac in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans, c. ii. ..., and of the old Latin, "rursus factus sum vox," against the Greek see my note on this passage, *Corpus Ignatianum*, p. 291. 13 6. P. 54. L. 12. Of Meliton, Bishop of the city of Attica. This and the following extract were not printed at the same time as the others, because I did not believe them to be by the Bishop of Sardis, which inscription the two first bore. It is plain, however, that this is from the same work as that cited by Anastasius from the tract called ..., because it contains the passage quoted:....: see Routh, *Reliq. Sacr.* vol. i. p. 122. I have therefore printed it subsequently at p. 49. No one who compares this with the preceding can fail, I think, to draw the conclusion that they are by the same hand, although perhaps by a different one from that of the Apologies. Neither is there any work attributed by Eusebius to Meliton which has the title *Eis to pathos*-----. It seems probable that there has arisen some confusion in the transcribers between the names Meliton and Meletius. B.H.C. assumes at once that this is the case. That Meletius of Sebaste in Armenia, and afterwards of Antioch, is the person meant, and consequently he has not hesitated to declare that the name of the city is mis-spelt, and Antioch clearly intended; and therefore has made no difficulty in giving Antioch instead of Attica. That a Syrian writer should have made any blunder in spelling the name of their great city Antioch is as improbable as that an educated Englishman should mis-spell London. There is a considerable difference between the words ... and

14 Besides this Meletius was translated to Antioch contrary to the canons of the Church, and was therefore soon expelled, and driven into exile. He would therefore hardly have been generally styled Bishop of Antioch, although indeed he afterwards returned, and was again expelled, and again returned. ... see Ruffinus, *Hist. Ecc.* b. x. c. 24. The word Attica is unquestionably right, and the error must have arisen from some copyist adding the word city to There was a Meletius, Bishop of Sebastopolis, in Pontus, who was present at the Council of Nice, and well known to Athanasius, and to

Eusebitis, who, on account of his great learning and powers of oratory, was called The honey of Attica,: see Eusebius, b. vii. c. 32; and Valesius' notes. He could hardly be the same as Meletius, who was made Bishop of Antioch in the year 360, thirty-five years after the Council, although the similarity of their own names and that of their sees, the one being Bishop of Sebastopolis in Pontus, and the other of Sebaste in Armenia, might cause some confusion. The latter, according to Socrates, was translated from Sebaste, first to Beroça, and then to Antioch: see Hist. Eccl. b. ii. c. 44; and Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. b. iv. c. xxviii. Both Meliton and Meletius were celebrated for their eloquence.

157. P. 56, L. 5. Meliton, Bishop of Ittica. This is the same as the preceding, although written This last extract is taken from a volume procured in Egypt in 1843 by Dr. Tattam, with several leaves added in 1847 from the fragments obtained by M. Pachó. It appears to have been written about the seventh or eighth century, is imperfect both at the beginning and the end, and in its present state consists of 186 leaves written in two columns. It contains numerous extracts from the Fathers of the Church, cited in opposition to various heresies. What the title of the work is, or who is its author, does not appear. Cod. Add. 14,533 (not 14,532 as B.H.C. states).

Polycrates of Ephesus

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

fl. c. AD 190

Bishop of Ephesus in the Easter controversy.

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

¹ Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus. [a.d. 130–196.] This author comes in as an appendix to the stories of Polycarp and Irenæus and good Anicetus, and his writings also bear upon the contrast presented by the less creditable history of Victor. If, as I suppose, the appearance of our Lord to St. John on “the Lord’s day” was on the Paschal Sunday, it may at first seem surprising that this Apostle can be claimed by Polycrates in behalf of the Eastern custom to keep Easter, with the Jews, on the fourteenth day of the moon. But to the Jews the Apostles became “as Jews” in all things tolerable, so long as the Temple stood, and while the bishops of Jerusalem were labouring to identify the Paschal Lamb with their Passover. The long survival of St. John among Jewish Christians led them to prolong this usage, no doubt, as sanctioned by his example. He foreknew it would quietly pass away. The wise and truly Christian spirit of Irenæus prepared the way for the ultimate unanimity of the Church in a matter which lies at the base of “the Christian Sabbath,” and of our own observance of the first day of the week as a weekly Easter. Those who in our own times have revived the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, show us how much may be said on their side, and elucidate the tenacity of the Easterns in resisting the abolition of the Mosaic ordinance as to the Paschal, although they agreed to keep it “not with the old leaven.”

² Our author belonged to a family in which he was the eighth Christian bishop; and he presided over the church of Ephesus, in which the traditions of St. John were yet fresh in men’s minds at the date of his birth. He had doubtless known Polycarp, and Irenæus also. He seems to have presided over a synod of Asiatic bishops (a.d. 196) which came together to consider this

matter of the Paschal feast. It is surely noteworthy that nobody doubted that it was kept by a Christian and Apostolic ordinance. So St. Paul argues from its Christian observance, in his rebuke of the Corinthians. They were keeping it “unleavened” ceremonially, and he urges a spiritual unleavening as more important. The Christian hallowing of Pentecost connects with the Paschal argument. The Christian Sabbath hinges on these points. From His Epistle to Victor and the Roman Church Concerning the Day of Keeping the Passover.

3 As for us, then, we scrupulously observe the exact day, neither adding nor taking away. For in Asia great luminaries have gone to their rest, who shall rise again in the day of the coming of the Lord, when He cometh with glory from heaven and shall raise again all the saints. I speak of Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who is laid to rest at Hierapolis; and his two daughters, who arrived at old age unmarried; his other daughter also, who passed her life under the influence of the Holy Spirit, and reposes at Ephesus; John, moreover, who reclined on the Lord’s bosom, and who became a priest wearing the mitre, and a witness and a teacher—he rests at Ephesus. Then there is Polycarp, both bishop and martyr at Smyrna; and Thraseas from Eumenia, both bishop and martyr, who rests at Smyrna. Why should I speak of Sagaris, bishop and martyr, who rests at Laodicea? of the blessed Papirius, moreover? and of Melito the eunuch, who performed all his actions under the influence of the Holy Spirit, and lies at Sardis, awaiting the visitation from heaven, when he shall rise again from the dead? These all kept the passover on the fourteenth. day of the month, in accordance with the Gospel, without ever deviating from it, but keeping to the rule of faith.

4 Moreover I also, Polycrates, who am the least of you all, in accordance with the tradition of my relatives, some of whom I have succeeded—seven of my relatives were bishops, and I am the eighth, and my relatives always observed the day when the people put away the leaven—I myself, brethren, I say, who am sixty-five years old in the Lord, and have fallen in with the brethren in all parts of the world, and have read through all Holy Scripture, am not frightened at the things which are said to terrify us. For those who are greater than I have said, “We ought to obey God rather than men.”... I might also have made mention of the bishops associated with me, whom it was your own desire to have called together by me, and I called them together: whose names, if I were to write them down, would amount to a great

number. These bishops, on coming to see me, unworthy as I am, signified their united approval of the letter, knowing that I wore these grey hairs not in vain, but have always regulated my conduct in obedience to the Lord Jesus.

Apollonius

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

fl. c. AD 200

Anti-Montanist writer.

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

¹ Apollonius. [a.d. 211.] He was a most eloquent man, according to St. Jerome; and his writings against Montanism were so forcible as to call forth Tertullian himself, to confute him, if possible. He flourished under Commodus and Severus, and probably until the times of Caracalla. He bears testimony to the existence of a canon of Scripture, and to its inspired authority as the rule of faith and practice; and he witnesses, by citation, to the Gospel of St. Matthew. The Revelation of St. John also, according to Eusebius, was employed by him in his works; and he preserves a tradition that our Lord bade the Apostles continue in Jerusalem for the space of twelve years. We cannot affirm that he was invested with any office in the Church. Concerning Montanism. I. But who is this new teacher? His works and teaching inform us. This is he who taught the dissolution of marriage; who inculcated fasting; who called Peruga and Tymius, small towns of Phrygia, Jerusalem, because he wished to collect thither people from all parts; who set up exactors of money; who craftily contrives the taking of gifts under the name of voluntary offerings; who grants stipends to those who publish abroad his doctrine, that by means of gluttony the teaching of the doctrine may prevail.

² II. We declare to you, then, that these first prophetesses, as soon as they were filled with the spirit, left their husbands. Of what falsehood, then, were they guilty in calling Prisca a maiden! Do you not think that all Scripture forbids a prophet to receive gifts and money? When, therefore, I see that the prophetess has received gold and silver and expensive articles of dress, how can I avoid treating her with disapproval? III. Moreover, Themison also, who was clothed in a garb of plausible covetousness, who declined to bear the sign

of confessorship, but by a large sum of money put away from him the chains of martyrdom, although after such conduct it was his duty to conduct himself with humility, yet had the hardihood to boast that he was a martyr, and, in imitation of the apostle, to compose a general epistle, in which he attempted to instruct in the elements of the faith those who had believed to better purpose than he, and defended the doctrines of the new-fangled teaching, and moreover uttered blasphemy against the Lord and the apostles and the holy Church.

3 IV. 4 But, not to dwell further on these matters, let the prophetess tell us concerning Alexander, who calls himself a martyr, with whom she joins in banqueting; who himself also is worshipped by many; whose robberies and other deeds of daring, for which he has been punished, it is not necessary for us to speak of, since the treasury has him in keeping. Which of them, then, condones the sins of the other? The prophet the robberies of the martyr, or the martyr the covetousness of the prophet? For whereas the Lord has said, "Provide not gold, nor silver, nor two coats a-piece," these men have, on the flat contrary, transgressed the command by the acquisition of these forbidden things. For we shall show that those who are called among them prophets and martyrs obtain money not only from the rich, but also from the poor, from orphans and widows. And if they are confident that they are right in so doing, let them stand forward and discuss the point, in order that, if they be refuted, they may cease for the future so to transgress. For the fruits of the prophet must needs be brought to the test: for "from its fruit is the tree known. But that those that desire it may become acquainted with what relates to Alexander, he was condemned by Æmilius Frontinus, proconsul at Ephesus, not on account of the name of Christ, but for the daring robberies he committed when he was already a transgressor.

5 Afterwards, when he had spoken falsely of the name of the Lord, he was released, having deceived the faithful there; and even the brethren of his own district, from which he came, did not receive him, because he was a robber. Thus, those who wish to learn what he is, have the public treasury of Asia to go to. And yet the prophet, although he spent many years with him, knows forsooth nothing about him! By convicting "him," we by his means clearly convict of misrepresentation the prophet likewise. We are able to prove the like in the case of many others besides. And if they are confident of their innocence, let them abide the test. 6 V. If they deny that their prophets

have taken gifts, let them confess thus much, that if they be convicted of having taken them, they are not prophets; and we will adduce ten thousand proofs that they have. It is proper, too, that all the fruits of a prophet should be examined. Tell me: does a prophet dye his hair? Does a prophet use stibium on his eyes? Is a prophet fond of dress? Does a prophet play at gaming-tables and dice? Does a prophet lend money on interest? Let them confess whether these things are allowable or not. For my part, I will prove that these practices have occurred among them.

Theophilus of Caesarea

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

fl. c. AD 190

Bishop of Caesarea in the Easter controversy.

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

¹ Theophilus, Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine. [a.d. 180.] When Eusebius says that the churches of “all Asia” concurred in the Ephesine use concerning the Paschal, he evidently means Asia Minor, as in the Scriptures and elsewhere. Throughout “the rest of the world,” he testifies, however, that such was not the use. The Palestinian bishops, after the Jewish downfall, seem to have been the first to comprehend the propriety of adopting the more Catholic usage; and our author presided over a council in Cæsarea, of which he was bishop, assisted by Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, with Cassius of Tyre and Clarus of Ptolemais, which confirmed it. It is to be noted, that Alexandria is cited by Theophilus as authority for this custom; and it is not quite correct to say that the Western usage prevailed at Nicæa, for it was the general use, save only in Asia Minor and churches which were colonies of the same. This fact has been overlooked, and is very important, in history.

² From His Epistle on the Question of the Passover, Written in the Name of the Synod of Cæsarea. Endeavour also to send abroad copies of our epistle among all the churches, so that those who easily deceive their own souls may not be able to lay the blame on us. We would have you know, too, that in Alexandria also they observe the festival on the same day as ourselves. For the Paschal letters are sent from us to them, and from them to us: so that we observe the holy day in unison and together.

Maximus of Jerusalem

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

fl. c. AD 190

Bishop of Jerusalem.

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

¹ Maximus, Bishop of Jerusalem. [a.d. 185–196.] He was a noted character among Christians, according to Eusebius; living, according to Jerome, under Commodus and Severus. He wrote on the inveterate question concerning the Origin of Evil; and the fragment here translated, as given by Eusebius, is also textually cited by Origen against the Marcionites, if that Dialogue be his. The reader will not fail to recollect that liberal citations out of this work are also to be found in Methodius, On Free-Will. But all who desire fuller information on the subject will be gratified by the learned prolegomena and notes of Routh, to which I refer them. Whether Maximus was the bishop of Jerusalem (a.d. 185) mentioned by Eusebius as presiding in that See in the sixth year of Commodus, seems to be uncertain. From the Book Concerning Matter, or in Defence of the Proposition that Matter is Created, and is Not the Cause of Evil.

² “That there cannot exist two uncreated substances at one and the same time, I presume that you hold equally with myself. You appear, however, very decidedly to have assumed, and to have introduced into the argument, this principle, that we must of unavoidable necessity maintain one of two things: either that God is separate from matter; or else, on the contrary, that He is indissolubly connected with it. “If, then, any one should choose to assert that He exists in union with matter, that would be saying that there is only one uncreated substance. For either of the two must constitute a part of the other; and, since they form parts of each other, they cannot be two uncreated substances. Just as, in speaking of man, we do not describe him as subdivided into a number of distinct parts, each forming a separate created sub-

stance, but, as reason requires us to do, assert that he was made by God a single created substance consisting of many parts,—so, in like manner, if God is not separate from matter, we are driven to the conclusion that there is only one uncreated substance.

3 “If, on the other hand, it be affirmed that He is separate from matter, it necessarily follows that there is some other substance intermediate between the two, by which their separation is made apparent. For it is impossible that one thing should be shown to be severed by an interval from another, unless there be something else by which the interval between the two is produced. This principle, too, holds good not only with regard to this or any other single case, but in any number of cases you please. For the same argument which we have employed in dealing with the two uncreated substances must in like manner be valid if the substances in question be given as three. For in regard to these also I should have to inquire whether they are separate from one another, or whether, on the contrary, each of them is united to its fellow. For, if you should say that they are united, you would hear from me the same argument as before; but if, on the contrary, you should say that they are separate, you could not escape the unavoidable assumption of a separating medium.

4 “If, again, perchance any one should think that there is a third view which may be consistently maintained with regard to uncreated substances,—namely, that God is not separate from matter, nor yet, on the other hand, united to it as a part, but that God exists in matter as in a place, or possibly matter exists in God,—let such a person observe the consequence:— “That, if we make matter God’s place, we must of necessity admit that He can be contained, and that He is circumscribed by matter. Nay, further, he must grant that He is, in the same way as matter, driven about hither and thither, unable to maintain His place and to stay where He is, since that in which He exists is perpetually being driven about in one direction or another. Beside this, he must also admit that God has had His place among the worst kind of elements. For if matter was once in disorder, and if he reduced it to order for the purpose of rendering it better, there was a time when God existed among the disordered elements of matter.

5 “I might also fairly put this question: whether God filled the whole of matter, or was in some part of it. If any one should choose to say that God was in some part of matter, he would be making Him indefinitely smaller

than matter, inasmuch as a part of it contained the whole of Him; but, if he maintained that He pervaded the whole of matter, I need to be informed how He became the Fashioner of this matter. For we must necessarily assume, either that there was on the part of God a contraction, so to speak, of Himself, and a withdrawal from matter, whereupon He proceeded to fashion that from which He had retired; or else that He fashioned Himself in conjunction with matter, in consequence of having no place to retire to. ⁶“But suppose it to be maintained, on the other hand, that matter is in God, it will behove us similarly to inquire, whether we are to understand by this that He is sundered from Himself, and that, just like the air, which contains various kinds of animals, so is He sundered and divided into parts for the reception of those creatures which from time to time exist in Him; or whether matter is in God as in a place,—for instance, as water is contained in earth. For should we say ‘as in air,’ we should perforce be speaking of God as divisible into parts; but if ‘as water in earth,’ and if matter was, as is admitted, in confusion and disorder, and moreover also contained what was evil, we should have to admit that God is the place of disorder and evil. But this it does not seem to me consistent with reverence to say, but hazardous rather. For you contend that matter is uncreated, that you may not have to admit that God is the author of evil; and yet, while aiming to escape this difficulty, you make Him the receptacle of evil.

⁷“If you had stated that your suspicion that matter was uncreated arose from the nature of created things as we find them, I should have employed abundant argument in proof that it cannot be so. But, since you have spoken of the existence of evil as the cause of such suspicion, I am disposed to enter upon a separate examination of this point. For, when once it has been made clear how it is that evil exists, and when it is seen to be impossible to deny that God is the author of evil, in consequence of His having had recourse to matter for His materials, it seems to me that a suspicion of this kind disappears. “You assert, then, that matter, destitute of all qualities good or bad, co-existed at the outset with God, and that out of it He fashioned the world as we now find it.” “Such is my opinion.”

⁸“Well, then, if matter was without any qualities, and the world has come into existence from God, and if the world possesses qualities, the author of those qualities must be God.” “Exactly so.” “Since, too, I heard you say yourself just now that out of nothing nothing can possibly come, give me

an answer to the question I am about to ask you. You seem to me to think that the qualities of the world have not sprung from pre-existing qualities, and moreover that they are something different from the substances themselves." "I do." "If, therefore, God did not produce the qualities in question from qualities already existing, nor yet from substances, by reason that they are not substances, the conclusion is inevitable, that they were made by God out of nothing. So that you seemed to me to affirm more than you were warranted to do, when you said that it had been proved impossible to hold the opinion that anything was made by God out of nothing.

9 "But let us put the matter thus. We see persons among ourselves making certain things out of nothing, however true it may be that they make them by means of something. Let us take our illustration, say, from builders. These men do not make cities out of cities; nor, similarly, temples out of temples. Nay, if you suppose that, because the substances necessary for these constructions are already provided, therefore they make them out of that which already exists, your reasoning is fallacious. For it is not the substance that makes the city or the temples, but the art which is employed about the substance. Neither, again, does the art proceed from any art inhering in the substances, but it arises independently of any such art in them. 10 "But I fancy you will meet the argument by saying that the artist produces the art which is manifest in the substance he has fashioned out of the art which he himself already has. In reply to this, however, I think it may be fairly said, that neither in man does art spring from any already existing art. For we cannot possibly allow that art exists by itself, since it belongs to the class of things which are accidentals, and which receive their existence only when they appear in connection with substance. For man will exist though there should be no architecture, but the latter will have no existence unless there be first of all man. Thus we cannot avoid the conclusion, that it is the nature of art to spring up in man out of nothing. If, then, we have shown that this is the case with man, we surely must allow that God can make not only the qualities of substances out of nothing, but also the substances themselves. For, if it appears possible that anything whatever can be made out of nothing, it is proved that this may be the case with substances also.

11 "But, since you are specially desirous of inquiring about the origin of evil, I will proceed to the discussion of this topic. And I should like to ask you a few questions. Is it your opinion that things evil are substances, or that

they are qualities of substances?” “Qualities of substances, I am disposed to say.” “But matter was destitute of qualities and of form: this I assumed at the outset of the discussion. Therefore, if things evil are qualities of substances, and matter was destitute of qualities, and you have called God the author of qualities, God will also be the former of that which is evil. Since, then, it is not possible, on this supposition any more than on the other, to speak of God as not the cause of evil, it seems to me superfluous to add matter to Him, as if that were the cause of evil. If you have any reply to make to this, begin your argument.”

12 “If, indeed, our discussion had arisen from a love of contention, I should not be willing to have the inquiry raised a second time about the origin of evil; but, since we are prompted rather by friendship and the good of our neighbour to engage in controversy, I readily consent to have the question raised afresh on this subject. You have no doubt long been aware of the character of my mind, and of the object at which I aim in dispute: that I have no wish to vanquish falsehood by plausible reasoning, but rather that truth should be established in connection with thorough investigation. You yourself, too, are of the same mind, I am well assured. Whatever method, therefore, you deem successful for the discovery of truth, do not shrink from using it. For, by following a better course of argument, you will not only confer a benefit on yourself, but most assuredly on me also, instructing me concerning matters of which I am ignorant.”

13 “You seem clearly to agree with me, that things evil are in some sort substances: for, apart from substances, I do not see them to have any existence. Since, then, my good friend, you say that things evil are substances, it is necessary to inquire into the nature of substance. Is it your opinion that substance is a kind of bodily structure?” “It is.” “And does that bodily structure exist by itself, without the need of any one to come and give it existence?” “Yes.” “And does it seem to you that things evil are connected with certain courses of action?” “That is my belief.” “And do actions come into existence only when an actor is there?” “Yes.” “And, when there is no actor, neither will his action ever take place?” “It will not.” 14 “If, therefore, substance is a kind of bodily structure, and this does not stand in need of some one in and through whom it may receive its existence, and if things evil are actions of some one, and actions require some one in and through whom they receive their existence,—things evil will ‘not’ be substances. And if things evil are

not substances, and murder is an evil, and is the action of some one, it follows that murder is not a substance. But, if you insist that agents are substance, then I myself agree with you. A man, for instance, who is a murderer, is, in so far as he is a man, a substance; but the murder which he commits is not a substance, but a work of the substance. Moreover, we speak of a man sometimes as bad because he commits murder; and sometimes, again, because he performs acts of beneficence, as good: and these names adhere to the substance, in consequence of the things which are accidents of it, which, however, are not the substance itself. For neither is the substance murder, nor, again, is it adultery, nor is it any other similar evil. But, just as the grammarian derives his name from grammar, and the orator from oratory, and the physician from physic, though the substance is not physic, nor yet oratory, nor grammar, but receives its appellation from the things which are accidents of it, from which it popularly receives its name, though it is not any one of them,—so in like manner it appears to me that the substance receives name from things regarded as evil, though it is not itself any one of them.

¹⁵ “I must beg you also to consider that, if you represent some other being as the cause of evil to men, he also, in so far as he acts in them, and incites them to do evil, is himself evil, by reason of the things he does. For he too is said to be evil, for the simple reason that he is the doer of evil things; but the things which a being does are not the being himself, but his actions, from which he receives his appellation, and is called evil. For if we should say that the things he does are himself, and these consist in murder, and adultery, and theft, and such-like, these things will be himself. And if these things are himself, and if when they take place they get to have a substantial existence, but by not taking place they also cease to exist, and if these things are done by men,—men will be the doers of these things, and the causes of existing and of no longer existing. But, if you affirm that these things are his actions, he gets to be evil from the things he does, not from those things of which the substance of him consists.

¹⁶ “Moreover, we have said that he is called evil from those things which are accidents of the substance, which are not themselves the substance: as a physician from the art of physic. But, if he receives the beginning of his existence from the actions he performs, he too began to be evil, and these evil things likewise began to exist. And, if so, an evil being will not be without a

beginning, nor will evil things be unoriginated, since we have said that they are originated by him.” “The argument relating to the opinion I before expressed, you seem to me, my friend, to have handled satisfactorily: for, from the premises you assumed in the discussion, I think you have drawn a fair conclusion. For, beyond doubt, if matter was at first destitute of qualities, and if God is the fashioner of the qualities it now has, and if evil things are qualities, God is the author of those evil things. The argument, then, relating to that opinion we may consider as well discussed, and to me it now seems false to speak of matter as destitute of qualities. For it is not possible to say of any substance whatsoever that it is without qualities. For, in the very act of saying that it is destitute of qualities, you do in fact indicate its quality, representing of what kind matter is, which of course is ascribing to it a species of quality. Wherefore, if it is agreeable to you, rehearse the argument to me from the beginning: for, to me, matter seems to have had qualities from all eternity. For in this way I can affirm that evil things also come from it in the way of emanation, so that the cause of evil things may not be ascribed to God, but that matter may be regarded as the cause of all such things.”

¹⁷ “I approve your desire, my friend, and praise the zeal you manifest in the discussion of opinions. For it assuredly becomes every one who is desirous of knowledge, not simply and out of hand to agree with what is said, but to make a careful examination of the arguments adduced. For, though a disputant, by laying down false premises, may make his opponent draw the conclusion he wishes, yet he will not convince a hearer of this; but only when he says that which it seems possible to say with fairness. So that one of two things will happen: either he will, as he listens, be decisively helped to reach that conclusion towards which he already feels himself impelled, or he will convict his adversary of not speaking the truth. “Now, it seems to me that you have not sufficiently discussed the statement that matter has qualities from the first. For, if this is the case, what will God be the maker of? For, if we speak of substances, we affirm these to exist beforehand; or if again of qualities, we declare these also to exist already. Since, therefore both substance and qualities exist, it seems to me unreasonable to call God a creator.

¹⁸ “But, lest I should seem to be constructing an argument to suit my purpose, be so good as to answer the question: In what way do you assert God to be a creator? Is He such because He changed the substances, so that they should no longer be the same as they had once been but become different

from what they were; or because, while He kept the substances the same as they were before that period, He changed their qualities?" "I do not at all think that any alteration took place in substances: for it appears to me absurd to say this. But I affirm that a certain change was made in their qualities; and it is in respect of these that I speak of God as a creator. Just as we might happen to speak of a house as made out of stones, in which case we could not say that the stones no longer continue to be stones as regards their substance, now that they are made into a house (for I affirm that the house owes its existence to the quality of its construction, forasmuch as the previous quality of the stones has been changed),—so does it seem to me that God, while the substance remains the same, has made a certain change in its qualities; and it is in respect of such change that I speak of the origin of this world as having come from God."

¹⁹ "Since, then, you maintain that a certain change—namely, of qualities—has been produced by God, answer me briefly what I am desirous to ask you." "Proceed, pray, with your question." "Do you agree in the opinion that evil things are qualities of substances?" "I do." "Were these qualities in matter from the first, or did they begin to be?" "I hold that these qualities existed in combination with matter, without being originated." "But do you not affirm that God has made a certain change in the qualities?" "That is what I affirm." "For the better, or for the worse?" "For the better, I should say." "Well, then, if evil things are qualities of matter, and if the Lord of all changed its qualities for the better, whence, it behoves us to ask, come evil things? For either the qualities remained the same in their nature as they previously were, or, if they were not evil before, but you assert that, in consequence of a change wrought on them by God, the first qualities of this kind came into existence in connection with matter,—God will be the author of evil, inasmuch as He changed the qualities which were not evil, so as to make them evil.

²⁰ "Possibly, however, it is not your view that God changed evil qualities for the better; but you mean that all those other qualities which happened to be neither good nor bad, were changed by God with a view to the adornment of the creation." "That has been my opinion from the outset." "How, then, can you say that He has left the qualities of bad things just as they were? Is it that, although He was able to destroy those qualities as well as the others, He was not willing; or did He refrain because He had not the power? For,

if you say He had the power, but not the will, you must admit Him to be the cause of these qualities: since, when He could have put a stop to the existence of evil, He chose to let it remain as it was, and that, too, at the very time when He began to fashion matter. For, if He had not concerned Himself at all with matter, He would not have been the cause of those things which He allowed to remain. But, seeing that He fashioned a certain part of it, and left a certain part as we have described it, although He could have changed that also for the better, it seems to me that He deserves to have the blame cast on Him, for having permitted a part of matter to be evil, to the ruin of that other part which He fashioned.

21 “Nay, more, it seems to me that the most serious wrong has been committed as regards this part, in that He constituted this part of matter so as to be now affected by evil. For, if we were to examine carefully into things, we should find that the condition of matter is worse now than in its former state, before it was reduced to order. For, before it was separated into parts, it had no sense of evil; but now every one of its parts is afflicted with a sense of evil. “Take an illustration from man. Before he was fashioned, and became a living being through the art of the Creator, he was by nature exempt from any contact whatever with evil; but, as soon as ever he was made by God a man, he became liable to the sense of even approaching evil: and thus that very thing which you say was brought about by God for the benefit of matter, is found to have turned out rather to its detriment.

22 “But, if you say that evil has not been put a stop to, because God was unable to do away with it, you will be making God powerless. But, if He is powerless, it will be either because He is weak by nature, or because He is overcome by fear, and reduced to subjection by a stronger. If, then, you go so far as to say that God is weak by nature, it seems to me that you imperil your salvation itself; but, if you say that He is weak through being overcome by fear of a greater, things evil will be greater than God, since they frustrate the carrying out of His purpose. But this, as it seems to me, it would be absurd to say of God. For why should not ‘they’ rather be considered gods, since according to your account they are able to overcome God: if, that is to say, we mean by God that which has a controlling power over all things?

23 “But I wish to ask you a few questions concerning matter itself. Pray tell me, therefore, whether matter was something simple or compound. I am induced to adopt this method of investigating the subject before us by con-

sidering the diversity that obtains in existing things. For, if perchance matter was something simple and uniform, how comes it that the world is compound, and consists of divers substances and combinations? For by ‘compound’ we denote a mixture of certain simple elements. But if, on the contrary, you prefer to call matter compound, you will, of course, be asserting that it is compounded of certain simple elements. And, if it was compounded of simple elements, these simple elements must have existed at some time or other separately by themselves, and when they were compounded together matter came into being: from which it of course follows that matter is created. For, if matter is compound, and compound things are constituted from simple, there was once a time when matter had no existence,—namely, before the simple elements came together. And, if there was once a time when matter was not, and there was never a time when the uncreated was not, matter cannot be uncreated. And hence there will be many uncreated substances. For, if God was uncreated, and the simple elements out of which matter was compounded were also uncreated, there will not be two uncreated things only,—not to discuss the question what it is which constitutes objects simple, whether matter or form.

²⁴ “Is it, further, your opinion that nothing in existence is opposed to itself?” “It is.” “Is water, then, opposed to fire?” “So it appears to me.” “Similarly, is darkness opposed to light, and warm to cold, and moreover moist to dry?” “It seems to me to be so.” “Well, then, if nothing in existence is opposed to itself, and these things are opposed to each other, they cannot be one and the same matter; no, nor yet be made out of one and the same matter. “I wish further to ask your opinion on a matter kindred to that of which we have been speaking. Do you believe that the parts of a thing are not mutually destructive?” “I do.” “And you believe that fire and water, and so on, are parts of matter?” “Quite so.” “Do you not also believe that water is subversive of fire, and light of darkness, and so of all similar things?”

²⁵ “Yes.” “Well, then, if the parts of a whole are not mutually destructive, and yet the parts of matter are mutually destructive, they cannot be parts of one matter. And, if they are not parts of one another, they cannot be composed of one and the same matter; nay, they cannot be matter at all, since nothing in existence is destructive of itself, as we learn from the doctrine of opposites: for nothing is opposed to itself—an opposite being by nature opposed to something else. White, for example, is not opposed to itself, but is

said to be the opposite of black; and, similarly, light is shown not to be opposed to itself, but is considered an opposite in relation to darkness; and so of a very great number of things besides. If, then, matter were some one thing, it could not be opposed to itself. This, then, being the nature of opposites, it is proved that matter has no existence.”

Rhodon

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

fl. c. AD 180

Pupil of Tatian who wrote against Marcion.

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

¹ Rhodon. [a.d. 180.] This Rhodon was supposed by St. Jerome to have been the author of the work against the Cataphrygians, ascribed to Asterius Urbanus more probably. Eusebius gives us the fragment from his work against Marcion, addressed to Callistion, which is here translated. He tells us that he was a pupil of Tatian, and expresses an intention of furnishing original solutions of Scriptural problems stated by Tatian, and by that author explained in a manner apparently unsatisfactory. He also appears to have written against the blasphemous Apelles, whose Hexaëmeron was an attempt to refute Moses; but whether he also fulfilled his promise concerning an *Ἀπὸλυσις* of Tatian's Problems (or Questions), seems doubtful. Routh has devoted to the fragment here translated six pages of notes, which he subjoins to the Greek text (of Eusebius) and a Latin version of the same. Wherefore also they disagree among themselves, maintaining as they do an opinion which has no consistency with itself. For one of their herd, Apelles, who prides himself on the strictness of his life, and on his age, admits that there is only one first principle, yet says that the prophecies have come from an opposing spirit, in which opinion he is influenced by the responses of a soothsaying maid named Philumene. But others, among whom are Potitus and Basilicus, like Marcion himself, introduce two first principles. These men, following the Pontic wolf, and not being able to discover any more than he the division of things, have had to recourse to rash assertion, and declared the existence of two first principles simply and without proof. Others of them, again, drifting from bad to worse, assume not two only, but even three natures. Of

these men the leader and champion is Syneros, as those who adopt his teaching say....

²For the old man Apelles entered into conversation with us, and was convicted of uttering many false opinions. For example, he asserted that men should on no account examine into their creed, but that every one ought to continue to the last in the belief he has once adopted. For he declared that those who had rested their hope on the Crucified One would be saved, provided only they were found living in the practice of good works. But the most perplexing of all the doctrines laid down by him was, as we have remarked before, what he said concerning God: for he affirmed that there was only one first principle, precisely as our own faith teaches.... On asking him, "Where do you get proof of this? or how are you able to assert that there is only one first principle? tell us,"—he said that the prophecies refuted themselves, because they had uttered nothing at all that was true: for that they were discordant and false, and self-contradictory. As to the question, "How does it appear that there is only one first principle?" he said he could not tell, only he was impelled to that belief. On my thereupon conjuring him to speak the truth, he solemnly declared that he was expressing his real sentiments; and that he did not know "how" there could be one uncreated God, but that he believed the fact. Here I burst into laughter and rebuked him, because he professed to be a teacher, and yet was unable to confirm by arguments what he taught.

Pantaenus

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

d. c. AD 200

Teacher of Clement of Alexandria.

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

¹Pantænus, the Alexandrian Philosopher. [a.d. 182–192–212.] The world owes more to Pantænus than to all the other Stoics put together. His mind discovered that true philosophy is found, not in the Porch, but in Nazareth, in Gethsemane, in Gabbatha, in Golgotha; and he set himself to make it known to the world. We are already acquainted with the great master of Clement, “the Sicilian bee,” that forsook the flowers of Enna, to enrich Alexandria with what is “sweeter than honey and the honey-comb;” and we remember that he became a zealous missionary to the Oriental Ethiopia, and found there the traces of St. Matthias’ labours, and those also of St. Bartholomew. From this mission he seems to have returned about a.d. 192. Possibly he was master of the Alexandrian school before he went to India, and came back to his chair when that mission was finished. There he sat till about a.d. 212, and under him this Christian academy became famous. It had existed as a catechetical school from the Apostles’ time, according to St. Jerome. I have elsewhere noted some reasons for supposing that its founder may have been Apollos. All the learning of Christendom may be traced to this source; and blessed be the name of one of whom all we know is ennobling to the Church, and whose unselfish career was a track of light “shining more and more unto the perfect day.”

²I. “In the sun hath He set His tent.” Some affirm that the reference is to the Lord’s body, which He Himself places in the sun; Hermogenes, for instance. As to His body, some say it is His tent, others the Church of the faithful. But our Pantænus said: “The language employed by prophecy is for the most part indefinite, the present tense being used for the future, and

again the present for the past.” II. 3 This mode of speaking Saint Dionysius the Areopagite declares to be used in Scripture to denote predeterminations and expressions of the divine will. In like manner also the followers of Pantænus, who became the preceptor of the great Clement the Stromatist, affirm that they are commonly used in Scripture for expressions of the divine will. Accordingly, when asked by some who prided themselves on the outside learning, in what way the Christians supposed God to become acquainted with the universe, their own opinion being that He obtains His knowledge of it in different ways,—of things falling within the province of the understanding by means of the understanding, and of those within the region of the senses by means of the senses,—they replied: “Neither does He gain acquaintance with sensible things by the senses, nor with things within the sphere of the understanding by the understanding: for it is not possible that He who is above all existing things should apprehend them by means of existing things. We assert, on the contrary, that He is acquainted with existing things as the products of His own volition.” They added, by way of showing the reasonableness of their view: “If He has made all things by an act of His will (and no argument will be adduced to gainsay this), and if it is ever a matter of piety and rectitude to say that God is acquainted with His own will, and if He has voluntarily made every several thing that has come into existence, then surely God must be acquainted with all existing things as the products of His own will, seeing that it was in the exercise of that will that He made them.”

Serapion of Antioch

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

fl. c. AD 200

Bishop of Antioch who judged the Gospel of Peter.

WRITINGS AND FRAGMENTS

¹Serapion, Bishop of Antioch. [a.d. circa 190–200–211.] He was the eighth bishop of Antioch, a diligent writer and exemplary pastor. Little as we have of his remains, Lardner shows how very useful is that little. (1) He testifies to the Apostles as delivering the words of Christ Himself; (2) to the jealousy of the early Christians in sifting inspired writings from those of no authority as Scriptures; (3) to their methods, as in the case of the pseudo-gospel of Peter; and (4) to the utterly apocryphal character of that book, which Grabe and others suppose to be the work of Leucius, a noted forger and falsifier. It had never been heard of in the great See of Antioch, and this famous bishop could only get sight of it by fishing it out of the dirty pool of the Docetæ. I. From the Epistle to Caricus and Ponticus. That ye may see also that the proceedings of this lying confederacy, to which is given the name of New Prophecy, is abominated among the whole brotherhood throughout the world, I have sent you letters of the most blessed Claudius Apollinarius, who was made bishop of Hierapolis in Asia.

²II. From the Book Concerning the Gospel of Peter. For we, brethren, receive both Peter and the rest of the apostles as Christ Himself. But those writings which are falsely inscribed with their name, we as experienced persons reject, knowing that no such writings have been handed down to us. When, indeed, I came to see you, I supposed that all were in accord with the orthodox faith; and, although I had not read through the Gospel inscribed with the name of Peter which was brought forward by them, I said: If this is the only thing which threatens to produce ill-feeling among you, let it be read. But, now that I have learnt from what has been told me that their

mind was secretly cherishing some heresy, I will make all haste to come to you again. Expect me therefore, brethren, shortly. Moreover, brethren, we, having discovered to what kind of heresy Marcion adhered, and seen how he contradicted himself, not understanding of what he was speaking, as you will gather from what has been written to you—for, having borrowed this said Gospel from those who were familiar with it from constant perusal, namely from the successors of those who were his leaders in the heresy, whom we call Docetæ (for most of the opinions held by him are derived from their teaching), we were able to read it through; and while we found most of its contents to agree with the orthodox account of the Saviour, we found some things inconsistent with that, and these we have set down below for your inspection.

Fragments of Caius

CAIUS OF ROME

fl. c. AD 200

Roman presbyter who argued against Montanism.

I. (PRESERVED IN EUSEBIUS' ECCLES. HIST., II. 25.)

And I can show the trophies of the apostles. For if you choose to go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Road, you will find the trophies of those who founded this church.

II. (IN THE SAME, III. 28.)

But Cerinthus, too, through revelations written, as he would have us believe, by a great apostle, brings before us marvellous things, which he pretends were shown him by angels; alleging that after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ is to be on earth, and that the flesh dwelling in Jerusalem is again to be subject to desires and pleasures. And being an enemy to the Scriptures of God, wishing to deceive men, he says that there is to be a space of a thousand years for marriage festivals.

III. (IN THE SAME, III. 31.)

And after this there were four prophetesses, daughters of Philip, at Hierapolis in Asia. Their tomb is there, and that, too, of their father.

I. (IN EUSEBIUS' ECCL. HIST., V. 28.)

For they say that all those of the first age, and the apostles themselves, both received and taught those things which these men now maintain; and that the truth of Gospel preaching was preserved until the times of Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop in Rome from Peter, and that from his successor Zephyrinus the truth was falsified. And perhaps what they allege might be credible, did not the Holy Scriptures, in the first place, contradict them. And then, besides, there are writings of certain brethren older than the times of Victor, which they wrote against the heathen in defence of the truth, and

against the heresies of their time: I mean Justin and Miltiades, and Tatian and Clement, and many others, in all which divinity is ascribed to Christ. For who is ignorant of the books of Irenaeus and Melito, and the rest, which declare Christ to be God and man? All the psalms, too, and hymns of brethren, which have been written from the beginning by the faithful, celebrate Christ the Word of God, ascribing divinity to Him. Since the doctrine of the Church, then, has been proclaimed so many years ago, how is it possible that men have preached, up to the time of Victor, in the manner asserted by these? And how are they not ashamed to utter these calumnies against Victor, knowing well that Victor excommunicated Theodotus the tanner, the leader and father of this God-denying apostasy, who first affirmed that Christ was a mere man? For if, as they allege, Victor entertained the very opinions which their blasphemy teaches, how should he have cast off Theodotus, the author of this heresy?

II. (IN EUSEBIUS, AS ABOVE.)

I shall, at any rate, remind many of the brethren of an affair that took place in our own time,—an affair which, had it taken place in Sodom, might, I think, have been a warning even to them. There was a certain confessor, Natalius, who lived not in distant times, but in our own day. He was deluded once by Asclepiodotus, and another Theodotus, a banker. And these were both disciples of Theodotus the tanner, the first who was cut off from communion on account of this sentiment, or rather senselessness, by Victor, as I said, the bishop of the time. Now Natalius was persuaded by them to let himself be chosen bishop of this heresy, on the understanding that he should receive from them a salary of a hundred and fifty denarii a month. Connecting himself, therefore, with them, he was on many occasions admonished by the Lord in visions. For our merciful God and Lord Jesus Christ was not willing that a witness of His own sufferings should perish, being without the Church. But as he gave little heed to the visions, being ensnared by the dignity of presiding among them, and by that sordid lust of gain which ruins very many, he was at last scourged by holy angels, and severely beaten through a whole night, so that he rose early in the morning, and threw himself, clothed with sackcloth and covered with ashes, before Zephyrinus the bishop, with great haste and many tears, rolling beneath the feet not only of the clergy, but even of the laity, and moving the pity of the compassionate Church of the merciful Christ by his weeping. And after trying

many a prayer, and showing the weals left by the blows which he had received, he was at length with difficulty admitted to communion.

III. (IN EUSEBIUS, AS ABOVE)

¹ The sacred Scriptures they have boldly falsified, and the canons of the ancient faith they have rejected, and Christ they have ignored, not inquiring what the sacred Scriptures say, but laboriously seeking to discover what form of syllogism might be contrived to establish their impiety. And should any one lay before them a word of divine Scripture, they examine whether it will make a connected or disjointed form of syllogism; and leaving the Holy Scriptures of God, they study geometry, as men who are of the earth, and speak of the earth, and are ignorant of Him who cometh from above. Euclid, indeed, is laboriously measured by some of them. and Aristotle and Theophrastus are admired; and Galen, forsooth, is perhaps even worshipped by some of them. But as to those men who abuse the arts of the unbelievers to establish their own heretical doctrine, and by the craft of the impious adulterate the simple faith of the divine Scriptures, what need is there to say that these are not near the faith? For this reason is it they have boldly laid their hands upon the divine Scriptures, alleging that they have corrected them. And that I do not state this against them falsely, any one who pleases may ascertain. For if any one should choose to collect and compare all their copies together, he would find many discrepancies among them. The copies of Asclepiades, at any rate, will be found at variance with those of Theodotus.

² And many such copies are to be had, because their disciples were very zealous in inserting the corrections, as they call them, i.e., the corruptions made by each of them. And again, the copies of Hermophilus do not agree with these; anti as for those of Apollonius, they are not consistent even with themselves. For one may compare those which were formerly prepared by them with those which have been afterwards corrupted with a special object, and many discrepancies will be found. And as to the great audacity implied in this offence, it is not likely that even they themselves can be ignorant of that. For either they do not believe that the divine Scriptures were dictated by the Holy Spirit, and are thus infidels; or they think themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit, and what are they then but demoniacs? Nor can they deny that the crime is theirs, when the copies have been written with their own hand; nor did they receive such copies of the Scriptures from those by whom they were first instructed in the faith, and they cannot produce copies from

which these were transcribed. And some of them did not even think it worth while to corrupt them; but simply denying the law and the prophets for the sake of their lawless and impious doctrine, trader pretexts of grace, they sunk down to the lowest abyss of perdition.

III.-CANON MURATORIANUS. (IN MURATORI, V. C. ANTIQ. ITAL. MED. OEUV., VOL. III. COL. 854.)

I. ...those things at which he was present he placed thus. The third book of the Gospel, that according to Luke, the well-known physician Luke wrote in his own name in order after the ascension of Christ, and when Paul had associated him with himself as one studious of right. Nor did he himself see the Lord in the flesh; and he, according as he was able to accomplish it, began his narrative with the nativity of John. The fourth Gospel is that of John, one of the disciples. When his fellow-disciples and bishops entreated him, he said, "Fast ye now with me for the space of three days, and let us recount to each other whatever may be revealed to each of us." On the same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the apostles, that John should narrate all things in his own name as they called them to mind. And hence, although different points are taught us in the several books of the Gospels, there is no difference as regards the faith of believers, inasmuch as in all of them all things are related under one imperial Spirit, which concern the Lord's nativity, His passion, His resurrection, His conversation with His disciples, and His twofold advent,-the first in the humiliation of rejection, which is now past, and the second in the glory of royal power, which is yet in the future. What marvel is it, then, that John brings forward these several things so constantly in his epistles also, saying in his own person, "What we have seen with our eyes, and heard with our ears, and our hands have handled, that have we written." For thus he professes himself to be not only the eye-witness, but also the hearer; and besides that, the historian of all the wondrous facts concerning the Lord in their order.

2. Moreover, the Acts of all the Apostles are comprised by Luke in one book, and addressed to the most excellent Theophilus, because these different events took place when he was present himself; and he shows this clearly-i.e., that the principle on which he wrote was, to give only what fell under his own notice-by the omission of the passion of Peter, and also of the journey of Paul, when he went from the city-Rome-to Spain. 3. As to the epistles of Paul, again, to those who will understand the matter, they indicate of them-

selves what they are, and from what place or with what object they were directed. He wrote first of all, and at considerable length, to the Corinthians, to check the schism of heresy; and then to the Galatians, to forbid circumcision; and then to the Romans on the rule of the Oid Testament Scriptures, and also to show them that Christ is the first object in these;-which it is needful for us to discuss severally, as the blessed Apostle Paul, following the rule of his predecessor John, writes to no more than seven churches by name, in this order: the first to the Corinthians, the second to the Ephesians, the third to the Philippians, the fourth to the Colossians, the fifth to the Galatians, the sixth to the Thessalonians, the seventh to the Romans. Moreover, though he writes twice to the Corinthians and Thessalonians for their correction, it is yet shown-i.e., by this sevenfold writing-that there is one Church spread abroad through the whole world. And John too, indeed, in the Apocalypse, although he writes only to seven churches, yet addresses all. He wrote, besides these, one to Philemon, and one to Titus, and two to Timothy, in simple personal affection and love indeed; but yet these are hallowed in the esteem of the Catholic Church, and in the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline. There are also in circulation one to the Laodiceans, and another to the Alexandrians, forged under the name of Paul, and addressed against the heresy of Marcion; and there are also several others which cannot be received into the Catholic Church, for it is not suitable for gall to be mingled with honey.

4. The Epistle of Jude, indeed, and two belonging to the above-named John-or bearing the name of John-are reckoned among the Catholic epistles. And the book of Wisdom, written by the friends of Solomon in his honour. We receive also the Apocalypse of John and that of Peter, though some amongst us will not have this latter read in the Church. The Pastor, moreover, did Hermas write very recently in our times in the city of Rome, while his brother bishop Plus sat in the chair of the Church of Rome. And therefore it also ought to be read; but it cannot be made public in the Church to the people, nor placed among the prophets, as their number is complete, nor among the apostles to the end of time. Of the writings of Arsinous, called also Valentinus, or of Miltiades, we receive nothing at all. Those are rejected too who wrote the new Book of Psalms for Marcion, together with Basilides and the founder of the Asian Cataphrygians.

The Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs

AD 180

The oldest dated record of Christian martyrs in Africa, from Carthage.

THE PASSION OF THE SCILLITAN MARTYRS

¹ The Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs. When Præsens, for the second time, and Claudianus were the consuls, on the seventeenth day of July, at Carthage, there were set in the judgment-hall Speratus, Nartzalus, Cittinus, Donata, Secunda and Vestia. Saturninus the proconsul said: Ye can win the indulgence of our lord the Emperor, if ye return to a sound mind. Speratus said: We have never done ill, we have not lent ourselves to wrong, we have never spoken ill, but when ill-treated we have given thanks; because we pay heed to our Emperor. Saturninus the proconsul said: We too are religious, and our religion is simple, and we swear by the genius of our lord the Emperor, and pray for his welfare, as ye also ought to do. Speratus said: If thou wilt peaceably lend me thine ears, I can tell thee the mystery of simplicity. Saturninus said: I will not lend mine ears to thee, when thou beginnest to speak evil things of our sacred rites; but rather swear thou by the genius of our lord the Emperor.

² Speratus said: The empire of this world I know not; but rather I serve that God, whom no man hath seen, nor with these eyes can see. I have committed no theft; but if I have bought anything I pay the tax; because I know my Lord, the King of kings and Emperor of all nations. Saturninus the proconsul said to the rest: Cease to be of this persuasion. Speratus said: It is an ill persuasion to do murder, to speak false witness. Saturninus the proconsul said: Be not partakers of this folly. Cittinus said: We have none other to fear, save only our Lord God, who is in heaven. Donata said: Honour to Cæsar as Cæsar: but fear to God. Vestia said: I am a Christian. Secunda said: What I am, that I wish to be. Saturninus the proconsul said to Speratus: Dost thou persist in being a Christian?

³Speratus said: I am a Christian. And with him they all agreed. Saturninus the proconsul said: Will ye have a space to consider? Speratus said: In a matter so straightforward there is no considering. Saturninus the proconsul said: What are the things in your chest? Speratus said: Books and epistles of Paul, a just man. Saturninus the proconsul said: Have a delay of thirty days and bethink yourselves. Speratus said a second time: I am a Christian. And with him they all agreed. Saturninus the proconsul read out the decree from the tablet: Speratus, Nartzalus, Cittinus, Donata, Vestia, Secunda and the rest having confessed that they live according to the Christian rite, since after opportunity offered them of returning to the custom of the Romans they have obstinately persisted, it is determined that they be put to the sword. Speratus said: We give thanks to God. Nartzalus said: To-day we are martyrs in heaven; thanks be to God.

⁴Saturninus the proconsul ordered it to be declared by the herald: Speratus, Nartzalus, Cittinus, Veturius, Felix, Aquilinus, Lætantius, Januaria, Generosa, Vestia, Donata and Secunda, I have ordered to be executed. They all said: Thanks be to God. And so they all together were crowned with martyrdom; and they reign with the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

P A R T T H R E E

The Syriac East

A Gospel harmony used for centuries in Syriac-speaking churches, a philosophical dialogue from Edessa, and a letter from a Syrian prisoner to his son.

Diatessaron

TATIAN THE ASSYRIAN

c. AD 120–180

Pupil of Justin; wrote an Address to the Greeks and a Gospel harmony (the Diatessaron).

INTRODUCTION

1. In the Borgan Ms. In the name of the one God, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, to him be the glory forever. We shal begin, with the help of God most high, the writing of the pure gospel, the blooming garden, called Diatessaron (a word meaning "fourfold"), the work compiled by Titianus the Greek out of the four evangelists-Matthew the elect, whose symbol is M, Mark the chosen, whose symbol is R, Luke the approved, whose symbol is K, and John the beloved, whose symbol is H. The work was translated from Syriac into Arabic by the excellent and learned priest Abu'l Faáraáj ŌAbdulla ibn-at\~T\ayyib, may God grant him his favour. He began with the first of And he said: The Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus the Son of the living God. John: In the beginning, etc. 2. In the Vatican Ms. In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, giver of life, the God that is one in substance in his essence, and three in persons in his attributes. The first of his Gospel is

2 And he said: The Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus the Son of the living God. John: In the beginning, etc.

The Text of the Diatessaron

3 Rev. Hope W. Hogg, B.D.

[Section I]

4 169 In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God is the Word. 270 This was in the beginning with God. 371 Everything was by his hand, and without him not even one existing thing was made. 472 In him was life, and the life is the light of men. 573 And the light shineth in

the darkness, and the darkness apprehended it not. 5674 There was in the days of Herod the king a priest whose name was Zacharias, of the family of Abijah; 6and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elizabeth. 775 And they were both righteous before God, walking in all his commands, and in the uprightness of God without reproach. 876 And they had no son, for Elizabeth was barren, and they had both advanced in age. 977 And while he discharged the duties of priest in the order of his service before God, according to the custom of the priesthood it was his turn to burn incense; 1078 so he entered the temple of the Lord. 1179 And the whole gathering of the people were praying without at the time of the incense. 1280 And there appeared unto Zacharias the angel of the Lord, standing at the right of the altar of incense; 1381 and Zacharias was troubled when he saw him, and fear fell upon him. 1482 But the angel said unto him, Be not agitated, Zacharias, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John; 1583 and thou shalt have joy and gladness, and many shall rejoice at his birth. 1684 And he shall be great before the Lord, and shall not drink wine nor strong drink, and he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit while he is in his mother's womb. 1786 And he shall turn back many of the children of Israel to the Lord their God. 1887 And he shall go before him in the spirit, and in the power of Elijah the prophet, to turn back the heart of the fathers to the sons, and those that obey not to the knowledge of the righteous;

7 and to prepare for the Lord a perfect people. 1989 And Zacharias said unto the angel, How shall I know this, since I am an old man and my wife is advanced in years? 2090 And the angel answered and said unto him, I am Gabriel, that standeth before God; and I was sent to speak unto thee, and give thee tidings of this. 2191 Henceforth thou shalt be speechless, and shalt not be able to speak until the day in which this shall come to pass, because thou didst not trust this my word, which shall be accomplished in its time. 2292 And the people were standing awaiting Zacharias, and they were perplexed at his delaying in the temple. 2393 And when Zacharias went out, he was not able to speak unto them: so they knew that he had seen in the temple a vision; and he made signs unto them, and continued dumb. 2494 And when the days of his service were completed, he departed to his dwelling.

8 2595 And after those days Elizabeth his wife conceived; and she hid herself five months, and said, 2696 This hath the Lord done unto me in the days

when he looked upon me, to remove my reproach from among men. 92797 And in the sixth month Gabriel the angel was sent from God to Galilee to a city called Nazareth, 2899 to a virgin given in marriage to a man named Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary. 29100 And the angel entered unto her and said unto her, Peace be unto thee, thou who art filled with grace. Our Lord is with thee, thou blessed amongst women. 30101 And she, when she beheld, was agitated at his word, and pondered what this salutation could be. 31102 And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God. 32103 Thou shall now conceive, and bear a son, and call his name Jesus. 33104 This shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High; and the Lord God will give him the throne of David his father: and he shall rule over the house of Jacob for ever; 34105 and to his kingdom there shall be no end. 35106 Mary said unto the angel, How shall this be to me when no man hath known me? 36107 The angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Spirit will come, and the power of the Most High shall rest upon thee, and therefore shall he that is born of thee be pure, and shall be called the Son of God. 37108 And lo, Elizabeth thy kinswoman, she also hath conceived a son in her old age; and this is the sixth month with her, her that is called barren. 38109 For nothing is difficult for God. 39110 Mary said, Lo, I am the handmaid of the Lord; let it be unto me according unto thy word. And the angel departed from her.

10 40111 And then Mary arose in those days and went in haste into the hill country, to a city of Judah; 41112 and entered into the house of Zacharias, and asked for the health of Elizabeth. 42113 And when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb. 43114 And Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit; and cried with a loud voice and said unto Mary, Blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed is the fruit that is in thy womb. 44115 Whence have I this privilege, that the mother of my Lord should come unto me? 45116 When the sound of thy salutation reached my ears, with great joy rejoiced the babe in my womb. 46117 And blessed is she who believed that what was spoken to her from the Lord would be fulfilled. 47118 And Mary said, My soul doth magnify the Lord, 48119 And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour,

11 49120 Who hath looked upon the low estate of his handmaiden: Lo, henceforth, all generations shall pronounce blessing on me. 50121 For he hath done great things for me, who is mighty, And holy is his name. 51122

And his mercy embraceth them who fear him, Throughout the ages and the times. 52123 He wrought the victory with his arm, And scattered them that prided themselves in their opinions. 53124 He overthrew them that acted haughtily from their thrones, And raised the lowly. 54125 He satisfied with good things the hungry, And left the rich without anything. 55126 He helped Israel his servant, And remembered his mercy 56127 (According as he spake with our fathers) Unto Abraham and unto his seed for ever. 57128 And Mary abode with Elizabeth about three months, and returned unto her house. 12 58129 And Elizabeth's time of delivery was come; and she brought forth a son. 59130 And her neighbours and kinsfolk heard that God had multiplied his mercy towards her; and they rejoiced with her. 60131 And when it was the eighth day, they came to circumcise the child, and called him Zacharias, calling him by the name of his father. 61132 And his mother answered and said unto them, Not so; but he shall be called John. 62133 And they said unto her, There is no man of thy kindred that is called by this name. 63134 And they made signs to his father, saying, How dost thou wish to name him? 64135 And he asked for a tablet, and wrote and said, His name is John. And every one wondered. 65136 And immediately his mouth was opened, and his tongue, and he spake and praised God. 65137 And fear fell on all their neighbours: and this was spoken of in all 67138 the mountains of Judah. And all who heard pondered in their hearts and said, What shall this child be? And the hand of the Lord was with him.

13 68139 And Zacharias his father was filled with the Holy Spirit, and prophesied and said, 69140 Blessed is the Lord, the God of Israel, Who hath cared for his people, and wrought for it salvation; 70141 And hath raised for us the horn of salvation In the house of David his servant 71142 (As he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets from eternity), 72143 That he might save us from our enemies, And from the hand of all them that hate us. 73144 And he hath performed his mercy towards our fathers, And remembered his holy covenants, 74145 And the oath which he sware unto Abraham our father, 75146 That he would give us deliverance from the hand of our enemies, And without fear we shall serve before him 76148 All our days with equity and righteousness. 77149 And as for thee, O child, prophet of the Most High shalt thou be called.

14 Thou shalt go forth before the face of the Lord to prepare his way, 78150 To give the knowledge of salvation unto his people, For the forgive-

ness of their sins, 79152 Through the mercy of the compassion of our God,
With which he careth for us, to appear from on high 80156To give light to
them that sit in darkness and under the shadow of death, And to set straight
our feet in the way of peace. 81157And the child grew and became strong in
the spirit, and abode in the desert until the time of his appearing unto the
children of Israel.

SECTION II.

11158 Now the birth of Jesus the Messiah was on this wise: In the time when
his mother was given in marriage to Joseph, before they came together, she
was found with child of the Holy Spirit. 2160 And Joseph her husband was a
just man and did not wish to expose her, and he purposed to put her away
secretly. 3161 But when he thought of this, the angel of the Lord appeared
unto him in a dream, and said unto him, Joseph, son of David, fear not to
take Mary thy wife, for that which is begotten in her is of the Holy Spirit.
4163 She shall bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus, and he shall save
his people from their sins. 5165 And all this was that the saying from the
Lord by the prophet might be fulfilled: 6166 Behold, the virgin shall con-
ceive, and bear a son,

2 And they shall call his name Immanuel, which is, being interpreted,
With us is our God. 7167 And when Joseph arose from his sleep, 8168 he did
as the angel of the Lord commanded him, and took his wife; and knew her
not until she brought forth her firstborn son. 9169 And in those days there
went forth a decree from Augustus Cae sar that all the 10170 people of his
dominion should be enrolled. This first enrolment was while Quirinius was
governor of Syria. 11173 And every man went to be enrolled in his city. 12174
And Joseph went up also from Nazareth, a city of Galilee, to Judaea, to the
city of David which is called Bethlehem 13175 (for he was of the house of
David and of his tribe), with Mary his betrothed, she being with child, to be
enrolled there. 14176 And while she was there the days for her being de-
livered were accomplished. 15177she brought forth her firstborn son; and she
wrapped him in swaddling cloths and laid him in a manger, because there
was no place for them where they were staying.

316178And there were in that region shepherds abiding, keeping their
flock in the watch of the night. 17179 And behold, the angel of God came
unto them, and the glory of the Lord shone upon them; and they were
greatly terrified. 18180 And the angel said unto them, Be not terrified; for I

bring you tidings of great joy which shall be to the whole world; there is born to you this day a Saviour, 19181 which is the Lord the Messiah, in the city of David. 20182 And this is a sign for you: ye shall find a babe wrapped in swaddling cloths and laid in a manger. 21183 And there appeared with the angels suddenly many heavenly forces praising God and saying, 22185 Praise be to God in the highest, And on the earth peace, and good hope to men. 23186 And when the angels departed from them to heaven, the shepherds spake to one another and said, We will go to Bethlehem and see this word which hath been, as the Lord made known unto us. 24187 And they came with haste, and found Mary and Joseph, and the babe laid in a manger. 25188 And when they saw, they reported the word which was spoken to them about the child. 26189 And all that heard wondered at the description which the shepherds described to them. 27191 But Mary kept these sayings and discriminated them in her heart. 28194 And those shepherds returned, magnifying and praising God for all that they had seen and heard, according as it was described unto them.

4 29195 And when eight days were fulfilled that the child should be circumcised, his name was called Jesus, being that by which he was called by the angel before his conception in the womb. 30196 And when the days of their purification according to the law of Moses were completed, they took him up to Jerusalem to present him before the Lord (as it is written in the law of the Lord, 31197 Every male opening the womb shall be called the holy thing of the Lord), 32198 and to give a sacrificial victim as it is said in the law of the Lord, A pair of doves or two young pigeons. 33199 And there was in Jerusalem a man whose name was Simeon; and this man was upright and pious, and expecting the consolation of Israel; and the Holy Spirit was upon him. 34200 And it had been said unto him by the Holy Spirit, that he should not see death till he had seen with his eyes the Messiah of the Lord. 35202 And this man came by the Spirit to the temple; and at the time when his parents brought in the child Jesus, that they might present for him a sacrifice, 36203 as it is written in the law, he bare him in his arms and praised God and said,

5 37204 Now loosest thou the bonds of thy servant, O Lord, in peace, According to thy saying; 38206 For mine eye hath witnessed thy mercy, 39207 Which thou hast made ready because of the whole world; 40208 A light for the unveiling of the nations, And a glory to thy people Israel. 41210 And Joseph and his mother were marvelling at the things which were being said

concerning him. 42211 And Simeon blessed them and said to Mary his mother, Behold, he is set for the overthrow and rising of many in Israel; and for a sign of contention; 43212 and a spear shall pierce through thine own soul; that the thoughts of the 44215 hearts of many may be revealed. And Anna the prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher, was also advanced in years (and she dwelt with her husband seven years from her virginity, 45216 and she remained a widow about eighty-four years); and she left not the temple, and served night and day with fasting and prayer. 46217 And she also rose in that hour and thanked the Lord, and she spake of him with every one who was expecting the deliverance of Jerusalem. 47218when they had accomplished everything according to what is in the law of the Lord, they returned to Galilee, to Nazareth their city.

SECTION III.

11219And after that, the Magi came from the east to Jerusalem, and said, Where is the King of the Jews which was born? 2220 We have seen his star in the east, and have come to worship him. 3221 And Herod the king heard, and he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. 4222 And he gathered all the chief priests and the scribes of the people, and asked them in what place the Messiah should be born. 5223 They said, In Bethlehem of Judaea: thus it is written in the prophet, 6224 Thou also, Bethlehem of Judah, Art not contemptible among the kings of Judah: From thee shall go forth a king, And he shall be a shepherd to my people Israel. 7225 Then Herod called the Magi secretly, and inquired of them the time at which the star appeared to them. 8226 And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said unto them, Go and search about the child diligently; and when ye have found him, come and make known to me, that I also may go and worship him. 9227 And they, when they heard the king, departed; and lo, the star which they had seen in the east went before them, until it came and stood above the place where the child was. 10228 And when they beheld the star, they rejoiced with very great joy. 11229 And they entered the house and beheld the child with Mary his mother, and fell down worshipping him, and opened their saddle-bags and offered to him offerings, gold and myrrh and frankincense. 12230 And they saw in a dream a that they should not return to Herod, and they travelled by another way in going to their country.

213231 And when they had departed, the angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to Joseph, and said unto him, Rise, take the child and his mother,

and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I speak to thee; for Herod is determined to seek the child to slay him. 14232 And Joseph arose and took the child and his mother in the night, and fled into Egypt, 15233 and remained in it until the time of the death of Herod: that that might be fulfilled which was said by the Lord in the prophet, which said, From Egypt did I call my son. 16234 And Herod then, when he saw that he was mocked of the Magi, was very angry, and sent and killed all the male children which were in Bethlehem and all its borders, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had inquired from the Magi. 17235 Then was fulfilled the saying in Jeremiah the prophet, which said,

318236 A voice was heard in Ramah, Weeping and much lamentation; Rachel weeping for her children, And not willing to be consoled for their loss. 19237 But when Herod the king died, the angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to 20238 Joseph in Egypt, and said unto him, Rise and take the child and his mother, and go into the land of Israel; for they have died who sought the child's life. 21239 And Joseph rose and took the child and his mother, and came to the land of Israel. 22240But when he heard that Archelaus had become king over Judaea instead of Herod his father, he feared to go thither; and he saw in a dream that he should 23241 go into the land of Galilee, and that he should abide in a city called Nazareth: that the saying in the prophet might be fulfilled, that he should be called a Nazarene.

424242 And the child grew, and became strong in spirit, becoming filled with wisdom; and the grace of God was upon him. 25243 And his kinsfolk used to go every year to Jerusalem at the feast of the passover. 26244 And when he was twelve years old, they went up according to their custom, to the feast. 27245 And when the days were accomplished, they returned; and the child Jesus remained in Jerusalem, and Joseph and his mother knew not: and they supposed that he was with the children of their company. 28246 And when they had gone one day's journey, they sought him beside their people and those who knew them, and they found him not; 29247 so they returned to Jerusalem and sought him again. 30248 And after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the teachers, 31249 hearing them and asking them questions; and all who heard him wondered at his wisdom and his words. 32250 And when they saw him they wondered, and his mother said unto him, My son, why hast thou dealt with us thus? behold, I and thy father have been seeking for thee with much anxiety. 33251 And he said unto

them, Why were ye seeking me? know ye not that I must be in the house of my Father? 34252 And they understood not the word which he spake unto them. 35253 And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth; and he was obedient to them: and his mother used to keep all these sayings in her heart.

5 36254 And Jesus grew in his stature and wisdom, and in grace with God and men. 37255 And in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, when Pontius Pilate was governor in Judaea, and one of the four rulers, Herod, in Galilee; and Philip his brother, one of the four rulers, in Ituraea and in the district of Trachonitis; and Lysanias, one of the four rulers, in Abilene; 380 in the chief-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, the command of God went forth to John the son of Zacharias in the desert. 391 And he came into all the region which is about Jordan, proclaiming the baptism of repentance unto the forgiveness of sins. 402 And he was preaching in the wilderness of Judaea, and saying, 413 Repent ye; the kingdom of heaven is come near. 424 This is he that was spoken of in Isaiah the prophet, The voice which crieth in the desert,

6 435 Prepare ye the way of the Lord, And make straight in the plain, paths for our God. 446 All the valleys shall become filled, And all the mountains and hills shall become low; And the rough shall become plain, And the difficult place, easy; 457 And all flesh shall see the salvation of God. 468 This man came to bear witness, that he might bear witness to the light, that every man might believe through his mediation. 479 He was not the light, bat that he might bear witness to the light, 4810 which was the light of truth, that giveth light to every man coming into the world. 4911 He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. 5012 He came unto his own, and his own received him not. 5113 And those who received him, to them gave he the power that they might be sons of God,- those which believe in his name: 5214 which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of a man, but of God. 5315 And the Word became flesh, and took up his abode among us; and we saw his glory as the glory of the only Son from the Father, which is full of grace and equity. 5416 John bare witness of him, and cried, and said, This is he that I said cometh after me and was before me, because he was before me. 5517 And of his fullness received we all grace for grace. 5618 For the law was given

through the mediation of Moses, but truth and grace were through Jesus Christ.

SECTION IV.

1119 No man hath seen God at any time; the only Son, God, which is in the bosom of his Father, he hath told of him. 221 And this is the witness of John when the Jews sent to him from Jerusalem priests and Levites to ask him, Who art thou? 322 And he acknowledged, and denied not; and he confessed that he was not the Messiah. 423 And they asked him again, What then? Art thou Elijah? And he said, I am not he. Art thou a prophet? He said, No. 524 They said unto him, Then who art thou? that we may answer them that sent us. 625 What sayest thou of thyself? And he said, I am the voice that crieth in the desert, Repair ye the way of the Lord, as said Isaiah the prophet. 726 And they that were sent were from the Pharisees. 828 And they asked him and said unto him, Why baptizest thou now, when thou art not the Messiah, nor Elijah, nor a prophet? 929 John answered and said unto them, I baptize with water: among you is standing one whom ye know not: 1031 this is he who I said cometh after me and was before me, the latchets of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose. 1132 And that was in Bethany beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.

21233 Now John's raiment was camel's hair, and he was girded with skins, and his food was of locusts and honey of the wilderness. 1335 Then went out unto him the people of Jerusalem, and all Judaea, and all the region which is about the Jordan; 1436 and they were baptized of him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins. 1537 But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to be baptized, he said unto them, Ye children of vipers, who hath led you to flee from the wrath to come? 1640 Do now the fruits which are worthy of repentance; and think and say not within yourselves, 17 We have a father, even Abraham; for I say unto you, that God is able to raise up of these stones children unto Abraham. 1841 Behold, the axe hath been laid at the roots of the trees, and so every tree that beareth not good fruit shall be taken and cast into the fire. 1942 And the multitudes were asking him and saying, What shall we do? 2043 He answered and said unto them, He that hath two tunics shall give to him that hath not; and he that hath food shall do likewise. 2146 And the publicans also came to be baptized, and they said unto him, Teacher, what shall we do? 2247 He said unto them, Seek not more than what ye are commanded to seek. 2348 And the servants

of the guard asked him and said, And we also, what shall we do? He said unto them, Do not violence to any man, nor wrong him; and let your allowances satisfy you.

3 2450 And when the people were conjecturing about John, and all of them thinking in their hearts whether he were haply the Messiah, 2552 John answered and said unto them, I baptize you with water; there cometh one after me who is stronger than I, the latchets of whose shoes I am not worthy to loosen; he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire: 2653 who taketh the fan in his hand to cleanse his threshing-floors, and the wheat he gathereth into his garners, while the straw he shall burn in fire which can not be put out. 2755 And other things he taught and preached among the people. 4 2856 Then came Jesus from Galilee to the Jordan to John, to be baptized of him. 2957 And Jesus was about thirty years old, and it was supposed that he was the son of Joseph. 3059 And John saw Jesus coming unto him, and said, This is the Lamb of God, that taketh on itself the burden of the sins of the world! 3160 This is he concerning whom I said, There cometh after me a man who was before me, because he was 3261 before me. And I knew him not; but that he should be made manifest to Israel, for this cause came I to baptize with water. 3363 And John was hindering him and saying, I have need of being baptized by thee, and comest thou to me? 3464 Jesus answered him and said, Suffer this now: thus it is our duty to fulfill all righteousness. 3565 Then he suffered him. And when all the people were baptized, Jesus also was baptized. 3666 And immediately he went up out of the water, and heaven opened to him, 3768 and the Holy Spirit descended upon him in the similitude of the body of a dove; and lo, a voice from heaven, saying, 3869 This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. 3970 And John bare witness and said, I beheld the Spirit descend from heaven like a dove; and it abode upon him. 4071 But I knew him not; but he that sent me to baptize with water, he said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt behold the Spirit descending and lighting upon him, the same is he that baptizeth with the Holy Spirit. 4172 And I have seen and borne witness that this is the Son of God.

5 4273 And Jesus returned from the Jordan, filled with the Holy Spirit. 4374 And immediately the Spirit took him out into the wilderness, to be tried of the devil; and he was with the beasts. 4476 And he fasted forty days and forty nights. And he ate nothing in those days, and at the end of them

he hungered. 4577 And the tempter came and said unto him, If thou art the Son of God, speak, and these stones shah become bread. 4678 He answered and said, It is written, Not by bread alone shall man live, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. 4779 Then the devil brought him to the holy city, and set him on the pinnacle of the temple, 4881 and said unto him, If thou art the Son of God, cast thyself down: for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee:

6 And they shall take thee on their arms, So that thy foot shall not stumble against a stone. 4982 Jesus said unto him, And it is written also, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God. 5084 And the devil took him up to a high mountain, and shewed him all the kingdoms of the earth, and their glory, in the least time; and the devil said unto him, 5187 To thee will I give all this dominion, and its glory, which is delivered to me that I may give it to whomsoever I will. 5288 If then thou wilt worship before me, all of it shall be thine.

SECTION V.

1 189 Jesus answered and said unto him, Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him alone shalt thou serve. 290 And when the devil had completed all his temptations, he departed from him for a season. 392 And behold, the angels drew near and ministered unto him. 493 And next day John was standing, 594 and two of his disciples; and he saw Jesus as he was walking, and said, Behold, the Lamb of God! 695 And his two disciples heard him saying this, and they followed Jesus. 797 And Jesus turned and saw them coming after him, and said unto them, What seek ye? They said unto him, Our master, where art thou staying? 898 And he said unto them, Come and see. And they came and saw his place, and abode with him that day: and it was about the tenth hour. 999 One of the two which heard from John, and followed Jesus, was Andrew the brother of Simon. 10101 And he saw first Simon his brother, and said unto him, We have found the Messiah. 11102 And he brought him unto Jesus. And Jesus looked upon him and said, Thou art Simon, son of Jonah: thou shalt be called Cephas.

2 12104 And on the next day Jesus desired to go forth to Galilee, and he found Philip, and said unto him, Follow me. 13105 Now Philip was of Bethsaida, of the city of Andrew and Simon. 14106 And Philip found Nathanael, and said unto him, He of whom Moses did write in the law and in the proph-

ets, we have found that he is Jesus the son of Joseph of Nazareth. 15107 Nathanael said unto him, Is it possible that there can be any good thing from Nazareth? Philip said unto him, Come and see. 16108 And Jesus saw Nathanael coming to him, and said of him, This is indeed a son of Israel in whom is no guile. 17110 And Nathanael said unto him, Whence knowest thou me? Jesus said unto him, Before Philip called thee, while thou wast under the fig tree, I saw thee. 18111 Nathanael answered and said unto him, My Master, thou art the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel. 19112 Jesus said unto him, Because I said unto thee, I saw thee under the fig tree, hast thou believed? thou shalt see what is greater than this. 20113 And he said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Henceforth ye shall see the heavens opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man.

3 21114 And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit to Galilee. 4 22115 And on the third day there was a feast in Cana, a city of Galilee; and the mother of Jesus was there: and Jesus also and his disciples were invited to the feast. 23118 And they lacked wine: and his mother said unto Jesus, 24119 They have no wine. 25120 And Jesus said unto her, What have I to do with thee, woman? hath not mine hour come? 26122 And his mother said unto the servants, What he saith unto you, do. 27123 And there were there six vessels of stone, placed for the Jews' purification, such as would contain two or three jars. 28124 And Jesus said unto them, Fill the vessels with water. 29125 And they filled them to the top. He said unto them, Draw out now, and present to the ruler of the feast. 30126 And they did so. And when the ruler of the company tasted that water which had become wine, and knew not whence it was (but the servants knew, because they filled up the water), the ruler of the company called the bridegroom, and said unto him, 31127 Every man presenteth first the good wine, and on intoxication he bringeth what is poor; but thou hast kept the good wine until now. 32128 And this is the first sign which Jesus did in Cans of Galilee, and manifested his glory; and his disciples believed on him. 33130 And his fame spread in all the country which was around them. 34131 And he taught in their synagogues, and was glorified by every man. 35133 And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up, and entered, according to his custom, into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up to read. 36134 And he was given the book of Isaiah the prophet. And Jesus opened the book and found the place where it was written,

537135 The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, And for this anointed he me, to preach good tidings to the poor; And he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, And to proclaim forgiveness to the evil-doers, and sight to the blind, And to bring the broken into forgiveness, 38138 And to proclaim an acceptable year of the Lord. 39139 And he rolled up the book and gave it to the servant, and went and sat down: and the eyes of all that were in the synagogue were observing him. 40140 And he began to say unto them, To-day hath this scripture been fulfilled which ye have heard with your ears. 41141 And they all bare him witness, and wondered at the words of grace which were proceeding from his mouth. 42142 And from that time began Jesus to proclaim the gospel of the kingdom of God, and to say, Repent ye, and believe in the gospel. 43143 The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of heaven hath come near.

644144 And while he was walking on the shore of the sea of Galilee, he saw two brethren, Simon who was called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, casting their nets into the sea; for they were fishers. 45145 And Jesus said unto them, Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men. 46146 And they immediately left their nets there and followed him. 47147 And when he went on from thence, he saw other two brothers, James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, in the ship with Zebedee their father, mending their nets; and Jesus called them. 48148 And they immediately forsook the ship and their father Zebedee, and followed him. 49149 And when the multitude gathered unto him to hear the word of God, while he was standing on the shore of the sea of Gennesaret, 50150 he saw two boats standing beside the sea, while the two fishers which were gone out of them were washing their nets. 51152 And one of them belonged to Simon Cephas. And Jesus went up and sat down in it, and commanded that they should move away a little from the land into the water. 52153 And he sat down and taught the multitudes from the boat. And when he had left off his speaking, he said unto Simon, Put out into the deep, and cast your net for a draught. 53154 And Simon answered and said unto him, My Master, we toiled all night and caught nothing; now at thy word I will cast the net. 54156 And when they did this, there were enclosed a great many fishes; and their net was on the point of breaking. 55158 And they beckoned to their comrades that were in the other boat, to come and help them. And when they came, they filled both boats, so that they were on the point of sinking.

SECTION VI.

11159 But when Simon Cephas saw this he fell before the feet of Jesus, and said unto him, My Lord, I beseech of thee to depart from me, for I am a sinful man. 2160 And amazement took possession of him, and of all who were with him, because of the draught of the fishes which they had taken. 3161 And thus also were James and John the sons of Zebedee overtaken, who were Simon's partners. And Jesus said unto Simon, Fear not; henceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men unto life. 4163 And they brought the boats to the land; and they left everything, and followed him. 25164 And after that came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judaea; and he went about there with them, and baptized. 6165 And John also was baptizing in Aenon, which is beside Salim, because there was much water there: and they came, and were baptized. 7166 And John was not yet come into prison. 8167 And there was an inquiry between one of John's disciples and one of the Jews about purifying. 9168 And they came unto John, and said unto him, Our master, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou hast borne witness, behold, he also baptizeth, and many come to him. 10170 John answered and said unto them, A man can receive nothing of himself, except it be given him from heaven. 11173 Ye are they that bear witness unto me that I said, I am not the Messiah, but I am one sent before him. 12175 And he that hath a bride is a bridegroom: and the friend of the bridegroom is he that standeth and listeneth to him, and rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice. Lo now, behold, my joy becometh complete. 13178 And he must increase and I decrease. 14179 For he that is come from above is higher than everything; and he that is of the earth, of the earth he is, and of the earth he speaketh; and he that came down from heaven is higher than all. 15181 And he beareth witness of what he hath seen and heard:

3 and no man receiveth his witness. 16182 And he that hath received his witness hath asserted that he is truly God. 17185 And he whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God: God gave not the Spirit by measure. 18187 The Father loveth the Son, and hath put everything in his hands. 19188 Whosoever believeth in the Son hath eternal life; but whosoever obeyeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God cometh upon him. 420191 And Jesus learned that the Pharisees had heard that he had received many disciples, 21193 and that he was baptizing more than John (not that Jesus was himself baptizing, but his disciples); 22194 and so he left Judaea. 23195 And

Herod the governor, because he used to be rebuked by John because of Herodias the wife of Philip his brother, and for all the sins which he was committing, added to all that also this, 24196 that he shut up John in prison. 25197 And when Jesus heard that John was delivered up, he went away to Galilee. 26198 And he entered again into Cana, where he had made the water wine. And there was at Capernaum a king's servant, whose son was sick. 27199 And this man heard that Jesus was come from Judaea to Galilee; and he went to him, and besought of him that he would come down and heal his son; for he had come near unto death. 28200 Jesus said unto him, Except ye see signs and wonders, ye do not believe. 29202 The king's servant said unto him, My Lord, come down, that the child die not. 30203 Jesus said unto him, Go; for thy son is alive. And that man believed the word which Jesus spake, and went. 31204 And when he went down, his servants met him and told him, and said unto him, Thy son is alive. 32206 And he asked them at what time he recovered. They said unto him, Yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left him. 33207 And his father knew that that was at that hour in which Jesus said unto him, Thy son is alive. 34208 And he believed, he and the whole people of his house. And this is the second sign which Jesus did when he returned from Judaea to Galilee. 35210 And he was preaching in the synagogues of Galilee.

36211 And he left Nazareth, and came and dwelt in Capernaum by the sea shore, in the borders of Zebulun and Naphtali: 37212 that it might be fulfilled which was said in Isaiah the prophet, who said, 38213 The land of Zebulun, the land of Naphtali, The way of the sea, the passage of the Jordan, Galilee of the nations: 39214 The people sitting in darkness Saw a great light, And those sitting in the region and in the shadow of death, There appeared to them a light. 40215 And he taught them on the sabbaths. And they wondered because of his doctrine: for his word was as if it were authoritative. 41217 And there was in the synagogue a man with an unclean devil, and he cried out with a loud voice, and said, Let me alone; 42218 what have I to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come for our destruction? I know thee who thou art, thou Holy One of God. 43219 And Jesus rebuked him, and said, Stop up thy mouth, and come out of him. And the demon threw him in the midst and came out of him, having done him no harm. 44220 And great amazement took hold upon every man. And they talked one with another, and said, What is this word that orders the unclean spirits with

power and authority, and they come out? 45221 And the news of him spread abroad in all the region which was around them.

646222 And when Jesus went out of the synagogue, he saw a man sitting among the publicans, named Matthew: and he said unto him, Come after me. And he rose, and followed him. 47224 And Jesus came to the house of Simon and Andrew with James and John. 48225 And Simon's wife's mother was oppressed with a great fever, and they besought him for her. 49226 And he stood over her and rebuked her fever, and it left her, and immediately she rose and ministered to them. 50227 And at even they brought to him many that had demons: and he cast out their devils with the word. 51229 And all that had sick, their diseases being divers and malignant, brought them unto him. And he laid his hand on them one by one and healed them: 52231 that that might be fulfilled which was said in the prophet Isaiah, who said, He taketh our pains and beareth our diseases. 53232 And all the city was gathered together unto the door of Jesus. 54233 And he cast out devils also from many, as they were crying out and saying, Thou art the Messiah, the Son of God; and he rebuked them. And he suffered not the demons to speak, because they knew him that he was the Lord the Messiah.

SECTION VII.

11234 And in the morning of that day he went out very early, and went to a desert place, and was there praying. 2235 And Simon and those that were with him sought him. 3236 And when they found him, they said unto him, All the people seek for thee. 4237 He said unto them, Let us go into the adjacent villages and towns, that I may preach there also; for to this end did I come. 5238 And the multitudes were seeking him, and came till they reached him; and they took hold of him, that he should not go away from them. 6239 But Jesus said unto them, I must preach of the kingdom of God in other cities also: for because of this gospel was I sent. 7240 And Jesus was going about all the cities and the villages, and teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all the diseases and all the sicknesses, and casting out the devils. 8241 And his fame became known that he was teaching in every place and being glorified by every man. 9243 And when he passed by, he saw Levi the son of Alphaeus sitting among the tax-gatherers; and he said unto him, Follow me: and he rose and followed him. 10245 And the news of him was heard of in all the land of Syria: and they brought unto him all those whom grievous ills had befallen through

divers diseases, and those that were enduring torment, and those that were possessed, and lunatics, and paralytics; and he healed them.

211247 And after some days Jesus entered into Capernaum again. 12248 And when they heard that he was in the house, many gathered, so that it could not hold them, even about the door; and he made known to them the word of God. 13250 And there were there some of the Pharisees and the teachers of the law, sitting, come from all the villages of Galilee, and Judaea, and Jerusalem; and the power of the Lord was present to heal them. 14251 And some men brought a bed with a man on it who was paralytic. 15252 And they sought to bring him in and lay him before him. And when they found no way to bring him in because of the multitude of people, they went up to the roof, and let him down with his bed from the roofing, into the midst before Jesus. 16254 And when Jesus saw their faith, he said unto the paralytic, My son, thy sins are forgiven thee. 17255 And the scribes and Pharisees began to think within their hearts, Why doth this man blaspheme?

3 Who is it that is able to forgive sins, but God alone? 181 And Jesus knew by the spirit that they were thinking this within themselves, and he said unto them, Why do ye think this within your heart? 192 Which is better, that it should be said to the paralytic, Thy sins are forgiven thee, or that it should be said to him, Arise, and take thy bed, and walk? 204 That ye may know that the Son of man is empowered on earth to forgive sins (and he said to the paralytic), 215 I say unto thee, Arise, take thy bed, and go to thine house. 226 And he rose forthwith, and took his bed, and went out in the presence of all. And he went to his house praising God. 237 And when those multitudes saw, they feared; and amazement took possession of them, and they praised God, who had given such power to men. 248 And they said, We have seen marvellous things to-day, of which we have never before seen the like.

4259 And after that, Jesus went out, and saw a publican, named Levi, sitting among the publicans: and he said unto him, Follow me. 2611 And he left everything, and rose, and followed him. 2712 And Levi made him a great feast in his house. And there was a great multitude of the publicans and others sitting with him. 2813 And the scribes and Pharisees murmured, and said unto his disciples, Why do ye eat and drink with the publicans and sinners? 2914 Jesus answered and said unto them, The physician seeketh not those who are well, but those that are afflicted with grievous sickness. 3016 I

came not to call the righteous, but the sinners, to repentance. 3117 And they said unto him, Why do the disciples of John fast always, and pray, and the Pharisees also, but thy disciples eat and drink? 3218 He said unto them, Ye cannot make the sons of the marriage feast fast, while the bridegroom is with them. 3320 Days will come, when the bridegroom is taken away from them; then will they fast in those days. 3421 And he spake unto them a parable: No man inserteth a new patch and seweth it in a worn garment, lest the newness of the new take from the worn, and there occur a great rent. 3522 And no man putteth fresh wine into old skins, lest the wine burst the skins, and the skins be destroyed, and the wine spilled; but they put the fresh wine in the new skins, and both are preserved. 3623 And no man drinketh old wine and straightway desireth fresh; for he saith, The old is better.

5 3724 And while Jesus was walking on the sabbath day among the sown fields, his disciples hungered. And they were rubbing the ears with their hands, and eating. 3825 But some of the Pharisees, when they saw them, said unto him, See, why do thy disciples on the sabbath day that which is not lawful? 3927 But Jesus said unto them, Have ye not read in olden time what David did, when he had need and hungered, he and those that were with him? 4028 how he entered the house of God, when Abiathar was high priest, and ate the bread of the table of the Lord, which it was not lawful that any should eat, save the priests, and gave to them that were with him also? 4129 And he said unto them, The sabbath was created because of man, and man was not created because of the sabbath. 4230 Or have ye not read in the law, that the priests in the temple profane the sabbath, and yet they are blameless? 4331 I say unto you now, that here is what is greater than the temple. 4433 If ye had known this. I love mercy, not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned those on whom is no blame. 4536 The Lord of the sabbath is the Son of man. 4637 And his relatives heard, and went out to take him, and said, He hath gone out of his mind.

6 4738 And on the next sabbath day he entered into the synagogue and was teaching. 4841 And there was there a man whose right hand was withered. And the scribes and the Pharisees were watching him, whether he would heal on the sabbath day, that they might find the means of accusing him. 4942 But he knew their thoughts, and said unto the man whose hand was withered, Rise and come near into the midst of the synagogue. 5043 And when he came and stood, Jesus said unto them, I ask you, which is law-

ful to be done on the sabbath day, good or evil? shall lives be saved or destroyed? 5144 But they were silent. Regarding them with anger, being grieved because of the hardness of their hearts. And he said unto the man, Stretch out thy hand. And he stretched it out: and his hand became straight. 5246 Then he said unto them, What man of you shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a well on the sabbath day, will not take it and lift it out? 5347 And how much is man better than a sheep! Wherefore it is lawful on the sabbath to do good.

SECTION VIII.

1148 And the Pharisees went out, and consulted together concerning him, that they might destroy him. 249 And Jesus perceived, and removed thence: and great multitudes followed him; and he healed all of them: 350 and he forbade them that they should not make him known: 452 that the saying in Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled, which said, 553 Behold, my servant with whom I am pleased; My beloved in whom my soul hath delighted: My spirit have I put upon him, And he shall proclaim to the nations judgement. 656 He shall not dispute, nor cry out; And no man shall hear his voice in the marketplace. 757 And a bruised reed shall he not break, And a smoking lamp shall he not extinguish, Until he shall bring forth judgement unto victory. 859 And the nations shall rejoice in his name. 2961 And in those days Jesus went out to the mountain that he might pray, and he spent the night there in prayer to God. 1063 And when the morning was come, he called the disciples. And he went towards the sea: and there followed him much people from Galilee that he might pray, and from Judaea, 1165 and from Jerusalem, and from Idumaea, and from beyond Jordan, and from Tyre, and from Sidon, and from Decapolis; and great multitudes came unto him, which had heard what he did. 1266 And he spake to his disciples to bring him the boat because of the multitudes, that they might not throng him. 1367 And he healed many, so that they were almost falling on him on account of their seeking to get near him. And those that had plagues and unclean spirits, 1470 as soon as they beheld him, would fall, and cry out, and say, Thou art the Son of God. 1571 And he rebuked them much, that they should not make him known. 1672 And those that were under the constraint of unclean spirits were healed. 1774 And all of the crowd were seeking to come near him; because power went out from him, and he healed them all.

3 1876 And when Jesus saw the multitudes, he went up to the mountain.
 1977 And he called his disciples, and chose from them twelve; and they are
 those whom he named apostles: 2078 Simon, whom he named Cephas, and
 Andrew his brother, and James and John, and Philip and Bartholomew, and
 Matthew and Thomas, and 2179 James the son of Alphaeus, and 2280 Simon
 which was called the Zealot, and Judas the son of James, and Judas the Iscari-
 ot, being he that had betrayed him. 2382 And Jesus went down with them
 and stood in the plain, and the company of his disciples, and the great multi-
 tude of people. 2483 And these twelve he chose to be with him, and that he
 might send them to preach, 2584 and to have power to heal the sick and to
 cast out devils. 2685 Then he lifted up his eyes unto them, and opened his
 mouth, and taught them, and said,

4 2786 Blessed are the poor in spirit: for the kingdom of heaven is theirs.
 2887 Blessed are the sorrowful: for they shall be comforted. 2988 Blessed are
 the humble: for they shall inherit the earth. 3089 Blessed are they that hun-
 ger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be satisfied. 3190 Blessed are
 the merciful: for on them shall be mercy. 3291 Blessed are the pure in their
 hearts: for they shall see God. 3392 Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall
 be called the sons of God. 3493 Blessed are they that were persecuted for
 righteousness' sake: for the kingdom of heaven is theirs. 3595 Blessed are ye
 when men shall hate you, and separate you from them, and persecute you,
 and reproach you, and shall speak against you with all evil talk, for my sake,
 falsely. 3696 Then rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven: for
 so persecuted they the prophets before you.

5 3797 But woe unto you rich! for ye have received your consolation. 3898
 Woe unto you that are satisfied! ye shall hunger. Woe unto you that laugh
 now! ye shall weep and be sad. 3999 Woe unto you when men praise you! for
 so did their fathers use to do to the false prophets. 40100 Unto you do I say,
 ye which hear, Ye are the salt of the earth: if then the salt become tasteless,
 wherewith shall it be salted? For any purpose it is of no use, but is thrown
 outside, and men tread upon it. 41101 Ye are the light of the world. It is im-
 possible that a city built on a mountain should be hid. 42102 Neither do they
 light a lamp and place it under a bushel, but on the lamp-stand, and it giveth
 light to all who are in the house. 43103 So shall your light shine before men,
 that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heav-

en. 44105 There is nothing secret that shall not be revealed, or hidden that shall not be known. 45106 Whoever hath ears that hear, let him hear.

646107 Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets; I came not to destroy, but to complete. 47108 Verily I say unto you, Until heaven and earth shall pass, there shall not pass one point or one letter of the law, until all of it shall be accomplished. 48109 Every one who shall violate now one of these small commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called lacking in the kingdom of heaven: every one that shall do and teach shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven. 49111 I say unto you now, unless your righteousness abound more than that of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven. 50112 Ye have heard that it was said to the ancients, Do not kill; and every one that killeth is worthy of the judgement. 51113 But I say unto you that every one who is angry with his brother without a cause is worthy of the judgement; and every one that saith to his brother, Thou foul one, is condemned by the synagogue; and whosoever saith to him, Thou fool, is worthy of the fire of Gehenna. 52115 If thou art now offering thy gift at the altar, and rememberest there that thy brother hath conceived against thee any grudge, 53116 leave thy gift at the altar, and go first and satisfy thy brother, and then return and offer thy gift. 54117 Join thine adversary quickly, and while thou art still with him in the way, give a ransom and free thyself from him; test thine adversary deliver thee to the judge, 55119 and the judge deliver thee to the tax-collector, and thou fall into prison. 56120 And verily I say unto thee, Thou shall not go out thence until thou payest the last farthing.

757121 Ye have heard that it was said, Do not commit adultery: 58122 but I now say unto you, that every one that looketh at a woman lusting after her hath forthwith already committed adultery with her in his heart. 59123 If thy right eye injure thee, put it out and cast it from thee; for it is preferable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not thy whole body go into the fire of hell. 60124 And if thy right hand injure thee, cut it off and cast it from thee; and it is better for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not thy whole body fall into Gehenna. 61125 It was said that he that putteth away his wife should give her a writing of divorcement: 62126 but I say unto you, that every one that putteth away his wife, except for the cause of adultery, hath made it lawful for her to commit adultery: and whosoever taketh one that is put away committeth adultery.

SECTION IX.

¹1128 Ye have heard also that it was said unto the ancients, Lie not, but perform unto God in thy oaths: 2129 but I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; 3130 nor by the earth, for it is a footstool under his feet; nor yet by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King. 4132 Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, for thou canst not make in it one lock of hair black or white. 5133 But your word shall be either Yea or Nay, and what is in excess of this is of the evil one. 6134 Ye have heard that it was said, Eye for eye, and tooth for tooth: 7135 but I say unto you, Stand not in opposition to the evil; but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him also the other. 8138 And he that would sue thee, and take thy tunic, leave to him also thy wrapper. 9 And whosoever compelleth thee one mite, go with him twain. 10139 And he that asketh thee, give unto him: and he that would borrow of thee, prevent him not. And prosecute not him that taketh thy substance. 11141 And as ye desire that men should do to you, so do ye also to them.

²12142 Ye have heard that it was said, Love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy: 13143 but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for those that curse you, and deal well with those that hate you, and pray for those who take you with violence and persecute you; 14144 that ye may be sons of your heavenly Father, who maketh his sun to rise on the good and the evil, and sendeth down his rain on the righteous and the unrighteous. 15145 If ye love them that love you, what reward shall ye have? for the publicans and sinners also love those that love them. 16146 And if ye do a kindness to those who treat you well, where is your superiority? for sinners also do likewise. 17147 And if ye lend to him of whom ye hope for a reward, where is your superiority? for the sinners also lend to sinners, seeking recompense from them. 18150 But love your enemies, and do good to them, and lend, and cut not off the hope of any man; that your reward may be great, and ye may be the children of the Highest: for he is lenient towards the wicked and the ungrateful. 19151 Be ye merciful, even as your Father also is merciful. 20152 And if ye inquire for the good of your brethren only, what more have ye done than others? is not this the conduct of the publicans also? 21153 Be ye now perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.

³22155 Consider your alms; do them not before men to let them see you: and if it be not so, ye have no reward before your Father which is in the

heavens. 23157 When then thou givest an alms now, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as do the people of hypocrisy, in the synagogues and the market-places, that men may praise them. And verily say I unto you, They have received their reward. 24158 But thou, when thou doest alms, let thy left hand not know what thy right hand doeth; 25159 that thine alms may be concealed: and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly. 4 26160 And whenever thou prayest, be not as the hypocrites, who love to stand in the synagogues and in the corners of the marketplaces for prayers, that men may behold them. 27161 And verily say I unto you, They have received their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and fasten thy door, and pray to thy Father in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly. 28162 And whenever ye pray, be not babblers, as the heathen; for they think that by the abundance of their words they shall be heard. 29163 Then be not ye now like unto them: for your Father knoweth your request before ye ask him. 30164 One of his disciples said unto him, Our Lord, teach us to pray, as John taught his disciples. 31165 Jesus said unto them, Thus now pray ye now: 32167 Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. 33168 Thy kingdom come. 34169 Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us the food of to-day. 35171 And forgive, us our trespasses, as we forgave those that trespassed against us. 36172 And bring us not into temptations, but deliver us from the evil one. 37173 For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. If ye forgive men their wrong-doing, your Father which is in heaven will forgive you. 38176 But if ye forgive not men, neither will your Father pardon your wrong-doing.

5 39177 When ye fast, do not frown, as the hypocrites; for they make their faces austere, that they may be seen of men that they are fasting. Verily I say unto you, They have received their reward. 40179 But when thou fastest, wash thy face and anoint thy head; 41180 that thou make not an appearance to men of fasting, but to thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee. 42181 Be not agitated, little flock; for your Father hath delighted to give you the kingdom. 43182 Sell your possessions, and give in alms; take to yourselves purses that wax not old. 44183 Lay not up treasure on earth, where moth and worm corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: 45184 but lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven, where moth and worm do not corrupt, nor thieves break through nor steal: 46185

for where your treasure is, there also will your heart be. 47186 The lamp of the body is the eye: if then thine eye now be sound, thy whole body also shall be light. 48188 But if thine eye be evil, all thy body shall be dark. And if the light which is in thee is darkness, how great is thy darkness! 49190 Be watchful that the light which is in thee be not darkness. 50191 Because that, if thy whole body is light, and have no part dark, it shall all be light, as the lamp giveth light to thee with its flame.

SECTION X.

11192 No man can serve two masters; and that because it is necessary that he hate one of them and love the other, and honour one of them and despise the other. 2193 Ye cannot serve God and possessions. And because of this I say unto you, Be not anxious for yourselves, what ye shall eat and what ye shall drink; neither for your bodies, what ye shall put on. Is not the life better than the food, and the body than the raiment? 3195 Consider the birds of the heaven, which sow not, nor reap, nor store in barns; and yet your Father which is in heaven feedeth them. Are not ye better than they? 4196 Who of you when he trieth is able to add to his stature one cubit? 5197 If then ye are not able for a small thing, why are ye anxious about the rest? 6198 Consider the wild lily, how it grows, although it toils not, nor spins; 7199 and I say unto you that Solomon in the greatness of his glory was not clothed like one of them. 8200 And if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, how much more shall be unto you, O ye of little faith! 9202 Be not anxious, so as to say, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, With what shall we be clothed? 10203 Neither let your minds be perplexed in this: all these things the nations of the world seek; and your Father which is in heaven knoweth your need of all these things. 11204 Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these shall come to you as something additional for you. 12205 Be not anxious for the morrow; for the morrow shall be anxious for what belongs to it. Sufficient unto the day is its evil.

213206 Judge not, that ye be not judged: condemn not, that ye be not condemned: 14208 forgive, and it shall be forgiven you: release, and ye shall be released: give, that ye may be given unto; with good measure, abundant, full, they shall thrust into your bosoms. 15210 With what measure ye measure it shall be measured to you. See to it what ye hear: with what measure ye measure it shall be measured to you; and ye shall be given more. 16211 I say

unto those that hear, He that hath shall be given unto; and he that hath not, that which he regards as his shall be taken from him. 17213 And he spake unto them a parable, Can a blind man haply guide a blind man? shall they not both fall into a hollow? 18215 A disciple is not better than his master; every perfect man shall be as his master. 19216 Why lookest thou at the mote which is in the eye of thy brother, but considerest not the column that is in thine own eye? 20217 Or how canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, I will take out the mote from thine eye; and the column which is in thine eye thou seest not? Thou hypocrite, take out first the column from thine eye; and then shalt thou see to take out the mote from the eye of thy brother.

3 21218 Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast your pearls before the swine, lest they trample them with their feet, and return and wound you. 22219 And he said unto them, Who of you, that hath a friend, goeth to him at midnight, and saith unto him, 23220 My friend, lend me three loaves; for a friend hath come to me from a journey, and I have nothing to offer to him: 24221 and that friend shall answer him from within, and say unto him, Trouble me not; for the door is shut, and my children are with me in bed, and I cannot rise and give thee? 25222 And verily I say unto you, If he will not give him because of friendship, yet because of his importunity he will rise and give him what he seeketh. 26223 And I also say unto you, Ask, and ye shall be given unto; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. 27224 Every one that asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth, and he that knocketh, it shall be opened to him. 28225 What father of you, shall his son ask for bread-will he, think you, give him a stone? and if he ask of him a fish, will he, think you, 29227 instead of the fish give him a serpent? and if he ask him for an egg, will he, think you, extend to him a scorpion? 30228 If ye then, although being evil, know the gifts which are good, and give them to your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him? 31229 Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: this is the law and the prophets.

4 32230 Enter ye by the narrow gate; for the wide gate and the broad way lead to destruction, and many they be which go therein. 33232 How narrow is the gate and straitened the way leading to life! and few be they that find it. 5 34233 Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, while within they are ravening wolves. 35235 But by their fruits ye shall

know them. For every tree is known by its fruit. For figs are not gathered of thorns, neither are grapes plucked of briers. 36237 Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but the evil tree bringeth forth evil fruit. 37238 The good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can the evil tree bring forth good fruit. 38239 The good man from the good treasures that are in his heart bringeth forth good things; and the evil man from the evil treasures that are in his heart bringeth forth evil things: and from the overflowings of the heart the lips speak. 39240 Every tree that beareth not good fruit is cut down and cast into the fire. 40241 Therefore by their fruits ye shall know them. 41242 Not all that say unto me, My Lord, my Lord, shall enter the kingdom of the heavens; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. 42243 Many shall say unto me in that day, My Lord, my Lord, did we not prophesy in thy name, and in thy name cast out devils, and in thy name do many powers? 43244 Then shall I say unto them, I never knew you:

 6 depart from me, ye servants of iniquity. 44245 Every man that cometh unto me, and heareth my sayings, and doeth them, I will shew you to what he is like: 45246 he is like the wise man which built a house, and digged and went deep, and laid the foundations on a rock: and the rain came down, and the rivers overflowed, and the winds blew, and shook that house, and it fell not: 46247 for its foundation was laid on rocks. 47248 And every one that heareth these my words, and doeth them not, is like the foolish man which built his house on sand, without foundation: 48249. and the rain descended, and the rivers overflowed, and the winds blew, and smote upon that house, and it fell: and the fall of it was great.

SECTION XI.

11250 And when Jesus finished these sayings, the multitudes were astonished at his teaching; 2251 and that because he was teaching them as one having authority, not as their scribes and the Pharisees. 3252 And when he descended from the mountain, great multitudes followed him. 4253 And when Jesus entered Capernaum, the servant of one of the chiefs was in an evil case, and he was precious to him, and he was at the point of death. 5254 And he heard of Jesus, and came to him with the elders of the Jews; 6255 and he besought him, and said, My Lord, my boy is laid in the house paralysed, and he is suffering grievous torment. 71 And the elders urgently requested of him, and said, He is worthy that this should be done unto him: 82 for he loveth our people, and he also built the synagogue for us. 93 Jesus said unto him, I

will come and heal him. 104 That chief answered and said, My Lord, I am not worthy that my roof should shade thee; but it sufficeth that thou speak a word, and my lad shall be healed. 115 And I also am a man in obedience to authority, having under my hand soldiers: and I say to this one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant that he do this, and he doeth it. 127 And when Jesus heard that, he marvelled at him, and turned and said unto the multitude that were coming with him, Verily I say unto you, I have not found in Israel the like of this faith. 139 I say unto you, that many shall come from the east and the west, and shall recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven: 1410 but the children of the kingdom shall be cast forth into the outer darkness: and there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. 1511 And Jesus said to that chief, Go thy way; as thou hast believed, so shall it be unto thee. 1612 And his lad was healed in that hour. And that chief returned to the house and found that sick servant healed.

31713 And the day after, he was going to a city called Nain, and his disciples with him, and a great multitude. 1814 And when he was come near the gate of the city, he saw a crowd accompanying one that was dead, the only son of his mother; and his mother was a widow: and there was with her a great multitude of the people of the city. 1916 And when Jesus saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not. 2017 And he went and advanced to the bier, and the bearers of it stood still; and he said, Young man, I say unto thee, Arise. 2118 And that dead man sat up and began to speak; and he gave him to his mother. 2219 And fear came on all the people: and they praised God, and said, There hath risen among us a great prophet: and, God hath had regard to his people. 2320 And this news concerning him spread in all Judaea, and in all the region which was about them.

42421 And when Jesus saw great multitudes surrounding him, he commanded them to depart to the other side. 2522 And while they were going in the way, there came one of the scribes and said unto him, My Master, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest. Jesus said unto him, 2623 The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven have nests; but the Son of man hath not a place in which to lay his head. 2724 And he said unto another, Follow me. And he said unto him, My Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father. 2825 Jesus said unto him, Leave the dead to bury their dead; but thou, follow me and preach the kingdom of God. 2926 And another said unto him, I will

follow thee, my Lord; but first suffer me to go and salute my household and come. 3027 Jesus said unto him, There is no one who putteth his hand to the plough and looketh behind him, and yet is fit for the kingdom of God.

5 3129 And he said to them on that day in the evening, Let us go over to the other side of the lake; and he left the multitudes. 3231 And Jesus went up and sat in the ship, he and his disciples, and there were with them other ships. 3332 And there occurred on the sea a great tempest of whirlwind and wind, and the ship was on the point of sinking from the greatness of the waves. 3435 But Jesus was sleeping on a cushion in the stern of the ship; and his disciples came and awoke him, and said unto him, Our Lord, save us; lo, we perish. 3536 And he rose, and rebuked the winds and the turbulence of the water, and said to the sea, Be still, for thou art rebuked; and the wind was still, and there was a great calm. 3637 And he said unto them, Why are ye thus afraid? and why have ye no faith? 3738 And they feared greatly. And they marvelled, and said one to another, Who, think you, is this, who commandeth also the wind and the waves and the sea, and they obey him?

6 3840 And they departed and came to the country of the Gadarenes, which is on the other side, opposite the land of Galilee. 3941 And when he went out of the ship to the land, there met him from among the tombs a man who had a devil for a long time, and wore no clothes, neither dwelt in a house, but among the tombs. 4042 And no man was able to bind him with chains, because any time that he was bound with chains and fetters he cut the chains and loosened the fetters; 4143 and he was snatched away of the devil into the desert, and no man was able to quiet him; and at all times, in the night and in the day, he would be among the tombs and in the mountains; 4245 and no man was able to pass by that way; and he would cry out and wound himself with stones. 4346 And when he saw Jesus at a distance, he hastened and worshipped him, and cried with a loud voice and said, 4447 What have we to do with thee, Jesus, Son of the most high God? 4548 I adjure thee by God, torment me not. And Jesus commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the man: and he had suffered a long time since the time when he came into captivity to it. 4650 And Jesus asked him, What is thy name? He said unto him, Legion;

7 for there had entered into him many devils. 4751 And they besought him that he would not command them to depart into the depths. 4852 And there was there a herd of many swine, feeding in the mountain, and those

devils besought him to give them leave to enter the swine; and he gave them leave. 4953 And the devils went out of the man and entered into the swine. And that herd hastened to the summit and fell down into the midst of the sea, about two thousand, and they were choked in the water. 5054 And when the keepers saw what happened, they fled, and told those in the cities and villages. 5155 And the people went out to see what had happened; and they came to Jesus, and found the man whose devils had gone out, clothed, modest, seated at the feet of Jesus; and they feared. 5257 And they reported what they saw, and how the man was healed who had a devil, and concerning those swine also.

SECTION XII.

1158 And all the multitude of the Gadarenes entreated him to depart from them, because that great fear took hold upon them. 259 But Jesus went up into the ship, and crossed, and came to his city. 360 And that man from whom the devils went out entreated that he might stay with him; but Jesus sent him away, and said unto him, 461 Return to thy house, and make known what God hath done for thee. 562 And he went, and began to publish in Decapolis what Jesus had done for him; and they all marvelled. 664 And when Jesus had crossed in the ship to that side, a great multitude received him; and they were all looking for him. 765 And a man named Jairus, the chief of the synagogue, fell before the feet of Jesus, 866 and besought him much, and said unto him, I have an only daughter, and she is come nigh unto death; but come and lay thy hand upon her, and she shall live. 967 And Jesus rose, and his disciples, and they followed him. 1068 And there joined him a great multitude, and they pressed him.

21169 And a woman, which had a flow of blood for twelve years, 1270 had suffered much of many physicians, and spent all that she had, and was not benefited at all, but her trouble increased further. 1371 And when she heard of Jesus, she came in the thronging of the crowd behind him, 1472 and touched his garments; and she thought within herself, If I could reach to touch his garments, I should live. 1574 And immediately the fountain of her blood was dried; and she felt in her body that she was healed of her plague. 1675 And Jesus straightway knew within himself that power had gone out of him; and he turned to the crowd, and said, Who approached unto my garments? 1776 And on their denying, all of them, Simon Cephas and those with him said unto him, Our Master, the multitudes throng thee

and press thee, and sayest thou, Who approached unto me? 1877 And he said, Some one approached unto me; and I knew that power went forth from me. 1978 And that woman, when she saw that she was not hid from him, came fearing and agitated (for she knew what had happened to her), 2079 and fell down and worshipped him, and told, in the presence of all the people, for what reason she touched him, and how she was healed immediately. 2180 And Jesus said unto her, Be of good courage, daughter; thy faith hath made thee alive; depart in peace, and be whole from thy plague.

3 2281 And while he was yet speaking, there came a man from the house of the chief of the synagogue, and said unto him, Thy daughter hath died; so trouble not the teacher. 2382 But Jesus heard, and said unto the father of the maid, Fear not: but believe only, and she shall live. 2483 And he suffered no man to go with him, except Simon Cephas, and James, and John the brother of James. 2584 And they reached the house of the chief of the synagogue; and he saw them agitated, weeping and wailing. And he entered, and said unto them, 2685 Why are ye agitated and weeping? the maid hath not died, but she is sleeping. 2786 And they laughed at him, for they knew that she had died. 2887 And he put every man forth without, and took the father of the maid, and her mother, and Simon, and James, and John, and entered into the place where the maid was laid. 2988 And he took hold of the hand of the maid, and said unto her, Maid, arise. And her spirit returned, and straightway she arose and walked: 3089 and she was about twelve years of age. And he commanded that there should be given to her something to eat. 3190 And her father wondered greatly: and he warned them that they should tell no man what had happened. 3291 And this report spread in all that land.

4 3392 And when Jesus crossed over from there, there joined him two blind men, crying out, and saying, Have mercy on us, thou son of David. 3493 And when he came to the house, those two blind men came to him: and Jesus said unto them, Believe ye that I am able to do this? They said unto him, Yea, our Lord. 3594 Then he touched their eyes, and said, As ye have believed, it shall be unto you. 3696 And immediately their eyes were opened. And Jesus forbade them, and said, See that no man know. 3797 But they went out and published the news in all that land. 3898 And when Jesus went out, they brought to him a dumb man having a devil. 3999 And on the going out of the devil that dumb man spake. And the multitudes marvelled, and said, It was never so seen in Israel

540100 And Jesus was going about in all the cities and in the villages, and teaching in their synagogues, and proclaiming the good news of the kingdom, and healing every disease and sickness; and many followed him. 41101 And when Jesus saw the multitudes, he had compassion on them, for they were wearied and scattered, as sheep that have no shepherd. 42103 And he called his twelve disciples, and gave them power and much authority over all devils and diseases; 43104 and sent them two and two, that they might proclaim the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick. 44105 And he charged them, and said, Walk not in the way of the heathen, nor enter into the cities of the Samaritans. 45107 Go especially unto the sheep that are lost of the sons of Israel. 46108 And when ye go, proclaim and say, The kingdom of heaven is come near. 47109 And heal the sick, and cleanse the lepers, and cast out the devils: freely ye have received, freely give. 48110 Get you not gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses; and take nothing for the way, 49111 except a staff only; nor bag, nor bread; neither shall ye have two tunics, nor shoes, nor staff, but be shod with sandals; 50112 for the labourer is worthy of his food. 51113 And whatever city or village ye enter, inquire who is worthy in it, and there be until ye go out. 52114 And when ye enter into the house, ask for the peace of the house:

6and if the house is worthy, your peace shall come upon it; 53115 but if it is not worthy, your peace shall return unto you. 54116 And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your sayings, when ye go out from that house, or from that village, shake off the dust that is under your feet against them for a testimony. 55117 And verily I say unto you, To the land of Sodom and Gomorrah there shall be rest in the day of judgement, rather than to that city.

SECTION XIII.

11118 I am sending you as lambs among wolves: be ye now wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. 2120 Beware of men: they shall deliver you to the councils of the magistrates, and scourge you in their synagogues; 3121 and shall bring you before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and against the nations. 4122 And when they deliver you up, be not anxious, nor consider beforehand, what ye shall say; but ye shall be given in that hour what ye ought to speak. 5125 Ye do not speak, but the Spirit of your Father speaketh in you. 6126 The brother shall deliver up his brother to death, and the father his son; and the sons shall rise against their parents, and put them to death. 7127 And ye shall be hated of every man because of

my name; but he that endureth unto the end of the matter shall be saved. 8129 When they expel you from this city, flee to another. Verily I say unto you, Ye shall not finish all the cities of the people of Israel, until the Son of man come.

2 9130 A disciple is not superior to his lord, nor a servant to his master. 10131 For it is enough then for the disciple that he be as his lord, and the servant as his master. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebul, how much more the people of his house! 11132 Fear them not therefore: for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; nor hid, that shall not be disclosed and published. 12134 What I say unto you in the darkness, speak ye in the light; and what ye have told secretly in the ears in closets, let it be proclaimed on the housetops. 13135 I say unto you now, my beloved, Be not agitated at those who kill the body, but have no power to kill the soul. I will inform you whom ye shall fear: 14137 him which is able to destroy soul and body in hell. 15139 Yea, I say unto you, Be afraid of him especially. Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing in a bond? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. 16141 But what concerns you: even the hair of your heads also is numbered. 17142 Fear not therefore; ye are better than many sparrows. 18143 Every man who confesseth me now before men, I also will confess him before my Father which is in heaven; 19144 but whosoever denieth me before men, I also will deny him before my Father which is in heaven.

3 20145 Think ye that I am come to cast peace into the earth? I came not to cast peace, but to cast dissension. 21146 Henceforth there shall be five in one house, three of them disagreeing with two, and the two with the three. 22147 The father shall become hostile to his son, and the son to his father; and the mother to her daughter, and the daughter to her mother; and the mother in law to her daughter in law, and the daughter in law to her mother in law: 23148 and a man's enemies shall be the people of his house. 24149 Whosoever loveth father or mother better than me is not worthy of me; and whosoever loveth son or daughter more than his love of me is not worthy of me. 25150 And every one that doth not take his cross and follow me is not worthy of me. 26151 Whosoever findeth his life shall lose it; and whosoever loseth his life for my sake shall find it.

4 27154 And whosoever receiveth you receiveth me; and whosoever receiveth me receiveth him that sent me. 28155 And whosoever receiveth a

prophet in the name of a prophet shall take a prophet's reward; and whosoever shall receive a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall take a righteous man's reward. 29158 And every one that shall give to drink to one of these least ones a drink of water only, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward. 30159 And when Jesus finished charging his twelve disciples, he removed thence to teach and preach in their cities. 31160 And while they were going in the way they entered into a certain village; and a woman named Martha entertained him in her house. 32161 And she had a sister named Mary, and she came and sat at the feet of our Lord, and heard his sayings. 33162 But Martha was disquieted by much serving; and she came and said unto him, My Lord, givest thou no heed that my sister left me alone to serve? speak to her that she help me. 34163 Jesus answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art solicitous and impatient on account of many things: but what is sought is one thing. 35165 But Mary hath chosen for herself a good portion, and that which shall not be taken from her.

5 36166 And the apostles went forth, and preached to the people that they might repent. 37167 And they cast out many devils, and anointed many sick with oil, and healed them. 38168 And the disciples of John told him of all these things. 39170 And when John heard in the prison of the doings of the Messiah, he called two of his disciples, and sent them to Jesus, and said, Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another? 40171 And they came to Jesus, and said unto him, John the Baptist hath sent us unto thee, and said. 41172 Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another? And in that hour he cured many of diseases, and of plagues of an evil spirit; and he gave sight to many blind. 42173 Jesus answered and said unto them, Go and tell John everything ye have seen and heard: the blind see, and the lame walk, and the lepers are cleansed, and the blind hear, and the dead rise, and the poor have the gospel preached to them. 43175 And blessed is he who doubteth not in me.

6 44176 And when John's disciples departed, Jesus began to say to the multitudes concerning John, What went ye out into the wilderness to see? a reed shaken with the winds? And if not, then what went ye out to see? a man clothed in soft raiment? 45177 Behold, they that are in magnificent garments and in voluptuousness are in the abode of kings. 46178 And if not, then what went ye out to see? a prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a

prophet. 47179 This is he of whom it is written, I am sending my messenger before thy face To prepare the way before thee.

SECTION XIV.

11180 Verily I say unto you, There hath not arisen among those whom women have borne a greater than John the Baptist; but he that is little now in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he. 22181 And all the people which heard, and the publicans, justified God, for they had been baptized with the baptism of John. 3183 But the Pharisees and the scribes wronged the purpose of God in themselves, in that they were not baptized of him. 4185 And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven is snatched away by violence. 5186 The law and the prophets were until John; and after that, the kingdom of God is preached, and all press to enter it: and they that exert themselves snatch it away. 6187 All the prophets and the law until John prophesied. 7188 And if ye will, then receive it, that he is Elijah, which is to come. 8189 Whosoever hath ears that hear let him hear. 9190 Easier is the perishing of heaven and earth, than the passing away of one point of the law. 10191 To whom then shall I liken the people of this generation, and to whom are they like? 11193 They are like the children sitting in the market, which call to their companions, and say, We sang to you, and ye danced not; we wailed to you, and ye wept not. 12194 John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine; and ye said, 13195 He hath demons: and the Son of man came eating and drinking;

3 and ye said, Behold, a gluttonous man, and a drinker of wine, and an associate of publicans and sinners! 14196 And wisdom was justified of all her children. 15197 And when he said that, they came to the house. And there gathered unto him again multitudes, so that they found not bread to eat. 16198 And while he was casting out a devil which was dumb, when he cast out that devil, that dumbman spake. And the multitudes marvelled. 17199 And the Pharisees, when they heard, said, This man doth not cast out the devils, except by Beelzebul the chief of the demons, which is in him. 18200 And others requested of him a sign from heaven, to tempt him. 19201 And Jesus knew their thoughts, and said unto them in parables, Every kingdom that withstandeth itself shall become desolate; and every house or city that disagreeeth with itself shall not stand: 20202 and if a devil cast out a devil, he withstandeth himself; neither shall he be able to stand, but his end shall be. 21203 Then how now shall his kingdom stand? for ye said that I cast out

devils by Beelzebul. 22204 And if I by Beelzebul cast out the devils, then your children, by what do they cast them out?

4 And for this cause they shall be judges against you. 23205 But if I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, then the kingdom of God is come near unto you. 24206 Or how can aman enter into the house of a valiant man, and seize his garments, if he do not beforehand secure himself from that valiant man? and then will he cut off his house. 25210 But when the valiant man is armed, guarding his house, his possessions are in peace. 26211 But if one come who is more valiant than he, he overcometh him, and taketh his whole armour, on which he relieth, and divideth his spoil. 27212 Whosoever is not with me is against me; and whosoever gathereth not with me scattereth abroad. 28213 For this reason I say unto you, that all sins and blasphemies with which men blaspheme shall be forgiven them: 29214 but whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit, there is no forgiveness for him for ever, but he is deserving of eternal punishment: 30215 because they said that he had an unclean spirit. 31216 And he said also, Every one that speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. 32217 Either ye must make a good tree and its fruit good; or ye must make an evil tree and its fruit evil:

5 for the tree is known by its fruit. 33220 Ye children of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things? from the overflowings of the heart the mouth speaketh. 34221 The good man from the good treasures which are in his heart bringeth forth good things; and the wicked man from the evil treasures which are in his heart bringeth forth evils. 35222 I say unto you, that every idle word which men shall speak, they shall give an answer for in the day of judgement: 36223 for by thy sayings thou shalt be justified, and by thy sayings thou shalt be judged. 37224 And he said to the multitudes, When ye see the clouds appear from the west, straightway ye say that there cometh rain; and so it cometh to pass. 38225 And when the south wind bloweth, ye say that there will be heat; and it cometh to pass. 39226 And when the evening is come, ye say, It will be fair weather, for the heaven has become red. 40227 And in the morning ye say, To-day there will be severe weather, for the redness of the heaven is paling. Ye hypocrites, ye know to examine the face of the heaven and the earth; but the signs of this time ye know not to discern. 41228 Then they brought to him one possessed of a de-

mon, dumb and blind; and he healed him, so that the dumb and blind began to speak and see. 42229 And all the multitudes wondered, and said, Is this, think you, the son of David?

7 43230 And he said unto them, Come, let us go into the desert alone, and rest yea little. And many were going and returning, and they had not leisure, not even to eat bread. 45231 And after that, there came to him one of the Pharisees, and besought him that he would eat bread with him. And he entered into the house of that Pharisee, and reclined. 46232 And there was in that city a woman that was a sinner; and when she knew that he was sitting in the house of that Pharisee, she took a box of sweet ointment, and stood behind him, 47233 towards his feet, weeping, and began to wet his feet with her tears, and to wipe them with the hair of her head, and to kiss his feet, and anoint them with the sweet ointment. 48234 And when that Pharisee saw it, who invited him, he thought within himself, and said, This man, if he were a prophet, would know who she is and what is her history: for the woman which touched him was a sinner.

SECTION XV.

11236 Jesus answered and said unto him, Simon, I have something to say unto thee. And he said unto him, Say on, my Master. 2237 Jesus said unto him, There were two debtors to one creditor; and one of them owed five hundred pence, and the other owed fifty pence. 3238 And because they had not wherewith to pay, he forgave them both. 4239 Which of them ought to love him more? Simon answered and said, I suppose, he to whom he forgave most. Jesus said unto him, Thou hast judged rightly. 5240 And he turned to that woman, and said to Simon, Dost thou see this woman? I entered into thy dwelling, and thou gavest me not water to wash my feet: but this woman hath bathed my feet with her tears, and dried them with her hair. 6242 And thou kissedst me not: but this woman, since she entered, hath not ceased to kiss my feet. 7244 And thou anointedst not my head with oil: 8245 but this woman hath anointed my feet with sweet ointment. 9247 And for this, I say unto thee, Her many sins are forgiven her, because she loved much; for he to whom little is forgiven loveth little. 10248 And he said unto that woman, Thy sins are forgiven thee. And those that were invited began to say within themselves, Who is this that forgiveth sins also? 11249 And Jesus said to that woman, Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.

212250 And many believed in him when they saw the signs which he was doing. 13251 But Jesus did not trust himself to them, 14253 for he knew every man, and he needed not any man to testify to him concerning every man; for he knew what was in man. 315254 And after that, Jesus set apart from his disciples other seventy, and sent them two and two before his face to every region and city whither he was purposing to go. 16255 And he said unto them, The harvest is abundant, and the labourers are few: 170 entreat now the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth labourers into his harvest. Go ye: and lo, I am sending you as lambs among wolves. 181 Take not with you purses, nor a wallet, nor shoes; neither salute any man in the way. 192 And whatsoever house ye enter, first salute that house: 203 and if there be there a son of peace, let your peace rest upon him; but if there be not, your peace shall return to you. 214 And be ye in that house eating and drinking what they have: for the labourer is worthy of his hire. 226 And remove not from house to house. And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat what is presented to you: 237 and heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come near unto you. 248 But whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you not, go out into the market, and say, 259 Even the dust that clave to our feet from your city, we shake off against you;

4but know this, that the kingdom of God is come near unto you. 2612 I say unto you, that for Sodom there shall be quiet in the day of judgement, but there shall not be for that city. 2713 Then began Jesus to rebuke the cities in which there had been many mighty works, and they repented not. 2815 And he said, Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! if there had been in Tyre and Sidon the signs which were in thee, it may be that they would have repented in sackcloth and ashes. 2916 Howbeit I say unto you, that for Tyre and Sidon there shall be rest in the day of judgement, more than for you. 3017 And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt sink down unto Hades; for if there had been in Sodom the wonders which were in thee, it would have remained until this day. 3119 And now I say unto thee, that for the land of Sodom there shall be quiet in the day of judgement, more than for thee.

53220 And he said again unto his apostles, Whosoever heareth you heareth me; and whosoever heareth me heareth him that sent me: and whosoever wrongeth you wrongeth me; and whosoever wrongeth me wrongeth him that sent me. 3322 And those seventy returned with great joy, and said

unto him, Our Lord, even the devils also are subject unto us in thy name. 3423 He said unto them, I beheld Satan fallen like lightning from heaven. 3525 Behold, I am giving you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and the whole race of the enemy; and nothing shall hurt you. 3627 Only ye must not rejoice that the devils are subject unto you; but be glad that your names are written in heaven. 3728 And in that hour Jesus rejoiced in the Holy Spirit, and said, I acknowledge thee, my Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto children: yea, my Father; so was thy will. 3829 And he turned to his disciples, and said unto them, Everything hath been delivered to me of my Father: and no man knoweth who the Son is, save the Father; and who the Father is, save the Son, and to whomsoever the Son wil- leth to reveal him. 3931 Come unto me, all of you, ye that are wearied and bearers of burdens, and I will give you rest. 4032 Bear my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am gentle and lowly in my heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. 4134 For my yoke is pleasant, and my burden is light.

64235 And while great multitudes were going with him, he turned, and said unto them, 4336 Whosoever cometh unto me, and hateth not his father, and his mother, and his brethren, and his sisters, and his wife, and his children, and himself also, cannot be a disciple to me. 4438 And whosoever doth not take his cross, and follow me, cannot be a disciple to me. 4539 Which of you desireth to build a tower, and doth not sit down first and reckon on his expenses and whether he hath enough to complete it? lest when he hath laid the foundations, 4641 and is not able to finish, all that behold him laugh at him, and say, 4743 This man began to build, and was not able to finish. 4844 Or what king goeth to the battle to fight with another king, and doth not consider first whether he is able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh to him with twenty thousand? 4946 And if he is not able, he sendeth unto him while he is afar off, and seeketh peace. 5047 So shall every man of you consider, that desireth to be a disciple to me; for if he re- nounceth not all that he hath, he cannot be a disciple to me.

SECTION XVI.

1149 Then answered certain of the scribes and Pharisees, that they might tempt him, and said, Teacher, we desire to see a sign from thee. 250 He answered and said, This evil and adulterous generation seeketh a sign; and it shall not be given a sign, except the sign of Jonah the prophet. 352 And as

Jonah was a sign to the inhabitants of Nineveh, so shall the Son of man also be to this generation. 453 And as Jonah was in the belly of the great fish three days and three nights, so shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights. 554 The queen of the south shall rise in the judgement with the people of this generation, and condemn them: for she came from the ends of the earth that she might hear the wisdom of Solomon; and behold, here is a better than Solomon. 656 The men of Nineveh shall stand in the judgement with this generation, and condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and behold, here is a greater than Jonah. 757 The unclean spirit, when he goeth out of the man, departeth, and goeth about through places wherein are no waters, that he may find rest for himself; and when he findeth it not, he saith, I will return to my house whence I came out. 858 And if he come and find it adorned and set in order, 959 then he goeth, and associateth with himself seven other spirits worse than himself; and they enter and dwell in it: and the end of that man shall be worse than his beginning. 1060 Thus shall it be unto this evil generation.

21161 And while he was saying that, a woman from the multitude lifted up her voice, and said unto him, Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the breasts that nursed thee. 1262 But he said unto her, Blessed is he that heareth the word of God, and keepeth it. 1363 And while he was speaking unto the multitude, there came unto him his mother and his brethren, 1464 and sought to speak with him; and they were not able, because of the multitude; and they stood without and sent, calling him unto them. 1565 A man said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren are standing without, and seek to speak with thee. 1666 But he answered unto him that spake unto him, Who is my mother? and who are my brethren? 1767 And he beckoned with his hand, stretching it out towards his disciples, and said, Behold, my mother! and behold, my brethren! 1868 And every man that shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven is my brother, and my sister, and my mother.

31969 And after that, Jesus was going about in the cities and in the villages, and proclaiming and preaching the kingdom of God, and his twelve with him, and the women which had been healed of diseases and of evil spirits, 2071 Mary that was called Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven devils, 2172 and Joanna the wife of Chuza Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, who were ministering to them of their substance. 42273 And after that, Jesus went out of the house, and sat on the sea shore. And there

gathered unto him great multitudes. 2374 And when the press of the people was great upon him, he went up and sat in the boat; and all the multitude was standing on the shore of the sea. 2475 And he spake to them much in parables, and said, The sower went forth to sow: and when he sowed, 2576 some fell on the beaten highway; and it was trodden upon, and the birds ate it. 2677 And other fell on the rocks: and some, where there was not much earth; and straightway it sprang up, because it had no depth in the earth: 2778 and when the sun rose, it withered; and because it had no root, it dried up. 2879 And some fell among thorns; and the thorns sprang up with it, and choked it; and it yielded no fruit. 2980 And other fell into excellent and good ground; and it came up, and grew, and brought forth fruit, some thirty, and some sixty, and some a hundred. 3082 And when he said that, he cried, He that hath ears that hear, let him hear. 3183 And when they were alone, his disciples came, and asked him, and said unto him, 3284 What is this parable? and why spakest thou unto them in parables? He answered and said unto them, Unto you is given the knowledge of the secrets of the kingdom of God; but it is not given unto them that are without. 3385 He that hath shall be given unto, and there shall be added; and he that hath not, that which he hath shall be taken from him also. 3486 For this cause therefore I speak unto them in parables; because they see, and see not; and hear, and hear not, nor understand. 3587 And in them is being fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah, who said,

5 Hearing they shall hear, and shall not understand; And seeing they shall see, and shall not perceive: 3688 The heart of this people is waxed gross, And their hearing with their ears is become heavy, And they have closed their eyes; Lest they should see with their eyes, And hear with their ears, And understand with their hearts, And should return, And I should heal them. 63789 But ye, blessed are your eyes, which see; and your ears, which hear. 3890 Blessed are the eyes which see what ye see. 3991 Verily I say unto you, Many of the prophets and the righteous longed to see what ye see, and saw not; and to hear what ye hear, and heard not. 4092 When ye know not this parable, how shall ye know all parables? 4193 Hear ye the parable of the sower. 4294 The sower which sowed, sowed the word of God. 4395 Every one who heareth the word of the kingdom, and understandeth it not, the evil one cometh and snatcheth away the word that hath been sown in his heart: and this is that which was sown on the middle of the highway. 4496 But that

which was sown on the rocks is he that heareth the word, and straightway receiveth it with joy; only, 4597 it hath no root in his soul, but his belief in it is for a time; 4698 and whenever there is distress or persecution because of a word, he stumbleth quickly. 47101 And that which was sown among the thorns is he that heareth the word; and the care of this world, and the error of riches, and the rest of the other lusts enter, and choke the word, and it becometh without fruit. 48102 And that which was sown in good ground is he that heareth my word in a pure and good heart, and understandeth it, and holdeth to it, and bringeth forth fruit with patience, and produceth either a hundredfold or sixtyfold or thirty.

749103 And he said, So is the kingdom of God, like a man who casteth seed into the earth, and sleepeth and riseth by night and day, 50104 and the seed groweth and cometh up, whence he knoweth not. 51106 And the earth bringeth it to the fruit; and first it will be blade, and after it ear, and at last perfect wheat in the ear: 52107 and whenever the fruit ripeneth, he bringeth immediately the sickle, for the harvest hath come.

SECTION XVII.

11109 And he set forth to them another parable, and said, The kingdom of heaven is like a man who sowed good seed in his field; 2110 but when men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went away. 3111 And when the blade sprang up and brought forth fruit, there were noticed the tares also. 4112 And the servants of the master of the house came, and said unto him, Our lord, didst thou not sow good seed in thy field? whence are there tares in it? 5113He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. His servants said unto him, Wilt thou that we go and separate it? 6114 He said unto them, Perhaps, when ye separate the tares, ye would root up with them wheat also. 7116 Leave them to grow both together until the harvest: and in the time of the harvest I will say unto the reapers, Separate the tares first, and bind them in bundles to be burned with fire; and gather the wheat into my barns.

28117 And he set forth to them another parable, and said, 9118 To what is the kingdom of God like? and to what shall I liken it? 10119 and in what parable shall I set it forth? 11120 It is like a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and planted in his field: and of the number of the things that are sown in the earth it is smaller than all of the things which are sown, which are upon the earth; 12121 but when it is grown, it is greater than all the herbs,

and produceth large branches, so that the birds of heaven make their nests in its branches. 13122 And he set forth to them another parable: 14123 To what shall I liken the kingdom of God? 15124 It is like the leaven which a woman took, and kneaded into three measures of flour, until the whole of it was leavened.

316125 And Jesus spake all that to the multitudes by way of parables, according as they were able to hear. 17126 And without parables spake he not unto them; that the saying of the Lord through the prophet might be fulfilled: I will open my mouth in parables; And I will utter secrets which were before the foundations of the world. 18128 But he explained to his disciples privately everything. 19129 Then Jesus left the multitudes, and came to the house. And his disciples came unto him, and said unto him, Explain unto us that parable about the tares and the field. 20131 He answered and said unto them, He that sowed good seed is the Son of man; 21132 and the field is the world; and the good seed are the children of the kingdom; 22133 and the tares are the children of the evil one; and the enemy that sowed them is Satan; and the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels. 23135 And as the tares are separated and burned in the fire, so shall it be in the end of this world. 24136 The Son of man shall send his angels, and separate from his kingdom all things that injure, 25137 and all the doers of iniquity, and they shall cast them into the furnace of fire: and there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. 26138 Then the righteous shall shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. Whosoever hath ears that hear, let him hear.

427139 And again the kingdom of heaven is like treasure hid in a field: that which a man found and hid; and, for his pleasure in it, went and sold all that he had, and bought that field. 28140 And again the kingdom of heaven is like a man that is a merchant seeking excellent pearls; 29141 and when he found one pearl of great price, he went and sold everything that he had, and bought it. 30142 And again the kingdom of heaven is like a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind: 31144 and when it was filled, they drew it up on to the shore of the sea, and sat down to select; and the good of them they threw into the vessels, and the bad they threw outside. 32145 Thus shall it be in the end of the world: the angels shall go forth, 33146 and separate the wicked from among the good, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

5 34147 Jesus said unto them, Have ye understood all these things? They said unto him, Yea, our Lord. 35148 He said unto them, Therefore every scribe that becometh a disciple of the kingdom of heaven is like a man that is a householder, who bringeth out of his treasures the new and the old. 6 36149 And when Jesus had finished all these parables, he removed thence, and came to his city; 37150 and he taught them in their synagogues, so that they were perplexed. 38151 And when the sabbath came, Jesus began to teach in the synagogue; and many of those that heard marvelled, and said, Whence came these things to this man? 39152 And many envied him and gave no heed to him, but said, What is this wisdom that is given to this man, that there should happen at his hands such as these mighty works? 40154 Is not this a carpenter, son of a carpenter? and is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas? 41155 And his sisters, all of them, lo, are they not all with us? 42156 Whence hath this man all these things? And they were in doubt concerning him. And Jesus knew their opinion, and said unto them, Will ye haply" say unto me this proverb, Physician, heal first thyself:

7 and all that we have heard that thou didst in Capernaum, do here also in thine own city? 43158 And he said, Verily I say unto you, A prophet is not received in his own city, nor among his brethren: 44159 for a prophet is not despised, save in his own city, and among his own kin, and in his own house. 45160 Verily I say unto you, In the days of Elijah the prophet, there were many widows among the children of Israel, when the heaven held back three years and six months, 46161 and there was a great famine in all the land; and Elijah was not sent to one of them, save to Zarephath of Sidon, to a woman that was a widow. 47162 And many lepers were among the children of Israel in the days of Elisha the prophet; but not one of them was cleansed, save Naaman the Nabathæan. 48164 And he was not able to do there many mighty works, because of their unbelief; except that he laid his hand upon a few of the sick, and healed them. 49166 And he marvelled at their lack of faith. 50167 And when those who were in the synagogue heard, they were all filled with wrath; and they rose up, 51168 and brought him forth outside the city, and brought him to the brow of the hill upon which their city was built, that they might cast him from its summit: 52169 but he passed through among them and went away.

853170 And he went about in the villages which were around Nazareth, and taught in their synagogues.

SECTION XVIII.

11171 At that time Herod the tetrarch heard of the fame of Jesus, and all the things which came to pass at his hand; and he marvelled, for he had obtained excellent information concerning him. 2173 And some men said that John the Baptist was risen from among the dead; 3174 and others said that Elijah had appeared; and others, Jeremiah; and others, that a prophet of the old prophets was risen; 4176 and others said that he was a prophet like one of the prophets. 5177 Herod said to his servants, This is John the Baptist, he whom I beheaded; he is risen from among the dead: therefore mighty works result from him. 6178 For Herod himself had sent and taken John, and cast him into prison, for the sake of Herodias his brother Philip's wife, whom he had taken. 7179 And John said to Herod, Thou hast no authority to take the wife of thy brother. 8180 And Herodias avoided him and wished to kill him; and she could not. 9181 But Herod feared John, for he knew that he was a righteous man and a holy; and he guarded him, and heard him much, and did, and obeyed him with gladness. 10182 And he wished to kill him;

2 but he feared the people, for they adhered to him as the prophet. 11183 And there was a celebrated day, and Herod had made a feast for his great men on the day of his anniversary, and for the officers and for the chief men of Galilee. 12185 And the daughter of Herodias came in and danced in the midst of the company, and pleased Herod and those that sat with him. And the king said to the damsel, Ask of me what thou wilt, and I will give it thee. 13186 And he swore unto her, Whatsoever thou shalt ask, I will give it thee, to the half of my kingdom. 14187 And she went out, and said unto her mother, What shall I ask him? She said unto her, The head of John the Baptist. 15189 And immediately she came in hastily to the king, and said unto him, I desire in this hour that thou give me on a dish the head of John the Baptist. 16190 And the king was exceeding sorry; but because of the oath and the guests he did not wish to refuse her. 17191 But immediately the king sent an executioner, and commanded that he should bring the head of John: and he went and cut off the head of John in the prison, 18192 and brought it on a dish, and delivered it to the damsel; and the damsel gave it to her mother. 19193 And his disciples heard, and came and took his body, and buffed it.

3 And they came and told Jesus what had happened. 20195 And for this cause Herod said, I beheaded John: who is this, of whom I hear these things. And he desired to see him. 21196 And Jesus, when he heard, removed thence in a boat to a waste place alone, to the other side of the sea of the Galilee of Tiberias. 4 22198 And many saw them going, and knew them, and hastened by land from all the cities, and came thither beforehand; for they saw the signs which he was doing on the sick. 23200 And Jesus went up into the mountain, and sat there with his disciples. 24201 And the feast of the passover of the Jews was near. 25202 And Jesus lifted up his eyes, and saw great multitudes coming to him. And he was moved with compassion for them, for they were like sheep that were without a shepherd. 26203 And he received them, and spake to them concerning the kingdom of God, and healed those who had need of healing. 27204 And when the evening approached, his disciples came to him, and said unto him, 28206 The place is desert, and the time is past; send away the multitudes of the people, that they may go to the towns and villages which are around us, and buy for themselves bread; for they have nothing to eat. 29208 But he said unto them, They have no need to go away; give ye them what may be eaten. 30209 They said unto him, We have not here enough. He said unto Philip, Whence shall we buy bread that these may eat? 31210 And he said that proving him;

5 and he knew what he was resolved to do. 32211 Philip said unto him, Two hundred pennyworth of bread would not suffice them after every one of them hath taken a small amount. 33213 One of his disciples said unto him (namely, Andrew the brother of Simon Cephas), 34214 Here is a lad having five loaves of barley and two fishes: 35215 but this amount, what is it for all these? But wilt thou that we go and buy for all the people what may be eaten? for we have no more than these five loaves and the two fishes. 36216 And the grass was plentiful in that place. Jesus said unto them, Arrange all the people that they may sit down on the grass, fifty people in a company. 37217 And the disciples did so. And all the people sat down by companies, by hundreds and fifties. 38218 Then Jesus said unto them, Bring hither those five loaves and the two fishes. 39219 And when they brought him that, Jesus took the bread and the fish, and looked to heaven, and blessed, and divided, and gave to his disciples to set before them; 40220 and the disciples set for the multitudes the bread and the fish;

6 and they ate, all of them, and were satisfied. 41221 And when they were satisfied, he said unto his disciples, Gather the fragments that remain over, that nothing be lost. 42222 And they gathered, and filled twelve baskets with fragments, being those that remained over from those which ate of the five barley loaves and the two fishes. 43223 And those people who ate were five thousand, besides the women and children. 44224 And straightway he pressed his disciples to go up into the ship, and that they should go before him unto the other side to Bethsaida, while he himself should send away the multitudes. 45225 And those people who saw the sign which Jesus did, said, Of a truth this is a prophet who hath come into the world. 46226 And Jesus knew their purpose to come and take him, and make him a king; and he left them, and went up into the mountain alone for prayer.

7 47227 And when the nightfall was near, his disciples went down unto the sea, and sat in a boat, and came to the side of Capernaum. 48229 And the darkness came on, and Jesus had not come to them. 49230 And the sea was stirred up against them by reason of a violent wind that blew. 50231 And the boat was distant from the land many furlongs, and they were much damaged by the waves, and the wind was against them.

SECTION XIX.

11232 And in the fourth watch of the night Jesus came unto them, walking upon the 2233 water, after they had rowed with difficulty about twenty-five or thirty furlongs. 3235 And when he drew near unto their boat, his disciples saw him walking on the water; 4236 and they were troubled, and supposed that it was a false appearance; and they cried out from their fear. 5237 But Jesus straightway spoke unto them, and said, Take courage, for it is I; fear not. 6238 Then Cephas answered and said unto him, My Lord, if it be thou, bid me to come unto thee on the water. 7239 And Jesus said unto him, Come. And Cephas went down out of the boat, and walked on the water to come unto Jesus. But when he saw the wind strong, he feared, and was on the point of sinking; and he lifted up his voice, and said, My Lord, save me. 8240 And immediately our Lord stretched out his hand and took hold of him, and said unto him, Thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt? 9241 And when Jesus came near, he went up unto them into the boat, he and Simon, and immediately the wind ceased. 10242 And those that were in the ship came and worshipped him, and said, Truly thou art the Son of God. 11243 And straightway that ship arrived at the land which they made for. 12244 And when they

came out of the ship to the land, they marvelled greatly and were perplexed in themselves: 13245 and they had not understood by means of that bread, because their heart was gross.

214247 And when the people of that region knew of the arrival of Jesus, they made haste in all that land, and began to bring those that were diseased, borne in their beds to the place where they heard that he was. 15249 And wheresoever the place might be which he entered, of the villages or the cities, they laid the sick in the markets, and sought of him that they might touch were it only the edge of his garment: and all that touched him were healed and lived. 316253 And on the day after that, the multitude which was standing on the shore of the sea saw that there was there no other ship save that into which the disciples had gone up, 17254 and that Jesus went not up into the ship with his disciples (but there were other ships from Tiberias near the place where they ate the bread when Jesus blessed it): 180 and when that multitude saw that Jesus was not there, nor yet his disciples, they went up into those ships, and came to Capernaum, and sought Jesus. 191 And when they found him on the other side of the sea, they said unto him, Our Master, when camest thou hither? Jesus answered and said unto them, 202 Verily, verily, I say unto you, Ye have not sought me because of your seeing the signs, but because of your eating the bread and being satisfied. 214 Serve not the food which perisheth, but the food which abideth in eternal life, which the Son of man will give unto you: him hath God the Father sealed. 227 They said unto him, What shall we do that we may work the work of God? 238 Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent. 249 They said unto him, What sign hast thou done, that we may see, and believe in thee? what hast thou wrought? 2510 Our fathers ate the manna in the wilderness;

4as it was written, Bread from heaven gave he them to eat. 2611 Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave you not bread from heaven; but my Father gave you the bread of truth from heaven. 2714 The bread of God is that which came down from heaven and gave the world life. 2815 They said unto him, Our Lord, give us at all times this bread. 2916 Jesus said unto them, I am the bread of life: whosoever cometh unto me shall not hunger, and whosoever believeth in me shall not thirst for ever. 3017 But I said unto you, Ye have seen me, and have not believed. 3118 And all that my Father hath given to me cometh unto me; and whosoever cometh unto me I

shall not cast him forth without. 3219 I came down from heaven, not to do my own will, but to do the will of him that sent me; 3320 and this is the will of him that sent me, that I should lose nothing of that which he gave me, but raise it up in the last day. 3421 This is the will of my Father, that every one that seeth the Son, and believeth in him, should have eternal life; and I will raise him up in the last day.

5 3522 The Jews therefore murmured against him because of his saying, I am the bread which came down from heaven. 3623 And they said, Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? then how saith this man, I came down from heaven? 3724 Jesus answered and said unto them, Murmur not one with another. 3825 No man is able to come unto me, except the Father which sent me draw him; and I will raise him up in the last day. 3926 It is written in the prophet, They shall all be the taught of God. Every one who heareth from the Father now, and learneth of him, cometh unto me. 4028 No man now seeth the Father; but he that is from God, he it is that seeth the Father. 4129 Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever believeth in me hath eternal life. 4230 I am the bread of life. 4331 Your fathers ate the manna in the wilderness, and they died. 4432 This is the bread which came down from heaven, that a man may eat of it, and not die. 4533 I am the bread of life which came down from heaven: and if a man eat of this bread he shall live for ever: and the bread which I shall give is my body, which I give for the life of the world.

6 4634 The Jews therefore quarrelled one with another, and said, How can he give us his body that we may eat it? 4735 Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, If ye do not eat the body of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye shall not have life in yourselves. 4836 Whosoever eateth of my body and drinketh of my blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up in the last day. 4937 My body truly is meat, and my blood truly is drink. 5040 Whosoever eateth my body and drinketh my blood abideth in me, and I in him-5141 as the living Father sent me, and I am alive because of the Father; and whosoever eateth me, he also shall live because of me. 5242 This is the bread which came down from heaven: and not according as your fathers ate the manna, and died: whosoever eateth of this bread shall live for ever. 5343 This he said in the synagogue, when he was teaching in Capernaum. 5444 And many of his disciples, when they heard, said, This word is hard; who is he that can hear it?

SECTION XX.

1145 And Jesus knew within himself that his disciples were murmuring because of a that, and he said unto them, Doth this trouble you? 246 What if ye should see the Son of man then ascend to the place where he was of old? 347 It is the spirit that quickeneth, and the body profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you are spirit and life. 449 But there are some of you that do not believe. And Jesus knew beforehand who they were who should not believe, and who it was that should betray him. 551 And he said unto them, Therefore I said unto you, No man can come unto me, if that hath not been given him by the Father. 652 And because of this word many of his disciples turned back and walked not with him. 753 And Jesus said unto the twelve, Do ye haply also wish to go away? 854 Simon Cephas answered and said, My Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. 955 And we have believed and known that thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God. 1056 Jesus said unto them, Did not I choose you, ye company of the twelve, and of you one is a devil? 1157 He said that because of Judas the son of Simon Iscariot; for he, being of the twelve, was purposed to betray him.

21259 And while he was speaking, one of the Pharisees came asking of him that he would eat with him: and he went in, and reclined to meat. 1360 And that Pharisee, when he saw it, marvelled that he had not first cleansed himself before his eating. 1462 Jesus said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees wash the outside of the cup and the dish, and ye think that ye are cleansed; but your inside is full of injustice and wickedness. 1563 Ye of little mind, did not he that made the outside make the inside? 1664 Now give what ye have in alms, and everything shall be clean unto you. 31766 And there came to him Pharisees and scribes, come from Jerusalem. 1867 And when they saw some of his disciples eating bread while they had not washed their hands, they found fault. 1968 For all of the Jews and the Pharisees, if they wash not their hands thoroughly, 2069 eat not; for they held to the ordinance of the elders. And they ate not what was bought from the market, except they washed it; and many other things did they keep of what they had received, such as the washing of cups, and measures, and vessels of brass, and couches. 2172 And scribes and Pharisees asked him, Why do thy disciples not walk according to the ordinances of the elders, but eat bread without washing their hands? 2274 Jesus answered and said unto them, Why do ye also overstep the command of God by reason of your ordinance? 2375 God said, Honour thy

father and thy mother; and, Whosoever revileth his father and his mother shall surely die. 2476 But ye say, If a man say to his father or to his mother, What thou receivest from me is an offering,-2578 and ye suffer him not to do anything for his father or his mother; 2680 and ye make void and reject the word of God by reason of the ordinance that ye have ordained and commanded, such as the washing of cups and measures, and what resembles that ye do much. 2782 And ye forsook the command of God, and held to the ordinance of men. 2883 Do ye well to wrong the command of God in order that ye may establish your ordinance? 2986 Ye hypocrites, well did Isaiah the prophet prophesy concerning you, and say,

4 3087 This people honoureth me with its lips; But their heart is very far from me. 3189 But in vain do they fear me, In that they teach the commands of men. 3290 And Jesus called all the multitude, and said unto them. Hear me, all of you, and understand: 3391 nothing without the man, which then enters him, is able to defile him; but what goeth out of him, that it is which defileth the man. 3492 He that hath ears that hear, let him hear. 3593 Then his disciples drew near, and said unto him, Knowest thou that the Pharisees which heard this word were angry? 3694 He answered and said unto them, Every plant which my Father which is in heaven planted not shall be uprooted. 3795 Let them alone; for they are blind leading blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both of them shall fall into a hollow.

5 3897 And when Jesus entered the house from the multitude, Simon Cephas asked him, and said unto him, My Lord, explain to us that parable. 3998 He said unto them, Do ye also thus not understand? Know ye not that everything that entereth into the man from without cannot defile him; 4099 because it entereth not into his heart; it entereth into his stomach only, and thence is cast forth in the cleansing which maketh clean all the food? 41101 The thing which goeth forth from the mouth of the man proceedeth from his heart, and it is that which defileth the man. 42102 From within the heart of men proceed evil thoughts, 43104 fornication, adultery, theft, false witness, murder, injustice, wickedness, deceit, stupidity, evil eye, calumny, pride, foolishness: 44105 these evils all of them from within proceed from the heart, and they are the things which defile the man: 45106 but if a man eat while he washeth not his hands, he is not defiled.

6 46107 And Jesus went out thence, and came to the borders of Tyre and Sidon. And he entered into a certain house, and desired that no man should

know it; and he could not be hid. 47109 But straightway a Canaanitish woman, whose daughter had an unclean spirit, heard of him. 48110 And that woman was a Gentile of Emesa of Syria. 49111 And she came out after him, crying out, and saying, Have mercy upon me, my Lord, thou son of David; for my daughter is seized in an evil way by Satan. 50113 And he answered her not a word. And his disciples came and besought him, and said, Send her away: for she crieth after us. 51114 He answered and said unto them, I was not sent except to the sheep that are gone astray of the house of Israel. 52115 But she came and worshipped him, and said, My Lord, help me, have mercy upon me.

753116 Jesus said unto her, It is not seemly that the children's bread should be taken and thrown to the dogs. But she said, 54117 Yea, my Lord: the dogs also eat of the crumbs that fall from their masters' tables, and live. 55118 Then said Jesus unto her, O woman, great is thy faith: it shall be unto thee as thou hast desired. 56119 Go then thy way; and because of this word, the devil is gone out of thy daughter. 57120 And her daughter was healed in that hour. 58121 And that woman went away to her house, and found her daughter laid upon the bed, and the devil gone out of her.

SECTION XXI.

11122 And Jesus went out again from the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and came to the sea of Galilee, towards the borders of Decapolis. 2123 And they brought unto him one dumb and deaf, and entreated him that he would lay his hand upon him and heal him. 3124 And he drew him away from the multitude, and went away alone, and spat upon his fingers, and thrust them into his ears, and touched his tongue; 4125 and looked to heaven, and sighed, and said unto him, Be opened. 5126 And in that hour his ears were opened, and the bond of his tongue was loosed, and he spake with ease. 6127 And Jesus charged them much that they should not tell this to any man: but the more he charged them, the more they increased in publishing, and marvelled much, and said, 7128 This man doeth everything well: he made the deaf to hear, and those that lacked speech to speak.

28129 And while he was passing through the land of Samaria, he came to one of the cities of the Samaritans, called Sychar, 9130 beside the field which Jacob gave to Joseph to his son. 10131 And there was there a spring of water of Jacob's. And Jesus was fatigued from the exertion of the way, and sat at the spring. And the time was about the sixth hour. 11133 And a woman of

Samaria came to draw water; and Jesus said unto her, Give me water, that I may drink. 12134 And Iris disciples had entered into the city to buy for themselves food. 13135 And that Samaritan woman said unto him, How dost thou, being a Jew, ask me to give thee to drink, while I am a Samaritan woman? 14136 (And the Jews mingle not with the Samaritans.) Jesus answered and said unto her, If thou knewest the gift of God, and who this is that said unto thee, Give me to drink; thou wouldest ask him, and he would give thee the water of life. 15138 That woman said unto him, My Lord, thou hast no bucket, and the well is deep:

3 from whence hast thou the water of life? 16139 Can it be that thou art greater than our father Jacob, who gave us this well, and drank from it, and his children, and his sheep? 17140 Jesus answered and said unto her, Every one that drinketh of this water shall thirst again: 18141 but whosoever drinketh of the water which I shall give him shall not thirst for ever: but the water which I shall give him shall be in him a spring of water springing up unto eternal life. 19142 That woman said unto him, My Lord, give me of this water, that I may not thirst again, neither come and draw water from here. 20143 Jesus said unto her, Go and call thy husband, and come hither. 21144 She said unto him, I have no husband. 22145 Jesus said unto her, Thou saidst well, I have no husband: five husbands hast thou had, and this man whom thou hast now is not thy husband; and in this thou saidst truly. 23146 That woman said unto him, My Lord, I perceive thee to be a prophet. 24147 Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and ye say that in Jerusalem is the place in which worship must be. 25148 Jesus said unto her, Woman, believe me, an hour cometh, when neither in this mountain, nor yet in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father. 26149 Ye worship that which ye know not: but we worship that which we know:

4 for salvation is of the Jews. 27150 But an hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth: and the Father also seeketh such as these worshippers. 28151 For God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth. 29152 That woman said unto him, I know that the Messiah cometh: 30153 and when he is come, he will teach us everything. Jesus said unto her, I that speak unto thee am he. 31154 And while he was speaking, his disciples came; and they wondered how he would speak with a woman; but not one of them said unto him, What seekest thou? or, 32156 What speakest thou with her? And

the woman left her waterpot, and went to the city, and said to the people, 33158 Come, and see a man who told me all that ever I did: perhaps then he is the Messiah. 34159 And people went out from the city, and came to him. 35160 And in the mean while his disciples besought him, and said unto him, Our master, eat. 36161 And he said unto them, I have food to eat that ye know not. 37162 And the disciples said amongst themselves, Can any one have brought him aught to eat? 38164 Jesus said unto them, My food is to do the will of him that sent me, and to accomplish his work. 39165 Said ye not that after four months cometh the harvest? behold, I therefore say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and behold the lands, that they have become white, and the harvest is already come. 40167 And he that reapeth receiveth his wages, and gathereth the fruit of eternal life; and the sower and the reaper rejoice together. 41169 For in this is found the word of truth, One soweth, and another reapeth. 42170 And I sent you to reap that in which ye have not laboured: others laboured, and ye have entered on their labour.

43171 And from that city many of the Samaritans believed in him because of the words of that woman, who testified and said, He told me all that ever I did. 44172 And when those Samaritans came unto him, they besought him to abide with them; and he abode with them two days. 45173 And many believed in him because of his word; 46174 and they said to that woman, Now not because of thy saying have we believed in him: we have heard and known that this truly is the Messiah, the Saviour of the world. 47175 And after two days Jesus went out thence and departed to Galilee. 48176 And Jesus testified that a prophet is not honoured in his own city. 49177 And when he came to Galilee, the Galilaeans received him.

SECTION XXII.

11178 And when Jesus came to a certain village, there drew near to him a leper, and fell at his feet, and besought him, and said unto him, If thou wilt, thou art able to cleanse me. 2179 And Jesus had mercy upon him, and stretched forth his hand, and touched him, and said, I will cleanse thee. 3181 And immediately his leprosy departed from him, and he was cleansed. 4182 And he sternly charged him, and sent him out, and said unto him, 5183 See that thou tell not any man: but go and shew thyself to the priests, and offer an offering for thy cleansing as Moses commanded for their testimony. 6184 But he, when he went out, began to publish much, and spread abroad the news, so that Jesus could not enter into any of the cities openly, for the ex-

tent to which the report of him spread, but he remained without in a desert place. 7185 And much people came unto him from one place and another, to hear his word, and that they might be healed of their pains. 8187 And he used to withdraw from them into the desert, and pray.

2 9188 And after that, was the feast of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. 10189 And there was in Jerusalem a place prepared for bathing, which was called in Hebrew the House of Mercy, having five porches. 11191 And there were laid in them much people of the sick, and blind, and lame, and paralysed, waiting for the moving of the water. 12192 And the angel from time to time went down into the place of bathing, and moved the water; and the first that went down after the moving of the water, every pain that he had was healed. 13194 And a man was there who had a disease for thirty-eight years. 14195 And Jesus saw this man laid, and knew that he had been thus a long time; and he said unto him, Wouldest thou be made whole? 15197 That diseased one answered and said, Yea, my Lord, I have no man, when the water moveth, to put me into the bathing-place; but when I come, another goeth down before me. 16198 Jesus said unto him, Rise, take thy bed, and walk. 17199 And immediately that man was healed; and he rose, and carried his bed, and walked.

3 18200 And that day was a sabbath. And when the Jews saw that healed one, they said unto him, It is a sabbath: thou hast no authority to carry thy bed. 19202 And he answered and said unto them, He that made me whole, the same said unto me, Take thy bed, and walk. 20203 They asked him therefore, Who is this man that said unto thee, Take thy bed, and walk? 21204 But he that was healed knew not who it was; for Jesus had removed from that place to another, because of the press of the great multitude which was in that place. 22205 And after two days Jesus happened upon him in the temple, and said unto him, Behold, thou art whole: sin not again, lest there come upon thee what is worse than the first. 23206 And that man went, and said to the Jews that it was Jesus that had healed him. 24207 And because of that the Jews persecuted Jesus and sought to kill him, because he was doing this on the sabbath. 25208 And Jesus said unto them, My Father worketh until now, and I also work. 26209 And because of this especially the Jews sought to kill him, not because he profaned the sabbath only; but for his saying also that God was his Father, and his making himself equal with God. 27210 Je-

sus answered and said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son cannot do anything of himself, but what he seeth the Father do;

4 what the Father doeth, that the Son also doeth like him. 28211 The Father loveth his Son, and everything that he doeth he sheweth him: and more than these works will he shew him, that ye may marvel. 29212 And as the Father raiseth the dead and giveth them life, so the Son also giveth life to whomsoever he will. 30213 And the Father judgeth no man, but hath given all judgement unto the Son; that every man may honour the Son, as he honoureth the Father. 31214 And he that honoureth not the Son honoureth not the Father which sent him. 32215 Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever heareth my word, and believeth in him that sent me, hath eternal. life, and cometh not into judgement, but passeth from death unto life. 33216 Verily, verily, I say unto you, An hour shall come, and now is also, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and those which hear shall live. 34217 And as the Father hath life in himself, likewise he gave to the Son also that he might have life in himself, 35220 and authority to do judgement also, because he is the Son of man. 36222 Marvel not then at that: I mean the coming of the hour when all that are in the tombs shall hear his voice, and shall come forth: 37223 those that have done good, to the resurrection of life; and those that have done evil deeds, to the resurrection of judgement.

5 38224 I am not able of myself to do anything; but as I hear, I judge: and my judgement is just; I seek not my own will, but the will of him that sent me. 39225 I bear witness of myself, and so a my witness is not true. 40227 It is another that beareth witness of me; and I know that the witness which he beareth of me is true. 41228 Ye have sent unto John, and he hath borne witness of the truth. 42229 But not from man do I seek witness; but I say that ye may live. 43231 That was a lamp which shineth and giveth light: and ye were pleased to glory now in his light. 44234 But I have witness greater than that of John: the works which my Father hath given me to accomplish, those works which I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me. 45235 And the Father which sent me, he hath borne witness of me. Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his appearance. 46236 And his word abideth not in you; because in him whom he hath sent ye do not believe. 47237 Search the scriptures, in which ye rejoice that ye have eternal life; 48239 and they bear witness of me;

6 and ye do not wish to come to me, that ye may have eternal life. 49240 I seek not praise of men. 50241 But I know you, that the love of God is not in you. 51242 I am come in the name of my Father, and ye received me not; but if another come in his own name, that one will ye receive. 52243 And how can ye believe, while ye receive praise one from another, and praise from God, the One, ye seek not? 53244 Can it be that ye think that I will accuse you before the Father? Ye have one that accuseth you, Moses, in whom ye have rejoiced. 54246 If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me also; Moses wrote of me. 55 And if ye believed not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?

SECTION XXIII.

11247 And Jesus departed thence, and came to the side of the sea of Galilee, and went up into the mountain, and sat there. 2248 And there came unto him great multitudes, having with them lame, and blind, and dumb, and maimed, and many others, and they cast them at the feet of Jesus: 3249 for they had seen all the signs which he did in Jerusalem, when they were gathered at the feast. 4250 And he healed them all. And those multitudes marvelled when they saw dumb men speak, and maimed men healed, and lame men walk, and blind men see; and they praised the God of Israel. 5251 And Jesus called his disciples, and said unto them, I have compassion on this multitude, because of their continuing with me three days, having nothing to eat; and to send them away fasting I am not willing, lest they faint in the way, some of them having come from far. 6252 His disciples said unto him, Whence have we in the desert bread wherewith to satisfy all this multitude? 7253 Jesus said unto them, How many loaves have ye? 8254 They said unto him, Seven, and a few small fishes. And he commanded the multitudes to sit down upon the ground; 9255 and he took those seven loaves and the fish, and blessed, and brake, and gave to his disciples to set before them; and the disciples set before the multitudes. 100 And they all ate, and were satisfied: and they took that which remained over of the fragments, seven basketfuls. 111 And the people that ate were four thousand men, besides the women and children. 122 And when the multitudes departed, he went up into the boat, and came to the borders of Magada.

2134 And the Pharisees and Sadducees came to him, and began to seek a discussion with him. And they asked him to shew them a sign from heaven, tempting him. 145 And Jesus sighed within himself, and said, What sign

seeketh this evil and adulterous generation? It seeketh a sign, and it shall not be given a sign, except the sign of Jonah the prophet. 156 Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not be given a sign. 167 And he left them, and went up into the boat, and went away to that side. 3179 And his disciples forgot to take with them bread, and there was not with them in the boat, not even one loaf. 1811 And Jesus charged them, and said, Take heed, and guard yourselves from the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and from the leaven of Herod. 1912 And they reflected within themselves that they had taken with them no bread. 2013 And Jesus knew, and said unto them, Why think ye within yourselves, O ye of little faith, and are anxious, because ye have no bread? until now do ye not perceive, neither understand? is your heart yet hard? 2115 And have ye eyes, and yet see not? and have ye ears, and yet hear not? 2216 and do ye not remember when I brake those five loaves for five thousand? and how many baskets full of broken pieces took ye up? They said, Twelve. 2318 He said unto them, And the seven also for four thousand: how many baskets full of broken pieces took ye up? They said, Seven. 2420 He said unto them, How have ye not understood that I spake not to you because of the bread, but that ye should beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees? 2522 Then they understood that he spake, not that they should beware of the leaven of the bread, but of the doctrine of the Pharisees and Sadducees, which he called leaven.

42623 And after that, he came to Bethsaida. And they brought to him a certain blind man, and besought him that he would touch him. 2725 And he took the hand of that blind man, and led him out without the village, and spat in his eyes, and laid his hand on him, and asked him, What seest thou? 2827 And that blind man looked intently, and said unto him, I see men as trees walking. 2928 And he placed his hand again on his eyes; and they were restored, and he saw everything clearly. 3030 And he sent him to his house, and said, Do not enter even into the village, nor tell any man in the village. 53131 And Jesus went forth, and his disciples, to the villages of Caesarea Philippi. 3232 And while he was going in the way, and his disciples alone, he asked his disciples, and said, What do men say of me that I am, the Son of man? 3335 They said unto him, Some say, John the Baptist; and others, Elijah; and others, Jeremiah, or one of the prophets. 3436 He said unto them, 3537 And ye, what say ye that I am? Simon Cephas answered and said, Thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God. 3638 Jesus answered and

said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon son of Jonah: flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. 3739 And I say unto thee also, that thou art Cephas, and on this rock will I build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. 3841 To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. 3942 And he sternly charged his disciples, and warned them that they should not tell any man concerning him, that he was the Messiah. 4043 And henceforth began Jesus to shew to his disciples that he was determined to go to Jerusalem, 4145 and suffer much, and be rejected of the elders, and of the chief priests, and of the scribes, and be killed, and on the third day rise. 4246 And he was speaking plainly. And Simon Cephas, as one grieved for him, said, Far be thou, my Lord, from that. 4348 And he turned, and looked upon his disciples, and rebuked Simon, and said, 4449 Get thee behind me, Satan: for thou art a stumblingblock unto me: for thou thinkest not of what pertains to God, but of what pertains to men.

64550 And Jesus called the multitudes with his disciples, and said unto them, Whosoever would come after me, let him deny himself, and take his cross every day, and come after me. 4651 And whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever loseth his life for my sake, and for the sake of my gospel, shall save it. 4752 What shall a man profit, if he gain all the world, 4853 and destroy his own life, or lose it? or what will a man give in ransom for his life? 4957 Whosoever shall deny me and my sayings in this sinful and adulterous generation, the Son of man also will deny him, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with his holy angels. 5058 For the Son of man is about to come in the glory of his Father with his holy angels; and then shall he reward each man according to his works.

SECTION XXIV.

1160 And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you, There be here now some standing that shall not taste death, until they see the kingdom of God come with strength, and the Son of man who cometh in his kingdom. 2262 And after six days Jesus took Simon Cephas, and James, and John his brother, and brought them up into a high mountain, the three of them only. 363 And while they were praying, Jesus changed, and became after the fashion of another person; 464 and his face shone like the sun, and his raiment was very white like the snow, and as the light of lightning, so that nothing on earth

can whiten like it. 566 And there appeared unto him Moses and Elijah talking to Jesus. 667 And they thought that the time of his decease which was to be accomplished at Jerusalem was come. 768 And Simon and those that were with him were heavy in the drowsiness of steep; and with effort they roused themselves, and saw his glory, and those two men that were standing with him. 869 And when they began to depart from him, Simon said unto Jesus, My Master, it is good for us to be here: 970 and if thou wilt, we will make here three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah; not knowing what he said, because of the fear which took possession of them. 1071 And while he was yet saying that, a bright cloud overshadowed them. 1172 And when they saw Moses and Elijah that they had entered into that cloud, they feared again. 1273 And a voice was heard out of the cloud, saying, This is my beloved Son, whom I have chosen; hear ye therefore him. 1374 And when this voice was heard, Jesus was found alone. 1475 And the disciples, when they heard the voice, fell on their faces from the fear which took hold of them. 1576 And Jesus came and touched them and said, Arise, be not afraid. 1677 And they lifted up their eyes, and saw Jesus as he was.

31778 And when they went down from the mountain, Jesus charged them, and said unto them, Tell not what ye have seen to any man, until the Son of man rise from among the dead. 1879 And they kept the word within themselves, and told no man in those days what they had seen. 1980 And they reflected among themselves, What is this word which he spake unto us, I, when I am risen from among the dead? 2081 And his disciples asked him, and said, What is that which the scribes say, then, that Elijah must first come? 2182 He said unto them, Elijah cometh first to set in order everything, and as it was written of the Son of man, that he should suffer many things, and be rejected. 2283 But I say unto you, that Elijah is come, and they knew him not, and have done unto him whatsoever they desired, as it was written of him. 2384 In like manner the Son of man is to suffer of them. 2485 Then understood the disciples that he spake unto them concerning John the Baptist.

42586 And on that day whereon they came down from the mountain, there met him a multitude of many people standing with his disciples, and the scribes were discussing with them. 2687 And the people, when they saw Jesus, were perplexed, and in the midst of their joy hastened and saluted him. 2790 And on that day came certain of the Pharisees, and said unto him, Get

thee out, and go hence; for Herod seeketh to kill thee. 2891 Jesus said unto them, Go ye and say to this fox, Behold, I am casting out demons, and I heal to-day and to-morrow, and on the third day I am perfected. 2992 Nevertheless I must be watchful to-day and to-morrow, and on the last day I shall depart; for it cannot be that a prophet perish outside of Jerusalem. 3094 And after that, there came to him a man from that multitude, and fell upon his knees, and said unto him, I beseech thee, my Lord, look upon my son; he is my only child: and the spirit cometh upon him suddenly. 3195 A lunacy hath come upon him, and he meeteth with evils. 3297 And when it cometh upon him, it beateth him about; and he foameth, and gnasheth his teeth, and wasteth; 33100 and many times it hath thrown him into the water and into the fire to destroy him, and it hardly leaveth him after bruising him. 34101 And I brought him near to thy disciples, and they could not heal him. 35102 Jesus answered and said, O faithless and perverse generation, till when shall I be with you? and till when shall I bear with you? bring thy son hither. 36103 And he brought him unto him: and when the spirit saw him, immediately it beat him about; and he fell upon the ground, and was raging and foaming. 37104 And Jesus asked his father, How long is the time during which he hath been thus? He said unto him, From his youth until now. 38105 But, my Lord, help me wherein thou canst, and have mercy upon me. 39106 Jesus said unto him, If thou canst believe! All things are possible to him that believeth. 40107 And immediately the father of the child cried out, weeping, and said, I believe, my Lord;

6 help my lack of faith. 41108 And when Jesus saw the hastening of the people, and their coming at the sound, he rebuked that unclean spirit, and said to it, Thou dumb spirit that speakest not, I command thee, come out of him, and enter not again into him. 42111 And that spirit, devil, cried out much, and bruised him, and came out; and that child fell as one dead, and many thought that he had died. 43113 But Jesus took him by his hand, and raised him up, and gave him to his father; and that child was healed from that hour. 44114 And the people all marvelled at the greatness of God. 7 45115 And when Jesus entered into the house, his disciples came, and asked him privately, and said unto him, Why were we not able to heal him? 46117 Jesus said unto them, Because of your unbelief. Verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say to this mountain, Remove hence; and it shall remove; and nothing shall overcome you. 47118 But it is

impossible to cast out this kind by anything except by fasting and prayer. 48119 And when he went forth thence, they passed through Galilee: and he would not that any man should know it. 49121 And he taught his disciples, and said unto them, 50122 Keep ye these sayings in your ears and your hearts: for the Son of man is to be delivered into the hands of men, and they shall kill him; and when he is killed, he shall rise on the third day. 51123 But they knew not the word which he spake unto them, for it was concealed from them, that they should not perceive it; and they feared to ask him about this word. 52124 And they were exceeding sorrowful.

SECTION XXV.

1 1125 And in that day this thought presented itself to his disciples, and they said, which haply should be the greatest among them. 2127 And when they came to Capernaum, and entered into the house, Jesus said unto them, What were ye considering in the way among yourselves? 3128 And they were silent because they had considered that matter. 4129 And when Simon went forth without, those that received two dirhams for the tribute came to Cephas, and said unto him, Doth your master not give his two dirhams? He said unto them, Yea. 5130 And when Cephas entered the house, Jesus anticipated him, and said unto him, What thinkest thou, Simon? the kings of the earth, from whom do they receive custom and tribute? from their sons, or from strangers? 6131 Simon said unto him, From strangers. Jesus said unto him, Children then are free. Simon said unto him, Yea. Jesus said unto him, Give thou also unto them, like the stranger. 7132 But, lest it trouble them, go thou to the sea, and cast a hook; and the first fish that cometh up, open its mouth, and thou shall find a staler: take therefore that, and give for me and thee.

2 8133 And in that hour came the disciples to Jesus, and said unto him, Who, thinkest thou, is greater in the kingdom of heaven? 9134 And Jesus knew the thought of their heart, and called a child, and set him in the midst, and took him in his arms, and said unto them, 10136 Verily I say unto you, If ye do not return, and become as children, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven. 11137 Every one that shall receive in my name such as this child hath received me: and whosoever receiveth me receiveth not me, but him that sent me. 12138 And he who is little in your company, the same shall be great. 13140 But whosoever shall injure one of these little ones that believe

in me, it were better for him that a great millstone should be hanged about his neck, and he should be drowned in the depths of the sea.

3 14142 John answered and said, Our Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name; and we prevented him, because he followed not thee with us. 15143 Jesus said unto them, Prevent him not; for no man doeth powers in my name, and can hasten to speak evil of me. 16144 Every one who is not in opposition to you is with you. 17145 Woe unto the world because of trials! but woe unto that man by whose hand the trials come 18147 If thy hand or thy foot injure thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee; for it is better for thee to enter into life being halt or maimed, and not that thou shouldest have two hands or two feet, and fall into the hell of fire that burneth for ever; 19149 where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched. 20150 And if thine eye seduce thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee; 21152 for it is better for thee to enter the kingdom of God with one eye, than that thou shouldest have two eyes, and fall into the fire of Gehenna; 22153 where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched. 23154 Every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt. 24155 How good is salt! but if the salt also be tasteless, wherewith shall it be salted? 25156 It is fit neither for the land nor for dung, but they cast it out. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. 26157 Have ye salt in yourselves, and be in peace one with another.

4 27158 And he arose from thence, and came to the borders of Judaea beyond Jordan: and there went unto him thither great multitudes, and he healed them; and he taught them also, according to his custom. 28159 And the Pharisees came unto him, tempting him, and asking him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? 29160 He said, What did Moses command you? 30161 They said, Moses made it allowable for us, saying, Whosoever will, let him write a writing of divorcement, and put away his wife. 31162 Jesus answered and said unto them, Have ye not read, He that made them from the beginning made them male and female, and said, 32163 For this reason shall the man leave his father and his mother, and cleave to his wife; and they both shall be one body? 33164 So then they are not twain, but one body; the thing, then, which God hath joined together, let no man put asunder. 34165 And those Pharisees said unto him, Why did Moses consent that a man should give a writing of divorcement and put her away? 35167 Jesus said unto them, Moses because of the hardness of your hearts gave you leave to divorce your wives;

5 but in the beginning it was not so. 36168 I say unto you, Whosoever putteth away his wife without fornication, and marrieth another, hath exposed her to adultery. 37170 And his disciples, when he entered the house, asked him again about that. 38171 And he said unto them, Every one who putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, hath exposed her to adultery. 39172 And any woman that leaveth her husband, and becometh another's, hath committed adultery. And whosoever marrieth her that is divorced hath committed adultery. 40173 And his disciples said unto him, If there be between the man and the woman such a case as this, it is not good for a man to marry. 41175 He said unto them, Not every man can endure this saying, except him to whom it is given. 42176 There are eunuchs which from their mother's womb were born so; and there are eunuchs which through men became eunuchs; and there are eunuchs which made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. He that is able to be content, let him be content.

6 43178 Then they brought to him children, that he should lay his hand upon them, and pray: and his disciples were rebuking those that were bringing them. 44179 And Jesus saw, and it was distressing to him; and he said unto them, Suffer the children to come unto me, and prevent them not; for those that are like these have the kingdom of God. 45180 Verily I say unto you, Whosoever receiveth not the kingdom of God as this child, shall not enter it. 46181 And he took them in his arms, and laid his hand upon them, and blessed them.

SECTION XXVI.

1 1182 And there came unto him publicans and sinners to hear his word. 2183 And the scribes and the Pharisees murmured, and said, This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them. 3184 And Jesus, when he beheld their murmuring, spake unto them this parable: 4185 What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if one of them were lost, would not leave the ninety-nine in the wilderness, and go and seek the straying one till he found it? 5186 Verily I say unto you, When he findeth it, he will rejoice over it more than over the ninety-nine that went not astray; 6187 and bear it on his shoulders, and bring it to his house, and call his friends and neighbours, and say unto them, Rejoice with me, since I have found my straying sheep. 7188 So your Father which is in heaven willeth not that one of these little ones that have strayed should perish, and he seeketh for them repentance. 8190 I say unto you, Thus

there shall be rejoicing in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety-nine righteous persons that do not need repentance.

2 9191 And what woman having ten drachmas would lose one of them, and not light a lamp, and sweep the house, and seek it with care till she found it; 10192 and when she found it, call her friends and neighbours, and say unto them, Rejoice with me, as I have found my drachma that was lost? 11193 I say unto you, Thus there shall be joy before the angels of God over the one sinner that repenteth, more than over the ninety-nine righteous persons that do not need repentance. 3 12194 And Jesus spoke unto them also another parable: 13195 A man had two sons: and the younger son said unto him, My father, give me my portion that belongeth to me of thy goods. 14196 And he divided between them his property. And after a few days the younger son gathered everything that belonged to him, and went into a far country, and there squandered his property by living prodigally. 15197 And when he had exhausted everything he had, there occurred a great dearth in that country. 16198 And when he was in want, he went and joined himself to one of the people of a city of that country; and that man sent him into the field to feed the swine. 17200 And he used to long to fill his belly with the carob that those swine were eating; and no man gave him. 18201 And when he returned unto himself, he said, How many hired servants now in my father's house have bread enough and to spare, while I here perish with hunger! 19202 I will arise and go to my father's house, and say unto him, My father, 20203 I have sinned in heaven and before thee, and am not worthy now to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants. 21204 And he arose, and came to his father.

4 But his father saw him while he was at a distance, and was moved with compassion for him, and ran, and fell on his breast, and kissed him. 22207 And his son said unto him, My father, I have sinned in heaven and before thee, and am not worthy to be called thy son. 23208 His father said unto his servants, Bring forth a stately robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and put on him shoes on his feet: 24209 and bring and slay a fatted ox, that we may eat and make merry: 25210 for this my son was dead, and is alive; and was lost, and is found. 26211 And they began to be merry. Now his elder son was in the field; and when he came and drew near to the house, he heard the sound of many singing. 27214 And he called one of the lads, and asked him what this was. 28215 He said unto him, Thy brother hath arrived;

and thy father hath slain a fatted ox, since he hath received him safe and sound. 29217 And he was angry, and would not enter; so his father went out, and besought him to enter. 30218 And he said to his father, How many years do I serve thee in bondage, and I never transgressed a commandment of thine;

5 and thou hast never given me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends? 31219 but this thy son, when he had squandered thy property with harlots, and come, thou hast slain for him a fatted ox. 32220 His father said unto him, My son, thou art at all times with me, and everything I have is thine. 33221 It behoveth thee to rejoice and make merry, since this thy brother was dead, and is alive; and was lost, and is found. 634222 And he spake a parable unto his disciples: There was a rich man, and he had a steward; and he was accused to him that he had squandered his property. 35223 So his lord called him, and said unto him, What is this that I hear regarding thee? Give me the account of thy stewardship; for it is now impossible that thou shouldest be a steward for me. 36224 The steward said within himself, What shall I do, seeing that my lord taketh from me the stewardship? To dig I am not able; and to beg I am ashamed. 37226 I know what I will do, that, when I go out of the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses. 38227 And he called one after another of his lord's debtors, and said to the first, How much owest thou my lord? 39228 He said unto him, An hundred portions of oil. He said unto him, Take thy writing, and sit down, and write quickly fifty portions. 40231 And he said to the next, And thou, how much owest thou my lord? He said unto him, An hundred cors of wheat. He said unto him, Take thy writing, and sit down, and write eighty cors. 41232 And our lord commended the sinful steward because he had done a wise deed; for the children of this world are wiser than the children of the light in this their age. 42235 And I also say unto you, Make unto yourselves friends with the wealth of this unrighteousness;

7 so that, when it is exhausted, they may receive you into their tents for ever. 43237 He who is faithful in a little is faithful also in much: and he who is unrighteous in a little is unrighteous also in much. 44239 If then in the wealth of unrighteousness ye were not trustworthy, who will intrust you with the truth? 45241 If ye are not found faithful in what does not belong to you, who will give you what belongeth to you?

SECTION XXVII.

11242 Therefore the kingdom of heaven is like a certain king, who would make a reckoning with his servants. 2243 And when he began to make it, they brought to him one who owed him ten talents. 3245 And because he had not wherewith to pay, his lord ordered that he should be sold, he, and his wife, and children, and all that he had, and payment be made. 4246 So that servant fell down and worshipped him, and said unto him, My lord, have patience with me, and I shall pay thee everything. 5247 And the lord of that servant had compassion, and released him, and forgave him his debt. 6248 And that servant went out, and found one of his fellow-servants, who owed him a hundred pence; and he took him, and dealt severely with him, and said unto him, Give me what thou owest. 7250 So the fellow-servant fell down at his feet, and besought him, and said, Grant me respite, and I will pay thee. 8251 And he would not; but took him, and cast him into prison, till he should give him his debt. 9252 And when their fellow-servants saw what happened, it distressed them much;

2 and they came and told their lord of all that had taken place. 10253 Then his lord called him, and said unto him, Thou wicked servant, all that debt I forgave thee, because thou besoughtest me: 11254 was it not then incumbent on thee also to have mercy on thy fellow-servant, as I had mercy on thee? 120 And his lord became wroth, and delivered him to the scourgers, till he should pay all that he owed. 131 So shall my Father which is in heaven do unto you, if one forgive not his brother his wrong conduct from his heart. 143 Take heed within yourselves: if thy brother sin, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him. 155 And if he act wrongly towards thee seven times in a day, and on that day return seven times unto thee, and say, I repent towards thee; forgive him. 166 And if thy brother act wrongly towards thee, go and reprove him between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. 177 But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two, and so at the mouth of two or three every saying shall be established. 189 And if he listen not to these also, tell the congregation;

3 and if he listen not even to the congregation, let him be unto thee as a publican and a Gentile. 1912 Verily I say unto you, All that ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: 2013 and what ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. I say unto you also, If two of you agree on earth to ask, everything shall be granted them from my Father which is in heaven. 2115 For where

two or three are gathered in my name, there am I amongst them. 2216 Then Cephas drew near to him, and said unto him, My Lord, how many times, if my brother act wrongly towards me, should I forgive him? until seven times? 2317 Jesus said unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven; but, Until seventy times seven, seven. 2419 And the servant that knoweth his lord's will, and maketh not ready for him according to his will, shall meet with much punishment; but he that knoweth not, and doeth something for which he meriteth punishment, shall meet with slight punishment. 2520 Every one to whom much hath been given, much shall be asked of him; and he that hath had much committed to him, much shall be required at his hand. 2621 I came to cast fire upon the earth;

4 and I would that it had been kindled already. 2723 And I have a baptism to be baptized with, and greatly am I straitened till it be accomplished. 2824 See that ye despise not one of these little ones that believe in me. Verily I say unto you, Their angels at all times see the face of my Father which is in heaven. 2926 The Son of man came to save the thing which was lost. 3027 And after that, Jesus walked in Galilee; and he did not like to walk in Judaea, because the Jews sought to kill him. 3128 And there came people who told him of the Galilaeans, those whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. 3229 Jesus answered and said unto them, Do ye imagine that those Galilaeans were sinners more than all the Galilaeans, so that this thing has come upon them? Nay. 3330 Verily I say unto you now, that ye shall all also, if ye repent not, likewise perish. 3432 Or perchance those eighteen on whom the palace fell in Siloam, and slew them, do ye imagine that they were to be condemned more than all the people that dwell in Jerusalem? Nay. 3534 Verily I say unto you, If ye do not all repent, ye shall perish like them. 3635 And he spake unto them this parable: A man had a fig tree planted in his vineyard; and he came and sought fruit thereon, and found none. 3736 So he said to the husbandman, Lo, three years do I come and seek fruit on this fig tree, and find none: cut it down; why doth it render the ground unoccupied? 3837 The husbandman said unto him, My lord, leave it this year also, that I may dig about it, and dung it; 3938 then if it bear fruit-! and if not, then cut it down in the coming year.

6 4039 And when Jesus was teaching on the sabbath day in one of the synagogues, there was there a woman that had a spirit of disease eighteen years; 4140 and she was bowed down, and could not straighten herself at all.

4241 And Jesus saw her, and called her, and said unto her, Woman, be loosed from thy disease. 4342 And he put his hand upon her; and immediately she was straightened, and praised God. 4443 And the chief of the synagogue answered with anger, because Jesus had healed on a sabbath, and said unto the multitudes, There are six days in which work ought to be done; come in them and be healed, and not on the sabbath day. 4545 But Jesus answered and said unto him, Ye hypocrites, doth not each of you on the sabbath day loose his ox or his ass from the manger, and go and water it? 4646 Ought not this woman, who is a daughter of Abraham, and whom the devil hath bound eighteen years, to be loosed from this bond on the sabbath day? 4748 And when he said this, they were all put to shame, those standing, who were opposing him: and all the people were pleased with all the wonders that proceeded from his hand.

SECTION XXVIII.

1151 And at that time the feast of tabernacles of the Jews drew near. 252 So the brethren of Jesus said unto him, Remove now hence, and go to Judaea, that thy disciples may see the deeds that thou doest. 353 For no man doeth a thing secretly and wisheth to be apparent. 454 If thou doest this, shew thyself to the world. For up to this time not even the brethren of Jesus believed on him. 555 Jesus said unto them, My time till now has not arrived; but as for you, your time is alway ready. 656 It is not possible for the world to hate you; but me it hateth, for I bear witness against it, that its deeds are evil. 757 As for you, go ye up unto this feast: but I go not up now to this feast; for my time has not yet been completed. 858 He said this, and remained behind in Galilee.

2959 But when his brethren went up unto the feast, he journeyed from Galilee, and to came to the borders of Judaea, to the country beyond Jordan; 1060 and there came after him great multitudes, and he healed them all there. 1161 And he went out, and proceeded to the feast, not openly, but as one that conceals himself. 1262 And the Jews sought him at the feast, and said, In what place is this man? 1363 And there occurred much murmuring there in the great multitude that came to the feast, on his account. For some said, He is good: and others said, Nay, but he leadeth the people astray. 1464 But no man spake of him openly for fear of the Jews. 31565 But when the days of the feast of tabernacles were half over, Jesus went up to the temple, and taught. 1666 And the Jews wondered, and said, How doth this man

know writing, seeing he hath not learned? 1768 Jesus answered and said, My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me. 1870 Whoever wisheth to do his will understandeth my doctrine? whether it be from God, or whether I speak of mine own accord. 1971 Whosoever speaketh of his own accord seeketh praise for himself; but whosoever seeketh praise for him that sent him, he is true, and unrighteousness in his heart there is none. 2072 Did not Moses give you the law, and no man of you keepeth the law? 2173 Why seek ye to kill me? The multitude answered and said unto him, Thou hast demons: who seeketh to kill thee? 2275 Jesus answered and said unto them, I did one deed, and ye all marvel because of this. 2376 Moses hath given you circumcision (not because it is from Moses, but it is from the fathers); and ye on the sabbath circumsise a man. 2477 And if a man is circumcised on the sabbath day, that the law of Moses may not be broken; are ye angry at me, because I healed on the sabbath day the whole man? 2578 Judge not with hypocrisy, but judge righteous judgement.

4 2679 And some people from Jerusalem said, Is not this he whom they seek to slay? 2780 And lo, he discourseth with them openly, and they say nothing unto him. Think you that our eiders have learned that this is the Messiah indeed? 2881 But this man is known whence he is; and the Messiah, when he cometh, no man knoweth whence he is. 2983 So Jesus lifted up his voice as he taught in the temple, and said, Ye both know me, and know whence I am; and of my own accord am I not come, 3084 but he that sent me is true, he whom ye know not: but I know him; for I am from him, and he sent me. 3185 And they sought to seize him: and no man laid a hand on him, because his hour had not yet come. 3286 But many of the multitude believed on him; and they said, The Messiah, when he cometh, can it be that he will do more than these signs that this man doeth?

5 3387 And a man of that multitude said unto our Lord, Teacher, say to my brother that he divide with me the inheritance. 3488 Jesus said unto him, Man, who is it that appointed me over you as a judge and divider? 3589 And he said unto his disciples, Take heed within yourselves of all inordinate desire; for it is not in abundance of possessions that life shall be. 3690 And he gave them this parable: The ground of a rich man brought forth abundant produce: 3791 and he pondered within himself, and said, What shall I do, since I have no place to store my produce? 3892 And he said, I will do this: I will pull down the buildings of my barns, and build them, and make them

greater; and store there all my wheat and my goods. 3993 And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid by for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, enjoy thyself. 4094 God said unto him, O than of little intelligence, this night shall thy soul be taken from thee; and this that thou hast prepared, whose shall it be? 4195 So is he that layeth up treasures for himself, and is not rich in God.

64296 And while Jesus was going in the way, there came near to him a young man of the rulers, and fell on his knees, and asked him, and said, Good Teacher, what is it that I must do that I may have eternal life? 4399 Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good, while there is none good but the one, even God? 44101 Thou knowest the commandments. 45103 If thou wouldest enter into life, keep the commandments. The young man said unto him, Which of the commandments? Jesus said unto him, 46106 Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not do injury, Honour thy father and thy mother: and, Love thy neighbour as thyself. 47107 That young man said unto him, All these have I kept from my youth: what then is it that I lack? 48108 And Jesus looked intently at him, and loved him, and said unto him, If thou wouldest be perfect, what thou lackest is one thing: 49110 go away and sell everything that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and take thy cross, and follow me. 50111 And that young man frowned at this word, and went away feeling sad; for he was very rich. 51112 And when Jesus saw his sadness, he looked towards his disciples, and said unto them, How hard it is for them that have possessions to enter the kingdom of God!

SECTION XXIX.

11113 Verily I say unto you, It is difficult for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. 2114 And I say unto you also, that it is easier for a camel to enter the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God. 3115 And the disciples were wondering at these sayings. And Jesus answered and said unto them again, My children, how hard it is for those that rely on their possessions to enter the kingdom of God! 4116 And those that were listening wondered more, and said amongst themselves, being agitated, Who, thinkest thou, can be saved? 5118 And Jesus looked at them intently, and said unto them, With men this is not possible, but with God it is: it is possible for God to do everything. 6119 Simon Cephas said unto him, Lo, we

have left everything, and followed thee; what is it, thinkest thou, that we shall have? 7120 Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, Ye that have followed me, in the new world, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit on twelve thrones, and shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel. 8121 Verily I say unto you, No man leaveth houses, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or kinsfolk, or lands, because of the kingdom of God, or for my sake, and the sake of my gospel, 9122 who shall not obtain many times as much in this time, and in the world to come inherit eternal life: 10124 and now in this time, houses, and brothers, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecution; and in the world to come everlasting life. 11125 Many that are first shall be last, and that are last shall be first.

212127 And when the Pharisees heard all this, because of their love for wealth they scoffed at him. 13128 And Jesus knew what was in their hearts, and said unto them, Ye are they that justify yourselves before men; while God knows your hearts: the thing that is lofty with men is base before God. 314129 And he began to say, A certain man was rich, and wore silk and purple, and enjoyed himself every day in splendour: 15130 and there was a poor man named Lazarus, and he was cast down at the door of the rich man, 16131 afflicted with sores, and he longed to fill his belly with the crumbs that fell from the table of that rich man; yea, even the dogs used to come and lick his sores. 17133 And it happened that that poor man died, and the angels conveyed him into the bosom of Abraham: and the rich man also died, and was buried. 18134 And while he was being tormented in Hades, he lifted up his eyes from afar, and saw Abraham with Lazarus in his bosom. 19136 And he called with a loud voice, and said, My father Abraham, have mercy upon me, and send Lazarus to wet the tip of his finger with water, and moisten my tongue for me; for, behold, I am burned in this flame. 20137 Abraham said unto him, My son, remember that thou receivedst thy good things in thy life, and Lazarus his afflictions:

4but now, behold, he is at rest here, and thou art tormented. 21138 And in addition to all this, there is between us and you a great abyss placed, so that they that would cross unto you from hence cannot, nor yet from thence do they cross unto us. 22139 He said unto him, Then I beseech thee, my father, to send him to my father's house; 23140 for I have five brethren; let him go, that they also sin not, and come to the abode of this torment. 24143 Ab-

raham said unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. 25144 He said unto him, Nay, my father Abraham: but let a man from the dead go unto them, and they will repent. 26146 Abraham said unto him, If they listen neither to Moses nor to the prophets, neither if a man from the dead rose would they believe him.

5 27147 The kingdom of heaven is like a man that is a householder, which went out early in the morning to hire labourers for his vineyard. 28148 And he agreed with the labourers on one penny a day for each labourer, and he sent them into his vineyard. 29149 And he went out in three hours, and saw others standing in the market idle. 30150 He said unto them, Go ye also into my vineyard, and what is right I will pay you. 31151 And they went. And he went out also at the sixth and the ninth hour, and did likewise, and sent them. 32152 And about the eleventh hour he went out, and found others standing idle. He said unto them, Why are ye standing the whole day idle? 33153 They said unto him, Because no one hath hired us. He said unto them, Go ye also into the vineyard, and what is right ye shall receive. 34154 So when evening came, the lord of the vineyard said unto his steward, Call the labourers, and pay them their wages; and begin with the later ones, and end with the former ones. 35155 And those of eleven hours came, and received each a penny. 36157 When therefore the first came, they supposed that they should receive something more;

6 and they also received each a penny. 37158 And when they received it, they spake angrily against the householder, and said, 38159 These last worked one hour, and thou hast made them equal with us, who have suffered the heat of the day, and its burden. 39160 He answered and said unto one of them, My friend, I do thee no wrong: was it not for a penny that thou didst bargain with me? 40161 Take what is thine, and go thy way; for I wish to give this last as I have given thee. 41162 Or am I not entitled to do with what is mine what I choose? 42164 Or is thine eye perchance evil, because I am good? Thus shall the last ones be first, and the first last. The called are many, and the chosen are few. 7 43165 And when Jesus entered into the house of one of the chiefs of the Pharisees to eat bread on the sabbath day, and they were watching him to see what he would, do, 44166 and there was before him a man which had the dropsy, 45167 Jesus answered and said unto the scribes and the Pharisees, Is it lawful on the sabbath to heal? But they were silent. 46168 So he took him, and healed him, and sent him away. 47169 And he

said unto them, Which of you shall have his son or his ox fall on the sabbath day into a well, and not lift him up straightway, and draw water for him? 48170 And they were not able to answer him a word to that.

SECTION XXX.

1 1171 And he spake a parable unto those which were bidden there, because he saw them choose the places that were in the highest part of the sitting room: 2172 When a man invites thee to a feast, do not go and sit at the head of the room; lest there be there a man more honourable than thou, and he that invited you come and say unto thee, Give the place to this man: 3173 and thou be ashamed when thou risest and takest another place. 4175 But when thou art invited, go and sit last; so that when he that invited thee cometh, he may say unto thee, My friend, go up higher: and thou shalt have praise before all that were invited with thee. 5176 For every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and every one that abaseth himself shall be exalted. 6177 And he said also to him that had invited him, When thou makest a feast a or a banquet, do not invite thy friends, nor even thy brethren, nor thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours; lest haply they also invite thee, and thou have this reward. 7179 But when thou makest a feast, invite the poor, and those with withered hand, and the lame, and the blind: 8180 and blessed art thou, since they have not the means to reward thee; 9181 that thy reward may be at the rising of the righteous. And when one of them that were invited heard that, he said unto him, Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God.

2 10182 Jesus answered again in parables, and said, 11183 The kingdom of heaven hath been likened to a certain king, which made a feast for his son, and prepared a great banquet, and invited many: and he sent his servants at the time of the feast to inform them that were invited, 12187 Everything is made ready for you; come. And they would not come, but began all of them with one voice to make excuse. 13188 And the first said unto them, Say to him, I have bought a field, and I must needs go out to see it: 14189 I pray thee to release me, for I ask to be excused. And another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I am going to examine them: I pray thee to release me, for I ask to be excused. 15191 And another said, I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come. 16192 And the king sent also other servants, and said, Say to those that were invited, that my feast is ready, and my oxen and my fatlings are slain, and everything is ready: come to the feast. 17193 But they

made light of it, and went, one to his field, and another to his merchandise: 18194 and the rest took his servants, and entreated them shamefully, and killed them. 19195 And one of the servants came, and informed his lord of what had happened. 20196 And when the king heard, he became angry, and sent his armies;

3 and they destroyed those murderers, and burned their cities. 21197 Then he said to his servants, The feast is prepared, but those that were invited were not worthy. 22198 Go out quickly into the markets and into the partings of the ways of the city, and bring in hither the poor, and those with pains, and the lame, and the blind. And the servants did as the king commanded them. 23199 And they came, and said unto him, Our lord, we have done all that thou commandedst us, and there is here still room. 24200 So the lord said unto his servants, Go out into the roads, and the ways, and the paths, and every one that ye find, invite to the feast, and constrain them to enter, till my house is filled. 25202 I say unto you, that no one of those people that were invited shall taste of my feast. 26203 And those servants went out into the roads, and gathered all that they found, good and bad: and the banquet-house was filled with guests. 27204 And the king entered to see those who were seated, and he saw there a man not wearing a festive garment: 28205 and he said unto him, My friend, how didst thou come in here not having on festive garments? 29206 And he was silent. Then the king said to the servants, Bind his hands and his feet, and put him forth into the outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. 30207 The called are many;

4 and the chosen, few. 5 31208 And after that, the time of the feast of unleavened bread of the Jews arrived, and Jesus went out to go to Jerusalem. 32209 And as he went in the way, there met him ten persons who were lepers, and stood afar off: 33210 and they lifted up their voice, and said, Our Master, Jesus, have mercy upon us. 34211 And when he saw them, he said unto them, Go and shew yourselves unto the priests. And when they went, they were cleansed. 35212 And one of them, when he saw himself cleansed, returned, and was praising God with a loud voice; 36213 and he fell on his face before the feet of Jesus, giving him thanks: and this man was a Samaritan. 37214 Jesus answered and said, Were not those that were cleansed ten? where then are the nine? 38215 Not one of them turned aside to come and praise God, but this man who is of a strange people. 39216 He said unto him, Arise, and go thy way; for thy faith hath given thee life.

640218 And while they were going up in the way to Jerusalem, Jesus went in front of them; and they wondered, and followed him fearing. And he took his twelve disciples apart, and began to tell them privately what was about to befall him. 41220 And he said unto them, We are going up to Jerusalem, and all the things shall be fulfilled that are written in the prophets concerning the Son of man. 42221 He shall be delivered to the chief priests and the scribes; and they shall condemn him to death, and deliver him to the peoples; 43223 and they shall treat him shamefully, and scourge him, and spit in his face, and humble him, 44225 and crucify him, and slay him: and on the third day he shall rise. 45226 But they understood not one thing of this; but this word was hidden from them, and they did not perceive these things that were addressed to them.

746227 Then came near to him the mother of the (two) sons of Zebedee, she and her (two) sons, and worshipped him, and asked of him a certain thing. And he said unto her, What wouldest thou? 47228 And James and John, her two sons, came forward, and said unto him, Teacher, we would that all that we ask thou wouldest do unto us. 48229 He said unto them, What would ye that I should do unto you? 49231 They said unto him, Grant us that we may sit, the one on thy right, and the other So on thy left, in thy kingdom and thy glory. 50232 And Jesus said unto them, Ye know not what ye ask. Are ye able to drink the cup that I am to drink? and with the baptism that I am to be baptized with, will ye be baptized? 51233 And they said unto him, We are able. Jesus said unto them, The cup that I drink ye shall drink; and with the baptism wherewith I am baptized ye shall be baptized: 52234 but that ye should sit on my right and on my left is not mine to give; but it is for him for whom my Father hath prepared it.

SECTION XXXI.

11235 And when the ten heard, they were moved with anger against James and John. 2236 And Jesus called them, and said unto them, Ye know that the rulers of the nations are their lords; and their great men are set in authority over them. 3237 Not thus shall it be amongst you: but he amongst you that would be great, let him be to you a servant; 4238 and whoever of you would be first, let him be to every man a bond-servant: 5240 even as the Son of man also came not to be served, but to serve, and to give himself a ransom in place of the many. 6241 He said this, and was going about the villages and the cities, and teaching; and he went to Jerusalem. 7242 And a man asked him, Are

those that shall be saved few? Jesus answered and said unto them, Strive ye to enter at the narrow door: 8243 I say unto you now, that many shall seek to enter, and shall not be able -9245 from the time when the master of the house riseth, and closeth the door, and ye shall be standing without, and shall knock at the door, and shall begin to say, 10246 Our lord, open unto us; and he shall answer and say, I say unto you, I know you not whence ye are: and ye shall begin to say, 11247 Before thee we did eat and drink, and in our markets didst thou teach;

2 and he shall say unto you, I know you not whence ye are; depart from me, ye servants of untruth. 12249 There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, while ye are put forth without. 13250 And they shall come from the east and the west, and from the north and the south, and shah sit down in the kingdom of God. 14251 And there shall then be last that have become first, and first that have become last. 15252 And when Jesus entered and passed through Jericho, 16253 there was a man named Zacchaeus, rich, and chief of the publicans. 17254 And he desired to see Jesus who he was; and he was not able for the pressure of the crowd, because Zacchaeus was little of stature. 18255 And he hastened, and went before Jesus, and went up into an unripe fig tree to see Jesus: for he was to pass thus. 191 And when Jesus came to that place, he saw him, and said unto him, Make haste, and come down, Zacchaeus:

3 to-day I must be in thy house. 202 And he hastened, and came down, and received him joyfully. 213 And when they all saw, they murmured, and said, He hath gone in and lodged with a man that is a sinner. 224 So Zacchaeus stood, and said unto Jesus, My Lord, now half of my possessions I give to the poor, and what I have unjustly taken from every man I give him fourfold. 236 Jesus said unto him, Today is salvation come to this house, because this man also is a son of Abraham. 248 For the Son of man came to seek and save the thing that was lost. 4259 And when Jesus went out of Jericho, he and his disciples, there came after him a great multitude. 2610 And there was a blind man sitting by the way side begging. 2711 And his name was Timaeus, the son of Timaeus. And he heard the sound of the multitude passing, and asked, Who is this? 2812 They said unto him, Jesus the Nazarene passeth by. 2913 And when he heard that it was Jesus, he called out with a loud voice, and said, Jesus, son of David, have mercy on me. 3014 And

those that went before Jesus were rebuking him, that he should hold his peace: but he cried the more, and said, Son of David, have mercy on me. 3115 And Jesus stood, and commanded that they should call him. And they called the blind man, and said unto him, Be of good courage, and rise; for, behold, he calleth thee. 3216 And the blind man threw away his garment, and rose, and came to Jesus. 3317 Jesus said unto him, What dost thou wish that I should do unto thee? And that blind man said unto him, My Lord and Master, that my eyes may be opened, so that I may see thee. 3419 And Jesus had compassion on him, and touched his eyes, and said unto him, See; for thy faith hath saved thee. 3520 And immediately he received his sight, and came after him, and praised God; and all the people that saw praised God.

5 3622 And he spake a parable because he was nearing Jerusalem, and they supposed that at that time the kingdom of God was about to appear. 3724 He said unto them, A man, a son of a great race, went into a far country, to receive a kingdom, and return. 3825 And he called his ten servants, and gave them ten shares, and said unto them, Trade till the time of my coming. 3926 But the people of his city hated him, and sent messengers after him, and said, We will not that this man reign over us. 4027 And when he had received a kingdom, and returned, he said that the servants to whom he had given the money should be called unto him, that he might know what each of them had traded. 4129 And the first came, and said, My lord, thy share hath gained ten shares. 4230 The king said unto him, Thou good and faithful servant, who hast been found faithful in a little, be thou set over ten districts. 4331 And the second came, and said, My lord, thy portion hath gained five portions. 4432 And he said unto him also, And thou shall be set over five districts. 4533 And another came, and said, My lord, here is thy portion, which was with me laid by in a napkin: 4634 I feared thee, because thou art a hard man, and takest what thou didst not leave, and seekest what thou didst not give, and reapest what thou didst not sow. 4735 His lord said unto him, From thy mouth shall I judge thee, thou wicked and idle servant, who wast untrustworthy.

6 Thou knewest that I am a hard man, and take what I did not leave, and reap what I did not sow: 4836 why didst thou not put my money at usury, and so I might come and seek it, with its gains? 4937 And he said unto those that were standing in front of him, Take from him the share, and give it to him that hath ten shares. 5038 They said unto him, Our lord, he hath ten

shares. 5139 He said unto them, I say unto you, Every one that hath shall be given unto; and he that hath not, that which he hath also shall be taken from him. 5240 And those mine enemies who would not that I should reign over them, bring them, and slay them before me.

SECTION XXXII.

1141 And when Jesus entered Jerusalem, he went up to the temple of God, and found there oxen and sheep and doves. 242 And when he beheld those that sold and those that bought, and the money-changers sitting, he made for himself a scourge of rope, and drove them all out of the temple, and the sheep and the oxen, and the money-changers; and he threw down their money, and upset their tables, and the seats of them that sold the doves; 3 and he was teaching, and saying unto them, Is it not written, My house is a house of prayer for all peoples? and ye have made it a den for robbers. 443 And he said unto those that sold the doves, Take this hence, and make not my Father's house a house of merchandise. 544 And he suffered not any one to carry vessels inside the temple. 645 And his disciples remembered the scripture, The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up. 746 The Jews answered and said unto him, What sign hast thou shewn us, that thou doest this? 847 Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this temple, and I shall raise it in three days. 948 The Jews said unto him, This temple was built in forty-six years, and wilt thou raise it in three days? 1049 But he spake unto them of the temple of his body, that when they destroyed it, he would raise it in three days. 1151 When therefore he rose from among the dead, his disciples remembered that he said this; and they believed the scriptures, and the word that Jesus spake.

21252 And when Jesus sat down over against the treasury, he observed how the multitudes were casting their offerings into the treasury: and many rich men were throwing in much. 1353 And there came a poor widow, and cast in two mites. 1454 And Jesus called his disciples, and said unto them, Verily I say unto you, This poor widow cast into the treasury more than all the people: 1555 and all of these cast into the place of the offering of God of the superfluity of their wealth; while this woman of her want threw in all that she possessed. 1657 And he spake unto them this parable, concerning people who trusted in themselves that they are righteous, and despised every man: 1758 Two men went up to the temple to pray; one of them a Pharisee, and the other a publican. 1859 And the Pharisee stood apart, and prayed thus,

O Lord, I thank thee, since I am not like the rest of men, the unjust, the profligate, the extortioners, or even like this publican; but I fast two days a week, and tithe all my possessions. 1962 And the publican was standing at a distance, 2063 and he would not even lift up his eyes to heaven, but was beating upon his breast, and saying, O Lord, have mercy on me, me the sinner. 2164 I say unto you, that this man went down justified to his house more than the Pharisee. Every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and every one that abaseth himself shall be exalted.

3 2265 And when eventide was come, he left all the people, and went outside the city to Bethany, he and his twelve, and he remained there. 2366 And all the people, because they knew the place, came to him, and he received them; and them that had need of healing he healed. 2467 And on the morning of the next day, when he returned to the city from Bethany, he hungered. 2568 And he saw a fig tree at a distance on the beaten highway, having on it leaves. And he came unto it, expecting to find something on it; and when he came, he found nothing on it but the leaves—it was not the season of figs—and he said unto it, Henceforward for ever let no man eat fruit of thee. 2671 And his disciples heard. 4 2772 And they came to Jerusalem. And there was there a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, ruler of the Jews. 2873 This man came unto Jesus by night, and said unto him, My Master, we know that thou hast been sent from God as a teacher; and no man can do these signs that thou doest, except him whom God is with. 2974 Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, If a man be not born a second time, he cannot see the kingdom of God. 3075 Nicodemus said unto him, How can a man who is old be born? can he, think you, return again to his mother's womb a second time, to enter and be born? 3176 Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, If a man be not born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God. 3277 For he that is born of flesh is flesh; and he that is born of Spirit is spirit. 3378 Wonder not that I said unto thee that ye must be born a second time. 3479 The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest its voice, but thou knowest not from what place it cometh, nor whither it goeth:

5 so is every man that is born of the Spirit. 3580 Nicodemus answered and said unto him, How can that be? 3681 Jesus answered and said unto him, Art thou teaching Israel, and yet knowest not these things? 3783 Verily, verily, I say unto thee, What we know we say, and what we have seen we witness: and

ye receive not our witness. 3884 If I said unto you what is on earth, and ye believed not, how then, if I say unto you what is in heaven, will ye believe? 3985 And no man hath ascended up into heaven, except him that descended from heaven, the Son of man, which is in heaven. 4086 And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so is the Son of man to be lifted up; 4187 so that every man who may believe in him may not perish, but have eternal life. 4288 God so loved the world, that he should give his only Son; and so every one that believeth on him should not perish, but should have eternal life. 4390 God sent not his Son into the world to judge the world; but that the world might be saved by his hand. 4491 He that believeth in him shall not be judged: but he that believeth not is condemned beforehand, because he hath not believed in the name of the only Son, the Son of God. 4593 This is the judgement, that the light came into the world, and men loved the darkness more than the light;

6 because their deeds were evil. 4694 Whosoever doeth evil deeds hateth the light, and cometh not to the light, lest his deeds be reprov'd. 4795 But he that doeth the truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be known, that they have been done in God.

SECTION XXXIII.

1196 And when evening came, Jesus went forth outside of the city, he and his disciples. 297 And as they passed in the morning, the disciples saw that fig tree withered away from its root. 398 And they passed by, and said, How did the fig tree dry up immediately? 499 And Simon remembered, and said unto him, My Master, behold, that fig tree which thou didst curse hath dried up. 5100 And Jesus answered and said unto them, Let there be in you the faith of God. 6101 Verily I say unto you, if ye believe, and doubt not in your hearts, and assure yourselves that that will be which ye say, ye shall have what ye say. 7102 And if ye say to this mountain, Remove, and fall into the sea, it shall be. 8104 And all that ye ask God in prayer, and believe, he will give you. 9105 And the apostles said unto our Lord, Increase our faith. 10108 He said unto them, If there be in you faith like a grain of mustard, ye shall say to this fig tree, Be thou torn up, and be thou planted in the sea; and it will obey you. 11109 Who of you hath a servant driving a yoke of oxen or tending sheep, and if he come from the field, will say unto him straightway, 12110 Go and sit down? Nay, he will say unto him, Make ready for me wherewith I may sup, and gird thy waist, and serve me, till I eat and drink; and afterwards

thou shalt eat and drink also. 13112 Doth that servant haply, who did what he was bid, receive his praise? I think not. 14113 So ye also, when ye have done all that ye were bid, say, We are idle servants; what it was our duty to do, we have done.

215114 For this reason I say unto you, Whatever ye pray and ask, believe that ye receive, and ye shall have. 16115 And when ye stand to pray, forgive what is in your heart against any man; and your Father which is in heaven will forgive you also your wrong-doings. 17116 But if ye forgive not men their wrong-doings, neither will your Father forgive you also your wrong-doings. 318117 And he spake unto them a parable also, that they should pray at all times, and not be slothful: 19118 There was a judge in a city, who feared not God, nor was ashamed for men: 20119 and there was a widow in that city; and she came unto him, and said, Avenge me of mine adversary. 21120 And he would not for a long time: but afterwards he said within himself, If of God I have no fear, and before men I have no shame; yet because this widow vexeth me, 22121 I will avenge her, that she come not at all times and annoy me. 23122 And our Lord said, Hear ye what the judge of injustice said. 24123 And shall not God still more do vengeance for his elect, who call upon him in the night and in the day, and grant them respite? I say unto you, He will do vengeance for them speedily. 25124 Thinkest thou the Son of man will come and find faith on the earth? 26125 And they came again to Jerusalem. 27126 And it came to pass, on one of the days, as Jesus was walking in the temple, and teaching the people, and preaching the gospel, that the chief priests and the scribes with the elders came upon him, and said unto him, Tell us: 28127 By what power doest thou this?

4and who gave thee this power to do that? 29128 And Jesus said unto them, I also will ask you one word, and if ye tell me, I also shall tell you by what power I do that. 30129 The baptism of John, from what place is it? from heaven or of men? Tell me. 31130 And they reflected within themselves, and said, If we shall say unto him, From heaven; he will say unto us, 32131 For what reason did ye not believe him? But if we shall say, Of men; we fear that the people will stone us, all of them. 33134 And all of them were holding to John, that he was a true prophet. 34136 They answered and said unto him, We know not. 35137 Jesus said unto them, Neither tell I you also by what power I work. What think ye? A man had two sons; and he went to the first, and said unto him, My son, go to-day, and till in the vineyard.

36138 And he answered and said, I do not wish to: but finally he repented, and went. 37139 And he went to the other, and said unto him likewise. 38140 And he answered and said, Yea, my lord: and went not. Which of these two did the will of his father? They said unto him, The first.

5 Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, The publicans and harlots go before you into the kingdom of God. 39141 John came unto you in the way of righteousness, and ye believed him not; but the publicans and harlots believed him; and ye, not even when ye saw, did ye repent at last, that ye might believe in him. 6 40142 Hear another parable: A man was a householder, and planted a vineyard, and surrounded it with a hedge, 41143 and digged in it a winepress, and built in it a tower, and gave it to husbandmen, and went to a distance for a long time. 42144 So when the time of the fruits came, he sent his servants unto the husbandmen, that they might send him of the produce of his vineyard. 43147 And those husbandmen beat him, and sent him away empty. 44148 And he sent unto them another servant also; and they stoned him, and wounded him, and sent him away with shameful handling. 45150 And he sent again another; and they slew him. And he sent many other servants unto them. 46151 And the husbandmen took his servants, and one they beat, and another they stoned, and another they slew. 47152 So he sent again other servants more than the first; and they did likewise with them. 48153 So the owner of the vineyard said, What shall I do? I will send my beloved son: it may be they will see him and be ashamed. 49154 So at last he sent unto them his beloved son that he had. 50155 But the husbandmen, when they saw the son, said amongst themselves, This is the heir. 51156 And they said, We will slay him, and so the inheritance will be ours. 52157 So they took him, and put him forth without the vineyard, and slew him. 53158 When then the lord of the vineyard shall come, what will he do with those husbandmen? 54159 They said unto him, He will destroy them in the worst of ways, and give the vineyard to other husbandmen, who will give him fruit in its season. 55161 Jesus said unto them, Have ye never read in the scripture,

7 The stone which the builders declared to be base, The same came to be at the head of the corner: 56162 From God was this, And it is wonderful in our eyes? 57163 Therefore I say unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a people that will produce fruit. 58164 And whosoever falleth on this stone shall be broken in pieces: but on whomsoever it falleth, it will grind him to powder. 59165 And when the chief priests and

the Pharisees heard his parables, they perceived that it was concerning them he spake. 60166 And they sought to seize him; and they feared the multitude, because they were holding to him as the prophet.

SECTION XXXIV.

1 1167 Then went the Pharisees and considered how they might ensnare him in a word, and deliver him into the power of the judge, and into the power of the ruler. 2169 And they sent unto him their disciples, with the kinsfolk of Herod; and they said unto him, Teacher, we know that thou speakest the truth, and teachest the way of God with equity, and art not lifted up by any man: for thou actest not so as to be seen of any man. 3172 Tell us now, What is thy opinion? Is it lawful that we should pay the tribute to Caesar, or not? shall we give, or shall we not give? 4173 But Jesus knew their deceit, and said unto them, 5174 Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? Shew me the penny of the tribute. 6175 So they brought unto him a penny. Jesus said unto them, To whom belongeth this image and inscription? They said unto him, To Caesar. 7176 He said unto them, Give what is Caesar's to Caesar, and what is God's to God. 8177 And they could not make him slip in a single word before the people; and they marvelled at his word, and refrained.

2 9178 And on that day came the Sadducees, and said unto him, There is no life for the dead. 10180 And they asked him, and said unto him, Teacher, Moses said unto us, If a man die, not having children, let his brother take his wife, and raise up seed for his brother. 11181 Now there were with us seven brethren: and the first took a wife, and died without children; 12182 and the second took his wife, and died without children; 13183 and the third also took her; and in like manner the seven of them also, and they died without leaving children. 14184 And last of them all the woman died also. 15185 At the resurrection, then, which of these seven shall have this woman? for all of them took her. 16186 Jesus answered and said unto them, Is it not for this that ye have erred, because ye know not the scriptures, nor the power of God? 17187 And the sons of this world take wives, and the women become the men's; 18189 but those that have become worthy of that world, and the resurrection from among the dead, do not take wives, and the women also do not become the men's. 19192 Nor is it possible that they should die; but they are like the angels, and are the children of God, because they have become the children of the resurrection. 20194 For in the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read in the book of Moses, how from the bush God said unto

him, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? 21196 And God is not the God of the dead, but of the living: for all of them are alive with him. And ye have erred greatly.

3 22197 And when the multitudes heard, they were wondering at his teaching. 23198 And some of the scribes answered and said unto him, Teacher, thou hast well said. 24199 But the rest of the Pharisees, when they saw his silencing the Sadducees on this point, gathered against him to contend with him. 4 25200 And one of the scribes, of those that knew the law, when he saw the excellence of his answer to them, desired to try him, and said unto him, 26201 What shall I do to inherit eternal life? and, Which of the commandments is greater, and has precedence in the law? 27202 Jesus said unto him, The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel; The Lord our God, the Lord is one: 28203 and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy thought, and with all thy strength. 29204 This is the great and preëminent commandment. 30206 And the second, which is like it, is, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. And another commandment greater than these two there is not. 31207 On these two commandments, then, are hung the law and the prophets. 32208 That scribe said unto him, Excellent! my Master; thou hast said truly that he is one, and there is no other outside of him: 33210 and that a man should love him with all his heart, and with all his thought, and with all his soul, and with all his strength, and that he should love his neighbour as himself, is better than all savours and sacrifices. 34211 And Jesus saw him that he had answered wisely; and he answered and said unto him, Thou art not far from the kingdom of God. 35212 Thou hast: spoken rightly:

5 do this, and thou shalt live. 36213 And he, as his desire was to justify himself, said unto him, And who is my neighbour? 37214 Jesus said unto him, A man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho; and the robbers fell upon him, and stripped him, and beat him, his life remaining in him but little, and went away. 38217 And it happened that there came down a certain priest that way; and he saw him, and passed by. 39218 And likewise a Levite also came and reached that place, and saw him, and passed by. 40219 And a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came to the place where he was, and saw him, and had compassion on him, and came near, and bound up his strokes, and poured on them wine and oil; 41222 and he set him on the ass, and brought him to the inn, and expended his care upon him. 42224 And on the

morrow of that day he took out two pence, and gave them to the innkeeper, and said unto him, Care for him; and if thou spendest upon him more, when I return, I shall give thee. 43225 Who of these three now, thinkest thou, is nearest to him that fell among the robbers? 44226 And he said unto him, He that had compassion on him. 45227 Jesus said unto him, Go, and do thou also likewise. And no man dared afterwards to ask him anything.

646228 And he was teaching every day in the temple. But the chief priests and scribes and the elders of the people sought to destroy him: and they could not find what they should do with him; 47230 and all the people were hanging upon him to hear him. 48231 And many of the multitude believed on him, and said, The Messiah, when he cometh, can it be that he will do more than these signs that this man doeth? 49232 And the Pharisees heard the multitudes say that of him; and the chief priests sent officers to seize him. 50234 And Jesus said unto them, I am with you but a short time yet, and I go to him that sent me. 51235 And ye shall seek me, and shall not find me: and where I shall be, ye shall not be able to come. 52236 The Jews said within themselves, Whither hath this man determined to go that we shall not be able to find him? can it be that he is determined to go to the regions of the nations, and teach the heathen? 53239 What is this word that he said, Ye shall seek me, and shall not find me: and where I am, ye cannot come?

SECTION XXXV.

11240 And on the great day, which is the last of the feast, Jesus stood, crying out and saying, If any man is thirsty, let him come unto me, and drink. 2241 Every one that believeth in me, as the scriptures said, there shall flow from his belly rivers of pure water. 3242 He said that referring to the Spirit, which those who believed in him were to receive: for the Spirit was not yet granted; and because Jesus had not yet been glorified. 4243 And many of the multitude that heard his words said, This is in truth the prophet. 5244 And others said, This is the Messiah. But others said, Can it be that the Messiah will come from Galilee? 6245 Hath not the scripture said that from the seed of David, and from Bethlehem, the village of David, the Messiah cometh? 7246 And there occurred a dissension in the multitude because of him. 8247 And some of them were wishing to seize him; but no man laid a hand upon him.

29248 And those officers came to the chief priests and Pharisees: and the priests said unto them, Why did ye not bring him? 10249 The officers said, Never spake man thus as speaketh this man. 11250 The Pharisees said unto

them, Perhaps ye also have gone astray? 12251 Hath any of the rulers or the Pharisees haply believed in him? 13252 except this people which knows not the law; they are accursed. 14253 Nicodemus, one of them, he that had come to Jesus by night, 15254 said unto them, Doth our law haply condemn a man, except it hear him first and know what he hath done? 16255 They answered and said unto him, Art thou also haply from Galilee? Search, and see that a prophet riseth not from Galilee. 170 And when the Pharisees assembled, Jesus asked them, and said, 181 What say ye of the Messiah? whose son is he? They said unto him, The son of David. 192 He said unto them, And how doth David in the Holy Spirit call him Lord? for he said,

3 203 The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit on my right hand, That I may put thine enemies under thy feet. 214 If then David calleth him Lord, how is he his son? 225 And no one was able to answer him; and no man dared from that day again to ask him of anything. 4 236 And Jesus addressed them again, and said, I am the light of the world; and he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall find the light of life. 247 The Pharisees said unto him, Thou bearest witness to thyself; thy witness is not true. 258 Jesus answered and said unto them, If I bear witness to myself, my witness is true; for I know whence I came, and whither I go; but ye know not whence I came, or whither I go. 269 And ye judge after the flesh; and I judge no man. 2710 And even if I judge, my judgement is true; because I am not alone, but I and my Father which sent me. 2811 And in your law it is written, that the witness of two men is true. 2912 I am he that beareth witness to myself, and my Father which sent me beareth witness to me. 3013 They said unto him, Where is thy Father? Jesus answered and said unto them, Ye know not me, nor my Father: for did ye know me, ye would know my Father. 3114 He said these sayings in the treasury, where he was teaching in the temple: 3215 and no man seized him; because his hour had not yet come. Jesus said unto them again, I go truly, and ye shall seek me and not find me, and ye shall die in your sins:

5 and where I go, ye cannot come. 3316 The Jews said, Will he haply kill himself, that he saith, Where I go, ye cannot come? 3417 He said unto them, Ye are from below; and I am from above: ye are of this world; and I am not of this world. 3518 I said unto you, that ye shall die in your sins: if ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins. 3619 The Jews said, And thou, who art thou? Jesus said unto them, If I should begin to speak unto you, I have con-

cerning you many words and judgement: 3720 but he that sent me is true; and I, what I heard from him is what I say in the world. 3821 And they knew not that he meant by that the Father. 3922 Jesus said unto them again, When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then ye shall know that I am he: and I do nothing of myself, but as my Father taught me, so I speak. 4023 And he that sent me is with me; and my Father hath not left me alone; because I do what is pleasing to him at all times. 4124 And while he was saying that, many believed in him.

6 4225 And Jesus said to those Jews that believed in him, If ye abide in my words, truly ye are my disciples: 4326 and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. 4427 They said unto him, We are the seed of Abraham, and have never served any man in the way of slavery: how then sayest thou, Ye shall be free children? 4528 Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Every one that doeth a sin is a slave of sin. 4629 And the slave doth not remain for ever in the house; but the son remaineth for ever. 4730 And if the Son set you free, truly ye shall be free children. 48 I know that ye are the seed of Abraham; but ye seek to slay me, because ye are unable for my word. 4931 And what I saw with my Father, I say: and what ye saw with your father, ye do. 5032 They answered and said unto him, Our father is Abraham. Jesus said unto them, If ye were the children of Abraham, ye would do the deeds of Abraham. 5133 Now, behold, ye seek to kill me, a man that speak with you the truth, that I heard from God: this did Abraham not do. And ye do the deeds of your father. 5236 They said unto him, We were not born of fornication; we have one Father, who is God. 5338 Jesus said unto them, If God were your Father, ye would love me:

7 I proceeded and came from God; and it was not of my own self that I came, but he sent me. 5441 Why then do ye not know my word? Because ye cannot hear my word. 5542 Ye are from the father, the devil, and the lust of your father do ye desire to do, who from the beginning is a slayer of men, and in the truth standeth not, because the truth is not in him. And when he speaketh untruth, he speaketh from himself: for he is a liar, and the father of untruth. 5644 And I who speak the truth, ye believe me not. 5745 Who of you rebuketh me for a sin? And if I speak the truth, ye do not believe me. 5847 Whosoever is of God heareth the words of God: therefore do ye not hear, because ye are not of God. 5948 The Jews answered and said unto him, Did we not say well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast demons? 6049 Jesus

said unto them, As for me, I have not a devil; but my Father do I honour, and ye dishonour me. 6150 I seek not my glory: here is one who seeketh and judgeth.

SECTION XXXVI.

1151 Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever keepeth my word shall not see death for ever. 252 The Jews said unto him, Now we know that thou hast demons. Abraham is dead, and the prophets; and thou sayest, Whosoever keepeth my word shall not taste death for ever. 353 Art thou haply greater than our father Abraham, who is dead, and than the prophets, which are dead? whom makest thou thyself? 454 Jesus said unto them, If I glorify myself, my glory is nothing: my Father is he that glorifieth me; of whom ye say, that he is our God; 556 and yet ye have not known him: but I know him; and if I should say that I know him not, I should become a liar like you: but I know him, and keep his word. 657 Abraham your father longed to see my day; and he saw, and rejoiced. 758 The Jews said unto him, Thou art now not fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham? 859 Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am. And they take stones to stone him: 961 but Jesus concealed himself, and went out of the temple. And he passed through them, and went his way.

21062 And as he passed, he saw a man blind from his mother's womb. 1163 And his disciples asked him, and said, Our Master, who sinned, this man, or his parents, so that he was born blind? 1265 Jesus said unto them, Neither did he sin, nor his parents: but that the works of God may be seen in him. 1367 It is incumbent on me to do the deeds of him that sent me, while it is day: a night will come, and no man will be able to busy himself. 1468 As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world. 1569 And when he said that, he spat upon the ground, and made clay of his spittle, and smeared it on the eyes of the blind man, and said unto him, 1670 Go and wash thyself in the pool of Siloam. 1773 And he went and washed, and came seeing. And his neighbours, which saw him of old begging, said, Is not this he that was sitting begging? 1874 And some said, It is he; and others said, Nay, but he resembles him much. 1975 He said, I am he. They said unto him, How then were thine eyes opened? 2076 He answered and said unto them, A man named Jesus made clay, and smeared it on my eyes, and said unto me, Go and wash in the water of Siloam: and I went and washed, and received sight. 2178 They said unto him, Where is he?

³He said, I know not. 2279 And they brought him that was previously blind to the Pharisees. 2380 And the day in which Jesus made clay and opened with it his eyes was a sabbath day. 2481 And again the Pharisees asked him, How didst thou receive sight? And he said unto them, He put clay on mine eyes, and I washed, and received sight. 2582 The people of the Pharisees said, This man is not from God, for he keepeth not the sabbath. And others said, How can a man that is a sinner do these signs? And there came to be a division amongst them. 2684 And again they said to that blind man, Thou, then, what sayest thou of him that opened for thee thine eyes? He said unto them, I say that he is a prophet. 2785 And the Jews did not believe concerning him, that he was blind, and received sight, until they summoned the parents of him who received sight, and asked them, 2886 Is this your son, of whom ye said that he was born blind? how then, behold, doth he now see? 2988 His parents answered and said, We know that this is our son, and that he was born blind: 3089 but how he has come to see now, or who it is that opened his eyes, we know not: and he also has reached his prime; ask him, and he will speak for himself. 3190 This said his parents, because they were fearing the Jews:

⁴and the Jews decided, that if any man should confess of him that he was the Messiah, they would put him out of the synagogue. 3291 For this reason said his parents, He hath reached his prime; ask him. 3392 And they called the man a second time, him that was blind, and said unto him, Praise God: we know that this man is a sinner. 3493 He answered and said unto them, Whether he be a sinner, I know not: I know one thing, that I was blind, and I now see. 3594 They said unto him again, What did he unto thee? how opened he for thee thine eyes? 3695 He said unto them, I said unto you, and ye did not hear: what wish ye further to hear? ye also, do ye wish to become disciples to him? 3797 And they reviled him, and said unto him, Thou art the disciple of that man; but as for us, we are the disciples of Moses. 3899 And we know that God spake unto Moses: but this man, we know not whence he is. 39100 The man answered and said unto them, From this is the wonder, because ye know not whence he is, and mine eyes hath he opened. 40101 And we know that God heareth not the voice of sinners:

⁵but whosoever feareth him, and doeth his will, him he heareth. 41102 From eternity hath it not been heard of, that a man opened the eyes of a blind man, who had been born in blindness. 42103 If then this man were

not from God, he could not do that. 43104 They answered and said unto him, Thou wast all of thee born in sins, and dost thou teach us? And they put him forth without. 644105 And Jesus heard of his being put forth without, and found him, and said unto him, Dost thou believe in the Son of God? 45106 He that was made whole answered and said, Who is he, my Lord, that I may believe in him? 46107 Jesus said unto him, Thou hast seen him, and he that speaketh to thee is he. 47108 And he said, I believe, my Lord. And he fell down worshipping him.

SECTION XXXVII.

11109 And Jesus said, To judge the world am I come, so that they that see not may see, and they that see may become blind. 2110 And some of the Pharisees which were with him heard that, and they said unto him, Can it be that we are blind? 3111 Jesus said unto them, If ye were blind, ye should not have sin: but now ye say, We see: and because of this your sin remaineth. 4113 Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever entereth not into the fold of the sheep by the door, but goeth up from another place, that man is a thief and a stealer. 5114 But he that entereth by the door is the shepherd of the sheep. 6115 And therefore the keeper of the door openeth for him the door; and the sheep hear his voice: and he calleth his sheep by their names, and they go forth unto him. 7118 And when he putteth forth his sheep, he goeth before them, and his sheep follow him: because they know his voice. 8120 And after a stranger will the sheep not go, but they flee from him: because they hear not the voice of a stranger. 9121 This parable spake Jesus unto them: but they knew not what he was saying unto them. 10122 Jesus said unto them again, Verily, verily, I say unto you, I am the door of the sheep. 11123 And all that came are thieves and stealers: but the sheep heard them not. 12124 I am the door:

2 and if a man enter by me, he shall live, and shall go in and go out, and shall find pasture. 13125 And the stealer cometh not, save that he may steal, and kill, and destroy: but I came that they might have life, and that they might have the thing that is better. 14127 I am the good shepherd; and the good shepherd giveth himself for his sheep. 15129 But the hireling, who is not a shepherd, and whose the sheep are not, when he seeth the wolf as it cometh, leaveth the sheep, and fleeth, and the wolf cometh, and snatcheth away the sheep, and scattereth them: 16132 and the hireling fleeth because he is an hireling, and hath no care for the sheep. 17133 I am the good shepherd;

18134 and I know what is mine, and what is mine knoweth me, as my Father knoweth me, and I know my Father; and I give myself for the sheep. 19136 And I have other sheep also, that are not of this flock: them also I must invite, and they shall hear my voice; and all the sheep shall be one, and the shepherd one. 20137 And therefore doth my Father love me, because I give my life, that I may take it again. 21138 No man taketh it from me, but I leave it of my own choice. And I have the right to leave it, and have the right also to take it. And this commandment did I receive of my Father.

3 22139 And there occurred a disagreement among the Jews because of these sayings. 23140 And many of them said, He hath a devil, and is afflicted with madness; why listen ye to him? 24142 And others said, These sayings are not those of men possessed with demons. Can a demon haply open the eyes of a blind man? 25143 4 And the feast of the dedication came on at Jerusalem: and it was winter. 26144 And Jesus was walking in the temple in the porch of Solomon. 27145 The Jews therefore surrounded him, and said unto him, Until when dost thou make our hearts anxious? 28146 If thou art the Messiah, tell us plainly. He answered and said unto them, I told you, and ye believe not: 29147 and the deeds that I do in my Father's name bear witness to me. 30148 But ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep, as I said unto you. 31150 And my sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they come after me: and I give them eternal life; and they shall not perish for ever, nor shall any man snatch them out of my hands. 32153 For the Father, who hath given them unto me, is greater than all; and no man is able to take them from the hand of my Father. 3315533 I and my Father are one. 34156 And the Jews took stones to stone him. 35157 Jesus said unto them, Many good deeds from my Father have I shewed you; because of which of them, then, do ye stone me? 36159 The Jews said unto him, Not for the good deeds do we stone thee, but because thou blasphemest;

5 and, whilst thou art a man, makest thy- self God. 37160 Jesus said unto them, Is it not thus written in your law, I said, Ye are gods? 38161 And if he called those gods-for to them came the word of God (and it is not possible in the scripture that anything should be undone)-39164 he then, whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, do ye say that he blasphemeth; because I said unto you, I am the Son of God? 40165 If then I do not the deeds of my Father, ye believe me not. 41167 But if I do, even if ye believe not me, believe the deeds: that ye may know and believe that my

Father is in me, and I in my Father. 42168 And they sought again to take him: and he went forth out of their hands. 643169 And he went beyond Jordan to the place where John was baptizing formerly; and abode there. 44170 And many people came unto him; and they said, John did not work even one sign: but all that John said of this man is truth. 45171 And many believed in him. 46172 And there was a sick man, named Lazarus, of the village of Bethany, the brother of Mary and Martha. 47173 And Mary was she that anointed with sweet ointment the feet of Jesus, and wiped them with her hair; and Lazarus, who was sick, was the brother of this woman. 48175 And his sisters sent unto Jesus, and said unto him, Our Lord, behold, he whom thou lovest is sick. 49176 But Jesus said, This sickness is not unto death, but for the glorifying of God, that the Son of God may be glorified because of it. 50177 And Jesus loved Martha, and Mary, and Lazarus. 51178 And when he heard that he was sick, he abode in the place where he was two days. 52179 And after that, he said unto his disciples, Come, let us go into Judaea. 53180 His disciples said unto him, Our Master, now the Jews desire to stone thee; and goest thou again thither? 54181 Jesus said unto them, Is not the day of twelve hours? 55182 If then a man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of the world.

7 But if a man walk in the night, he stumbleth, because there is no lamp in him. 56183 This said Jesus: and after that, he said unto them, Lazarus our friend hath fallen asleep; but I am going to awaken him. 57184 His disciples said unto him, Our Lord, if he hath fallen asleep, he will recover. 58185 But Jesus said that concerning his death: while they supposed that he spake of lying down to sleep. 59186 Then Jesus said unto them plainly, Lazarus is dead. 60187 And I am glad that I was not there for your sakes, that ye may believe; but let us go thither. 61188 Thomas, who is called Thama, said to the disciples, his companions, Let us also go, and die with him.

SECTION XXXVIII.

11190 And Jesus came to Bethany, and found him already four days in the grave. 2191 And Bethany was beside Jerusalem, 3192 and its distance from it was a sum of fifteen furlongs; and many of the Jews came unto Mary and Martha, to comfort their heart because of their brother. 4194 And Martha, when she heard that Jesus had come, went out to meet him: but Mary was sitting in the house. 5195 Martha then said unto Jesus, My Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. 6196 But I know now that, whatever

thou shalt ask of God, he will give thee. 7197 Jesus said unto her, Thy brother shall rise. 8198 Martha said unto him, I know that he shall rise in the resurrection at the last day. 9199 Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection, and the life: whosoever believeth in me, even though he die, he shall live: 10200 and every living one that believeth in me shall never die. Believest thou this? 11201 She said unto him, Yea, my Lord:

2 I believe that thou art the Messiah, the Son of God, that cometh into the world. 12202 And when she had said that, she went and called Mary her sister secretly, and said unto her, Our Master hath come, and summoneth thee. 13203 And Mary, when she heard, rose in haste, and came unto him. 14204 (And Jesus then had not come into the village, but was in the place where Martha met him.) 15205 And the Jews also that were with her in the house, to comfort her, when they saw that Mary rose up and went out in haste, went after her, because they supposed that she was going to the tomb to weep. 16206 And Mary, when she came to where Jesus was, and saw him, fell at his feet, and said unto him, If thou hadst been here, my Lord, my brother had not died. 17207 And Jesus came; and when he saw her weeping, and the Jews that were with her weeping, he was troubled in himself, and sighed; and he said, 18209 In what place have ye laid him? And they said unto him, Our Lord, come and see. 19210 And the tears of Jesus came. 20212 The Jews therefore said, See the greatness of his love for him! 21213 But some of them said, Could not this man, who opened the eyes of that blind man, have caused that this man also should not die? 22214 And Jesus came to the place of burial, being troubled within himself.

3 And the place of burial was a cave, and a stone was placed at its door. 23215 Jesus therefore said, Take these stones away. Martha, the sister of him that was dead, said unto him, My Lord, he hath come to stink for some time: he hath been four days dead. 24217 Jesus said unto her, Did not I say unto thee, If thou believest, thou shalt see the glory of God? 25218 And they removed those stones. And Jesus lifted his eyes on high, and said, My Father, I thank thee Since thou didst hear me. 26219 And I know that thou at all times hearest me: but I say this unto thee because of this multitude that is standing, that they may believe that thou didst send me. 27220 And when he had said that, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth. 28221 And that dead man came out, having his hands and feet bound with bandages,

and his face wrapped in a scarf. Jesus said unto them, Loose him, and let him go.

4 29222 And many of the Jews which came unto Mary, when they saw the deed of Jesus, believed in him. 30223 But some of them went to the Pharisees, and informed them of all that Jesus did. 31224 And the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered, and said, What shall we do? for lo, this man doeth many signs. 32225 And if we leave him thus, all men will believe in him: and the Romans will come and take our country and people. 33226 And one of them, who was called Caiaphas, the chief priest he was in that year, said unto them, 34227 Ye know not anything, nor consider that it is more advantageous for us that one man should die instead of the people, and not that the whole people perish. 35228 And this he said not of himself: but because he was the chief priest of that year, he prophesied that Jesus was to die instead of the people; 36230 and not instead of the people alone, but that he might gather the scattered children of God together. 37231 And from that day they considered how to kill him. 38232 And Jesus did not walk openly amongst the Jews, but departed thence to a place near the wilderness, to a town called Ephraim; and he was there, going about with his disciples. 39234 And the passover of the Jews was near: and many went up from the villages unto Jerusalem before the feast, to purify themselves. 40235 And they sought for Jesus, and said one to another in the temple, What think ye of his holding back from the feast? 41236 And the chief priests and the Pharisees had given commandment, that, if any man knew in what place he was, he should reveal it to them, that they might take him.

5 42237 And when the days of his going up were accomplished, he prepared himself that he might go to Jerusalem. 43239 And he sent messengers before him, and departed, and entered into a village of Samaria, that they might make ready for him. 44242 And they received him not, because he was prepared for going to Jerusalem. 45244 And when James and John his disciples saw it, they said unto him, Our Lord, wilt thou that we speak, and fire come down from heaven, to extirpate them, as did Elijah also? 46245 And Jesus turned, and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not of what spirit ye are. 47246 Verily the Son of man did not come to destroy lives, but to give life. And they went to another village.

SECTION XXXIX.

1247 And Jesus six days before the passover came to Bethany, where was Lazarus, whom Jesus raised from among the dead. 2249 And they made a feast for him there: 3251 and Martha was serving; while Lazarus was one of them that sat with him. 4252 And at the time of Jesus' being at Bethany in the house of Simon the leper, great multitudes of the Jews heard that Jesus was there: and they came, not because of Jesus alone, but that they might look also on Lazarus, whom he raised from among the dead. 5253 And the chief priests considered how they might kill Lazarus also; 6254 because many of the Jews were going on his account, and believing in Jesus. 7255 And Mary took a case of the ointment of fine nard, of great price, and opened it, and poured it out on the head of Jesus as he was reclining; and she anointed his feet, and wiped them with her hair: 80 and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment. 91 But Judas Iscariot, one of the disciples, he that was to betray him, said, 102 Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given unto the poor? 113 This he said, not because of his care for the poor, but because he was a thief, and the chest was with him, and what was put into it he used to bear.

2 And that displeased the rest of the disciples also within themselves, and they said, 125 Why went this ointment to waste? 136 It was possible that it should be sold for much, and the poor be given it. 147 And they were angry with Mary. And Jesus perceived it, and said unto them, Leave her; why molest ye her? a good work hath she accomplished on me: for the day of my burial kept she it. 159 At all times the poor are with you, and when ye wish ye can do them a kindness: but I am not at all times with you. 1610 And for this cause, when she poured this ointment on my body, it is as if she did it for my burial, and anointed my body beforehand. 1712 And verily I say unto you, In every place where this my gospel shall be proclaimed in all the world, what she did shall be told for a memorial of her. 1813 And when Jesus said that, he went out leisurely to go to Jerusalem, 1914 And when he arrived at Bethphage and at Bethany, beside the mount which is called the mount of Olives, 2015 Jesus sent two of his disciples, and he said unto them, Go into this village that is opposite you: 2116 and when ye enter it, ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with him, which no man ever yet mounted: loose him, and bring them unto me. 2219 And if any man say unto you, Why loose ye them?

³ say unto him thus, We seek them for our Lord; and straightway send them hither. 2320 All this was, that what was said in the prophet might be fulfilled, which said, ⁴2421 Say ye unto the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, Meek, and riding upon an ass, And upon a colt the foal of an ass. 2522 And the disciples did not know this at that time: but after that Jesus was glorified, his disciples remembered that these things were written of him, and that this they had done unto him. 2623 And when the two disciples went, they found as he had said unto them, and they did as Jesus charged them. 2724 And when they loosed them, their owners said unto them, Why loose ye them? 2825 They said unto them, We seek them for our Lord. 2926 And they let them go. And they brought the ass and the colt, and they placed on the colt their garments; and Jesus mounted it. 3027 And most of the multitudes spread their garments on the ground before him: and others cut branches from the trees, and threw them in the way. 3128 And when he neared his descent from the mount of Olives, all the disciples began to rejoice and to praise God with a loud voice for all the powers which they had seen; and they said, Praise in the highest; Praise to the Son of David: 3230 Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; and blessed is the kingdom that cometh, that of our father David: 3333 Peace in heaven, and praise in the highest.

⁵3434 And a great multitude, that which came to the feast, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took young palm branches, and went forth to meet him, and cried and said, Praise: 3536 Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, the King of Israel. 3637 Certain therefore of the Pharisees from among the multitudes said unto him, Our Master, rebuke thy disciples. 3738 He said unto them, Verily I say unto you, If these were silent, the stones would cry out. 3839 And when he drew near, and saw the city, he wept over it, and said, 3940 Would that thou hadst known the things that are for thy peace, in this thy day! now that is hidden from thine eyes. 4042 There shall come unto thee days when thine enemies shall encompass thee, and straiten thee from every quarter, and shall get possession of thee, 4144 and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee a stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.

⁶4245 And when he entered into Jerusalem, the whole city was agitated, and they said, 4346 Who is this? And the multitudes said, This is Jesus, the prophet that is from Nazareth of Galilee. 4447 And the multitude which

was with him bare witness that he called Lazarus from the grave, and raised him from among the dead. 4548 And for this cause great multitudes went out to meet him, because they heard the sign which he did.

SECTION XL.

1 149 And when Jesus entered the temple, they brought unto him blind and lame: and he healed them. 250 But when the chief priests and the Pharisees saw the wonders that he did, and the children that were crying in the temple and saying, Praise be to the Son of David: it distressed them, and they said, Hearest thou not what these say? 351 Jesus said unto them, Yea: did ye not read long ago, From the mouths of children and infants thou hast chosen my praise? 452 And the Pharisees said one to another, Behold, do ye not see that nothing availeth us? for lo, the whole world hath followed him. 2 553 And there were among them certain Gentiles also, which had come up to worship at the feast: 654 these therefore came to Philip, who was of Bethsaida of Galilee, and asked him, and said unto him, My lord, we wish to see Jesus. 755 And Philip came and told Andrew: and Andrew and Philip told Jesus. 856 And Jesus answered and said unto them, The hour is come nigh, in which the Son of man is to be glorified. 957 Verily, verily, I say unto you, A grain of wheat, if it fall not and die in the earth, remaineth alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit. 1058 He that loveth his life destroyeth it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto the life eternal. 1161 If a man serve me, he will follow me; and where I am, there shall my servant be also: and whosoever serveth me, the Father will honour him. 1262 Now is my soul troubled: and what shall I say? My Father, deliver me from this hour. 1363 But for this cause came I unto this hour. My Father, glorify thy name. And a voice was heard from heaven, I have glorified it, and shall glorify it. 1464 And the multitude that were standing heard, and said, This is thunder: and others said, An angel speaketh to him. 1565 Jesus answered and said unto them, Not because of me was this voice, but because of you. 1666 Now is the judgement of this world;

3 and the prince of this world shall now be cast forth. 1767 And I, when I am lifted up from the earth, shall draw every man unto me. 1868 This he said, that he might shew by what manner of death he should die. 1969 The multitudes said unto him, We have heard out of the law that the Messiah abideth for ever: how then sayest thou, that the Son of man is to be lifted up? who is this, the Son of man? 2070 Jesus said unto them, Another little while

is the light with you. Walk so long as ye have light, test the darkness overtake you; for he that walketh in the darkness knoweth not whither he goeth. 2171 So long as ye have light, believe the light, that ye may be the children of the light. 4227222 And when certain of the Pharisees asked of Jesus, when the kingdom of God should come, he answered and said unto them, The kingdom of God cometh not with expectation: 2373 neither shall they say, Lo, it is here! nor, Lo, it is there! for the kingdom of God is within you. 2474 And in the daytime he was teaching in the temple; and at night he used to go out, and pass the night in the mount called the mount of Olives. 2575 And all the people came to him in the morning in the temple, to hear his word. 2677 Then spoke Jesus unto the multitudes and his disciples, and said unto them, 2778 On the seat of Moses are seated the scribes and Pharisees: 2879 everything that they say unto you now to keep, keep and do: but according to their deeds do ye not; for they say, and do not. 2980 And they bind heavy burdens, and lay them on the shoulders of the people; while they with one of their fingers will not come near them. 3082 But all their deeds they do to make a shew before men. 3183 And all the multitude were hearing that with pleasure.

53284 And in the course of his teaching he said unto them, Guard yourselves from the scribes, who desire to walk in robes, 3385 and love salutation in the marketplaces, and sitting in the highest places of the synagogues, and at feasts in the highest parts of the rooms: 3486 and they broaden their amulets, and lengthen the cords of their cloaks, and love that they should be called by men, My master, and devour widows' houses, because of their prolonging' their prayers; 3588 these then shall receive greater judgement. 3689 But ye, be ye not called masters: for your master is one; all ye are brethren. 3791 Call not then to yourselves any one father on earth: for your Father is one, who is in heaven. 3893 And be not called directors: for your director is one, even the Messiah. 3994 He that is great among you shall be unto you a minister. 4095 Whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and whosoever shall abase himself shall be exalted.

64196 Woe unto you, Pharisees! because ye love the highest places in the synagogues, and salutation in the marketplaces. 4297 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye devour widows' houses, because of your prolonging your prayers: for this reason then ye shall receive greater judgement. 4399 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye have

shut the kingdom of God before men. 44100 Woe unto you that know the law! for ye concealed the keys of knowledge: ye enter not, and those that are entering ye suffer not to enter. 45101 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye compass land and sea to draw one proselyte; and when he is become so, ye make him a son of hell twice as much as yourselves. 46105 Woe unto you, ye blind! guides! because ye say, Whosoever sweareth by the temple, it is nothing; but whosoever sweareth by the gold that is in the temple, shall be condemned. 47107 Ye blind foolish ones: which is greater, the gold, or the temple which sanctifieth the gold? 48108 And, Whosoever sweareth by the altar, it is nothing; but whosoever sweareth by the offering that is upon it, shall be condemned. 49110 Ye blind foolish ones: which is greater, the offering, or the altar which sanctifieth the offering? 50111 Whosoever then sweareth by the altar, hath sworn by it, and by all that is upon it. 51112 And whosoever sweareth by the temple, hath sworn by it, and by him that is dwelling in it. 52113 And whosoever sweareth by heaven, hath sworn by the throne of God, and by him that sitteth upon it.

753114 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye tithe mint and rue and dill and cummin and all herbs, and ye leave the important matters of the law, judgement, and mercy, and faith, and the love of God: this ought ye to do, and not to leave that undone. 54115 Ye blind guides, which strain out a gnat, and swallow camels. 55117 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter, while the inside of them is full of injustice and wrong. 56118 Ye blind Pharisees, cleanse first the inside of the cup and of the platter, then shall the outside of them be cleansed. 57119 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye resemble whited sepulchres, which appear from the outside beautiful, but within full of the bones of the dead, and all uncleanness. 58121 So ye also from without appear unto men like the righteous, but within ye are full of wrong and hypocrisy.

859122 One of the scribes answered and said unto him, Teacher, in this saying of thine thou art casting a slur on us. 60123 He said, And to you also, ye scribes, woe! for ye lade men with heavy burdens, and ye with one of your fingers come not near those burdens. 61125 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye build the tombs of the prophets, which your fathers killed, and adorn the burying-places of the righteous, and say, 62126 If we had been in the days of our fathers, we should not have been partakers with

them in the blood of the prophets. 63127 Wherefore, behold, ye witness against yourselves, that ye are the children of those that slew the prophets. 64128 And ye also, ye fill up the measure of your fathers. 65130 Ye serpents, ye children of vipers, where shall ye flee from the judgement of Gehenna?

SECTION XLI.

1 1131 Therefore, behold, I, the wisdom of God, am sending unto you prophets, and apostles, and wise men, and scribes: and some of them ye shall slay and crucify; and some of them ye shall beat in your synagogues, and persecute from city to city: 2133 that there may come on you all the blood of the righteous that hath been poured upon the ground from the blood of Abel the pure to the blood of Zachariah the son of Barachiah, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. 3136 Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation, 2 4138 O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, slayer of the prophets, and stoner of them that are sent unto her! how many times did I wish to gather thy children, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! 5139 Your house shall be left over you desolate. 6140 Verily I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. 7141 And many of the rulers also believed on him; but because of the Pharisees they were not confessing him, lest they be put out of the synagogue: 8143 and they loved the praise of men more than the praising of God. 9144 And Jesus cried and said, Whosoever believeth in me, believeth not in me, but in him that sent me. 10145 And whosoever seeth me hath seen him that sent me. 11146 I am come a light into the world, and so every one that believeth in me abideth not in the darkness. 12148 And whosoever heareth my sayings, and keepeth them not, I judge him not: for I came not to judge the world, but to give the world life. 13150 Whosoever wrongeth me, and receiveth not my sayings, there is one that judgeth him: the word that I spake, it shall judge him at the last day. 14152 I from myself did not speak: but the Father which sent me, he hath given me commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak; and I know that his commandment is eternal life 15155 The things that I say now, as my Father hath said unto me, even so I say.

3 16156 And when he said that unto them, the scribes and Pharisees began their evil-doing, being angry with him, and finding fault with his sayings, and harassing him in many things; 17158 seeking to catch something from his mouth, that they might be able to calumniate him. 18159 And when

there gathered together myriads of great multitudes, which almost trode one upon another, Jesus began to say unto his disciples, Preserve yourselves from the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy. 19160 For there is nothing concealed, that shall not be revealed: nor hid, that shall not be known. 20161 Everything that ye have said in the darkness shall be heard in the light; and what ye have spoken secretly in the ears in the inner chambers shall be proclaimed on the roofs. 21162 This said Jesus, and he went and hid himself from them. 22163 But notwithstanding his having done all these signs before them, 23164 they believed not in him: that the word of Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled, who said,

4 My Lord, who is he that hath believed to hear us? And the arm of the Lord, to whom hath it appeared? 24165 And for this reason it is not possible for them to believe, because Isaiah also said, 25166 They have blinded their eyes, and made dark their heart; That they may not see with their eyes, and understand with their heart, And turn, So that I should heal them. 26167 This said Isaiah when he saw his glory, and spake of him. 27168 And when Jesus went out of the temple, certain of his disciples came forward to shew him the buildings of the temple, 28170 and its beauty and greatness, and the strength of the stones that were laid in it, and the elegance of its building, and that it was adorned with noble stones and beautiful colours. 29171 Jesus answered and said unto them, See ye these great buildings? 30172 verily I say unto you, Days will come, when there shall not be left here a stone upon another, that shall not be cast down.

5 31173 And two days before the passover of unleavened bread, the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might take him by deceit, and kill him: 32176 and they said, It shall not be at the feast, lest the people be agitated. 6 33177 And when Jesus sat on the mount of Olives opposite the temple, his disciples, Simon Cephas and James and John and Andrew, came forward unto him, and said unto him between themselves and him, 34178 Teacher, tell us when that shall be, and what is the sign of thy coming and the end of the world. 35179 Jesus answered and said unto them, Days will come, when ye shall long to see one of the days of the Son of 36180 man, and shall not behold. 37181 Take heed lest any man lead you astray. Many shall come in my name, and say, 38182 I am the Messiah; and they shall say, The time is come near, and shall lead many astray: go not therefore after them. 39183 And when ye hear of wars and tidings of insurrections, see to it, be not

agitated: for these things must first be; only the end is not yet come. 40185 Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom:

7 and great earthquakes shall be in one place and another, and there shall be famines and deaths and agitations: 41186 and there shall be fear and terror and great signs that shall appear from heaven, and there shall be great storms. 42188 All these things are the beginning of travail. 43189 But before all of that, they shall lay hands upon you, and persecute you, and deliver you unto the synagogues and into prisons, and bring you before kings and judges for my name's sake. 44190 And that shall be unto you for a witness. 45191 But first must my gospel be preached unto all nations. 46192 And when they bring you into the synagogues before the rulers and the authorities, be not anxious beforehand how ye shall answer for yourselves, or what ye shall say: 47193 because it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Spirit. 48194 Lay it to your heart, not to be anxious before the time what ye shall say: 49195 and I shall give you understanding and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay. 50198 And then shall they deliver you unto constraint, and shall kill you:

8 and ye shall be hated of all nations because of my name. 51199 And then shall many go astray, and they shall hate one another, and deliver one another unto death. 52201 And your parents, and your brethren, and your kinsfolk, and your friends shall deliver you up, and shall slay some of you. 53202 But a lock of hair from your heads shall not perish. 54203 And by your patience ye shall gain your souls. 55205 And many men, false prophets, shall arise, and lead many astray. 56207 And because of the abounding of iniquity, the love of many shall wax cold. 57208 But he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved. 58209 And this, the gospel of the kingdom, shall be preached in all the world for a testimony to all nations; and then shall come the end of all.

SECTION XLII.

11211 But when ye see Jerusalem with the army compassing it about, then know that its desolation is come near. 2212 Those then that are in Judaea at that time shall flee to the mountain; and those that are within her shall flee; and those that are in the villages shall not enter her. 3213 For these days are the days of vengeance, that all that is written may be fulfilled. 4214 And when ye see the unclean sign of desolation, spoken of in Daniel the prophet, standing in the pure place, he that readeth shall understand, 5216 and then

he that is in Judaea shall flee in to the mountain: 6217 and let him that is on the roof not go down, nor enter in to take anything from his house: 7218 and let him that is in the field not turn behind him to take his garment. 8219 Woe to them that are with child and to them that give suck in those days! there shall be great distress in the land, and wrath against this nation. 9220 And they shall fall on the edge of the sword, and shall be taken captive to every land: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the nations, until the times of the nations be ended. 10222 Then if any man say unto you, The Messiah is here; or, Lo, he is there;

2 believe him not: 11223 there shall rise then false Messiahs and prophets of lying, and shall do signs and wonders, in order that they may lead astray even the elect also, if they be able. 12224 But as for you, beware: for I have acquainted you with everything beforehand. 13225 If then they say unto you, Lo, he is in the desert; go not out, lest ye be taken: and if they say unto you, Lo, he is in the chamber; believe not. 14226 And as the lightning appeareth from the east, and is seen unto the west; so shall be the coming of the Son of man. 15227 But first he must suffer much and be rejected by this generation. 16229 Pray therefore that your flight be not in winter, nor on a sabbath: 17230 there shall be then great tribulation, the like of which there hath not been from the beginning of the world till now, nor shall be. 18232 And except the Lord had shortened those days, no flesh would have lived: but because of the elect, whom he elected, he shortened those days. 19233 And there shall be signs in the sun and the moon and the stars;

3 and upon the earth affliction of the nations, and rubbing of hands for the confusion of the noise of the sea, and an earthquake: 20236 the souls of men shall go forth from fear of that which is to come upon the earth. 21237 And in those days, straightway after the distress of those days, the sun shall become dark, and the moon shall not shew its light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of heaven shall be convulsed: and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: 22238 and at that time all the tribes of the earth shall wail, and look unto the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and much glory. 23239 And he shall send his angels with the great trumpet, and they shall gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other. 24241 But when these things begin to be, be of good cheer, and lift up your heads; for your salvation is come near.

425243 Learn the example of the fig tree: when it letteth down its branches, and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is come; 26245 so ye also, when ye see these things begun to be, know ye that the kingdom of God hath arrived at the door. 27246 Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, until all these things shall be. 28247 Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my sayings shall not pass away. 29248 Take heed to yourselves, that your hearts become not heavy with inordinate desire, and drunkenness, and the care of the world at any time, and that day come upon you suddenly: 30250 for it is as a shock that shocks all the inhabitants that are on the face of the whole earth. 31251 Watch at all times, and pray, that ye may be worthy to escape from all the things that are to be, and that ye may stand before the Son of man. 32252 Of that day and of that hour hath no man learned, not even the angels of heaven, neither the Son, but the Father. 33253 See ye, and watch and pray: for ye know not when that time will be. 34254 It is as a man, who journeyed, and left his house, and gave his authority to his servants, and appointed every man to his work, and charged the porter to be wakeful. 35255 Be wakeful then: since ye know not when the lord of the house cometh, in the evening, or in the middle of the night, or when the cock croweth, or in the morning; 361 lest he come unexpectedly, and find you sleeping. 372 The thing that I say unto you, unto all of you do I say it, Be ye watchful.

5383 For as it was in the days of Noah, so shall the coming of the Son of man be. 394 As they were before the flood eating and drinking, and taking wives, and giving wives to men, 405 until the day in which Noah entered into the ark, and they perceived not till the flood came, and took them all; so shall the coming of the Son of man be. 416 And as it was in the days of Lot; they were eating and drinking, and selling and buying, and planting and building, 427 on the day in which Lot went out from Sodom, and the Lord rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all: 438 so shall it be in the day in which the Son of man is revealed. 4410 And in that day, whosoever is on the roof, and his garments in the house, let him not go down to take them: and he that is in the field shall not turn behind him. 4512 Remember Lot's wife. 4613 Whosoever shall desire to save his life shall destroy it: but whosoever shall destroy his life shall save it. 4714 Verily I say unto you, In that night there shall be two on one bed; one shall be taken,

and another left. 4815 And two women shall be grinding at one mill; one shall be taken, and another left. 4916 And two shall be in the field;

6 one shall be taken, and another left. 5017 They answered and said unto him, To what place, our Lord? He said unto them, Where the body is, there will the eagles gather. 5118 Be attentive now: for ye know not at what hour your Lord cometh. 5219 Know this: if the master of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have been attentive, and would not make it possible that his house should be broken through. 5320 Therefore be ye also ready: for in the hour that ye think not the Son of man cometh.

SECTION XLIII.

1 121 Simon Cephas said unto him, Our Lord, is it to us that thou hast spoken this parable, or also to every man? 222 Jesus said unto him, Who, thinkest thou, is the servant, the master of the house, trusted with control, whom his lord set over his household, to give them their food in its season? 325 Blessed is that servant, whom his lord shall come and find having done so. 426 Verily I say unto you, He will set him over all that he hath. But if that evil servant say in his heart, 527 My lord delayeth his coming; 628 and shall begin to beat his servants and the maidservants of his lord, and shall begin to eat and to drink with the drunken; 729 the lord of that servant shall come in the day that he thinketh not, and in the hour that he knoweth not, and shall judge him, and appoint his portion with the hypocrites, and with those that are not faithful: 830 there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

2 931 Then shall the kingdom of heaven be like unto ten virgins, those that took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom and the bride. 1032 Five of them were 1133 wise, and five foolish. And those foolish ones took their lamps, and took not with them oil: 1234 but those wise ones took oil in vessels along with their lamps. 1335 When then the bridegroom delayed, they all slumbered and slept. 1436 But in the middle of the night there occurred a cry, Behold, the bridegroom cometh! Go forth therefore to meet him. 1537 Then all those virgins arose, and made ready their lamps. 1638 The foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil; for our lamps are gone out. 1739 But those wise answered and said, Perhaps there will not be enough for us and you: but go ye to the sellers, and buy for yourselves. 1841 And when they went away to buy, the bridegroom came; and those that were ready went in with him to the marriage feast: and the door was shut. 1942

And at last those other virgins also came and said, Our Lord, our Lord, open unto us. 2043 He answered and said unto them, Verily I say unto you, I know you not. 2144 Watch then, for ye know not that day nor that hour.

³ 2245 It is as a man, who went on a journey, and called his servants, and delivered unto them his possessions. 2346 And unto one he gave five talents, and another two, and another one; every one according to his strength; and went on his journey forthwith. 2448 He then that received the five talents went and traded with them, and gained other five. 2549 And so also he of the two gained other two. 2650 But he that received the one went and digged in the earth, and hid the money of his lord. 2751 And after a long time the lord of those servants came, and took from them the account. 2852 And he that received five talents came near and brought other five, and said, My lord, thou gavest me five talents: lo, I have gained other five in addition to them. 2953 His lord said unto him, Well done, thou good and faithful servant: over a little hast thou been faithful, over much will I set thee: enter into the joy of thy lord. 3054 And he that had the two came near and said, My lord, thou gavest me two talents: lo, other two have I gained in addition to them. 3155 His lord said unto him, Good, thou faithful servant: over a little hast thou been faithful, over much will I set thee:

⁴ enter into the joy of thy lord. 3257 And he also that received the one talent came forward and said, My lord, I knew thee that thou an a severe man, who reapest where thou sowest not, and gatherest where thou didst not scatter: 3358 and so I was afraid, and went away and hid thy talent in the earth: 3459 lo, thou hast what is thine. His lord answered and said unto him, Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest me that I reap where I sowed not, and gather where I did not scatter; 3560 it was incumbent on thee to put my money to the bank, and then I should come and seek it with its gains. 3662 Take now from him the talent, and give it to him that hath ten talents. 3763 Whosoever hath shall be given, and he shall have more: but he that hath not, even what he hath shall be taken from him. 3864 And the unprofitable servant, put him forth into the outer darkness: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth.

⁵ 3965 Your loins shall be girded, and your lamps lit; and ye shall be like the people that are looking for their lord, when he shall return from the feast; 4066 so that, when he cometh and knocketh, they may at once open unto him. 4167 Blessed are those servants, whom their lord shall come and

find attentive: verily I say unto you, that he will gird his waist, and make them sit down, and pass through them and serve them. 4269 And if he come in the second watch, or the third, and find thus, blessed are those servants. 64370 But when the Son of man cometh in his glory, and all his pure angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory: 4471 and he will gather before him all the nations, and separate them the one from the other, like the shepherd who separateth the sheep from the goats; 4572 and will set the sheep on his right, and the goats on his left. 4674 Then shall the King say to those that are at his right, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundations of the world: 4776 I hungered, and ye gave me to eat; and I thirsted, and ye gave me to drink; and I was a stranger, and ye took me in; 4877 and I was naked, and ye clothed me; and I was sick, and ye visited me; and I was in prison, and ye cared for me. 4978 Then shall those righteous say unto him, Our Lord, when saw we thee hungry, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee to drink? 5079 And when saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in?

7 or naked, and clothed thee? 5180 And when saw we thee sick, or imprisoned, and cared for thee? 5281 The King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, What ye did to one of these my brethren, the little ones, ye did unto me. 5383 Then shall he say unto those that are on his left also, Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his hosts: 5484 I hungered, and ye fed me not; and I thirsted, and ye did not give me to drink; 5585 and I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; and I was naked, and ye clothed me not; and I was sick, and imprisoned, and ye visited me not. 5686 Then shall those also answer and say, Our Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, or athirst, or naked, or a stranger, or sick, or imprisoned, and did not minister unto thee? 5787 Then shall he answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, When ye did it not unto one of these little ones, ye did it not unto me also. 5888 And these shall go away into eternal punishment: but the righteous into eternal life.

SECTION XLIV.

1189 And when Jesus finished all these sayings, he said unto his disciples, 291 Ye know that after two days will be the passover, and the Son of man is delivered up to be crucified. 392 Then gathered together the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders of the people, unto the court of the chief priest, who was called Caiaphas; 493 and they took counsel together concerning Je-

sus, that they might seize him by subtilty, and kill him. 594 But they said, Not during the feast, lest there take place a disturbance among the people; for they feared the people. 695 And Satan entered into Judas who was called Iscariot, who was of the number of the twelve. 796 And he went away, and communed with the chief priests, and the scribes, and those that held command in the temple, and said unto them, What would ye pay me, and I will deliver him unto you? 897 And they, when they heard it, were pleased, and made ready for him thirty pieces of money. 9100 And he promised them, and from that time he sought an opportunity that he might deliver unto them Jesus without the multitude. 10103 And on the first day of unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus, and said unto him, Where wilt thou that we go and make ready for thee that thou mayest eat the passover?

211104 And before the feast of the passover, Jesus knew that the hour was arrived for his departure from this world unto his Father; and he loved his own in this world, and to the last he loved them. 12105 And at the time of the feast, Satan put into the heart of Judas, the son of Simon Iscariot, to deliver him up. 13106 And Jesus, because he knew that the Father had delivered into his hands everything, and that he came forth from the Father, 14107 and goeth unto God, rose from supper, and laid aside his garments; 15108 and took a towel, and girded his waist, and poured water into a bason, and began to wash the feet of his disciples, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith his waist was girded. 16109 And when he came to Simon Cephas, Simon said unto him, Dost thou, my Lord, wash for me my feet? 17110 Jesus answered and said unto him, What I do, now thou knowest not; but afterwards thou shall learn. 18111 Simon said unto him, Thou shalt never wash for me my feet. Jesus said unto him, If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me. 19112 Simon Cephas said unto him, Then, my Lord, wash not for me my feet alone, but my hands also and my head. 20113 Jesus said unto him, He that batheth needeth not to wash save his feet, whereas his whole body is clean: and ye also are clean, but not all of you. 21115 For Jesus knew him that should betray him; therefore said he, Ye are not all clean.

322116 So when he had washed their feet, he took his garments, and sat down, and said unto them, Know ye what I have done unto you? 23117 Ye call me, Master, and, Lord: and ye say well; so I am. 24118 If then I, now, who am your Lord and Master, have washed for you your feet, how needful is it that ye should wash one another's feet! 25119 This have I given you as an

example, that as I have done to you so ye should do also. 26120 Verily, verily, I say unto you, No servant is greater than his lord; nor an apostle greater than he that sent him. 27121 If ye know that, ye are happy if ye do it. 28122 My saying this is not for all of you: for I know whom I have chosen: but that the scripture might be fulfilled, He that eateth with me bread lifted against me his heel. 29124 Henceforth I say unto you before it come to pass, that, when it cometh to pass, ye may believe that I am he. 30125 Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth me; and whosoever receiveth me receiveth him that sent me.

431126 Who is the great one, he that sitteth, or he that serveth? is it not he that sitteth? 32127 I am among you as he that serveth. But ye are they that have continued with me in my temptations; 33128 I promise you, as my Father promised me, the kingdom, that ye may eat and drink at the table of my kingdom. 34131 And the first day came, the feast of unleavened bread, on which the Jews were wont to sacrifice the passover. 35135 And Jesus sent two of his disciples, Cephas and John, and said unto them, Go and make ready for us the passover, that we may eat. 36136 And they said unto him, Where wilt thou that we make ready for thee? 37137 He said unto them, Go, enter the city; and at the time of your entering, there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water; follow him, and the place where he entereth, say to such an one, the master of the house, Our Master saith, My time is come, and at thy house I keep the passover. 38138 Where then is the lodging-place where I shall eat with my disciples? 39139 And he will shew you a large upper room spread and made ready: there then make ready for us. 40140 And his two disciples went out, and came to the city, and found as he had said unto them: and they made ready the passover as he had said unto them.

541141 And when the evening was come, and the time arrived, Jesus came and reclined, and the twelve apostles with him. 42142 And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: 43143 I say unto you, that henceforth I shall not eat it, until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God. 44144 Jesus said that, and was agitated in his spirit, and testified, and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, One of you, he that eateth with me, shall betray me. 45146 And they were very sorrowful; and they began to say unto him, one after another of them, Can it be I, Lord? 46147 He answered and said unto them, One of the twelve, he that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, will betray me. 47148 And Io, the hand of him

that betrayeth me is on the table. 48149 And the Son of man goeth, as it is written of him: woe then to that man by whose hand the Son of man is betrayed! for it would have been better for that man had he not been born. 49150 And the disciples looked one on another, for they knew not to whom he referred; 50151 and they began to search among themselves, who that might be who was to do this.

SECTION XLV.

11152 And one of his disciples was sitting in his bosom, he whom Jesus loved. 2154 To him Simon Cephas beckoned, that he should ask him who this was, concerning whom he spake. 3155 And that disciple leaned on Jesus' breast, and said unto him, My Lord, who is this? 4157 Jesus answered and said, He to whom I shall dip bread, and give it. And Jesus dipped bread, and gave to Judas, the son of Simon Iscariot. 5158 And after the bread, Satan entered him. And Jesus said unto him, What thou desirest to do, hasten the doing of it. 6159 And no man of them that sat knew why he said this unto him. 7160 And some of them thought, because Judas had the box, that he was bidding him buy what would be needed for the feast; or, that he might pay something to the poor. 8161 Judas the betrayer answered and said, Can it be I, my Master? Jesus said unto him, Thou hast said 9162. And Judas took the bread straightway, and went forth without: and it was still night.

210163 And Jesus said, Now is the Son of man being glorified, and God is being glorified in him; and if God is glorified in him, 11166 God also will glorify him in him, and straightway will glorify him. 12167 And while they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and divided; and he gave to his disciples, and said unto them, Take and eat; this is my body. 13168 And he took a cup, and gave thanks, and blessed, and gave them, and said, Take and drink of it, all of you. 14169 And they drank of it, all of them. 15170 And he said unto them, This is my blood, the new covenant, that is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins. 16171 I say unto you, I shall not drink henceforth of this, the juice of the vine, until the day in which I drink with you new wine in the kingdom of God. 17173 And thus do ye in remembrance of me. And Jesus said unto Simon, Simon, behold, Satan asketh that he may sift you like wheat: 18174 but I entreat for thee, that thou lose not thy faith: and do thou, at some time, turn and strengthen thy brethren. 19178 My children, another little while am I with you. And ye shall seek me: and as I said unto the Jews, Whither I go, ye cannot come; I say unto you now also. 20179 A

new commandment I give you, that ye may love one another; and as I have loved you, so shall ye also love one another. 21180 By this shall every man know that ye are my disciples. if ye have love one to another. 22181 Simon Cephas said unto him, Our Lord, whither goest thou? Jesus answered and said unto him, Whither I go, thou canst not now follow me; but later thou shalt come.

3 23182 Then said Jesus unto them, Ye all shall desert me this night: it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered. 24185 But after my rising, I shall go before you into Galilee. 25186 Simon Cephas answered and said unto him, My Lord, if every man desert thee, I shall at no time desert thee. 26187 I am with thee ready for imprisonment and for death. And my life will I give up for thee. 27188 Jesus said unto him, Wilt thou give up thy life for me? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Thou shalt to-day, during this night, before the cock crow twice, three times deny me, that thou knowest me not. 28189 But Cephas said the more, Even if it lead to death with thee, I shall not deny thee, my Lord. And in like manner said all the disciples also.

4 29192 Then Jesus said unto them, Let not your hearts be troubled: believe in God, and believe in me. 30194 The stations in my Father's house are many, else I should have told you. I go to prepare for you a place. 31198 And if I go to prepare for you a place, I shall return again, and take you unto me: and so where I am, there ye shall be also. 32199 And the place that I go ye know, and the way ye know. 33202 Thomas said unto him, Our Lord, we know not whither thou goest; and how is the way for us to the knowledge of that? 34204 Jesus said unto him, I am the way, and the truth, and the life: and no man cometh unto my Father, but through me. 35205 And if ye had known me, ye should have known my Father: and from henceforth ye know him, and have seen him. 36207 Philip said unto him, Our Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us. 37209 Jesus said unto him, Have I been all this time with you, and dost thou not know me, Philip? whosoever hath seen me hath seen the Father; how then sayest thou, Shew us the Father? 38212 Believest thou not that I am in my Father, and my Father in me? and the saying that I say, I say not of myself: but my Father who dwelleth in me, he doeth these deeds. 39213 Believe that I am in my Father, and my Father in me:

5 or else believe for the sake of the deeds. 40214 Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever believeth in me, the deeds that I do shall he do also; and

more than that shall he do: I go unto the Father. 41215 And what ye shall ask in my name, I shall do unto you, that the Father may be glorified in his Son. 42216 And if ye ask me is in my name, I will do it. 43217 If ye love me, keep my commandments. 44218 And I will entreat of my Father, and he will send unto you another Paraclete, that he may be with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth: whom the world cannot receive; for it hath not seen him, nor known him: 45219 but ye know him; for he hath dwelt with you, and is in you. 46221 I will not leave you orphans: I will come unto you. 47222 Another little while, and the world seeth me not; but ye see me that I live, and ye shall live also. 48223 And in that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you.

SECTION XLVI.

11224 Whosoever hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will shew myself unto him. Judas (not Iscariot) said unto him, 2225 My Lord, what is the purpose of thy intention to shew thyself to us, and not to the world? 3226 Jesus answered and said unto him, Whosoever loveth me will keep my word: and my Father will love him, and to him will we come, and make our abode with him. 4228 But he that loveth me not keepeth not my word: and this word that ye hear is not my word, but the Father's which sent me. 5229 This have I spoken unto you, while I was yet with you. 6230 But the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, whom my Father will send in my name, he will teach you everything, and he will bring to your remembrance all that I say unto you. 7231 Peace I leave you; my peace I give unto you: and not as this world giveth, give I unto you. 8232 Let your heart not be troubled, nor fearful. Ye heard that I said unto you, that I go away, and come unto you. If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, that I go away to my Father: for my Father is greater than I. 9235 And now I say unto you before it come to pass, that, when it cometh to pass, ye may believe me. 10236 Now I will not speak with you much: the Archon of the world will come, and he will have nothing in me: 11237 but that the world may know that I love my Father, and as my Father charged me, so I do.

212238 And he said unto them, When I sent you without purses, or wallets, and shoes, lacked ye perchance anything? They said unto him, Nothing. 13240 He said unto them, Henceforth, whosoever hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise the wallet also: and whosoever hath not a sword, shall sell his

garment, and buy for himself a sword. 14241 I say unto you, that this scripture also must be fulfilled in me, that I should be reckoned with the transgressors: for all that is said of me is fulfilled in me. 15243 His disciples said unto him, Our Lord, lo, here are two swords. He said unto them, They are sufficient. 16244 Arise, let us go hence. And they arose, and praised, and went forth, and went, according to their custom, to the mount of Olives, he and his disciples. 317245 And he said unto them, I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. 18246 Every branch that produceth not fruit in me, he taketh it: and that which giveth fruit, he cleanseth it, that it may give much fruit. 19247 Ye are already clean because of the word that I have spoken unto you. 20248 Abide in me, and I in you. And as the branch of the vine cannot produce fruit of itself, if it be not abiding in the vine; so too ye also, if ye abide not in me. 21249 I am the vine, and ye are the branches: He then that abideth in me, and I in him, he giveth much fruit: for without me ye cannot do anything. 22250 And if a man abide not in me, he is cast without, like a withered branch; and it is gathered, and cast into the fire, that it may be burned. 23252 If ye abide in me, and my word abide in you, everything that ye desire to ask shall be done unto you. 24253 And herein is the Father glorified, that ye may give much fruit; and ye shall be my disciples. 25254 And as my Father loved me, I loved you also: abide in my love. 26255 If ye keep my commands, ye shall abide in my love;

4 as I have kept my Father's commands, and abode in his love. 270 I have spoken that unto you, that my joy may be in you, and your joy be fulfilled. 283 This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I loved you. 294 And no love is greater than this, namely, that a man should give his life for his friends. 305 Ye are my friends, if ye do all that I command you. 316 I call you not now servants; for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth: my friends have I now called you; for everything that I heard from my Father I have made known unto you. 327 Ye did not choose me, but I chose I you, and appointed you, that ye also should go and bear fruit, and that your fruit should abide; and that all that ye shall ask my Father in my name, he may give you. 3311 This I command you, that ye love one another. 3413 And if the world hate you, know that before you it hated me. 3514 If then ye were of the world, the world would love its own: but ye are not of the world: I chose you out of the world: therefore the world hateth you. 3615 Remember

the word that I said unto you, that no servant is greater than his lord. And if they persecuted me, you also will they persecute;

5 and if they kept my word, your word also will they keep. 3718 But all these things will they do unto you for my name's sake, for they have not known him that sent me. 3820 And if I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin: but now they have no excuse for their sins. 3921 Whosoever hateth me, also hateth my Father. 4022 And if I had not done the deeds before them that no other man did, they would not have had sin: but now they have seen and hated me and my Father also: that the word may be fulfilled that is written in their law, 4123 They hated me for nothing. 4224 But when the Paraclete is come, whom I will send unto you from my Father, even the Spirit of truth, which goeth forth from my Father, he shall bear witness of me: 4325 and ye also bear witness, because from the beginning ye have been with me. 4426 I have said that unto you, that ye may not stumble. 4528 And they shall put you out of their synagogues:

6 and there cometh an hour when every one that killeth you shall think that he hath offered unto God an offering. 4630 And they will do that, because they do not know me, nor my Father. 4731 I have said that unto you, so that when its time is come, ye may remember it, that I told you. 4832 And this hitherto I said not unto you, because I was with you. But now I go unto him that sent me; and no man of you asketh me whither I go. 4934 I have said that unto you now, and grief hath come and taken possession of your hems. 5035 But I say the truth unto you; It is better for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Paraclete will not come unto you; but if I go away, I will send him unto you. 5137 And when he cometh, he will reprove the world for sin, and for righteousness, and for judgement: for sin, 5238 because they have not believed in me; 5339 and for righteousness, because I go to my Father; and for judgement, 5440 because the Archon of this world hath been judged. 5542 And further have I many things to speak unto you, but ye cannot tarry now. 5644 Howbeit when the Spirit of truth is come, he will remind you of all the truth: he will say nothing from himself; but everything that he heareth, that shall he say:

7 and he shall make known unto you the things that are to be. 5747 And he shall glorify me; for from me shall he take and shew you. 5848 All that my Father hath is mine: therefore said I unto you, that he taketh of mine, and shall shew you.

SECTION XLVII.

1151 A little while, and ye shall not behold me; and a little while again, and ye shall behold me; because I go to the Father. 252 His disciples therefore said one to another, What is this that he hath said unto us, A little while, and ye shall not behold me; and a little while again, and ye shall behold me: and, I go to my Father? 353 And they said, What is this little while that he hath said? We know not what he speaketh. 454 And Jesus perceived that they were seeking to ask him, and said unto them, Do ye inquire among yourselves concerning this, that I said unto you, A little while, and ye behold me not, and a little while again, and ye shall behold me? 555 Verily, verily, I say unto you, that ye shall weep and grieve, but the world shall rejoice: and ye shall be sorrowful, but your grief shall turn to joy.

2 658 For, a woman when the time is come for her that she should bring forth, the arrival of the day of her bringing forth distresseth her: but whenever she hath brought forth a son, she remembereth not her distress, for joy at the birth of a man into the world. 759 And ye now also grieve: but I shall see you, and your hearts shall rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you. 860 And in that day ye shall ask me nothing. And verily, verily, I say unto you, All that ye ask my Father in my name, he will give you. 962 Hitherto ye have asked nothing in my name: ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be complete. 3 1063 I have spoken unto you now in aenigmas: but there will come an hour when I shall not speak to you in aenigmas, but shall reveal unto you the Father plainly, in that day when ye shall ask in my name: 1168 and I say not unto you, that I shall entreat the Father for you; 1269 for the Father loveth you, because ye have loved me, and have believed that I came forth from my Father. 1370 I came forth from my Father, and came into the world: and I leave the world, and go unto my Father. 1471 His disciples said unto him, Lo, thy speech is now plain, and thou hast not said one thing in an aenigma. 1572 Now, lo, we know that thou knowest everything, and needest not that any man should ask thee: and by this we believe that thou camest forth from God. 1673 Jesus said unto them, Believe that an hour cometh, 1774 and lo, it hath come, and ye shall be scattered, every one of you to his place, and shall leave me alone: and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me. 1875 This have I said unto you, that in me ye may have peace. And in the world trouble shall overtake you: but be of good courage; for I have overcome the world.

41976 This said Jesus, and lifted up his eyes unto heaven, and said, My Father, the hour is come; glorify thy Son, that thy Son may glorify thee: 2077 as thou gavest him authority over all flesh, that all that thou hast given him, he might give them eternal life. 2179 And this is eternal life, that they should know that thou alone art true God, and that he whom thou didst send is Jesus the Messiah. 2282 I glorified thee in the earth, and the work which thou gavest me to do I have accomplished. 2383 And now glorify thou me, O Father, beside thee, with that glory which I had with thee before the world was. 2484 I made known thy name to the men whom thou gavest me out of the world: thine they were, and thou gavest them to me; and they have kept thy word. 2585 Now they know that all that thou hast given me is from thee: 2687 and the sayings which thou gavest me I have given unto them; and they received them, and knew of a truth that I came forth from thee, and believed that thou didst send me. 2788 And I ask for their sake: and my asking is not for the world, but for those whom thou hast given me; for they are thine: 2889 and all that is mine is thine, and all that is thine is mine:

5 and I am glorified in them. 2990 And now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, and I come to thee. My holy Father, keep them in thy name which thou hast given unto me, that they may be one, as we are. 3092 When I was with them in the world, I kept them in thy name: and I kept those whom thou gavest unto me: and no man of them hath perished, but the son of perdition; that the scripture might be fulfilled. 3193 Now I come to thee: and this I say in the world, that my joy may be complete in them. 3294 I have given them thy word; and the world hated them, because they were not of the world, as I was not of the world. 3395 And I ask not this, that thou take them from the world, but that thou keep them from the evil one. 3496 They were not of the world, as I was not of the world. 3597 O Father, sanctify them in thy truth: for thy word is truth. 3698 And as thou didst send me into the world, I also send them into the world. 3799 And for their sake I sanctify myself, that they also may be sanctified in the truth. 38100 Neither for these alone do I ask, but for the sake of them that believe in me through their word; 39101 that they may be all one;

6 as thou art in me, and I in thee, and so they also shall be one in us: that the world may believe that thou didst send me. 40102 And the glory which thou hast given unto 41103 me I have given unto them; that they may be one, as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfect into

one; and that the world may know that thou didst send me, and that I loved them, as thou lovedst me. 42106 Father, and those whom thou hast given me, I wish that, where I am, they may be with me also; that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me: for thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world. 43108 My righteous Father, and the world knew thee not, but I know thee; and they knew that thou didst send me; and I made known unto them thy name, and will make it known to them; 44110 that the love wherewith thou lovedst me may be in them, and I shall be in them.

SECTION XLVIII.

1 1112 This said Jesus, and went forth with his disciples to a place which was called Gethsemane, on the side that is in the plain of Kidron, the mountain, the place in which was a garden; and he entered thither, he and his disciples. 2117 And Judas the betrayer knew that place: for Jesus oft-times met with his disciples there. 3118 And when Jesus came to the place, he said to his disciples, Sit ye here, so that I may go and pray; and pray ye, that ye enter not into temptations. 4119 And he took with him Cephas and the sons of Zebedee together, 5120 James and John; and he began to look sorrowful, and to be anxious. 6121 And he said unto them, My soul is distressed unto death: abide ye here, and watch with me. 7122 And he withdrew from them a little, the space of a stone's throw; 8123 and he kneeled, and fell on his face, and prayed, so that, if it were possible, this hour might pass him. 9126 And he said, Father, thou art able for all things; if thou wilt, let this cup pass me: but let not my will be done, but let thy will be done. 10127 And he came to his disciples, and found them sleeping; and he said unto Cephas, Simon, didst thou sleep? 11128 Could ye thus not for one hour watch with me? 12129 Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptations:

2 the spirit is willing and ready, but the body is weak. 13131 And he went again a second time, and prayed, and said, My Father, if it is not possible with regard to this cup that it pass, except I drink it, thy will be done. 14133 And he returned again, and found his disciples sleeping, for their eyes were heavy from their grief and anxiety; and they knew not what to say to him. 15134 And he left them, and went away again, and prayed a third time, and said the very same word. 16135 And there appeared unto him an angel from heaven, encouraging him. 17136 And being afraid he prayed continuously: and his sweat became like a stream of blood, and fell on the ground. 18140 Then he rose from his prayer, and came to his disciples, and found them

sleeping. 19141 And he said unto them, Sleep now, and rest: 20142 the end hath arrived, and the hour hath come; and behold, the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners. 21144 Arise, let us go: for he hath come that betrayeth me.

3 22146 And while he was still speaking, came Judas the betrayer, one of the twelve, and with him a great multitude carrying lanterns and torches and swords and staves, from the chief priests and scribes and elders of the people, and with him the footsoldiers of the Romans. 23149 And Judas the betrayer gave them a sign, and said, He whom I shall kiss, he is he: take him with care, and lead him away. 24152 And Jesus, because he knew everything that should come upon him, went forth unto them. 25153 And immediately Judas the betrayer came to Jesus, and said, Peace, my Master; and kissed him. 26154 And Jesus said unto him, Judas, with a kiss betrayest thou the Son of man? 27155 Was it for that thou camest, my friend? And Jesus said to those that came unto him, Whom seek ye? 28156 They said unto him, Jesus the Nazarene. Jesus said unto them, I am he. And Judas the betrayer also was standing with them. 29157 And when Jesus said unto them, I am he, they retreated backward, and fell to the ground. 30158 And Jesus asked them again, Whom seek ye? They answered, Jesus the Nazarene. 31159 Jesus said unto them, I told you that I am he: and if ye seek me, let these go away: that the word might be fulfilled which he spake, 32160 Of those whom thou hast given me I lost not even one. 33161 Then came those that were with Judas, and seized Jesus, and took him.

4 34162 And when his disciples saw what happened, they said, Our Lord, shall we smite them with swords? 35163 And Simon Cephas had a sword, and he drew it, and struck the servant of the chief priest, and cut off his right ear. And the name of that servant was Malchus. 36164 Jesus said unto Cephas, The cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it? 37165 Put the sword into its sheath: for all that take with the sword shall die by the sword. 38167 Thinkest thou that I am not able to ask of my Father, and he shall now raise up for me more than twelve tribes of angels? 39170 Then how should the scriptures which were spoken be fulfilled, that thus it must be? 40171 Your leave in this. 41173 And he touched the ear of him that was struck, and healed it. And in that hour Jesus said to the multitudes, As they come out against a thief are ye come out against me with swords and staves to take me? Daily was I with you in the temple sitting teaching, and ye took

me not: 42174 but this is your hour, and the power of darkness. 43175 And that was, that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled. 44176 Then the disciples all left him, and fled. And the footsoldiers and the officers and the soldiers of the Jews seized Jesus, and came. 45178 And a certain young man followed him, and he was wrapped in a towel, naked: 46180 and they seized him; so he left the towel, and fled naked. 47181 Then they took Jesus, and bound him, and brought him to Annas first; because he was the father in law of Caiaphas, who was chief priest that year. 48182 And Caiaphas was he that counselled the Jews, that it was necessary that one man should die instead of the people.

549183 And Simon Cephas and one of the other disciples followed Jesus. And the chief priest knew that disciple, and he entered with Jesus into the court; but Simon was standing without at the door. 50184 And that other disciple, whom the chief priest knew, went out and spake unto her that kept the door, and she brought Simon in. 51185 And when the maid that kept the door saw Simon, she looked stedfastly at him, and said unto him, Art not thou also one of the disciples of this man, I mean Jesus the Nazarene? 52186 But he denied, and said, Woman, I know him not, neither know I even what thou sayest. 53187 And the servants and the soldiers rose, and made a fire in the middle of the court, that they might warm themselves; for it was cold. 54188 And when the fire burned up, they sat down around it. 55189 And Simon also came, and sat down with them to warm himself, that he might see the end of what should happen.

SECTION XLIX.

11190 And the chief priest asked Jesus about his disciples, and about his doctrine. 2192 And Jesus said unto him, I was speaking openly to the people; and I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, where all the Jews gather; and I have spoken nothing in secret. 3194 Why askest thou me? ask those that have heard, what I spake unto them: for they know all that I said. 4195 And when he had said that, one of the soldiers which were standing there struck the cheek of Jesus, and said unto him, 5197 Dost thou thus answer the chief priest? Jesus answered and said unto him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of evil: but if well, why didst thou smite me? 6199 And Annas sent Jesus bound unto Caiaphas the chief priest. 27200 And when Jesus went out, Simon Cephas was standing in the outer court warming himself. 8201 And that maid saw him again, and began to say to those that stood by, This man

also was there with Jesus the Nazarene. 9202 And those that stood by came forward and said to Cephas, Truly thou art one of his disciples. 10203 And he denied again with an oath, I know not the man. 11204 And after a little one of the servants of the chief priest, the kinsman of him whose ear Simon cut off, saw him; and he disputed and said, Truly this matt was with him: 12206 and he also is a Galilaean; and his speech resembles. 13208 And he said unto Simon, Did not I see thee with him in the garden? 14209 Then began Simon to curse, and to swear, I know not this man whom ye have mentioned. 15211 And immediately, while he was speaking, the cock crew twice. 16212 And in that hour Jesus turned, he being without, and looked stedfastly at Cephas. And Simon remembered the word of our Lord, which he said unto him, 17213 Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice. 18214 And Simon went forth without, and wept bitterly.

3 19215 And when the morning approached, the servants of all the chief priests and the scribes and the elders of the people and all the multitude assembled, 20216 and made a plot; and they took counsel against Jesus to put him to death. 21217 And they sought false witnesses who should witness against him, that they might put him to death, and they found not; 22218 but many false witnesses came, 23219 but their witness did not agree. 24220 But at last there came two lying witnesses, and said, We heard him say, 25221 I will destroy this temple of God that is made with hands, and will build another not made with hands after three days. 26223 And not even so did their witness agree. But Jesus was silent. 27224 And the chief priest rose in the midst, and asked Jesus, and said, 28225 Answerest thou not a word concerning anything?

4 what do these witness against thee? 29227 But Jesus was silent, and answered him nothing. 30228 And they took him up into their assembly, and said unto him, If thou art the Messiah, tell us. 31230 He said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe me: 32231 and if I ask you, ye will not answer me a word, nor let me go. 33232 And the chief priest answered and said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God. 34233 Jesus said unto him, Thou hast said that I am he. 35234 They all said unto him, Then thou art now the Son of God? Jesus said, Ye have said that I am he. 36235 I say unto you, that henceforth ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven. 37236 Then the chief priest rent his tu-

nic, and said, He hath blasphemed. 38238 And they all said, Why should we seek now witnesses? we have heard now the blasphemy from his mouth. What then think ye? 39239 They all answered and said, He is worthy of death. 40240 Then some of them drew near, and spat in his face, and struck him, and scoffed at him. 41241 And the soldiers struck him on his cheeks, and said, Prophecy unto us, thou Messiah:

5 who is he that struck thee? 42243 And many other things spake they falsely, and said against him. 643245 And all of their assembly arose, and took Jesus, and brought him bound to the praetorium, and delivered him up to Pilate the judge; but they entered not into the praetorium, 44249 that they might not be defiled when they should eat the passover. 745250 And Jesus stood before the judge. And Pilate went forth unto them without, and said unto them, What accusation have ye against this man? 46252 They answered and said unto him, If he had not been doing evils, neither should we have delivered him up unto thee. 47253 We found this man leading our people astray, and restraining from giving tribute to Caesar, and saying of himself that he is the King, the Messiah. 48254 Pilate said unto them, Then take ye him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews said unto him, We have no authority to put a man to death: 49255 that the word might be fulfilled, which Jesus spake, when he made known by what manner of death he was to die. 500 And Pilate entered into the praetorium, and called Jesus, and said unto him, Art St thou the King of the Jews? 511 Jesus said unto him, Of thyself saidst thou this, or did others tell it thee concerning me? 522 Pilate said unto him, Am I, forsooth, a Jew? The sons of thy nation and the chief priests delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done? 535 Jesus said unto him, My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: now my kingdom is not from hence. Pilate said unto him, Then thou art a king? 546 Jesus said unto him, Thou hast said that I am a king. And for this was I born, and for this came I into the world, that I should bear witness of the truth. 557 And every one that is of the truth heareth my voice. Pilate said unto him, And what is the truth? And when he said that, he went out again unto the Jews.

SECTION L.

118 And Pilate said unto the chief priests and the multitude, I have not found against this man anything. 29 But they cried out and said, He hath

disquieted our people with his teaching in all Judaea, and he began from Galilee and unto this place. 312 And Pilate, when he heard the name of Galilee, asked, Is this man a Galilaean? 413 And when he learned that he was under the jurisdiction of Herod, he sent him to Herod: for he was in Jerusalem in those days. 514 And Herod, when he saw Jesus, rejoiced exceedingly: for he had desired to see him for a long time, because he had heard regarding him many things; and he counted on seeing some sign from him. 616 And he questioned him with many words; but Jesus answered him not a word. 717 And the scribes and chief priests were standing by, and they accused him vehemently. 818 And Herod scoffed at him, he and his servants; and when he had scoffed at him, he clothed him in robes of scarlet, and sent him to Pilate. 919 And on that day Pilate and Herod became friends, there having been enmity between them before that.

21021 And Pilate called the chief priests and the rulers of the people, and said unto them, 1122 Ye brought unto me this man, as the perverter of your people: and I have tried him before you, and have not found in this man any cause of all that ye seek against him: 1225 nor yet Herod: for I sent him unto him; and he hath done nothing for which he should deserve death. 1326 So now I will chastise him, and let him go. 1427 The multitude all cried out and said, Take him from us, take him. 1528 And the chief priests and the elders accused him of many things. 1629 And during their accusation he answered not a word. 1730 Then Pilate said unto him, Hearest thou not how many things they witness against thee? 1831 And he answered him not, not even one word: and Pilate marvelled at that. 1932 And when the judge sat on his tribune, his wife sent unto him, and said unto him, See that thou have nothing to do with that righteous man: for I have suffered much in my dream to-day because of him. 2034 And at every feast the custom of the judge was to release to the people one prisoner, him whom they would. 2135 And there was in their prison a well-known prisoner, called Barabbas. 2236 And when they assembled, Pilate said unto them, 2337 Ye have a custom, that I should release unto you a prisoner at the passover:

3 will ye that I release unto you the King of the Jews? 2438 And they all cried out and said, Release not unto us this man, but release unto us Barabbas. And this Barabbas was a robber, 2539 who for sedition and murder, which was in the city, was cast into the prison. 2641 And all the people cried out and began to ask him to do as the custom was that he should do with

them. 2742 And Pilate answered and said unto them, Whomwill ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus which is called the Messiah, the King of the Jews? 2843 For Pilate knew that envy had moved them to deliver him up. 2944 And the chief priests and the elders asked the multitudes to deliver Barabbas, and to destroy Jesus. 3045 The judge answered and said unto them, Whom of the two will ye that I release unto you? They said, Barabbas. 3146 Pilate said unto them, And Jesus which is called the Messiah, what shall I do with him? 3247 They all cried out and said, Crucify him. 3348 And Pilate spake to them again, for he desired to release Jesus; 3449 but they cried out and said, Crucify him, crucify him, and release unto us Barabbas. And Pilate said unto them a third time, What evil hath this man done? 3550 I have not found in him any cause to necessitate death:

4I will chastise him and let him go. 3652 But they increased in importunity with a loud voice, and asked him to crucify him. And their voice, and the voice of the chief priests, prevailed. 3754 Then Pilate released unto them that one who was cast into prison for sedition and murder, Barabbas, whom they asked for: and he scourged Jesus with whips. 3856 Then the footsoldiers of the judge took Jesus, and went into the praetorium, and gathered unto him all of the footsoldiers. 3957 And they stripped him, and put on him a scarlet cloak. 4058 And they clothed him in garments of purple, and plaited a crown of thorns, and placed it on his head, and a reed in his right hand; 4159 and while they mocked at him and laughed, they fell down on their knees before him, and bowed down to him, and said, Hail, King of the Jews! 4262 And they spat in his face, and took the reed from his hand, and struck him on his head, and smote his cheeks. 4363 And Pilate went forth without again, and said unto the Jews, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I do not find, in examining him, even one crime. 4466 And Jesus went forth without, wearing the crown of thorns and the purple garments. 4567 Pilate said unto them, Behold, the man! And when the chief priests and the soldiers saw him, they cried out and said, Crucify him, crucify him.

5 Pilate said unto them, Take him yourselves, and crucify him: for I find not a cause against him. 4670 The Jews said unto him, We have a law, and according to our law he deserves death, because he made himself the Son of God. 4771 And when Pilate heard this word, his fear increased; 4872 and he entered again into the porch, and said to Jesus, Whence art thou? 4973 But Jesus answered him not a word. Pilate said unto him, Speakest thou not unto

me? knowest thou not that I have authority to release thee, and have authority to crucify thee? 5075 Jesus said unto him, Thou hast not any authority over me, if thou wert not given it from above: therefore the sin of him that delivered me up unto thee is greater than thy sin. 5177 And for this word Pilate wished to release him: but the Jews cried out, If thou let him go, thou art not a friend of Caesar: for every one that maketh himself a king is against Caesar.

SECTION LI.

1178 And when Pilate heard this saying, he took Jesus out, and sat on the tribune in the place which was called the pavement of stones, but in the Hebrew called Gabbatha. 279 And that day was the Friday of the passover: and it had reached about the sixth hour. 381 And he said to the Jews, Behold, your King! And they cried out, Take him, take him, crucify him, crucify him. Pilate said unto them, Shall I crucify your King? The chief priests said unto him, We have no king except Caesar. 482 And Pilate, when he saw it, and he was gaining nothing, but the tumult was increasing, took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, and said, I am innocent of the blood of this innocent man: ye shall know. 585 And all the people answered and said, His blood be on us, and on our children. 686 Then Pilate commanded to grant them their request; and delivered up Jesus to be crucified, according to their wish.

2787 Then Judas the betrayer, when he saw Jesus wronged, went and returned the thirty pieces of money to the chief priests and the elders, and said, I have sinned in my betraying innocent blood. 888 And they said unto him, And we, what must we do? know thou. 989 And he threw down the money in the temple, and departed; and he went away and hanged himself. 1092 And the chief priests took the money, and said, We have not authority to cast it into the place of the offering, for it is the price of blood. 1194 And they took counsel, and bought with it the plain of the potter, for the burial of strangers. 1295 Therefore that plain was called, The field of blood, unto this day. 1396 Therein was fulfilled the saying in the prophet which said, I took thirty pieces of money, the price of the precious one, which was fixed by the children of Israel; 1498 and I paid them for the plain of the potter, as the Lord commanded me.

31599 And the Jews took Jesus, and went away to crucify him. 16100 And when he bare his cross and went out, they stripped him of those purple and

scarlet garments which he had on, and put on him his own garments. 17101 And while they were going with him, they found a man, a Cyrenian, coming from the country, named Simon, the father of Alexander and Rufus: and they compelled this man to bear the cross of Jesus. 18102 And they took the cross and laid it upon him, that he might bear it, and come after Jesus; and Jesus went, and his cross behind him. 19103 And there followed him much people, and women which were lamenting and raving. 20105 But Jesus turned unto them and said, Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me: weep for yourselves, and for your children. 21106 Days are coming, when they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the womb's that bare not, and the breasts that gave not suck. 22107 Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us. 23108 For if they do so in the green tree, what shall be in the dry?

4 24110 And they brought with Jesus two others of the malefactors, to be put to death. 25112 And when they came unto a certain place called The skull, and called in the Hebrew Golgotha, they crucified him there: they crucified with him these two malefactors, one on his right, and the other on his left. 26113 And the scripture was fulfilled, which saith, He was numbered with the transgressors. 27114 And they gave him to drink wine and myrrh, and vinegar which had been mixed with the myrrh; and he tasted, and would not drink; and he received it not. 28115 And the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments, and cast lots for them in four parts, to every party of the soldiers a part; and his tunic was without sewing, from the top woven throughout. 29116 And they said one to another, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be: and the scripture was fulfilled, which saith,

5 They divided my garments among them, And cast the lot for my vesture. 6 30117 This the soldiers did. And they sat and guarded him there. 31118 And Pilate wrote on a tablet the cause of his death, and put it on the wood of the cross above his head. And there was written upon it thus: This is Jesus the Nazarene the Nazarene, the King of the Jews. 32120 And this tablet read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified was near the city: and it was written in Hebrew and Greek and Latin. 33122 And the chief priests said unto Pilate, Write not, The King of the Jews; but, He it is that said, I am the King of the Jews. 34124 Pilate said unto them, What hath been written hath been written. 35126 And the people were standing behold-

ing; and they that passed by were reviling him, and shaking their heads, and saying, 36129 Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself if thou art the Son of God, and come down from the cross. 37130 And in like manner the chief priests and the scribes and the elders and the Pharisees derided him, and laughed one with another, and said, 38131 The saviour of others cannot save himself. 39132 If he is the Messiah, the chosen of God, and the King of Israel, let him come down now from the cross, that we may see, and believe in him. 40134 He that relieth on God-let him deliver him now, if he is pleased with him:

7 for he said, I am the Son of God. 41135 And the soldiers also scoffed at him in that they came near unto him, 42136 and brought him vinegar, and said unto him, If thou art the King of the Jews, save thyself. 43137 And likewise the two robbers also that were crucified with him reproached him. 44139 And one of those two malefactors who were crucified with him reviled him, and said, If thou art the Messiah, save thyself, and save us also. 45140 But his comrade rebuked him, and said, Dost thou not even fear God, being thyself also in this condemnation? 46141 And we with justice, and as we deserved, and according to our deed, have we been rewarded: but this man hath not done anything unlawful. 47143 And he said unto Jesus, Remember me, my Lord, when thou comest in thy kingdom. 48144 Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. 49146 And there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary that was related to Clopas, and Mary Magdalene. 50149 And Jesus saw his mother, and that disciple whom he loved standing by; and he said to his mother, Woman, behold, thy son! 51150 And he said to that disciple, Behold, thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto himself.

8 52151 And from the sixth hour darkness was on all the land unto the ninth hour, and the sun became dark. 53154 And at the ninth hour Jesus cried out with a loud voice, and said, Yail, Yaili, why hast thou forsaken me? which is, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? 54157 And some of those that stood there, when they heard, said, This man called Elijah.

SECTION LII.

11159 And after that, Jesus knew that all things were finished; and that the scripture might be accomplished, he said, I thirst. 2160 And there was set a vessel full of vinegar: and in that hour one of them hasted, and took a sponge, and filled it with that vinegar, 3161 and fastened it on a reed, and

brought it near his mouth to give him a drink. 4163 And when Jesus had taken that vinegar, he said, Everything is finished. 5164 But the rest said, Let be, that we may see whether Elijah cometh to save him. 6166 And Jesus said, My Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do. 7167 And Jesus cried again with a loud voice, and said, My Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit. He said that, and bowed his head, and gave up his spirit. 8169 And immediately the face of the door of the temple was rent into two parts from top to bottom; 9171 and the earth was shaken; and the stones were split to pieces; and the tombs were opened; and the bodies of many saints which slept, arose and came forth; 10172 and after his resurrection they entered into the holy city and appeared unto many. 11173 And the officer of the footsoldiers, and they that were with him who were guarding Jesus, when they saw the earthquake, and the things which came to pass, feared greatly, and praised God, and said, 12175 This man was righteous; and, Truly he was the Son of God. 13176 And all the multitudes that were come together to the sight, when they saw what came to pass, returned and smote upon their breasts.

214177 And the Jews, because of the Friday, said, Let these bodies not remain on their crosses, because it is the morning of the sabbath (for that sabbath was a great day); and they asked of Pilate that they might break the legs of those that were crucified, and take them down. 15179 And the soldiers came, and brake the legs of the first, and that other which was crucified with him: 16180 but when they came to Jesus, they saw that he had died before, so they brake not his legs: 17181 but one of the soldiers pierced him in his side with a spear, and immediately there came forth blood and water. 18183 And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true: and he knoweth that he hath said the truth, that ye also may believe. 19184 This he did, that the scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, 20185 A bone shall not be broken in him; and the scripture also which saith, Let them look upon him whom they pierced.

321187 And there were in the distance all the acquaintance of Jesus standing, and the women that came with him from Galilee, those that followed him and ministered. 22188 One of them was Mary Magdalene; and Mary the mother of James the little and Joses, 23189 and the mother of the sons of Zebedee, and Salome, and many others which came up with him unto Jerusalem; and they saw that. 24190 And when the evening of the Fri-

day was come, because of the entering of the sabbath, there came a rich man, a noble of Ramah, a city of Judah, named Joseph, and he was a good man and upright; 25195 and he was a disciple of Jesus, but was concealing himself for fear of the Jews. 26197 And he did not agree with the accusers in their desire and their deeds: and he was looking for the kingdom of God. 27198 And this man went boldly, and entered in unto Pilate, and asked of him the body of Jesus. 28199 And Pilate wondered how he had died already: and he called the officer of the footsoldiers, and asked him concerning his death before the time. 29200 And when he knew, he commanded him to deliver up his body unto Joseph. 30201 And Joseph bought for him a winding cloth of pure linen, and took down the body of Jesus, and wound it in they came and took it. 31202 And there came unto him Nicodemus also, who of old came unto Jesus by night; and he brought with him perfume of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pounds. 32204 And they took the body of Jesus, and wound it in the linen and the perfume, as was the custom of the Jews to bury.

4 33205 And there was in the place where Jesus was crucified a garden; and in that garden a new tomb cut out in a rock, wherein was never man yet laid. 34207 And they left Jesus there because the sabbath had come in, and because the tomb was near. 35208 And they pushed a great stone, and thrust it against the door of the sepulchre, and went away. 36211 And Mary Magdalene and Mary that was related to Joses came to the sepulchre after them, 37213 and sat opposite the sepulchre, and saw the body, how they took it in and laid it there. 38215 And they returned, and ointment and perfume, and prepared it, that they might come and anoint him. 39219 And on the day which was the sabbath day they desisted according to the command. 40220 And the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered unto Pilate, and said unto him, 41221 Our lord, we remember that that misleader said, while he was alive, After three days I rise. 42222 And now send beforehand and guard the tomb until the third day, lest his disciples come and steal him by night, and they will say unto the people that he is risen from the dead: and the last error shall be worse than the first. 43225 He said unto them, And have ye not guards? go, and take precautions as ye know how. 44227 And they went, and set guards at the tomb, and sealed that stone, with the guards.

5 45228 And in the evening of the sabbath, which is the morning of the first day, and in the dawning while the darkness yet remained, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary and other women to see the tomb. 46230

They brought with them the perfume which they had prepared, and said among themselves, 47231 Who is it that will remove for us the stone from the door of the tomb? for it was very great. 48232 And when they said thus, there occurred a great earthquake; and an angel came down from heaven, and came and removed the stone from the door. 49233 And they came and found the stone removed from the sepulchre, and the angel sitting upon the stone. 50234 And his appearance was as the lightning, and his raiment white as the snow: 51235 and for fear of him the guards were troubled, and became as dead men. 52236 And when he went away, the women entered into the sepulchre; and they found not the body of Jesus. 53237 And they saw there a young man sitting on the right, strayed in a white garment; and they were amazed. 54239 And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear ye not: for I know that ye seek Jesus the Nazarene, who hath been crucified. He is not here; but he is risen, as he said. 55240 Come and see the place where our Lord lay.

SECTION LIII.

11242 And while they marvelled at that, behold, two men standing above them, their raiment shining: and they were seized with fright, 2243 and bowed down their face to the earth: and they said unto them, Why seek ye the living one with the dead? 3244 He is not here; he is risen: remember what he was speaking unto you while he was in Galilee, and saying, 4245 The Son of man is to be delivered up into the hands of sinners, and to be crucified, and on the third day to rise. 5246 But go in haste, and say to his disciples and to Cephas, He is risen from among the dead; and lo, he goeth before you into Galilee; 6247 and there ye shall see him, where he said unto you: lo, I have told you. 7249 And they remembered his sayings; and they departed in haste from the tomb with joy and great fear, and hastened and went; 8250 and perplexity and fear encompassed them; and they told no man anything, for they were afraid. 9251 And Mary hastened, and came to Simon Cephas, and to that other disciple whom Jesus loved, and said unto them, They have taken our Lord from the sepulchre, and I know not where they have laid him. 10252 And Simon went out, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulchre. 11253 And they hastened both together: and that disciple outran Simon, and came first to the sepulchre; 12255 and he looked down, and saw the linen laid;

² but he went not in. 130 And Simon came after him, and entered into the sepulchre, and saw the linen laid; 141 and the scarf with which his head was bound was not with the linen, but wrapped and laid aside in a certain place. 152 Then entered that disciple which came first to the sepulchre, and saw, and believed. 163 And they knew not yet from the scriptures that the Messiah was to rise from among the dead. 174 And those two disciples went to their place. ³ 185 But Mary remained at the tomb weeping: and while she wept, she looked down into the tomb; 197 and she saw two angels sitting in white raiment, one of them toward his pillow, and the other toward his feet, where the body of Jesus had been laid. 208 And they said unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? 219 She said unto them, They have taken my Lord, and I know not where they have left him. She said that, and turned behind her, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. 2210 Jesus said unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? And she supposed him to be the gardener, and said, My lord, if thou hast taken him, tell me where thou hast laid him, that I may go and take him Jesus said unto her, Mary. 2312 She turned, and said unto him in Hebrew, Rabboni; which is, being interpreted, Teacher. Jesus said unto her, Touch me not; for I have not ascended yet unto my Father: 2414 go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and my God and your God.

⁴ 2515 And on the First-day on which he rose, he appeared first unto Mary Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven demons. 2616 And some of those guards came to the city, and informed the chief priests of all that had happened. 2718 And they assembled with the elders, and took counsel; 2819 and they gave money, not a little, to the guards, and said unto them, Say ye, His disciples came and stole him by night, while we were sleeping. 2920 And if the judge hear that, we will make a plea with him, and free you of blame. 3021 And they, when they took the money, did according to what they taught them. And this word spread among the Jews unto this day. 3122 And then came Mary Magdalene, and announced to the disciples that she had seen our Lord, and that he had said that unto her.

⁵ 3223 And while the first women were going in the way to inform his disciples, Jesus met them, and said unto them, Peace unto you. 3328 And they came and took hold of his feet, and worshipped him. 3429 Then said Jesus unto them, Fear not: but go and say to my brethren that they depart into Galilee, and there they shall see me. 3530 And those women returned,

and told all that to the eleven, and to the rest of the disciples; and to those that had been with him, for they were saddened and weeping. 3631 And those were Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and the rest who were with them: 6and they were those that told the apostles. 3732 And they, when they heard them say that he was alive and had appeared unto them, did not believe them: 3833 and these sayings were before their eyes as the sayings of madness. 3934 And after that, he appeared to two of them, on that day, and while they were going to the village which was named Emmaus, and whose distance from Jerusalem was sixty furlongs. 4036 And they were talking the one of them with the other of all the things which had happened. 4137 And during the time of their talking and inquiring with one another, Jesus came and reached them, and walked with them. 4238 But their eyes were veiled that they should not know him. 4339 And he said unto them, What are these sayings which ye address the one of you to the other, as ye walk and are sad? 4440 One of them, whose name was Cleopas, answered and said unto him, Art thou perchance alone a stranger to Jerusalem, since thou knowest not what was in it in these days? He said unto them, What was? 4541 They said unto him, Concerning Jesus, he who was from Nazareth, a man who was a prophet, and powerful in speech and deeds before God and before all the people: 4642 and the chief priests and the elders delivered him up to the sentence of death, and crucified him. 4744 But we supposed that he was the one who was to deliver Israel.

7 And since all these things happened there have passed three days. 4846 But certain women of us also informed us that they had come to the sepulchre; 4947 and when they found not his body, they came and told us that they had seen there the angels, and they said concerning him that he was alive. 5049 And some of us also went to the sepulchre, and found the matter as the women had said: only they saw him not. 5150 Then said Jesus unto them, Ye lacking in discernment, and heavy in heart to believe! 5251 Was it not in all the sayings of the prophets that the Messiah was to suffer these things, and to enter into his Glory? 5352 And he began from Moses and from all the prophets, and interpreted to them concerning himself from all the scriptures. 5453 And they drew near unto the village, whither they were going: and he was leading them to imagine that he was as if going to a distant region. 5554 And they pressed him, and said unto him, Abide with us: for the day hath declined now to the darkness. And he went in to abide with

them. 5656 And when he sat with them, he took bread, and blessed, and brake, and gave to them. 5757 And straightway their eyes were opened, and they knew him;

8 and he was taken away from them. 5859 And they said the one to the other, Was not our heart heavy within us, while he was speaking to us in the way, and interpreting to us the scriptures? 5960 And they rose in that hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered, and those that were with them, saying, 6061 Truly our Lord is risen, and hath appeared to Simon. 6162 And they related what happened in the way, and how they knew him when he brake the bread. Neither believed they that also.

SECTION LIV.

1163 And while they talked together, the evening of that day arrived which was the First-day; and the doors were shut where the disciples were, because of the fear of the Jews; and Jesus came and stood among them, and said unto them, Peace be with you: I am he; fear not. 265 But they were agitated, and became afraid, and supposed that they saw a spirit. 366 Jesus said unto them, Why are ye agitated? and why do thoughts rise in your hearts? 468 See my hands and my feet, that I am he: feel me, and know that a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me having that. 569 And when he had said this, he shewed them his hands and his feet and his side. 671 And they were until this time unbelieving, from their joy and their wonder. He said unto them, Have ye anything here to eat? 772 And they gave him a portion of broiled fish and of honey. And he took it, and ate before them. 874 And he said unto them, These are the sayings which I spake unto you, while I was with you, that everything must be fulfilled, which is written in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms, concerning me. 976 Then opened he their heart, that they might understand the scriptures;

2 and he said unto them, 1077 Thus it is written, and thus it is necessary that the Messiah suffer, and rise from among the dead on the third day; 1179 and that repentance unto the forgiveness of sins be preached in his name among all the peoples; and the beginning shall be from Jerusalem. 1280 And ye shall be witnesses of that. And I send unto you the promise of my Father. 1381 And when the disciples heard that, they were glad. 1482 And Jesus said unto them again, Peace be with you: as my Father hath sent me, I also send you. 1583 And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Spirit: 1684 and if ye forgive sins to any man, they

shall be forgiven him; and if ye retain them against any man, they shall be retained. 31785 But Thomas, one of the twelve, called Thama, was not there with the disciples when Jesus came. 1886 The disciples therefore said unto him, We have seen our Lord. But he said unto them, If I do not see in his hands the places of the nails, and put on them my fingers, and pass my hand over his side, I will not believe. 1987 And after eight days, on the next First-day, the disciples were assembled again within, and Thomas with them. And Jesus came, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said unto them, Peace be with you. 2088 And he said to Thomas, Bring hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and bring hither thy hand, and spread it on my side: and be not unbelieving, but believing. 2189 Thomas answered and said unto him, 2290 My Lord and my God. Jesus said unto him, Now since thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen me, and have believed.

42391 And many other signs did Jesus before his disciples, and they are they which are not written in this book: 2492 but these that are written also are that ye may believe in Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God; and that when ye have believed, ye may have in his name eternal life. 2594 And after that, Jesus shewed himself again to his disciples at the sea of Tiberias; and he shewed himself unto them thus. 2695 And there were together Simon Cephas, and Thomas which was called Twin, and Nathanael who was of Cana of Galilee, and the sons of Zebedee, and two other of the disciples. 2797 Simon Cephas said unto them, I go to catch fish. They said unto him, And we also come with thee. And they went forth, and went up into the boat; and in that night they caught nothing. 2898 And when the morning arrived, Jesus stood on the shore of the sea: but the disciples knew not that it was Jesus. 2999 And Jesus said unto them, Children, have ye anything to eat? They said unto him, No. He said unto them, Cast your net from the right side of the boat, and ye shall find. 30101 And they threw, and they were not able to draw the net for the abundance of the fish that were come into it. 31103 And that disciple whom Jesus loved said to Cephas, This is our Lord.

5 And Simon, when he heard that it was our Lord, took his tunic, and girded it on his waist (for he was naked), and cast himself into the sea to come to Jesus. 32104 But some others of the disciples came in the boat (and they were not far from the land, but about two hundred cubits), and drew that net of fish. 33106 And when they went up on the land, they saw live

coals laid, and fish laid thereon, and bread. 34107 And Jesus said unto them, Bring of this fish which ye have now caught. 35108 Simon Cephas therefore went up, and dragged the net to the land, full of great fish, a hundred and fifty-three fishes: and with all this weight that net was not rent. 36109 And Jesus said unto them, Come and sit down. And no man of the disciples dared to ask him who he was, for they knew that it was our Lord. But he did not appear to them in his own form. 37110 And Jesus came, and took bread and fish, and gave unto them. 38111 This is the third time that Jesus appeared to his disciples, when he had risen from among the dead.

6 39112 And when they had breakfasted, Jesus said to Simon Cephas, Simon, son of Jonah, lovest thou me more than these? He said unto him, Yea, my Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. 40113 Jesus said unto him, Feed for me my lambs. He said unto him again a second time, Simon, son of Jonah, lovest thou me? He said unto him, Yea, my Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He said unto him, Feed for me my sheep. 41115 He said unto him again the third time, Simon, son of Jonah, lovest thou me? And it grieved Cephas that he said unto him three times, Lovest thou me? He said unto him, My Lord, thou knowest everything; thou knowest that I love thee. 42116 Jesus said unto him, Feed for me my sheep. Verily, verily, I say unto thee, When thou wast a child, thou didst gird thy waist for thyself, and go whither thou wouldest: but when thou shall be old, thou shalt stretch out thy hands, and another shall gird thy waist, and take thee whither thou wouldest not. 43118 He said that to him to explain by what death he was to glorify God. And when he had said that, he said unto him, Come after me. 44119 And Simon Cephas turned, and saw that disciple whom Jesus loved following him;

7 he which at the supper leaned on Jesus' breast, and said, My Lord, who is it that betrayeth thee? 45121 When therefore Cephas saw him, he said to Jesus, My Lord, and this man, what shall be in his case? 46123 Jesus said unto him, If I will that this man remain until I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me. 47124 And this word spread among the brethren, that that disciple should not die: but Jesus said not that he should not die; but, If I will that this man remain until I come, what is that to thee? 48125 This is the disciple which bare witness of that, and wrote it: and we know that his witness is true.

SECTION LV.

1 1126 But the eleven disciples went into Galilee, to the mountain where Jesus had appointed them. 2128 And when they saw him, they worshipped him:

but there were of them who doubted. 3129 And while they sat there he appeared to them again, and upbraided them for their lack of faith and the hardness of their hearts, those that saw him when he was risen, and believed not. 4131 Then said Jesus unto them, I have been given all authority in heaven and earth; and as my Father hath sent me, so I also send you. 5132 Go now into all the world, and preach my gospel in all the creation; 6133 and teach all the peoples, and baptize them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; and teach them to keep all whatsoever I commanded you: 7135 and lo, I am with you all the days, unto the end of the world. 8136 For whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but whosoever believeth not shall be rejected. 9137 And the signs which shall attend those that believe in me are these: that they shall cast out devils in my name; and they shall speak with new tongues; 10139 and they shall take up serpents, and if they drink" deadly poison, it shall not injure them; and they shall lay their hands on the diseased, and they shall be healed. 11141 But ye, abide in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be clothed with power from on high.

212142 And our Lord Jesus, after speaking to them, took them out to Bethany: and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them. 13143 And while he blessed them, he was separated from them, and ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God. 14144 And they worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy: 15145 and at all times they were in the temple, praising and blessing God. Amen. 16146 And from thence they went forth, and preached in every place; and our Lord helped them, and confirmed their sayings by the signs which they did. 17148 And here are also many other things which Jesus did, which if they were written every one of them, not even the world, according to my opinion, would contain the books which should be written.

Book of the Laws of the Countries / The Dialogue on Fate

BARDESANES OF EDESSA

AD 154–222

Syriac philosopher and poet of Edessa; the Book of the Laws of the Countries comes from his school.

BOOK OF THE LAWS OF THE COUNTRIES / THE DIALOGUE ON FATE

BARDESAN. — THE BOOK OF THE — LAWS OF COUNTRIES.

¹A FEW days ago we went up to visit Shemashgram, our brother. And Bardesan came and found us there; and when he had felt him, and seen that he was well, he asked us, "What were you talking about, for I heard your voice from without as I was coming in?" For he was accustomed, whenever he found us talking about any thing before him, to ask us, "What were you saying?" that he might converse with us about it. We therefore said to him, "This Avida was saying to us: 'That if God he one, as you say, and He created mankind, and willeth that you should do that which you are commanded, why did He not create men so that they should not be able to go wrong, but always should do what is good; for by this His will would be accomplished.'" Bardesan saith to him, "Tell me, my son Avida, why dost thou think that the God of all is not one, or that He is one, and doth not will that men should conduct themselves holily and uprightly?"

²Avida saith, "I, my Lord, asked these of my own age in order that they might give me a reply." Bardesan saith to him, "If thou desirest to learn, it would be advantageous for thee, that thou shouldest learn from one who is older [2 than they: but if to teach, it is not requisite that thou shouldest question them, but that thou shouldest persuade them to ask thee what they desire. For teachers are usually asked, and do not themselves ask. And whenever they do put a question, it should be to direct the mind of the questioner so that he may ask properly, and they may know what his desire is. For it is a

good thing that a man should know how to put questions." Avida saith, "I am desirous of learning, but I began first to question these my brethren, because I was ashamed of asking thee."

³ Bardesan saith, "Thou speakest cleverly. Nevertheless know that he who putteth his inquiries properly, and is willing to be convinced, and draweth near to the way of truth without obstinacy, needeth not be ashamed, because he will certainly give pleasure to him to whom the inquiry is directed, by those things which I have mentioned. If therefore, my son, thou hast any thing in thy mind respecting this about which thou wast inquiring, tell it to us all; and if it please us also, we shall participate with thee; and if it please us not, necessity will compel us to shew thee why it does not please us. And if thou wert only desiring to know this word, without having any thing in thy mind respecting it, as a man who has lately attached himself to the Disciples and is a recent inquirer, I will inform thee, in order that thou mayest not depart from us without profit; and if those things which I tell thee please thee, we have also for thee other things respecting this matter, but if they please thee not, we for our part shall have spoken without any ill feeling."

⁴ Avida saith, "I even greatly desire to hear and to be convinced, because it is not from any other I have heard this word; but I have spoken it of my own mind to these my brethren, and they were not willing to convince me, but say, 'Believe really, and thou wilt be able to know every thing;' but I am not able to believe unless I be convinced." Bardesan saith, "Not Avida alone is unwilling to believe, but also many, because they have in them no faith, are not even able to be convinced, but always are pulling down and building up, and are ³ found destitute of all knowledge of the truth. Nevertheless, because Avida is not willing to believe, lo! I will speak to you who do believe concerning this which he inquireth, and he will hear something more." ⁵ And he began to say to us, "There are many men who have not faith, and have not received knowledge from the wisdom of the truth. And on this account they are not competent to speak and to instruct, and do not easily incline themselves to hear. For they have not the foundation of faith to build upon, and they have no confidence upon which they may hope. And because they also doubt respecting God, they likewise have not within them that fear of Him which would liberate them from all fears: for whoso hath not the fear of God within him, he is subject to every fear. For even with respect to that, whatever it may be, which they do not believe, they are not sure that they

properly disbelieve; but they are unstable in their minds, and are not able to stand, and the taste of their thoughts is insipid in their mouth, and they are always timid and hasty and rash. But as to what Avida was saying, 'Why did not God create us so that we should not sin and be guilty?' ----if man had been created so, he would not have been for himself, but would have been the instrument of him who moved him; and it is known that, whoso moveth as he chuseth he moveth him either to good or to evil. And how then would a man differ from a harp, upon which, another playeth, or from a ship, which another steereth:

6 but the praise and the blame stand in the hand of the artist, and the harp itself knoweth not what is played upon it, nor the ship whether it be well steered and guided; but they are instruments which are made for the use of him who possesseth in himself the science. But God in his kindness did not will that he should create man so. But he exalted him by Free-will above many things, and made him equal with the angels. For observe the sun and the moon and the sphere, and the rest of those creatures which are greater than we in some things, that there is not given to them Free-will of themselves, but they are all fixed by ordinance that they should do that only which is ordained for them, and nothing else. For the sun ⁴ never saith, that I will not rise at my time; nor the moon, that I will not change, and not wane, and not increase; nor does any one of the stars say, that I will not rise, and I will not set; nor the sea, that I will not bear the ships, and I will not stand within my hounds; nor the hills, that we will not continue in the places in which we are set; nor do the winds say that we will not blow; nor the earth, that I will not bear and sustain whatsoever is upon me:

7 but all these things serve and are subject to one ordinance, for they are the instruments of the wisdom of God which erreth not. For if every thing ministered, who would be he that is ministered unto; and if every thing were ministered unto, who would be he that ministered? And there would not be one thing differing from another. For that which is single and hath no difference in it, is a Being which up to this hour has not been established. But those things, which are requisite for ministration, have been fixed in the power of man, because in the image of Elohim he was created. On this account there has been given to him these things in kindness, that they might minister to him for a season; and it has been given to him to govern himself by his own will, and that whatever he is able to do, if he will he should do it,

and if he will not, he should not do it; and he should justify or condemn himself. For if he had been made so that he would not be able to do evil by which he may be condemned, in the same manner also the good which he should do would not be his, and he would not be able to be justified by it. For whoso should not of his own will do that which is good or evil, his justification and his condemnation would stand in that Fortune for which he is created.

8 On this account, let it be manifest to you, that the goodness of God has been great towards man, and that there has been given to him Free-will more than to all those Elements of which we have been speaking; that by this same Free-will he may justify himself, and govern himself in a godlike manner, and associate with the angels, who also are possessed of Free-will for themselves; for we know, that even the angels, if they had not been possessed of Free-will for themselves, would not have had intercourse with the daughters of men, and would not have sinned nor fallen from |5 their places. And in the same manner therefore those others which did the will of their Lord, by their power over themselves were exalted and sanctified, and received mighty gifts. For every one that exists stands in need of the Lord of all; and there is no end to his gifts. But nevertheless know ye, that even those things of which I have said that they stand by ordinance, are not entirely devoid of all freedom, and on this account at the last day they all shall be subject to judgment."

9 I say to him, "And how can those things which are fixed be judged?" He saith to me, "Not in so far as they are fixed, oh, Philip, will the Elements be judged, but in so far as they have power; for Beings when they are set in order are not deprived of their natural property, but of their force of energy, being diminished by the mingling of one with another, and they are subdued by the power of their Creator; and in so far as they are subject, they will not be judged, but in that which is their own." Avida saith to him, "Those things which thou hast said are very good. But lo! the commandments which have been given to men are severe, and they are not able to perform them."

10 Bardesan saith, "This is the answer of such an one as doth not desire to do that which is good; and more especially of him who has obeyed and submitted to his enemy. For men are not commanded to do any thing but what they are able to do. For there are two commandments set before us such as are suitable and just for Free-will: one that we separate ourselves from every

thing which is evil and which we should dislike to be done to ourselves; and the other that we should do that which is good and which we love, and desire that it should also be done to us likewise. What man, therefore, is there who is unable to avoid stealing, or to avoid lying or committing adultery and fornication, or that he should be guilty of hatred and falsehood? For lo! all these things are subject to the mind of man, and it is not in the power of the body they are, but in the will of the soul. For even if a man be poor and sick and old, or impotent, in his limbs, he is able to avoid doing all these things; and as he is able to |6 avoid doing these things, so is he able to love, and to bless, and to speak the truth, and to pray for that which is good for every one whom he knoweth:

11 and if he be in health and have the use of his hands, he is able too to give something of that which he hath; also to support by the strength of body him who is sick and broken down, this too he is able to do. Who, therefore, it is that is not able to do what those devoid of faith murmur about, I know not. For I think, that it is in these commandments more than in any thing man has power. For they are easy, and there is nothing that is able to hinder them. For we are not commanded to carry heavy burthens of stones, or of timber, or of any thing else, which those only who are powerful in body are able to do; nor that we should build fortresses and found cities, which kings only are able to do; nor that we should steer ships, which mariners only are skilled in steering; nor that we should measure and divide the earth, which geometricians only know how to do; nor any one of those arts which some men possess, and the rest are devoid of them; but there has been given to us according to the goodness of God commandments without grudging, such as every man who possesses a soul within him can do rejoicing; for there is no man who rejoiceth not when he doeth that which is good;

12 nor is there any one who doth not delight within himself when he refraineth from wicked things, with the exception of those who were not made for this grace, and are called Tares: for would not that judge be unjust who should blame a man for such a thing as he is not able to do?" 13 Avida saith to him, "Respecting these deeds, oh Bardesan, sayest thou that they are easy to perform?" Bardesan saith, "To him who desireth, I have said, and do say, that they are easy; for this is the good conduct of a free mind, and of that soul which hath not rebelled against its Governors. For there are many

things which impede the action of the body, and more especially old age, and sickness, and poverty." Avida saith, "Perchance a man may be able to avoid wicked things, but to do good things who among men is able?"

¹⁴ Bardesan saith, "It is more easy to do good than to abstain from ¹⁷ evil. For the good is the man's own, and on this account he rejoiceth whenever he doeth good; but the evil is the operation of the enemy, and on this account, when a man is troubled and not sound in his nature, he doeth wicked things. For know, my son, that it is an easy thing for a man to praise and bless his friend; but that a man should not blame and revile him that he hates is not easy. But nevertheless, this is possible to be; and whenever a man doeth that which is good, his mind is cheerful and his conscience tranquil, and he is pleased that every one should see what he does; but whenever a man acts wrongly, and committeth an injury, he is agitated and troubled, and full of rage and anger, and is tormented in his soul and in his body: and when he standeth in this mind, he is not pleased to be seen by every one; and those things in which he rejoiceth, which even praise and blessing follow, are rejected by him; but upon those things by which he is agitated and troubled followeth the curse of blame. But perhaps a man may say, that even fools are pleased when they do vile things:----but not in the doing of them, and not in being commended, and not for good hope; and this pleasure doth not continue with them.

¹⁵ For the enjoyment which is in a sound state for good hope is one; and the enjoyment in an unhealthy state for bad hope is another. For lust is one thing and love is another; and friendship is one thing and sodality another; and we ought plainly to understand that the unrestrained ardour of love is called lust, which although there may be in it enjoyment for a moment, nevertheless is far removed from that true love, whose enjoyment is for ever uncorruptible and indissoluble." ¹⁶ I say to him, "After this manner again was this Avida saying, 'That it is from his Nature man acteth wrongly; for if he had not been formed naturally to do wrong, he would not do wrong.'" Bardesan saith, "If all men did one deed and acted with the one mind, it would then be known that it was their Nature governed them, and they would not have the Free-will of which I spake to you. Nevertheless, in order that ye may understand what is Nature and what is Free-will, I will proceed to inform you. ¹⁸

17 The Nature of man is this: that he should be born, and grow up, and rise in stature, and beget children, and grow old, by eating and by drinking, and sleeping, and waking, and that he should die. These because they are of Nature, belong to all men, and not to all men only, but also to all animals which have a soul in them; and some of them also to trees. For this is a physical operation which performeth and produceth and establisheth every thing as it has been ordained. But Nature also is found to be maintained by animals too in their actions. For the lion eateth flesh, by his Nature; and on this account all lions are eaters of flesh. And the sheep eateth grass; and for this reason all sheep are eaters of grass. And the bee maketh honey by which it sustains itself; for this reason all bees are honey-makers. And the ant layeth up for itself a store in summer, that it may sustain itself from it in the winter; and for this reason all ants do likewise. And the scorpion striketh with its sting him who hath not hurt it; and so likewise all scorpions strike. And all animals maintain their Nature; and those which feed upon grass do not eat flesh; nor do those that feed upon flesh eat grass. But men are not governed in this manner;

18 but in the things belonging to their bodies they maintain their Nature like animals, and in the things |9 which belong to their minds they do that which they wish, as being free and with power, and as the likeness of God: for there are some of them that eat flesh, and do not touch bread; and there are some of them that make a distinction in the eating of flesh; and there are some of them that do not eat the flesh of any animal in which there is a soul; and there are some of them that have connexion with their mothers, and with their sisters, and with their daughters; and there are some that never approach women at all; and there are some that avenge themselves like lions and like leopards; and there are some that injure him who has not done them any harm, like scorpions; and there are some that are led like sheep, and do not hurt those who govern them; and there are some who conduct themselves with virtue, and some |10 with righteousness, and some with vice. And if any one should say, they have each individually a Nature to do so, let him see that it is not so. For there are some who were fornicators and drunkards, and when the admonition of good counsels reached them, they became chaste and temperate, and abandoned the lust of their bodies. And there are some who conducted themselves with chastity and temperance;

¹⁹ and when they became negligent of right admonition, and despised the commands of the Deity, and of their instructors, fell from the way of truth, and became fornicators and prodigals; and there are some who repented again after their fall; and fear came upon them, and they returned to the truth in which they stood. What, then, is man's Nature? for lo! all men differ one from another in their conduct, and in their desires; and those who stood in one will and in one counsel resemble one another: but those men whose lust is enticing them up to the present moment, and whose passion governs them, desire to attribute whatsoever they do wrong to their Creator; so that they themselves may be found without fault, and He who created them may be condemned by a vain plea; and they do not see that Nature has no law, for a man is not blamed because he is tall in his stature or little, or white or black; or because his eyes be large or small; or for any one of the defects of the body: but he is blamed if he steal, or lie, or practise deceit, or poisoneth, or curseth, or doeth such things as are like these; for lo! from hence it is evident, that as to those things which are not done by our hands, but which we have from Nature, we are not indeed condemned by these; neither by these are we justified;

²⁰ but those things which we do by our own Freewill, if they be good, by them we are justified and praised, and if they be wicked, by them we are condemned and blamed." |¹¹ ²¹ Again we asked him, and said to him, "There are others who say, that by the decree of Fortune men are governed, at one time wickedly, and at another time well." ²² He said to us, "I likewise, O Phillip and Baryama, know that there are men who are called Chaldeans, and others who love this knowledge of the art, as I also once loved it; for it has been said by me, in another place, that the soul of man is capable of knowing that which many do not know, and the same men meditate to do; and all that they do wrong, and all that they do good, and all the things which happen to them in riches and in poverty, and in sickness and in health, and in defects of the body, it is from the influence of those Stars, which are called the Seven, they befall them, and they are governed by them. But there are others which say the opposite of these things,----how that this art is a lie of the Chaldeans, or that Fortune does not exist at all, but it is an empty name; and all things are placed in the hands of man, great and small: and bodily defects and faults happen and befall him by chance. But others say that whatsoever a man doeth, he doeth of his own will, by the Free-will that has been given to

him, and the faults and defects and evil things which happen to him, he receiveth as a punishment from God. But as for myself, in my humble opinion, it appeareth to me that these three sects are partly true, and partly false.

²³ They are true, because men speak after the fashion which they see, and because, also, men see how things happen to them, and mistake;----because the wisdom of God is richer than they, which has established the worlds and created man, and has ordained the Governors, and has given to all things the power which is suitable for each one of them. But I say that God and the Angels, and the Powers, and the Governors, and the Elements, and men and animals have this power: but all these orders of which I have spoken have not power given to them in every thing. For he that is powerful in every thing is One; but they have power in some things, and in some tilings they have no power, as I have said: that the goodness of God may be seen in that in which they have power, and in that in which they have no power they may know that they have a Lord. There is, therefore, Fortune, as the [12 Chaldeans say: but that every thing is not in our will is apparent from hence----that the majority of men have wished to be rich and to have powerover their fellows, and to be healthy in their bodies, and that things should be subject to them as they desire: yet wealth is not found but with few; nor power, except with one here and there; nor health of body with all men; neither do those who are rich have entire possession of their riches;

²⁴ nor those who are in power have all things obedient to them as they wish: and sometimes they are disobedient in a manner which they do not wish: and at one time the rich are wealthy as they desire, and at another time they become poor in a manner which they do not desire; and those who are perfectly poor dwell in a manner that they do not wish, and live in the world in a manner that they do not desire; and they covet things, and they flee from them. And many beget children, and do not bring them up; and others bring them up, and they do not inherit; and others inherit, and become a disgrace and an affliction: and others are rich as they wish, and have ill health as they do not wish; and others are healthy as they desire, and are poor as they do not desire. There are some who have many of the things which they wish, and few of those which they do not wish; and there are some who have many of the things which they do not wish, and few of those which they do wish: and thus it is found, that riches, and honours, and health, and sickness, and children, and various objects of desire, are placed under For-

tune, and are not in our own power. But with such as are according as we wish, we are pleased and delighted; and towards such as we do not wish we are drawn by force.

²⁵ And from those things which befall us when we do not wish, it is evident, also, with respect to those things which we do wish, that it is not because we wish them that they befall us, but that they happen as they do happen; and with some of them we are pleased and with some not. And we men are found to be governed by Nature equally, and by Fortune differently, and by our Free-will each as he wishes. ²⁶ "But let us speak now, and shew with respect to Fortune, that it has not power over every thing; for this very thing itself [13 which is called Fortune is an order of procession which is given to the Powers and the Elements by God; and according to this procession and order, intelligences are changed by their coming down to be with the soul, and souls are changed by their coming down to be with the body: and this alternation itself is called the Fortune, and the Nativity of this assemblage, which is being sifted and purified, for the assistance of that which by the favour of God and by grace has been assisted, and is being assisted, till the consummation of all. The body, therefore, is governed by Nature, the soul also suffering with it and perceiving; and the body is not constrained nor assisted by Fortune in all the things which it does individually; for a man does not become a father before fifteen years, nor does a woman become a mother before thirteen years. And in the same manner, also, there is a law for old age; because women become effete from bearing, and men are deprived of the natural power of begetting; while other animals which are also governed by their own Nature, before those ages which I have specified, not only procreate, but also become too old to procreate, in the same manner as also the bodies of men when they are grown old do not procreate;

²⁷ nor is Fortune able to give them children at that time at which the body has not the Nature to give them. Neither, again, is Fortune able to preserve the body of man in life, without eating and without drinking; nor even when it has meat and drink, to prevent it from dying, for these and many other things pertain to Nature itself; but when the times and manners of Nature are fulfilled, then comes Fortune apparent among these, and effecteth things that are distinct one from another; and at one time assists Nature and increases, and at another hinders it and hurts; and from Nature cometh the growth and perfection of the body; but apart from Nature and by Fortune

come sicknesses and defects in the body. From Nature is the connexion of males and females, and the pleasure of the both heads; but from Fortune comes abomination and a different manner of connexion, and all the filthiness and indecency which men do for the cause of connexion through their lust. From Nature is birth, and children; and from Fortune sometimes the children are deformed; |14 and sometimes they are cast away, and sometimes they die untimely. From Nature there is a sufficiency in moderation for all bodies; and from Fortune comes the want of food, and affliction of the bodies; and thus, again, from the same Fortune is gluttony and extravagance which is not requisite. Nature ordains that old men should be judges for the young, and wise for the foolish;

28 and that the valiant should be chiefs over the weak, and the brave over the timid. But Fortune causeth that boys should be chiefs over the aged, and fools over the wise; and that in time of war the weak should govern the valiant, and the timid the brave. And know ye distinctly that, whenever Nature is disturbed from its right course, its disturbance is from the cause of Fortune, because those Heads and Governors, upon whom that alternation is which is called Nativity, are in opposition one to the other. And those of them which are called Right, they assist Nature, and add to its excellency, whenever the procession helps them, and they stand in the high places, which are in the sphere, in their own portions; and those which are called Left are evil: and whenever they, too, occupy the places of height, they are opposed to Nature, and not only injure men, but, at different times, also animals, and trees and fruits, and the produce of the year, and the fountains of water, and every thing that is in the Nature which is under their control. And on account of these divisions and sects which exist among the Powers, some men have supposed that the world is governed without any superintendence, because they do not know that these sects and divisions and justification and condemnation proceed from that influence which is given in Free-will by God, that those actors also by the power of themselves may either be justified or condemned:

29 as we see that Fortune crushes Nature, so we can also see the Freewill of man repelling and crushing Fortune itself: but not in every thing, is also Fortune itself doth not repel Nature in everything; for it is proper that the three things, Nature and Fortune and |15 Free-will, should be maintained in their lives until the procession be accomplished, and the measure and number be

fulfilled, as it seemed good before Him who ordained how should be the life and perfection of all creatures, and the state of all Beings and Natures."

³⁰ Avida saith, "That it is not from his Nature a man doeth wrong. I am persuaded by those things which thou hast shewed, and that all men are not governed equally. But if thou art also able to shew this, that it is not from Fortune and Fate those act wrongly who do act wrongly, then it will be right to believe, that man holds his own Free-will, and by his Nature is brought near to those things which be good, and warned from the things which are wicked, and on this account he will also justly be judged in the last day." Bardesan saith, "From this, that men are not equally governed, art thou persuaded that it is not from their Nature they act wrongly? Therefore the matter constrains thee to believe that neither also from their Fortune do they altogether act wrongly, if we be able to shew thee that the decree of the Fortunes and the Powers does not move all men equally, but we have Free-will in ourselves to avoid serving Physical nature and being moved by the control of the Powers."

³¹ Avida saith, "Prove me this, and I will be convinced by thee, and whatever thou shalt charge me I will do." Bardesan saith, "Have you read the books of the Chaldeans which are in Babylon, in which are written what the stars effect by their associations at the Nativities of men? And the books of the Egyptians, in which are written all the modes which happen to men?" Avida saith, "I have read the books of Chaldeism, but I do not know which belong to the Babylonians and which to the Egyptians." Bardesan saith, "The doctrine of both countries is the same." Avida saith, "It is known that it is so." Bardesan saith, "Hear now and understand, that it is not what the stars decree in their Fortune and in their portions, that all men equally do who are in all the earth; |16 for men have established laws in different places, by that Free-will which has been given to them by God. Because the gift itself is opposed to that Fortune of the Powers, which assume for themselves that which has not been given to them. I will begin to speak so far as I remember from the east, the head of the whole world.

³² "The Laws of the Seres. The Seres have laws that they should not kill, and not commit fornication, and not worship idols; and in the whole country of the Seres there are no idols, nor harlots, who killeth a man, nor who is killed; while they too are born at all hours, and upon all days. And Mars the fierce, when he is placed in the midst of the heavens, doth not force the Free-

will of the Seres that a man should shed the blood of his neighbour with a weapon of iron. Nor does Venus, when she is placed with Mars, force any one of the men of the Seres that he should have connexion with his neighbour's wife, or with another |17 woman; but rich and poor, and sick and healthy, and rulers and subjects, are there: because these things are given to the power of the Governors.

³³ "Laws of the Brahmins which are in India. Again, among the Indians, the Brahmins, among whom there are many thousands and tens of thousands, have a law that they should not kill at all, and not revere idols, and not commit fornication, and not eat flesh, and not drink wine; and among them not one of these things takes place. And there are thousands of years to these men, lo! since they govern themselves by this law which they have made for themselves. Another Law which is in India. And there is another law in India, and in the same Clime, belonging to those, which are not of the family of the Brahmins, nor of their doctrine; that they should serve idols, and commit fornication, and kill, and do other abominable things, which do not please the Brahmins. |18 And in the same Clime of India there are men that by custom eat the flesh of men in the same manner as the rest of the nations eat the flesh of animals. But the evil stars have not forced the Brahmins to do evil and abominable things; nor have the good stars persuaded the rest of the Hindoos to abstain from evil things; nor have those stars which are well arranged in the places which it is proper for them, and in the signs of Zodiac which relate to humanity, persuaded those who eat the flesh of men to abstain from using this abominable and odious food.

³⁴ "Laws of the Persians. And, again, the Persians have made laws for themselves that they may take for wives their sisters, and their daughters, and their daughters' daughters; and there are some that go further, and take even their mothers. Of these same Persians some have been scattered, and are in Media and the country of Parthia, and in Egypt, and in |19 Phrygia, and they are called Magi; and in all countries and Climes in which they are, they govern themselves by this law which was established for their fathers; but we cannot say that for all the Magi and the rest of the Persians, Venus was placed with the Moon, and with Saturn in the mansion of Saturn in his portions, while Mars witnessed them. And there are many places in the kingdom of the Parthians where men kill their wives, and their brethren, and their children, and incur no vengeance; while among the Romans and the Greeks,

whoso killeth one of these incurreth capital punishment, the greatest of vengeance."

³⁵ *Laws of the Geli.* Among the Geli the women sow and reap, and build, and perform all the things of labourers, and do not wear dresses of colours: nor do they put on shoes, nor use sweet ointments; neither does any one blame them when they commit adultery with strangers, or when they have connexion |20 with the slaves of their houses; but their husbands, the Geli, put on garments of colours, and ornament themselves with gold and jewels, and anoint themselves with sweet unguents; nor is it on account of effeminacy they conduct themselves so, but on account of a law which is established among them; and all the men are lovers of hunting, and makers of war: but we cannot say that, for all the women of the Geli, Yenus was placed in Capricorn, or in Aquarius, in a place of ill-luck; nor for all the Geli is it possible for us to say that Mars and Venus were placed in Aries, where it is written that vigorous and lascivious men are born. |21

³⁶ *The Laws of the Bactrians.* Amongst the Bactrians, which are called Cashani, the women adorn themselves with the goodly raiment of the men, and with much gold and goodly jewels; and their male and female slaves minister to them more than to their husbands; and they ride horses; and some adorn themselves with vestments of gold and with precious stones. And these women do not observe chastity, but have connexion with their slaves, and with strangers which come to that country, and their husbands do not blame them: and they have no fear, because the Cashani esteem their wives as mistresses; but we cannot say that, for all the Bactrian women, Venus is placed, and Mars, and Jupiter, in the mansion of Mars in the midst of the heavens, where women that are rich, and adulterers, and keep under their husbands in every thing, are born. "The Laws of the Racami, and of the Edesseans, and the Arabians. Amongst the Racami, and the Edesseans, and the Arabians, not only is she that committeth adultery put to death, but she also, that has the name of adultery against her, has capital punishment. |22

³⁷ *The Laws in Hatra.* There is a law established in Hatra that whosoever committeth the small crime of a theft even of little value should be stoned. Amongst the Cashani, whoso committed such a theft as this, they spit in his face. Amongst the Romans, whoso committeth a little theft is scourged and dismissed. On the other side the Euphrates, and towards the East, he who is reviled either as a thief or as a murderer, does not feel very angry; but if a

man be reviled as an arsenocoete, he then avenges himself even to the putting to death. "Laws of * * boys * and are not * * Again, in all the country of the East, those who have been insulted, and are known, their fathers and their brothers kill them, and oftentimes they do not even make known their graves. "Laws of the Orientals. But in the north, and in the country of the Germans, and those that are near to them, such boys among them as are handsome become as wives to the men, and they |23 have also marriage-feasts; and tins is not considered by them as a disgrace, nor as a reproach, on account of a law which they have: but it is not possible that all those that are in Gallia, who are disgraced by this disgrace, should have at their nativity Mercury placed for them with Venus, in the mansion of Saturn, and in the limits of Mars, and in the signs of the Zodiac at the west. For respecting those men who have their nativity thus, it is written that they are disgraced as women.

38 "Laws of the Britons. Amongst the Britons many men take one wife. "Laws of the Parthians. And amongst the Parthians one man takes many wives, and all of these are obedient to his command in chastity, on account of a law which is established there in the country. "Laws of the Amazons. As to the Amazons, all of them, the entire nation, have no husbands, but, like beasts, once in the year, at the season of spring, they go out from their coasts, and pass the river, and when they are over they make a great festival on the mountain, and the men from those quarters come, and abide with them fourteen days, and have intercourse with them, and they become pregnant by them, and then pass again to their own country; and at the time of birth such as are males, they expose, and bring up the |24 females: and it is a known tiling, that according as Nature ordains, because they all become pregnant in one month, they also are delivered in one month, a little more and a little less; and as we have heard, all of them are vigorous and warlike: but not one of the stars is able to help all those males, which are born, from being exposed."

39 "Book of the Chaldeans. It is written in the Book of the Chaldeans, that whenever Mercury is placed with Venus in the mansion of Mercury, it produceth painters and sculptors, and money-changers; but when they are in the mansion of Venus, they produce perfumers, and dancers, and singers, and poets. And in all the country of the Tayites and of the Saracens, and in Upper Lybia, and amongst the Mauritanians, and in the country of the Nomades,

which is at the mouth of the ocean, and in outer Germania, and in Upper Sarmatia, and in Hispania, and in all |25 the countries which are to the north of Pontus, and in all the country of the Alanians, and amongst the Albanians, and amongst the Zazi, and in Brusa which is beyond the Duro, one seeth not either sculptors, nor painters, nor perfumers, nor moneychangers, nor poets. But this decree of Mercury and Venus is inhibited from the circumference of the whole world. In the whole of Media, all men when they die, even while life is still remaining in them, are cast to the dogs, and the dogs eat the dead of the whole of Media; but we cannot say that all the Medians are born while the Moon is placed for them with Mars in Cancer during the day below the Earth: for thus it is written that those whom the dogs eat are born. The Hindoos, all of them when they die are burnt with fire, and many of their wives are burnt with them alive;

40 but we cannot say, that all those women of the Hindoos which are burnt had at their nativity Mars and the Sun placed in Leo in the night below the Earth, as those men are born which are burnt with fire. All the Germans |26 die by suffocation, except those which are killed in battle; and it is not possible that at the nativity of all the Germans the Moon and Hora should have been placed between Mars and Saturn. But, in all places, every day and at all hours, men are born in nativities which are distinct one from the other, and the laws of men overcome the Decree, and they govern themselves according to their customs; and Fortune does not compel the Seres to kill at all when they do not wish; nor the Brahmins to eat flesh; nor restrain the Persians from marrying their daughters and their sisters; nor the Hindoos from being burnt; nor the Medians from being devoured by dogs; nor the Parthians from taking many wives; nor the Britons from many men taking one wife; nor the |27 Edesseans from being chaste; nor the Greeks from practising gymnastics * * *; nor the Romans from always seizing upon countries; nor the Gauls from marrying one for another; nor constrain the Amazons to bring up the males; neither does the Nativity compel any at the circumference of the world to use the art of the Muses;

41 but as I have said, in every country, and in every nation, all men use the Free-will of their Nature as they wish, and do service to Fortune and to Nature, on account of the body with which they are clad, at one time as they wish, at another as they do not wish; for in every country and in every nation there are rich and poor, and rulers and subjects, and healthy and sick, each of

them, according as Fortune and Nativity has reached him. ⁴² I say to him, "Thou has convinced us of these things, Father Bardesan, and we know that they are true. But thou art aware that the Chaldeans say, that the Earth is divided into seven portions, which are called Climes; and over these same portions those Seven Stars have authority, each one over one of them; and in |28 each one of those same places the will of its Power prevails; and this is called Law."

⁴³ He said to me, "Know first, my son Phillip, that for the purpose of deceit the Chaldeans have invented this saying: For although the earth be divided into seven portions, nevertheless, in each one of the same portions there are found many laws which differ one from the other. For there are not found in the world seven laws according to the number of the Seven Stars; nor twelve according to the number of the Signs of the Zodiac; nor also thirty-six according to the number of the Decani: but there are many laws in each kingdom, and in each country, and in each circuit, and in every habitation, which are different from their neighbours. For ye remember what I said to you, that in one Clime of the Hindoos there are men that do not eat the flesh of animals, and there are others that eat the |29 flesh of men. And again, I told you respecting the Persians and the Magi, that it was not in the Clime of Persia only they have taken for wives their daughters and their sisters, but in every country to which they have gone, they have used the law of their fathers, and observed the mysteries of what they delivered to them. And again, remember that there are many people I told you, which surround all the world, that are not in one Clime, but in all the winds, and in all the Climes;

⁴⁴ and they have not the art which Mercury and Venus give when they are in configuration one with the other. And if the laws pertained to the Climes this could not be; but it is known, because those men are distant from the intercourse of men they are many in the manners of their living. How many wise men, think ye, have abrogated from their own countries those laws which seemed to them not to be well made? And how many laws are there which have been broken on account of necessity? And how many kings are there, who, having taken those countries which did not belong to them, have abrogated the laws of their establishing, and instituted such laws as they desired? |30 And whenever these things took place, no one of the Stars was able to preserve the law. But this is at hand for you to see; because but as yes-

terday the Romans took Arabia, and abrogated all their ancient laws; and more especially that circumcision with which they circumcised. For he that has the power in himself obeyeth such law as is ordained for him by another, who also is possessed of the power of himself. But I will tell you what may avail more than any thing to persuade the foolish, and those lacking of faith. All the Jews, who have received the law at the hand of Moses, circumcise their male children on the eighth day, and do not wait for the coming of the Stars;

⁴⁵ neither do they respect the law of the country; nor does the Star, which has authority in the Clime, govern them by force; but whether they be in Edom, or in Arabia, or in Greece, or in Persia, or in the North, or in the South, they fulfil this law which was established for them by their fathers; and it is known that this which they do is not from Nativity, for it is not possible that Mars should rise for all the Jews on the eighth day when they are circumcised, so that steel should pass over them, and their blood be shed. And ³¹ all of them, wherever they are, abstain from worshipping idols; and one day in seven they and their children abstain from all work, and from all building and from all travelling, and from buying and selling; neither do they kill an animal on the sabbath-day, nor kindle fire, nor judge a cause; and there is not found amongst them a man whom Fortune commands that on the Sabbath day he should either go to law and gain his cause, or go to law and lose it, or should pull down or build up, or do any one of those things which all such men as have not received this law do. They have also other things, in which they are not governed like the rest of mankind, while on this same day they both beget, and are born, and fall sick, and die, for these things are not in the power of man.

⁴⁶ In Syria and in Edessa men used to cut off their foreskins to Tharatha: but when Abgar the king was converted ³² to Christianity, he commanded that every one that cut off his foreskin should have his hand cut off. And from that day, and up to this hour, no man cutteth off his foreskin in the country of Edessa. What, then, shall we say respecting the new race of ourselves who are Christians, whom in every country and in every region the Messiah established at His coming; for, lo! wherever we be, all of us are called by the one name of the Messiah---Christians; and upon one day, which is the first of the week, we assemble ourselves together, and on the appointed days we abstain from food. Neither do the Brethren which are in Gallia take |

33 males for wives; nor those which are in Parthia take two wives; nor those which are in Judea circumcise themselves; nor do our sisters which are amongst the Geli and amongst the Cashani have connexion with strangers; nor do those which are in Persia take their daughters for wives; nor those who are in Media fly from their dead, or bury them alive, or give them for food to the dogs; nor do those who are in Edessa kill their wives that commit fornication, or their sisters, but withdraw themselves from them, and commit them to the judgment of God. Nor do those who are in Hatra stone the thieves.

⁴⁷ But wherever they be, and in whatever place that they are, the laws of the countries do not separate them from the laws of their Messiah; neither does the Fortune of the Governors compel them to make use of things which are impure to them; but sickness and health, and riches and poverty----this which does not appertain to their Freewill, befalls them wherever they are. For as the Free-will of men is not governed by the necessity of the Seven, and whenever it is governed it is able to stand against its influences, so also is this visible man not able readily to deliver himself from the commands of his Governors, for he is a slave and a subject. For if we were able to do every thing we should be everything; and if nothing came within the reach of our hands to do, we should be the instruments of others. But whenever God pleaseth, all things are possible to be, without hindrance. For there is nothing which can hinder that great and [34] holy will. For even such as think that they stand against Him, it is not in strength they stand, but in evil and in error; and this may subsist a short time, because He is kind, and permit-teth all Natures that they should stand in what they are, and be governed by their own will, but being bound nevertheless by the deeds which are done, and by the plans which have been devised for their help.

⁴⁸ For this order and government which have been given, and association of one with another, softens down the force of the Natures, that they should not be altogether injurious, nor be altogether injured, as they were injuring and injured before the creation of the world. And there will be a time, when also this injury which remaineth in them shall be brought to an end by the instruction which will be in another association. And at the establishment of that new world, all evil motions will cease, and all rebellions will be brought to an end, and the foolish will be persuaded, and deficiencies will be filled up, and there will be peace and safety, by the gift of Him who is the Lord of all

Natures. ⁴⁹ HERE ENDETH THE BOOK OF THE LAWS OF COUNTRIES. [Selected endnotes moved here and assigned numbers. Numbers in are not mentioned by Cureton, although in the text, but are perhaps pages in the manuscript or Syriac text?]. 1. P. 1. Book of the Laws of Countries. The title of this treatise is given by Eusebius, Ec. Hist. b. iv. c. 30, [Greek]; by Epiphanius, ... Panarium adversus Haeres., 36, p. 477. 2. L. 1. Shemashgram. This is the pronunciation according to the vowels which have been added by a later hand. There was a king of Emesa so called, whose daughter was married to Aristobulus: See Josephus, Antiq. Jud. b. 18, c. 6, and b. 19, c. 8. A Priest of Venus at Emesa of this name went out to meet Sapor, king of Persia, when he advanced against that city in the reign of the Emperor Valerian. See Johannes Malela, Chronograph, vol. i. p. 391, edit. Oxon. 1691. In Strabo the name is written Geog. b. 16. p. 753, edit. Casaubon, 1620. M. Renan has mistaken this for the name of a place, and supposed the particle and verb ... which follow to be the name of a person. It is hardly possible to commit a greater number of errors in the same space than M. Renan has fallen into in translating the first lines of this treatise. "Il y a quelques jours, en allant visiter a Schemsgarm notre frere Evetb.es, nous y rencontrames Bardesane, qui, apres s'etre assure de notre sante," &c. See "Lettre a M. Reinaud sur quelques manuscrits Syriaques du Musee Britannique," in Journal Asiatique. 1852.

⁵⁰ 3. L. 8. Avida. This name is given by Epiphanius M. Renan has again fallen into an error here, and translated this man's name "un de nos compagnons," ... Apparently he was ignorant of the account given by Epiphanius, and has assumed against all authority that Bardesan wrote this treatise in Greek. 4. P. 3. L. 20. Compare what is here said about man's free agency with Justin Martyr. Apol. i. c. 7, 43; Origen, De Princip. iii. c. 1; Philocalia c. xxvi. ⁵¹ 5. P. 4. L. 36. The Angels. Bardesan takes here ... Gen. vi. 2, to be 'angels.' So Josephus... Antiq. Jud. b. 1. c. 3. Justin Martyr.... Apol. ii. C. 5. Clemens Alexandrinus: ... Strom, b. 3. And again, ... b. 5. Edit. Potter, pp. 538, 650. Tertullian. ... De Cultu foeminarum, i. c. 2. See also De Idolatria, c. ix. Sulpitius Severus: ... De Sacra Historia, b. i. p. 7. Lactantius: ... Institut. Divin. lib. ii. c. 14. The author of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. ... Test. Reuben, c. 5. Grabe, Spicilegium. Vol. 1. p. 150. This opinion of the more antient Christian writers Chrysostom refutes, Homil. 22 in Genes. Edit. Paris, 1614, p. 249; Theodoretus, Quaest. in Genesin, 47; and Augustin: although in the copies of Genesis, which he used, the term 'angels' was

found, ...*De Civitate Dei* b. xv. c. 23. The opinion generally held is this of Augustin and others, that the ... "Sons of God" were the descendants of Seth. In this the Book of Adam, lately translated from the Ethiopic by Dillman, concurs: "... " ... I find the same notion in the Cave of Treasures, ... "And they were not willing to give ear to the commandment of Jared and to the words of Enoch, and they dared to transgress the commandment, and went down an hundred men mighty in valour, and when they beheld the daughters of Cain, that they were fair to look upon, and that without modesty they were unveiled, the sons of Seth . were inflamed with the fire of lust; and when the daughters of Cain beheld their beauty they flew upon them like corrupt beasts, and defiled their bodies, and the sons of Seth lost themselves in fornication with the daughters of Cain." fol. 11. ...

52 6. P. 8, L. 1. The nature of man, &c. It will be seen, upon comparing the passage comprised in this and the following pages with that cited by Eusebius, *Praepar. Evan.* vi. c. 10, printed below, that the Greek varies considerably from the Syriac: there are many interpolations which are not found in the original; and again several sentences of the Syriac have been omitted in the Greek. 7. P. 11. L. 4. O Philip and Baryama. I am not sure respecting this latter word, whether it be a proper name or not: perhaps ... be rendered "even profoundly," literally, "even a son of the sea." ... I do not know whether by my fault or the compositor's, the word is spelled wrongly Phillip in this place. 8. L. 7. In another place. Probably referring to some of his former works. 9. P. 15. L. 30. The doctrine of both countries is the same. The Chaldeans, according to Diodorus Siculus, were a colony from Egypt, *Sill. Hist.* b. i, p. 73. Edit. Hanoviae, 1604. Clemens Alexandrinus writes ...: *Stromat.* i. p. 361. Cited also by Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* x. 6. See also Gallaeus, *De Sibyllis*, p. 484. Julius Firmicus says that he has embodied in his treatise on Astrology all that the Egyptians and Babylonians had said on this head. ... See Praefat. The reader who is desirous of further information as to many astrological questions alluded to by Bardesan will find them stated fully by Julius Firmicus.

53 10. P. 16, L. 7. Seres. Respecting these see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. c. 17; Solinus c. 53; Pomponius Mela, i. c. 2; *Vetus orbis descriptio Graeci Scriptoris* sub Constantio. Ed. J. Gothofred. Genevae, 1628, p. 1. 11. P. 17, L. 1. Of the Brahmins. For the account of the Brahmins amongst the ancients, see Palladius, *De Gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*; and two other writers edited in the

same volume by Ed. Bisse, 4to. Loud. 1(565. Strabo: Geog. x. p. 712. Origen; Contra Celsum, p. 19. Edit. Spencer. Cantab. 1658. Jerome in his Second Book, Adversus Jovinianum, refers to this matter: "Bardesan, vir Babylonius, in duo dogmata apud Indos gymnosophistas dividit, quorum alterum appellat Brachmanas, alterum Samanaeos, qui tantas continentiae sunt, ut vel pomis arborum juxta Gan-gen fluvium, vel publico orizae, vel farinae alantur cibo, et cum rex ad eos venerit, adorare illos solitus sit, pacemque suae provinciae in illorum precibus arbitrari sitam." Edit. Erasmi, tom. ii. p. 55. There is no mention of the name Samanaei, either in the original Syriac, or by Eusebius, Caesarius, or Ruffinus in his version of the Recognitions. They are named, however, by Porphyry, referring to Bardesan, De abstinentia, lib. 4. § 17. Origen also speaks of the Samansi in conjunction with the Brahmins, ... Contra Celsum, lib. 1, p. 19. Clemens Alexandrinus too mentions them. ... Stromat, lib. 1, p. 359. Edit. Potter.

⁵⁴12. P. 18 L. 10. This abominable law of the antient Persians is frequently referred to by the early Christian writers. Tertullian, Ad Nationes 1. c. 18. edit. Fr. Oehler, p. 338. See also Clemens. Hom. xix. c. 19: Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 248. 331. See Vetus orbis descriptio, p. 9. The author of this law is stated by Theodoretus to be Zaradas. Graec. Affec. Curat. De legibus: edit. Gaisford, p. 351. In the ..., f. 22, b., it is stated that Idashir, the Magus received the following instruction: ... "The Daemon said to that priest, that a man cannot become a priest and a Magus until he shall have had connexion with his mother, and with his daughter, and with his sister; and he made Idashir priest in this manner." 13. P. 20. L. 1. Epiphanius makes a blunder, and attributes what is said here of the Geli to the Seres. See Panar. adv. Haeres. p. 1091.

⁵⁵14. P.21. L. 7. With their slaves. These characteristics of the Bactrian women are attributed to the Liburni by Scylax, Periplus, edit. Vossius, Amstel. 1639, p. 7. The same things are also said of the women of the Geli. See above, p. 19. 15. L. 15. The Racami, and of the Edesseans and the Arabians. Eusebius has only [Arabs and Osrhoeans]. The whole is omitted by Caesarius and the Recognitions. In the Peshito, Jud. vi.3, we find ... for the Arabians. There is a town of Syria called Racim near Balea, all the houses of which are hewn out of the rock, as if they were one stone. ... See Abulfeda, loc. cit. p. ... 16. P. 22, L. 1. Hatra. This was the town the siege of which Trajan was compelled to raise shortly before his death. See Tillemont, Histoire des

Empereurs, vol. ii. p. 209. 17. L. 10. Laws of * * * The rest has been purposely erased. Eusebius, however, gives Par' #Ellhsi, which is also omitted by Caesarius and the Recognitions.

⁵⁶ 18. L. 15. Laws of the Orientals. The context seems to shew that this is an error of the transcriber. ... The Recognitions [has] 'apud Gallos,' which agrees here with the sequel better than the Syriac. 19. P. 24, L. 7. Book of the Chaldaeans. M. Renan has cited a few lines from this place; but he has erred in stating " Le dernier paragraphe est donne sous le titre special de ..., Livre de Chaldeans" It will be seen that this is not the last paragraph of the treatise of Bardesan. The heading is only given in distinctive red letters, like ..., and the others above. 20. L.12. Tayites The name of a race of Arabs, and often used for Arabs generally. Eusebius, probably not understanding the word, has Caesarius, who also does not appear to have understood it, has ... and the author of the Recognitions, or Ruffinus the translator, has avoided the difficulty by omitting it altogether.

⁵⁷ 21. P. 25, L. 3. The Zazi, and in Brusa, which is beyond the Duro. Eusebius has ...; the Recognitions 'in Chrysea insula' only; and Caesarius omits the passage altogether. Epiphanius, who evidently had this treatise of Bardesan before him, has ..., p. 1091. It is plain that the text of Bardesan was not clearly understood by the translators, and, as is often the case in obscure passages, it has suffered further corruption in the transcription. This may be the reason why it is omitted by Caesarius. I find it not an unusual thing for translators to omit what they do not understand, and to take no notice of it whatever. ... As it is difficult to pronounce with any degree of certainty what are the precise places meant by Bardesan, I have not thought it expedient to waste my own and the readers' time by offering uncertain conjectures. 22. P. 28, L. 10. Decani. The twelve signs of the zodiac were each divided into three parts, making thirty-six, which, being again each subdivided into ten portions, were called Decani. "Singula signa in tres partes dividuntur: singulae autem partes singulos habent decanos ut sint in singulis signis terni decani." See Julius Firmicus, *Ad Mavort. Loll. Astron.* p. 17. Manilius, *Astronomicon*, B. 4. L. 298, gives the following account of them: ...

⁵⁸ 23. P. 31, L. 14. Tharatha. This is the same as the goddess Rhea. Justin Martyr mentions this practice..., *Apol.* 1. c. 27, edit. Otto, p. 72. *Itane propterea Galli abscissi huic Magnae Deae serviunt, ut signifiant, qui semine indigeant, terram sequi oportere?* See Augustin, *De Civit. Dei*, b. 7, c. 24. See

also Epiphanius, Panar. p. 1092. Abgar was a general title borne by the Kings or Toparchs of Edessa. See Assemani, Bibl. Orient, tom. i. p. 261. Bayer thinks the king especially alluded to here was Abgar, son of Maanes, who began to reign about A.D. 200. *Historia Osrhoena et Edessena ex numis illustrata*, p. 169; but this does not accord with the accounts given by other writers. It seems much more probable that this was Abgar, the son of Maanes, who began his reign A.D. 152. See Hahn. Bardesan. Gnost. p. 14. 24. P. 32, L. 9. On the appointed days. The Syriac is I do not know what the precise meaning of ... here is, and Eusebius gives no aid, for he has omitted this passage, and the Greek also otherwise varies considerably from the original to the end of the treatise. Compare what Bardesan says here relative to the change effected by Christianity, with Eusebius, *Praep. Evang. lib. 4*, and Theodoret, *Graec. Affec. Curat. edit. Gaisford*, p. 349.

The epistle of Mara, son of Serapion

MARA BAR SERAPION

2nd–3rd century

Syrian Stoic philosopher whose letter to his son mentions Christ among wise men.

THE EPISTLE OF MARA, SON OF SERAPION

THE EPISTLE OF MARA, SON OF SERAPION.

¹ MARA, SON OF SERAPION, TO SERAPION MY SON, GREETING.

² WHEN thy master and tutor wrote to me a letter, and informed me that thou art very diligent in learning for a child of few years, I blessed God, that thou, being a little boy without one to guide thee, hast begun with a good intention; and as for me myself this has been a consolation to me, that respecting thee, a little boy I have heard, of this greatness of mind and good conscience, such as does not readily remain in many. On this account, lo! I have written to thee this memorial of what I have experienced in the world; for the manner of men's living has been experienced by me, and I have walked in instruction, and all those things of the instruction of the Greeks I have found them wrecked together with the birth of life. Be careful, therefore, my son, of those things which are suitable for such as be free, to meditate upon learning, and to pursue after wisdom: and in this manner reckon to be confirmed in that with which thou hast begun; and remember my injunctions with diligence, as a quiet man, who loveth discipline: and although it appear to thee to be very bitter, when thou shalt experience it for a little while, it will be very pleasant to thee, because so also it hath happened to me.

³ But a man when he shall be departed from among his family, and shall be able to retain his own habit, and shall do with justice whatsoever is proper for him, he is that chosen man who is called the Blessing of God, and with whose liberty nothing else can be compared. For such men as are called to discipline, seek to disentangle themselves from the struggle of the time; and

such as lay hold upon wisdom are elevated by the hope of righteousness; and those that stand in the truth exhibit the standard of their virtue; and those that devote themselves to philosophy look to escape from the miseries of the world. But thou, too, my son, conduct thyself so wisely in these things, as a wise man who endeavoureth to spend a pure life: and beware lest the acquisition of wealth, which the many thirst after, subdue thee, and ⁷¹thy mind be turned to desire riches which are not real; for neither when men obtain their desire do they abide, not even while they continue in righteousness: and all these things which are seen by thee in the world, as of one who is for a short time, are to be dissolved like a dream; for they are the ups and downs of the times.

⁴ And as to vain glory, which occupies the life of men, thou considerest not that it is one of those things which give us joy: speedily it becometh an injury to us: and especially the birth of beloved children. For in both these things the contest of feelings hurts us: for as to the good, love for them torments us, and we are attracted by their manners; and as to the vicious, we labour for their correction, and grieve over their vices. ⁵ For I have heard respecting our companions, that when they were departing from Samosta it grieved them; and like those who blame the time, they also spake after this manner: "Henceforth we are driven far away from the habitation of men, and we are not allowed to return to our city, and to behold our men, and to embrace our gods with praise." It is meet that that should be called a day of lamentation, because one heavy grief laid hold upon them all equally. For with tears they remembered their fathers, and with sighs their mothers, and they grieved over their brethren, and sorrowed over their betrothed whom they left behind: and when we heard the report of their former companions, that they were going to Seleucia, we went secretly on the way towards them, and joined our trouble with theirs. Then was our sorrow very vehement, and justly was our weeping augmented by our loss, and the dark cloud collected our sighs, and our trouble was increased from the mountain, for not one among us was able to quell the miseries which were upon him. For the love of life was retained together with the pains of death, and our misfortunes drove us out of the way; for we beheld our brethren and our children as captives, and we remembered our companions that were dead, who were, laid in a country not their own: and each of us was also anxious about himself, lest

affliction should be added to affliction, or another grief should overtake the one which preceded it.

6 What advantage do men that are imprisoned gain from having |72 experienced these things! But as for thee, my beloved, let it not grieve thee that thy loneliness has been driven from place to place; because men are born for this end, to receive the accidents of the time. But thus reckon thou, that for wise men every place is equally the same; and for the virtuous, fathers and mothers abound in every city. Even indeed from thine own self take the trial. How many men, who know thee not, love thee as their own children, and a multitude of women receive thee like their own beloved ones. Verily as a stranger thou hast been successful, verily for thy little love many men have desired thee. What, then, have we to say touching the error which has come into the world? Both the progress in it is with heavy labour, and we are shaken by its commotions like a reed by the wind. For I have wondered at many that cast away their children, and I have marvelled at others that brought up those which were not their own: there are some that acquire the riches in the world, and I have also marvelled at others who inherit that which is not their own. Thus understand and see that it is in the path of error we are walking.

7 A sage among men once began to say to us: On which of all possessions can a man rely? Or respecting what things can we speak as if they are enduring? On abundance of riches? they are snatched away. On fortresses? they are plundered. On cities? they are laid waste. On greatness? it is brought low. On splendour? it is overthrown. On beauty? it withereth. On laws? they pass away. On poverty? it is despised. On children? they die. On friends? they become false. On honours? envy goeth before them. Let a man therefore rejoice in his empire like Darius, and in his prosperity like Polycrates, or in his valour like Achilles, or in his wife like Agamemnon, or in his offspring like Priam, or in his skill like Archimedes, or in his wisdom like Socrates, or in his learning like Pythagoras, or in his enlightenment like Palamedes----the life of men, my son, departs from the world, but their praises and their virtues continue for ever.

8 But thou, my little sou, choose for thyself that which fadeth not away, because they that occupy themselves in such things are called |73 modest and beloved, and lovers of a good name: but whenever any evil thing opposeth thee, blame not man, nor be angry against God, neither murmur against thy

time. If thou continue in this mind, thy gift is not a small one which thou hast received from God, which standeth not in need of riches, nor is brought near to poverty, because thou wilt perform thy part in the world without fear, and with rejoicing: for fear and excuse of that which cometh naturally is not for the sake of the wise, but for the sake of those who walk without law; because a man has never been stripped of his wisdom in the same manner as of his wealth. Be careful for knowledge rather than for riches, for by how much the more possessions increase, by so much the more does evil abound. For I have seen that where good things abound, so also misfortunes oppose; and where honours are brought, there also sorrows collect themselves; and where riches are multiplied, there is the bitterness of many years. If, therefore, thou art wise, and diligently keepest watch, God will not cease from helping thee, nor men from loving thee. Whatsoever thou art able to acquire, let that be sufficient for thee; and if indeed thou be able to do without possessions, then shalt thou be called blessed, because no one will even envy thee.

9 And remember this too, that nothing troubles thy life very greatly except possessions, that no man after his death is called master of possessions: because weak men are led captive by the lust of them, and know not that a man dwells like a stranger in his possessions: and they are fearful because they are not secured for them; for they have forsaken that which is their own, and seek that which is not theirs. 10 For what else have we to say, when wise men are forcibly dragged by the hands of tyrants, and their wisdom is taken captive by calumny, and they are oppressed in their intelligence without defence? For what advantage did the Athenians gain by the murder of Socrates, the recompense of which they received in famine and pestilence? Or the people of Samos by the burning of Pythagoras, because in one hour their country was entirely covered with sand? Or the Jews by the death of their wise king because from that same time their kingdom was taken away? 174 For with justice did God make recompense to the wisdom of these three: for the Athenians died of famine; and the Samians were overwhelmed by the sea without remedy; and the Jews, desolate and driven from their own kingdom, are scattered through every country. Socrates is not dead, because of Plato; neither Pythagoras, because of the statue of Juno; nor the Wise King, because of the laws which he promulgated.

11 But I, my son, have experienced in what wretched misery men stand; and I have wondered that they are not overwhelmed by the evils which surround them. Not even wars are sufficient for them, nor griefs, nor sicknesses, nor death, nor poverty; but like vicious beasts they attack one another in hatred, which of them shall inflict the greater evil upon his fellow. For they have gone beyond the limits of truth, and transgress all good laws, because they hang upon their own lust: for so long as a man coveteth that which he lusteth after, how is he able to do with justice that which is befitting him? And they acknowledge no moderation, and seldom do they stretch forth their hands towards truth and virtue, but conduct themselves in their manner of living like the dumb and the blind. The wicked rejoice, and the righteous are troubled: he that hath denieth, and he that hath not striveth to acquire: the poor beg, and the rich conceal: and every one laugheth at his neighbour: the drunken are crazy, and those that have recovered themselves repent: some of them weep, and some sing, and others laugh; others, care has seized upon them: they rejoice in evil things; and they reject the man who speaketh the truth. A man may then wonder, while the world consumes in derision, while they have not one manner of living, they are anxious about these things; and one of them is looking when he shall acquire the name of victory in battle;

12 and the brave look not to how many foolish lusts a man is led captive in the world. But I could wish also that repentance had recurred to them a little, who conquer by their might, and are condemned by their cupidity. For I have tried men; and thus have I tried them, that they look to this one thing----to abundance of riches; and on this account they have no firm counsel, but by the change of their minds each is ⁷⁵ speedily cast down to be absorbed in grief; and they regard not the vast riches of the world, that whatever there be of trouble it brings us all equally to the same time; for they depend upon the majesty of the belly, that great disgrace of the corrupt.

13 But this which comes into my mind to write to thee, it is not enough to read it, but it should also proceed to practise. For I know too, that when thou shalt experience this manner of living, it will please thee much, and thou wilt be free from evil indignation, that on children's account we endure riches. Separate henceforth from thee the cherished grief of men, a thing which never profits at all; and drive away from thee that care which produceth no advantage, for we have no means and discretion except in mag-

nanimity, to be equal to the misfortunes and to endure the griefs, which we are always receiving at the hands of the times; for it behoveth us to look to these things, and not to those which pertain to joy and a good name. Apply thyself to wisdom, the fountain of all good things, and the treasure which fadeth not, and there shalt thou lay thine head and rest, for she will be to thee a father and a mother, and a good companion for life. Have all familiarity with perseverance and patience, which are able to meet all the tribulations of weak men; for in this manner is their power great, because they can bear hunger) and endure thirst, and they refresh every grief. But of labour and death they also declare. Attend to these, and thou shalt pass a tranquil life, and thou wilt be to me a consolation, while thou shalt be called the Ornament of his parents.

14 For at that former time, while our city was standing in its magnificence, thou mayst know that against many men abominable words were uttered. But we also acknowledged from the Time, that we fully received from its majesty appropriate love and beauty; but the Time forbade us to complete those things which were resolved upon in our mind. And here, too, in prison we give thanks to God that, we have obtained the Jove of many; for we essayed our soul to continue in wisdom and in rejoicing. But if any drive us by force, he will proclaim the witness against himself, that he is far removed from all good things, and will receive disgrace and [76 shame from the vile object of shame. For we have shewn our truth, that we have no vice in an empire. But if the Romans will permit us to return to our country in justice and righteousness, let them act like humane men, and they will be called good and righteous, and the country in which they abide will also be in tranquillity. For let them shew their own greatness by leaving us free. Let us be obedient to that dominion which the Time has assigned to us, and let them not, like tyrants, treat us as slaves; and whatever may be decreed to take place, we shall not receive any thing more than the tranquil death which is reserved for us.

15 But thou, my little son, if thou desirest diligently to know these things, first govern lust, and apply moderation to that in which thou abidest, be satisfied, and beware lest thou be angry: and instead of rage be obedient to virtue. For I now am meditating upon this, that, as I recollect, I may leave for myself a book, and with a prudent mind may accomplish the path to which I am condemned, and may escape without sorrow from the evil destruction of

the world. For I pray to receive dissolution, and what death, it matters not to me. But and if any grieve or be anxious, I counsel him not: for there in the way of life of the whole world he will find us before him. One of his friends asked Mara, the son of Serapion, when he was in bonds by his side, "On thy life, Mara, I pray thee tell me what laughable thing has appeared to thee that thou laughedst?" Mara said to him, "I was laughing at the Time, because, without having borrowed any evil from me, it repays me."

¹⁶ HERE ENDETH THE EPISTLE OF MARA, SON OF SERAPION. [Selected endnotes moved here and numbered] 1. P. 70, L. 11. Wrecked together with the birth of life, ... These words are obscure. I suppose they refer to the new birth of a Christian rendering the precepts of Greek philosophy superfluous. Compare what Ambrose says, p. 61 above. There are several very obscure passages in this letter. Although I have endeavoured to give the meaning of them as accurately as I could, I cannot confidently assert that I have in no instances failed. M. Renan has given a short extract from this letter in the *Journal Asiatique*; and has left off in the middle of a sentence omitting the words which I have just mentioned, and consequently destroying the sense of the passage. He has made several mistakes in the texts... 2. P. 71, L. 36. Imprisoned. The original work ... means also, a recluse, a monk practising a certain mode of asceticism, concerning which see Assemani *Dissert. de Syris Monophysitis*. This would well agree with the meaning here; but at P. 75, L. 32, the writer speaks as if he were actually in prison or bondage at the time.

¹⁷ 3. P. 73, L. 33. Or the people of Samos. See respecting the burning of Pythagoras, Diogenes Laertius, *De vitis et dogm. Philosoph. lib. viii. seg. 39*, with Menagius' Notes; and Stanley's *History of Philosophy*, second edit, p. 506. The Sibylline Oracles were said to have foretold the destruction of Samos. See *Sybil. Orac. p. 405*, and Gale's Notes illustrating this matter. 4. P. 74, L. 6. Statue of Juno: This was the statue which the Romans erected in honour of Pythagoras, when they were commanded by the Oracle of Delphi to erect statues to the bravest and the wisest of the Greeks. 5. P. 75, L. 4. The majesty of the belly: Compare Tertullian. ... *De Jejuniis*, c. xvi. vol. i. p. 877.

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A Plea for the Christians

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