

WRITINGS OF PAPIAS OF HIERAPOLIS

by Papias of Hierapolis

Writings of Papias of Hierapolis (c. AD 130). Papias of Hierapolis was an early church father whose writings have been preserved for the edification of the church.

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Writings of Papias of Hierapolis

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I. From the Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord.1

[The writings of Papias in common circulation are five in number, and these are called an Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord. Irenaeus makes mention of these as the only works written by him, in the following words: "Now testimony is borne to these things in writing by Papias, an ancient man, who was a hearer of John, and a friend of Polycarp, in the fourth of his books; for five books were composed by him." Thus wrote Irenaeus. Moreover, Papias himself, in the introduction to his books, makes it manifest that he was not himself a hearer and eye-witness of the holy apostles; but he tells us that he received the truths of our religion² from those who were acquainted with them [the apostles] in the following words:] But I shall not be unwilling to put down, along with my interpretations,³ whatsoever instructions I received with care at any time from the elders, and stored up with care in my memory, assuring you at the same time of their truth. For I did not, like the multitude, take pleasure in those who spoke much, but in those who taught the truth; nor in those who related strange commandments,⁴ but in those who rehearsed the commandments given by the Lord to faith,⁵ and proceeding from truth itself. If, then, any one who had attended on the elders came, I asked minutely after their sayings,-what Andrew or Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any other of the Lord's disciples: which things⁶ Aristion and the presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord, say. For I imagined that what was to be got from books was not so profitable to me as what came from the living and abiding voice.

II.7

[The early Christians] called those who practised a godly guilelessness,⁸ children, [as is stated by Papias in the first book of the Lord's Expositions, and by Clemens Alexandrinus in his Paedagogue.]

III.9

Judas walked about in this world a sad¹⁰ example of impiety; for his body having swollen to such an extent that he could not pass where a chariot could pass easily, he was crushed by the chariot, so that his bowels gushed out.¹¹

IV.12

[As the elders who saw John the disciple of the Lord remembered that they had heard from him how the Lord taught in regard to those times, and said]: "The days will come in which vines shall grow, having each ten thousand branches, and in each branch ten thousand twigs, and in each true twig ten thousand shoots, and in every one of the shoots ten thousand clusters, and on every one of the clusters ten thousand grapes, and every grape when pressed will give five-and-twenty metretres of wine. And when any one of the saints shall lay hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, 'I am a better cluster, take me; bless the Lord through me.' In like manner, [He said] that a grain of wheat would produce ten thousand ears, and that every ear would have ten thousand grains, and every grain would yield ten pounds of clear, pure, fine flour; and that apples, and seeds, and grass would produce in similar proportions; and that all animals, feeding then only on the productions of the earth, would become peaceable and harmonious, and be in perfect subjection to man."¹³ [Testimony is borne to these things in writing by Papias, an ancient man, who was a hearer of John and a friend of Polycarp, in the fourth of his books; for five books were composed by him. And he added, saying, "Now these things are credible to believers. And Judas the traitor," says he, "not believing, and asking, 'How shall such growths be accomplished by the Lord?' the Lord said, 'They shall see who shall come to them.' These, then, are the times mentioned by the prophet Isaiah: 'And the wolf shall lie, down with the lamb, 'etc. (Isa. xi. 6 ff.).']

V.14 As the presbyters say, then¹⁵ those who are deemed worthy of an abode in heaven shall go there, others shall enjoy the delights of Paradise, and others shall possess the splendour of the city;¹⁶ for everywhere the Saviour will be seen, according as they shall be worthy who see Him. But that there is this distinction between the habitation of those who produce an hundred-fold, and that of those who produce sixty-fold, and that of those who produce thirty-fold; for the first will be taken up into the heavens, the second class will dwell in Paradise, and the last will inhabit the city; and that on this account the Lord said, "In my Father's house are many mansions: "¹⁷ for all things belong to God, who supplies all with a suitable dwelling-place, even as His word says, that a share is given to all by the Father,¹⁸ according as each one is or shall be worthy. And this is the couch¹⁹ in which they shall recline who feast, being invited to the wedding. The presbyters, the disciples of the apostles, say that this is the gradation and arrangement of those who are saved, and that they advance through steps of this nature; and that, moreover, they ascend through the Spirit to the Son, and through the Son to the Father; and that in due time the Son will yield up His work to the Father, even as it is said by the apostle, "For He must reign till He hath put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death."²⁰ For in the times of the kingdom the just

man who is on the earth shall forget to die. "But when He saith all things are put under Him, it is manifest that He is excepted which did put all things under Him. And when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all."²¹

VI.22

[Papias, who is now mentioned by us, affirms that he received the sayings of the apostles from those who accompanied them, and he moreover asserts that he heard in person Aristion and the presbyter John.²³ Accordingly he mentions them frequently by name, and in his writings gives their traditions. Our notice of these circumstances may not be without its use. It may also be worth while to add to the statements of Papias already given, other passages of his in which he relates some miraculous deeds, stating that he acquired the knowledge of them from tradition. The residence of the Apostle Philip with his daughters in Hierapolis has been mentioned above. We must now point out how Papias, who lived at the same time, relates that he had received a wonderful narrative from the daughters of Philip. For he relates that a dead man was raised to life in his day.²⁴ He also mentions another miracle relating to Justus, surnamed Barsabas, how he swallowed a deadly poison, and received no harm, on account of the grace of the Lord. The same person, moreover, has set down other things as coming to him from unwritten tradition, amongst these some strange parables and instructions of the Saviour, and some other things of a more fabulous nature.²⁵ Amongst these he says that there will be a millennium after the resurrection from the dead, when the personal reign of Christ will be established on this earth. He moreover hands down, in his own writing, other narratives given by the previously mentioned Aristion of the Lord's sayings, and the traditions of the presbyter John. For information on these points, we can merely refer our readers to the books themselves; but now, to the extracts already made, we shall add, as being a matter of primary importance, a tradition regarding Mark who wrote the Gospel, which he [Papias] has given in the following words]: And the presbyter said this. Mark having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately whatsoever he remembered. It was not, however, in exact order that he related the sayings or deeds of Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor accompanied Him. But afterwards, as I said, he accompanied Peter, who accommodated his instructions to the necessities [of his hearers], but with no intention of giving a regular narrative of the Lord's sayings. Wherefore Mark made no mistake in thus writing some things as he remembered them. For of one thing he took especial care, not to omit anything he had heard, and not to put anything fictitious into the statements. [This is what is related by Papias regarding Mark; but with regard to Matthew he has made the following statements]: Matthew put together the oracles [of the Lord] in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them as best he could. [The same person uses proofs from the First Epistle of John, and from the Epistle of Peter in like manner. And he also gives another story of a woman²⁶ who was accused of many sins before the Lord, which is to be found in the Gospel according to the Hebrews.]

VII.27

Papias thus speaks, word for word: To some of them [angels] He gave dominion over the arrangement of the world, and He commissioned them to exercise their dominion well. And he says, immediately after this: but it happened that their arrangement came to nothing.²⁸

VIII.29 With regard to the inspiration of the book (Revelation), we deem it superfluous to add another word; for the blessed Gregory Theologus and Cyril, and even men of still older date, Papias, Irenaeus, Methodius, and Hippolytus, bore entirely satisfactory testimony to it.

IX.30

Taking occasion from Papias of Hierapolis, the illustrious, a disciple of the apostle who leaned on the bosom of Christ, and Clemens, and Pantaenus the priest of [the Church] of the Alexandrians, and the wise Ammonius, the ancient and first expositors, who agreed with each other, who understood the work of the six days as referring to Christ and the whole Church.

X.31

(1.) Mary the mother of the Lord; (2.) Mary the wife of Cleophas or Alphaeus, who was the mother of James the bishop and apostle, and of Simon and Thaddeus, and of one Joseph; (3.) Mary Salome, wife of Zebedee, mother of John the evangelist and James; (4.) Mary Magdalene. These four are found in the Gospel. James and Judas and Joseph were sons of an aunt (2) of the Lord's. James also and John were sons of another aunt (3) of the Lord's. Mary (2), mother of James the Less and Joseph, wife of Alphaeus was the sister of Mary the mother of the Lord, whom John names of Cleophas, either from her father or from the family of the clan, or for some other reason. Mary Salome (3) is called Salome either from her husband or her village. Some affirm that she is the same as Mary of Cleophas, because she had two husbands.

1: This fragment is found in Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. iii. 39.

2: Literally, "the things of faith."

3: Papias states that he will give an exact account of what the elders said; and that, in addition to this, he will accompany this account with an explanation of the meaning and import of the statements.

4: Literally, "commandments belonging to others," and therefore strange and novel to the followers of Christ.

5: Given to faith has been variously understood. Either not stated in direct language, but like parables given in figures, so that only the faithful could understand; or entrusted to faith, that is, to those who were possessed of faith, the faithful.

6: Which things : this is usually translated, "what Aristion and John say;" and the translation is admissible. But the words more naturally mean, that John and Aristion, even at the time of his writing, were telling him some of the sayings of the Lord.

7: This fragment is found in the Scholia of Maximus on the works of Dionysius the Areopagite.

8: Literally, "a guilelessness according to God."

9: This fragment is found in Oecumenius.

10: Literally, "great."

11: Literally, "were emptied out." Theophylact, after quoting this passage, adds other particulars, as if they were derived from Papias. [But see Routh, i. pp. 26, 27.] He says that Judas's eyes were so swollen that they could not be seen, even by the optical instruments of physicians; and that the rest of his body was covered with runnings and worms. He further states, that he died in a solitary spot, which was left desolate until his time; and no one could pass the place without stopping up his nose with his hands.

12: From Irenaeus, Haer ., v. 32. [Heresay at second-hand, and handed about among many, amounts to nothing as evidence. Note the reports of sermons, also, as they appear in our daily Journals. Whose reputation can survive if such be credited?] 13: [See Grabe, apud Routh, 1. 29.]

14: This fragment is found in Irenaeus, Haer ., v. 36; but it is a mere guess that the saying of the presbyters is taken from the work of Papias.

15: In the future state.

16: The new Jerusalem on earth.

17: John xiv. 2.

18: Commentators suppose that the reference here is to Matt. xx. 23.

19: Matt. xxii. 10.

20: 1 Cor. xv. 25, 26.

21: 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28.

22: From Eusebius, Hist. Eccl ., iii. 39.

23: [A certain presbyter, of whom see Apost. Constitutions, vii. 46, where he is said to have been ordained by St. John, the Evangelist.]

24: "In this day" may mean "in the days of Papias," or "in the days of Philip." As the narrative came from the daughters of Philip, it is more likely that Philip's days are meant.

25: [Again, note the reduplicated hearsay. Not even Irenaeus, much less Eusebius, should be accepted, otherwise than as retailing vague reports.]

26: Rufinus supposes this story to be the same as that now found in the textus receptus of John's Gospel, viii. 1-11,-the woman taken in adultery.

27: This extract is made from Andreas Caesariensis, [Bishop of Caesarea in Cappodocia, circiter , A.D. 500].

28: That is, that government of the world's affairs was a failure. An ancient writer takes tacij to mean the arraying of the evil angels in battle against God.

29: This also is taken from Andreas Caesariensis. [See Lardner, vol. v. 77.]

30: This fragment, or rather reference, is taken from Anastasius Sinaitia. Routh gives, as another fragment, the repetition of the same statement by Anastasius.

31: This fragment was found by Grabe in a ms. of the Bodleian Library, with the inscription on the margin, "Papia." Westcott states that it forms part of a dictionary written by "a mediaeval Papias. [He seems to have added the words, "Maria is called Illuminatrix, or Star of the Sea," etc, a middle-age device.] The dictionary exists in ms. both at Oxford and Cambridge."

Fragments of Papias - PIE

PATRISTICS IN ENGLISH HOMEPAGE

PAPIAS OF HIERAPOLIS FRAGMENTS OF PAPIAS Translated By J. B. Lightfoot & J. R. Harmer
Edited By Rev. Daniel R. Jennings

Fragment 1 (Preserved in Irenaeus' Against All Heresies, 5:33:3-4)

1

The blessing thus foretold belongs undoubtedly to the times of the Kingdom, when the righteous shall rise from the dead and reign, when too creation renewed and freed from bondage shall produce a wealth of food of all kinds from the dew of heaven and from the fatness of the earth;_ as the elders, who saw John the disciple of the Lord, relate, that they had heard from him, how the Lord used to teach concerning those times, and to say,

2 "The days will come, in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand shoots, and on each shoot ten thousand branches, and on each branch again ten thousand twigs, and on each twig ten thousand clusters, and on each cluster ten thousand grapes, and each grape when pressed shall yield five-and-twenty measures of wine.

3 And when any of the saints shall have taken hold of one of their clusters, another shall cry, I am a better cluster; take me, bless the Lord through me. Likewise also a grain of wheat shall produce ten thousand heads, and every head shall have ten thousand grains, and every grain ten pounds of fine flour, bright and clean, and the other fruits, seeds and the grass shall produce in similar proportions, and all the animals, using these fruits which are products of the soil, shall become in their turn peaceable and harmonious, obedient to man in all subjection."

4 These thing Papias, who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, an ancient worthy, witnesseth in writing in the fourth of his books, for there are five books composed by him. And he added, saying,

5 "But these things are credible to them that believe. And when Judas the traitor did not believe, and asked, How shall such growths be accomplished by the Lord? he relates that the Lord said, They shall see, who shall come to these (times)."

Fragment 2 (Preserved in Eusebius of Caesarea's Church History 3:39:1-17)

1 Five books of Papias are extant, which bear the title Expositions of Oracles of the Lord. Of these Irenaeus also makes mention as the only works written by him, in the following words: `These things Papias, who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, an ancient worthy, witnesseth in writing in the fourth of his books. For there are five books composed by him.' So far Irenaeus.

2 Yet Papias himself, in the preface to his discourses, certainly does not declare that he himself was a hearer and eye-witness of the holy Apostles, but he shows, by the language which he uses, that he received the matters of the faith from those who were their friends:

3 "But I will not scruple also to give a place for you along with my interpretations to everything that I learnt carefully and remembered carefully in time past from the elders, guaranteeing its truth. For, unlike the many, I did not take pleasure in those who have so very much to say, but in those who teach the truth; nor in those who relate foreign commandments, but in those (who record) such as were given from the Lord to the Faith, and are derived from the Truth itself."

4 "And again, on any occasion when a person came (in my way) who had been a follower of the Elders, I would inquire about the discourses of the elders -- what was said by Andrew, or by Peter, or by Philip, or by Thomas or James, or by John or Matthew or any other of the Lord's disciples, and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not think that I could get so much profit from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice."

5 Here it is worth while

to observe that he twice enumerates the name of John. The first he mentions in connexion with Peter and James and Matthew and the rest of

the Apostles, evidently meaning the Evangelist, but the other John he mentions after an interval and classes with others outside the number of the Apostles, placing Aristion before him, and he distinctly calls him an Elder.

6 So that he hereby makes it quite evident that their statement is true

who say that there were two persons of that name in Asia, and that there are two tombs in Ephesus, each of which even now is called (the tomb) of John. And it is important to notice this; for it is probable that it was the second, if one will not admit that it was the first, who saw the Revelation which is ascribed by name to John.

7 And Papias, of whom we are now speaking, confesses that he had received the words of the Apostles from those who had followed them, but says that he was himself a hearer of Aristion and the Elder John.

At all events he mentions them frequently by name, and besides records their traditions in his writings. So much for these points which I trust have not been uselessly adduced.

8 It is worth while however to add to the words

of Papias given above other passages from him, in which he records some other wonderful events likewise, as having come down to him by tradition.

9 That Philip the Apostle resided in Hierapolis with his daughters has

been already stated; but how Papias, their contemporary, relates that he had heard a marvellous tale from the daughters of Philip,

must be noted here. For he relates that in his time a man rose from the dead,

and again he gives another wonderful story about Justus who was surnamed

Barsabas, how that he drank a deadly poison, and yet, by the grace of the Lord, suffered no inconvenience.

10 Of this Justus the Book of the Acts records that after the ascension of the Saviour the holy Apostles put him forward with Matthias, and prayed for the (right) choice, in place of the traitor Judas, that should make their number complete. The passage is somewhat as follows; _`And they put forward two, Joseph, called Barsabas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias; and they prayed, and said.'_

11 The same writer has recorded other notices as having come down to him from oral tradition, certain strange parables of the Saviour and teachings of His, and some other statements of a rather mythical character.

12 Among which he says that there will be a period of some ten thousand years after the resurrection, and that the kingdom of Christ will be set up in material form on this earth. These ideas I suppose he got through a misunderstanding of the apostolic accounts, not perceiving that the things recorded there in figures were spoken by them mystically.

13 For he evidently was a man of very mean capacity, as one may say judging from his own statements: yet it was owing to him that so many church fathers after him adopted a like opinion, urging in their own support the antiquity of the man, as for instance Irenaeus and whoever else they were who declared that they held like views.

14 Papias also gives in his own work other accounts of the words of the Lord on the authority of Aristion who has been mentioned above, and traditions of the Elder John. To these we refer the curious, and for our present purpose we will merely add to his words, which have been quoted above, a tradition, which has been set forth through these sources concerning Mark who wrote the Gospel: --

15 "And the Elder said this also: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately everything that he remembered, without however recording in order what was either said or done by Christ. For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow Him; but

afterwards, as I said, (attended) Peter, who adapted his instructions to the needs (of his hearers) but had no design of giving a connected account of the Lord's oracles. So then Mark made no mistake, while he thus wrote down some things as he remembered them; for he made it his one care not to omit anything that he heard, or to set down any false statement therein."

16 Such then is the account given by Papias concerning Mark. But concerning Matthew, the following statement is made (by him):

17 "So then Matthew composed the oracles in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them as he could."

18 The same writer employed testimonies from the First Epistle of John, and likewise from that of Peter. And he has related another story about a woman accused of many sins before the Lord, which the Gospel according to the Hebrews contains.

Fragment 3 (Preserved in Cramer's *Catena ad Acta SS. Apost.* [1838])

1 From Apollinarius

of Laodicea. `Judas did not die by hanging, but lived on, having been cut down before he was suffocated. And the Acts of the Apostles show this, that _falling headlong he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out._ This fact is related more clearly by Papias, the disciple of John, in the fourth (book) of the Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord as follows: --

2 "Judas walked about in this world a terrible example of impiety; his flesh swollen to such an extent that, where a waggon can pass with ease, he was not able to pass, no, not even the mass of his head merely. They say that his eyelids swelled to such an extent that he could not see the light at all, while as for his eyes they were not visible even by a physician looking through an instrument, so far had they sunk from the surface. His genital was larger and presented a more repugnant sight than has ever been seen; and through it there seeped from every part of the body a procession

of pus and worms to his shame, even as he relieved himself."

3 After suffering an agony of pain and punishment, he finally went, as they say it, to his own place; and because of the horrible smell the area has been deserted and no one has lived there up until now; in fact, even to the present no one can go by that place without holding his nose. This was because the discharge from his body was so great and spread so far over the ground."

Fragment 4 (Preserved in Andrew of Caesarea's On the Apocalypse 34:12 [PG 106:325])

1 But thus says Papias, (I quote him) word for word: -- "To some of them," clearly the angels which at first were holy, "He gave dominion also over the arrangement of the universe, and He commissioned them to exercise their dominion well."

2 And he says next: -- "But it so befel that their array came to nought; for the great dragon, the old serpent, who is also called Satan and the devil, was cast down, yea, and was cast down to the earth, he and his angels."

Fragment 5 (Preserved in Andrew of Caesarea's On the Apocalypse, preface [PG 106:217 B])

1 With regard however to the inspiration of the book (i.e. the Apocalypse) we hold it superfluous to speak at length; since the blessed Gregory (I mean, the Divine) and Cyril, and men of an older generation as well, Papias, Irenaeus, Methodius and Hippolytus, bear testimony to its genuineness.

Fragment 6 (Preserved in Anastasius of Sinai's Contempl. Anagog. In Hexaemeron. 1 [PG 89:860])

1 Taking their start from Papias the great, of Hierapolis, the disciple of the Apostle who leaned on Christ's bosom, and Clement, Pantaenus the priest of the Alexandrians and Ammonius, the great scholar, those ancient and first expositors who agree with each other in understanding all the work of the six days (as referring) to Christ and His Church.

Fragment 7 (Preserved in Anastasius of Sinai, _Contempl. Anagog. In Hexaemeron. 7 [PG 89:961-962])

1 So then the more ancient expositors of the churches, I mean Philo, the philosopher, and contemporary of the Apostles, and the famous Papias of Hierapolis, the disciple of John the Evangelist...and their associates, interpreted the sayings about Paradise spiritually, and referred them to the Church of Christ.

Fragment 8 (Preserved in Maximus the Confessor's Scholia on Dionysius the Areopagite's On The Celestial Hierarchy 2:5 [PG 4:

48-49])

1 Those who practised guilelessness towards God they used to call children, as Papias also shows in the first book of the Expositions of the Lord, and Clement of Alexandria in the Paedagogue.

Fragment 9 (Preserved in Maximus the Confessor, Scholia on Dionysius the Areopagite's On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy 7:2 [PG

4:176])

1 This he says, darkly indicating, I suppose, Papias of Hierapolis in Asia, who was a bishop at that time and flourished in the days of the holy Evangelist John. For this Papias in the fourth book of his Dominical Expositions mentioned viands among the sources of delights in the resurrection.

2 And Irenaeus of Lyons says the same thing in his fifth book against heresies, and produces in support of his statement the aforesaid Papias.

Fragment 10 (Preserved in Photius of Constantinople's Bibliothecae Codices # 232, on Stephan Gobarus)

1 Nor again (does Stephanus follow) Papias, the bishop and martyr of Hierapolis, nor Irenaeus, the holy bishop of Lyons, when they say that the kingdom of heaven will consist in enjoyment of certain material foods.

Fragment 11 (Preserved in Philip of Side's History of Christianity)

1 Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who was a disciple of John the Divine, and a companion of Polycarp, wrote five books of Oracles of the Lord, wherein, when giving a list of the Apostles, after Peter and John, Philip and Thomas and Matthew he included among the disciples of the Lord Aristion

and a second John, whom also he called 'The Elder.' [He says] that some think that this John is the author of the two short and catholic Epistles, which are published in the name of John; and he gives as the reason that the primitive (fathers) only accept the first epistle. Some too have wrongly considered the Apocalypse also to be his (i.e. the Elder John's) work. Papias too is in error about the Millennium, and from him Irenaeus also.

2 Papias in his second book says that John the Divine and James his brother were killed by the Jews. The aforesaid Papias stated on the authority of the daughters of Philip that Barsabas, who is also called Justus, when challenged by the unbelievers drank serpent's poison in the name of the Lord, and was shielded from all harm. He makes also other marvelous statements, and particularly about the mother of Manaim who was raised from the dead. As for those who were raised from the dead by Christ, (he states) that they survived till the time of Hadrian.

Fragment 12 (Preserved in Gregory Hamartolus' Chronicon, Codex Coislinianus 305 [PG 110:19])

1 After Domitian, Nerva reigned one year, who recalled John from the island (i.e. Patmos), and allowed him to dwell in Ephesus. He was at that time the sole survivor of the twelve Apostles, and after writing his Gospel received the honour of martyrdom.

2 For Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who was an eye-witness of him, in the second book of the Oracles of the Lord says that he was killed by the Jews, and thereby evidently fulfilled, together with his brother, Christ's prophecy concerning them, and their own confession and undertaking on His behalf. For when the Lord said to them; Are ye able to drink of the cup that I drink of?, and they readily assented and agreed, He said; My cup shall ye drink, and with the baptism that I am baptized shall ye be baptized. And reasonably so, for it is impossible for God to lie.

3 So too the learned Origen affirms in his interpretation of S. Matthew's Gospel that John was martyred, declaring that he had learnt the fact from the

successors of the Apostles. And indeed the well-informed Eusebius also in his Ecclesiastical History says; `Thomas received by lot Parthia, but John, Asia, where also he made his residence and died at Ephesus.'

Fragment 13 (Preserved in Eusebius of Caesarea's Church History 3:36:1-2)

1 At this time flourished in Asia Polycarp, a disciple of the Apostles, who had received the bishopric of the church in Smyrna at the hands of _the eye-witnesses and ministers_ of the Lord. At which time Papias, who was himself also bishop of the diocese of Hierapolis, became distinguished.

Fragment 14 (Preserved in Eusebius of Caesarea's Chronicon, entry for 100AD)

1 Irenaeus and others record that John the Divine and Apostle survived until the times of Trajan; after which time Papias of Hierapolis and Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, his hearers, became well known.

Fragment 15 (Preserved in Jerome's Illustrious Men 18)

1 Papias, a hearer of John, (and) bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, wrote only five books, which he entitled An Exposition of Discourses of the Lord. Wherein, when he asserts in his preface that he is not following promiscuous statements, but has the Apostles as his authorities, he says: --

2 "I used to inquire what had been said by Andrew, or by Peter, or by Philip, or by Thomas or James, or by John or Matthew or any other of the Lord's disciples, and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord, were saying. For books to read do not profit me so much as the living voice clearly sounding up to the present day in (the persons of) their authors."

3 From which it is clear that in his list of names itself there is one John who is reckoned among the Apostles, and another the Elder John, whom he enumerates after Aristion. We have mentioned this fact on account of the statement made above, which we have recorded on the authority of very many, that the two later epistles of John are not (the work) of the Apostle, but of the Elder. This (Papias) is said to have promulgated the Jewish

tradition of a Millennium, and he is followed by Irenaeus, Apollinarius and the others, who say that after the resurrection the Lord will reign in the flesh with the saints.

Fragment 16 (Preserved in Jerome's Epistle 71:5, To Lucinius)

1 Further a false rumour has reached me that the books of Josephus and the writings of Papias and Polycarp have been translated by me; but I have neither leisure nor strength to render such works as these with corresponding elegance into another tongue.

Fragment 17 (Preserved in Jerome's Epistle 75:3, To Thodora) 1 Irenaeus, a disciple of Papias who was a hearer of John the Evangelist, relates.

Fragment 18 (Preserved in Codex Vaticanus Alexandrinus 14)

1 Here beginneth the argument to the Gospel according to John. The Gospel of John was made known and given to the Churches by John, while he yet remained in the body; as (one) Papias by name, of Hierapolis, a beloved disciple of John, has related in his five exoteric (exegetical?) books;

2 but he wrote down the Gospel at the dictation of John, correctly. Of course, Marcion the heretic who had been censured by John because he taught a different doctrine than the apostles, was rejected by Papias. He had writings or letters delivered to him from the brethren who lived in Pontus.

Fragment 19 (Preserved in Greek Patristics Catena on Saint John, Preface)

1 For, last of these, John, surnamed the Son of Thunder, when he was now a very old man, as Irenaeus and Eusebius and a succession of trustworthy historians have handed down to us, about the time when terrible heresies had cropped up, dictated the Gospel to his own disciple, the virtuous Papias of Hierapolis, to fill up what was lacking in those who before him had proclaimed the word to the nations throughout all the earth.

Fragments of Papias - Schmidt

[~100 AD] Fragments of Papias (from his 5 books called Expositions of Oracles of the Lord) Papias' works did not survive to the present day, we only can see fragments of his works as quoted by others. The modern comprehensive volume of the fragments of Papias is "Papias of Hierapolis Exposition of Dominical Oracles", by Stephen C. Carlson.

However given that it costs enough to empty your wallet, we instead turn to other sources. Dr. TC Schmidt, an Assistant Professor of New Testament and Early Christianity at Fairfield University, did some extensive research on Papias earlier in his career and published it online.

Also worth reviewing:

- <http://www.hypotyposesis.org/synoptic-problem/2004/10/external-evidence-papias.html> • <https://web.archive.org/web/20060202001319/http://www.mindspring.com/~scarlson/synopt/ext/papias.htm>
- <https://peterkirby.com/putting-papias-in-order.html>
- <https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/fragments-of-papias-12534> Table of Contents • [AD 180] Irenaeus of Lyons • [AD 303] Eusebius of Caesarea • [AD 390] Apollinarius • [AD 420] Jerome • [AD 439] Philip of Side • [AD 455] Prosper of Aquitania • [AD 543] John of Scythopolis • [AD 614] Andrew of Caesarea • [AD 700] Anastasius of Sinai?

- [AD 800] George Syncellus • [AD 860] John of Dara • [AD 880] George Hamartolus?

- [AD 893] Photius of Constantinople • [AD 900] Codex Vaticanus Alexandrinus 14 • [AD 941] Agapius of Menbij (Agapius of Hierapolis) • [AD 1271] Vardan Arewelts'i (Vardan Vardapet) • [AD 1320] Nicephorus • [AD ????] Anonymous Catena on John • False Fragment: The Ante-Nicene Fathers and the 10th Fragment [AD 180] Irenaeus of Lyons Against Heresies 5.33.3-4 The predicted blessing, therefore, belongs unquestionably to the times of the kingdom, when the righteous shall bear rule upon their rising from the dead; when also the creation, having been renovated and set free, shall fructify with an abundance of all kinds of food, from the dew of heaven, and from the fertility of the earth: as the elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, related that they had heard from him how the Lord used to teach in regard to these times, and say: The days will come, in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand branches, and in each branch ten thousand twigs, and in each true twig ten thousand shoots, and in each one of the shoots ten thousand clusters, and on every one of the clusters ten thousand grapes, and every grape when pressed will give five and twenty metretres of wine. And when any one of the saints shall lay hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, "I am a better cluster, take me; bless the Lord through me." In like manner [the Lord declared] that a grain of wheat would produce ten thousand ears, and that every ear should have ten thousand grains, and every grain would yield ten pounds (quinque bilibres) of clear, pure, fine flour; and that all other fruit-bearing trees, and seeds and grass, would produce in similar proportions (secundum congruentiam iis consequentem); and that all animals feeding [only] on the productions of the earth, should [in those days] become peaceful and harmonious among each other, and be in perfect subjection to man. And these things are

borne witness to in writing by Papias, the hearer of John, and a companion of Polycarp, in his fourth book; for there were five books compiled (συντεταγμένα) by him. And he says in addition, "Now these things are credible to believers." And he says that, "when the traitor Judas did not give credit to them, and put the question, 'How then can things about to bring forth so abundantly be wrought by the Lord.' the Lord declared, 'They who shall come to these [times] shall see.'"

[AD 303] Eusebius of Caesarea

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation. Eusebius wrote his Chronicon in the year 303AD. I am fairly certain that the Greek for this passage comes from an unattributed quotation from George Syncellus' Chronology 424. When it is matched with Jerome's translation of Eusebius, it seems certain that this is what Eusebius said.]

Chronicon 220th Olympiad/100AD

Irenaeus and others record that John the Theologian and Apostle survived until the times of Trajan; after which Papias of Hierapolis and Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, both of whom heard him, became well known. Ecclesiastical History 3.34.1-3.36.2 In the third year of the reign of the emperor mentioned above, Clement committed the episcopal government of the church of Rome to Evarestus, and departed this life after he had superintended the teaching of the divine word nine years in all. But when Symeon also had died in the manner described, a certain Jew by the name of Justus succeeded to the episcopal throne in Jerusalem. He was one of the many thousands of the circumcision who at that time believed in Christ. At that time Polycarp, a disciple of the apostles, was a man of eminence in Asia, having been entrusted with the episcopate of the church of Smyrna by those who had seen and heard the Lord. And at the same time Papias, bishop of the parish of Hierapolis, became well known, as did also Ignatius, who was chosen bishop of Antioch, second in succession to Peter, and whose fame is still celebrated by a great many. Ecclesiastical History 3.39.1-16

1. There are extant five books of Papias, which bear the title Expositions of Oracles of the Lord. Irenæus makes mention of these as the only works written by him, in the following words: "These things are attested by Papias, an ancient man who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, in his fourth book. For five books have been written by him." These are the words of Irenæus.
2. But Papias himself in the preface to his discourses by no means declares that he was himself a hearer and eye-witness of the holy apostles, but he shows by the words which he uses that he received the doctrines of the faith from those who were their friends.
3. He says: But I shall not hesitate also to put down for you along with my interpretations whatsoever things I have at any time learned carefully from the elders and carefully remembered, guaranteeing their truth. For I did not, like the multitude, take pleasure in those that speak much, but in those that teach the truth; not in those that relate strange commandments, but in those that deliver the commandments given by the Lord to faith, and springing from the truth itself.
4. If, then, any one came, who had been a follower of the elders, I questioned him in regard to the words of the elders — what Andrew or what Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any other of the disciples of the Lord, and what

things Aristion and the presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not think that what was to be gotten from the books would profit me as much as what came from the living and abiding voice.

5. It is worth while observing here that the name John is twice enumerated by him. The first one he mentions in connection with Peter and James and Matthew and the rest of the apostles, clearly meaning the evangelist; but the other John he mentions after an interval, and places him among others outside of the number of the apostles, putting Aristion before him, and he distinctly calls him a presbyter.

6. This shows that the statement of those is true, who say that there were two persons in Asia that bore the same name, and that there were two tombs in Ephesus, each of which, even to the present day, is called John's. It is important to notice this. For it is probable that it was the second, if one is not willing to admit that it was the first that saw the Revelation, which is ascribed by name to John.

7. And Papias, of whom we are now speaking, confesses that he received the words of the apostles from those that followed them, but says that he was himself a hearer of Aristion and the presbyter John. At least he mentions them frequently by name, and gives their traditions in his writings. These things, we hope, have not been uselessly adduced by us.

8. But it is fitting to subjoin to the words of Papias which have been quoted, other passages from his works in which he relates some other wonderful events which he claims to have received from tradition.

9. That Philip the apostle dwelt at Hierapolis with his daughters has been already stated. But it must be noted here that Papias, their contemporary, says that he heard a wonderful tale from the daughters of Philip. For he relates that in his time one rose from the dead. And he tells another wonderful story of Justus, surnamed Barsabbas: that he drank a deadly poison, and yet, by the grace of the Lord, suffered no harm.

10. The Book of Acts records that the holy apostles after the ascension of the Saviour, put forward this Justus, together with Matthias, and prayed that one might be chosen in place of the traitor Judas, to fill up their number. The account is as follows: "And they put forward two, Joseph, called Barsabbas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias; and they prayed and said." [Acts 1:23]

11. The same writer gives also other accounts which he says came to him through unwritten tradition, certain strange parables and teachings of the Saviour, and some other more mythical things.

12. To these belong his statement that there will be a period of some thousand years after the resurrection of the dead, and that the kingdom of Christ will be set up in material form on this very earth. I suppose he got these ideas through a misunderstanding of the apostolic accounts, not perceiving that the things said by them were spoken mystically in figures.

13. For he appears to have been of very limited understanding, as one can see from his discourses. But it was due to him that so many of the Church Fathers after him adopted a like opinion, urging in their own support the antiquity of the man; as for instance Irenæus and any one else that may have proclaimed similar views.

14. Papias gives also in his own work other accounts of the words of the Lord on the authority of Aristion who was mentioned above, and traditions as handed down by the presbyter John; to which we refer those who are fond of learning. But now we must add to the words of his which we have already quoted the tradition which he gives in regard to Mark, the author of the Gospel.

15. "This also the presbyter said: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not in order, whatsoever he remembered of the things said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but afterward, as I said, he followed Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs of his hearers, but with no intention of giving a connected account of the Lord's discourses, so that Mark committed no error while he thus wrote some things as he remembered them. For he was careful of one thing, not to omit any of the things which he had heard, and not to state any of them falsely." These things are related by Papias concerning Mark.

16. But concerning Matthew he writes as follows: "So then Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew language, and every one interpreted them as he was able." And the same writer uses testimonies from the first Epistle of John and from that of Peter likewise. And he relates another story of a woman, who was accused of many sins before the Lord, which is contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. These things we have thought it necessary to observe in addition to what has been already stated. Ecclesiastical History 2.15.1-2 And thus when the divine word had made its home among them, the power of Simon was quenched and immediately destroyed, together with the man himself. And so greatly did the splendor of piety illumine the minds of Peter's hearers that they were not satisfied with hearing once only, and were not content with the unwritten teaching of the divine Gospel, but with all sorts of entreaties they besought Mark, a follower of Peter, and the one whose Gospel is extant, that he would leave them a written monument of the doctrine which had been orally communicated to them. Nor did they cease until they had prevailed with the man, and had thus become the occasion of the written Gospel which bears the name of Mark. And they say that Peter — when he had learned, through a revelation of the Spirit, of that which had been done — was pleased with the zeal of the men, and that the work obtained the sanction of his authority for the purpose of being used in the churches. Clement in the eighth book of his Hypotyposes gives this account, and with him agrees the bishop of Hierapolis named Papias. And Peter makes mention of Mark in his first epistle which they say that he wrote in Rome itself, as is indicated by him, when he calls the city, by a figure, Babylon, as he does in the following words: "The church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, salutes you; and so does Marcus my son." [1 Peter 5:13]

[AD 390] Apollinarius [Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: LTF translation, the last paragraph is my translation via Cramer vol 3 p.12. This entire quotation is also given by Theophylact Exposition on the Acts of the Apostles PG125 p522 and the first paragraph is not attributed to Apollinarius. Oecumenius does the same but omits the last sentence Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles PG118 p57. Read this blog post for a more in depth discussion.] [Blog post from Roger Pearse]

Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum, compiled by Cramer [1844], vol 3 p12

Judas did not die by hanging, but lived on, having been cut down before he was suffocated. And the acts of the apostles show this, that falling head long he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out. This fact is related more clearly by Papias, the disciple of John, and the fourth

book of the Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord as follows:

Judas walked about in this world a terrible example of impiety; his flesh swollen to such an extent that, where hay wagon can pass with ease, he was not able to pass, no, not even the mass of his head merely. They say that his eyelids swelled to such an extent that he could not see the light at all, while as for his eyes they were not visible even by a physician looking through an instrument, so far have they sunk from the surface. His genitals appeared entirely disfigured, nauseous and large. When he carried himself about discharge and worms flowed from his entire body through his private areas only, on account of his outrages. After many agonies and punishments, he died in his own place. And on account of this the place is desolate and uninhabited even now. And to this day no one is able to go by that place, except if they block their noses with their hands. Such judgment was spread through his body and upon the earth.

[AD 420] Jerome

Chronicon of Jerome 220th Olympiad/100AD

Bishop Irenaeus writes that John the Apostle survived all the way to the time of Trajan: after whom his notable disciples were Papias, Bishop of Hieropolis, Polycarp of Smyrna, and Ignatius of Antioch. Preface to Jerome's revised version of Victorinus' Commentary on the Apocalypse For even earlier Papias, the bishop of Hierapolis, and Nepos, the bishop of parts of Egypt, perceived of the kingdom of the thousand years just as Victorinus. On Illustrious Men, 18

Papias, the pupil of John, bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, wrote only five volumes, which he entitled Exposition of the words of our Lord, in which, when he had asserted in his preface that he did not follow various opinions but had the apostles for authority, he said "I considered what Andrew and Peter said, what Philip, what Thomas, what James, what John, what Matthew or any one else among the disciples of our Lord, what also Aristion and the elder John, disciples of the Lord had said, not so much that I have their books to read, as that their living voice is heard until the present day in the authors themselves." It appears through this catalogue of names that the John who is placed among the disciples is not the same as the elder John whom he places after Aristion in his enumeration. This we say moreover because of the opinion mentioned above, where we record that it is declared by many that the last two epistles of John are the work not of the apostle but of the presbyter.

He is said to have published a Second coming of Our Lord or Millennium. Irenæus and Apollinaris and others who say that after the resurrection the Lord will reign in the flesh with the saints, follow him. Tertullian also in his work On the hope of the faithful, Victorinus of Petau and Lactantius follow this view. Letter 71 To Lucinius

It is a false rumour which has reached you to the effect that I have translated the books of Josephus and the volumes of the holy men Papias and Polycarp. I have neither the leisure nor the ability to preserve the charm of these masterpieces in another tongue. Letter 75 To Theodora The growth of this heresy is described for us by Irenaeus, bishop of the church of Lyons, a man of the apostolic times, who was a disciple of Papias the hearer of the evangelist John.

[AD 439] Philip of Side

History of Christianity fragment from codex Baroccianus 142 in the Bodleian Library, LTF translation

Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who was a disciple of John the Divine, and a companion of Polycarp, wrote five books of Oracles of the Lord, wherein, when giving a list of the Apostles, after Peter and John, Philip and Thomas and Matthew he included among the disciples of the Lord Aristion and a second John, whom also he called 'The Elder.' So some think that this John is the author of the two short and catholic Epistles, which are published in the name of John; and he gives as the reason that the primitive (fathers) only accept the first epistle. Some too have wrongly considered the Apocalypse also to be his (i.e. the Elder John's) work. Papias too is in error about the Millennium, and from him Irenaeus also.

Papias in his second book says that John the Divine and James his brother were killed by the Jews. The aforesaid Papias stated on the authority of the daughters of Philip that Barsabas, who is also called Justus, when challenged by the unbelievers drank serpent's poison in the name of the Lord, and was shielded from all harm. He makes also other marvelous statements, and particularly about the mother of Manaim who was raised from the dead. As for those who were raised from the dead by Christ, (he states) that they survived till the time of Hadrian.

[AD 455] Prosper of Aquitania

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation. The volume containing this passage can be found here <http://www.dmgh.de/>. Checked MGH Auctores antiquissimi (Auct. ant.) Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII. (I) volume 9 page 419]

Epitome of Chronicles Section 550 106AD

Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who was a disciple of John the Divine, and a companion of Polycarp, wrote five books of Oracles of the Lord, wherein, when giving a list of the Apostles, after Peter and John, Philip and Thomas and Irenaeus wrote that John the Apostle remained until the times of Trajan, after whom were Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch.

[AD 543] John of Scythopolis

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: LTF translation. This and the following fragment are not from Maximus the Confessor as Migne, Lightfoot, and Holmes have stated. See Rorem & Lamoreaux John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian Corpus: Annotating the Areopagite Oxford 1998 [checked] for a discussion of the dates of John's writings and his relationship with Maximus the Confessor.]

Scholia on The Celestial Hierarchy of Dionysius the Areopagite 2.5 (PG 4 p48)

Those who practised guilelessness towards God they used to call children, as Papias also shows in the first book of the Expositions of the Lord, and Clement of Alexandria in the Paedagogue.

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: LTF translation. The scholia itself is not on Ecclesiastical Hierarchy 7.2 as Lightfoot and Holmes have said, but it is on 7.3.5. The break in the text concerns John's discussion of Apollinarius and is unrelated to Papias.]

Scholia on The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of Dionysius the Areopagite 7.3.5 (PG 4 p176)

This he says, darkly indicating, I suppose, Papias of Hierapolis in Asia, who was a bishop at that time and flourished in the days of the holy Evangelist John. For this Papias in the fourth book of his Dominical Expositions mentioned viands among the sources of delights in the resurrection.... And Irenaeus of Lyons says the same thing in his fifth book against heresies, and produces in support of his statement the aforesaid Papias.

[AD 614] Andrew of Caesarea

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: LTF translation. Checked PG 106 p220. For a brief discussion of Andrew's dates see Di Berardino Parology: The Eastern Fathers from Chalcedon to John of Damascus. 2006]

On the Apocalypse Preface

With regard however to the inspiration of the book (i.e. the Apocalypse) we hold it superfluous to speak at length; since the blessed Gregory (I mean, the Divine) and Cyril, and men of an older generation as well, Papias, Irenaeus, Methodius and Hippolytus, bear testimony to its genuineness. On the Apocalypse 12.34, Aremenian version [Aremenian translation by Dr. Robert Bedrosian] And Papias has thus word for word: "some of them, that is, the divine Angels of old, he gave (authority) to rule over the earth and commanded (them) to rule well." And then says the following: "And it happened that their arrangement came to nothing."

[Rev. 12:9] And the great dragon was thrown (down), the ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world, he was thrown to the earth, and his angels were thrown (down). And Papias, in his discourses, put it this way: Heaven did not countenance his earthly plans, since communication between light and darkness is impossible. He [satan] fell to earth to dwell here, and people came to where he lived. However, he did not let them enjoy their natural passions, rather, he beguiled them into many evils. But Michael and his forces who are overseers of the world helped humanity, as Daniel learned. They established laws and made the prophets wise. All this constituted a battle against the dragon [satan] who [always] set obstacles for humanity. And this struggle extended to Heaven, to Christ. Then Christ came, and the law which had been impossible for others [to fulfill] He realized in His own body, according to the Apostle. He caused sin to retreat and condemned satan, and by His death He spread His righteousness over everyone. Once this happened, the victory of Michael and his forces was realized, and the dragon was unable to resist any longer. This was because the death of Christ made a laughing-stock of him and hurled him to earth. Christ spoke about this, saying: "I saw satan fall from heaven like a bolt of lightning". The Doctors of the Church (the vardapet s) understood this to refer not to his first fall, but to his second which occurred because of the crucifixion. This [second] fall was not one which occurred in a particular place as the first [fall] had, but rather concerned the expectation of future judgement and punishment. For he had failed in battle, as Anton [St. Anthony] himself confessed in a psalm he wrote about this: "The enemy's weapons were completely destroyed." For Christ had judged him and he fell absolutely. The Doctors of the Church teach that until this fall he [satan] had hopes of returning to his former glory, but afterwards he fell completely. On this [topic] Irenaeus takes the words of the martyr Justin as follows...

[AD 700] Anastasius of Sinai?

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: LTF translation. Checked PG 89 p860. Many believe that Anastasius did not write this work. For a brief discussion of Anastasius' dates and authorship see Di Berardino Parology: The Eastern Fathers from Chalcedon to John of Damascus. 2006 [checked].]

Contempl. Anagog. In Hexaemeron 1

Taking their start from Papias the great, of Hierapolis, the disciple of the Apostle who leaned on Christ's bosom, and Clement, Pantaenus the priest of the Alexandrians and Ammonius, the great scholar, those ancient and first expositors who agree with each other in understanding all the work of the six days (as referring) to Christ and His Church.

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: LTF translation. Checked PG 89 p961-962.]

Contempl. Anagog. In Hexaemeron 7

So then the more ancient expositors of the churches, I mean Philo, the philosopher, and contemporary of the Apostles, and the famous Papias of Hierapolis, the disciple of John the Evangelist...and their associates, interpreted the sayings about Paradise spiritually, and referred them to the Church of Christ.

[AD 800] George Syncellus

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation. Greek in George Syncellus vol. 1 CSHB p.627]

Chroniconology of George Syncellus 403

Peter sent the first catholic epistle from Rome, having, according to Eusebius, Mark the evangelist as a follower. At this time, he composed the gospel at the Romans' request, according to Clement in the sixth book of his Hypotyposes and Papias the bishop of Hierapolis.

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation. Greek in George Syncellus vol. 1 CSHB p.656. Syncellus places this passage 97 years after the birth of Jesus.]

Chroniconology of George Syncellus 424

Irenaeus and others record that John the Theologian and Apostle survived until the times of Trajan; after which Papias of Hierapolis and Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, both of whom heard him, were becoming known.

[AD 860] John of Dara

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation from the Syriac of A. Baumstark, "Zwei syrische Papiascitate," Oriens christianus 2 [1902] p.353-57]

On the Resurrection of Bodies 2.13

Therefore, at this Apollonarius the heretic, with his companions, abandoned the glorious illumination of the living words and became blind to the faith like the Jews. He dared to speak, like the Pharisees, that after the resurrection of the dead, we shall live again for a thousand years in Jerusalem with the Messiah, with bodily pleasures, and childish sacrifices, and earthly libations before him [the Messiah?]. After these things are fulfilled, at that time we shall be taken up into heaven. And he was not shamed by the voice of Paul who said, "The kingdom of God is not of

eating or drinking. But of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit." [Romans 14:17]. Also in like manner Irenaeus bishop of Lyon in Gaul wandered in these matters, which are in the book of Papias as Eusebius narrates.[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation from the Syriac of A. Baumstark. Baumstark, "Zwei syrische Papiascitate," Oriens christianus 2 [1902] p.353-57]

On the Heavenly and the Earthly Hierarchy

Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in the Asia, who was educated with John the Evangelist, says in the fourth book of "Interpretations of the Lord" that delights shall exist through foods in the resurrection. What is more, Irenaeus says the same in [his] writing "Against Heresies", from testimony from the book of Papias. Afterwards, he accepted this opinion of Apollonarius.

[AD 880] George Hamartolus?

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: LTF translation. This text appears to be a later interpolation and was not written by George Hamartolus. It may be from Codex Coislinianus 305, but I am not sure. See Rolte Theologische Quartalschrift 1862 p466 (did not read German discussion). This text is not given in the edition of George Hamartolus's Chronicle by C. De Boor Georgii Monachi Chronicon vol. 2 1904 p.447 See PG110 p.18-20 for discussion on Codex 305 (did not read Latin discussion)]

Chroniconology of George Hamartolus

After Domitian, Nerva reigned one year, who recalled John from the island (i.e. Patmos), and allowed him to dwell in Ephesus. He was at that time the sole survivor of the twelve Apostles, and after writing his Gospel received the honour of martyrdom. For Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who was an eye-witness of him, in the second book of the Oracles of the Lord says that he was killed by the Jews, and thereby evidently fulfilled, together with his brother, Christ's prophecy concerning them, and their own confession and undertaking on His behalf. For when the Lord said to them; Are ye able to drink of the cup that I drink of?, and they readily assented and agreed, He said; My cup shall ye drink, and with the baptism that I am baptized shall ye be baptized. And reasonably so, for it is impossible for God to lie. So too the learned Origen affirms in his interpretation of S. Matthew's Gospel that John was martyred, declaring that he had learnt the fact from the successors of the Apostles. And indeed the well-informed Eusebius also in his Ecclesiastical History says; 'Thomas received by lot Parthia, but John, Asia, where also he made his residence and died at Ephesus.'

[AD 893] Photius of Constantinople

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: LTF translation. See Bekker Photii Bibliotheca vol. 1 p. 291 for Greek.]

Bibliothecae # 232, on Stephan Gobarus

Nor again (does Stephanus follow) Papias, the bishop and martyr of Hierapolis, nor Irenaeus, the holy bishop of Lyons, when they say that the kingdom of heaven will consist in enjoyment of certain material foods.

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation. See J.N. Barletta Photii Epistolae London 1864]

An epistle of Photius to Archbishop and Metropolitan Aquileias

And the... great Methodius... and also Irenaeus bishop of Lyons and Papias bishop of Heirapolis, Methodius won the crown of martyrdom, the latter were apostolic men.... But however, when they diminish the truth and were brought to speak against the common and ecclesiastical dogma, in these things we do not follow them, but we take nothing away from their patristic honor and glory.

[AD 900] Codex Vaticanus Alexandrinus 14

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: Translation from Lightfoot Essays On The Work Entitled Supernatural Religion, 1889 p210. Codex title taken from Holmes. Latin can be found in J.B. Pitra Analecta Sacra 2.1 p.160.]

Preface to the Gospel of John

The Gospel of John was made known and given to the Churches by John, while he yet remained in the body; as (one) Papias by name, of Hierapolis, a beloved disciple of John, has related in his exoteric, that is, in his last five books; but he wrote down the Gospel at the dictation of John, correctly. But Marcion the heretic, when he had been censured by him because he held heretical opinions, was cast off by John. Now he had brought writings or letters delivered to him from the brethren that were in Pontus.

[AD 941] Agapius of Menbij (Agapius of Hierapolis)

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: Translated by a kind friend (Tamim) from the Arabic in Vasiliev Patrologia Orientalis vol. 7. See Roger Pearse's translation from the French. Note that Agapius was from the Hierapolis in Syria, not the Hierapolis of Phrygia which was where Papias was from. Thanks to Roger Pearse for helping me locate the Arabic text.]

Universal History Year 12 of Trajan (110AD) [Patrologia Orientalis vol. 7 p.48-49 on the section concerning Agapius]

And there was at that time in Menbij [Hierapolis] a distinguished master who had many treatises, and he wrote five treatises on the Gospel. And he mentions in his treatise on the Gospel of John, that in the book of John the Evangelist, he speaks of a woman who was adulterous, so when they presented her to Christ our Lord, to whom be glory, He told the Jews who brought her to Him, "Whoever of you knows that he is innocent of what she has done, let him testify against her with what he has." So when He told them that, none of them responded with anything and they left.

[AD 1271] Vardan Arewelts'i (Vardan Vardapet)

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: Robert Bedrosian translation. These two passages were originally written in Armenian. See Folker Siegert Unbeachtete Papiaszitate bei armenischen Schriftstellern. New Testament Studies, Volume 27, Issue 05, October 1981. The title of the work by Vardan Arewelts'i was taken from Holmes. Norelli (2005) p.495 observes that in this second fragment Vardan Arewelts'i is most likely referring not to Papias but Pappus of Alexandria, who is, according to Norelli, quoted by Moses of Chorene, the famous Armenian Historian.]

Explanations of Holy Scripture Armenian Now as regards the aloe which they brought [or bring], some say that it is a mixture of oil and honey. But certainly aloe is a type of incense. The geographer and Papias relate that there are fifteen kinds of aloe in India...

The story of that adulterous woman, which other Christians have written in their gospel, was written about by a certain Papias, a student of John, who was declared a heretic and condemned. Eusebius wrote about this. There are laws and that matter which Pilate, the king of the Jews, wrote of. And it is said that he wrote in Hebrew with Latin and Greek above it.

[AD 1320] Nicephorus

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation for all fragments of Nicephoras. Nicephoras wrote around 1320 AD, but some believe that he simply copied a 9th century historian verbatim. According to "Die Kirchengeschichte des Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus Und Ihre Quellen. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1966 Nicephorus drew all his information of Papias from Eusebius (p.55).]

Ecclesiastical History 1.1.70-76 PG 145

For indeed Eusebius Pamphilius, beginning from the times of Christ until the times of Constantine the Great, traversed the events which happened to the church, collecting events from both Philo and Josephus, Clement the Stromatist and Hegesippus, Hippolytus and Papias, he brought together his history, while teaching the sacred principles one after another.

Ecclesiastical History 2.15.1-36 PG 145

Concerning the holy Gospel According to Mark and how the polity of the monks was first founded by him in Egypt and Alexandria.

Peter implanted such a radiance of piety in the hearers that it was not sufficient to have a hearing only nor did he want the word of God to remain unwritten. And Peter allowed Mark, who at this time followed the apostle, to preserve part of the memory of the unwritten teaching for them in writing. And at first he [Peter] did not allow this [lit. deliver], until he was prevailed upon to think the man [Mark] worthy. After the apostle perceived that the Spirit of God instructed him, he delighted in the eagerness of the men and from this ordained the writing to be read in the churches. Clement records this reason [why] the Gospel According to Mark [was written] in the eighth [book] of his Hypotyposes. And Papias bishop of Hierapolis, agreeing with him, also details [the same]. And on account of this Peter spoke the Gospel According to Mark. But Peter mentions Mark in his first epistle which opinion has that he wrote when he lived in Rome, in which figuratively he also calls Rome "Babylon", saying thusly "She who is chosen with you in Babylon greets you, as does also my son Mark. And Luke in the Acts calls him John. But they say that Mark, having first put in order Egypt and Alexandria, preached the gospel which he composed to the assembled church and there founded the monastic polity of Christians. At first so great a multitude of both men and women, they say, flowed together at the entrance [of the church], that having marked out the entire polity [as it relates] to their philosophy and way of life through asceticism, their diet and conduct, he placed upon them the celebrated philosophies of Philo, whom opinion has that he even entered into the company of Peter while he preached the divine word at Rome Ecclesiastical History 2.45.83-101 PG 145 But concerning the cause of the writing of the Gospel According to Mark we have pointed out a little above in chapter 15 of the present work; how Peter ended the outrage of that abominable Simon [Magus] who played the man [possible sexual reference]. And at evening the light of faith was implanted [in them] and so great a longing of his words in the souls of the listeners that he did not want the words to remain as [unwritten]. And he entreated Mark who at

this time followed the apostle, to leave a written record of the unwritten sayings for him. Accordingly after the apostle was glad at the good eagerness of their faith, he dictated to Mark the Gospel and from this he ordained the writing to be read in the churches. .Clement records this reason [why] the Gospel According to Mark [was written] in the eighth [book] of his Hypotyposes. And likewise Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, as was clearly described a little ways above in the 15th chapter of the present treatise.Ecclesiastical History 2.46.18-37 PG 145 But indeed of the three [epistles] of John, except the first, the following two [epistles] are disputed as far as many [are concerned]. And opinion has it that there was another elder John, who lived with John in Ephesus as Papias the Heirapolitan says, recording that there are two tombs in Ephesus of the same name, John. And he says one is called "Elder" and [one is called] the Disciple [■μιλητ■ν] himself. For cataloging the Elders of the apostles he also makes mention of these two, asserting in this way, "If one who followed the Elders should come, I inquired about the words of the Elders, what Andrew or Peter said, or Phillip or James or what John or Matthew or any other of the disciples of the Lord [said]. And what Aristion and the Elder John [said]. For I did not think I ought [to receive] so much from books but from a living voice." Indeed the second and third epistle [of John] and also the Apocalypse some imagine that they belong to this Elder who lived in EphesusEcclesiastical History 3.2.40-55 PG 145 And until the times of Trajan these [successors of the Apostles] continued the priesthood, while the beloved disciple still was present in [this] life. After this time also Polycarp of Smyrna became famous who received the Episcopate from John. And the man Papias of Heirapolis, who was also particularly skillful in scripture, sacredly presided over his city. After them Quadratus became eminent in the prophetic gift, being distinguished together with the daughters of Philip. And there were many more than they who manifested the apostolic gifts, who obtained the succession after the apostles. [This] history, as far as it is possible for me, hands down one after another similar things concerning Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Papias. For now it sets forth as much as [possible] the earliest demonstration of apostolic teaching.Ecclesiastical History 3.18.1-8 PG 145 The Martyrdom of the Holy Clement of Rome and Concerning his Writings About this time Clement became eminent in Rome and Ignatius also conversed in Antioch. Papias was also writing in Heirapolis. Pancratius, as well, as Polycarp of Smyrna were also preminent. They were disciples of Peter, but Polycarp of the bosom friend.Ecclesiastical History 3.20.1-89 PG 145 Concerning Papias of Heirapolis and the marvelous things recorded concerning him This Papias of Heirapolis became eminent in apostolic life, he left many writings for the church, but only five are extant, which he entitled "Interpretation of the Lordly Sayings" which also Irenaeus makes mention relating thusly, " These things also Papias, hearer of John, friend of Polycarp, an ancient man, testifies in writing in the fourth of his books. For there are five books composed by him." But Papias, in the preface of his book on the apostles, does not say he himself was an eyewitness, but he says that he received the matters of faith from those who knew them [the apostles] well, through which phrasing he explains [in the following way] "For I shall not hesitate," he says, "to record for you whatever I carefully learned from the Elders and carefully remembered, along with my interpretations, confirming the truth on their behalf. For I do not rejoice over those who speak many things, as many do, but in the those who teach the truth. Neither those who teach strange commandments but those who teach what was given by the Lord in faith, even what comes from the truth itself. But if ever one who followed the Elders should come, I asked about the words of the Elders, what Andrew or what Peter said, or what Thomas or Philip or what Simon or James or what John or Matthew or any other of the disciples of the Lord or

what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of Lord, say. For I did not believe that the matters of books would aid me as much as the things from a living and abiding voice."

It is necessary to indicate that he lists this same name, John, twice in writing, the former which he reckons with the apostles, possibly he means him to be the beloved disciple, but the latter he places next to Aristion and names him as an Elder. Some, who are not ignorant, considered the author of the two epistles of John, which come after the first, and of the Apocalypse to be of the same name. For this Elder was living in Ephesus, opinion has it that there are still preserved two graves there which both say the same name of John.

Now since Papias has been spoken of, he records some other marvels in his books, as they came to him from those who were before him, bear with me, and let us traverse them for a little while. For indeed in Hierapolis the word distinguished Phillip and his daughters as prophets, he was one of the twelve, not one of the seven deacons, as Luke records in Acts. But he says he also conversed with his daughters from whom he says he learned of a resurrection from the dead which occurred in that time.

Concerning Barsabbas who was also called Justus, whom Acts make mention, he says that he, having drunk a poison potion, was aided by that grace of the lord and was triumphant over it.. And he records many other parables and teachings from unwritten tradition of the Savior and some others that are even more mythical. And he says that after a thousand years there will be a resurrection from the dead in the bodily kingdom of Christ which shall be instituted upon this earth, which I suppose he having misunderstood the promises which were spoken mystically, understood them carnally. As such it is clearly possible to draw inferences of his opinion from his words. Later, regarding the antiquity of the man, many derived a similar notion. Just as Irenaeus did and any other who shared similar opinions. But he says he has other traditions which were mentioned above, from Aristion and the Elder John, to which we refer those who are fond of learning.

I shall necessarily point of what he says concerning the Gospels of Mark and Matthew. He speaks in this way, " And the Elder John said this, 'Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, whatever he remembered he wrote accurately, but he did not indeed right the things said or done by Christ in order, for he neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but later, as I said, he followed Peter, and he met the need of teaching, but he did not put the Dominical sayings in order, so that he did not err in any one thing which he wrote, just as he remembered. For the one thing he cared for was not to omit anything which he heard or to lie in some way. But Matthew put in order the oracles in the Hebrew language. And each interpreted them as he was able.'" But he also proclaims testimonies from the first epistle of John and likewise that of Peter. And he puts forth another story concerning the woman who was charged with many sins before the lord. And the other writings of Papias have this style. Ecclesiastical History 4.5.72-73 PG 145 Indeed concerning Papias, Quadratus, Aristides and Castor we have spoken of previously, but now we have to discuss the other writings of Justin.

[AD ????] Anonymous Catena on John

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: My translation. Holmes only says that this catena comes from Balthasar Cordier Catena Patrum Graecorum in Sanctum Joannem Antwerp, 1630. Currently [Aug/09] Google books has only a blank file. The manuscript that Cordier found the catena may

possibly be Miniscule 56 but this is mostly guess by me.]

For the last of these, John, who was called the son of thunder, when he was exceedingly old, as both Irenaeus and Eusebius handed down to us, as well as succession of other believers who were historians, at that time when the terrible heresies were sprouting, dictated the gospel to his respectable disciple Papias the Heirapolitan for the completion of those who preached the word before him to the gentiles throughout all the world.

False Fragment: The Ante-Nicene Fathers and the 10th Fragment The Ante-Nicene Fathers contains 10 fragments of Papias, available at the following sources: [tertullian.org](https://www.tertullian.org/fathers2/ANF-01/anf01-43.htm#P3497_597426), [earlychristianwritings.com](https://www.earlychristianwritings.com/papias.html), [newadvent.org](https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0125.htm), [ccel.org](https://ccel.org/ccel/ignatius_antioch/fragments_of_papias/anf01.vii.ii.i.html) The 10th fragment given in the above lists reads thus:

(1.) Mary the mother of the Lord; (2.) Mary the wife of Cleophas or Alphæus, who was the mother of James the bishop and apostle, and of Simon and Thaddeus, and of one Joseph; (3.) Mary Salome, wife of Zebedee, mother of John the evangelist and James; (4.) Mary Magdalene. These four are found in the Gospel. James and Judas and Joseph were sons of an aunt (2) of the Lord's. James also and John were sons of another aunt (3) of the Lord's. Mary (2), mother of James the Less and Joseph, wife of Alphæus was the sister of Mary the mother of the Lord, whom John names of Cleophas, either from her father or from the family of the clan, or for some other reason. Mary Salome (3) is called Salome either from her husband or her village. Some affirm that she is the same as Mary of Cleophas, because she had two husbands.

This fragment included in that list is of extreme importance - if legitimate, it gives the only historical support to the "Cousin" theory articulated by Jerome around AD 400 to support the doctrine of Mary's Perpetual Virginity. Alas, the often truncated footnote for this fragment says the following:

This fragment was found by Grabe in a ms. of the Bodleian Library, with the inscription on the margin, "Papia." Westcott states that it forms part of a dictionary written by "a mediæval Papias. [He seems to have added the words, "Maria is called Illuminatrix, or Star of the Sea," etc, a middle-age device.] The dictionary exists in ms. both at Oxford and Cambridge."

J.B. Lightfoot wrote the following regarding this fragment in the late 1800s:

The testimony of Papias is frequently quoted at the head of the patristic authorities, as favouring the view of Jerome. The passage in question is an extract, to which the name of this very ancient writer is prefixed, in a Bodleian MS, no. 2397, of the date 1302 or 1303. It is given in Grabe's Spicil. II p. 34, Routh's Rel. Sacr. I, p. 16, and runs as follows: 'Maria mater Domini: Maria Cleophae, sive Alpei uxor, quae fuit mater Jacobi episcopi et apostolic et Symonis et Thadei et cujusdam Joseph: Maria Salome uxor Zebedei mater Joannis evangelistae et Jacobi: Maria Magdalene: istae quatuor in Evangelio reperiuntur. Jacobus et Judas et Joseph filii errant materterae Domini; Jacobus quoque et Joannes alterius materterae Domini fuerunt filii. Maria Jacobi minoris et Joseph mater, uxor Alpei, soror fuit Mariae matris Domini, quam Cleophae Joannes nominat vel a patre vel a gentilitatis familia vel alia causa. Maria Salome a viro vel a vico dicitur: hanc eandem Cleophae quidam dicunt quod duos viros habuerit. Maria dicitur illuminatrix

sive stella maris, genuit enim lumen mundi; sermone autem Syro Domina nuncupatur, quia genuit Dominum.' Grabe's description 'ad marginem expresse adscriptum lego Papias' is incorrect; the name is not in the margin but over the passage as a title to it. The authenticity of this fragment is accepted by Mill, p. 238, and by Dean Alford on Matthew 13:55. Two writers also in Smith's Biblical Dictionary (s.vv. 'Brother' and 'James'), respectively impugning and maintaining the Hieronymian view, refer to it without suspicion. It is strange that able and intelligent critics should not have seen through a fabrication which is so manifestly spurious. Not to mention the difficulties in which we are involved by some of the statements, the following reasons seem conclusive: (1) The last sentence 'Maria dicitur etc.' is evidently very late, and is, as Dr. Mill says, 'justly rejected by Grabe.' Grabe says, 'addidit is qui descripsit ex suo'; but the passage is continuous in the MS, and there is neither more nor less authority for assigning this to Papias than the remainder of the extract. (2) The statement about 'Maria uxor Alpei' is taken from Jerome (adv. Helvid.) almost word for word, as Dr. Mill has seen; and it is purely arbitrary to reject this as spurious and accept the rest as genuine. (3) The writings of Papias were in Jerome's hands, and eager as he was to claim the support of authority, he could not have failed to refer to testimony which was so important and which so entirely confirms his view in the most minute points. Nor is it conceivable that a passage like this, coming from so early a writer, should not have impressed itself very strongly on the ecclesiastical tradition of the early centuries, whereas in fact we discover no traces of it.

For these reasons the extract seemed to be manifestly spurious; but I might have saved myself the trouble of examining the Bodleian MS and writing these remarks, if I had known at the time, that the passage was written by a mediaeval namesake of the Bishop of Hierapolis, Papias the author of the 'Elementarium,' who lived in the 11th century. This seems to have been a standard work in its day, and was printed four times in the 15th century under the name of the Lexicon or Vocabulist. I have not had access to a printed copy, but there is a MS of the work (marked Kk. 4.1) in the Cambridge University Library, the knowledge of which I owe to Mr. Bradshaw, the librarian. The variations from the Bodleian extract are unimportant. It is strange that though Grabe actually mentions the later Papias the author of the Dictionary, and Routh copies his note, neither the one nor the other got on the right track. I made the discovery while the first edition of this work was passing through the press [1865].

[Note from Dr. TC Schmidt: This passage was sometimes regarded as written by Papias of Hierapolis, it is not. It was written by a lexicographer in the 11th century who was also named Papias. See Lightfoot Essays On The Work Entitled Supernatural Religion. 1889 p211.]

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