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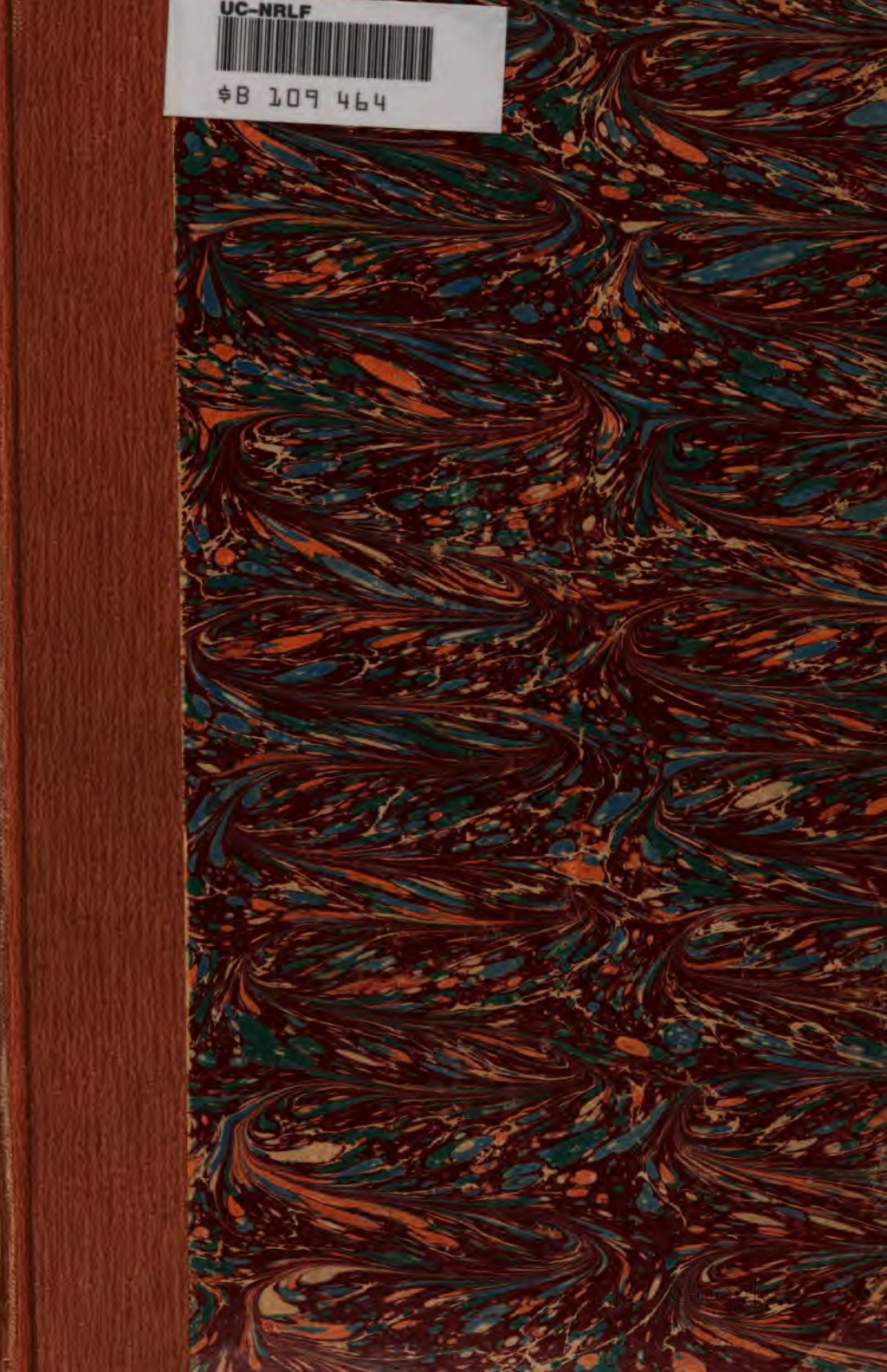
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Handwritten text in Syriac script, column 1. The text is arranged in approximately 25 lines, written in a cursive style. It appears to be a fragment of a larger document, possibly a liturgical or biblical text.

Handwritten text in Syriac script, column 2. This column also contains approximately 25 lines of text, continuing the script from the first column. The characters are similar to those in the first column, indicating they are part of the same text.

COD. SINAIT. SYR. XVI.

19—22 22 nostrae editionis

# TEXTS AND STUDIES

CONTRIBUTIONS TO  
BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC LITERATURE

EDITED BY

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THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES  
ON BEHALF OF THE CHRISTIANS

FROM A SYRIAC MS. PRESERVED ON MOUNT SINAI

EDITED

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATION BY

J. RENDEL HARRIS M.A.

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WITH AN APPENDIX  
CONTAINING THE MAIN PORTION OF  
THE ORIGINAL GREEK TEXT

BY

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FELLOW AND ASSISTANT TUTOR OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

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## PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

**T**HE first part of this tract contains the Syriac text of the lost Apology of Aristides, accompanied by such comments and elucidations as I have been able to give to the subject. It is my first venture in Syriac, and I am thankful to my learned friends who have from time to time assisted me with suggestions and criticisms for the elimination of some of the more glaring errors. Amongst them I may mention especially Professor Bensly, of Cambridge, and Professor Isaac A. Hall, of New York. In the attempt to give the Armenian fragments of the Apology, in such a form as may make them accessible for critical use, I have had the valuable aid of Mr Conybeare, of Oxford, who placed at my disposal the results of his own work at Edschmiazin.

When the pages were almost through the printer's hands, my friend Mr J. A. Robinson, of Christ's College, by one of those happy accidents, as we call them, upon which progress depends, discovered that substantially the whole of the Greek text was extant, and had been incorporated in that charming half-Greek and half-Oriental story, the Lives of Barlaam and Joasaph. Of course this means that, for the greater part of the Apology of Aristides, we have copies and versions in good number (Greek, Latin, Ethiopic, Arabic, Old French, etc.). This opens quite a new field before the student of Christian Apologetics. Need I say how gladly I make way for him in the Appendix, which will really be the text itself; and that I say in the language of the Acts of St Perpetua: "Hic ordinem totum Apologiae iam hinc ipse narrabit...manu sua et suo sensu."

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

## PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

**T**HE First Edition of the Apology of Aristides having been exhausted with unexpected rapidity, it has seemed better to reprint the book as it stands, rather than to attempt to recast it before there has been a full opportunity for such substantial criticism as will, it is to be hoped, throw new light upon the subject. Accordingly the Second Edition is a reprint of the First with a few verbal corrections. The only change to which attention need be called is the substitution of a fresh literal translation of a few lines of the Armenian Version cited on p. 78. This I have introduced with a view of shewing how much more closely the Armenian follows the Greek at certain points than might be supposed when it is read only through the medium of translations made before the Greek had been discovered. No future edition of the Apology can be considered complete which does not contain the text of the Armenian fragment with a closely literal translation.

J. A. R.

CHRIST'S COLLEGE,  
*August, 1892.*

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## NOTE.

WITH the aid of the photographs taken by Prof. Harris the Syriac text has been carefully revised by Prof. Bensly, who has taken special pains with the reproduction of the punctuation of the MS. There seems occasionally to be some deviation from the ordinary system in the use of the diacritical points: but as it is impossible to tell from the photographs to what date the punctuation belongs, it has seemed better to reproduce it without attempting to mend it.

The English translation was in the first instance made by Prof. Harris: but the discovery of the Greek made it necessary that it should undergo a complete revision, in order that scholars who do not read Syriac might be able to form a better estimate of the relation of the Syriac to the Greek, than could be given by a translation made without any reference to the latter. Moreover in several places the Greek cast new light upon the Syriac where it was obscure before. The task of revision would have been entirely beyond my power, but for the kind patience of Prof. Bensly, who allowed me to read the whole piece through with him. At his suggestion too I have added, within brackets, a few notes in addition to those made by Prof. Harris.

The Facsimile of a page of the Syriac MS. has been made from one of Prof. Harris's photographs. It corresponds with 19—22 of this edition.

J. A. R.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE present volume contains one of the earliest of the Apologies made to the Roman Emperors on behalf of the Christians, that, namely, which was said to have been presented to the Emperor Hadrian by an Athenian philosopher of the name of Aristides. Our information concerning this Apology has hitherto been of the scantiest kind, depending chiefly upon certain allusions of Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* and in his *Chronicon*; as Eusebius did not, however, preserve any extracts from the book and presents only a most obscure figure in a philosopher's garb as its author, while subsequent writers have added little or nothing to what they found in Eusebius, it must be admitted that our ideas as to the character and scope of one of the earliest apologetic treatises on Christianity were about as vague as it was possible for them to be. It is true that there was a suspicion abroad which came from Jerome that the lost work of Aristides had been imitated by Justin in his Apology, and Jerome had also ventured the opinion that the Apology was woven out of materials derived from the philosophers: but it was almost impossible to put any faith in Jerome's statements, which are usually mere editorial expansions and colourings of what he found in the pages of Eusebius. Not that there was any *a priori* improbability in the opinion that one Christian Apologist had imitated another, for almost all the Apologies that are known to us are painfully alike, and it would not be difficult to maintain of any two of them selected at random that one of them had borrowed from or imitated the other. The difficulty lay in the want of literary faith in statements made by Jerome; but even if



this confidence had not been wanting, we should not have been very much the wiser.

In the case of a companion Apology to that of Aristides, we were more happily placed for forming an opinion; since Eusebius not only describes an Apology presented to the Emperor Hadrian by a certain Quadratus, at the time of one of the imperial visits to Athens, but gives us also some striking and powerful sentences, just enough to convince one that the document was marked by argumentative force and spiritual insight, and could not have been a mere conventional tirade against paganism. Until recent times, then, all that could be said on the subject of these lost Apologies was that we had Eusebian tradition for their existence, Eusebian authority for their date, and a Eusebian extract from one of them as a specimen of sub-apostolic defence, a mere brick from a vanished house.

The mist, however, lifted some time ago, when the learned Armenians of the Lazarist monastery at Venice added to the obligations under which they have so often laid the scholarly and Christian world, by publishing an Armenian translation of the opening chapters of the lost Apology of Aristides; and although their document was received in some quarters<sup>1</sup> with 'incredulity, it will be seen, by what we have presently to bring forward, that the fragment which they printed was rightly entitled, and that they had at least made the way for a satisfactory conception of

<sup>1</sup> Especially by M. Renan, who in his *Origines de Christianisme*, vol. vi. p. vi., says: "Le présent volume était imprimé quand j'ai eu connaissance d'une publication des mékhitaristes de Venise contenant en Arménien, avec traduction Latine, deux morceaux, dont l'un serait l'Apologie adressée par Aristide à Adrien. L'authenticité de cette pièce ne soutient pas l'examen. C'est une composition plate, qui répondrait bien mal à ce que Eusèbe et S. Jérôme disent du talent de l'auteur et surtout à cette particularité que l'ouvrage était *contextum philosophorum sententiis*. L'écrit Arménien ne présente pas une seule citation d'auteur profane. La théologie qu'on y trouve, en ce qui concerne la Trinité, l'incarnation, la qualité de mère de Dieu attribuée à Marie, est postérieure au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'érudition historique ou plutôt mythologique est aussi bien indigne d'un écrivain du II<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le second 'sermon' publié par les mékhitaristes a encore moins de droit à être attribué au philosophe Chrétien d'Athènes: le manuscrit porte Aristaens: c'est une homélie insignifiante sur le bon larron."

M. Renan was rightly opposed in this sweeping negation of authenticity by Doulet, who pointed out relations between Aristides and the *Timæus* as a justification of the philosophical character of the work. Unfortunately Doulet

the dogmatics which underlay the apologetics. This was a great gain. Moreover their published fragment shewed traces of an interesting originality of method in the classification of the religious beliefs of the time.

Our contribution to the subject consists of a Syriac translation of the whole, or substantially the whole, of the missing Apology. We were so happy as to discover this text in a volume of Syriac extracts preserved in the library of the convent of St Catharine, upon Mount Sinai, during a delightful visit which we paid to those majestic solitudes and silences in the spring of 1889. Our copy has suffered somewhat in the course of time from successive transcriptions, and needs occasionally the hand of the critical corrector. The language and thought of the writer are, however, so simple and straightforward that the limits of error are much narrower than they would be in a document where the structure was more highly complicated; the unintelligible sentences which accumulate in a translation so much more rapidly than in the copying of an original document, are almost entirely absent. In fact the writer is more of a child than a philosopher, a child well-trained in creed and well-practised in ethics, rather than either a dogmatist defending a new system or an iconoclast destroying an old one: but this simplicity of treatment, so far from being a weakness, adds often greatly to the natural impressiveness of the subject and gives the work a place by the side of the best Christian writing of his age. But, before going further, it will be best to describe a little more closely the volume from which our text is taken.

#### *Description of the MS.*

The MS. from which we have copied is numbered 16 amongst the Syriac MSS. of the Sinaitic convent. The MS. may be went too far, by trying to identify Aristides with the author of the Epistle to Diognetus.

Harnack (*Theol. LZ.* 1879, no. 16, col. 375 f.) was very favourable to the genuineness of the fragment, and made some excellent points in its defence.

M. Renan will now have the opportunity of verifying for himself that the term Theotokos, to which he objected so strongly as savouring of the fourth century, is not in the Syriac text.

referred to the 7th century, and is written in two columns to the page. The book is made up of a number of separate treatises and extracts, almost all of which are ethical in character. Thus on fol. 1 *b* we have

ܠܘܐ ܩܘܡ ܩܘܡܐ ܕܩܘܡܐ ܕܩܘܡܐ ܕܩܘܡܐ ܕܩܘܡܐ  
ܠܘܐܝܠ

or, the history of the Lives of the Fathers, translated from Greek into Syriac.

On fol. 2 *b*

ܠܘܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ

Apparently we have here the *Liber Paradisi* or Lives of the Holy Fathers of the Desert, of which many copies exist in Greek, though it may be doubted whether there is any critical edition. Some portions of this Syriac version were published at Upsala by Tullberg and his disciples, in 1851, from MSS. in the Vatican and in the British Museum. In our MS. the current heading of the pages is

ܠܘܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ

or, History of the Egyptian Hermits.

After fol. 86 *b* two leaves appear to have been cut away.

Fol. 87 *b* bears the heading

ܠܘܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ

Of the holy Nilus the Solitary.

At the foot of fol. 93 *a* begins the Apology of Aristides.

On fol. 105 *a* begins

ܠܘܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ  
ܠܘܐܝܠ


or, A discourse of Plutarch on the subject of a man's being assisted by his enemy.


At the foot of fol. 112 *a*

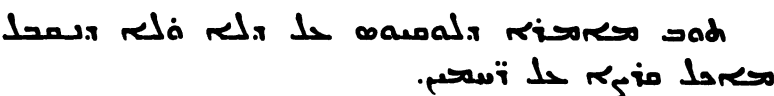
ܠܘܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ

or, A second discourse of the same Plutarch *περι ἀσκήσεως*.

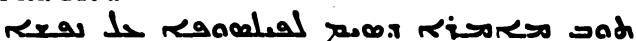
Apparently this is the tract published by Lagarde in his *Analecta*, pp. 177—186, and translated by Gildemeister and Bücheler.


On fol. 121 *b*   
 A discourse of Pythagoras,  
 probably the same as is published in Lagarde's *Analecta*, pp. 195  
 —201.


On fol. 126 *a*   
 A discourse of Plutarch, on Anger, for which see Lagarde,  
*Analecta Syriaca*, pp. 186—195.

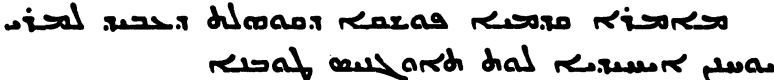
On fol. 132 *b*  


A discourse of Lucius (Lucianus), that we should not receive  
 slander against our friends: *περί τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίως πιστεύειν διαβολῇ*.  
 Apparently the same as is given in Sachau, *Inedita*, pp. 1—16.

On fol. 140 *a*  
  
 A discourse made by a philosopher, *De Anima*:  
 probably the same as is given in Sachau, *Inedita*, as *Philosophorum  
 de anima sententiae*.

On fol. 143 *a*  
  
 or, the Counsel of Theano, a female philosopher of the school  
 of Pythagoras: see Sachau, *Inedita*, pp. 70—75, as Theano:  
*Sententiae*<sup>1</sup>.

On fol. 145 *b* a collection of Sayings of the Philosophers,  
 beginning with  
, (Plato the Wise said).

On fol. 151 *b*  


A first discourse in explanation of Ecclesiastes, made by Mar  
 John the Solitary for the blessed Theognis. See Wright's *Cat. of  
 the Syr. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.* p. 996.

<sup>1</sup> See Wright's *Catalogue*, p. 1160. The general contents of this MS. (Brit.  
 Mus. 987) should be compared with those of the MS. here described: it contains  
 e.g. the Apology of Melito and the Hypomnemata of Ambrose, and various  
 Philosophical treatises.

And from fol. 214 *a* onward the volume is occupied with translations from the Homilies of Chrysostom on Matthew.

The above description will shew something of the value of the MS. It will also suggest that it was the ethical character of the Apology of Aristides that secured its incorporation with the volume. Let us now pass on to discuss the effect which this recovered document has upon our estimate of the Eusebian statements concerning the earliest Church Apologists.

*Aristides and Eusebius.*

According to the *Chronicon* of Eusebius we have the following date for the Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides :

1. The Armenian version of the *Chronicon* gives under the year 124 A.D. as follows :

Ol.	A. Abr.	Imp. Rom.		
226	2140	8 <sup>e</sup>	<i>a</i>	Adrianus Eleusinarum rerum gnarus fuit multaque (dona) Atheniensium largitus est.
			<i>e</i>	Romanorum ecclesiae episcopatum excepit septimus Telesphorus annis XI.

Codratus apostolorum auditor et Aristides nostri dogmatis (nostrae rei) philosophus Atheniensis Adriano supplicationes dedere apologeticas (apologiae, responsionis) ob mandatum. Acceperat tamen et a Serennio (s. Serenno) splendido praeside (iudice) scriptum de Christianis, quod nempe iniquum sit occidere eos solo rumore sine inquisitione, neque ulla accusatione. Scribit Armonicus Fundius (Phundius) proconsuli Asianorum ut sine ullo damno et incusatione non damnarentur; et exemplar edicti eius hucusque circumfertur.

One of the Armenian MSS. (Cod. N) transfers this notice about the Apologists to the following year, and it is believed that this represents more exactly the time of Hadrian's first visit to Athens (125—126 A.D.). With this agrees the dating of the Latin version of Jerome. We may say then that it is the intention of Eusebius to refer the presentation of both these

Apologies to the time when Hadrian was spending his first winter in Athens; and to make them the reason for the Imperial rescript to Minucius Fundanus which we find attached to the first Apology of Justin Martyr. And since Minucius Fundanus and his predecessor Granianus were consuls suffect in the years 106 and 107, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they held the Asian pro-consulate in the years A.D. 123 and 124, or 124 and 125. If then Aristides and Quadratus presented apologies to Hadrian, it is reasonable to connect these Apologies with his first Athenian winter and not with the second (A.D. 129—130).

But here we begin to meet with difficulties; for, in the first place, much doubt has been thrown on the genuineness of the rescript of the emperor to Minucius Fundanus; in the second place there is a suspicious resemblance between Quadratus the Apologist and another Quadratus who was bishop of Athens in the reign of Antoninus Pius, succeeding to Publius whom Jerome affirms to have been martyred; and in the third place our newly-recovered document cannot by any possibility be referred to the period suggested by Eusebius, and there is only the barest possibility of its having been presented to the Emperor Hadrian at all. Let us examine this last point carefully, in order to answer, as far as our means will permit, the question as to the time of presentation of the Apology of Aristides and the person or persons to whom it was addressed.

The Armenian fragment is headed as follows:

To the Emperor Hadrian Caesar, from Aristides, philosopher  
of Athens.

There is nothing, at first sight, to lead us to believe that this is the original heading; such a summary merely reflects the Eusebian tradition and might be immediately derived from it.

When we turn to the Syriac Version, we find a somewhat similar preface, to the following effect.

Apology made by Aristides the Philosopher before Hadrianus  
the King, concerning the worship of Almighty God.

But this, which seems to be a mere literary heading, proper, shall we say, for one out of a collection of apologies, is immediately

followed by another introduction which cannot be anything else than a part of the primitive apology. It runs as follows :

...Caesar Titus Hadrianus Antoninus, Worshipful and Clement,  
from Marcianus Aristides, philosopher of Athens.

The additional information which we derive from this sentence is a sufficient guarantee of its genuineness; we have the first name of the philosopher given, as Marcianus; and we have the name of the emperor addressed given at length. To our astonishment this is not Hadrian, but his successor Antoninus Pius, who bears the name of Hadrian by adoption from Publius Aelius Hadrianus. Unless therefore we can shew that there is an error or a deficiency in the opening sentence of the Apology we shall be obliged to refer it to the time of the emperor Antoninus Pius, and to say that Eusebius has made a mistake in reading the title of the Apology, or has followed some one who had made the mistake before him. And it seems tolerably clear that if an error exist at all in such a precise statement as ours, it must be of the nature of an omission. Let us see what can be urged in favour of this theory. We will imagine that the original title contained the names both of Hadrian and of Antoninus Pius, his adviser and companion, much in the same way as Justin opens his first Apology with the words, "to the Emperor Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus Caesar and to his son Verissimus the Philosopher, and to Lucius the Philosopher, natural son of Caesar and adopted son of Pius...I Justin...have written the following appeal and supplication." In support of this theory we might urge the apparent dislocation of the opening sentence of our Apology. The Syriac version is clearly wrong in its punctuation, for example, since it transfers the expression *ܐܠܗܝܡ* (Almighty) to Caesar, by placing a colon after the word *ܐܠܗܝܡ* (God). This is clearly impossible, for that the writer did not attempt to translate, say, *αὐτοκράτωρ* as if it were *παντοκράτωρ* will be evident from his correct use of the Divine attribute later on in his work. But even if the translator had been guilty of such a mistake, the case would not have been bettered, because Antonine would now have been styled Emperor as well as Caesar.

But let us imagine if we please that the term Caesar or

Emperor Caesar belongs to a previous name which has dropped out and supply the connective necessary, so as to read, "To the Emperor Aelius Hadrianus Augustus Caesar and to Titus Hadrianus Antoninus." In support of this we may urge that the adjectives which follow are marked in the Syriac with the sign of the plural, as if the writer imagined himself to be addressing more persons than one. Supposing then that this is the case we should still have to face the question as to the name given to Antonine; if he is called Hadrian, this must mean that the Apology is presented at some time subsequent to his adoption, which is generally understood to have taken place in the year A.D. 138, only a little while before Hadrian's death. So that in any case we should be prohibited by our document from dating the Apology in question either in the first visit of Hadrian to Athens or in the second visit, and we should only have the barest possibility that it was presented to Hadrian at all. It would have, so to speak, to be read to him on his death-bed at Baiae. Seeing then the extreme difficulty of maintaining the Hadrianic or Eusebian hypothesis, we are driven to refer the Apology to the reign of Antoninus Pius, and to affirm that Eusebius made a mistake in reading or quoting the title of the book, in which mistake he has been followed by a host of other and later writers. If he followed a text which had the heading as in the Syriac, he has misunderstood the person spoken of as Hadrian the king; and if on the other hand he takes the opening sentences as his guide, he has made a superficial reference, which a closer reading would have corrected. All that is necessary to make the Syriac MS. intelligible is the introduction of a simple prepositional prefix before the imperial name, and the deletion of the *ribbu* points in the adjectives.

Nor is this all; for there can be no doubt that the two adjectives in question ( $\text{ܠܐܘܠܝܘܢܐ ܠܐܘܘܘܣܬܝܢܘܣ}$ ) are intended to represent two of the final titles of Antoninus:  $\text{ܠܐܘܘܘܣܬܝܢܘܣ}$  standing for the Greek  $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ , which again is the equivalent of the Latin *Augustus*; and  $\text{ܠܐܘܠܝܘܢܐ}$  being the equivalent of the title *Pius* which the Roman Senate gave to Antoninus shortly after his accession and which the Greeks render by  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma$ . And it is precisely in this order that the titles are usually found,



viz. Augustus Pius, which the Syriac has treated as adjectives, and connected by a conjunction. Moreover this translation of *εὐσεβής* on the part of the Syriac interpreter shews that the meaning of the title is 'clement' or 'compassionate,' rather than that of mere filial duty, which agrees with what we find in a letter of Marcus Aurelius to Faustina; "haec (clementia) patrem tuum imprimis Pii nomine ornavit<sup>1</sup>."

Now how will this conclusion react upon the companion Apology of Quadratus? We could, no doubt, maintain that it leaves the question where it found it. The mistake made by Eusebius need not have been a double error, and the correct reference to Hadrian for Quadratus's Apology would have furnished a starting-point for the incorrect reasoning with regard to Aristides. On this supposition we should simply erase the reference to Aristides from Eusebius and his imitators.

But there is one difficulty to be faced, and that is the fact that we were in confusion over Quadratus before we reached any conclusion about Aristides. And our investigation has not helped to any elucidation of the confusion. Read for example the language in which Eusebius (*H. E.* IV. 3) describes the presentation of the Apology.

Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς διαδέχεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τούτῳ Κοδράτος λόγον προσφωνήσας ἀναδίδωσιν, ἀπολογίαὺν συντάξας ὑπὲρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θεοσεβείας·

and compare it with the Greek of the *Chronicon* as preserved by Syncellus,

Κοδράτος ὁ ἱερὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀκουστῆς Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι λόγους ἀπολογίας ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν ἔδωκεν·

and we naturally suspect with Harnack<sup>2</sup> that the title must have been something like the following,

λόγος ἀπολογίας ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεοσεβείας,

and we are confirmed in this belief by finding that the Aristides Apology was also headed

ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ τῆς θεοσεβείας·

at least its literary heading must have been very like this.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Eckhel, *Doctrina* vii. Pt. II. p. 36. This would seem to resolve the perplexity of Spartianus as to the origin of the name.

<sup>2</sup> *Die griechischen Apologeten* p. 101. I need not say how much I am indebted to Harnack's investigations. It will be apparent throughout these pages.

May we not also infer that the opening sentences of the Quadratus-Apology must have contained the dedication *Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ* which we find suggested above? But when we have made these suppositions the similarity between the two apologies in the titles is very great, for Aelius Hadrianus is also a part of the adopted name of the emperor Antoninus.

And let us look at the matter from another point of view. One of our early sources of information about Quadratus, the bishop of Athens, is found in a passage of a letter of Dionysius of Corinth preserved by Eusebius, and certainly Dionysius of Corinth ought to be good authority for Athenian religious history of the time immediately preceding his own. Eusebius does not actually quote the letter which Dionysius wrote to the church at Athens, but he tells us its scope and makes it easy to divine its contents: his language is as follows:

ἡ δὲ (ἐπιστολή) πρὸς Ἀθηναίους διεγερτικὴ πίστεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολιτείας ἧς ὀλιγωρήσαντας ἐλέγχει, ὡς ἂν μικροῦ δεῖν ἀποστάντας τοῦ λόγου, ἐξ οὐπερ τὸν προεστῶτα αὐτῶν Πούπλιον μαρτυρῆσαι κατὰ τοὺς τότε συνέβη διωγμούς. Κοδράτου δὲ μετὰ τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα Πούπλιον καταστάντος αὐτῶν ἐπισκόπου μέμνηται ἐπιμαρτυρῶν, ὡς ἂν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σπουδῆς ἐπιυναχθέντων, καὶ τῆς πίστεως ἀναζωπύρησιν εἰληχότων.

From this it would naturally be inferred that the Quadratus mentioned in the letter was a contemporary of Dionysius of Corinth; for the latter writes to the Athenians at once convicting them of slackness in the faith, and congratulating them on their happy revival under the ministration of Quādratus. And since Dionysius writes letters also to Soter, the bishop of Rome, who belongs to the early years of Marcus Aurelius, we should probably say that Quadratus was not very much earlier than this, which would place him in the reign of Antoninus Pius. And the persecution at Athens which ended in the martyrdom of Publius must therefore fall in the same reign. Now Jerome (*de Virr. ill.* § 19) identifies this Quadratus, the bishop of Athens, with the Apologist<sup>1</sup>, and consequently pushes back the persecution into the

<sup>1</sup> "Quadratus apostolorum discipulus, Publico Athenarum episcopo ob Christi fidem martyrio coronato, in locum eius substituitur et ecclesiam grandi terrore dispersam fide et industria sua congregat. Cumque Hadrianus Athenis exegisset

reign of Hadrian. We do not indeed attach any especial weight to Jerome's statement as to the time of the persecution, which is simply a combination made up out of passages from Eusebius concerning Quadratus and Dionysius with slight amplifications. He can hardly be right in placing the persecution under the reign of Hadrian, for, as Lightfoot points out<sup>1</sup>, Eusebius, from whom he draws his facts, knows nothing about it: moreover we have information from Melito<sup>2</sup> that Antoninus Pius did actually write to Athens to suppress a persecution of the Christians. But, on the other hand, may he not be right after all in his identification of the bishop Quadratus with the Apologist, and do not the circumstances of the persecution suggested by Melito and testified to by Dionysius exactly suit the presentation of the Apology to the emperor?

While then we would readily admit that, as long as the Apology of Aristides was held to belong to the time of an Athenian visit of Hadrian, the Apology of Quadratus naturally remained with it, yet on the other hand when the Hadrian hypothesis is untenable for Aristides, will not the Quadratus-bishop and Quadratus-apologist naturally run together, and be one and the same person? Or is there anything to prevent the identification? The words 'apostolorum discipulus,' used by Jerome, and the corresponding words of Eusebius, ἀποστόλων ἀκουστής, can hardly be held to militate seriously against this hypothesis, for they are evident deductions from the passage which Eusebius quotes from the Apology of Quadratus about the sick people healed by the Lord, 'some of whom continued down to our times.' Jerome says boldly that Quadratus had seen very many of the subjects of our Lord's miracles; which is in any case a gross exaggeration. But if such persons, either many or few, had really lived into the age of Quadratus, it would be very difficult to place

hiemem, invisens Eleusinam, et omnibus paene Graeciae sacris initiatus dedisset occasionem his, qui Christianos oderant, absque praecepto imperatoris vexare credentes, porrexit ei librum &c."

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, ed. ii. n. 541.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26, ex apologia Melitonis, ὁ δὲ πατήρ σου καὶ σοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα διοικῶντος αὐτῷ, ταῖς πόλεσι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ ἡμῶν ἔγραψεν· ἐν οἷς καὶ πρὸς Δαρσσαίους καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς καὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ πρὸς πάντας Ἑλληνας. This certainly looks like an outbreak of persecution in Greece.

the Apologist in the reign of Antoninus Pius. Unless, therefore, it can be maintained that the language quoted by Eusebius from Quadratus is an exaggeration or a misunderstanding we can hardly identify the bishop with the apologist. This is the furthest point to which the evidence carries the argument.

And now let us return to Aristides and see whether we can determine anything further concerning the time and manner of presentation of the Apology.

And first of all we may say that the simplicity of the style of the Apology is in favour of an early date. The religious ideas and practices are of an antique cast. The ethics shew a remarkable continuity with Jewish ethics: the care for the stranger and the friendless, the burial of the dead and the like, are given as characteristic virtues both of Judaism and of Christianity. Indeed we may say that one of the surprising things about the Apology is the friendly tone in which the Jews are spoken of: one certainly would not suspect that the chasm between the Church and the Synagogue had become as practically impassable as we find it in the middle of the second century. There is no sign of the hostile tone which we find towards the Jews in the martyrdom of Polycarp, and nothing like the severity of contempt which we find in the Epistle to Diognetus. If the Church is not in the writer's time any longer under the wing of the Synagogue, it has apparently no objection to taking the Synagogue occasionally under its own wing.

Such a consideration seems to be a mark of antiquity, and one would, therefore, prefer to believe, if it were possible, that the Apology was earlier than the Jewish revolt under Bar-Cochab. But since we have shewn that view to be untenable (and yet how attractive if we could place Aristides in the second visit of Hadrian to Athens, and Quadratus in the first!) we must content ourselves with seeking as early a date as is consistent with the superscriptions.

Another point that seems ancient about our Apology is that it contains traces, and very interesting traces, of the use of a creed, very similar to the Apostolic Symbol, but involving certain notable points of difference. We shall discuss the question more at length by and by; but at present it will be interesting

to notice, especially in view of the obviously friendly attitude of the writer towards the Jews, that his creed contained a clause to the effect that

‘He was crucified by the Jews,’

perhaps without the clause that was current in later times, ‘under Pontius Pilate.’ Now I am aware that there are some persons to whom this will seem an argument for a later date; for example M. Renan, *Origines* VI. p. 277, says “les Chrétiens commençaient à faire retomber sur l’ensemble de la nation juive un reproche que sûrement ni Pierre ni Jacques ni l’auteur de l’Apocalypse ne songeaient à lui adresser, celui d’avoir crucifié Jésus.” It would be interesting however to compare this statement of M. Renan with the language of Peter in Acts ii. 36, “Whom ye crucified;” of James in Ep. v. 6, “ye murdered the Just;” or with the writer of the Apocalypse where he describes Jerusalem as the spiritual Sodom and Egypt, “where also our Lord was crucified.”

The very same charge is made by Justin in his dialogue with Trypho<sup>1</sup>, who uses language very similar to that of the Epistle of James, and in discussing the miseries which have befallen the Jewish race, says pointedly “Fairly and justly have these things come upon you; for Ye slew the Just One.” Why should we assume such a sentiment to be a mark of late date?

These references do not, however, suggest that the sentence in question was in the Creed. To prove that, we should have to go much farther afield, for the known forms of early creeds do not seem to contain it: if, however, we were to examine the Apocryphal Christian Literature of the early centuries, we should, no doubt, find many traces of the lost sentence. For example, it comes over and over in the Apocryphal Acts of John, a Gnostic document which Wright edited and translated from the Syriac. Here we find the sentence frequently in the very connexion which it would have with other Christian dogmatic statements if it had been incorporated with some actual form of the Symbol of Faith. When we find that these Acts give us as the staple of Apostolic teaching that

<sup>1</sup> *Dial.* 16.

"The Jews crucified Him on the tree,  
 And He died  
 And rose after three days,  
 And He is God,  
 And He ascended to Heaven  
 And is at the right hand of His Father"

we must admit that the sequence of ideas, and probably the very words are from a Creed.

The same thing is true when we find the Apostle speaking, and saying

"In the name of Jesus the Messiah, God,  
 Whom the Jews crucified and killed in Jerusalem;  
 And He died and was buried  
 And rose after three days:  
 And lo! He is above in Heaven  
 At the right hand of His Father."

At all events we may maintain that there is evidence for the diffusion of the Creed in early times under a slightly different form to that generally received, and if so, we may call it a mark of antiquity to have the Apology of Aristides expressing itself to that effect; for certainly no such sentence in the generally received Creed existed in later times, however widely the sentiment against the Jews may have been diffused.

It is interesting also to compare the custom of the early Christians in the matter of fasting, that they might relieve by their self-denial the necessities of the poor. This is precisely what we find described so fully in the *Similitudes* of Hermas (*Sim.* v. 3), where the directions are given that on the day when we fast we are ourselves to eat only bread and water, and calculate the amount saved thereby and bestow it on the poor. Now very many of the later fathers teach the same doctrine, that fasting and alms are conjoined in duty and merit, and that it is proper, under certain circumstances, for the church to call for such an expression of religion. But what makes for the antiquity of the Apology is that the whole church fasts, not merely one day, but two or three days, and that not by direction or rule, but because they are poor and have no other way of meeting the needs of those who are poorer

than themselves. It is a spontaneous, rather than a commanded charity, dictated at once by love and necessity. Can such a practice in such a form be other than early? But if the Apology is early in its doctrines and practices, where shall we place it? Must it not be at least as early as the first years of the reign of Antoninus Pius?

But here we are in difficulty again, for, if we assume that the Apology was presented to Antoninus Pius in person, we have no satisfactory evidence that Antoninus was ever in the East, or in Greece after his accession, and even the suspicions as to an Eastern visit belong to a later period of his reign, say A.D. 154. Did Aristides present the Apology at Rome or elsewhere? May we infer from his calling himself Marcianus Aristides, *Philosopher of Athens*, that he was in some city not his own natural dwelling-place? For that he came from Athens is deducible not only from his own statement but also from the fact to which we have already alluded that Antoninus wrote to Athens to suppress a persecution of the Christians. But this almost implies that Antoninus was not in Athens when he received the Apology, or where would be the need of writing a letter at all? He must have been out of Greece.

Only two solutions seem to present themselves, (i) that Aristides journeyed to Rome to present his apology; (ii) that Antoninus made some unrecorded visit to the East.

Now with regard to the second of these suppositions there is reason, outside of our argument and its necessities, to believe that some such visit must have taken place, and that Antoninus held court at Smyrna, some time after his accession to the throne.

In the celebrated letter of Irenaeus to Florinus (written probably later than A.D. 189) the writer speaks of having seen Florinus when he lived in lower Asia with Polycarp, when he was at the royal court, and rising in esteem there; he, Irenaeus, being at that time a boy. Now this seems to imply some kind of royal residence at Smyrna; but it has always been difficult to determine what is meant by such a royal residence. The problem is discussed by Lightfoot in his *Ignatius* (ed. ii. vol. i. p. 449). It cannot be Hadrian's visit in A.D. 129, which would be too early; and Lightfoot thinks that although there is some reason for believing

Antoninus Pius to have been in Syria, and presumably also in Asia Minor, somewhere about A.D. 154, 155, this date is too late, on account of the mention of Polycarp. Accordingly Lightfoot frames, with some hesitation, the following hypothesis: "About the year 136 T. Aurelius Fulvus was proconsul of Asia. Within two or three years of his proconsulate he was raised to the imperial throne, and is known as Antoninus Pius. Even during his proconsulate omens marked him as the future occupant of the imperial throne. ...Florinus may have belonged to his suite, and Irenaeus in after years might well call the proconsul's retinue the 'royal Court' by anticipation, especially if Florinus accompanied him to Rome, &c."

This ingenious hypothesis only fails to meet our requirement on one point, viz. that the name given to Antoninus in the Apology is the name given him after adoption, and so is subsequent to Feb. 25, A.D. 138.

But suppose we imagine a visit of Antoninus to Asia Minor some years later than this, we could find then some support for the theory that Aristides presented his Apology to the Emperor at Smyrna.

For we might say that the name of Marcianus is a conspicuous one in the Church at Smyrna. When the Church of the Smyrnaeans wrote for the Church of Philomelium the account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, they employed to compose the narrative a person whom they characterise as our brother Marcianus<sup>1</sup>. Now it is worthy of note that this person must have been conspicuous in the Church of Smyrna, for he is probably the same person to whom Irenaeus, whose relations with the Church at Smyrna are so intimate, dedicated one of his treatises<sup>2</sup>. Moreover the relations of the Church to the Emperor through Florinus would have been favourable for the presentation of the Apology.

Let us then say, in recapitulation, that we have found it difficult to assign the Apology to any other period than the early years of the reign of Antoninus Pius; and it is at least conceivable that it may have been presented to the Emperor, along with other Christian writings, during an unrecorded visit of his to his ancient seat of government in Smyrna.

<sup>1</sup> *Mart. Polyc.* 20.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. *H. E.* v. 26.



There are a few later references to Aristides to which we have drawn no attention hitherto, because it seemed to be impossible to extract any trustworthy data from them: they are as follows:

(1) A passage in a letter of Jerome to Magnus, "Aristides philosophus, vir eloquentissimus, eidem principi (Hadriano) Apologeticum pro Christianis obtulit, contextum philosophorum sententiis, quem imitatus postea Justinus, et ipse philosophus." This is simply a *réchauffé* of the Eusebian data, with reflections thereupon. Justin being a philosopher, his Apology naturally imitates the philosophical treatise which has preceded his own.

(2) *Martyrologium Vetus Romanum*<sup>1</sup> ad v. Nonas Octobris.

"Athenis Dionysii Areopagitæ sub Hadriano diversis tormentis passi, ut Aristides testis est in opere quod de Christiana religione composuit; hoc opus apud Athenienses inter antiquorum memorias clarissimum tenetur." Aristides himself is commemorated on ii. Kal. Sept. and it is said that in his treatise he maintained "quod Christus Jesus solus esset Deus."

It would be very interesting to determine how the Martyrologies arrived at these statements. Our Syriac Apology certainly contains no trace of an allusion to Dionysius the Areopagite; on the other hand it fairly enough teaches the Divinity of Christ. We would dismiss the statements at once as archaeological fictions if it had not been that evidence has been produced for the existence of a Latin version of Aristides. Harnack's attention was drawn by the pastor Kawerau to the following letter of Witzel to Beatus Rhenanus, dated Bartholomew's day 1534. "Dedisti nobis Eusebium, præterea Tertullianum. Restat ut pari nitore des Justinum Martyrem, Papiam et Ignatium graece excusum. Amabo, per Bibliothecas oberrare, venaturus si quid scripsit Quadratus, si præter epistolam alia Polycarpus, si nonnihil præter Apologeticum Aristides. Despice, si quae supersunt Cornelii et tanta bonorum librorum panoethria. Plures sunt Dionysii scriptores, sed omnes præter unum Areopagitem desyderamus, qui utinam sua quoque in lingua extaret. Utinam exorirentur Stromata Clementis, breviter quicquid est *κρόνιον*. Tineae pascuntur libris, quibus

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cxxiii.

homines pasci debebamus &c.” I have given the extract from Harnack’s copy<sup>1</sup>, not having access to the original letter.

It seems to me that Witzel’s language almost implies that the Apology was already in print in Latin. Is it conceivable that some portion of the Apology may have found its way into print before the year 1534 and remained unnoticed in later times?

But even if it existed in manuscript, we must leave it an open question whether it may not have contained some matter which is wanting in the Syriac; nevertheless it is *à priori* extremely improbable that the story about the martyrdom of Dionysius the Areopagite can belong here.

### *Celsus and Aristides.*

It may be worth while to point to a possible connexion between the True Word of Celsus and the Apology of Aristides.

1. Celsus is undoubtedly very nearly contemporary with Aristides; although it is difficult to determine his date exactly (and even Origen was doubtful as to his identity), we may probably say with a good assurance of safety that he was at the zenith of his influence and fame under the reign of Antoninus Pius.

2. It is peculiarly difficult to determine what Christian books had come into the hands of Celsus, whether gospels or other literature. We know however for certain that he had read the dialogue between Jason and Papisclus, a work of Aristo of Pella, written not long after the close of the Jewish war under Hadrian, and so at a period very near to the one in which we are interested. Now if he were reading contemporary Christian literature he could hardly miss Aristides.

3. And since we find more and closer parallels between the fragments preserved by Origen from the great work of Celsus and our Apology than between most of the other books of the century, it is at least a fair question whether Aristides was not one of the persons to whom Celsus undertook to reply.

<sup>1</sup> *Die griechischen Apologeten*, p. 107 note. I cannot find it in *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus* by Horawitz and Hartfelder, Leipzig, 1886. I understand, however, from Prof. Kawerau, that it may be found in *Epistolarum G. Wicelii libri tres*, Lipsiae, 1537.

One of the leading beliefs in Aristides is that God made all things *for the sake of man*. This doctrine he repeats in various forms, shewing that the separate elements, the earth, the air, the fire, and the water together with the sun, moon and stars, are his ministers. Now Celsus seems to have been particularly opposed to this doctrine and to have discussed it at length: it was one of the points of contact between the Stoic philosophy and the Jewish and Christian faiths, and Celsus was, no doubt, well prepared to be diffuse on the subject by many previous philosophical encounters.

He draws ridiculous pictures of the philosophy of the frogs in the swamp, of the ants in their ant-hill, and of beevies of bats, discussing the to them obvious proposition that the world has been made solely for their benefit. Accordingly Origen remarks, *παραπλησίους ἡμᾶς ποιεῖ σκώληξι φύσκουσιν ὅτι Θεός ἐστίν, εἶτα μετ' ἐκείνων ἡμεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότες παντῆ, ὅμοιοι τῷ Θεῷ· καὶ ἡμῖν πάντα ὑποβέβληται, γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀήρ καὶ ἄστρα, καὶ ἡμῶν ἕνεκα πάντα καὶ ἡμῖν δουλεύειν τέτακται*<sup>1</sup>. In which sentence he has pretty well covered the argument from Providence as stated by Aristides. Were the elements and the stars, says he, made for the self-congratulation and self-exaltation of the bat, the frog, or—the man?

But he carries out the argument in detail: a providence over man is as reasonable as a providence over beasts and vegetables, which can be proved from the same data. *Διὰ πολλῶν δ' ἐξῆς ἐγκαλεῖ ἡμῖν ὡς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ φύσκουσι πάντα πεποιηκέναι τὸν Θεόν, καὶ βούλεται ἐκ τῆς περὶ τῶν ζώων ἱστορίας καὶ τῆς ἐμφαινομένης αὐτοῖς ἀγχινοίας δεικνύναι, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων ἢ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων ἕνεκεν γεγονέναι τὰ πάντα*<sup>2</sup>. Indeed, according to Celsus, Providence is more apparent in the case of ants and bees and the like, which obtain their food without labour or with much less labour than happens in the case of man. He will not hear of such a statement as that the sun and stars serve man, much less what Aristides affirms, that the sun was *created* to serve the multiplicity of human need. Do not, says he, quote me verses from Euripides about sunshine and shade serving man; how do they serve him any more than the ants or the flies, which sleep

<sup>1</sup> Origen c. *Celsus*, lib. iv. 23.

<sup>2</sup> lib. iv. 74.

and wake much as we do? εἰ δὲ καὶ τό, "Ἥλιος μὲν νύξ τε δουλεύει βροτοῖς," τί μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἢ τοῖς μύρμηξι καὶ ταῖς μυλαῖς<sup>1</sup>;

Now of course we do not mean to suggest that Aristides invented the argument from Providence or that Celsus was the first to heap easy scorn upon it. The argument and the reply are commonplaces. Celsus's question as to whether the world was created for the sake of vegetables will be found discussed in Cicero, *de Natura Deorum* II. 133. "Cuiusnam causa tantarum rerum molitio sit? Arborumne et herbarum? quae quamquam sine sensu sunt, tamen a natura sustententur. At id quidem absurdum est. An bestiarum? Nihilo probabilius, deos mutorum et nihil intelligentium causa tantum laborasse....Ita fit credible deorum et hominum causa factum esse mundum, quaeque in eo sint omnia."

It is easy to see how both the Jewish and Christian teachers, starting from the same text, the first verse in the book of Genesis, and formulating the same statement of faith, that the Almighty was 'Maker of Heaven and Earth,' found themselves fighting in the ranks with the Stoics against the Epicureans, and so exposed from time to time to the infinite raillery which seemed to the latter school to be proper to the situation. As we have said, Aristides does not stand alone in the statement. Justin Martyr takes the same ground and implies that it is a part of the regular Christian teaching. "We are taught," says he, "that God in His goodness created all things in the beginning from formless matter, for the sake of man<sup>2</sup>;" and the unknown writer of the Epistle to Diognetus affirms that "God loved men, *for whom He made the world*, to whom He subjected all things that are in the earth<sup>3</sup>."

It is however worthy of notice that in Aristides the argument is repeated over and over, and that Celsus answers it, as Origen thought, at unnecessary length. It is not therefore inconceivable that Aristides may have drawn the Epicurean fire upon himself (and in this matter we may certainly count Celsus with the Epicureans) by the stress which he laid on the point in his Apology.

Let us pass on to another point upon which Aristides is

<sup>1</sup> lib. iv. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Justin *Apol.* i. c. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. ad Diogn.* 10.

somewhat original, viz. the doctrine of the races of the world and of their origin.

Aristides divides the world into four races, the Barbarian, the Greek, the Jew, the Christian. The last two races are curiously described; the Jews derive their origin from Abraham, Isaac and Jacob: they went down from Syria into Egypt; they came back from Egypt into Syria. As for the Christians, the new race, they derive their origin from Jesus the Messiah, and He is called the Son of God Most High.

Now in the first book against Celsus, Origen remarks as follows: "Celsus promises that he will speak on the subject of the Jews later on, and he begins his discourse concerning our Saviour, as being the leader of our generation in so far as we are Christians<sup>1</sup>, and he goes on to say that he was the leader of this teaching, a few years ago, being regarded by the Christians as the Son of God."

Now it is worthy of note that if Celsus is handling any written document, that document proceeded from the discussion of the Jews to the Christians, affirmed Christ to be the head of the new race, and declared that His followers regarded Him as the Son of God. The agreement at this point with Aristides is certainly striking.

When moreover we come to the discussion of the Jews, Celsus breaks out that the 'Jews were mere Egyptian runaways, and that this darling people of God had never done anything worth remembering'; just as if he had passed over the names of the Patriarchs and fastened on the admission that the Jews had come out of Egypt. Accordingly Origen replies that it is universally agreed that the Jews reckon their genealogy from Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; *σαφές δὲ ὅτι καὶ γενεαλογούνται Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν πατέρων τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ.*

When Aristides deals with the beliefs of the Jews he expresses the remarkable opinion that the Jewish ritual is rather an adoration of angels than a worship of God. The expression is the more remarkable, because Aristides affects to reason throughout as the

<sup>1</sup> Orig. c. *Cels.* i. 26 ὡς γενομένου ἡγεμόνος τῆ καθὼ Χριστιανοὶ ἐσμεν γενέσει ἡμῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. c. *Cels.* iv. 32.

philosopher rather than the Christian, and he forgets himself and introduces the angels without even an explanation to the emperor, as to what beings are intended. What shall we say then when we find Celsus affirming that the Jews worship angels<sup>1</sup>? λέγων αὐτοὺς σέβειν ἀγγέλους καὶ γοητεία προσκεῖσθαι ἧς ὁ Μωϋσῆς αὐτοῖς γέγονεν ἐξηγητής. And Origen is so puzzled as to ask 'where in the world did Celsus find in the Mosaic writings instruction in the worship of angels?' It is certainly curious that we find the missing link supplied by the Apology of Aristides.

No doubt further analogies might be traced: for example, Celsus is especially irate with the Christians for their ridicule of Egyptian superstitions<sup>2</sup>, they see nothing except ephemeral animals, instead of grasping eternal ideas. Now there is no doubt that it is a very common subject of Christian merriment, but perhaps no one of the early Christian writers has laughed so much in detail about it as Aristides. We will not however press the matter further: there are always numerous points of contact and necessary collisions between the attack and the defence of given religions: suffice it to say that we have shewn it to be by no means an inconceivable proposition that Celsus had read the Apology of Aristides before he penned his *Ἀληθῆς λόγος*.

*The Symbol of the Faith in the time of Aristides.*

Aristides the Philosopher is a Christian who has preserved the philosophic manner, and probably the philosophic dress, with a view to future service in the gospel. It seems to have been the practice of not a few of the famous second-century Christians to attract an audience in this way. Justin certainly did so, and almost as surely Tatian; and if these why not Aristides? But as we have already said, the professedly dispassionate presentation of the Christian case, the endeavour to talk reasonably on all sides successively, soon breaks down; the man throws off his disguise and gives the note of challenge: *Christianus sum; nihil Christianum alienum a me puto*. He talks of angels as though all men knew them, dashes through the dogmatic statements of the Church as though they were perfectly familiar, and without a

<sup>1</sup> Orig. c. *Cels.* i. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. c. *Cels.* iii. 19.

word of preliminary explanation of terms, makes a peroration of the impending judgment-day. And so the philosopher with an imperial audience turns out to be another illustration of the Christian city that is set on a hill and cannot be hid.

It is especially interesting to observe that in the time of Aristides the Church already had a Symbol of the Faith: and we may reconstruct a good many of its sentences. Of course in such matters we proceed from the things that are practically certain to those which are less demonstrable; we should not start by saying that the words "Maker of heaven and earth" were proof of the existence of an approximately fixed symbol. But if we can establish other sentences with good confidence, there is no reason to omit these words from the reconstructed formula.

The certain passage from which we proceed is in the words:

"He was pierced (crucified) by the Jews;

"He died and was buried;"

"and they say that

after three days He rose,  
and ascended into Heaven."

It may be taken for granted that these words represent a part of the *Symbolum Fidei* as known to Aristides.

What else may we say was contained in his creed? We may add words which must have stood respectively at the beginning and ending of the Creed: viz. that God was the Maker of Heaven and Earth; and that Jesus Christ was to come to judge the world.

Whether we can go further is a more difficult question: but there is at least a strong suspicion that the creed contained the clause "He was born of the Virgin Mary;" for in Aristides' statement the language about the 'Hebrew virgin' precedes the account of the Crucifixion; moreover, here also, we find Aristides is most pronounced in the enunciation of the doctrine, and Celsus is emphatically scornful in the rejection of it. Accordingly Celsus brings forward the story of the infidelity of Mary, affirming that the father of Jesus was in reality a soldier whose name was Panthera<sup>1</sup>. The same story appears in the Talmud under the name Pandera, which is a transliteration of the foregoing.

<sup>1</sup> *Orig. c. Cels. i. 32.*

Indeed it has been generally held that the legend was invented by the Jews, through the difficulty of accounting for our Lord's birth; apparently, therefore, the Jews were in search of a more tenable hypothesis than the paternity of Joseph; and it is not unreasonable to refer to an early Jewish scandal the story which we find in the Talmud and in Celsus.

But if the story be Jewish in origin, it was certainly Greek in manufacture. Some persons have tried to explain the Greek name *Panthera* by regarding it as a symbol of violent and unrestrained lust. They are, however, mistaken: the name is simply a Greek anagram on the word 'Parthenos,' by which the Blessed Virgin was commonly known. Those who are familiar with the literary tricks of that time, its anagrams, acrostics, isopsephics, and the like, will have not the least difficulty in seeing that this is the true solution. The inventor has only changed the order of the letters and slightly altered the ending of the word. Everything that we know of the dogmatics of the early part of the second century agrees with the belief that at that period the Virginit<sup>y</sup> of Mary was a part of the formulated Christian belief. Nor need we hesitate, in view of the antiquity of the *Panthera*-fable, to give the doctrine a place in the creed of Aristides.

We restore the fragments of Aristides' creed, then, as follows:

We believe in one God, Almighty

Maker of Heaven and Earth:

And in Jesus Christ His Son

\* \* \* \* \*

Born of the Virgin Mary:

\* \* \* \* \*

He was pierced by the Jews:

He died and was buried:

The third day He rose again:

He ascended into Heaven;

\* \* \* \* \*

He is about to come to judge.

\* \* \* \* \*



*The Armenian Fragment of the Apology.*

We give, later on, the Latin translation of the Armenian fragment, as published by the Venetian editors. The passage has also been translated into German by von Himpel<sup>1</sup>, and this translation will be found in Harnack's *Griechische Apologeten*, pp. 110—112. Von Himpel rightly affirms the Armenian text to have been made from the Greek: it will be observed, however, that the Armenian text has the same lacuna as the Syriac in the discourse on the four elements and the powers to which they are respectively subject. This lacuna would seem to be an early feature of the Greek text.

There are one or two points in which we may get some authority from the Armenian for the original text. For instance in c. ii. where the Syriac reads that the origin of the Greeks is to be traced through "Danaus the Egyptian, and through Kadmus, and through Dionysus." Here the Armenian reads "Danaus the Egyptian and Kadmus the Sidonian and Dionysus the Theban," and I am disposed to believe the words added in the Armenian belong there: for instance, we may compare Tatian's language<sup>2</sup>, "Dionysus is absolute sovereign over the Thebans." In a similar manner something seems to have dropped in the Syriac after the statement that in God there is no distinction of male or female; for the Armenian text adds the reason "quia cupiditatibus agitatur qui huic est distinctioni obnoxius." Again in the opening sentences of the Apology the Armenian text has the words, "Eum autem qui rector atque creator est omnium, investigare perdifficile est." We recognize at once in these words the ring of the characteristic Christian quotation from the *Timaeus*, which is usually employed to shew the superior illuminating power of Christian grace over philosophic research, but seems here to be taken in the Platonic sense. The Armenian is perhaps a little nearer to the Platonic language than the Syriac; both versions however will claim the passage from the *Timaeus* as a parallel.

<sup>1</sup> *Thib. Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1877, II. p. 289, f. 1880, I. p. 109—127.

<sup>2</sup> *Cohortatio*, c. VIII.

<sup>3</sup> Plato, *Timaeus*, 28 c, τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὐρεῖν τε ἔργον καὶ εὐρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν.

Allowing then for the occasional preservation of a passage in greater purity by the Armenian fragment, we shall find that the Armenian translator has often made changes, and added glosses, and epitomized sentences. For example, in the summary of the Christian Faith, he describes the Son as the Logos, His mother as the Theotokos. When the disciples are sent forth, in order that a certain *oikonomia* may be fulfilled, the Armenian translator calls it a dispensation of illuminating truth; the preaching too is with 'signs following,' 'comitantibus prodigiis,' which seems to come from Mark xvi. 20 and would be, if genuine, one of the earliest illustrations of that text. It will be seen how large an element of paraphrase is found in the Armenian text.

*The Armenian Fragment*  
(from the Venice edition).

IMPERATORI CÆSARI HADRIANO,  
ARISTIDES,  
PHILOSOPHUS ATHENIENSIS.

Ego, O Rex, Dei providentia creatus, hunc mundum ingressus sum, et caelis, terra ac mari, sole, luna et stellis, caeterisque omnibus creaturis conspectis, huius mundi constitutionem admirans miratus sum, atque conscius factus sum mihi, quoniam omnia quae sunt in mundo necessitate ac vi diriguntur, omnium creatorem et rectorem esse Deum: quia iis omnibus quae reguntur atque moventur, fortior est creator et rector.

Eum autem, qui rector atque creator est omnium, investigare perdifficile atque in immensum pertinens mihi videtur: penitus vero eum et certa ratione describere, quum inexplicabilis et ineffabilis sit, impossibile et sine ulla prorsus utilitate. Deus enim naturam habet infinitam, imperscrutabilem et creaturis omnibus incomprehensibilem. Hoc unum scire necesse est, qui creaturas universas Providentia sua gubernat, ipsum esse Dominum Deum et creatorem omnium: quia visibilia omnia creavit bonitate sua, eaque humano generi donavit. Quapropter Illum solum, utpote unum Deum, nos adorare et glorificare oportet: unumquemque autem nostrum proximum suum sicut semetipsum diligere.

Verumtamen de Deo saltem sciendum est, Eum ab alio factum non fuisse, neque semetipsum fecisse, atque, a nullo circumscriptum, omnia comprehendere. Ex se ipsomet est<sup>1</sup>. Ipse sapientia immortalis, principio et fine carens, immortalis atque aeternus, perfectus, nulli necessitati obnoxius, et necessitatibus omnium satisfaciens, nullo indigens et indigentibus omnium ipse magnificus opitulatur.

Ipse est principio carens, quia, qui habet principium, habet et finem. Ipse sine nomine, quod quicumque nomine appellatur, creatus est factusque ab alio. Ei neque colores sunt neque forma: quod, quicumque his praeditus est, mensurabilis est, limitibusque cogitur. Eius naturae nulla inest maris et feminae distinctio, quia cupiditatibus agitatur qui huic est distinctioni obnoxius. Ipse sub caelis incomprehensibilis est, quia caelos excedit: nec caeli caelorum Illo maiores sunt, quia caeli caelorum et creaturae omnes quae sub caelis sunt, ab Illo comprehenduntur.

Ipsi nemo contrarius neque adversarius: quod si quis Ei contrarius et adversarius esse posset, eidem compar fieri videretur.

Ipse immobilis est atque praeter quemcumque terminum et circuitum: quia ubi et unde moveri possit locus deest. Ipse neque mensura comprehendendi, neque circumdari potest, quia Ipse omnia replet, atque est ultra omnes visibiles et invisibiles creaturas. Ipse neque ira, neque indignatione movetur, quia nulla caecitate afficitur, quum omnino et absolute sit intellectualis. Propterea hisce omnibus miraculis variis omnibusque beneficiis Ipse omnia creavit. Sacrificiis, oblationibus et hostiis Ipse non indiget, neque, ulla in re, visibilibus creaturis opus habet; quia omnia replet, et omnium egestatibus satisfacit, Ipse numquam indigens ac semper gloriosus.

De Deo sapienter loqui ab ipso Deo mihi datum est, et pro meis viribus locutus sum, quin tamen altitudinem imperscrutabilis magnitudinis Ejus comprehendere possem. Sola fide vero Illum glorificans adoro.

Nunc igitur ad genus humanum veniamus et quinam praefatas veritates secuti fuerint videbimus, et quinam ab eis erraverint. Compertum est nobis, o Rex, quatuor esse humani generis stirpes, quae sunt Barbarorum, Graecorum, Hebraeorum atque Christianorum. Ethnici et Barbari genus suum ducunt a Belo, Crono et

<sup>1</sup> Sensus dubius: armeniaca verba idem sonant ac graeca *αὐτογενὲς εἶδος*.

Hiera, aliisque suis Divis pluribus. Graeci vero a Jove, qui Zeus vel Jupiter dicitur, originem trahunt, per Helenum, Xuthum, aliosque eorum descendentes, nempe Helladem, Inacum, Phoro-neum, ac demum Danaum Aegyptium, Cadmum Sidonium, ac Dionysium Thebanum. Hebraei autem genus suum ducunt ex Abrahamo, Isaaco, Jacobo, et duodecim Jacobi filiiis, qui e Syria in Aegyptum se receperunt, et a legislatore suo Hebraei nuncupati fuerunt, inde vero terram promissionis ingressi, Judaei sunt appella-ti. Christianorum tandem genus a Domino Jesu Christo oritur.

Ipse Dei altissimi est Filius, et una cum Spiritu Sancto revelatus est nobis: de caelis descendit ex Hebraea Virgine natus, ex Virgine carnem assumpsit, assumptaque humana natura, semet- ipsum Dei filium revelavit. Qui Evangelio suo vivificante mundum universum, consolatoria sua bonitate, sibi captivum fecit.

Ipse est Verbum, qui ex progenie Hebraica, secundum carnem, ex Maria virgine Deipara natus est. Ipse est qui Apostolos duodecim inter suos discipulos elegit, ut mundum universum dispensatione illuminantis Veritatis suae institueret. Ipse ab Hebraeis crucifixus est: a mortuis resurrexit et ad caelos ascendit: in mundum universum discipulos suos mittens, qui divino et admirabili lumine suo, comitantibus prodigiis, omnes gentes sapientiam docerent. Quorum praedicatio in hunc usque diem germinat atque fructificat, orbem universum vocans ad lucem.

Quatuor ergo nationes, O Rex, ostendi tibi: Barbaros, Graecos, Hebraeos atque Christianos.

\* \* \* \* \*

Divinitati spiritualis natura propria est, Angelis ignea, dae- moniis aquosa, generique humano terrestris.

\* \* \* \* \*

We have now reprinted all that is known of the Armenian translation of the Apology; it is out of our limit and beyond our measure to think of reprinting the actual Armenian text. For the purpose of comparison we add, however, another copy of the same Armenian fragment, taken from a MS. at Edschmiazin, and translated into English by Mr F. C. Conybeare, of Oxford, for whose kindly aid we are very grateful. According to the informa- tion which he has supplied, the MS. at Edschmiazin was written on paper, and is much worn by age. The date was certainly not

later than the eleventh century. The fragment from the Apology which it contains was followed by the fragment from the Homily on the Penitent Thief. Here and there the text was illegible, and in these cases the missing words have been supplied from the Venice text, as reprinted by Pitra. The two texts in question are moreover in very close agreement, except for the occasional addition of a word or two by the Edschmiazin MS. The rendering is designedly a literal one.

*The Armenian Fragment*  
(from the Edschmiazin MS.).

TO THE AUTOCRATIC CAESAR ADRIANOS  
FROM ARISTIDES, ATHENIAN PHILOSOPHER.

I, O Ruler, who was by the providence of God created and fashioned man in the world, and who have beheld the heaven and the earth and the sea, the sun and the moon and the stars and all creatures, wondered and was amazed at the eternal<sup>1</sup> order thereof. I also by reflection learned that the world and all that is therein is by necessity and force guided and moved and of the whole God is controuler and orderer: for that which controuls is more powerful than that which is controuled and moved. To enquire about Him who is guardian and controuls all things seems to me to quite exceed the comprehension and to be most difficult, and to speak accurately concerning Him is beyond compass of thought and of speech, and bringeth no advantage; for His nature is infinite and unsearchable, and imperceptible,<sup>2</sup> and inaccessible to all creatures. We can only know that He who governs by His providence all created things, He is Lord and God and creator of all, who ordered all things visible in His beneficence, and graciously bestowed them on the race of man. Now it is meet that we serve and glorify Him alone as God, and love one another as ourselves. But this much alone can we know concerning God,

<sup>1</sup> Here there is a copyist's error in the Edschmiazin text.

<sup>2</sup> Here the Edschmiazin text adds a word which means 'not to be observed or looked at.'

that He was not generated from any source, and did not Himself make Himself, and is not contained by aught, but Himself contains all. *Αὐτογενὲς εἶδος*<sup>1</sup> and wisdom immortal, without beginning or end, not passing away and undying, He is complete and wanteth nothing, while He fulfilleth all wants. In Himself He wanteth nought, but gives to and fulfils the needs of all. In Himself He is without beginning, for He is beginning of everything whatever, and is perfect. In Himself He is nameless, for whatever is named is fashioned out of something else<sup>2</sup> and created. Colour and form of Him there is not, for that falls under measure and limit, unto whatsoever colour and form belong. Male and female in that nature there is not, for that is subject to particular passions, in whatsoever that distinction exists. Within the heavens He is not contained, for He is beyond<sup>3</sup> the heavens; neither are the heavens greater than He, for the heavens and all creation are contained in Him. Counter to Him and opposed there is no one: if any one be found counter to Him, it appears that that one becometh associate with Him. He is unmoved and unmeasured and ineffable; for there is no place whence or with which He could move; and He is not, by being measured, contained or environed on any side, for it is Himself that filleth all, and He transcends all things visible and invisible. Wrath and anger there is not in Him, for there is not in Him blindness, but He is wholly and entirely rational, and on that account He established creation with divers wonders and entire beneficence. Need hath He none of victims and oblations and sacrifices, and of all that is in the visible creation He wanteth nought. For He fulfilleth the wants of all and completeth them, and being in need of nothing He is glorified unto all time.

Now by the grace of God it was given me to speak wisely concerning Him. So far as I have received the faculty I will speak, yet not according to the measure of the inscrutability of His greatness shall I be able to do so, but by faith alone do I glorify and adore Him.

Let us next come to the race of man, and see who are capable

<sup>1</sup> *αὐτογενὲς* (or *αὐτογέννητον*) *εἶδος* is the Greek that answers to the Armenian texts. 'Ex se ipsomet est' does not give the sense. I give the Greek, for I really hardly know how to render it in English.

<sup>2</sup> Or "by another."

<sup>3</sup> *ἐπέκεινα*.

of receiving the truth of these sayings, and who are gone astray. It is manifest<sup>1</sup>, O Ruler, for there are four tribes<sup>2</sup> of the human race. There are barbarians, and some are Greeks and others Hebrews, and there are who are Christians. But the heathens and barbarians count their descent from Baal, and from Cronos, and from Hera, and from many others of their gods. But the Greeks say Zeus (who is Dios) is their founder<sup>3</sup>, and reckon their descent from Helenos and Xuthos, and one after another from Hellas, Inachos and Phoroneus, and also finally from Danaus the Egyptian, and from Cadmus the Sidonian, and Dionysius the Theban.

But the Jews reckon their race from Abraham, and Abraham's son they say was Isaac, and from Isaac Jacob, and from Jacob the twelve who migrated from Assyria into Egypt and were there named the tribes of the Hebrews by their lawgiver, and having come into the land of recompence, were named.....<sup>4</sup> the tribes of the Jews.

But the Christians reckon their race from the Lord Jesus Christ. He is Himself Son of God on high, who was manifested of the Holy Spirit, came down from heaven, and being born of a Hebrew virgin took on His flesh from the virgin, and was manifested in the nature of humanity the Son of God: who sought to win the entire world to His eternal goodness by His life-giving preaching<sup>5</sup>. He it is who was according to the flesh born of the race of the Hebrews, by the God-bearing<sup>6</sup> virgin Miriam. He chose the twelve disciples, and He by his illuminating truth, dispensing

<sup>1</sup> So it stands in the Venice text: but in the Edschmiazin copy, for 'manifest' there is a word which means 'the name' followed by a lacuna of a few letters, as if the scribe had intended to read 'I will recount the names, O Ruler,' or something of that kind.

<sup>2</sup> The word answers to the Greek *φυλαί* or *δήμοι*. In the same sense at the end of the fragment another word is used, answering rather to *γέννη*.

<sup>3</sup> These three words are added to make sense, the whole passage being grammatically much confused.

<sup>4</sup> Here the Edschmiazin MS. was unreadable from age. The printed text has no lacuna and gives no hint of the word whatever it was which was read in the Edschmiazin text.

<sup>5</sup> *εὐαγγέλιον*.

<sup>6</sup> The word *θεοτόκος* is implied.

it<sup>1</sup>, taught all the world, and was nailed on the cross by the Jews. Who rose from the dead and ascended into heaven, and sent forth His disciples into the whole world<sup>2</sup>, and taught all with divinely miraculous and profoundly wise wonders. Their preaching until this day blossoms and bears fruit, and summons all the world to receive the light.

These are the four tribes, whom we set before thee, O Ruler, Barbarians, Greeks, Jews and Christians. But to the Deity is appointed the spiritual, and to angels the fiery, and to devils the watery, and to the race of men the earth.

\* \* \* \* \*

*An additional Armenian Fragment of Aristides.*

Over and above the fragments of the lost Apology of Aristides, and the homily *de Latrone*, there is a scrap printed by Pitra in his *Spicilegium Solesmense* which professes to come from an epistle of Aristides to all Philosophers. It is, as far as we can judge, in the form in which we have it presented to us, a theological product of the time of the Monophysite controversy. But we must bear in mind what we have learned from the Armenian fragment of the Apology, that an Armenian translation is made up out of the matter of the original writer *plus* the terms and definitions of the translator, as for instance we see to have happened in the ascription of the term Θεοτόκος to the Blessed Virgin. And the question is whether under the amplified folds of the theology of this fragment printed by Pitra there may be hidden the more scanty terms of a theologian of the second century, and if so, whether the writer be our Aristides, and the work quoted be the Apology or some other work. In order to test this point, we will give a rendering of the fragment into Greek, for which again I am indebted to the kindness of Mr Conybeare.

<sup>1</sup> Οικονομικός is here rendered. Perhaps it should be taken as an epithet of 'truth,' for in the original it precedes the word 'illuminating.'

<sup>2</sup> Οικουμένην.



*Armenian Fragment.**(Frag. iii. of Pitra.)*FROM AN EPISTLE OF ARISTIDES TO  
ALL PHILOSOPHERS.

Πάντ' ἔπαθε παθήματα ἀληθινῶ σὺν αὐτοῦ σώματι, ὃ θελήματι Κυρίου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος δεξάμενος, ἦνωσε τὴν σάρκα<sup>1</sup> ἑαυτῶ<sup>2</sup> τὴν παρὰ<sup>3</sup> παρθένου Ἐβραϊκῆς τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας ἀρρητῶ καὶ ἀτόμῳ ἐνόητι.

Now with reference to the foregoing passage, we may say at once that the concluding terms are not second-century language at all. On the other hand, the reference to the "Hebrew virgin" is precisely the language of the Apology. Further, the opening words of the fragment, with their allusion to a real passion of a real body, are certainly anti-Docetic, and therefore may be taken as second-century theology. We may compare with them the sentiments of the Ignatian epistles, as for example the letter to the Smyrnaeans (c. ii.), where we read :—

ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἔπαθεν δι' ἡμᾶς· καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν, ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτόν· οὐχ ὥσπερ ἄπιστοὶ τινες λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονηῖναι.

It does not, therefore, seem as if these words in the opening of the fragment were a translator's invention or addition. They have a second-century ring about them. If so, then the extract is either a translation of a paragraph of the Apology, or of some other tract by the same writer, and probably the latter. We have, however, no means of discriminating further the original form of the sentence from the later accretions. It is, however, by no means impossible that the heading may be correct; that Aristides may have written an epistle or address to Philosophers on the subject of the Christian religion in general, or of the Incarnation in particular.

<sup>1</sup> The same word is used by the translator to render *σῶμα* and *σὰρξ*.

<sup>2</sup> More exactly *ἑαυτοῦ*: an additional word being necessary in the Armenian in order to give the sense 'conjunct sibi': but the sense seems to require *ἑαυτῶ*.

<sup>3</sup> Or *ἐκ*.

THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES, TRANSLATED  
FROM THE SYRIAC.

Again, the apology which Aristides the philosopher made before Hadrian the king concerning the worship of God.

[To the Emperor] Caesar Titus Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, from Marcianus Aristides, a philosopher of Athens.

I. I, O king, by the grace of God came into this world; and having contemplated the heavens and the earth and the seas, and beheld the sun and the rest of the orderly creation, I was amazed at the arrangement of the world; and I comprehended that the world and all that is therein are moved by the impulse of another, and I understood that he that moveth them is God, who is hidden in them and concealed from them: and this is well known, that that which moveth is more powerful than that which is moved. And that I should investigate concerning this Mover of all, as to how He exists—for this is evident to me, for He is incomprehensible in His nature—and that I should dispute concerning the steadfastness of His government, so as to comprehend it fully, is not profitable for me; for no one is able perfectly to comprehend it. But I say concerning the Mover of the world, that He is God of all, who made all for the sake of man; and it is evident to me that this is expedient, that one should fear God, and not grieve man.

Now I say that God is not begotten, not made; a constant nature, without beginning and without end; immortal, complete, and incomprehensible: and in saying that He is complete, I mean this; that there is no deficiency in Him, and He stands in need of nought, but everything stands in need of Him: and in saying that He is without beginning, I mean this; that everything which has a beginning has also an end; and that which has an end is dissoluble. He has no name; for everything that has a name is associated with the created; He has no likeness, nor composition of members; for he who possesses this is associated with things

fashioned. He is not male, nor is He female: the heavens do not contain Him; but the heavens and all things visible and invisible are contained in Him. Adversary He has none; for there is none that is more powerful than He; anger and wrath He possesses not, for there is nothing that can stand against 5 Him. Error and forgetfulness are not in His nature, for He is altogether wisdom and understanding, and in Him consists all that consists. He asks no sacrifice and no libation, nor any of the things that are visible; He asks not anything from anyone; but all ask from Him. 10

II. Since then it has been spoken to you by us concerning God, as far as our mind was capable of discoursing concerning Him, let us now come to the race of men, in order that we may know which of them hold any part of that truth concerning which we have spoken, and which of them are in error therefrom. 15

This is plain to you, O king, that there are four races of men in this world; Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians.

Now the Barbarians reckon the head of the race of their religion from Kronos and from Rhea and the rest of their gods: but the Greeks from Helenus, who is said to be from Zeus; and from 20 Helenus was born Aeolus and Xythus, and the rest of the family from Inachus and Phoroneus, and last of all from Danaus the Egyptian and from Kadmus and from Dionysus.

Moreover the Jews reckon the head of their race from Abraham, who begat Isaac, from whom was born Jacob, who 25 begat twelve sons who removed from Syria and settled in Egypt, and there were called the race of the Hebrews by their law-giver: but at last they were named Jews.

The Christians, then, reckon the beginning of their religion from Jesus Christ, who is named the Son of God most High; 30 and it is said that God came down from heaven, and from a Hebrew virgin took and clad Himself with flesh, and in a daughter of man there dwelt the Son of God. This is taught from that Gospel which a little while ago was spoken among them as being preached; wherein if ye also will read, ye will comprehend 35 the power that is upon it. This Jesus, then, was born of the tribe of the Hebrews; and He had twelve disciples, in order that a certain dispensation of His might be fulfilled. He was

pierced by the Jews; and He died and was buried; and they say that after three days He rose and ascended to heaven; and then these twelve disciples went forth into the known parts of the world, and taught concerning His greatness with all humility and sobriety; and on this account those also who to-day believe in this preaching are called Christians, who are well known. There are then four races of mankind, as I said before, Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians.

To God then ministers wind, and to angels fire; but to demons water, and to men earth. 10

III. Let us then begin with the Barbarians, and by degrees we will proceed to the rest of the peoples, in order that we may understand which of them hold the truth concerning God, and which of them error.

The Barbarians then, inasmuch as they did not comprehend 15 God, erred with the elements; and they began to serve created things instead of the Creator of them<sup>1</sup>, and on this account they made likenesses and they enclosed them in temples; and lo! they worship them and guard them with great precaution, that their gods may not be stolen by robbers; and the Barbarians 20 have not understood that whatsoever watches must be greater than that which is watched; and that whatsoever creates must be greater than that whatever is created: if so be then that their gods are too weak for their own salvation, how will they furnish salvation to mankind? The Barbarians then have erred with a 25 great error in worshipping dead images which profit them not. And it comes to me to wonder also, O king, at their philosophers, how they too have erred and have named gods those likenesses which have been made in honour of the elements; and the wise men have not understood that these very elements are corruptible 30 and dissoluble; for if a little part of the element be dissolved or corrupted, all of it is dissolved and corrupted. If then these elements are dissolved and corrupted, and compelled to be subject to another harder than themselves, and are not in their nature gods, how can they call gods those likenesses which are made 35 in their honour? Great then is the error which their philosophers have brought upon their followers.

<sup>1</sup> Rom. i. 25.

IV. Let us turn then, O king, to the elements themselves, in order that we may shew concerning them that they are not gods, but a creation, corruptible and changeable, which is in the likeness of man<sup>1</sup>. But God is incorruptible and unchangeable and invisible, while seeing, turning and changing all things. 5

Those therefore who think concerning earth that it is God have already erred, since it is digged and planted and delved; and since it receives the defilement of the excrement of men and of beasts and of cattle: and since sometimes it becomes what is useless; for if it be burned it becomes dead, for from baked clay there 10 springs nothing: and again, if water be collected on it, it becomes corrupted along with its fruits: and lo! it is trodden on by men and beasts, and it receives the impurity of the blood of the slain; and it is digged and filled with the dead and becomes a repository for bodies: none of which things can that holy and 15 venerable and blessed and incorruptible nature receive. And from this we have perceived that the earth is not God but a creature of God.

V. And in like manner again have those erred who have thought concerning water that it is God. For water was created 20 for the use of man and in many ways it is made subject to him. For it is changed, and receives defilement, and is corrupted, and loses its own nature when cooked with many things, and receives colours which are not its own; being moreover hardened by the cold and mixed and mingled with the excrement of men and beasts 25 and with the blood of the slain: and it is compelled by workmen, by means of the compulsion of channels, to flow and be conducted against its own will, and to come into gardens and other places, so as to cleanse and carry out all the filth of men, and wash away all defilement, and supply man's need of itself. Wherefore 30 it is impossible that water should be God, but it is a work of God and a part of the world.

So too those have erred not a little who thought concerning fire that it is God: for it too was created for the need of men: and in many ways it is made subject to them, in the service of 35 food and in the preparation of ornaments and the other things of

<sup>1</sup> Rom. i. 23.

which your majesty is aware: whilst in many ways it is extinguished and destroyed.

And again those who have thought concerning the blast of winds that it is God, these also have erred: and this is evident to us, that these winds are subject to another, since sometimes their blast is increased and sometimes it is diminished and ceases, according to the commandment of Him who subjects them. Since for the sake of man they were created by God, in order that they might fulfil the needs of trees and fruits and seeds, and that they might transport ships upon the sea; those ships which bring to men their necessary things, from a place where they are found to a place where they are not found; and furnish the different parts of the world. Since then this wind is sometimes increased and sometimes diminished, there is one place in which it does good and another where it does harm, according to the nod of Him who rules it: and even men are able by means of well-known instruments to catch and coerce it that it may fulfil for them the necessities which they demand of it: and over itself it has no power at all; wherefore it is not possible that winds should be called gods, but a work of God.

VI. So too those have erred who have thought concerning the sun that he is God. For lo! we see him, that by the necessity of another he is moved and turned and runs his course; and he proceeds from degree to degree, rising and setting every day, in order that he may warm the shoots of plants and shrubs, and may bring forth in the air which is mingled with him every herb which is on the earth. And in calculation the sun has a part with the rest of the stars in his course, and although he is one in his nature, he is mixed with many parts, according to the advantage of the needs of men: and that not according to his own will, but according to the will of Him that ruleth him. Wherefore it is not possible that the sun should be God, but a work of God; and in like manner also the moon and stars.

VII. But those who have thought concerning men of old, that some of them are gods, these have greatly erred: as thou, even thou, O king, art aware, that man consists of the four elements and of soul and spirit, and therefore is he even called World, and apart from any one of these parts he does not exist. He has

beginning and end, and he is born and also suffers corruption: But God, as I have said, has none of this in His nature, but He is unmade and incorruptible. On this account, then, it is impossible that we should represent him as God who is man by nature, one to whom sometimes, when he looketh for joy, grief happens; and for laughter, and weeping befalls him; one that is passionate and jealous, envious and regretful, along with the rest of the other defects: and in many ways more corrupted than the elements or even than the beasts.

And thence, O king, it is right for us to understand the error of the Barbarians, that, whereas they have not investigated concerning the true God, they have fallen away from the truth and have gone after the desire of their own mind, in serving elements subject to dissolution, and dead images: and on account of their error they do not perceive who is the true God. 15

VIII. Let us return now to the Greeks in order that we may know what opinion they have concerning the true God.

The Greeks then because they are wiser than the Barbarians have erred even more than the Barbarians, in that they have introduced many gods that are made; and some of them they have represented as male and some of them as female; and in such a way that some of their gods were found to be adulterers and murderers, and jealous and envious, and angry and passionate, and murderers of fathers, and thieves and plunderers. And they say that some of them were lame and maimed; and some of them wizards, and some of them utterly mad; and some of them played on harps; and some of them wandered on mountains: and some of them died outright; and some were struck by lightning, and some were made subject to men, and some went off in flight, and some were stolen by men; and lo! some of them were wept and bewailed by men; and some, they say, went down to Hades; and some were sorely wounded, and some were changed into the likeness of beasts in order that they might commit adultery with the race of mortal women; and some of them have been reviled for sleeping with males: and some of them, they say, were in wedlock with their mothers and sisters and daughters; and they say of their gods that they committed adultery with the daughters of men, and from them was born a certain race which was also 30

mortal. And of some of their goddesses they say that they contended about beauty and came for judgment before men. The Greeks, then, O king, have brought forward what is wicked, ridiculous and foolish concerning their gods and themselves; in that they called such like persons gods, who are no gods: and hence men have taken occasion to commit adultery and fornication, and to plunder and do everything that is wicked and hateful and abominable. For if those who are called their gods have done all those things that are written above, how much more shall men do them who believe in those who have done 10 these things! and from the wickedness of this error, lo! there have happened to men frequent wars and mighty famines, and bitter captivity and deprivation of all things: and lo! they endure them, and all these things befall them from this cause alone: and when they endure them they do not perceive in their conscience that 15 because of their error these things happen to them.

IX. Now let us come to the history of these their gods in order that we may prove accurately concerning all those things which we have said above.

Before everything else the Greeks introduce as a god Kronos, 20 which is interpreted Chiun; and the worshippers of this deity sacrifice to him their children: and some of them they burn while yet living. Concerning him they say that he took him Rhea to wife; and from her he begat many sons; from whom he begat also Dios, who is called Zeus; and at the last he went mad and, for fear of 25 an oracle which was told him, began to eat his children. And from him Zeus was stolen away, and he did not perceive it: and at the last Zeus bound him and cut off his genitals and cast them in the sea; whence, as they say in the fable, was born Aphrodite, who is called Astera: and he cast Kronos bound into darkness. 30 Great then is the error and scorn which the Greeks have introduced concerning the head of their gods, in that they have said all these things about him, O king. It is not possible that God should be bound or amputated; otherwise it is a great misfortune.

And after Kronos they introduce another god, Zeus; and they 35 say concerning this one, that he received the headship and became king of all the gods; and they say concerning him that he was changed into cattle and everything else, in order that he might



commit adultery with mortal women, and might raise up to himself children from them. Since at one time they say he was changed into a bull on account of his passion for Europa and for Pasiphae; and again he was changed into the likeness of gold on account of his passion for Danae: and into a swan, through his passion for Leda; and into a man through his passion for Antiope; and into lightning on account of his passion for the Moon: so that from these he begat many children: for they say that from Antiope he begat Zethus and Amphion; and from the Moon, Dionysus; from Alkmena, Herakles; and from Leto, Apollo and Artemis; and from Danae, Perseus; and from Leda, Castor and Polydeuces and Helene; and from Mnemosyne he begat nine daughters, those whom he called the Muses; and from Europa, Minos and Rhadamanthus and Sarpedon. But last of all he was changed into the likeness of an eagle on account of his passion for Ganymede the shepherd.

Because of these stories, O king, much evil has befallen the race of men who are at this present day, since they imitate their gods, and commit adultery, and are defiled with their mothers and sisters, and in sleeping with males: and some of them have dared to kill even their fathers. For if he, who is said to be the head and king of their gods, has done these things, how much more shall his worshippers imitate him! And great is the madness which the Greeks have introduced into their history concerning him: for it is not possible that a god should commit adultery or fornication, or should approach to sleep with males, or that he should be a parricide; otherwise he is much worse than a destructive demon.

X. And again they introduce another god, Hephaestus; and they say of him that he is lame and wearing a cap on his head, and holding in his hand tongs and hammer; and working in brass in order that therefrom he may find his needed sustenance. Is then this god so much in need? Whereas it is impossible for a god to be needy or lame: otherwise he is very weak.

And again they introduce another god and call him Hermes; and they say that he is a thief, loving avarice and coveting gains, and a magician and maimed and an athlete and an interpreter of words: whereas it is impossible for a god to be a magician, or

avaricious, or maimed, or coveting anything that is not his, or an athlete: and if it be found to be otherwise, he is of no use.

And after him they introduce another god, Asclepius; and they say that he is a physician and prepares medicines and bandages in order that he may satisfy his need of sustenance. Is 5 then this god in need? And he at last was struck by lightning by Zeus, on account of Tyndareus the Lacedemonian; and so he died. If then Asclepius was a god, and when struck by lightning was unable to help himself, how is it that he was able to help others? Whereas it is an impossible thing that the divine nature 10 should be in need, or that it should be struck by lightning.

And again they introduce another god and call him Ares, and they say that he is a warrior and jealous, and covets sheep and things which do not belong to him, and acquires possessions through his weapons; and of him they say that at last he com- 15 mitted adultery with Aphrodite and was bound by a tiny boy Eros, and by Hephaestus the husband of Aphrodite: whereas it is impossible that a god should be a warrior or a prisoner or an adulterer. 20

And again they say of Dionysus that he too is a god, who 20 celebrates festivals by night and teaches drunkenness, and carries off women that do not belong to him: and at the last they say that he went mad and left his female attendants and fled to the wilderness; and in this madness of his he ate serpents; and at the last he was killed by Titan. If then Dionysus was a god, 25 and when slain was not able to help himself; how is it that he was able to help others?

Herakles, too, they introduce, and they say of him that he is a god, a hater of things hateful, a tyrant and a warrior, and a slayer of the wicked: and of him they say that at the last he 30 went mad and slew his children and cast himself into the fire and died. If therefore Herakles be a god and in all these evils was unable to stand up for himself, how was it that others were asking help from him? Whereas it is impossible that a god should be mad or drunken or a slayer of his children, or destroyed by 35 fire.

XI. And after him they introduce another god and call him Apollo: and they say of him that he is jealous and changeable; and

sometimes he holds a bow and a quiver, and sometimes a lyre and a plectrum; and he gives oracles to men, in order that he may receive a reward from them. Is then this god in need of reward? a.  
Whereas it is disgraceful that all these things should be found in a god. 5

And after him they introduce Artemis a goddess, the sister of Apollo; and they say that she was a huntress; and she carried a bow and arrows, and went about on mountains leading dogs, either to hunt the deer or the wild boars. Whereas it is disgraceful that a maid should go about by herself on mountains and follow 10 the chase of beasts. And therefore it is not possible that Artemis should be a goddess.

Again they say of Aphrodite that she forsooth is a goddess; and sometimes forsooth she dwells with their gods, and sometimes she commits adultery with men; and sometimes she has Ares for 15 her lover and sometimes Adonis, who is Tammuz: and sometimes forsooth Aphrodite is wailing and weeping for the death of Tammuz: and they say that she went down to Hades in order that she might ransom Adonis from Persephone, who was the daughter of Hades. If then Aphrodite be a goddess and was 20 unable to help her lover in his death, how is she able to help others? And this is a thing impossible to be listened to, that the divine nature should come to weeping and wailing and adultery.

And again they say of Tammuz that he is a god; and he is forsooth a hunter and an adulterer; and they say that he was killed 25 by a blow from a wild boar, and was not able to help himself. And if he was not able to help himself, how is he able to take care of the human race? And this is impossible, that a god should be an adulterer or a hunter or that he should have died by 30 violence.

And again they say of Rhea that she forsooth is the mother of their gods; and they say of her that she had at one time a lover Atys, and she was rejoicing in corruptible men; and at the last she established lamentations, and was bewailing her lover Atys. If then the mother of their gods was not able to help her lover 35 and rescue him from death, how is it possible that she should help others? It is disgraceful then that a goddess should lament and weep, and that she should have joy over corruptible beings.

Again they bring forward Kore; and they say that she was a goddess and that she was carried off by Pluto and was not able to help herself. If then she is a goddess and was not able to help herself, how is she able to help others? For a goddess who is carried off is extremely weak.

All these things, then, O king, the Greeks have introduced about their gods, and have invented and said concerning them: whence all men have taken occasion to do all wicked and impure things: and thereby the whole earth has been corrupted.

XII. Now the Egyptians, because they are more evil and ignorant than all peoples upon the earth, have erred more than all men. For the worship of the Barbarians and the Greeks did not suffice them, but they introduced also the nature of beasts, and said concerning it that they were gods: and also of the creeping things which are found on the dry land and in the waters, and of the plants and herbs they have said that some of them are gods, and they have become corrupt in all madness and impurity more than all peoples that are upon the earth. For of old time they worshipped Isis; and they say that she forsooth is a goddess, who had forsooth a husband Osiris, her brother; but when forsooth Osiris was killed by his brother Typhon, Isis fled with her son Horus to Byblos in Syria and was there for a certain time until that her son was grown: and he contended with his uncle Typhon and killed him, and thereupon Isis returned and went about with her son Horus, and was seeking for the body of Osiris her lord, and bitterly bewailing his death. If therefore Isis be a goddess, and was not able to help Osiris her brother and lord, how is it possible that she should help others? Whereas it is impossible that the divine nature should be afraid and flee, or weep and wail. Otherwise it is a great misfortune.

But of Osiris they say that he is a god, a beneficent one; and he was killed by Typhon and could not help himself; and it is evident that this cannot be said of Deity.

And again they say of Typhon, his brother, that he is a god, a fratricide, and slain by his brother's son and wife since he was unable to help himself. And how can one who does not help himself be a god?

Now because the Egyptians are more ignorant than the rest of

the peoples, these and the like gods did not suffice them, but they also put the name of gods on the beasts which are merely soulless. For some men among them worship the sheep, and others the calf; and some of them the pig, and others the shadfish; and some of them the crocodile, and the hawk, and the cormorant, and the kite, and the vulture, and the eagle, and the crow; some of them worship the cat, and others the fish Shibbuta; some of them the dog, and some of them the serpent, and some the asp, and others the lion, and others garlic, and onions, and thorns, and others the leopard, and the like. 10

And the poor wretches do not perceive with regard to all these things that they are nought; while every day they look upon their gods, who are eaten and destroyed by men, yea even by their own fellows; and some of them being burned, and some of them dying and putrifying and becoming refuse; and they do not understand that they are destroyed in many ways. 15

And accordingly the Egyptians have not understood that the like of these are not gods, since their salvation is not within their own power; and if they are too weak for their own salvation, then as regards the salvation of their worshippers pray whence will they have the power to help them? 20

XIII. The Egyptians then have erred with a great error, above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth. But it is a matter of wonder, O king, concerning the Greeks, whereas they excel all the rest of the peoples in their manners and in their reason, how thus they have gone astray after dead idols and senseless images: while they see their gods sawn and polished by their makers, and curtailed and cut and burnt and shaped and transformed into every shape by them. And when they are grown old and fail by the length of time, and are melted and broken in pieces, how is it that they do not understand concerning them that they are not gods? And those who have not ability for their own preservation, how will they be able to take care of men? But even the poets and philosophers among them being in error have introduced concerning them that they are gods, things like these which are made for the honour of God Almighty; and being in error they seek to make them like to God as to whom no man has ever seen to whom He is like; nor is 35

he able to see Him<sup>1</sup>; and together with these things they introduce concerning Deity as if it were that deficiency were found with it; in that they say that He accepts sacrifice and asks for burnt-offering and libation and murders of men and temples. But God is not needy, and none of these things is sought for by Him: 5 and it is clear that men are in error in those things that they imagine. But their poets and philosophers introduce and say, that the nature of all their gods is one; but they have not understood of God our Lord, that while He is one, He is yet in all. They, then, are in error; for if, while the body of man is many in its 10 parts, no member is afraid of its fellow, but whilst it is a composite body, all is on an equality with all: so also God who is one in His nature has a single essence proper to Him, and He is equal in His nature and His essence, nor is He afraid of Himself. If therefore the nature of the gods is one, it is not proper that 15 a god should persecute a god, nor kill nor do him that which is evil.

If then gods were persecuted and transfixed by gods, and some of them were carried off and some were struck by lightning; it is clear that the nature of their gods is not one, and hence it is clear, 20 O king, that that is an error which they speculate about the nature of their gods, and that they reduce them to one nature. If then it is proper that we should admire a god who is visible and does not see, how much more is this worthy of admiration that a man should believe in a nature which is invisible and 25 all-seeing! and if again it is right that a man should investigate the works of an artificer, how much more is it right that he should praise the Maker of the artificer! For behold! while the Greeks have established laws, they have not understood that by their laws they were condemning their gods; for if their laws are just, their gods are unjust, who have committed transgression in 30 killing one another and practising sorcery, committing adultery, plundering, stealing and sleeping with males, along with the rest of their other doings. But if their gods excellently and as they describe have done all these things, then the laws of the Greeks 35 are unjust; and they are not laid down according to the will of the gods; and in this the whole world has erred.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 16.

For as for the histories of their gods, some of them are myths, some of them physical, and some hymns and songs: the hymns and songs, then, are empty words and sound; and as to the physical, if they were done as they say, then they are not gods, since they have done these things and suffered and endured these things: 5 and these myths are flimsy words, altogether devoid of force.

XIV. Let us come now, O king, also to the history of the Jews and let us see what sort of opinion they have concerning God. The Jews then say that God is one, Creator of all and almighty: and that it is not proper for us that anything else should be wor- 10 shipped, but this God only: and in this they appear to be much nearer to the truth than all the peoples, in that they worship God more exceedingly and not His works; and they imitate God by reason of the love which they have for man; for they have compassion on the poor and ransom the captive and bury the dead, and 15 do things of a similar nature to these: things which are acceptable to God and are well-pleasing also to men, things which they have received from their fathers of old. Nevertheless they too have gone astray from accurate knowledge, and they suppose in their minds that they are serving God, but in the methods of their 20 actions their service is to angels and not to God, in that they observe sabbaths and new moons and the passover and the great fast, and the fast, and circumcision, and cleanness of meats: which things not even thus have they perfectly observed.

XV. Now the Christians, O king, by going about and seeking 25 have found the truth, and as we have comprehended from their writings they are nearer to the truth and to exact knowledge than the rest of the peoples. For they know and believe in God, the Maker of heaven and earth, in whom are all things and from whom are all things: He who has no other god as His fellow: from whom 30 they have received those commandments which they have engraved on their minds, which they keep in the hope and expectation of the world to come; so that on this account they do not commit adultery nor fornication, they do not bear false witness, they do not deny a deposit, nor covet what is not theirs: they honour father 35 and mother; they do good to those who are their neighbours, and when they are judges they judge uprightly; and they do not worship idols in the form of man; and whatever they do not

wish that others should do to them, they do not practise towards any one<sup>1</sup>, and they do not eat of the meats of idol sacrifices, for they are undefiled: and those who grieve them they comfort, and <sup>25</sup> make them their friends; and they do good to their enemies: and their wives, O king, are pure as virgins, and their daughters 5 modest: and their men abstain from all unlawful wedlock and from all impurity, in the hope of the recompense that is to come in another world: but as for their servants or handmaids, or their children if any of them have any, they persuade them to become Christians for the love that they have towards them; and when <sup>10</sup> they have become so, they call them without distinction brethren: they do not worship strange gods: and they walk in all humility and kindness, and falsehood is not found among them, and they love one another: and from the widows they do not turn away their countenance: and they rescue the orphan from him who does <sup>15</sup> him violence: and he who has gives to him who has not, without grudging; and when they see the stranger they bring him to their dwellings, and rejoice over him as over a true brother; for they do not call brothers those who are after the flesh, but those who are in the spirit and in God: but when one of their poor <sup>20</sup> passes away from the world, and any of them sees him, then he provides for his burial according to his ability; and if they hear that any of their number is imprisoned or oppressed for the name of their Messiah, all of them provide for his needs, and if it is possible that he may be delivered, they deliver him. <sup>25</sup>

And if there is among them a man that is poor and needy, and they have not an abundance of necessaries, they fast two or three days that they may supply the needy with their necessary food. And they observe scrupulously the commandments of their Messiah: they live honestly and soberly, as the Lord their God <sup>25</sup> commanded them: every morning and at all hours on account of the goodnesses of God toward them they praise and laud Him: and over their food and over their drink they render Him thanks. And if any righteous person of their number passes away from the world they rejoice and give thanks to God, and they follow his <sup>35</sup> body, as if he were moving from one place to another: and when a child is born to any one of them, they praise God, and if again

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, cc. 1—4.



it chance to die in its infancy, they praise God mightily, as for one who has passed through the world without sins. And if again they see that one of their number has died in his iniquity or in his sins, over this one they weep bitterly and sigh, as over one who is about to go to punishment: such is the ordinance of the law of the Christians, O king, and such their conduct.

XVI. As men who know God, they ask from Him petitions which are proper for Him to give and for them to receive: and thus they accomplish the course of their lives. And because they acknowledge the goodnesses of God towards them, lo! on account of them there flows forth the beauty that is in the world. And truly they are of the number of those that have found the truth by going about and seeking it, and as far as we have comprehended, we have understood that they only are near to the knowledge of the truth. 15

But the good deeds which they do, they do not proclaim in the ears of the multitude, and they take care that no one shall perceive them, and hide their gift, as he who has found a treasure and hides it<sup>1</sup>. And they labour to become righteous as those that expect to see their Messiah and receive from Him the promises made to them with great glory. 20

But their sayings and their ordinances, O king, and the glory of their service, and the expectation of their recompense of reward, according to the doing of each one of them, which they expect in another world, thou art able to know from their writings. It sufficeth for us that we have briefly made known to your majesty concerning the conversation and the truth of the Christians. For truly great and wonderful is their teaching to him that is willing to examine and understand it. And truly this people is a new people, and there is something divine mingled with it. Take now their writings and read in them, and lo! ye will find that not of myself have I brought these things forward nor as their advocate have I said them, but as I have read in their writings, these things I firmly believe, and those things also that are to come. And therefore I was constrained to set forth the truth to them that take pleasure therein and seek after the world to come. 35

And I have no doubt that the world stands by reason of

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xiii. 44.

the intercession of Christians. But the rest of the peoples are deceived and deceivers, rolling themselves before the elements of the world, according as the sight of their understanding is unwilling to pass by them; and they grope as if in the dark, because they are unwilling to know the truth, and like drunken men they stagger and thrust one another and fall down.

XVII. Thus far, O king, it is I that have spoken. For as to what remains, as was said above, there are found in their other writings words which are difficult to speak, or that one should repeat them; things which are not only said, but actually done.

The Greeks, then, O king, because they practise foul things in sleeping with males, and with mother and sister and daughter, turn the ridicule of their foulness upon the Christians; but the Christians are honest and pious, and the truth is set before their eyes, and they are long-suffering; and therefore while they know their error and are buffeted by them, they endure and suffer them: and more exceedingly do they pity them as men who are destitute of knowledge: and in their behalf they offer up prayers that they may turn from their error. And when it chances that one of them turns, he is ashamed before the Christians of the deeds that are done by him: and he confesses to God, saying, In ignorance I did these things: and he cleanses his heart, and his sins are forgiven him, because he did them in ignorance in former time, when he was blaspheming and reviling the true knowledge of the Christians. And truly blessed is the race of the Christians, more than all men that are upon the face of the earth.

Let the tongues of those now be silenced who talk vanity, and who oppress the Christians, and let them now speak the truth. For it is better that they should worship the true God rather than that they should worship a sound without intelligence; and truly divine is that which is spoken by the mouth of the Christians, and their teaching is the gateway of light. Let all those then approach thereunto who do not know God, and let them receive incorruptible words, those which are so always and from eternity: let them, therefore, anticipate the dread judgment which is to come by Jesus the Messiah upon the whole race of men.

The Apology of Aristides the Philosopher is ended.

## NOTES ON THE SYRIAC VERSION.

p. 35, l. 4 (☩ 3). We have given in the introductory remarks the reasons for believing that the words **ܩܘܕܝܫܐ** and **ܩܘܕܝܫܐ** are a part of the name of the emperor addressed. Both of these words, however, might have been used generally, as royal adjectives. For example, in the recently published *Acta Mar Kardaghi* of Abbeloos p. 87 they occur as titles of the king of Persia :

**ܩܘܕܝܫܐ ܩܘܕܝܫܐ ܩܘܕܝܫܐ ܩܘܕܝܫܐ ܩܘܕܝܫܐ**

which Abbeloos renders by "contra adorabilem regem regum."

**ܩܘܕܝܫܐ ܩܘܕܝܫܐ ܩܘܕܝܫܐ ܩܘܕܝܫܐ** (rex regum clemens jussit).

[The plural points in these two titles, though obviously wrong, have been retained in our text, in accordance with the principle of reproducing the punctuation of the MS. exactly as it stands. In the first sentence the MS. has a slight stop after **ܩܘܕܝܫܐ**, while there is no stop after **ܩܘܕܝܫܐ**. 'Almighty' can only be retained as an epithet of the Deity : but possibly there has been some confusion of the original, which may have run : *περι θεοσεβειας* : *αὐτοκράτορι, κ.τ.λ.*]

l. 7 (☩ 7). The demonstration of Divine Providence from the contemplation of the heavenly bodies is common to all forms of Theistic teaching : consequently it occurs freely in Christian Apologetics. We may compare the following passages :

Melito, *Oration to Antoninus Caesar* (Cureton, *Spic. Syr.* p. 46). "He hath set before thee the heavens, and He has placed in them the stars. He hath set before thee the sun and the moon, and they every day fulfil their course therein...He hath set before thee the clouds which by ordinance bring water from above and satisfy the earth : that from these things thou mightest understand, that He who moveth these is greater than they all,

[**ܩܘܕܝܫܐ ܩܘܕܝܫܐ ܩܘܕܝܫܐ ܩܘܕܝܫܐ**]

and that thou mightest accept the goodness of Him who hath given to thee a mind by which thou mayest distinguish these things."

Origen, *De Principiis*, II. 1. 5. "But that we may believe on the authority of Holy Scripture, that such is the case, hear how in the books of Maccabees,

where the mother of the seven martyrs exhorts her son to endure torture, this truth is confirmed: for she says, 'I ask of thee, my son, to look at the heaven and earth, and at all things which are in them, and beholding them, to know that God made all these things when they did not exist.' [2 Macc. vii. 28.]

*Id.* iv. 1. 7. "The artistic plan of a providential Ruler is not so evident in matters belonging to the earth, as in the case of the sun, moon and stars."

l. 11 (𐤒 11). Cf. Melito, *Oration* p. 50. "He made the lights that His works might behold one another, and *He concealeth Himself* in His might from all His works."

[l. 11 (𐤒 13). ܐܘܘܪܝܢܐ. If this reading be correct, the Ethpa. seems to be here used in the sense of 'sibi investigare,' of which only one example is cited in the *Theo. Syr.*, viz. from the unpublished Hexaem. of Bar Cephas. The context however of the quotation shews that there at least such a meaning is inadmissible. The words (kindly supplied by Dr Zotenberg)

are: ܐܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܗܘܘܢ ܠܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܠܘܢܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ  
ܐܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܗܘܘܢ ܠܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܠܘܢܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ  
ܐܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܗܘܘܢ ܠܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܠܘܢܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ  
ܐܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܗܘܘܢ ܠܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܠܘܢܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ  
ܐܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܗܘܘܢ ܠܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܠܘܢܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܪܝܢܐ

ll. 14, 15 (𐤒 14, 15). A comparison with the Armenian suggests that something has fallen out here. The Syriac cannot be translated as it stands. The Greek unfortunately fails us at this point.]

l. 19 (𐤒 19). The early Christian teachers emphasised strongly this belief that the world was made for the sake of man: consequently we must not assume, if we find the same statement in Justin Martyr, that the idea was borrowed from Aristides, for it is a part of the regular second-century teaching. The following parallels may be quoted:

Justin, *Apol.* i. 10. και πάντα την ἀρχὴν ἀγαθὸν ὄντα δημιουργῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης δι' ἀνθρώπου δεδογάμεθα.

*Dial.* 41. ἵνα ἅμα τε εὐχαριστῶμεν τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ τὸν κόσμον ἐκτικέσαι σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

Ps. Justin, *Ep. ad Diogn.* 10. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡγάπησε, δι' οὓς ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον, οἷς ὑπέταξε πάντα, κτέ.

l. 23 (𐤒 5). Cf. Philo, *Fragments*, p. 70: ἐν θεῷ μόνον τὸ τέλειον και ἀνευδεές, ἐν δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ ἐπιτεές και ἀτελέ.

*Id. de Fortitudine* § 3. Ὁ σπουδαῖος ὀλιγοδεής, ἀθανάτου και θνητῆς φύσεως μεθόριος.

*Acta Mar Kardaghî* (ed. Abbeloos, p. 30):

καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχον καὶ τέλος ἐπιδέχεται

καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχον καὶ τέλος ἐπιδέχεται : καὶ

l. 28 (≡ 8). The same philosophical opinion will be found almost in the same words in Eustathius *contra Arianos* quoted in John of Damascus, *Parallels* p. 314,

πάν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχον, καὶ τέλος ἐπιδέχεται· τὸ δὲ τέλος ἐπιδεχόμενον, φθορᾶς ἐστὶ δεκτικόν.

l. 30 (≡ 10). We may compare the following passages from Justin and from the Epistle to Diognetus, in view of Jerome's statement that Justin imitated Aristides, and the modern theory of Doulcet as to the authorship of the anonymous epistle to Diognetus.

Justin, *Apol.* l. 9. οὐ γὰρ τοιαύτην ἡγοῦμεθα τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν τὴν μορφήν, ἢν φασὶ τινες εἰς τιμὴν μεμμήσθαι.

Justin, *Apol.* II. 6. ὄνομα δὲ τῶ πάντων πατρὶ θεόν, ἀγεννήτω ὄντι, οὐκ ἔστιν· ὃ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὄνομά τι προσαγορεύηται, πρεσβύτερον ἔχει τὸν θέμενον τὸ ὄνομα.

Justin, *Dial.* 4. φησὶ γὰρ Πλάτων, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, αὐτὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι τὸ τοῦ νοῦ ὄμμα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἡμῖν δεδοσθαι, ὡς δύνασθαι καθορᾶν αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὃν εἰλικρινεῖ αὐτῶ ἐκείνῳ, ὃ τῶν νοητῶν ἀπάντων ἐστὶν αἴτιον, οὐ χρῶμα ἔχον, οὐ σχῆμα, οὐ μέγεθος, οὐδὲ οὐδὲν ὡν ὀφθαλμὸς βλέπει.

Justin, *Apol.* l. 10. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δέεσθαι τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώπων ὑλικῆς προσφορᾶς προσεληφάμεν τὸν θεόν, αὐτὸν παρέχοντα πάντα ὀρῶντες.

*Ep. ad Diogn.* 3. ὁ γὰρ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πάντιν ἡμῖν χορηγῶν ὡν προσδεόμεθα, οὐδενὸς ἂν αὐτὸς προσδέοιτο τοιῶν ὡν τοῖς οἰομένοις διδοῖαι παρέχει αὐτός.

[p. 36, l. 13 (≡ 2). ἴδωμεν Gr. (p. 100, l. 16) Arm., εἶδωμεν Syr. A comparison between the Gr. and Syr. shews a like variation in π 18 (Gr. p. 101, l. 3) and ≡ 18 (Gr. p. 104, l. 1).

l. 18 (≡ 8). 'The head of the race of their religion.' This seems to be a conflation of the two phrases which occur lower down: 'the head of their race,' and 'the beginning of their religion.' It should be simply 'the head of their race,' as we see from the Greek.]

l. 23 (≡ 13). The Armenian has 'Kadmus the Sidonian and Dionysus the Theban.' Cf. Herod. II. 91 τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Λυγκία ἐόντας Χεμμίτας ἐκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, and II. 49 παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φωϊκίης. But Kadmus is a Sidonian in Eur. *Bacch.* 171 and Ovid, *Met.* IV. 571.

[l. 27 (≡ 17). The statement that the people received the name of 'Hebrews' from Moses is peculiar to the Syr. and Arm. translations.]

l. 29 (≡ 20). The writer not only deduces the name of the Christians from the title of their founder, but he is also ready, like Justin and other

fathers, to compare the name with the Greek word *χρηστός*, as we shall see in the closing chapter. The following parallels may be noted in Justin.

Justin, *Apol.* I. 12. Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ χριστιανοὶ ἐπονυμάζεσθαι ἐσχήκαμεν.

*Dial.* 63. τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ γενομένη καὶ μετασχούσῃ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, χριστιανοὶ γὰρ πάντες καλούμεθα.

*Ibid.* 138. ὁ γὰρ χριστός, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως ὦν, καὶ ἀρχὴ πάλιν ἄλλου γένους γέγονεν, τοῦ ἀναγενηθέντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δι' ὕδατος καὶ πίστεως καὶ ξύλου, τοῦ τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔχοντος, ὃν τρόπον καὶ ὁ Νῶε κτέ.

l. 32 (23). With the closing words of this sentence we may compare the Syriac *Acts of John* (ed. Wright), p. 37,

.κσϭ ϭσϭκ ϩϫ ϫθωϯϭ ϫλϫ ϫϫϩ ϫϫ ϫϫ

where we should correct the text so as to read "and when formed as a child in the womb He was with His Father."

l. 34 (31). The Gospel is clearly a written one, and not the general message (εὐαγγέλιον). In c. xvi. we again find Aristides offering the Emperor the Christian Scriptures.

[l. 38 (35). The Greek text has καὶ τελέσας τὴν θαυμαστὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίαν. Cf. Justin, *Dial.* 103, and Otto's note on that passage, where the use of οἰκονομία is illustrated. In the Syriac ϫϫϫϫ is unsatisfactory. It can hardly be intended to represent (οἰκονομίαν) τινά. Possibly it is a corruption of some word which corresponded to θαυμαστήν.]

p. 37, l. 1 (36). Another instance of the formula 'He was crucified by the Jews,' beyond those to which we have already drawn attention, may be found in a fragment of Melito preserved by Anastasius Sinaita ;

Ὁ θεὸς πέπονθεν ὑπὸ δεξιᾶς Ἰσραηλίδος,

for which the Syriac rendering is given by Cureton, *Spic. Syr.* ϫϫϫ, ϫ.

ϫϫϫ ϫ ϫϫ ϫϫϫϫ ϫϫ ϫϫ ϫϫϫ  
.κθωϯϭκ

In later times we may expect to find similar language, though the expression itself disappears from the Creed. In *Acta Mar Kardaghi* p. 37 we have the following (loquitur Satanas),

θλκϭ ϫθϭϭϭ ϫ ϫϫ ϫϫϫ  
: ϫϫϫ ϫϫϫϫ ϫθϯϭ ϫϫ ϫϫ ϫϫ  
... ϫϫϫϫ ϫϫϫ ϫϫϫ ϫϫϫ ϫϫ

and again in p. 74

ϫϫϫ ϫϫϫϫ ϫϫ ϫϫ ϫϫ ϫϫϫ

The idea of the Jews being the special agents of Satan in the Crucifixion

comes out also in an unpublished *Ἀντιλογία* between the Devil and Christ, which is preserved in a MS. at Jerusalem (Cod. 66, S. Sep.), where we read

Καὶ ὁ διάβολος λέγει· Πορεύσομαι πρὸς Ἄγγαν καὶ Καϊάφαν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς τοὺς ἐμοὺς Ἰουδαίους· καὶ ποιήσω αὐτοὺς ἵνα σὲ σταυρώσωσι.

[Compare also the Letter of Pilate in the Acts of Peter and Paul § 42 (Tisch. *Acta Apocr.*, Lips. 1851, p. 17): οἱ δὲ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν, καὶ ταφέντος αὐτοῦ φύλακας κατέστησαν ἐπ' αὐτόν.]

l. 20 (¶ 25). The injunction to have a care that your gods be not stolen is not uncommon with the early Christians, and it is not improbable that they were able to refer to special and notable cases of violation of temples and mutilation of images. We may refer, at all events, to the following parallels:

Justin, *Apol.* l. 9. καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἔνθα ἀνατίθενται φύλακας τοιοῦτους καθιστάναι, μὴ συνορῶντας ἀθέμιτον καὶ τὸ νοεῖν ἢ λέγειν ἀνθρώπους θεῶν εἶναι φύλακας.

*Ep. ad Diogn.* 2. τοὺς μὲν λιθίνους καὶ ὄστρακίνους σέβοντες ἀφυλάκτους, τοὺς δὲ ἀργυροὺς καὶ χρυσοὺς ἐγκλείοντες ταῖς νυξὶ καὶ ταῖς ἡμέραις φύλακας παρακαθιστάντες ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν.

l. 26 (¶ 5). Compare c. vii. From the "Teaching of the Apostles" (c. vi. 3) onwards, idolatry is known as a 'worship of dead gods': e.g. Melito, *Oration* p. 43, "But I affirm that also the Sibyl has said respecting them, that it is the images of kings, who are dead, they worship."

p. 38, l. 1 (¶ 19). The writer now proceeds to discuss the views of those who either sought the First Principle in one of the elements or imagined it to be located in one of the heavenly bodies. And it is common for the early Christian writers to demolish the philosophic schools in detail according as they found them referring the origin of all things to water, as Thales; or air, as Anaximenes; or fire, as Heraclitus; or earth, as Pherecydes and Xenophanes. We may compare Plutarch *De placitis philosophorum* l. 3, and then notice how the Christian apologists deal with the matter. The writer of the Epistle to Diognetus thinks that, if a god is to be found amongst the elements, one element or created thing is as good as another:

*Ep. ad Diogn.* 8. οἱ μὲν πῦρ ἔφασαν εἶναι τὸν θεόν (οὐ μέλλουσι χωρήσει αὐτοί, τοῦτο καλοῦσι θεόν)· οἱ δὲ ὕδωρ· οἱ δ' ἄλλο τι τῶν στοιχείων τῶν ἐκτισμένων ὑπὸ θεοῦ· καίτοιγε, εἴ τις τούτων τῶν λόγων ἀπόδεκτός ἐστι, δύναται ἂν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κτισμάτων ἐν ἑκαστῶν ὁμοίως ἀποφαινεσθαι θεόν.

Melito deals even more shortly with the matter, and in a rude common-sense manner says that we may call a creature God without making it to be divine:

*Oration*, p. 42. "And if, therefore, a man...say that there is another God, it is found from his own words that he calleth some created thing God. For if a man call fire God, it is not God, because it is fire; and if a man call the waters God, they are not God, because they are waters; and if this earth which we tread upon, and if those heavens which are seen by us, and if the sun, or the moon, or one of those stars which run their course by

ordinance and rest not, nor proceed by their own will—and if a man call gold and silver gods: are not these things that we use as we please?"

It will be seen that their treatment of the subject was superficial, no other treatment being, in fact, necessary. Aristides, however, takes the matter more seriously and examines each case in detail by the light of his previously stated axioms concerning the divine nature.

[l. 1 (⌚ 19). *ἔλθωμεν* Gr., *ἐπανεῤθωμεν* Syr. Comp. also ¶ 18 (Gr. p. 104, l. 1).

l. 8 (⌚ 5). *ܠܗܘܐܢܐ* (so Cod.) = *ܠܗܘܠܗܢܐ* cf. l. 22.

l. 36 (¶ 10). *ܠܘܘܐܢܐ*. Probably for *ܠܘܘܐܢܐ*, examples of which are given under *ܘܘܐܢܐ* in the *Theo. Syr.*

p. 39, l. 1 (¶ 11). *ܠܘܘܐܢܐܢܐ*. This phrase, 'your majesty,' does not in any way suggest that more than one person is addressed.

l. 11 (¶ 20). A probable emendation is *ܠܘܘܐܢܐܢܐ ܠܘܘܐܢܐ*.

l. 27 (⌚ 13). : *ܠܘܘܐܢܐܢܐ ܠܘܘܐܢܐ*. This slight emendation brings the Syr. into more literal accordance with the Gk. The expression *μερισμόν ἔχοντα* seems also to have suggested the next sentence in the Syriac, where it is combined with the preceding words *εις χρῆσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων*.

l. 37 (¶ 1). Similar language is applied to *the heaven* in a paragraph found only in the Gr. (p. 101, l. 30) *καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν συνεστῶτα· διὸ καὶ κόσμος καλεῖται*. Where the reference is to man, we should have expected *μικρὸς κόσμος*. See Suicer, *Theo.* II. 369 (1728). A treatise was written on this subject (*ܠܘܘܐܢܐ ܠܘܘܐܢܐ ܠܘܘܐܢܐ*) by Aḥudhemmeḥ († A.D. 575). See *Bibl. Or.* III. l. 194.

p. 40, ll. 22 ff. (⌚ 2–12). In this classification of the gods of the Greeks the principal points in which the Syr. differs from the Gr. are: (1) *ἀδελφοκτόνους* (p. 104, l. 7) is not represented. It is absent also from the Pemb. Coll. MS. of the Greek. (2) After *μαινόμενους* two clauses are inserted, the one taken from the description of Apollo (⌚ 21, 22), and the other from that of Artemis (⌚ 5). (3) An additional clause is inserted after *καὶ φυγάδας γενομένους*. (4) Two additional clauses, the one taken from the description of Aphrodite (⌚ 15), the other probably from that of Tammuz (⌚ 23), are inserted after the words *καὶ κοπτομένους καὶ θρηνομένους*.

It may be remarked that the Greek participles just quoted are both rendered as passives ('wept and lamented by men') by the Syr. translator. The Latin version omits them: the translation of Billyus is: "nonnullos vulnera accepisse, ac lamenta edidisse."]

l. 25 (⌚ 7). He is referring to Apollo, Poseidon and Asklepios: cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* 14, *Hic Apollinem Admeto regi pascendis pecoribus addicit, ille Neptuni structorias operas Laomedonti locat. Est et illis de lyricis*



(Pindarum dico) qui Aescolapium canit avaritiae merito, quia medicinam nocenter exercebat, fulmine iudicatum.

[l. 33 ( 12). **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ**. The Pah. and Aph. of **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** = moechari are not given in the Lexicons. The use of the former is however a marked feature in the language of our translator. It occurs again **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** 9 with **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ**; **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** 12, absol.; **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** 20 and **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** 11, with **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ**. Compare **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ**, Targ. Job xxxvi. 20. We have an instance of the Aph. in Mat. v. 32 (Cur.) **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ ܐܘܢܝܢܐ ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** = *ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχευθῆναι*.

l. 34 ( 13). **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** so MS. Prof. Nöldeke happily suggests **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** *verunreinigten sich*, comparing **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** *verunreinigt werden*. Efr. II. 103 D and **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** *Unreinheit* Lag. Anal. 43. 27.

p. 41, l. 20 ( 14. Gr. p. 104, l. 22). The Syr. supports neither *ὄπως* nor *ὁ πρῶτος*.]

l. 21 ( 15). The translator gives the Syriac name for Saturn, **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ**. In the *Classical Review* for June 1890, p. 259, Prof. Margoliouth reviewing Budge's *Pseudo-Callisthenes* remarks as follows, "On p. 9 after the name of each planet we are told what the Persian for it is: surely this implies that the book which the translator had before him was in Persian. I will quote one of these, because Mr Budge has by accident missed the truth. The name of *Saturn* is omitted from the list, but instead we read, *the colour of a black stone, and the horoscopus of helanī which is called in Persian Farnūg*'. Mr Budge would emend *Farnūg*', but it is a Persian word signifying *Saturn*..... Hence **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** 'colour' must stand for a word signifying *Saturn*; and this will be the Persian **کیران** which the translator has read **گون** 'colour'."

It would seem to be a more direct process simply to emend the Syriac **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** into **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ**.

[l. 28 ( 22). **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** Cod. Prof. Nöldeke proposes **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ**.]

p. 42, l. 2 ( 10). The amours of the gods are, as might have been expected, the staple of early Christian apologetics. A few references may be given in illustration of the scornful summary of Olympic history given by Aristides.

Justin, *Apol.* I. 21. *πόσους γὰρ υἱοὺς φάσκουσι τοῦ Διὸς οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν τιμώμενοι συγγραφεῖς, ἐπίστασθε· Ἑρμῆν μὲν, λόγον τὸν ἑρμηνευτικὸν καὶ πάντων διδάσκαλον, Ἀσκληπιὸν δέ, καὶ θεραπευτὴν γενόμενον, κεραυνωθέντα ἀεληλυθέναι εἰς οὐρανόν, Διόνυσον δὲ διασπαρχθέντα, Ἡρακλεῖα δὲ φυγῆ πόνου ἑαυτὸν πυρὶ δόντα, τοὺς ἐκ Λήδας δὲ Διοσκούρους, καὶ τὸν ἐκ Δανάης Περσεύα,...*

Justin, *Apol.* I. 25. *θεῶν δὲ τῶν ἀγεννήτων καὶ ἀπαθείων ἑαυτοὺς ἀνεθήκαμεν, οὐτε ἐπ' Ἀντιόπην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὁμοίως οὐδὲ ἐπὶ Γανυμήδην δι' οἰστρον ἐληλυθέναι πευθόμεθα.*

*Recog. Clement. x. 22.* "Antiopeu Nyctei versus in Satyrum corruptit: ex qua nascuntur Amphion et Zethus; Alcmenam, mutatus in virum eius Amphitryonem; ex qua nascitur Hercules: Aeginam Asopi, mutatus in aquilam, ex qua nascitur Aeacus. Sed et Ganymedem Dardani mutatus nihilominus in aquilam stuprat; Mantheam Phoci, mutatus in ursum; ex qua nascitur Arctos: Danaen Acrisii, mutatus in aurum; ex qua nascitur Perseus: Europen Phoenicis, mutatus in taurum; ex qua nascitur Minos, et Rhadamanthus Sarpedonque: Eurymedusam Achelai, mutatus in formicam; ex qua nascitur Myrmidon: Thalam Aetnam nympham, mutatus in vulturem; ex qua nascuntur apud Siciliam Palixi: Imandram Geneani apud Rhodum, mutatus in imbrem: Cassiopiam, mutatus in virum eius Phoenicem; ex qua nascitur Anchinos: Ledam Thesti, mutatus in cyenum; ex qua nascitur Helena: et iterum eandem, mutatus in stellam; ex qua nascuntur Castor et Pollux: Lamiam, mutatus in upupam: Mnemosynen, mutatus in pastorem; ex qua nascuntur Musae novem: Nemesin, mutatus in anserem: Semelen Cadmiam mutatus in ignem; ex qua nascitur Dionysus," etc.

See also Pa. Justin, *Oratio ad Gentiles* = Ambrose, *Hypomnemata* (Cureton, *Spic. Syr.* pp. 63, 64) for a similar sketch to that of Aristides.

[l. 4 (ܘܒ 11). Pasiphae is an erroneous insertion in the Syriac.

l. 6 (ܘܒ 13). ܦܘܢܐܘܢܐ seems to be an attempt to render *σάτυρον*. In the Syriac of Ambrose (*Spic. Syr.* ܘܒ 16) the Greek word is transliterated.

l. 7 (ܘܒ 14). ܦܘܢܐܘܢܐ. Our translator seems to have read ΣΕΛΗΝΗΣ for ΣΕΜΕΛΗΣ.

l. 11 (ܘܒ 19). ܘܥܘܣܬܐܘܥܘܥܐ ܕܠܘܕܐ ܘܥܘܣܬܐܘܥܘܥܐ ܝܘܕܘܥܐ, 'Castor and Polydeuces and Helene (ܕܠܘܕܐ) and Paludus.' This last word is a *vox nihili*; and the confusion has arisen in the following manner. The Greek has 'Castor and Helene and Polydeuces.' The Syriac scribe has written Polydeuces in its more obvious position immediately after Castor, and then the second Polydeuces has suffered corruption.

l. 18 (ܘܒ 6. Gr. p. 105, l. 15). ܬܘܢ ܬܘܢ ܐܘܬܘܢ Codd. AW. Syr.

l. 30 (ܘܒ 16). ܘܥܘܣܬܐܘܥܘܥܐ ܕܠܘܕܐ ܘܥܘܣܬܐܘܥܘܥܐ in the Syr. alone. Comp. 'cum pilleo Vulcanus et malleo.' Arnob. *adv. nat.* vi. 12.]

l. 31 (ܘܒ 17). For the ornaments made by Hephaestus, and sarcastic Christian remarks thereon, we may cite

Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos*, c. VIII. 'Ο γὰρ ἀμφιγυΐεις, ὡς εἰκός, ὁ πόρπας καὶ γναμπὰς ἔλικας δημιουργῶν τοῖς κοροκοσμίοις ἠπάτησε τὴν ἀμίγτορα παῖδα καὶ ὀρφανὴν (sc. Ἀθηνᾶν).

[l. 37 (ܘܒ 2). ܕܘܥܘܣܬܐܘܥܘܥܐ, 'maimed.' The Greek has *καλλόν*: but it is an impossible epithet for Hermes. The corruption however must have been a very early one. The Pembroke College MS. has *δάλιον* as a suggestion in the margin; but this is merely a conjectural emendation of the seventeenth

century. The Latin version has 'uersipellem.' Probably *κυλλόν* has slipped in from the description of Hephaestus just above. It may be noted however that 'versipellis' = *ἑρῆρα* Prov. xiv. 25, Vulg., where the LXX. has *δόλιος*, which is elsewhere used as an epithet of Hermes. If therefore the Latin really represents a Greek word, and is not a mere guess, *δόλιον* would seem to be appropriate, and it is not very unlike *κυλλόν*.

*κίισο* ('and an athlete'). An addition in the Syr., referring to Hermes as the inventor of the palaestra. Comp. 'curat Mercurius ceromas, pugillatibus et luctationibus praeest,' Arnob. *adv. nat.* III. 23.

l. 43, l. 7 (*ⲛⲓ* 11). The Syr. read *Λακεδαίμονα* or *Λακεδαμόνιον* and omitted *υἷόν*.

l. 25 (*ⲙⲁ* 7). *ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων*. Comp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* I. 41, v. 19. The Syr. has the singular.

l. 29 (*ⲙⲁ* 12). *ⲕⲉⲓⲃⲗ . . . ⲕⲃⲱⲟ ⲕⲓⲱ*. Peculiar to the Syriac. Comp. *τά τ' ἐχθρὰ μισεῖν*, Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 586.

l. 44, l. 1 (*ⲙⲁ* 21, 22). *κίισο κίισο*, lit. 'a cithara, and a striker' (cf. *ⲁ* 5). This last word might mean the 'plectrum'; or it might mean another musical instrument. Cf. Arnob. *adv. nat.* VI. 12, 'cum plectro et fidibus Delius.'

The Greek has *κίισο* and *ἐπαυθίδα* (or *ἐπανθίδα*, or *ἐπαυλίδα*). The emendations *πληκτίδα* and *πηκτίδα* have little to commend them. The Latin version has 'tibiam.']

l. 31 (*ⲛⲓ* 5). [The paragraph on Rhea and the following one on Proserpine are not in the Greek.] The Fathers not infrequently allude to the myth of Rhea and Atys. [Cf. Tatian, *ad Graecos*, 8, 'Ρέυ μὲν γάρ, ἦν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Φρυγίων ὀρῶν Κυβέλην φασίν, .. διὰ τὸν ἐρώμενον ταύτης Ἄττιν.]

The story is apparently Phrygian in origin, though very similar in its details to forms from the further East. Lucian (*De dea Syria*, 33) describing the three images in the temple at Hierapolis says that the first two are Zeus and Hera, and the third *καλέεται δὲ σημήιον καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀσσυρίων οὐδέ τι ὄνομα ἴδιον αὐτῷ ἔθεντο*. Baethgen (*Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*) p. 73 most ingeniously conjectures this to be a misunderstanding of Lucian's; *σημεῖον* = *ⲛⲓⲛ* = *ⲛⲓⲱ* which last stands for *Atti* or *Atys*: the name appearing in a variety of forms, sometimes alone, sometimes combined with other deities, and sometimes as a factor in proper names: e.g. in Bardesanes *De Fato* we are told that the men of Edessa down to the time of Abgar used to sacrifice their foreskins to Tharatha: this seems to be a late form *ⲛⲓⲱⲓⲱ* = *ⲛⲓⲱ* + *ⲛⲓⲱ* or Istar + Atta.

As to the establishment of dances in honour of Atys, these are a characteristic feature of Semitic orgiastic worship. One of the best illustrations is the temple of Baal-Marcod, which stands on a spur of the Lebanon above Beyrout, and where there are many inscriptions from the ancient temple

built into the walls of a modern convent. The name implies *Lord of Dances* and in one inscription given by Waddington (Inscr. Syr. No. 1855) is directly paraphrased as *κώρανε κώμων*.

[p. 45, l. 11 (𐤀𐤎 2). 𐤒𐤌𐤏𐤍 𐤁𐤀 𐤃𐤌𐤏𐤍 in the Syriac alone, taken from the formula in l. 9.]

l. 22 (𐤀𐤎 13). According to our apologist Isis fled to Byblos in Syria; and this agrees with Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride*, that Byblos was a sanctuary of Isis; now we know from Lucian *De Dea Syria* c. 6 that the great sanctuary at Byblos was a sanctuary of Aphrodite *Βυβλίη* (cf. Strabo xvi. 2, p. 362 *Βύβλος* = *Ἀδώνιδος ἱερά*). We should therefore have to assume that Byblos was the centre at once of an Isis-cult and an Aphrodite-cult which is the same thing as an Astarte-cult, for our apologist tells us to equate the Greek Aphrodite to the Syrian Astera. We must then assume either that the two forms of worship existed side by side, or that there had been a fusion of the two cults, the latter hypothesis being favoured by the similarity between the case of Aphrodite weeping for Tammuz and Isis lamenting Osiris. Moreover the confusion extends to the personalities of Osiris and Adonis: and Movers quotes from Stephanus of Byzantium as follows: *Ἀμαθοῦς πόλις Κύπρου ἀρχαιοτάτη, ἐν ἣ Ἀδωνίς Ὀσίρις ἐτιμᾶτο ὃν Αἰγύπτῳ ὄντα Κύπριοι καὶ Φοίνικες ἰδιοποιούντο*.

Whether, then, we pay attention to the dead gods or the wailing goddesses, there is a great similarity in the matter of the two religions. And we have suggested that in the sanctuary at Byblos the two cults may have been carried on side by side. One other question suggests itself, viz. whether they may not both be modifications of some earlier worship. We have some reason for believing that the original Byblos-worship was that of the Assyrian Baaltis, for Philo Byblius says that this city was the gift of Cronos to Baaltis. Now this Baaltis, the Assyrian mother of the gods, appears in the west in a Greek form, first under the name of Mylitta by a common change in the pronunciation of *b* and *m*. But this Mylitta is affirmed by Herodotus to be capable of equation with Aphrodite (l. 131 *καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα*) and this would lead us to recognize in the sanctuary at Byblos an original sanctuary of Mylitta.

[p. 46, l. 2 (𐤀 6). We should probably read 𐤒𐤌𐤏𐤍 and transfer 𐤏𐤌𐤏𐤍 to the preceding clause.]

l. 3 (𐤀 7). The local variation in the Egyptian worship appears in Herodotus and is alluded to by the Christian fathers:

Herod. II. 69. *τοῖσι μὲν δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱεροὶ εἰσι οἱ κροκόδειλοι, τοῖσι δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ ἅτε πολεμίους περιέπουσι*.

Justin, *Apol.* I. 24. *ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ δένδρα σεβομένων καὶ ποταμούς καὶ μῦς καὶ αἰλούρους καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τὰ πολλὰ*.

*Recog. Clement.* v. 20. "Nam alii eorum bovem qui Apis dicitur colendum tradidere, alii hircum; alii gattas; nonnulli ibin; quidam serpentem; piscem

quoque, et caepas et cloacas, crepitus ventris, pro numinibus habendos esse docuerunt: et alia innumerabilia quae pudet etiam nominare."

[See Mayor's notes to *Juv. Sat.* xv., for a storehouse of references on this point.]

Of the objects of worship mentioned by Aristides, some are rather difficult to identify. The first question that arises is with regard to the animal denoted by **κῶϊς**. In the Dublin MS. of the Fables of Syntipas, Fable 45, we find

**κῶϊς δῶρακ κῶϊς**

The word therefore stands for a cat. The fable to which we have referred is No. 40 in Landsberger's *Fabeln des Sophos*. The Syriac reference is due to Prof. Bensly.

[**κῶϊς** = *αἰλουρος* occurs in Lagarde's *Geop.* 116. 19 (Gr. xiv. 4), and the form **κῶϊα** in *Geop.* 114. 22 (Gr. xiv. 15).]

Twice there is an allusion to sacred fish, once in a general manner, where we should perhaps correct **κῶα** to **κῶα**, thus placing the dove with the rest of the sacred birds; and once in a special manner, where the name of the fish is given as Shibbuta. What fish is this? Is it the same as the *λεπιδαῖος* of Herodotus (ii. 72)?

*νομίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τὸν καλούμενον λεπιδαῖον ἶσον εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἔγχελυν.*

The name of the fish is found in the Arabic Lexicons as **شبوط**: and in Freytag it is described as being like a shad (*alosa*) but three times larger, and is said to be exported from the Euphrates to Aleppo. Cf. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, iv. pp. 496, 678.

For a similar account of this fish we may refer to a note by Kosegarten in *Z. D. M. G.* iv. 249. Kosegarten merely quotes the *Kamus* and Freytag, but an editorial note adds that the fish in question is the Latin *rhombus*, i.e. the turbot.

[**κῶϊα**, 'silurus,' 'the shad-fish' (cf. Mayor's note on *Juv. Sat.* iv. 32). This comes in somewhat inappropriately: and it may have arisen from a misreading of *αἰλουρος*. 'The cat' however is represented lower down by **κῶϊς**.

**κῶα**, 'the fish,' is evidently out of place here in the midst of the birds, and indeed it is repeated later on, 'the fish Shibbuta.' It would be easy to emend **κῶα**, 'the dove'; but all the birds are of the ravenous type. There is just a possibility that **κῶα κῶα** may have been the original word. It occurs in the Pesh. Vers. of Levit. xi. 17, where the corresponding word in the A. V. is 'the cormorant.'

l. 14 (**Δ** 18). **ܟܘܘܐܘܢܐ**. The Syriac translator read *ἐταίρων* for *ἐτέρων*.]

l. 27 (ⲁ 6). Here the language may be illustrated by a reference to Justin, *Apol.* I. 9, *τί γὰρ δεῖ εἰδῶσιν ὑμῖν λέγειν ἅ τὴν ὕλην οἱ τεχνῖται διατιθένται ξέοντες καὶ τέμνοντες καὶ χωνεύοντες καὶ τύπτοντες*; and *Epp. ad Diogn.* 2, *οὐχ ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν λιθοξόος, ὁ δὲ χαλκεύς, ὁ δὲ ἀργυροκόπος, ὁ δὲ κεραμεὺς ἐπλασεν*;

[p. 47, l. 20 (ⲕ 15, 16). Our translator has evidently taken *τὴν τῶν θεῶν φυσιολογίαν* in the sense of ‘the counting of the natures of the gods.’]

p. 49, l. 1 (Ⲯ 21). The description given of the Christians in this chapter recalls in many points the “Teaching of the Apostles.” To begin with, we have the golden rule in a negative form, which may be compared with the first chapter of the Teaching, and with a similar Syriac sentence given as a saying of Menander in Land, *Anecdota* I. 69, from Cod. Mus. Britt. 14658, fol. 166 r, as follows:

ⲕⲟⲥⲟⲩ ⲕⲓ γⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲕ : ⲕⲓⲱ γⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲕ ⲁ  
ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲗ

which is a very different rendering from that of Aristides, and may be suspected from its ascription to Menander to be a translation of some metrical form of the golden rule.

The version in Aristides, from its setting in the text of the Apology, between two precepts against idolatry, viz. idols in the form of man, and meats offered to idols, reminds one of the Codex Bezae which completes the rule of the Council at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 29) by adding the words

καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλετε ἑαυτοῖς γείνεσθαι, ἐτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖν.

But whether the sentence stood in this connexion in the primitive Didascalia, we cannot say.

Other parallels will suggest themselves, as when Aristides describes Christian practice in words that seem to answer to

ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲓϭⲉⲩⲥⲓⲥ, ⲟⲩ ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲩⲥⲓⲥ, ⲟⲩ ⲡⲥⲩⲱⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ, ⲟⲩⲕ Ἀⲡⲟⲥⲧⲉⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ, ⲟⲩⲕ ἔⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ τὰ τοῦ πλησίον,

which does not differ much from c. II. of the Teaching. The parallelisms, however, are only just sufficient to suggest an acquaintance with the Teaching on the part of Aristides; and his whole presentation of Christian ethics is vastly superior to anything in the Didaché, and can only be paralleled for beauty and spirituality in the pages of Tertullian. [See further, pp. 84 ff.]

[l. 3 (ⲁ 1). ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲁⲗ, ‘they comfort.’ This is a mistranslation of the Greek word *παρακαλοῦσιν*, which in this place clearly means not ‘to comfort,’ but ‘to exhort.’]

p. 50, l. 37 (ⲁ 17). The belief that the world stands by reason of the Christians occurs also in the following passages:

Justin, *Apol.* I. 45. *ἕως ἄν...συντελέσθῃ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν προεγνωσμένων αὐτῷ ἀγαθῶν γινομένων καὶ ἐναρέτων, δι’ οὓς καὶ μηδέπω τὴν ἐπικύρωσιν πεποιήται.*

Justin, *Apol.* II. 7. *ὄθεν καὶ ἐπιμένει ὁ θεὸς τὴν σύγχυσιν καὶ κατάλυσιν τοῦ*

παντὸς κόσμου μὴ ποιῆσαι...διὰ τὸ σπέρμα τῶν χριστιανῶν, ὁ γινώσκει ἐν τῇ φύσει ὅτι αἰτίων ἐστίν.

*Ep. ad Diogn.* 6. χριστιανοὶ κατέχονται μὲν ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ τῷ κόσμῳ, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνέχουσι τὸν κόσμον.

The extract from the Epistle to Diognetus is nearer to the idea of Aristides than the passages quoted from Justin.

[l. 37 (α 17). ... αὐτὰ : καθάπερ αὐτὸ δούλο. An instance of the so-called pleonastic negative retained from the Greek. Cf. Plato *Hip. min.* 369 D ἐγὼ τοι οὐκ ἀμφισβητῶ μὴ οὐχὶ σὲ εἶναι σοφώτερον ἢ ἐμέ.]

p. 51, l. 2 (α 19). The expression *ἑαυτοὺς ἑλκεῖν* which we have rendered "rolling themselves," occurs again in Melito, *Oration* (Curetton, *Spic. Syr.* p. 4, 25),

:δουκ μωδουα κειικ α δουκ ἑλκεδουα κευα  
*ἑλκεδουα κειικ καθασουα*

("Why rollest thou thyself upon the earth, and offerest supplication to things which are without perception?")

[l. 13 (α 7). *καυαλ*, 'ridicule,' 'scorn.' This word seems often to be confused with *κωαλ*, 'horror,' which occurs as a variant for it, 2 Pet. ii. 18 (compare the Urmi edition of 1846 and the New York edition of 1886): cf. 4 Macc. 14. 1.]

l. 32 (α 4). For the expression "gateway of light" cf. Barnab. 18, 'Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶν διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἥ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους, and Justin, *Dial.* 7, εὐχου δέ σοι πρὸ πάντων φωτὸς ἀνοιχθῆναι πύλας· οὐ γὰρ σύνοπτα οὐδὲ συννοητὰ πᾶσιν ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ τῷ θεῷ δῶ συνιέναι καὶ ὁ χριστὸς αὐτοῦ.

l. 36 (α 8). The concluding words may be compared with Justin, *Dial.* 58, ἐν ἧπερ μέλλει κρίσει διὰ τοῦ κυρίου μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν ὄλων θεὸς ποιείσθαι.

It will be seen that we have given especial attention to the illustrations furnished to the text of our author by the undoubted writings of Justin and by the Epistle to Diognetus. We have not, however, been able to agree with the opinion of Doulcet in reference to the latter writing, nor with the tradition of Jerome in reference to Justin's imitation of Aristides. It may, however, be taken for granted, from the parallels adduced, that Justin and Aristides are nearly contemporary.

# APPENDIX

THE REMAINS OF THE ORIGINAL GREEK

OF

THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES

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## THE ORIGINAL GREEK OF THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES.

WHILE Mr Harris was passing the preceding pages through the press, he kindly allowed me to read the proof-sheets of his translation of the Syriac. Shortly afterwards as I was turning over Latin Passionals at Vienna in a fruitless search for a lost MS. of the Passion of S. Perpetua, I happened to be reading portions of the Latin Version of the 'Life of Barlaam and Josaphat,' and presently I stumbled across words which recalled the manner and the thought of Aristides. Turning back to the beginning of a long speech, I found the words: 'Ego, rex, providentia Dei veni in mundum; et considerans celum et terram, mare et solem et lunam, et cetera, admiratus sum ornatum eorum.' The Greek text of 'Barlaam and Josaphat' is printed in Migne's edition of the works of S. John of Damascus: and it was not long before I was reading the actual words of the Apologist himself: 'Ἐγὼ, βασιλεῦ, προνοία θεοῦ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον· καὶ θεωρήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, ἡλιὸν τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ἐθαύμασα τὴν διακόσμησιν τούτων. It was with some impatience that I waited for my return to Cambridge, in order to examine the proof-sheets again, and so to discover by a comparison of the Syriac Version how much of our author was really in our hands in the original tongue.

To what extent then does the Greek speech in 'Barlaam and Josaphat' correspond to the Syriac Version of the Apology of Aristides? In other words: How far may we claim to have recovered the original Apology in the language in which it was written?

The circumstances under which the Greek has been preserved at all demand first a brief notice. 'The Life of Barlaam and

Joasaph (or Josaphat)' is the title of a religious romance, which, by a tradition dating at the latest from the 11th century, has been connected with the name of S. John of Damascus. It is true that SS. Barlaam and Josaphat find a place in the Calendars of both the Eastern and Western Churches: but it has long been recognised that their 'Life' is a working up of the Indian legend of Sakya Mouni, or Buddha; and a number of the apologues scattered over the piece have also been identified as Eastern stories of a very early date.

The popularity of the book has rarely been equalled in the history of literature. Before the 13th century it had been translated into almost every known language of the world; an Icelandic Version was made about the year 1200 by the order of a Norwegian king; and there is an early English rendering in metre.

It has lately been argued, and I think with success, by Zotenberg<sup>1</sup>, that the book is much earlier than the time of S. John of Damascus; and that the matter which it has in common with several of his works is drawn from previous writers such as Gregory Nazianzen and Nemesius. This being so, it may well go back to the 6th century, or perhaps earlier still.

The outline of the story is as follows. An Eastern king, named Abenner, persecutes the Christians, and especially the monks, whom he expels from India. He is childless; but at length the young prince Josaphat is born, and the astrologers, as in the case of Buddha, predict for him an extraordinary greatness. They add however that he will become a Christian. This his father determines to prevent. He encloses him in a magnificent palace; allows none but young and beautiful attendants to approach him; and forbids the mention of sorrow, disease and death, and above all of Christianity. When the prince is grown to man's estate he asks his father to give him liberty. His entreaties are at length successful, as it seems that otherwise his life will be saddened, and the first step will have been taken towards his reception of the forbidden faith. He is allowed to drive out, but the way is carefully prepared beforehand, and guarded from the

<sup>1</sup> *Notice sur le livre de Barlaam et Josaphat*, Paris, 1886. A useful summary of the literature on 'B. and J.' is given by Krumbacher in Iwan von Müller's *Handbuch der alt. Wissensch.* vol. 9, pt. 1, p. 469.

intrusion of sad sights and sounds. At last precaution fails, and he sees one day a lame man and a blind man, and another day a man wrinkled and tottering with age. He inquires whether accidents may befall any man, and whether every man must come at last to miserable old age or death. There is but one answer: and the joy has fled from his life.

A monk of the desert, Barlaam by name, is divinely warned of the prince's condition; and comes disguised as a merchant, and obtains entrance to the prince to shew him a most goodly pearl. In a long discourse, into which Gospel parables and Eastern apologues are skilfully woven, he expounds to him the vanity of the world and the Christian hope of the life to come. In the end the prince is baptized, and Barlaam disappears into the desert. The king, distracted with rage on the one hand and love for his son on the other, casts about for means to shake his faith. A wily counsellor propounds a plan. An old man, who closely resembles Barlaam and who is an admirable actor, is to defend the cause of Christianity in an open debate. He is to make a lame speech, and be easily refuted by the rhetoricians. The prince, seeing his instructor baffled, will renounce his newly accepted faith.

The day comes, and Nachor, for this is the old man's name, appears to personate Barlaam. Josaphat addresses him in vigorous terms, reminding him of the difficulties in which his instructions have involved him, and promising him a miserable fate if he fails to prove his point. Nachor is not reassured by this mode of address; but after some preliminary fencing on the part of the rhetoricians he begins to speak. Such, says our author, was the providence of God, that like Balaam of old he had come to curse, but he ended by blessing with manifold blessings. Or, as he says again, lowering his metaphor; 'He beckoned to the multitude to keep silence, and he opened his mouth, and like Balaam's ass he spake that which he had not purposed to speak; and he said to the king: I, O king, by the providence of God came into the world....'

The Apology of Aristides carried the day: and, to cut the long story short, Nachor himself and finally the king and his people were converted: and at last Josaphat, who in due course succeeds

his father, resigns his kingdom and retires to spend his days with Barlaam in the desert<sup>1</sup>.

What modifications then were required to fit the Apology for its new surroundings? Surprisingly few.

(1) The king is of course addressed throughout: but this is so in the original piece. Only a short sentence at the end praises the wise choice of the king's son.

(2) The fourfold division of mankind into Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians, was out of place in an Indian court. We find in its stead a triple division—Worshippers of false gods, Jews and Christians: and the first class is subdivided into Chaldeans, Greeks and Egyptians, as being the ringleaders and teachers of heathenism to the rest of the world<sup>2</sup>.

(3) A short passage at the close, in which the Christians are defended from the foul charges so often brought against them in the first days, was out of date and consequently has disappeared.

(4) If we add to this that there are traces of compression here and there, and that the description of the Christians at the close is considerably curtailed, we have exhausted the list of substantial modifications which can with certainty be detected.

The substance of the Apology then is for the most part faithfully preserved: but can we say that with the exceptions already named we have the actual Greek words of Aristides himself?

The first and most obvious test to apply is that of comparative length. The Syriac is, speaking roughly, half as long again as the Greek: and this difference is not fully accounted for by the combination in the latter of the preliminary statements about the Jews and the Christians with the fuller descriptions of them given later on, and by the omission of nearly two pages at the close.

<sup>1</sup> A small fragment (below, p. 104), which is omitted from its proper place in Nachor's speech, is embodied in an early part of the book (Bois. p. 49). We thus see that the writer had the Apology before him at the outset of his work, and designed his plot with the definite intention of introducing it.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, below, p. 90; where reasons are given which tend to shew that the Greek has preserved the original triple division, as against the Syriac and the Armenian.

The fact is that the Syriac has a large number of repetitions and not a few additional details which are absent from the Greek. Thus at the end of each description of the several gods and goddesses of the heathen, the Syriac Version points the moral and drives home the inevitable conclusion: and again such histories as those of Kronos and of Isis and Osiris are somewhat more elaborately told in this form of the Apology.

Are we then to conclude that the Syriac translator has enlarged upon his original, and supplemented it here and there from his own resources? Or must we say that the author of 'Barlaam and Josaphat' found the Apology too long for his purpose, and pruned away unnecessary details?

The second hypothesis has a *prima facie* probability, and the general reputation for faithfulness of Syriac translators might point us in the same direction. On the other side it is to be observed that, even when read in the light of the Syriac Version, the Greek form is still felt to be a harmonious and consistent whole: and it certainly does not convey the impression of serious mutilation. The genius of the author, in so framing his plot as perfectly to suit the Apology which he intended to introduce, needs no further praise than is involved in the fact that hitherto no one has had the remotest suspicion that he did not write the speech of Nachor himself. If anything could make his genius appear more extraordinary still, it would be the proof that he had consistently compressed the original document in almost every alternate sentence without leaving any traces of rough handling: but such proof is at present not forthcoming. In the absence of further documents, the question must be decided largely by internal evidence and the minute investigation of the points of difference. But there are two external sources from which light may be thrown upon the problem.

(1) In 1855 Cureton published in his *Spicilegium Syriacum* a treatise bearing the title: 'Hypomnemata, which Ambrose, a chief man of Greece, wrote;' and commencing with the words: 'Do not suppose, men and Greeks, that without fit and just cause is my separation from your customs.' These words are the literal translation of the opening sentence of the *Oratio ad*

*Gentiles* traditionally ascribed to Justin Martyr: *Μὴ ὑπολάβητε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἄλογον ἢ ἀνεπίκριτον εἶναι μου τὸν ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐθῶν χωρισμόν.*

When we compare the original Greek with the Syriac Version of this document, we find that in point of length they stand to one another exactly as do the Greek and Syriac forms of the Apology of Aristides: that is to say, in either case the Syriac is about half as long again as the Greek. Moreover, as in the case of our Apology, the variation begins to shew itself immediately after the first sentence, which I have quoted. For the Greek continues thus: *οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶρον ὄσιον ἢ θεοφιλές. αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν ὑμῶν συνθέματα λύσσης καὶ ἀκρασίας ἐστὶ μνημεία. τῷ γὰρ ἐν παιδείᾳ παρ' ὑμῖν προὔχοντι φοιτῶν τις πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἀργαλεώτατος. πρώτιστα μὲν γὰρ φασὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, κ.τ.λ.* But the Syriac replaces this by the following, as Cureton renders it: 'For I have investigated the whole of your wisdom of poetry, and rhetoric, and philosophy; and when I found not anything right or worthy of the Deity, I was desirous of investigating the wisdom of the Christians also, and of learning and seeing who they are, and when, and what is this its recent and strange production, or on what good things they rely who follow this wisdom, so as to speak the truth. Men and Greeks, when I had made the enquiry I found not any folly, as in the famous Homer, who says respecting the wars of the two rivals, "for the sake of Helen many of the Greeks perished at Troy, far from their beloved home." For first they say respecting Agamemnon,' &c.

Here then we have a similar problem to that of the Apology of Aristides; and in this case we are not hampered by the consideration that the Greek may possibly have been abbreviated to fit it for incorporation into a religious novel. Few will be disposed to challenge the verdict of Otto<sup>1</sup>, that the Syriac translator has so altered and amplified his original as almost to have produced a new work.

We may give one more illustration of the manner in which the translator has proceeded. We have seen already that he has paraded at the outset his independent acquaintance with Homer.

<sup>1</sup> *Justini Opera*, tom. 2, p. xxix.

Where Ulysses is alluded to, later on, the Greek has a sentence full of satire and liable to be misunderstood. 'Ὁ γὰρ Ἰθακήσιος Λαερτιάδης ἐκ κακίας ἀρετὴν ἐνεπορεύσατο· ὅτι δὲ ἀγαθῆς φρονήσεως ἄμοιρος ἦν, ὁ κατὰ τὰς Σειρῆνας διάπλους ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτε μὴ ἠδυνήθη φρονήσει ἐμφράξαι τὴν ἀκοήν. Corresponding to this we find in the Syriac Version: 'But respecting the guile of Odysseus, son of Laertes, and his murders, who shall tell? For to a hundred and ten suitors in one day his house was a grave, and was filled with dead bodies and blood. And he it is that by his wickedness purchased praises, because by the excellence of his wisdom he was concealed: and he it is that, as ye say, sailed over the sea, and heard the voice of the Sirens, because he stopped his ears with wax.'

The translator then has first supplemented his author by introducing fresh details about Ulysses: and then he has totally missed the meaning of the Greek. He has obviously read it as if it were δι' ἀγαθῆς φρονήσεως ἀμαυρὸς ἦν, 'through the excellence of his wisdom he kept himself in the dark.' Then not seeing the point of φρονήσει ἐμφράξαι, he simply tells us that 'he stopped his ears with wax.' This of course the hero did not do: and the translator has got the Homeric story wrong: nor shall we mend matters much by inserting with Cureton the word 'not' after 'and heard.' We see at any rate plainly enough what was this Syrian's conception of a translator's function when his author seemed obscure.

The parallel between the two Apologies is the more striking, because the line of argument in these *Hypomnemata* vividly recalls parts of Aristides, and the same illustrations of the misdemeanours of the gods frequently reappear in almost the same language. The satire of the so-called Ambrosius is a much keener weapon than the simple narrative of Aristides: but there is not the same intensity of moral earnestness. It is quite credible that the later Apologist had the work of Aristides before him when he wrote, and endeavoured to reproduce the same arguments in what he thought was a more telling manner. Thus he says: 'Ἀνάγνωτε τῷ Διὶ, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τὸν κατὰ πατροφῶν νόμον καὶ τὸ μοιχείας πρόστιμον καὶ τὴν παιδευαστίας αἰσχρότητα (cf. infra p. 109, l. 7). And again: Τί σεμνὸν ἐπιδείκνυται γυνὴ ὄπλους κεκοσμημένη, κ.τ.λ.



(cf. p. 106, l. 24). And once more: Θέτω τὸν ζήλον Ἡφαιστος, καὶ μὴ φθονεῖτω, εἰ πρεσβύτης ὦν καὶ κυλλὸς τὸν πόδα μεμίσσητο, Ἄρης δὲ πεφίλητο νέος ὦν καὶ ὠραῖος (cf. p. 105, l. 18).

Enough then has been said to shew that a Syriac translator, finding an early Greek Apology and desiring to reproduce it in his own language, might have no scruple whatever in dealing very freely with his author, in expunging sentences which he was not able or did not care to translate, and in supplementing the original here and there out of his own resources. The Syriac translator of the *Oratio ad Gentiles* has clearly so treated his unknown author; and this fact removes any *a priori* objection to the supposition that the Syriac translator of Aristides has acted in a similar way.

(2) We are fortunate in having an additional source of evidence in the Armenian fragment which contains the opening sentences of the Apology. The Armenian translator has clearly done what we have had some reason to suspect in the case of the Syriac translator. He has dealt freely with his original, adding words and even sentences, and introducing the stock phrases of a later theology. But this, while it diminishes very considerably the amount of the evidence which can be produced from his version, does not materially affect its value as far as it goes. Phrases which are only found in the Armenian, or only found in the Syriac, may be dismissed as possibly the inventions of the respective translators: but there remains a considerable quantity of matter common to the two Versions, which therefore presupposes a Greek original. The question we have to ask is: What is the relation of this common matter to the Greek text now in our hands?

A preliminary point however demands attention: Is the Armenian translated from the Syriac, or is it an independent translation made directly or indirectly from the Greek itself?

A few instances in which the Armenian corresponds with the Greek against the Syriac will suffice to shew that it cannot come from the Syriac as we now have it.

In the opening sentence we have *προνοία* and 'providentia' (Arm.) against 'goodness' (Syr.). Immediately afterwards *σελήμην* and 'luna' (Arm.), which the Syriac omits. Lower down 'rectorem'

three times corresponds to parts of *διακρεῖν*, but there is nothing to answer to these in the Syriac. In the Christological passage near the end of the fragment, 'una cum Spiritu Sancto' (Arm.) answers to *ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*: and here again the Syriac has no equivalent.

Moreover in the description of the Divine nature the Armenian Version says: 'Ei neque colores sunt neque forma,' or as Mr Conybeare renders it, 'Colour and form of Him there is not.' This corresponds to the Syriac phrase: 'He has no likeness, nor composition of members.' The Greek fails us here: but we may suppose that the Greek word which has been variously rendered 'colour' and 'likeness' was *χρῶμα*, as in the passage quoted by Mr Harris from Justin (*supra*, p. 54): *οὐ χρῶμα ἔχον, οὐ σχῆμα*.

We may conclude then that the Armenian Version is not made from the Syriac Version in its present form<sup>1</sup>: and similar arguments could be adduced, if there were any necessity, to shew that the Syriac Version is independent of the Armenian.

I have mentioned already almost all the cases in which the Syriac fails to reproduce in any form matter which is common to the Greek and the Armenian. They scarcely make up between them more than a dozen words. The additional matter found only in the Syriac Version is more considerable.

First, there is the second title which introduces the name of Antoninus Pius, and so conflicts with the first which has the support of the Armenian<sup>2</sup>.

Then we have the following phrases:

(a) Who is hidden in them and concealed from them: and this is well known, that...

<sup>1</sup> See however p. 90, where the fourfold division of mankind, common to Syr. and Arm., is further criticised.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Harris inclines to accept this second title of the Syriac Version as the true one: see above, pp. 7 ff. But the course of the present argument tends to shew that the Syriac translator has introduced many arbitrary changes on his own account: and this makes me the more unwilling to accept his testimony against that of the Armenian Version, which has moreover the explicit statement of Eusebius to support it. The circumstances under which the Greek has been preserved to us necessitated the omission of the title altogether; so that no direct evidence on the point reaches us from that quarter.

(b) And in saying that He is complete, I mean that there is no deficiency in Him.

(c) And that which has an end is dissoluble.

(d) From man He asks nothing.

(e) Who begat...from whom was born...who begat.

(f) Of their religion (bis).

(g) And it is said that (in the Christological statement)... and clad Himself with...and they say that...who are well known.

I have taken no account of the many places in which the two Versions wander far from each other, and yet seem to have some common basis. Here the Armenian is obviously the worst offender, and its interpolations are far more numerous.

We now turn to the Greek itself in the passage covered by the Armenian fragment, in order to see first of all to what extent what we actually have faithfully represents the Greek words which underlie the Syriac and Armenian Versions.

(1) The first sentence which bears the appearance of compression is the following: *ἀνώτερον πάντων τῶν παθῶν καὶ ἐλαττωμάτων, ὀργῆς τε καὶ λήθης καὶ ἀγνοίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν*. This seems to bring together several more expanded phrases witnessed to by the two Versions, which however do not agree with one another sufficiently closely to allow us to make a certain reconstruction.

(2) In the sentence, *ὅπως ἴδωμεν τίνες αὐτῶν μετέχουσι τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τίνες τῆς πλάνης*, a word, corresponding to 'præfatas' (Arm.) and 'which we have spoken concerning Him' (Syr.), has dropped out before *ἀληθείας*: and instead of *τῆς πλάνης* there must have been a verb in the original; 'ab eis erraverint' (Arm.), 'have erred therefrom' (Syr.). The difference is of course exceedingly slight in itself: but it is important from a critical point of view, when we are testing the faithfulness with which the author of 'Barlaam and Josaphat' has preserved to us the original Apology. We may probably trace in this sentence the influence of an almost identical one, which comes later on, after the preliminary descriptions of the four races have been given. As the Greek combines these descriptions with the fuller

accounts afterwards given, it brings the parallel sentences close together.

(3) The division of mankind into three races, and not four, has been already noticed<sup>1</sup>.

(4) It is just at this point that the most serious divergence is found: viz., the omission of the preliminary descriptions of the races, as noted above. This was perhaps the result of the change in the method of their division, which rendered unsuitable the sentences which immediately followed.

Once more, we have to ask how much is there which can be shewn, by the united testimony of the Versions, to have stood in the original Greek, and which yet finds no place in the Greek which has survived.

(1) In the first line both Versions have 'into this world,' while the Greek has *εἰς τὸν κόσμον*: but the demonstrative may perhaps only be an attempt to represent the Greek article. The first real gap is eight lines lower down, where the Versions are very divergent<sup>2</sup>, but yet point to some common original. It is probable that the Greek text at this point was difficult or corrupt, and so was omitted altogether by the author of 'Barlaam and Josaphat.' The topic is the difficulty and uselessness of elaborate investigation concerning the Divine nature: and the conclusion is drawn 'that one should fear God and not grieve man' (Syr.), 'utpote unum Deum nos adorare oportet: unumquemque autem nostrum proximum suum sicut semetipsum diligere' (Arm.). To this the Greek has nothing to correspond.

(2) For the list of properties of the Divine nature we have in the Greek merely the compressed sentence, part of which was quoted above. The Versions agree in telling us more fully that 'God is not begotten, not made'; 'without beginning, because that which has a beginning has also an end'; 'without name, because that which has a name belongs to the created'; 'without likeness (Arm. 'colores,' implying *χρῶμα* in the Greek) and composition of members (Arm. 'forma'), for he who possesses this is associated with things created' (Arm. 'mensurabilis est, limiti-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 70; and further remarks on p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> The Syriac is untranslatable as it stands.

busque cogitur'); 'neither male nor female' (Arm. adds 'quia cupiditatibus agitur qui huic est distinctioni obnoxius'); 'the heavens do not contain Him: but the heavens and all things visible and invisible are contained in Him'; 'He has no adversary' (in the reason for this there is fresh discrepancy); 'He is altogether wisdom and understanding.' After this the Greek, as we have it, is again, for the next seven lines, obviously the same as that which lay before the translators.

(3) Now comes the new division of mankind, and the Greek has omitted the following: 'Now the Barbarians reckon—and from Dionysus,' about six lines.

(4) The preliminary accounts of the Jews and the Christians are found in the Greek later on, where they are amalgamated with the fuller descriptions. The account of the Jews agrees fairly well with that given in the Versions, especially in the Armenian. The additions in the Greek will be noticed presently. It adds at the close: *καθάπερ εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν (τῶν ἀποστόλων) τὰς καθ' ἡμᾶς περιῆλθε χώρας, τὸ δόγμα κηρύττων τῆς ἀληθείας.*

(5) The Christological passage which follows is so important that it will be an advantage to have the three forms side by side. I have given a strictly literal rendering of the Armenian.

Οἱ δὲ χριστιανοὶ γε-  
νεαλογοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ  
κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.  
οὗτος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ  
τοῦ ὑψίστου ὁμολογεῖ-  
ται ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ  
ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς διὰ  
τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
καὶ ἐκ παρθένου ἀγίας  
γεννηθεὶς, ἀσπύρος τε καὶ  
ἀφθόρος, σάρκα ἀνέλαβε,  
καὶ ἀνεφάνη ἀνθρώποις.

(Syr.) *The Christians  
then reckon the beginning  
of their religion from Jesus  
Christ, Who is named the  
Son of God most High;  
and it is said that God  
came down from heaven,  
and from a Hebrew virgin  
took and clad Himself  
with flesh; and there  
dwelt in a daughter of  
man the Son of God.*

(Arm.) *But the Christ-  
ians are race-reckoned from  
the Lord Jesus Christ. He  
is Son of God on high, Who  
was manifested by the  
Holy Spirit: from heaven  
having come down; and  
from a Hebrew virgin  
having been born: having  
taken His flesh from the  
virgin, and having been  
manifested by the nature  
of this humanity [as]  
the Son of God.*

Here I have distinguished by spaced type or by italics every word, which having a double testimony may be referred to the original Greek. As regards omissions, the Greek omits only the epithet 'Hebrew', which it replaces by the epithet *ἀγία*, and the

second reference to 'the Son of God,' where however there is a discrepancy between the two Versions. The Syriac omits *κυρίου, πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, γεννηθείς, ἀνεφάνη*. The Armenian has no omission that can be certainly traced. The additions in each case may be seen at a glance. The Armenian has practically none; though a few lines further down the epithet corresponding to *θεοτόκος* is applied to the Virgin. The most serious change is that in the Syriac, where the word 'God' is inserted as the subject of the verbs which follow. The passage is one which was more likely than any other in the whole piece to tempt later writers to make changes of their own. It is to be noted that here the Greek in spite of its additions represents the original Apology much more faithfully than the Syriac does.

(6) In the words which follow next the Versions do not agree either with one another, or with the Greek, which has displaced the sentence and gives it a little lower down. But both the Greek and the Syriac appeal to a written Gospel, which the king might read if he chose.

(7) The repetition of the fourfold division of mankind is of course not found in the Greek, and with it has disappeared the problematical sentence: 'To God then ministers wind, and to angels fire; but to demons water, and to men earth.' At this point the Armenian fragment ends.

What then is the result of our investigation of this opening passage, in which alone we have a triple testimony to the contents of the original Apology?

(1) There is one serious modification (if, indeed, we have not here the original) in the Greek, as it is preserved to us; but it was necessitated by the conditions of its reproduction in its new surroundings.

(2) There is one serious displacement in the Greek; but this was almost necessitated by the modification just mentioned.

(3) The description of the Divine nature is very much abbreviated in the Greek; but no word occurs in it which has not the support of the Versions.

(4) In the Christological passage which we examined in de-

tail the Greek was seen to preserve the original statements, though with the addition of the later phrase *ἀσπύρωσ τε καὶ ἀφθόρωσ*.

(5) The Syriac Version is often loose and inaccurate: it drops a phrase here and there; and it makes insertions by way of explanation or of supplement, and sometimes in such a way as to convey a wholly false conception of the original.

We learn then to expect for the remainder of the Apology that the Greek, as we have it, will as a rule give us the actual words of Aristides, except in the very few places in which modification was obviously needed. Where the Syriac presents us with matter which has no counterpart whatever in the Greek, we shall hesitate to pronounce that the Greek is defective, unless we are able to suggest a good reason for the omission, or to authenticate the Syriac from some external source<sup>1</sup>.

*The Greek Text of 'Barlaam and Josaphat.'*

It is remarkable that this work, which at one time enjoyed such extraordinary popularity, should not have found its way into print in its original language before the present century. The Latin Version wrongly attributed to Georgius Trapezuntius, but really, as the MSS. of it prove, of a much earlier date, was printed, together with various works of S. John of Damascus, at Basel in 1539: but it was reserved to Boissonade to publish the Greek Text for the first time in the fourth volume of his *Anecdota*, which appeared at Paris in 1832.

Boissonade apologises for the meagreness of his *apparatus criticus* on the ground that an edition was expected almost immediately from Schmidt and Kopitar the librarian of the Imperial Library at Vienna. This edition, however, never appeared. Out of seventeen MSS. preserved in the Library at Paris, Boissonade used throughout but two, 903 and 1128, which he refers to as A and C. He gives occasional readings from two others, 904 and 907, which he names B and D. In the portion of the book which specially concerns us, viz. the speech of Nachor, C is defective for about 10 of Boissonade's pages, and the testimony of D is frequently

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 90.

recorded. From time to time readings are also quoted from the Latin Version.

This very inadequate text has been reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, tom. 96, in the third volume of the works of S. John of Damascus: but we have gained nothing by the reproduction except new blunders.

In the *Wiener Jahrbücher für Deutsche Literatur* (lxxii. 274, lxxiii. 176) Schubart has given some description of the Vienna MSS., and a list of the principal variants contained in them.

Lastly, Zotenberg<sup>1</sup> has made a useful list of about 60 MSS., and has constructed a critical text of certain passages of special interest. Nothing however has been attempted as yet in the way of a genealogical classification of the MSS.; a work which will involve great labour, but which is essential to the production of a satisfactory edition.

In editing the Remains of the Apology of Aristides I have used three MSS., which were kindly placed at my disposal in Cambridge. I have recorded their variants with a greater completeness than is necessary for my present purpose, in order to aid a future editor of the whole treatise in assigning them without further trouble to their proper families.

(1) I have to thank Miss Algerina Peckover of Wisbech for kindly sending to the University Library a MS. in her possession, which apparently belongs to the beginning of the eleventh century. This Codex is specially interesting for the pictures which a later hand has drawn in the margin, sometimes in ink and sometimes in colours. It is unfortunately defective at the beginning and at the end. It commences with the words *τῇ προνοίᾳ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ φωτιζόμενα* (Bois. p. 48), and ends with *καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ τῶν ἐντολῶν σου ἠξίωσας τὸν δρόμον τέλε* (Bois. p. 357). Unhappily it has been corrected very largely throughout, and it is frequently impossible to discover the original readings: those which are obviously by a later hand I have marked as W<sup>2</sup>.

(2) The authorities of Magdalen College, Oxford, with a like generosity allowed me to use their codex, Gr. 4, side by side with

<sup>1</sup> *Notice sur le livre de B. et J.*, pp. 3—5.



the Wisbech MS. in our Library. This bears the date 1064. It contains besides: a Life of S. Basil, a tract on Images, the Martyrdom of SS. Galaction and Episteme, a tract on Penalties, and a work of Anastasius Sinaiticus. It has remained for the most part uncorrected.

(3) In the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge, there is a MS. of the 17th century, the readings of which are of sufficient interest to be recorded for the present in spite of its late date.

In my *apparatus criticus* these MSS. are referred to by the letters W, M and P respectively. I have now and then recorded readings from the Vienna MSS. collated by Schubart using the signs V<sub>91</sub>, V<sub>102</sub>, &c., where the figures correspond with Schubart's numbers. Wherever I have differed from the text of Boissonade, I have recorded his readings, and sometimes I have expressly mentioned his MSS., A, C and D. I have given in the margin of the Greek text the reference to Boissonade's pages. Where it seemed desirable I have recorded readings of the Latin Version, taking them from the Basel edition of 1539 mentioned above.

### *The Bearing of the Apology on the Canon.*

There are but few references to the Books of Scripture in the Apology of Aristides, which thus stands in striking contrast with the works of Justin. On two occasions the Emperor is referred to Christian writings. In the first case a written Gospel is distinctly implied, as the matter in hand is the outline of our Lord's Life; the words in the Greek are<sup>1</sup>: *οὐ τὸ κλέος τῆς παρουσίας ἐκ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένης εὐαγγελικῆς ἀγίας γραφῆς ἕξοστί σοι γνῶναι, βασιλεῦ, ἐὰν ἐντύχης* (p. 110, l. 21). The second reference is more general, and possibly includes Books outside the Canon: *ταῖς γραφαῖς ἐγκύβας τῶν χριστιανῶν εὐρήσεις, κ.τ.λ.* (p. 111, l. 24; cf. Syr. supra p. 50 fin.). There are no direct quotations from the New Testament, although the Apologist's diction is undoubtedly coloured at times by the language of the Apostolic writers.

(1) The opening sentence recalls the words of 2 Macc. vii. 28: *ἀξιῶ σε, τέκνον, ἀναβλέψαντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὰ*

For the Syriac see above, p. 36 fin. 'This is taught from that Gospel,' &c.

ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα ἰδόντα, γινῶναι ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὁ θεός.

(2) p. 100, l. 11. δι' αὐτοῦ δὲ τὰ πάντα συνέστηκεν. Cf. Col. i. 17, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν (cf. δι' αὐτοῦ in i. 16).

(3) p. 101, l. 6. καὶ ἤρξαντο σέβασθαι τὴν κτίσιν παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα αὐτούς. This is clearly based on Rom. i. 25: καὶ ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα. The addition of αὐτούς is interesting. The Syriac translator renders: 'and they began to serve created things instead of the Creator of them'; he is probably led to make the change by the recollection of the Syriac Version (Pesh.) in this passage, where the word 'Creator' has the suffix of the fem. plural.

(4) p. 104, l. 2. σοφοὶ λέγοντες εἶναι ἐμωράνθησαν. Cf. Rom. i. 22: φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν.

(5) p. 107, l. 12. ὅθεν λαμβάνοντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀφορμὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, ἔπραττον πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν καὶ ἀσέλγειαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν. These words are a kind of echo, although in a different sense, of Rom. vii. 8: ἀφορμὴν δὲ λαβοῦσα ἡ ἁμαρτία διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς κατειργάσατο ἐν ἐμοὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν.

(6) p. 109, l. 12. νυνὶ δὲ οἱ νόμοι καλοὶ εἰσι καὶ δίκαιοι. Here again we seem to feel the influence of the same chapter; Rom. vii. 12, 16, ὥστε ὁ μὲν νόμος ἅγιος, καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ ἁγία καὶ δικαία καὶ ἀγαθή...σύνφημι τῷ νόμῳ ὅτι καλός (cf. 1 Tim. i. 8).

(7) p. 109, l. 26. οὗτοι γὰρ, τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ὄντες ἀπόγονοι καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, παρώκησαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον· ἐκέθειν δὲ ἐξήγαγεν αὐτούς ὁ θεὸς ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ. The first part of this sentence has affinities with Heb. xi. 8, 9, πίστει Ἀβραὰμ...παρώκησεν εἰς γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας...μετὰ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. And the whole may be compared with Acts xiii. 17, ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ μετὰ βραχίονος ὑψηλοῦ ἐξήγαγεν αὐτούς ἐξ αὐτῆς. The second part of the phrase however is not attested by the Syr. and Arm. Versions, and may possibly have been introduced by the author of 'Barlaam and Josaphat' from Ps. cxxxvi. 11, 12.

(8) p. 110, l. 2. τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτούς προφήτας καὶ δικαίους ἀπέκτειναν. This is a combination of words found in S. Matt. xiii. 17, πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ δίκαιοι, and S. Matt. xxiii.

37 (cf. S. Luke xiii. 34) ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα τοὺς προφήτας, καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτήν. But here again we cannot be sure that we have the words of Aristides himself. This last remark applies also to the phrase, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν (p. 110, l. 9), which comes from Rom. x. 2.

(9) p. 110, l. 19. θανάτου ἐγεύσατο clearly comes from Heb. ii. 9; but the Syr. simply has 'He died,' and the Arm. has nothing at all to correspond. Hence we cannot be certain that these are the words of Aristides. They probably have replaced the statement preserved in the Syr. 'He was pierced by the Jews.' Throughout this great Christological passage it is worth noting how the actual phrases of the N. T. are not introduced.

(10) p. 111, l. 30. οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ῥήματα λαλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. With this we may perhaps compare 1 Thess. ii. 13, ἐδέξασθε οὐ λόγον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ, καθὼς ἀληθῶς ἐστίν, λόγον θεοῦ<sup>1</sup>.

### *The Apology and the Didaché.*

A source from which our author has drawn part of his description of the life and conduct of the Christians is the Two Ways, though it may well be doubted whether he knew it in the form preserved to us in the Didaché.

The passage in question runs as follows in the Apology (c. xv.):

Οὐ μοιχεύουσιν, οὐ πορνεύουσιν, οὐ ψευδομαρτυροῦσιν, οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦσι τὰ ἀλλότρια· τιμῶσι πατέρα καὶ μητέρα· καὶ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> The following parallels may also be noted: p. 111, l. 17, 1 Thess. ii. 10; p. 111, l. 29, Apoc. xv. 3; p. 108, l. 2 (ἀσυνέτων), and p. 110, l. 1 (ἀχάριστοι), Rom. i. 21; p. 109, l. 30, Rom. ix. 22; p. 111, l. 26 (οὐκ ἀπ' ἐμαντοῦ λέγω), Joh. vii. 17, xii. 49. Moreover there seems to be some relation between our Apology and several chapters of the Book of Wisdom, beginning with the personal statement of c. vii. 1: εἰμὲν μὲν κατὰ θεοῦ ἀνθρώπος κ.τ.λ. Comp. esp. vii. 15 ἐμοὶ δὲ δῶκε ὁ θεὸς εἰπεῖν κατὰ γνώμην...αὐτὸς γὰρ μοι ἔδωκε τῶν ἔντων γνώσων ἀψευδῆ, εἰδέναι σύστασιν κόσμου καὶ ἐνέργειαν στοιχείων κ.τ.λ....(ix. 1) ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα ἐν λόγῳ σου κ.τ.λ....(xii. 24) τῶν πλάνης ὁδῶν μακρότερον ἐπλανήθησαν, θεοὺς ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὰ καὶ ἐν ζῴοις κ.τ.λ....(xiii. 2) ἀλλ' ἡ πῦρ ἢ πνεῦμα ἢ ταχῶν ἀέρα ἢ κύκλον ἀστρων ἢ βλαῖον ὕδωρ ἢ φωστήρας οὐρανοῦ πρυτάνεις κόσμου θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν...ὁ κατασκευάσας αὐτὰ δυνατώτερός ἐστιν...ταλαίπωρον δὲ καὶ ἐν νεκροῖς αἰ ἐλπίδες αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ....ἐν τοίχῳ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ ἀσφαλισμένον σιδήρῳ...οὐκ ἀδυνατεῖ ἐαντῷ βοηθῆσαι κ.τ.λ.

πλησίον φιλοῦσι· δίκαια κρίνουσιν· ὅσα οὐ θέλουσιν αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι ἑτέρῳ οὐ ποιοῦσι· τοὺς ἀδικούντας αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦσι καὶ προσφιλεῖς αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς ποιοῦσι· τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εὐεργετεῖν σπουδάζουσι· πραεῖς εἰσὶ καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς· ἀπὸ πάσης συνουσίας ἀνόμου καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας ἐγκρατεύονται· χήραν οὐκ ὑπερορῶσιν, ὄρφανόν οὐ λυποῦσιν· ὁ ἔχων τῷ μὴ ἔχοντι ἀνεπιφθόνως ἐπιχορηγεῖ· ξένον ἐὰν ἴδωσιν, ὑπὸ στέγην εἰσάγουσι, καὶ χαίρουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἀδελφῷ ἀληθινῷ· οὐ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.

The following parallels may be adduced from the Didaché:

c. ii. οὐ μοιχεύσεις...οὐ πορνεύσεις...οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον...οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις.

c. i. ἀγαπήσεις...τὸν πλησίον σου.

c. iv. κρινεῖς δικαίως.

c. i. πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσης μὴ γίνεσθαί σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει.

c. iv. εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους.

c. iii. ἴσθι δὲ πραΰς.

To these we may perhaps add, as parallel to the last of the sentences cited above:

c. iv. οὐκ ἀποστραφήση τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου.

It may also be noted that the whole passage is prefaced by the words: ἔχουσι τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ... καὶ ταύτας φυλάττουσι. Compare Did. c. iv.: οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπης ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ κ.τ.λ.

When we turn to the Epistle of Barnabas we find there the same parallels which have been quoted from the Didaché, with two exceptions; viz., οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, and the negative form of the Golden Rule.

On the other hand, we find in Barn. c. xix.: ἡ οὖν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός ἐστὶν αὕτη· ἐὰν τις θέλων ὁδὸν ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον τόπον, κ.τ.λ.: with which we may compare Apol. c. xvi.: ὄντως οὖν αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, ἥτις τοὺς ὁδεύοντας αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον χειραγωγεῖ βασιλείαν. And the two phrases about the widow and the orphan, which found no parallel in the Didaché, may be compared with Barn. c. xx.: χήρα καὶ ὄρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες. Compare also Barn. c. xix.: διὰ λόγου κοπιῶν καὶ πορευόμενος εἰς

τὸ παρακαλέσαι with Apol. c. xv. (quoted above) τοὺς ἀδικούντας αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦσι.

It is possible then that here we have a witness to the earlier Two Ways, which has been variously embodied in the Didaché and the Epistle of Barnabas.

Some support may be given to this view when we observe that the wording of the negative form of the Golden Rule in our Apology has a greater affinity to the famous interpolations in Codex Bezae than to the clause in the Didaché. This appears partly from the position of the first negative, and partly from the use of ἕτερος rather than ἄλλος.

Let us bring the various texts together :

Acts xv. 20. ὅσα μὴ θέλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἑτέροις μὴ ποιεῖτε.

Acts xv. 29. ὅσα μὴ θέλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἑτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖν.

Apol. c. xv. ὅσα οὐ θέλουσιν αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἑτέρῳ οὐ ποιοῦσιν.

Did. c. i. πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσης μὴ γίνεσθαί σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει.

It is hardly possible therefore to believe that Aristides can have drawn this precept directly from the Didaché in the form in which we know it.

### *The Apology and the Preaching of Peter.*

At the close of the Apology Aristides challenges the Emperor to examine the writings of the Christians, from which he declares that the materials for his defence are drawn: p. 111, l. 23: καὶ ἵνα γνῶς, βασιλεῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπ' ἑμαντοῦ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῖς γραφαῖς ἐγκύψας τῶν χριστιανῶν εὐρήσεις οὐδὲν ἔξω τῆς ἀληθείας με λέγειν: or, as it is more fully said in the Syriac Version: 'Take now their writings and read in them, and lo! ye will find that not of myself have I brought these things forward nor as their advocate have I said them, but as I have read in their writings, these things I firmly believe,' &c.

We have seen already that he refers to a written Gospel for his statements as to the life and work of our Lord. We have also seen that he has drawn part of his description of the conduct of the Christians from the 'Two Ways.' Moreover the Book of

Wisdom seems to have influenced his method and his language in several parts of his work.

The following investigation will tend to shew that he owes a still greater debt to a work now lost, which exercised a considerable influence upon the writings of the second century.

The Preaching of Peter (*κήρυγμα Πέτρου*) is classed by Eusebius (*H. E.* III. 3) together with his Acts, his Gospel and his Apocalypse as outside the Canon of writings accepted by the universal Church (*οὐδ' ἄλλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένα*). He goes on to say of these four books that none of the early writers or of his contemporaries used quotations from them. This statement is however incorrect: for Clement of Alexandria again and again quotes from both the Preaching and the Apocalypse, as authoritative works. The Preaching of Peter then was one of those books which, like the Didaché, the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas, at one time claimed a place in the Canon; though its claim was disallowed, even more emphatically perhaps than the claims of these other competitors.

We must in the first instance gather together all the fragments which can be assigned with certainty to this work<sup>1</sup>. For the sake of clearness I have arranged them in the order in which it will be most easy to compare them with our Apology.

Clem. Al. Strom. VI. 39 ff. *Γινώσκετε οὖν ὅτι εἰς θεός ἐστιν, ὃς ἀρχὴν πάντων ἐποίησεν καὶ τέλους ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, καὶ ὁ ἀόρατος ὃς τὰ πάντα ὄρα, ἀχώρητος ὃς τὰ πάντα χωρεῖ, ἀνεπίδεῖς οὐ τὰ πάντα ἐπιδέεται καὶ δι' ὃν ἔστιν<sup>2</sup> ἀκατάληπτος, ἀέναος, ἀφθαρτος, ἀποίητος, ὃς τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν λόγῳ δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ<sup>3</sup>.*

*Τοῦτου τὸν θεὸν σέβετε μὴ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας<sup>4</sup> ὅτι ἀγνοία*

<sup>1</sup> Hilgenfeld (*N. T. extra Can.* pp. 56 ff.), to whose work I need scarcely acknowledge my indebtedness, has brought together under the head of Πέτρου (καὶ Παύλου) κήρυγμα, various fragments of the *Didascalía Petri*, &c. The fact that these find no parallels in Aristides will give a new reason for keeping them separate.

<sup>2</sup> *Απολ.* c. i. *αὐτὸν οὖν λέγω εἶναι θεὸν τὸν συστησάμενον τὰ πάντα καὶ διακρατοῦντα ...ἀπροσδεῖ...πάντες δὲ αὐτοῦ χρῆζουσιν.*

<sup>3</sup> c. i. 'Now I say that God is not begotten, not made: a constant nature, ... immortal, complete, and incomprehensible...the heavens do not contain Him; but the heavens and all things visible and invisible are contained in Him' (Syr.).

c. iv. *ἀφθαρτος...καὶ ἀόρατος, αὐτὸς δὲ πάντα ὄρα.*

c. xiv. *τὸν ἀόρατον καὶ πάντα ὄρωντα καὶ πάντα δημιουργήσαντα δεῖ θεὸν σέβεται.*

<sup>4</sup> cc. viii. ff.

φερόμενοι καὶ μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν θεὸν<sup>1</sup> (ὡς ἡμεῖς κατὰ τὴν γνῶσιν τὴν τελείαν), ὧν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίας εἰς χρήσιν<sup>2</sup> μορφώσαντες<sup>3</sup> ξύλα καὶ λίθους, χαλκὸν καὶ σίδηρον, χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, τῆς ὕλης αὐτῶν καὶ χρήσεως τὰ δοῦλα τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἀναστήσαντες σέβονται· καὶ ἃ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς εἰς βρώσιν ὁ θεός, πετεινὰ τοῦ αἴερος καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τὰ νηκτὰ καὶ τῆς γῆς τὰ ἔρπετὰ καὶ τὰ θηρία σὺν κτήνεσι τετραπόδοις τοῦ ἀγροῦ, γαλαῖς τε καὶ μῆς, αἰλούρους τε καὶ κύνας καὶ πιθήκους<sup>4</sup>· καὶ τὰ ἴδια βρώματα βρωτοῖς<sup>5</sup> θύματα θύουσιν, καὶ νεκρὰ νεκροῖς<sup>6</sup> προσφέροντες ὡς θεοῖς ἀχαριστοῦσι τῷ θεῷ διὰ τούτων ἀρνούμενοι αὐτὸν εἶναι<sup>7</sup>.

Μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβεσθε, καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι μόνου οἰόμενοι τὸν θεὸν γινώσκουσι οὐκ ἐπίστανται, λατρεύοντες ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀρχαγγέλοις, μηνι καὶ σελήνῃ· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σελήνη φανῇ, σάββατον οὐκ ἄγουσι τὸ λεγόμενον πρῶτον, οὐδὲ ἄζυμα οὔτε ἑορτὴν οὔτε μεγάλην ἡμέραν<sup>8</sup>.

“Ὡστε καὶ ὑμεῖς ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως μανθάνοντες ἃ παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν φυλάσσεσθε<sup>9</sup>, καινῶς τὸν θεὸν διὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ σεβόμενοι. εὐρομεν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, καθὼς ὁ κύριος λέγει· Ἴδου διατίθεμαι ὑμῖν καινὴν διαθήκην, οὐχ ὡς διεθέμην τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν ἐν ὄρει Χωρήβ. νέαν ὑμῖν διέθετο· τὰ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων παλαιὰ, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ καινῶς αὐτὸν τρίτῳ γένει σεβόμενοι Χριστιανοί<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> c. iii. μὴ εἰδότες θεὸν ἐπλανήθησαν.

<sup>2</sup> c. v. καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ εἰς χρήσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων γέγονε, καὶ κατακυριεύεται ὑπ’ αὐτῶν (et saepius).

<sup>3</sup> c. iii. ὧν καὶ μορφώματά τινα ποιήσαντες ὠνόμασαν ἐκτόπωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, κ.τ.λ.... καὶ συγκλείσαντες ναοὺς προσκυνούσι.

<sup>4</sup> c. xii. τινὲς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐσεβάσθησαν πρόβατον...τινὲς δὲ τὸν αἰλουρον καὶ τὸν κύνα καὶ τὸν λύκον καὶ τὸν πίθηκον, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>5</sup> c. xii. ἄλογα ζῶα παρεστήγαγον θεοὺς εἶναι, χερσαῖά τε καὶ ἐνυδρα...ὄρωντες γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν βιβρωσκομένους ὑπὸ ἐτέρων ἀνθρώπων...(this confirms Potter's emendation βρωτοῖς for βρωτοῖς.)

<sup>6</sup> c. iii. σεβόμενοι ἀγάλματα νεκρά.

<sup>7</sup> c. xiv. ἀγνώμονες καὶ αὐτοὶ φανέντες καὶ ἀχάριστοι...ἀρνοῦνται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>8</sup> c. xiv. ‘The Jews...suppose in their minds that they are serving God, but...their service is to angels and not to God, in that they observe sabbaths and new moons and the passover and the great fast and the fast, and circumcision, and cleanness of meats.’ (Syr.)

<sup>9</sup> c. xv. τὰ γὰρ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ ἀσφαλῶς φυλάττουσιν, ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ζῶντες.

<sup>10</sup> c. xvi. ‘And this people is truly a new people,’ &c. (Syr.)

c. ii. φανερόν...ὅτι τρία γένη εἰσὶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ· ὧν εἰσὶν οἱ τῶν παρ’ ὑμῶν λεγομένων θεῶν προσκυνηταί, καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ χριστιανοί. ‘There are four races of men in this world: Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians.’ (Syr.)

Ibid. 48. (ὁ κύριός φησι πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν) Ἐξελεξάμην ὑμᾶς δώδεκα μαθητὰς, κρίνας ἀξιούς ἐμοῦ (οὗς ὁ κύριος ἠθέλησεν καὶ ἀποστόλους πιστοὺς ἠγησάμενος εἶναι), πέμπων ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον εὐαγγελίσασθαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνθρώπους<sup>1</sup>, γινώσκειν ὅτι εἷς θεός ἐστιν, διὰ τῆς τοῦ χριστοῦ πίστεως ἐμῆς δηλοῦντας τὰ μέλλοντα, ὅπως οἱ ἀκούσαντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες σωθῶσιν, οἱ δὲ μὴ πιστεύσαντες ἀκούσαντες μαρτυρήσωσιν, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀπολογία ἐπιεῖν Οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν. (τί οὖν; οὐχὶ καὶ ἐν Αἴδου ἡ αὐτὴ γέγονεν οἰκονομία;) <sup>2</sup>

Ibid. 43. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν τις θελήσῃ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ μετανοήσας διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματός μου πιστεῦειν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ἀφεθήσονται αὐτῷ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐξέλθετε εἰς τὸν κόσμον, μή τις εἴπῃ Οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν.

Ibid. 48. ὅσα ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τις ὑμῶν ἐποίησεν μὴ εἰδὼς σαφῶς τὸν θεόν, ἐὰν ἐπιγνούς μετανοήσῃ, πάντα αὐτῷ ἀφεθήσεται τὰ ἁμαρτήματα<sup>3</sup>.

Ibid. 128. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀναπτύξαντες τὰς βίβλους ἃς εἶχομεν τῶν προφητῶν, ἃ μὲν διὰ παραβολῶν, ἃ δὲ δι' αἰνιγμάτων, ἃ δὲ αὐθεντικῶς καὶ αὐτολεξεῖ τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ὀνομαζόντων, εὔρομεν καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς κολάσεις πάσας ὅσας ἐποίησαν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι<sup>4</sup>, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν πρὸ τοῦ Ἱεροσόλυμα κτισθῆναι, καθὼς ἐγγέγραπτο. ταῦτα πάντα ἃ ἔδει αὐτὸν παθεῖν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἃ ἔσται ταῦτα οὖν ἐπιγνόντες ἐπιστεύσαμεν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων εἰς αὐτόν<sup>5</sup>.

ἔγνωμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αὐτὰ προσέταξεν ὄντως<sup>6</sup>, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄτερ γραφῆς λέγομεν<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> c. xv. οὗτος δώδεκα ἔσχε μαθητὰς, οἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀνοδὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ἐδίδαξαν κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> c. ii. 'He had twelve disciples, in order that a certain dispensation of His might be fulfilled' (Syr.); c. xv. κατ' οἰκονομίαν μεγάλην.

<sup>3</sup> c. xvi. 'And when it chances that one of them turns...he confesses to God, saying, In ignorance I did these things: and he cleanses his heart, and his sins are forgiven him, because he did them in ignorance in former time' (Syr.).

<sup>4</sup> c. ii. 'He was pierced by the Jews' (Syr.).

<sup>5</sup> c. xvi. 'As I have read in their writings, these things I firmly believe, and those things also that are to come' (Syr.).

<sup>6</sup> c. xv. καθὼς κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν...ὄντως οὖν αὕτη κ.τ.λ. (c. xvi.).

<sup>7</sup> c. xvi. καὶ ἵνα γνῶς, βασιλεῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπ' ἑμαυτοῦ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῖς γραφαῖς ἐγκύβας τῶν χριστιανῶν, εὐρήσεις οὐδὲν ἔξω τῆς ἀληθείας με λέγειν.



I have given above in full (with one exception; Clem. Strom. i. 182, *νόμος καὶ λόγος ὁ κύριος*) all the indisputable fragments of the Preaching of Peter<sup>1</sup>: and the parallels adduced from the Apology of Aristides shew that there is an intimate connexion between the two documents.

Before going further into the interesting problem of the reconstruction of the Preaching, let us inquire what light these parallels throw upon the relation of the Syriac Version to the Greek text of the Apology.

(1) Several passages of the Syriac Version, quoted above in the notes, which are wanting in the Greek as we now have it, are authenticated by their similarity to portions of the Preaching.

Of these the most important are: (a) the worship of angels attributed to the Jews; (b) the description of the Christians as a 'new people'; (c) the confession of the converted heathen; (d) the attribution of our Lord's sufferings to the Jews. Especially valuable are (a) and (c), as giving us ground for believing that the great closing section of the Syriac Version, which is so curtailed in the Greek, is substantially the writing of Aristides himself.

(2) On the other hand, the division into three races, which we find in the Greek, has the support of the famous *τρίτῳ γένει* of the Preaching. The fourfold division of the Syriac and Armenian Versions (Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians) comes therefore under grave suspicion: and the more we examine it, the less primitive it appears. For to the Greek mind the Jews were themselves Barbarians: see, for example, Clem. Strom. vi. 44, *νόμος μὲν καὶ προφήται βαρβάρους, φιλοσοφία δὲ Ἑλληνισι*: and Orig. c. Cels. i. 2, *ἐξῆς βάρβαρόν φησιν ἄνωθεν εἶναι τὸ δόγμα, δηλοῦντι τὸν Ἰουδαϊσμόν*. Moreover there seems to be no parallel to this fourfold classification of races in early Christian literature.

The Preaching of Peter is quoted by Heracleon (Orig. Comm. in Joan. xiii. 17), and we shall see that possibly it was used by

<sup>1</sup> The context of the quotations in Clement may sometimes give us, in the light thrown by the Apology, further materials for the reconstruction of the Preaching. Thus Strom. vi. 127, *ὅταν τις τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα πεποιηκότες σάρκα ἀνειληφότα καὶ ἐν μήτρᾳ παρθένου κνοφορηθέντα, καθὸ γεγέννηται τὸ αἰσθητὸν αὐτοῦ σαρκίον, ἀκολούθως δὲ καθὸ γέγονεν τοῦτο πεπονητά καὶ ἀνιστάμενον ὃ μὲν λέγει, οἱ δὲ ἀκούουσιν, κ.τ.λ.*, has several points of resemblance with Apol. c. xv., *οὗτος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου ὁμολογεῖται...ἐκ παρθένου ἁγίας γεννηθεῖς...σάρκα ἀνέλαβε, κ.τ.λ.*

Celsus. It seems also to have been in the hands of the unknown writer of the Epistle to Diognetus. Moreover in the Sibylline Oracles we have several passages which seem to be based on it. Some of these are especially interesting, as shewing coincidences with our Apology, though not with the existing fragments of the Preaching<sup>1</sup>.

Now if three or four extant works can be shewn to have drawn materials from a document, which is known to us now only by a few fragments, there is obviously a possibility that the lost document may be to some extent critically reconstructed by a consideration of common matter found in any two of the works, which may accordingly have been taken from the document in question. To attempt to do this fully for the Preaching of Peter would be beyond our present scope: but we may fairly consider here what contributions to such a reconstruction are afforded by our Apology, which has apparently made so free a use of it.

Let us begin with those passages which either the Preaching or the Apology have in common with *the Sibylline Oracles*. I shall not attempt a discrimination between the various writings which are gathered under the name of the Sibyl, but shall simply give references to Alexandre's edition of 1869.

Proem. 7 ff.

Εἷς θεός, ὃς ἄρχει, ὑπερμεγέθης, ἀγένητος,  
παντοκράτωρ, ἀόρατος, ὁρῶν ἄπαντα αὐτὸς ἅπαντα,  
αὐτὸς δ' οὐ βλάπεται θνητῆς ὑπὸ σαρκὸς ἀπάσης.

\* \* \*

αὐτὸν τὸν μόνον ὄντα σέβουσθ' ἡγήτορα κόσμου,  
ὃς ἄρχει εἰς αἰῶνα καὶ ἐξ αἰῶνος ἐτύχθη,  
αὐτογενῆς, ἀγένητος, ἅπαντα κρατῶν διαπαντός.

\* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> The Gnostic Acts of Thomas are frequently indebted to the Preaching of Peter, as may be seen by the following passages: c. 1, διελάμεν τὰ κλίματα τῆς οἰκουμένης κ.τ.λ.: c. 15, καὶ εἰπεῖν μὲν ὡς δεῖ οὐ δύναμαι, ἀ δὲ χωρῶ λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.: c. 28, οὐκ ἔχει τις λόγον ἀπολογίας μέλλων παρ' αὐτοῦ κρῖνεσθαι, ὡς μὴ ἀκούσας: c. 36, οὐδὲ θυσίων δέεται ἵνα αὐτῷ θύσης: c. 38, ἀλλὰ παραβλέπει ὑμῶν τὰ παραπτώματα ἀ κατὰ ἀγνοίαν ἦτε πεποιηκότες: c. 55, τῶν πράξεων ὧν διεπράξαθε χωρὶς γνώσεως...πιστεύσατε...καὶ ἀφίησιν ὑμῖν τὰ πρὸ τούτου πεπραγμένα ἀμαρτήματα: c. 56, μὴ λογίσῃ ἡμῶν τὰ παραπτώματα καὶ τὰ πρῶτα σφάλματα, ἀ διεπραξάμεθα ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ὄντες (see too the argument from prophecy in the same chapter).

ἀλλὰ θεὸς μόνος εἰς πανυπέρτατος, ὃς πεποίηκεν  
οὐρανὸν, ἠέλιόν τε καὶ ἀστέρας, ἠδὲ σελήνην,  
καρποφόρον γαῖαν τε καὶ ὕδατος οἴδματα πόντου.

\* \* \*

ἡμῖν τε κτήνη ὑπέταξεν πάντα βροτοῖσιν,  
πάντων θ' ἡγητῆρα κατέστησεν θεότευκτον,  
ἀνδρὶ δ' ὑπέταξεν, κ.τ.λ.

\* \* \*

αἰσχύνθητε γαλαῶς καὶ κνώδαλα θειοποιούντες.  
οὐ μανίη καὶ λύσσα φρενῶν [αἴσθησιν ἀφαιρεῖ],  
εἰ λοπάδας κλέπτουσι θεοί, συλοῦσι δὲ χύτρας;

\* \* \*

προσκυνέοντες ὄφεις, κύνας, αἰλούρους, ἀνόητοι,  
καὶ πετεηνὰ σέβεσθε, καὶ ἔρπετὰ θηρία γαίης,  
καὶ λίθινα ξόανα, καὶ ἀγάλματα χειροποίητα,  
κἂν παρόδοισι λίθων συγχώματα· ταῦτα σέβεσθε,  
ἄλλα τε πολλὰ μάταια, ἃ δὴ κ' αἰσχρὸν ἀγορεύειν.

Bk. iii. 9 ff.

τίπτε μάτην πλάξασθε, καὶ οὐκ εὐθείαν ἀταρπὸν  
βαίνετε, ἀθανάτου κτίστου μεμνημένος αἰεὶ;  
εἰς θεὸς ἐστὶ μοναρχος, ἀθέσφατος, αἰθέρι ναίων,  
αὐτοφυῆς, ἀόρατος, ὄρων μόνος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα.  
ὃν χεῖρ γ' οὐκ ἐποίησε λιθοξόος, οὐδ' ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ  
τέχνης ἀνθρώπου φαίνει τύπος, οὐδ' ἐλέφαντος.

\* \* \*

τίς γὰρ θνητὸς ἐὼν κατιδεῖν δύναται θεὸν ὄσσοις;  
ἢ τίς χωρήσει κἂν τοῦνομα μόνον ἀκούσαι  
οὐρανοῦ μεγάλοιο θεοῦ, κόσμον κρατέοντος;  
ὃς λόγῳ ἔκτισε πάντα, καὶ οὐρανὸν ἠδὲ θάλασσαν,  
ἠέλιόν τ' ἀκάμαντα, σελήνην τε πλήθουσαν,  
ἄστρα τε, κ.τ.λ.

\* \* \*

οὐ σέβετ', οὐδὲ φοβείσθε θεὸν, ματαίως δὲ πλανᾶσθε  
προσκυνέοντες ὄφεις τε, καὶ αἰλούροισι θύοντες,  
εἰδώλοισ τ' ἄλλοις, λιθίνοις θ' ἰδρύμασι φωτῶν,  
καὶ ναοῖς ἀθέοισι καθεζόμενοι πρὸ θυράων,  
τηρεῖτε τὸν ἐόντα θεὸν, ὃς πάντα φυλάσσει.

Bk. viii. 375 ff.

ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος οἶδα, ὃς οὐρανὸν ἔκτισα καὶ γῆν,  
 μῦθος γὰρ θεὸς εἶμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς ἄλλος.  
 εἰκόνα θεσπίζουσιν ἐμὴν, ληφθείσαν ἀφ' ἕλης,  
 χειρὶ τε μορφώσαντες ἐπ' εἰδώλοισιν ἀναύδοις  
 δοξάζουσι λιταῖς καὶ θρησκευαίσις ἀνάγκοις.  
 τὸν κτίστην προλιπόντες ἀσελγείαις ἐλάτρευσαν.

\* \* \*

οὐ χρήζω θυσιῶν, οὐ σπόνδῶν ὑμετεράων.

\* \* \*

ταῦτα γὰρ, εἰς μνήμην βασιλῶν ἠδὲ τυράννων,  
 δαίμοσι ποιήσουσι νεκροῖς, ὡς οὐρανοῖσι.

When with these passages before us we read over again the early sections of the Preaching and the parallels to them which I have quoted from Aristides, we shall feel that we have here something more than ordinary commonplaces about the unity of God and the folly of idolatry. Again, when we compare together the first and second groups of passages from the Sibylline Books, we shall be led to ask for a common basis which shall explain their resemblances. Neither seems to be a direct imitation of the other: each presents us with words and phrases not found in the other, but accounted for at once on the supposition that either the Preaching of Peter or our own Apology lies in the background. Thus in the first we have *παντοκράτωρ, ἀγένητος, γαλαῖς, πετεηνὰ καὶ ἔρπετά, ἃ δὴ κ' αἰσχρὸν ἀγορεύειν*. In the second, *τοῦνομα, λόγῳ ἔκτισε, ναοῖς...τηρέϊτε*.

Moreover the mention of Creation by the Word guides us to the Preaching, in preference to the Apology, in which this finds no place: and the phrases which are found in the Apology, but not in the Preaching, need not cause us difficulty when we remember how very fragmentary is our knowledge of the latter document.

In fact we may at once begin a tentative reconstruction, and say that the Preaching probably contained

- (1) *παντοκράτωρ* and *ἀγένητος* as epithets of the Deity;
- (2) the verb *διακρατεῖν* of His continuous action upon created things;
- (3) the statement that the Deity has no outward image, and no name;

- (4) that God created 'heaven, earth and sea, sun, moon and stars';  
 (5) that these were made for the sake of Man;  
 (6) among objects of false worship, *ἄφεις*, and other things disgraceful even to name in such a connexion;  
 (7) a reference to the folly of guarding the Deity.

From the lines in the eighth Book we may add:

- (8) the desertion of the Creator for the creature;  
 (9) that God has no need of sacrifice and oblation.

Another passage of the Sibylline writings bears a striking resemblance to our Apology. This is the commencement of the fourth Book<sup>1</sup>, of which Alexandre says: 'Liber hic Christianorum Sibyllinorum antiquissimus est habendus, scriptus nempe primo saeculo.' It opens with lines which recall much of what has been already cited, dealing with the attributes of the Creator. It then gives a brief description of the men who shall one day inhabit the earth (ll. 25 ff.). We may select the following passages:

*ὄσσοι δὴ στέρξουσι θεὸν μέγαν, εὐλογέοντες  
 πρὶν φαγέειν πιέειν τε, πεποιθότες εὐσεβήσιν.*

\* \* \*

*οὐδ' ἄρ' ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίῃ κούτῃ πόθον αἰσχρὸν ἔχοντες,  
 οὐτ' ἐπὶ ἄρσενος ὕβριν ἀπεχθέα τε στυγερὴν τε.  
 ὦν τρόπον εὐσεβίην τε καὶ ἦθεα ἀνέρες ἄλλοι  
 οὐποτε μιμήσονται, ἀναιδείην ποθέοντες·  
 ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς χλεύη τε γέλωτί τε μυχθίζοντες,  
 νήπιοι ἀφροσύνησιν, ἐπιψεύσονται ἐκείνοις,  
 ὅσσ' αὐτοὶ ῥέξουσιν, ἐπίψογα καὶ κακὰ ἔργα.*

With reference to the first of these passages, we may remember that in the description of the Christians in c. xv. we saw that Aristides uses the 'Two Ways': but at the end of his account he adds words which remind us forcibly of the Preaching of Peter: *ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ζῶντες, καθὼς κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν*: and then he goes on: *εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῷ κατὰ πάσαν ὥραν ἐν παντὶ βρώματι καὶ ποτῷ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀγαθοῖς.*

<sup>1</sup> It is not unimportant to observe that this Book has also remarkable affinities with the *Apocalypse* of Peter.

With regard to the second passage, there is a still more striking parallel in c. xvii., preserved to us only in the Syriac Version. 'The Greeks then, O king, because they practise foul things in sleeping with males, and with mother and sister and daughter, turn the ridicule of their foulness upon the Christians; but the Christians are honest and pious,' etc.

These coincidences are worth noting even if we are not prepared, with our present knowledge, to suppose that they send us back for their explanation to the Preaching of Peter<sup>1</sup>.

Next let us turn to *the Epistle to Diognetus*. As soon as the Armenian fragment of Aristides was discovered, it was observed that it had points in common with this anonymous Epistle. The coincidences have multiplied greatly with our larger knowledge of the Apology. Several of them have been quoted by Mr Harris in his notes, but it is necessary for our present purpose to bring them together again under one view. I shall do this in the briefest possible form, giving in the footnotes references to such parallels in the Apology as have not already been quoted above.

*Ep. ad Diog.* c. 1. οὔτε τοὺς νομιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς λογιζονται, οὔτε τὴν Ἰουδαίων δεισιδαιμονίαν φυλάσσουσι ...καὶ τί δήποτε καινὸν τοῦτο γένος ἢ ἐπιτήδευμα εἰσήλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον νῦν καὶ οὐ πρότερον.

παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν ἡμῖν χορηγοῦντος, αἰτούμαι δοθῆναι ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰπεῖν οὕτως<sup>2</sup> κ.τ.λ.

c. 2. ὡς ἂν καὶ λόγου καινοῦ...ἀκροατῆς ἐσόμενος.

οὐχ ὁ μὲν τις λίθος ἐστὶν ὅμοιος τῷ πατουμένῳ, ὁ δ' ἐστὶ χαλκὸς οὐ κρείσσων τῶν εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν ἡμῖν κεχαλκευμένων σκευῶν, ὁ δὲ ξύλον ἤδη καὶ σεσηπός, ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος χρῆζων ἀνθρώπου τοῦ φυλάξαντος ἵνα μὴ κλαπῆ, ὁ δὲ σίδηρος κ.τ.λ.

εἰς τὴν μορφὴν τούτων ἐκτυπωθῆναι<sup>3</sup> κ.τ.λ.

<sup>1</sup> With the thought contained in the passage last quoted, compare Just. Apol. ii. 12: Αἰδέσθητε, αἰδέσθητε, ἃ φανερώς πράττετε εἰς ἀναίτιους ἀναφέροντες, καὶ τὰ προσόντα καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις περιβάλλοντες τούτοις ὧν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ποσὸν μετουσία ἐστὶ. But here the notion of ridicule, which we find in Aristides and in the Sibyl, is wanting.

<sup>2</sup> *Ap.* c. ii. τούτων οὕτως εἰρημένων περὶ θεοῦ, καθὼς ἐμὲ ἐχώρησε περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν.

<sup>3</sup> *Ap.* c. iii. ὧν καὶ μορφώματά τινα ποιήσαντες ὠνύμασαν ἐκτύπωμα κ.τ.λ.

τοὺς δὲ ἀργυρέους καὶ χρυσοὺς ἐγκλείσαντες ταῖς νυξί, καὶ ταῖς ἡμέραις φύλακας παρακαθιστάντες, ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν<sup>1</sup>.

σ. 3. ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἰουδαῖοι θεοσεβεῖν... Ἰουδαῖοι τοίνυν... καλῶς θεὸν ἕνα τῶν πάντων σέβειν, καὶ δεσπότην ἀξιούσι φρονεῖν· εἰ δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις ὁμοιοτρόπως<sup>2</sup> τὴν θρησκείαν προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ ταύτην, διαμαρτάνουσιν.

ὁ γὰρ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν χορηγῶν ὧν προσδεόμεθα, οὐδενὸς ἂν αὐτὸς προσδέοιτο τούτων ὧν τοῖς οἰομένοις διδόναι παρέχει αὐτός. οἱ δὲ γε θυσίας κ.τ.λ.

σ. 4. ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε περὶ τὰς βρώσεις αὐτῶν ψοφοδεές, καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ σάββατα δεισιδαιμονίαν, καὶ τὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἀλαζονείαν, καὶ τὴν τῆς νηστείας καὶ νουμηνίας εἰρωνείαν, κ.τ.λ.

τό τε γὰρ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κτισθέντων εἰς χρήσιν ἀνθρώπων, κ.τ.λ.

τὸ δὲ παρεδρέοντας αὐτοὺς ἄστροις καὶ σελήνῃ τὴν παρατήρησιν τῶν μηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν ποιεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

σ. 6. χριστιανοὶ κατέχονται μὲν ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ τῷ κόσμῳ, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνέχουσι τὸν κόσμον<sup>3</sup>.

σ. 7. οὐ γὰρ ἐπίγειον, ὡς ἔφην, εὔρημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς παρεδόθη, οὐδὲ θνητὴν ἐπίνοιαν φυλάσσειν οὕτως ἀξιούσιν ἐπιμελῶς, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνων οἰκονομίαν μυστηρίων πεπίστευται. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀληθῶς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καὶ παντοκτίστης καὶ ἀόρατος θεὸς, αὐτὸς... τὸν λόγον τὸν ἅγιον... ἐνίδρυσε καὶ ἐγκατεστήριξε ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν<sup>4</sup>.

σ. 8. οἱ μὲν τινες πῦρ ἔφασαν εἶναι τὸν θεὸν (οὐ μέλλουσι χωρήσειν αὐτοί, τοῦτο καλοῦσι θεὸν), οἱ δὲ ὕδωρ, οἱ δ' ἄλλο τι τῶν στοιχείων τῶν ἐκτισμένων ὑπὸ θεοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. c. iii. συγκλείσαντες ναοίς... τηροῦσιν ἀσφαλῶς ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. c. xiv. καὶ εἰσὶ παρόμοιοι τῶν ἔθνῶν.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. c. xvi. 'And I have no doubt that the world stands by reason of the intercession of the Christians' (Syr.).

<sup>4</sup> Ap. c. xv. οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς εὐρόντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν· γνώσκουσι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἀπάντων... ἔχουσι τὰς ἐντολάς... ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις κεχαραγμένας.

c. 10. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠγάπησε, δι' οὓς ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον, οἷς ὑπέταξε πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ<sup>1</sup>.

ὅς, ἂ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν ἔχει, ταῦτα τοῖς ἐπιδομένοις χορηγῶν, θεὸς γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων, οὗτος μιμητὴς ἐστι θεοῦ<sup>2</sup>.

We cannot account for these parallels by merely supposing that Aristides had the Epistle to Diognetus before him: for there are many points in common between Aristides and the Preaching of Peter, such as the worship of angels ascribed to the Jews, which do not appear in the Epistle. Nor will the converse hypothesis hold good. For, to take one instance out of several, the phrase in the Epistle *μὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἰουδαίοις θεοσεβεῖν* is directly parallel to *μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβασθε* in the Preaching; but it has no counterpart in form in the Apology.

Here again then we are guided to the hypothesis that the Preaching lies behind both of these works. Can we gain anything further in the way of its reconstruction?

Taking up some of our former points (see p. 93) we are confirmed in thinking that the Preaching contained

- (1) *παντοκράτωρ* as an epithet of the Deity.
- (2) the statement that God created 'heaven and earth and all that is therein.'
- (3) that these were made for the sake of Man; and we may add 'placed in subjection under him.' (Cf. Or. Sibyl. *Prooem.*, quoted above.)

(4) a reference to the folly of guarding the Deity.

(5) that God has no need of sacrifices.

We may perhaps go on to add

(6) a statement that God must give the power to speak rightly of Him.

(7) a reference to circumcision and meats in treating of the Jews.

(8) the position of the Christians as sustaining the world.

(9) the fixing of God's commandments in their hearts.

<sup>1</sup> *Ap.* c. i. 'He is God of all, who made all for the sake of man' (Syr.).

<sup>2</sup> *Ap.* c. xiv. 'They imitate God by reason of the love which they have for man: for they have compassion on the poor,' &c. (Syr.).



(10) a reasoned condemnation of the worship of fire, water and other elements.

(11) the imitation of God consists in beneficence.

Mr Harris has collected (pp. 20 ff.) several instances of contact between the Apology of Aristides and *the True Word of Celsus*; and he has suggested that Celsus may have had the Apology in his hands when he wrote his attack upon Christianity. We are now in a position to see that most of the coincidences which have been pointed out would be accounted for by the supposition that it was the Preaching of Peter itself, and not our Apology, which, like 'Jason and Papiscus' and other apocryphal writings, supplied the materials of his attack.

It will be more satisfactory to present the evidence in full as we have done in the previous cases, even at the risk of some repetition. I shall follow the order of Origen's reply.

Orig. c. *Cels.* I. 4. *κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους φιλοσόφους, ὡς οὐ σεμνὸν τι καὶ καινὸν μάθημα.* Cf. II. 5 *μηδὲν δὲ καινὸν ἐν τούτοις διδάσκεισθαι φαίνων χριστιανούς, οἷεται ἀνατρέπειν χριστιανισμόν.* Also IV. 14 *λέγω δὲ οὐδὲν καινὸν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι δεδογμένα* (i.e. he does not claim novelty for his view, as they do for theirs).

I. 23. *τῷ ἡγήσαμένῳ σφῶν ἐπόμενοι Μωϋσῆ... ἔνα ἐνόμισαν εἶναι θεόν.*

I. 26. *λέγων αὐτοὺς σέβειν ἀγγέλους καὶ γοητεία προσκείσθαι, ἧς ὁ Μωϋσῆς αὐτοῖς γέγονεν ἐξηγητής. πού γάρ τῶν γραμμάτων Μωϋσέως εὔρε τὸν νομοθέτην παραδιδόντα σέβειν ἀγγέλους... ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ διδάξειν ἐξῆς, πῶς καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας ἐσφάλησαν ἐξαπατώμενοι<sup>1</sup> (cf. V. 6).*

*...περὶ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν, ὡς γενομένου ἡγεμόνος τῇ καθὼ χριστιανοὶ ἐσμεν γενέσει ἡμῶν καὶ φησιν αὐτὸν πρὸ πάντων ὀλίγων ἐτῶν τῆς διδασκαλίας ταύτης καθηγήσασθαι, νομισθέντα ὑπὸ χριστιανῶν υἱὸν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ<sup>2</sup>.*

I. 28. *πρῶτον δὲ ὡς πλασαμένου αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γένεσιν.*

<sup>1</sup> *Ap. c. xiv.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ap. c. xv. οἱ δὲ χριστιανοὶ γενεαλογοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. οὗτος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου ὁμολογεῖται... καὶ ἐκ παρθένου ἀγίας γεννηθεῖς.*

I. 49 f. ἀλλ' εἶπεν ὁ ἐμὸς προφήτης ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ποτὲ, ὅτι ἤξει θεοῦ υἱὸς, τῶν ὁσίων κριτῆς, καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων κολαστῆς... τί μᾶλλον σὺ ἢ ἄλλοι μυριοί, οἱ μετὰ τὴν προφητείαν γενόμενοι, εἰσὶ περὶ ὧν ταῦτα προφητεύετο ;

III. 19. μηδὲν σεμνότερον τράγων καὶ κυνῶν, τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις, εἰσάγοντας ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ διηγήσεσιν.

III. 22. ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν λόγῳ Διοσκοῦρους καὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ Διόνυσον ὀνομάζει...καὶ φησιν οὐκ ἀνέχασθαι μὲν ἡμᾶς τούτους νομίζειν θεοὺς, ὅτι ἄνθρωποι ἦσαν... τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ἀποθανόντα, κ.τ.λ.

IV. 23. καὶ ἡμῖν πάντα ὑποβέβληται, γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀῆρ καὶ ἄστρα, καὶ ἡμῶν ἕνεκα πάντα, καὶ ἡμῖν δουλεύειν τέτακται. (Cf. IV. 99, οὐκ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων πεποιήται τὰ πάντα.)

Besides these parallels there are several instances in which Celsus seems to turn a weapon used by the Christians back upon themselves : e.g., I. 54, ὀνειδίζει τῷ σωτῆρι ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει, ὡς μὴ βοηθηθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἢ μὴ δυναθέντι ἑαυτῷ βοηθῆσαι<sup>1</sup>. II. 9, καίτοι θεὸν, φησὶν, ὄντα φεύγειν ἐνῆν, οὔτε δεθέντα ἀπάγεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. So again in III. 42, his reply to the charge of corruptibility brought against idols is that flesh is still more corruptible : παραβάλλων τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ σάρκας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ λίθῳ, ὅτι αὐταὶ ἐκείνων φθαρτότεραι. And in III. 76 we seem to hear the echo of Christian words in : ὅμοιον ποιεῖν τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν διδάσκαλον, ὡς εἴ τις μεθύων εἰς μεθύοντας παριῶν κακηγορεῖ τοὺς νήφοντας ὡς μεθύοντας<sup>2</sup>.

It is not easy on the evidence here collected to say whether it was the Preaching of Peter or the Apology of Aristides which lay before Celsus, but we can hardly doubt that it must have been one or the other. The statement that the world was made for the sake of man does not find a place in the recognised fragments of the Preaching ; but we have given good reasons for believing that it was contained in it. On the other hand, the Apology gives no starting point for the attack of Celsus on Jewish prophecies about the Messiah, whereas the Preaching laid great stress on this point (see above, p. 89).

<sup>1</sup> *Ap. c. x.* εἰ οὖν Διόνυσος σφαγείς οὐκ ἠδυνήθη ἑαυτῷ βοηθῆσαι...πῶς ἂν εἴη θεός; (et passim). Cf. *δέσμος* and *δραπέτης* in the same chapter.

<sup>2</sup> *Ap. c. xvi.* ὀδύοντες γὰρ ἐν σκότει προσηρῶσονται ἑαυτοῖς ὡς μεθύοντες.

## ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΑΡΙΣΤΙΔΙΣ

VT APVD HISTORIAM BARLAAM ET JOSAPHAT CONSERVATVR.

Κ I. Ἐγὼ, βασιλεῦ, προνοία θεοῦ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ 239  
θεωρήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἥλιόν τε  
καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ἐθαύμασα τὴν διακόσμησιν τούτων.  
ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα, ὅτι κατὰ ἀνάγκην  
κινεῖται, συνῆκα τὸν κινουῦντα καὶ διακρατοῦντα εἶναι θεόν· πᾶν 5  
γὰρ τὸ κινουῦν ἰσχυρότερον τοῦ κινουμένου, καὶ τὸ διακρατοῦν  
ἰσχυρότερον τοῦ διακρατουμένου ἐστίν. αὐτὸν οὖν λέγω εἶναι  
☉ θεὸν τὸν συστησάμενον τὰ πάντα καὶ διακρατοῦντα, ἀναρχον  
καὶ ἀίδιον, ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀπροσδεῆ, ἀνώτερον πάντων τῶν παθῶν  
καὶ ἐλαττωμάτων, ὀργῆς τε καὶ λήθης καὶ ἀγνοίας καὶ τῶν 10  
λοιπῶν. δι' αὐτοῦ δὲ τὰ πάντα συνέστηκεν. οὐ χρῆζει θυσίας  
καὶ σπονδῆς, οὐδέ τις πάντων τῶν φαινομένων· πάντες δὲ  
αὐτοῦ χρήζουσι.

Υ II. Τούτων οὕτως εἰρημένων περὶ θεοῦ, καθὼς ἐμὲ ἐχώρησε  
περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν, ἔλθωμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος, ὅπως 15  
ἴδωμεν τίνες αὐτῶν μετέχουσι τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τίνες τῆς 240  
πλάνης. φανερὸν γάρ ἐστιν ἡμῖν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ὅτι τρία γένη  
εἰσὶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ· ὧν εἰσὶν οἱ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν  
λεγομένων θεῶν προσκυνηταί, καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ χριστιανοί·  
αὐτοὶ δὲ πάλιν οἱ τοὺς πολλοὺς σεβόμενοι θεοὺς εἰς τρία 20  
διαιροῦνται γένη, Χαλδαίους τε καὶ Ἑλληνας καὶ Αἰγυπτίους·

2 καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν] MP; καὶ γῆν καὶ Bois; γῆν καὶ W; sed cf. p. 101,  
l. 8 ἥλιόν τε] P Bois; ἥλιον MW 5 κινεῖται] κινουῦνται M 6 ἰσχυ-  
ρότερον M (et l. 7) 7, 8 θεὸν εἶναι M 11 θυσιῶν M 12 σπονδῆς] Bois;  
libaninae lat; σπονδᾶς PW; σπονδῶν M om. τις MP Bois; sed aliquo  
lat 15 ἐπὶ] περὶ W 18 ἀνθρώπων] P Bois syr; om. MW lat ἡμῖν]  
ὡμῶν P Bois 21 διαίρονται P

οὔτοι γὰρ γεγόνασιν ἀρχηγοὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσι τῆς τῶν πολυωνύμων θεῶν λατρείας καὶ προσκυνήσεως.

III. Ἰδῶμεν οὖν τίνες τούτων μετέχουσι τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τίνες τῆς πλάνης.

5 Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Χαλδαῖοι, μὴ εἰδότες θεὸν, ἐπλανήθησαν ὀπίσω τῶν στοιχείων, καὶ ἤρξαντο σέβεσθαι τὴν κτίσιν παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα αὐτούς· ὧν καὶ μορφώματά τινα ποιήσαντες ὠνόμασαν ἐκτύπωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στοιχείων ἢ φωστήρων, καὶ  
 10 συγκλείσαντες ναοὶς προσκυνοῦσι θεοὺς καλοῦντες, οὓς καὶ τηροῦσιν ἀσφαλῶς ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν ὑπὸ ληστῶν, καὶ οὐ συνήκαν ὅτι πᾶν τὸ τηροῦν μείζον τοῦ τηρουμένου ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ ποιῶν μείζων ἐστὶ τοῦ ποιουμένου. εἰ γὰρ ἀδυνατοῦσιν οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν περὶ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας, πῶς ἄλλοις σωτηρίαν χαρί-  
 15 σονται; πλάνην οὖν μεγάλην ἐπλανήθησαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, σεβόμενοι ἀγάλματα νεκρὰ καὶ ἀνωφελῆ. καὶ θαυμάζειν μοι ἐπέρχεται, ὦ βασιλεῦ, πῶς οἱ λεγόμενοι φιλόσοφοι αὐτῶν οὐδ' ὅλως συνήκαν ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα φθαρτὰ ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ τὰ στοιχεῖα φθαρτὰ ἐστὶ καὶ ὑποτασσόμενα κατὰ ἀνάγκην,  
 241 πῶς εἰσὶ θεοί; εἰ δὲ τὰ στοιχεῖα οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοὶ, πῶς τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἃ γέγονεν εἰς τιμὴν αὐτῶν, θεοὶ ὑπάρχουσιν;

IV. Ἐλθῶμεν οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα, ὅπως ἀποδείξωμεν περὶ αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοὶ, ἀλλὰ φθαρτὰ καὶ ἀλλοιούμενα, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος παραχθέντα προστάγματι τοῦ  
 25 ὄντος θεοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν ἀφθαρτός τε καὶ ἀναλλοιώτος καὶ ἀόρατος· αὐτὸς δὲ πάντα ὄρα, καὶ καθὼς βούλεται ἀλλοιοῖ καὶ μεταβάλλει. τί οὖν λέγω περὶ τῶν στοιχείων;

Οἱ νομίζοντες τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶναι θεὸν πλανῶνται. ὀρῶμεν γὰρ αὐτὸν τρεπόμενον καὶ κατὰ ἀνάγκην κινούμενον, καὶ ἐκ  
 30 πολλῶν συνεστῶτα· διὸ καὶ κόσμος καλεῖται. κόσμος δὲ κατασκευὴ ἐστὶ τινὸς τεχνίτου· τὸ κατασκευασθὲν δὲ ἀρχὴν καὶ

2 πολυωνύμων P      4 τίνες] + τῶν M      5 μὴ] οἱ μὴ Bois  
 6 om. τῶν M      7 κτίσαντα] + καὶ ποιήσαντα P      8 ἐκτύπωμα  
 MPV<sup>om.</sup>; figuram lat; ἐκτυπώματα W Bois      καὶ (sec.)] ἢ MP      11 τηροῦ-  
 σιν] συντηροῦντες M      14 om. ἰδίας P      14, 15 χαρίσονται W\*      18  
 om. καὶ M      18, 19 om. φθαρτὰ ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ τὰ στοιχεῖα W      18—20  
 om. φθαρτὰ ἐστίν. εἰ—θεοί; εἰ δὲ τὰ στοιχεῖα P      24 ἀλλοιούμενα] ἀπολό-  
 μενα W      ὄντος] ὄντος W\*      25 ὄντως] ὄντος PW<sup>2</sup>      26 ὄρων P  
 80 om. καὶ PW lat

τέλος ἔχει. κινεῖται δὲ ὁ οὐρανὸς κατὰ ἀνάγκην σὺν τοῖς αὐτοῦ φωστῆρσι· τὰ γὰρ ἄστρα τάξει καὶ διαστήματι φερόμενα ἀπὸ σημείου εἰς σημείον, οἱ μὲν δύνουσι, οἱ δὲ ἀνατέλλουσι, καὶ κατὰ καιροὺς πορεύονται τοῦ ἀποτελεῖν θέρη καὶ χειμῶνας, καθὰ ἐπιτέτακται αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οὐ παραβαίνουσι 5 τοὺς ἰδίους ὄρους, κατὰ ἀπαραίτητον φύσεως ἀνάγκην, σὺν τῷ οὐρανῷ κόσμῳ. ὅθεν φανερόν ἐστι μὴ εἶναι τὸν οὐρανὸν θεόν, ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ.

Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες τὴν γῆν εἶναι θεὰν ἐπλανήθησαν. ὁρῶμεν γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑβριζομένην καὶ κατακυριευομένην, 10 σκαπτομένην καὶ φυρομένην καὶ ἄχρηστον γινομένην. ἐὰν γὰρ ὀπτηθῆ, γίνεται νεκρά· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ ὀστράκου φύεται οὐδέν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐὰν ἐπὶ πλείον βραχῆ, φθείρεται καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ οἱ καρποὶ 242 αὐτῆς. καταπατεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ζώων, αἵμασι φουενομένων μαιίνεται, διορύσσεται, γεμίζεται 15 νεκρῶν, θήκη γίνεται σωμάτων. τούτων οὕτως ὄντων, οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τὴν γῆν εἶναι θεὰν, ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ εἰς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώπων.

V. Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες τὸ ὕδωρ εἶναι θεὸν ἐπλανήθησαν. καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ εἰς χρῆσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων γέγονε, καὶ κατακυριεύεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν, μαιίνεται καὶ φθείρεται, καὶ ἀλλοιοῦται ἐψόμενον 20 καὶ ἀλλασσόμενον χρώμασι, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους πηγνύμενον, καὶ αἵμασι μολυνόμενον, καὶ εἰς πάντων τῶν ἀκαθάρτων πλύσιν ἀγόμενον. διὸ ἀδύνατον τὸ ὕδωρ εἶναι θεόν, ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ.

Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες τὸ πῦρ εἶναι θεὸν πλανῶνται. τὸ γὰρ πῦρ ἐγένετο εἰς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ κατακυριεύεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν, περιφερόμενον ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον εἰς ἔψησιν καὶ ὀπτησιν παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ νεκρῶν σωμάτων· φθείρεται δὲ καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σβεννύμενον. διὸ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τὸ πῦρ εἶναι θεόν, ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ.

Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες τὴν τῶν ἀνέμων πνοὴν εἶναι θεὰν πλανῶνται. 30

1 οὐρανός] + καὶ W αὐτοῦ] ἑαυτοῦ PW 3 δύνουσι Bois ἀνα-  
τέλουσι MW 5 καθὰ] καθ' ὃ W 11 om. σκαπτομένην Bois (sed C  
habet) φυρομένην] Bois; φυρουμένην PW; φρουρουμένην CM 11, 12  
om. γινομένην—ὀπτηθῆ P 12 ἐκ γὰρ] καθότι ἐκ W om. τοῦ P  
15 om. γεμίζεται Bois (sed C habet) 16 νεκρωθήκη P 19 om. τῶν  
PW 20 ἐψόμενον MPW 22 om. καὶ αἵμασι μολυνόμενον Bois V<sub>21</sub>  
22, 23 om. καὶ εἰς πάντων—ἀγόμενον M 24, 25 τὸ γὰρ πῦρ ἐγένετο εἰς  
χρῆσιν] καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ εἰς χρῆσιν ἐγένετο Bois V<sub>21</sub> 25 χρῆσιν] χρίσιν M  
28 om. καὶ W σβεννύμενον W

φανερὸν γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτι δουλεύει ἐτέρῳ, καὶ χάριν τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεσκεύασται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς μεταγωγὴν πλείων καὶ συγκομιδᾶς τῶν σιτικῶν, καὶ εἰς λοιπὰς αὐτῶν χρείας· αὐξήσει τε καὶ λήγει κατ' ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ. διὸ οὐ νενόμισται τὴν τῶν  
5 ἀνέμων πρῶτην εἶναι θεᾶν, ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ.

VI. Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι θεὸν πλανῶνται. ὀρῶμεν γὰρ αὐτὸν κινούμενον κατὰ ἀνάγκην καὶ τρεπόμενον, καὶ  
243 μεταβαίνοντα ἀπὸ σημείου εἰς σημεῖον, δύνοντα καὶ ἀνατέλλοντα, τοῦ θερμαίνειν τὰ φυτὰ καὶ βλαστὰ εἰς χρῆσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
10 ἔτι δὲ καὶ μερισμὸν ἔχοντα μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀστέρων, καὶ ἐλάττονα ὄντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πολλὰ, καὶ ἐκλείποντα τοῦ φωτός, καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτοκράτειαν ἔχοντα. διὸ οὐ νενόμισται τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι θεὸν, ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ.

Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες τὴν σελήνην εἶναι θεᾶν πλανῶνται. ὀρῶμεν  
15 γὰρ αὐτὴν κινουμένην κατὰ ἀνάγκην καὶ τρεπομένην, καὶ μεταβαίνουσαν ἀπὸ σημείου εἰς σημεῖον, δύνουσάν τε καὶ ἀνατέλλουσαν εἰς χρῆσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐλάττονα οὖσαν τοῦ ἡλίου, αὐξομένην τε καὶ μειουμένην, καὶ ἐκλείψεις ἔχουσαν. διὸ οὐ νενόμισται τὴν σελήνην εἶναι θεᾶν, ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ.

VII. Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι θεὸν πλανῶνται. ὀρῶμεν γὰρ αὐτὸν κινούμενον κατὰ ἀνάγκην, καὶ τρεπόμενον  
καὶ γηράσκοντα, καὶ μὴ θέλοντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ ποτὲ μὲν χαίρει, ποτὲ δὲ λυπεῖται, δεόμενος βρώματος καὶ ποτοῦ καὶ ἐσθίητος. εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν ὀργίλον καὶ ζηλωτὴν καὶ ἐπιθυμητὴν, καὶ  
25 μεταμελόμενον, καὶ ἐλαττώματα πολλὰ ἔχοντα. φθείρεται δὲ κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους, ὑπὸ στοιχείων καὶ ζῶων, καὶ τοῦ ἐπικειμένου αὐτῷ θανάτου. οὐκ ἐνδέχεται οὖν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον θεὸν, ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ.

Πλάνην οὖν μεγάλην ἐπλανήθησαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ὀπίσω τῶν  
30 ἐπιθυμημάτων αὐτῶν. σέβονται γὰρ τὰ φθαρτὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ  
244 τὰ νεκρὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνονται ταῦτα θεοποιούμενοι.

1 ἐτέρῳ] θεῷ C      3 συγκομιδᾶς M; ventilationem lat      σιτικῶν Bois  
V<sub>71</sub>. 102      αὐξομένην P      10 μερισμὸν] W; divisionem lat; μερισμοῦς MP  
Bois      16, 17 ἀνατέλουσαν M      17 χρῆσιν] W; χρεῖαν MP Bois      18  
αὐξομένην MPW Bois      22 καὶ ποτὲ μὲν χαίρει] deficit C usque ad καὶ εἰς  
παράνομοι p. 110, l. 10      23 βρώματος] βρωμάτων Bois; ἄρτου W; cibo lat  
24 ἐπιθυμητὴν καὶ ζηλωτὴν M      25 μετέμελον W; μεταβαλλόμενον P      πολλὰ  
ἐλαττώματα Bois      27 ὑποκειμένου W; imminente lat      30 ἐπιθυμῶν P

VIII. Ἐλθωμεν οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἵνα ἴδωμεν εἴ τι φρονούσι περὶ θεοῦ. οἱ οὖν Ἕλληνες σοφοὶ λέγοντες εἶναι ἐμωράνθησαν χεῖρον τῶν Χαλδαίων, παρεισάγοντες θεοὺς πολλοὺς γεγενῆσθαι, τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας, τὰς δὲ θηλείας, παντοίων παθῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν δημιουργοὺς ἀνομημάτων. [οὓς ἐκείνοι αὐτοὶ [49] ἐξέθεντο μοιχοὺς εἶναι καὶ φονεῖς, ὀργίλους καὶ ζηλωτὰς καὶ θυμαντικούς, πατροκτόνους καὶ ἀδελφοκτόνους, κλέπτας καὶ ἄρπαγας, χωλοὺς καὶ κυλλοὺς, καὶ φαρμακοὺς, καὶ μαινομένους· καὶ τούτων τινὰς μὲν τετελευτηκότας, τινὰς δὲ κεκεραυνομένους καὶ δεδουλευκότας ἀνθρώποις, καὶ φυγάδας γενομένους, καὶ κοπτομένους καὶ θρηνουμένους, καὶ εἰς ζῶα μεταμορφουμένους ἐπὶ πονηραῖς καὶ αἰσχραῖς πράξεσιν.] ὅθεν γελοῖα καὶ μωρὰ καὶ ἀσεβῆ παρεισήγαγον οἱ Ἕλληνες, βασιλεῦ, ῥήματα, τοὺς μὴ ὄντας προσαγορεύοντες θεοὺς, κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν τὰς πονηρὰς, ἵνα, τούτους συνηγόρους ἔχοντες τῆς κακίας, μοιχεύσωσι, ἀρπάξωσι, φονεύσωσι, καὶ τὰ πάνδεινα ποιῶσιν. εἰ γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν τοιαῦτα ἐποίησαν, πῶς καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ τοιαῦτα πράξουσιν; ἐκ τούτων οὖν τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς πλάνης συνέβη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πολέμους ἔχειν συχνοὺς, καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας πικράς.

IX. Ἄλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν εἰ θελήσομεν ἐλθεῖν τῷ λόγῳ, πολλὴν ὄψει τὴν ἀτοπίαν· ὅπως παρεισάγεται αὐτοῖς πρὸ πάντων θεὸς Κρόνος, καὶ τούτῳ θύουσι τὰ ἴδια τέκνα· ὃς ἔσχε παῖδας πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ῥέας, καὶ μανεῖς ἤσθιε τὰ ἴδια τέκνα. φασὶ δὲ τὸν Δία κόψαι αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ βαλεῖν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅθεν Ἀφροδίτη μυθεύεται γεννᾶσθαι. δῆσας οὖν τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα ὁ Ζεὺς ἔβαλεν εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον. ὀρᾷ τὴν πλάνην καὶ ἀσέλγειαν ἣν παρεισάγουσι κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ

1 οὖν] καὶ PW; itaque lat 3 πολλοὺς θεοὺς Bois 4 τὰς] τοὺς Bois; alios lat 5 αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι M 6 φωνεῖς, ὀργήλους M 7 καὶ ἀδελφοκτόνους] om. P sgr; καὶ ἀδελφοκτόνους M 8 χωλοὺς—μαινομένους] καὶ ἐξωλεῖς κακῶν P κυλλοὺς] κοιλοὺς M 9 καικεραυνομένους M; κεραυνομένους P 10, 11 καὶ κοπτ. καὶ θρημ.] post κεκεραυνομένους Bois 12 πράξεσιν] μίξεσιν Bois 15, 16 μοιχεύσωσι, ἀρπάξωσι, φονεύσωσι M 16 πάνδεινα] πάντα δεινὰ P; δεινὰ πάντα M; ὀνηπία μαλα lat 18 πράξωσιν PW + εἰ γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν ἄφρονες, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς ἔσονται W 19 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους Bois 21 om. καὶ PW lat 22 ὄρω] ὁ πρῶτος coniecit Bois; inducitur enim lat 23 θεὸς] + ὁ λεγόμενος Bois θύσωσι P 24 ἴσθιε M 25 τὸν Δία κόψαι] τούτον διακόψαι W<sup>2</sup> 26 ἀφροδίτην W Bois μηθύεται M; μυθεύσθαι Bois 27 ἔβαλεν W<sup>2</sup>

αὐτῶν; ἐνδέχεται οὖν θεὸν εἶναι δέσμιον καὶ ἀπόκοπον; ὦ τῆς ἀνοίας· τίς τῶν νουν ἔχόντων ταῦτα φήσειεν;

Δεύτερος παρεισάγεται ὁ Ζεὺς, ὃν φασὶ βασιλεῦσαι τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ μεταμορφοῦσθαι εἰς ζῶα, ὅπως μοιχεύσῃ θνητὰς 5 γυναῖκας. παρεισάγουσι γὰρ τοῦτον μεταμορφούμενον εἰς ταῦρον πρὸς Εὐρώπην, καὶ εἰς χρυσὸν πρὸς Δανάην, καὶ εἰς κύκνον πρὸς Λήδαν, καὶ εἰς σάτυρον πρὸς Ἀντιόπην, καὶ εἰς κεραυνὸν πρὸς Σεμέλην· εἶτα γενέσθαι ἐκ τούτων τέκνα πολλὰ, Διόνυσου καὶ Ζήθον καὶ Ἀμφίονα καὶ Ἡρακλῆν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ 10 Ἄρτεμιν καὶ Περσέα, Καστορά τε καὶ Ἑλένην καὶ Πολυδύκην, 246 καὶ Μίνωα καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν καὶ Σαρπηδόνα, καὶ τὰς ἑννέα θυγατέρας ὡς προσηγόρευσαν Μούσας. εἰθ' οὕτως παρεισάγουσι τὰ κατὰ τὸν Γανυμήδην. συνέβη οὖν, βασιλεῦ, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μιμείσθαι ταῦτα πάντα, καὶ γίνεσθαι μοιχοὺς καὶ ἀρρενομανεῖς, 15 καὶ ἄλλων δεινῶν ἔργων ἐργάτας, κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν. πῶς οὖν ἐνδέχεται θεὸν εἶναι μοιχὸν ἢ ἀνδροβάτην, ἢ πατροκτόνον;

Χ. Σὺν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἡφαιστὸν τινα παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτον χωλὸν, καὶ κρατοῦντα σφύραν καὶ πυρόλαβον, 20 καὶ χαλκεύοντα χάριν τροφῆς. ἄρα ἐπειδεὴς ἐστίν; ὅπερ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται θεὸν εἶναι χωλὸν οὐδὲ προσδεόμενον ἀνθρώπων.

Εἶτα τὸν Ἑρμῆν παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι ἐπιθυμητὴν καὶ κλέπτῃν καὶ πλεονέκτην καὶ μάγον †καὶ κυλλὸν† καὶ λόγων 25 ἑρμηνευτήν. ὅπερ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται θεὸν εἶναι τοιοῦτον.

Τὸν δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸν παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι, ἱατρὸν ὄντα καὶ κατασκευάζοντα φάρμακα καὶ σύνθεσιν ἐμπλάστρων, χάριν τροφῆς· ἐπειδεὴς γὰρ ἦν· ὕστερον δὲ κεραυνοῦσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς διὰ Τυνδάρων Λακεδαίμονος υἱὸν, καὶ ἀποθανεῖν. εἰ

2 τῶν] τὸν W\*      3, 4 τῶν θεῶν] τὸν θεὸν P      8 σημέλην P  
 9 ἀμφίωνα P      ἠρακλή M      ἀπόλωνα MW      10 κάστωρα P  
 πολυδευκῆ M      11 μήνωα PW      om. καὶ (prim.) P      σαρπιδόνα M  
 ἐνέα W\*      12 παρεισάγουσι P      13 γανυμήδην P      συνέβη] σέβη M  
 14 om. ταῦτα πάντα καὶ γίνεσθαι P      15 om. ἔργων M      τοῦ θεοῦ] τῶν  
 θεῶν AW syr; *dei sui* lat      18 τούτῳ] τούτοις W<sup>2</sup>      παρεισάγουσι τινα M  
 20 ἐπειδεὴς W Bois      21 οὐδέ] καὶ P Bois      23 κυλλὸν W; *uetzirellet*  
 lat      23, 24 om. καὶ μάγον—ἑρμηνευτήν M      24 εἶναι] + τὸν P;  
 + χωλὸν (κυλλὸν W<sup>2</sup>) οὐδὲ προσδεόμενον ἀνθρώπων· ὅπερ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται θεὸν εἶναι W  
 25 ἀσκήπιον M      27 ἐπειδεὴς W      28 τυνδάρων] Bois; τυνδάρων M;  
 τυνδάρεως W<sup>2</sup>P; τουνδάρεως AW\*; *Darii* lat



δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸς θεὸς ὦν καὶ κεραυνωθεὶς οὐκ ἠδυνήθη ἑαυτῷ  
βοηθῆσαι, πῶς ἄλλοις βοηθήσει;

\* Ἄρης δὲ παρεισάγεται θεὸς εἶναι πολεμιστῆς καὶ ζηλωτῆς, 247  
καὶ ἐπιθυμητῆς θρεμμάτων καὶ ἐτέρων τινῶν· ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὸν  
μοιχεύοντα τὴν Ἀφροδίτην δεθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νηπίου 5  
22 Ἐρωτος καὶ ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου. πῶς οὖν θεὸς ἦν ὁ ἐπιθυμητῆς  
καὶ πολεμιστῆς καὶ δέσμιος καὶ μοιχός;

Τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι, νυκτερινὰς ἄγοντα  
ἐορτὰς καὶ διδάσκαλον μέθης, καὶ ἀποσπῶντα τὰς τῶν πλησίων  
γυναῖκας, καὶ μαινόμενον καὶ φεύγοντα· ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὸν 10  
σφαγῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων. εἰ οὖν Διόνυσος σφαγεὶς οὐκ  
ἠδυνήθη ἑαυτῷ βοηθῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαινόμενος ἦν καὶ μέθυσος  
καὶ δραπέτης, πῶς ἂν εἶη θεός;

Τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλῆν παρεισάγουσι μεθυσθῆναι καὶ μανῆναι,  
καὶ τὰ ἴδια τέκνα σφάζει, εἶτα πυρὶ ἀναλωθῆναι καὶ οὕτως 15  
ἀποθανεῖν. πῶς δ' ἂν εἶη θεός, μέθυσος καὶ τεκνοκτόνος, καὶ  
κατακαϊόμενος; ἢ πῶς ἄλλοις βοηθήσει, ἑαυτῷ βοηθῆσαι μὴ  
δυνηθεὶς;

XI. Τὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι ζηλωτὴν,  
ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόξον καὶ φαρέτραν κρατοῦντα, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ κιθάραν 20  
καὶ ἑπαυθίδα†, καὶ μαντευόμενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις χάριν  
23 μισθοῦ. ἄρα ἐπενδεής ἐστιν; ὅπερ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται θεὸν εἶναι  
ἐνδεῆ καὶ ζηλωτὴν καὶ κιθαρωδόν.

\* Ἄρτεμιν δὲ παρεισάγουσιν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ εἶναι, κυνηγὸν  
οὔσαν, καὶ τόξον ἔχειν μετὰ φαρέτρας· καὶ ταύτην ῥέμβεσθαι 25  
κατὰ τῶν ὀρέων μόνην μετὰ τῶν κυνῶν, ὅπως θηρεύσῃ ἔλαφον 248  
ἢ κάπρον. πῶς οὖν ἔσται θεὸς ἡ τοιαύτη γυνὴ καὶ κυνηγὸς καὶ  
ῥεμβομένη μετὰ τῶν κυνῶν;

Ἀφροδίτην δὲ λέγουσι καὶ αὐτὴν θεὰν εἶναι μοιχαλίδα.  
ποτὲ γὰρ ἔσχε μοιχὸν τὸν Ἄρην, ποτὲ δὲ Ἀγχίσην, ποτὲ δὲ 30  
Ἄδωνιν, οὐτινος καὶ τὸν θάνατον κλαίει, ζητοῦσα τὸν ἐραστὴν

1 ἠδυνῆθαι M αὐτῷ W 4 ἐπιθυμητῆς M θρεμμάτων] χρημά-  
των V<sub>102</sub>; χρημάτων θρεμάτων W; ouium lat 6 ἦν] ἐστιν P Bois 12  
om. ἀλλά M 14 ἠρακλῆ M 17 βοηθήσει] + ὁ W 19 ἀπόλλωνα W<sup>2</sup>  
20 om. καὶ (prim.) MW κρατεῖν M om. καὶ (tert.) W κιθάρα M  
21 ἐπαυθίδα] W Bois; ἐπανθίδα M; ἐπαυλίδα P; tidiām lat; πηκτίδα coniecti  
Bois 23 ἐνδεῆ καὶ [ζηλωτῆν] [ζηλωτῆν, ἐνδεῆ P 25 ἔχειν] ἔχον M  
26 om. τῶν (sec.) W θηρεύσει P Bois 27 om. οὖν P 30 ἀγχίσην  
PW\* 31 ἀδώνην MP οὐτινος] αὐτῆ W<sup>2</sup>

αὐτῆς· ἦν λέγουσιν καὶ εἰς Ἄδου καταβαίνειν, ὅπως ἐξαγοράσῃ τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἀπὸ τῆς Περσεφόνης. εἶδες, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μείζονα ταύτης ἀφροσύνην· θεῶν παρεισάγειν τὴν μοιχεύουσαν καὶ θρηνοῦσαν καὶ κλαίουσαν;

5 Ἄδωνιν δὲ παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι κυνηγόν, καὶ τοῦτον βιαίως ἀποθανεῖν πληγέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ μὴ δυναθέντα βοηθήσαι τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ αὐτοῦ. πῶς οὖν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φροντίδα ποιήσεται ὁ μοιχὸς καὶ κυνηγὸς καὶ βιοθάνατος;

10 Ταῦτα πάντα καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πολλῶν πλείον αἰσχρότερα καὶ πονηρὰ παρεισήγαγον οἱ Ἕλληνες, βασιλεῦ, περὶ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, ἃ οὔτε λέγειν θέμις, οὔτ' ἐπὶ μνήμης ὄλως φέρειν· ὅθεν λαμβάνοντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀφορμὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, ἔπραττον πάσαν ἀνομίαν καὶ ἀσελγίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν, καταμιαίνοντες γῆν τε καὶ ἀέρα ταῖς δειναῖς αὐτῶν πράξεσιν.

249 XII. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, ἀβελτερώτεροι καὶ ἀφρονέστεροι τούτων ὄντες, χεῖρον πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπλατήθησαν. οὐ γὰρ ἤρκεσθησαν τοῖς τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων σεβάσμοσιν, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἄλογα ζῶα παρεισήγαγον θεοὺς εἶναι χερσαῖά τε καὶ ἔνδρα, καὶ τὰ φυτὰ καὶ βλαστὰ, καὶ ἐμιάνθησαν ἐν πάσῃ 20 μανίᾳ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ χεῖρον πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Ἀρχαίως γὰρ ἐσέβοντο τὴν Ἴσιν, ἔχουσαν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ἄνδρα τὸν Ὅσιριν, τὸν σφαγέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τυφῶνος. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φεύγει ἡ Ἴσις μετὰ Ὀρου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς εἰς Βύβλον τῆς Συρίας, ζητοῦσα τὸν Ὅσιριν, καὶ 25 πικρῶς θρηνοῦσα, ἕως ἤβησεν ὁ Ὄρος καὶ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Τυφῶνα. οὔτε οὖν ἡ Ἴσις ἰσχυσε βοηθήσαι τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἀνδρί· οὔτε ὁ Ὅσιρις σφαζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἠδυνήθη ἀντιλαβέσθαι ἑαυτοῦ· οὔτε Τυφῶν ὁ ἀδελφοκτόνος, ἀπολλύμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀρου καὶ τῆς Ἰσιδος, εὐπόρησε ῥύσασθαι ἑαυτὸν τοῦ

1 ἦν] ὄν W*	2 ἴδες W	3 μοιχευομένην W <sup>2</sup>	5 ἀδώνην M
6 υἱὸς W	δυναθέναι MP	7 βοηθήσαι post αὐτοῦ P	αὐτοῦ]
ἑαυτοῦ Bois	8 ποιήσεται PW	βιοθάνατος M	9 πλείονα P;
plura lat	10 παρεισάγουσιν M;	παρήγαγον P	12 τῶν] τοῦ P
14 καὶ] + τὸν P	15 ἀβελτερώτεροι] M Bois;	ἀβελτῶτερα DW*	ἀβελτῶτεροι APW <sup>2</sup>
18 ἄλογα] ἄλλα M	παρήγαγον W	20 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς]	
ἐπὶ γῆς M;	τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς P;	ἐπλατήθησαν W	21 ἀρχαίως] ἀρχῆθεν Bois;
in princípio lat	ἀδελφῆν W	23 om. τοῦ (prior.) Bois	μετὰ] + τοῦ
τύφωνος καὶ W	24 βύβλον MPW*	om. καὶ P Bois	25 θρηνοῦσα]
θανοῦσα W	27 om. ὁ M	28 ἀπολλύμενος] Bois;	ἀπολλύμενος MPW

θανάτου. καὶ ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις ἀτυχήμασι γνωρισθέντες αὐτοὶ  
θεοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄσυνέτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐνομίσθησαν· οἷτινες, μὴδ' 250  
ἐν τούτοις ἀρεσθέντες ἢ τοῖς λοιποῖς σεβάσμασι τῶν ἐθνῶν,  
καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα παρεισήγαγον θεοὺς εἶναι.

Τινὲς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐσεβάσθησαν πρόβατον, τινὲς δὲ τράγον, 5  
ἕτεροι δὲ μόσχον καὶ τὸν χοῖρον, ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν κόρακα καὶ τὸν  
ἰέρακα καὶ τὸν γῦπα καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν, καὶ ἄλλοι τὸν κροκόδειλον,  
τινὲς δὲ τὸν αἴλουρον καὶ τὸν κύνα, καὶ τὸν λύκον καὶ τὸν  
πίθηκον, καὶ τὸν δράκοντα καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα, καὶ ἄλλοι τὸ  
κρόμμυον καὶ τὸ σκόροδον καὶ ἀκάνθας, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κτίσματα. 10  
καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνονται οἱ ταλαίπωροι περὶ πάντων τούτων ὅτι  
οὐδὲν ἰσχύουσιν. ὁρῶντες γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν βιβρωσκο-  
μένους ὑπὸ ἐτέρων ἀνθρώπων καὶ καιομένους καὶ σφαττομένους  
καὶ σηπομένους, οὐ συνῆκαν περὶ αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοί.

ΧΠΙ. Πλάνην οὖν μεγάλην ἐπλανήθησαν οἱ τε Αἰγύπτιοι 15  
καὶ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἕλληρες τοιοῦτους παρεισάγοντες θεοὺς,  
καὶ ἀγάλματα αὐτῶν ποιῦντες, καὶ θεοποιούμενοι τὰ κωφὰ  
καὶ ἀναίσθητα εἶδωλα. καὶ θαυμάζω πῶς ὁρῶντες τοὺς θεοὺς  
αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν πριζομένους καὶ πελεκουμένους, καὶ  
κολοβουμένους, παλαιουμένους τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἀναλλο- 20  
μένους καὶ χυκενομένους, οὐκ ἐφρόνησαν περὶ αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐκ  
εἰσὶ θεοί. ὅτε γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας οὐδὲν ἰσχύουσιν, πῶς  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρόνοιαν ποιήσονται; ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ αὐτῶν  
καὶ φιλόσοφοι, τῶν τε Χαλδαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων, 25  
θελήσαντες τοῖς ποιήμασι αὐτῶν καὶ συγγραφαῖς σεμνῦναι  
τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς θεοὺς, μειζόνως τὴν αἰσχύνην αὐτῶν ἐξεκάλυψαν  
καὶ γυμνὴν πᾶσι προῦθησαν. εἰ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
πολυμερὲς ὄν οὐκ ἀποβάλλεται τι τῶν ἰδίων μελῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς  
πάντα τὰ μέλη ἀδιάρρηκτον ἔνωσιον ἔχον ἑαυτῷ ἐστὶ σύμφωνον, 251  
πῶς ἐν φύσει θεοῦ μάχη καὶ διαφωνία ἔσται τοσαύτη; εἰ γὰρ 30

2, 3 μὴδ' ἐπ] μὴδὲ W 4 om. θεοὺς εἶναι MW<sup>a</sup>; deos esse lat 7  
κερακόδηλον W 8 om. τῶν (prim.) PW ἑλουρον W<sup>a</sup> om. τῶν (sec.)  
MPW 9 πίθηκα W καὶ τὸν δράκοντα] δράκοντα δὲ P; om. τῶν M  
10 κρόμμυον M σκόροδον M ἀκάνθας] Bois; ἀκανθα PW; ἀκανθον M;  
spinas lat 11 ψιθάνωτο P 14 σηπομένους] + καὶ P 16 om. οἱ  
(sec.) W 19 πελεκουμένους Bois 19, 20 om. καὶ κολοβουμένους Bois 20  
κολοβουμένους MP 20, 21 ἀναλλοιούμενους καὶ χυκενομένους P 26 παρ'  
αὐτῶν P 29 ἔχω W<sup>a</sup> 30 τοσαύτη ἔσται PW

μία φύσις τῶν θεῶν ὑπῆρχεν, οὐκ ᾤφειλεν θεὸς θεὸν διώκειν, οὔτε σφάζειν, οὔτε κακοποιεῖν· εἰ δὲ οἱ θεοὶ ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐδιώχθησαν καὶ ἐσφάγησαν, καὶ ἠρπάγησαν καὶ ἐκεραυνώθησαν, οὐκ ἔτι μία φύσις ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ γινώμαι διηρημέναι, πᾶσαι κακοποιοί· ὥστε 5 οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ θεός. φανερόν οὖν ἐστίν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, πλάνην εἶναι πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ τῶν θεῶν φυσιολογίαν.

Πῶς δὲ οὐ συνήκαν οἱ σοφοὶ καὶ λόγιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτι νόμους θέμενοι κρίνονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων; εἰ γὰρ οἱ νόμοι δίκαιοί εἰσιν, ἄδικοι πάντως οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν εἰσὶ, παράνομα 10 ποιήσαντες, ἀλληλοκτονίας καὶ φαρμακείας καὶ μοιχείας καὶ κλοπὰς καὶ ἀρσενοκοιτίας. εἰ δὲ καλῶς ἔπραξαν ταῦτα, οἱ νόμοι ἄρα ἄδικοι εἰσιν, κατὰ τῶν θεῶν συντεθέντες. νυνὶ δὲ οἱ νόμοι καλοὶ εἰσιν καὶ δίκαιοι, τὰ καλὰ ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἀπαγορεύοντες· τὰ δὲ ἔργα τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν παράνομα· παρά- 15 νομοὶ ἄρα οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔνοχοι πάντες θανάτου καὶ ἀσεβείας οἱ τοιοῦτους θεοὺς παρεισάγοντες. εἰ μὲν γὰρ μυθικαὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστορίαι, οὐδὲν εἰσιν εἰ μὴ μόνον λόγοι· εἰ δὲ φυσικαὶ, οὐκ ἔτι θεοὶ εἰσιν οἱ ταῦτα ποιήσαντες καὶ παθόντες· εἰ δὲ ἀλληγορικαὶ, μῦθοι εἰσιν καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο τι.

252 XIV. Ἀποδέδεικται τοίνυν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ταῦτα πάντα τὰ πολύθεα σεβάσματα πλάνης ἔργα καὶ ἀπωλείας ὑπάρχειν. οὐ γὰρ θεοὺς ὀνομάζειν ὄρατους καὶ μὴ ὄρωντας· ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον καὶ πάντα ὄρωντα καὶ πάντα δημιουργήσαντα δεῖ θεὸν σέβεσθαι.

25 Ἐλθωμεν οὖν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ὅπως ἴδωμεν τί φρονοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ θεοῦ. οὗτοι γὰρ, τοῦ Ἀβραάμ 2 ὄντες ἀπόγονοι καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, παρώκησαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῇ διὰ Μωσέως τοῦ νομοθέτου αὐτῶν, καὶ τέρασι 30 πολλοῖς καὶ σημείοις ἐγνώρισεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν.

1 ὑπείρχεν ὡκ M	διώκην M	2 εἰ] Οἱ M (O rubr.)	οἰ] supra
lin. e pri. manu M	4 κακοποιαι PW <sup>2</sup>	5 φανεράν W	om. ἐστίν
MW	7 δε] + καὶ οἱ ooniecit Bois	9 πάντως] πάντες W	om.
εἰσὶ W*	10 φαρμακίας P Bois	11 ἀρσενοκοιτίας M	14 εἰ τὰ ἔργα
δε M	15 ἄρα] + καὶ P	17, 18 om. εἰ μὴ—θεοὶ εἰσιν M	18 ταῦτα]
τοιαῦτα M	20 ἀποδέδεικται cum praeced. W	21 ὑπάρχει W <sup>2</sup>	22 γὰρ]
οὖν Bois	28 πάντα ὄρωντα καὶ πάντα]	πάντα ὄρωντα καὶ πάντας P;	πάντας Bois
Bois	24 σέβεσθαι θεόν Bois	26, 27 ὄντες τοῦ ἀβραάμ P	27
om. καὶ (prior.) P	Ἰσαὰκ] + τε P Bois		

δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸς θεὸς ὧν καὶ κεραυνωθεὶς οὐκ ἠδυνήθη ἑαυτῷ  
βοηθῆσαι, πῶς ἄλλοις βοηθήσει;

Ἄρης δὲ παρεισάγεται θεὸς εἶναι πολεμιστῆς καὶ ζηλωτῆς, 247  
καὶ ἐπιθυμητῆς θρεμμάτων καὶ ἐτέρων τιῶν· ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὸν  
μοιχεύοντα τὴν Ἀφροδίτην δεθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νηπίου 5  
ἐρωτος καὶ ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου. πῶς οὖν θεὸς ἦν ὁ ἐπιθυμητῆς  
καὶ πολεμιστῆς καὶ δέσμιος καὶ μοιχός;

Τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι, νυκτερινὰς ἄγοντα  
ἐορτὰς καὶ διδάσκαλον μέθης, καὶ ἀποσπῶντα τὰς τῶν πλησίον  
γυναῖκας, καὶ μαινόμενον καὶ φεύγοντα· ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὸν 10  
σφαγῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων. εἰ οὖν Διόνυσος σφαγείς οὐκ  
ἠδυνήθη ἑαυτῷ βοηθῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαινόμενος ἦν καὶ μέθυσος  
καὶ δραπέτης, πῶς ἂν εἴη θεός;

Τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλῆν παρεισάγουσι μεθυσθῆναι καὶ μανῆναι,  
καὶ τὰ ἴδια τέκνα σφάζει, εἶτα πυρὶ ἀναλωθῆναι καὶ οὕτως 15  
ἀποθανεῖν. πῶς δ' ἂν εἴη θεός, μέθυσος καὶ τεκνοκτόνος, καὶ  
κατακαϊόμενος; ἢ πῶς ἄλλοις βοηθήσει, ἑαυτῷ βοηθῆσαι μὴ  
δυνηθεῖς;

XI. Τὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι ζηλωτῆν,  
ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόξον καὶ φαρέτραν κρατοῦντα, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ κιθάραν 20  
καὶ ἑπαυθίδα, καὶ μαντευόμενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις χάριν  
μισθοῦ. ἄρα ἐπενδεής ἐστιν; ὕπερ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται θεὸν εἶναι  
ἐνδεῆ καὶ ζηλωτῆν καὶ κιθαρωδόν.

Ἄρτεμιν δὲ παρεισάγουσιν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ εἶναι, κυνηγὸν  
οὔσαν, καὶ τόξον ἔχειν μετὰ φαρέτρας· καὶ ταύτην ῥέμβεσθαι 25  
κατὰ τῶν ὀρέων μόνην μετὰ τῶν κυνῶν, ὅπως θηρεύσῃ ἔλαφον  
ἢ κάπρον. πῶς οὖν ἔσται θεὸς ἢ τοιαύτη γυνὴ καὶ κυνηγὸς καὶ  
ῥεμβομένη μετὰ τῶν κυνῶν;

Ἀφροδίτην δὲ λέγουσι καὶ αὐτὴν θεὰν εἶναι μοιχαλίδα.  
ποτὲ γὰρ ἔσχε μοιχὸν τὸν Ἄρην, ποτὲ δὲ Ἀγχισην, ποτὲ δὲ 30  
Ἄδωνιν, οὐτινος καὶ τὸν θάνατον κλαίει, ζητοῦσα τὸν ἐραστῆν

1 ἠδυνήθει M αὐτῷ W 4 ἐπιθυμητῆς M θρεμμάτων] χρημά-  
των V<sub>102</sub>; χρημάτων θρεμμάτων W; ouium lat 6 ἦν] ἔστω P Bois 12  
om. ἀλλὰ M 14 ἠρακλῆ M 17 βοηθήσει] + ὁ W 19 ἀπόλλωνα W<sup>2</sup>  
20 om. καὶ (prim.) MW κρατεῖν M om. καὶ (tert.) W κιθάρα M  
21 ἑπαυθίδα] W Bois; ἑπαυθίδα M; ἑπαυλίδα P; tidiām lat; πηκτίδα coniectit  
Bois 23 ἐνδεῆ καὶ ζηλωτῆν] ζηλωτῆν, ἐνδεῆ P 25 ἔχειν] ἔχον M  
26 om. τῶν (sec.) W θηρεύσει P Bois 27 om. οὖν P 30 ἀγχισην  
PW\* 31 ἀδώνων MP οὐτινος] αὐτῆ W<sup>2</sup>

αὐτῆς· ἦν λέγουσιν καὶ εἰς Ἄδου καταβαίνειν, ὅπως ἐξαγοράσῃ τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἀπὸ τῆς Περσεφόνης. εἶδες, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μείζονα ταύτης ἀφροσύνην· θεὸν παρεισάγειν τὴν μοιχεύουσαν καὶ θρηνοῦσαν καὶ κλαίουσαν;

5 Ἄδωνιν δὲ παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι κυνηγόν, καὶ τούτον βιαίως ἀποθανεῖν πληγέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ μὴ δυναθέντα βοηθήσαι τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ αὐτοῦ. πῶς οὖν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φροντίδα ποιήσεται ὁ μοιχὸς καὶ κυνηγὸς καὶ βιοθάνατος;

10 Ταῦτα πάντα καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πολλῶ πλείον αἰσχρότερα καὶ πονηρὰ παρεισήγαγον οἱ Ἕλληνες, βασιλεῦ, περὶ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, ἃ οὔτε λέγειν θέμις, οὔτ' ἐπὶ μνήμης ὄλως φέρειν ὅθεν λαμβάνοντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀφορμὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, ἔπραττον πάσαν ἀνομίαν καὶ ἀσέλγειαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν, καταμιαίνοντες γῆν τε καὶ ἀέρα ταῖς δειναῖς αὐτῶν πράξεσιν.

249 XII. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, ἀβελτερώτεροι καὶ ἀφρονέστεροι τούτων ὄντες, χεῖρον πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπλανήθησαν. οὐ γὰρ ἤρκεσθησαν τοῖς τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων σεβάσμασιν, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἄλογα ζῶα παρεισήγαγον θεοὺς εἶναι χερσαῖά τε καὶ ἔνδρα, καὶ τὰ φυτὰ καὶ βλαστὰ, καὶ ἐμίανθησαν ἐν πάσῃ 20 μανίᾳ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ χεῖρον πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Ἀρχαίως γὰρ ἐσέβοντο τὴν Ἴσιν, ἔχουσαν ἀδελφόν καὶ ἄνδρα τὸν Ὅσιριν, τὸν σφαγόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τυφῶνος. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φεύγει ἡ Ἴσις μετὰ Ὀρου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς εἰς Βύβλον τῆς Συρίας, ζητοῦσα τὸν Ὅσιριν, καὶ 25 πικρῶς θρηνοῦσα, ἕως ἠὔξησεν ὁ Ὀρος καὶ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Τυφῶνα. οὔτε οὖν ἡ Ἴσις ἴσχυσε βοηθήσαι τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἀνδρί· οὔτε ὁ Ὅσιρις σφαζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἠδυνήθη ἀντιλαβέσθαι ἑαυτοῦ· οὔτε Τυφῶν ὁ ἀδελφοκτόνος, ἀπολλύμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀρου καὶ τῆς Ἰσιδος, εὐπόρησε ῥύσασθαι ἑαυτὸν τοῦ

1 ἦν] ὄν W*	2 ἴδες W	3 μοιχευομένην W <sup>2</sup>	5 ἀδώνην M
6 υἱὸς W	δυναθέντα MP	7 βοηθήσαι post αὐτοῦ P	αὐτοῦ]
ἑαυτοῦ Bois	8 ποιήσεται PW	βιοθάνατος M	9 πλείονα P;
plura lat	10 παρεισάγουσιν M;	παρήγαγον P	12 τῶν] τοῦ P
14 καὶ] + τὸν P	15 ἀβελτερώτεροι] M Bois;	ἀβελτῶτεροι DW*	ἀβελτῶτεροι APW <sup>2</sup>
18 ἄλογα] ἄλλα M	παρήγαγον W	20 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς]	
ἐπὶ γῆς M;	τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς P;	ἐπλανήθησαν W	21 ἀρχαίως] ἀρχῆθεν Bois;
in principio lat	ἀδελφῶν W	23 om. τοῦ (prior.) Bois	μετὰ] + τοῦ
τύφωτος καὶ W	24 βύβλον MPW*	om. καὶ P Bois	25 θρηνοῦσα]
θανοῦσα W	27 om. ὁ M	28 ἀπολλύμενος] Bois;	ἀπολλόμενος MPW

θανάτου. και ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἀτυχήμασι γνωρισθέντες αὐτοὶ θεοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσυνέτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐνομίσθησαν· οἷτινες, μηδ' 250 ἐν τούτοις ἀρκεσθέντες ἢ τοῖς λοιποῖς σεβάσμασι τῶν ἐθνῶν, και τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα παρεισηγάγον θεοὺς εἶναι.

Τινὲς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐσεβάσθησαν πρόβατον, τινὲς δὲ τράγον, 5 ἕτεροι δὲ μόσχον και τὸν χοῖρον, ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν κόρακα και τὸν ἱέρακα και τὸν γῦπα και τὸν ἀετὸν, και ἄλλοι τὸν κροκόδειλον, τινὲς δὲ τὸν αἴλουρον και τὸν κύνα, και τὸν λύκον και τὸν πίθηκον, και τὸν δράκοντα και τὴν ἀσπίδα, και ἄλλοι τὸ κρόμμυον και τὸ σκόροδον και ἀκάνθας, και τὰ λοιπὰ κτίσματα. 10 και οὐκ αἰσθάνονται οἱ ταλαίπωροι περὶ πάντων τούτων ὅτι οὐδὲν ἰσχύουσιν. ὀρῶντες γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν βιβρωσκομένους ὑπὸ ἐτέρων ἀνθρώπων και καιομένους και σφαττομένους και σηπομένους, οὐ συνήκαν περὶ αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοί.

XIII. Πλάνην οὖν μεγάλην ἐπλανήθησαν οἱ τε Αἰγύπτιοι 15 και οἱ Χαλδαῖοι και οἱ Ἕλληνες τοιούτους παρεισάγοντες θεοὺς, και ἀγάλματα αὐτῶν ποιούντες, και θεοποιούμενοι τὰ κωφὰ και ἀναίσθητα εἶδωλα. και θαυμάζω πῶς ὀρῶντες τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν πριζομένους και πελεκουμένους, και κολοβουμένους, παλαιουμένους τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου και ἀναλυο- 20 μένους και χανουομένους, οὐκ ἐφρόνησαν περὶ αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοί. ὅτε γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας οὐδὲν ἰσχύουσι, πῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρόνοιαν ποιήσονται; ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ αὐτῶν και φιλόσοφοι, τῶν τε Χαλδαίων και Ἑλλήνων και Αἰγυπτίων, θελήσαντες τοῖς ποιήμασιν αὐτῶν και συγγραφαῖς σεμνῦναι 25 τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς θεοὺς, μειζόνως τὴν αἰσχύνην αὐτῶν ἐξεκάλυψαν και γυμνὴν πᾶσι προῦθησαν. εἰ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολυμερὲς ὄν οὐκ ἀποβάλλεται τι τῶν ἰδίων μελῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάντα τὰ μέλη ἀδιάρρηκτον ἔνωσιν ἔχον ἑαυτῷ ἐστὶ σύμφωνον, 251 πῶς ἐν φύσει θεοῦ μάχη και διαφωνία ἔσται τοσαύτη; εἰ γὰρ 30

2, 3 μηδ' ἐν] μηδὲ W 4 om. θεοὺς εἶναι MW\*; deos esse lat 7  
 κορκόδηλον W 8 om. τὸν (prim.) PW ἔλουρον W\* om. τὸν (sec.)  
 MPW 9 πίθηκα W και τὸν δράκοντα] δράκοντα δὲ P; om. τὸν M  
 10 κρόμμυον M σκόροδον M ἀκάνθας] Bois; ἀκανθα PW; ἀκανθον M;  
 ερίνας lat 11 ἡσθάνοντο P 14 σηπομένους] + και P 16 om. οἱ  
 (sec.) W 19 πελεκουμένους Bois 19, 20 om. και κολοβουμένους Bois 20  
 κολοβωμένους MP 20, 21 ἀναλλοιούμενους και χανουομένους P 26 παρ'  
 αὐτῶν P 29 ἔχων W\* 30 τοσαύτη ἐσται PW

μία φύσις τῶν θεῶν ὑπῆρχεν, οὐκ ᾤφειλεν θεὸς θεὸν διώκειν, οὔτε σφάζειν, οὔτε κακοποιεῖν· εἰ δὲ οἱ θεοὶ ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐδιώχθησαν καὶ ἐσφάγησαν, καὶ ἠρπάγησαν καὶ ἐκεραυνώθησαν, οὐκ ἔτι μία φύσις ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ γινώμαι διηρημένοι, πᾶσαι κακοποιοί· ὥστε 5 οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ θεός. φανερόν οὖν ἐστίν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, πλάνην εἶναι πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ τῶν θεῶν φυσιολογίαν.

Πῶς δὲ οὐ συνήκαν οἱ σοφοὶ καὶ λόγιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτι νόμους θέμενοι κρίνονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων; εἰ γὰρ οἱ νόμοι δίκαιοί εἰσιν, ἄδικοι πάντως οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν εἰσὶ, παράνομα 10 ποιήσαντες, ἀλληλοκτονίας καὶ φαρμακείας καὶ μοιχείας καὶ κλοπὰς καὶ ἀρσενοκοιτίας. εἰ δὲ καλῶς ἔπραξαν ταῦτα, οἱ νόμοι ἄρα ἄδικοί εἰσι, κατὰ τῶν θεῶν συντεθέντες. νυνὶ δὲ οἱ νόμοι καλοὶ εἰσι καὶ δίκαιοι, τὰ καλὰ ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἀπαγορεύοντες· τὰ δὲ ἔργα τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν παράνομα· παρά- 15 νομοὶ ἄρα οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔνοχοι πάντες θανάτου καὶ ἀσεβεῖς οἱ τοιούτους θεοὺς παρεισάγοντες. εἰ μὲν γὰρ μυθικαὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστορίαι, οὐδὲν εἰσιν εἰ μὴ μόνον λόγοι· εἰ δὲ φυσικαὶ, οὐκ ἔτι θεοὶ εἰσιν οἱ ταῦτα ποιήσαντες καὶ παθόντες· εἰ δὲ ἀλληγορικαὶ, μῦθοί εἰσι καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο τι.

252 XIV. Ἀποδέδεικται τοίνυν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ταῦτα πάντα τὰ πολύθεα σεβάσματα πλάνης ἔργα καὶ ἀπωλείας ὑπάρχειν. οὐ γὰρ θεοὺς ὀνομάζειν ὄρατους καὶ μὴ ὄρῶντας· ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον καὶ πάντα ὄρῶντα καὶ πάντα δημιουργήσαντα δεῖ θεὸν σέβεσθαι.

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1	ὑπείρχεν ὡκ M	διώκην M	2	εἰ] OI M (O rubr.)	οἰ] supra	
	lin. e pri. manu M	4 κακοποιοὶ PW <sup>2</sup>	5	φανερὰν W	om. ἐστίν	
	MW	7 ὅτι] + καὶ οἱ coniectit Bois	9	πάντως] πάντες W	om.	
	εἰσὶ W*	10 φαρμακίας P Bois	11	ἀρσενοκοιτίας M	14	εἰ τὰ ἔργα
	δὲ M	15 ἄρα] + καὶ P	17, 18	om. εἰ μὴ—θεοὶ εἰσιν M	18	ταῦτα]
	τοιαῦτα M	20 ἀποδέδεικται oim praeced. W	21	ὑπάρχει W <sup>2</sup>	22	γὰρ]
	οὖν Bois	23 πάντα ὄρῶντα καὶ πάντα] πάντα ὄρῶντα καὶ πάντας P; πάντας Bois	24	σέβεσθαι θεὸν Bois	26, 27	ὄντες τοῦ ἀβραὰμ P
	om. καὶ (prior.) P	ισαὰκ] + τε P Bois			27	



ἀλλὰ, ἀγνώμονες καὶ αὐτοὶ φανέντες καὶ ἀχάριστοι, πολλάκις ἐλάτρευσαν τοῖς τῶν ἔθνῶν σεβάσμασι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ δικαίους ἀπέκτειναν. εἶτα ὡς εὐδόκησεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐμπαροινήσαντες εἰς αὐτὸν προέδωκαν Πιλάτῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ σταυρῶ 5 κατεδίκανσαν, μὴ αἰδεσθέντες τὰς εὐεργεσίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἀναρίθμητα θαύματα ἅπερ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰργάσατο· καὶ ἀπώλοντο τῇ ἰδίᾳ παρανομίᾳ. σέβονται γὰρ καὶ νῦν τὸν θεὸν μόνον παντοκράτορα, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν· τὸν γὰρ χριστὸν ἀρνοῦνται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἰσὶ παρόμοιοι τῶν ἔθνῶν, κἂν 10 ἐγγίξῃ πῶς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δοκῶσιν, ἧς ἑαυτοὺς ἐμάκρυναν. ταῦτα περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

XV. Οἱ δὲ χριστιανοὶ γενεαλογοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. οὗτος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου ὁμολογεῖται ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν 253 ἀνθρώπων· καὶ ἐκ παρθένου ἁγίας γεννηθεὶς, ἀσπόρως τε καὶ ἀφθόρως, σάρκα ἀνέλαβε, καὶ ἀνεφάνη ἀνθρώποις, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς 3 πολυθέου πλάνης αὐτοὺς ἀνακαλέσῃται. καὶ τελέσας τὴν θαυμαστὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίαν, διὰ σταυροῦ θανάτου ἐγένεσατο ἐκουσία βουλὴ κατ' οἰκονομίαν μεγάλην· μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας 20 ἀνεβίω καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνῆλθεν. οὐ τὸ κλέος τῆς παρουσίας ἐκ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένης εὐαγγελικῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς ἕξεστί σοι γνῶναι, βασιλεῦ, ἐὰν ἐντύχῃς. οὗτος δώδεκα ἔσχε μαθητάς, οἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἄνοδον αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ ἐδίδαξαν τὴν ἐκεῖνου μεγαλωσύνην· καθάπερ 25 εἰς ἕξ αὐτῶν τὰς καθ' ἡμᾶς περιῆλθε χώρας, τὸ δόγμα κηρύττων τῆς ἀληθείας. ὅθεν οἱ εἰσέτι διακονοῦντες τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ κηρύγματος αὐτῶν καλοῦνται χριστιανοί.

Καὶ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς εὐρόντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν· γνωσκούσι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν 30 τῶν ἀπάντων ἐν υἱῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, καὶ ἄλλον

1 ἀχάριστοι] ἀχρηστοὶ Bois 3, 4 ἠδὲ ὁδοῦσεν P 5 om. τῷ M ἡγεμόνι P 7 καὶ] διὰ P Bois 8 θεὸν τὸν μόνον Bois 9 παντοκράτορα PW\* 10 παρόμοιοι] παρόμοιοι M; παρόμοιοι W\* τοῖς ἔθνεσι Bois κἂν] καὶ W<sup>3</sup> 11 δοκῶσιν W\* 14 om. ὁ P 17 ἀδιαφθόρως W<sup>3</sup> 18 αὐτοὺς πλάνης P 19 αὐτοῦ] + μεγάλης W θανάτου W 20 μεγάλων W 22 om. ἁγίας M 23 om. γνῶναι W τύχης W\* ἔσχε δώδεκα P 25 μεγαλωσύνην PW\* 29 om. οἱ P 30 θεὸν] + εἶναι W<sup>2</sup> 31 μονογενῆ PW<sup>2</sup>

θεὸν πλὴν τούτου οὐ σέβονται. ἔχουσι τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις κεχαραγμένες, καὶ ταύτας φυλάττουσι, προσδοκῶντες ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. οὐ μοιχεύουσιν, οὐ πορνεύουσιν, οὐ 5 ψευδομαρτυροῦσιν, οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦσι τὰ ἀλλότρια, τιμῶσι πατέρα καὶ μητέρα, καὶ τοὺς πλησίον φιλοῦσι, δίκαια κρίνουσιν, ὅσα οὐ θέλουσιν αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι ἐτέρῳ οὐ ποιοῦσι, τοὺς ἀδικούντας αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦσι καὶ προσφιλεῖς αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς ποιοῦσι, 12 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εὐεργετεῖν σπουδάζουσι, πραεῖς εἰσὶ καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς, 254 ἀπὸ πάσης συνουσίας ἀνόμου καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας ἐγκρατεῦνται, χήραν οὐχ ὑπερορώσιν, ὄρφανὸν οὐ λυποῦσιν ὁ ἔχων τῷ μὴ ἔχοντι ἀνεπιφθόνως ἐπιχορηγεῖ ξένον ἐὰν ἴδωσιν, ὑπὸ στέγην εἰσάγουσι, καὶ χαίρουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὡς ἐπὶ ἀδελφῷ ἀληθινῷ· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ἀδελφοὺς ἑαυτοὺς 15 καλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ψυχὴν. ἕτοιμοὶ εἰσιν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν προσέσθαι· τὰ γὰρ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ ἀσφαλῶς φυλάττουσιν, ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ζῶντες, καθὼς κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν, εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῷ κατὰ 22 πᾶσαν ὥραν ἐν παντὶ βρώματι καὶ ποτῷ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς 20 ἀγαθοῖς.

XVI. Ὅντως οὖν αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, ἣτις τοὺς ὀδεύοντας αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον χειραγωγεῖ βασιλείαν, τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην παρὰ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ ζωῇ. καὶ ἵνα 25 γνῶς, βασιλεῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπ' ἑμαυτοῦ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῖς γραφαῖς ἐγκύψας τῶν χριστιανῶν εὐρήσεις οὐδὲν ἔξω τῆς ἀληθείας με λέγειν.

Καλῶς οὖν συνήκεν ὁ υἱὸς σου, καὶ δικαίως ἐδιδάχθη τοῦ λατρεύειν ζῶντι θεῷ καὶ σωθῆναι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα ἐπέρχεσθαι αἰῶνα. μεγάλα γὰρ καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν χριστιανῶν 30 λεγόμενα καὶ πραπτόμενα· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ῥήματα λαλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνη πλανῶνται, καὶ πλανῶσιν

1	τούτου] αὐτοῦ W	2	ἐγκεχαραγμένες P	5	τῶν ἀλλοτρίων M
6, 7	αὐτοῖς οὐ θέλουσι W	7	ποιοῦσι] + καὶ P	8	αὐτοὺς [prior.]
	αὐτοῖς W	om.	ἑαυτοῖς W	9	om.
		9	om.	12	ἀφθόνως P Bois
13	αὐτῷ] αὐτοῖς W <sup>2</sup>	14	ἑαυτοὺς ἀδελφοῦς W	15	ψυχῆν] πνεῦμα V <sub>21</sub>
	Bois; ἀπίσταν lat	16	αὐτῶν] ἑαυτῶν W	18	om.
		18	om.	19	ποτῷ]
		22	χειραγωγεῖ] + οὐρανῶν W <sup>2</sup>	27	ἐδιδάχθην W
		27	om.	31	om.
		28	σωθῆναι] συνθεῖναι W <sup>2</sup>		
					om. τὰ [prior.] P

ἑαυτούς· ὀδεύοντες γὰρ ἐν σκότει προσηύσσονται ἑαυτοῖς ὡς μεθύοντες.

XVII. Ἔως ὧδε ὁ πρὸς σέ μου λόγος, βασιλεῦ, ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς  
 ἁληθείας ἐν τῷ νοῦ μου ὑπαγορευθεῖς. διὸ παυσάσθωσαν οἱ  
 ἀνόητοί σου σοφοὶ ματαιολογοῦντες κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου· συμφέρει  
 γὰρ ὑμῖν θεὸν κτίστην σέβεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἄφθαρτα αὐτοῦ  
 ἐνωτίζεσθαι ῥήματα, ἵνα, κρίσιν ἐκφυγόντες καὶ τιμωρίας, ζωῆς  
 ἀνωλέθρου δευχθείητε κληρονόμοι.

1 προσηύσσοντες P      6 ἡμῖν W      ἄφθαρτα] ἄφραστα W      7 τιμω-  
 ρίας] MPW<sup>3</sup>; tormenta lat; τιμωρίαν W\* Bois      8 ἀνωλέθρου M

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**THE SYRIAC TEXT OF THE  
APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES.**



ఇది మేము ముందు గాని . మేము ముందుగా .  
 ముందుగా మేము ముందుగా . ముందుగా మేము ముందుగా .  
 ముందుగా మేము ముందుగా . ముందుగా మేము ముందుగా .  
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 ముందుగా మేము ముందుగా . ముందుగా మేము ముందుగా .  
 ముందుగా మేము ముందుగా . ముందుగా మేము ముందుగా .  
 ముందుగా మేము ముందుగా . ముందుగా మేము ముందుగా .  
 ముందుగా మేము ముందుగా . ముందుగా మేము ముందుగా .

:ముందుగా :అభ్యుదయము :ముందుగా :ముందుగా :ముందుగా 10

יִבְרָא מִלֵּל הַתְּהוֹמִים הַחַדְשִׁים אֶתְּיֵן:  
 תָּלֵךְ אֶתְּעוֹם לַחֲלָל תֵּינֵן: אַרְבַּע קָדֹשׁ אֶתְּיֵן אַרְבַּע  
 חַלְשׁ אֶלְוֵה אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן.  
 \* אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן

5 אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן  
 אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן  
 אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן  
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 10 אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן  
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 15 אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן  
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 20 אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן  
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I. Cod. אֶתְּיֵן אֶתְּיֵן.



וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת-הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה  
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23. Cod. .מל.







כָּתוּב בַּשְּׂפָתַי בְּחֵלֶם אֶלְתֹנְמוֹת : אַחַד חַבְדוֹ  
 נִשְׁכָּח : בְּדַבְרֵי אֶתְנָתָא וְשִׁיבָא מִן אֶתְנָתָא :  
 וְהִנֵּה מִן מַעֲבָרֵי אֶתְנָתָא : וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא : עַד יָרַח  
 וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא : אֶתְנָתָא וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא :  
 5 וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא : חָלַם בַּשְּׂפָתַי  
 וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא : אֶתְנָתָא וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא :  
 וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא : \*  
 וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא : וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא :  
 וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא : וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא : וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא :  
 10 וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא : וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא : וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא :  
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 וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא : וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא : וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא :  
 וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא : וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא : וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא :  
 25 וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא : וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא : וְהִנֵּה מִן אֶתְנָתָא :







חזקת דמי נזיקין וסוף חזקת דמי נזיקין  
 חזקת דמי נזיקין על דמי נזיקין. חזקת דמי נזיקין  
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אם נחשבנו נחשב נחשב נחשב נחשב

✧ נחשב אם נחשב

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✧ אם נחשב

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4. Cod. נחשב.

ἄγιο κήρυξ ἄνι κίβλ ἠποδοῦναι μίσηκα  
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✧ αὐτῶν

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✧ κίσηκα

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I. κίβλ seems to be a mistake for κίβλ. The Greek has κλέπτῃν.

II. Cod. ἠποδοῦναι.

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כדעתו כדעתו כדעתו כדעתו כדעתו

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1. כדעתו, a corrupt form. The Greek has και Παράμυθον.  
3. כדעתו for כדעתו.

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה  
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה  
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה  
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה

וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה  
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה  
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה  
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 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה  
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה  
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 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה  
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 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵי כָּל-בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה  
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3. Cod. כתי. 14. Cod. ידועה מודעה.  
 17. For כתי we should read כתי or כתי.  
 19. For כתי we should read כתי.  
 20. מודעה seems to be a corruption of מודעה (Μη-  
 μούσης).













אלו המעשים. אלו המעשים. זה מה לא נראה מעולם.

אלו המעשים. אלו המעשים. זה מה לא נראה מעולם. אלו המעשים. אלו המעשים. זה מה לא נראה מעולם.

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15 אלו המעשים. אלו המעשים.

אלו המעשים. אלו המעשים. זה מה לא נראה מעולם. אלו המעשים. אלו המעשים. זה מה לא נראה מעולם.

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15. Cod. אלו המעשים.



און אים האט ער פארברענט. און ער האט  
 אים פארברענט. און ער האט אים פארברענט.  
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13. הוא כן] Cod. הוא כן.

(3)

וכוונתו לומר פשוט. האם נגזר למטה. לבי  
 אע"פ דהוה נחמ. :  
 וכן אמר דהוה נחמ לומר לומר. ל  
 ענין. הנה אמר דהוה נחמ לומר. ל  
 5 וכוונתו. וכוונתו לומר. וכוונתו  
 דהוה נחמ. וכוונתו לומר. וכוונתו  
 לומר. וכוונתו לומר. וכוונתו לומר.  
 דהוה נחמ. וכוונתו לומר. וכוונתו  
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 לומר. וכוונתו לומר. וכוונתו לומר.

22. [נפע] Cod. פפ.

(2)

## מגילת

.קדושה מגילת מגילת קדושה  
 יאס : קדושה מגילת : קדושה  
 קדושה . קדושה קדושה קדושה  
 קדושה מגילת קדושה

5 : קדושה

קדושה קדושה קדושה קדושה  
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 10 קדושה קדושה קדושה קדושה  
 . קדושה קדושה קדושה קדושה  
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2. A א seems to have been deleted before ה.





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