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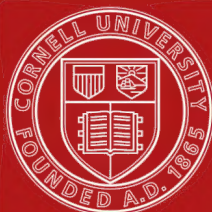
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# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

SECOND PART

VOI. III.



# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

PART II.

S. IGNATIVS.  
S. POLYCARP.

*REVISED TEXTS*

WITH INTRODUCTIONS, NOTES, DISSERTATIONS,  
AND TRANSLATIONS.

BY

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I.

ANGLO-LATIN VERSION

OF THE

IGNATIAN EPISTLES.

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## I.

# ANGLO-LATIN VERSION.

THE LATIN VERSION which follows has a special interest for Englishmen, as being a product of the remarkable but premature literary revival which distinguished the thirteenth century, and as giving the Ignatian letters in the only form in which they were known in this country till several years after the invention of printing. Its connexion with Robert Grossteste has been investigated in an earlier part of this work.

The two MSS of this Latin collection, *Caiensis* and *Montacutianus*, designated  $L_1$  and  $L_2$  respectively, have been already described. Previous editors, even where they have printed the whole collection, have disturbed the arrangement of the epistles as found in the MSS, so as to adapt it to the special purposes which they had in view. In the present edition the arrangement is preserved; and thus the whole body of Ignatian literature is now presented, as I believe, for the first time, as it was read by the more learned of our fellow-countrymen from the middle of the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth century.

The collection comprises sixteen epistles in all besides the Acts of Martyrdom; the Epistle to the Romans, which is incorporated in these Acts, being reckoned as one of the sixteen. In  $L_1$  however, where the epistles are numbered in order<sup>1</sup>, the Acts themselves are

<sup>1</sup> In  $L_1$  the number of the epistle is always noted in the margin, and sometimes incorporated in the title as well. In  $L_2$  the number is never given in the title (for the apparent exception of the Epistle to the Antiochenes see below,

p. 51), and probably also it was wanting in the margin. Ussher indeed has frequently left it in the margin in his collation of  $L_2$  with the transcript of  $L_1$ ; but it is plain that he did not pay much attention to these margins.

reckoned as one of the epistles (the twelfth), and the Epistle to the Romans as another (the thirteenth). Thus according to this reckoning there are seventeen epistles in all.

This collection falls into two parts.

(1) The *first*, which ends with the Acts of Martyrdom and the accompanying Epistle to the Romans, includes twelve epistles. This portion is a translation from a Greek original. The circumstances under which it was probably made have been already considered. It corresponds exactly in arrangement and contents with the Greek collection represented by the Medicean and Colbert MSS, and must have been translated by Bishop Grossteste or his assistants from some similar Greek MS. At the close of this part is a summary of the contents. This is the main indication in the Latin MSS that the first part is separate from the second.

(2) The *second* part consists of the four short epistles, which make up the correspondence of the saint with the Virgin and S. John. These epistles, as I have already stated, appear never to have existed in the Greek, and therefore cannot have formed part of Grossteste's version. How they came to be attached to this version it is impossible to say; but inasmuch as they occur in both the MSS L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>, in the same form and arrangement, though these two MSS are independent of each other, they must have held this position at a very early date, and it is not improbable that they were appended soon after the version was made. They were very popular in the middle ages, and appear to have been much read about this time<sup>1</sup>; so that no collection of the Ignatian Epistles would have appeared complete without them.

The great importance of this Anglo-Latin version of the Ignatian Epistles for textual criticism has been explained in the Introduction. But notwithstanding its acknowledged value it has never yet been treated with the consideration which it deserves. I hope that I have

<sup>1</sup> The following is an extract from a MS in the Bodleian, *Laud. Miscell.* 210, fol. 132 b (15th century): '*This letter saying wrot our lady Marye w<sup>t</sup> here owne hand and sende hit to ignacie the martyr* The blessed virgyn marye wrote a pystyl to ygnacie the martyr in persecucion and seyde thus stonde you and doo manly in the feith; and thi spirit fuloute joy in god, and how myche Ion the evangelist

was pursuyd for prechyng of the gospel and destitute of manns help and so myche he was relevyd be goddis help, etc. Hugo de sancto victore in prologo super apocalipsi.' In the Catalogue (p. 182) these words 'Hugo etc.' are wrongly treated as the title to the next treatise. They refer to what has gone before, and give the source of the preceding quotation.

put it in a form which will render it at length available for critical purposes.

Of the extant MS L<sub>1</sub> I have made an entirely new collation. That this was not superfluous the facts will show. The MS was transcribed in the first instance for Ussher, and (till I myself collated it) had only been collated twice for subsequent editions<sup>1</sup>. Of the numberless inaccuracies of the transcript from which Ussher derived all his knowledge of this MS I have already spoken. Moreover he has not (except in a very few instances) distinguished the respective readings of the two MSS which he employed. And lastly, his printed text contains several readings which are not found in either, and which (in some instances at least) have slipped in through mere inadvertence.

Of the subsequent collations the earlier was made by T. Smith for the text which accompanied his edition of Pearson's notes (A. D. 1709). After describing the MS in his preface, he adds, 'quem ego quoque ea qua potui accuratione contuli, correctis illius, cujus opera usus est D. Usserius, aberrationibus.' The result is a much better text of this Latin version than Ussher's; but for critical purposes his collation is quite inadequate. He has not recorded a quarter of the various readings of L<sub>1</sub>. Though he has corrected some of Ussher's worst mistakes, he has sometimes given readings for which there is no authority either in the MS or in Ussher's printed text; e.g. *Smyrn.* 3 'carne ipsius et spiritu' for 'carni ipsius et spiritui,' and *Smyrn.* 6 'qualitate' for 'qualiter'; in neither instance giving any various reading, and in the latter distinctly stating that this is the rendering of the Latin translation.

The second collation to which I referred was made for Dr Jacobson's edition, and is thus described by him (*Patr. Apost.* i. p. xxxvii); 'Hujus codicis lectiones variantes humanissime ad usus meos exscripsit vir reverendus Johannes Jacobus Smith A.M., Coll. Caiensis Socius.' This collation is in many respects more correct than Ussher's transcript, and more complete than T. Smith's collation. But how far it is from being trustworthy, the following list of errors, gathered from the first six chapters of the Epistle to the Smyrnæans alone, will show.

|        | MS.                              | COLLATION.        |
|--------|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| Inscr. | <i>theoferus</i>                 | <i>Theopherus</i> |
|        | <i>carismate</i> , several times | <i>charismate</i> |
|        | <i>caritate</i>                  | <i>charitate</i>  |
|        | <i>existenti</i>                 | omitted           |

<sup>1</sup> On Funk's collation, which appeared after these sheets were struck off for my first edition, see below, p. 12.

| MS.   | COLLATION.                       |
|---|----------------------------------|
| <i>deo decentissime</i> , see below,                                | <i>condecentissime</i>           |
| P. 13   |                                  |
| <i>Smirna</i>   | <i>Smyrna</i>                    |
| 1. <i>caritate</i>  | <i>charitate</i>                 |
| <i>videre ipsum</i>   | <i>videri ipsum</i>              |
| 3. <i>quando</i> (contracted)                                       | <i>quum</i>                      |
| <i>quoniam</i> (contracted)   | <i>quia</i>                      |
| <i>spiritaliter</i>   | <i>spiritualiter</i>             |
| 4. <i>an<sup>o</sup> pomorthis</i>                                  | <i>anthropomorphis</i>           |
| 5. <i>Moisi</i>   | <i>Moisis</i>                    |
| <i>deum</i> (contracted)  | <i>dominum</i>                   |
| <i>michi</i>  | <i>michi</i>                     |
| <i>panem q̄ = passionem quæ</i>                                     | <i>panem qui</i>                 |
| 6. <i>qualiter</i> (contracted)                                     | <i>quale</i>                     |
| <i>caritas</i>  | <i>charitas</i>                  |
| <i>nichil</i>   | <i>nihil</i>                     |
| <i>qualiter contrarie sunt sententie dei</i> (very much contracted) | <i>qualesque facti sumus dei</i> |
| <i>caritate</i>   | <i>charitate</i>                 |
| <i>vidua</i>  | <i>viduis</i>                    |
| <i>eucharistiam</i>   | <i>eucharistiam</i>              |

As this collation coincides with the Caius transcript, where it goes most wrong, as for instance in *panem qui* (§ 5) and *qualesque facti sumus dei* (§ 6), I suppose the collator must have allowed himself from time to time to consult the transcript instead of endeavouring to decipher the MS itself.

These two collations moreover, inadequate as they are in themselves, were confined to the seven epistles mentioned by Eusebius. The text of the other epistles has remained in the same state in which it was left by Ussher, without any fresh examination of the MS. Thus for instance, in *Ign. Mar.* 2 Ussher accidentally omitted the word 'impellor,' and the omission has been repeated by all subsequent editors, though the sense of the passage is destroyed thereby, and a reference to the MS would at once have supplied the missing word. In some respects the text has even deteriorated since Ussher's time, for later editors have introduced errors of their own. Thus in *Hero* 3 a whole sentence, 'Saluta deo decens presbyterium,' is omitted in Cureton's text (*Corp. Ign.* p. 146).

Of the disappearance of the other MS L<sub>2</sub> I have spoken in an earlier part of this work, where also I have described Ussher's collation, which is preserved among his books and papers in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, but has been strangely overlooked by pre-

vious editors. By the kindness of the Provost and Fellows I have been allowed the use of this collation, which is indispensable for the criticism of the Latin text; and thus the readings of  $L_2$  are given in the present edition for the first time. Hitherto they have been left to conjecture, except in the very few passages where Ussher has distinctly mentioned it by name.

This collation however only commences in the middle of the Epistle to Polycarp, § 1 '[in] orationibus vaca indesinentibus,' the earlier leaves of the transcript having been lost. For the previous portion, the whole of the Epistle to the Smyrnæans and the commencement of the Epistle to Polycarp, I have supplied the defect by a collation of Ussher's printed text of this version, which I have designated  $L_u$ . As Ussher had only the readings of these two MSS before him, it may be presumed that his printed text, wherever it differs from  $L_1$ , gives the reading of  $L_2$ . This rule however can only be accepted as roughly and approximately true. Large allowance must be made for inadvertences and inaccuracies. For instance, in *Smyrn.* 9 Ussher omits 'Bene habet et Deum et episcopum cognoscere,' and possibly these words may have been wanting in  $L_2$ ; but, when we find him leaving out whole clauses elsewhere, where we are able by means of his own collation to convict him of inaccuracy, e.g. *Polyc.* § 2 'ut gubernatores ventos,' and *Ephes.* 1 'ut potiri possim discipulus esse' (not to multiply examples), the inference will appear highly precarious<sup>1</sup>.

Where a reading of this MS is distinctly given by Ussher in this collation, it is marked  $L_2$  simply; where it is only inferred from his silence, i.e. where he has not noted any divergence from the reading which he had before him in the transcript of  $L_1$ , it is given as  $L_2s$ .

In the following recension I have endeavoured to restore the text of the version to the condition in which it left the translator's hands. Thus I have not scrupled to make an alteration here and there, where the Latin text itself had obviously been corrupted in the course of transmission. Thus, for instance, I have cast out two apparent glosses, *Ephes.* 1, *Magn.* 2. Thus again in four passages, *Smyrn.* 8, *Ephes.* 3, *Magn.* 13, *Philad.* 3, I have substituted 'episcopi,' 'episcopo,' for 'ipsi,' 'ipso,' the corruption having arisen from an easy confusion of the Latin contractions,  $\overline{ip\acute{i}}$ ,  $\overline{ep\acute{i}}$ ,  $\overline{ip\acute{o}}$ ,  $\overline{ep\acute{o}}$ , and the Greek

<sup>1</sup> The first of these two omissions is supplied by Ussher in his table of *emendanda*, p. 241, but inaccurately, 'ut

gubernares ventos': the second is not mentioned at all.

text in all these cases deciding the true reading. On the same principle in *Mart.* 4 I have substituted 'ipsi' ( $\overline{\text{ip̄i}}$ ) for 'Christi' ( $\overline{\text{xpi}}$ ). So too I have not scrupled to alter 'assensores' into 'assessores' *Polyc.* 6, 'sollicitudine' into 'insollicitudine' *Polyc.* 7, 'potiri' into 'per potiri' *Ephes.* 1, 'salvificemini' into 'salificemini,' 'exacuens' into 'exaccensens,' 'perfari' into 'profari' *Magn.* 10, 'suadeo' into 'suadeor' *Trall.* 3, 'præcipue' into 'præcipio' *Rom.* 4, 'fidei' into 'Dei' *Philad.* 9, 'sciant' into 'sitiant' *Ign. Mar.* 1, and (having regard to the contractions) 'deo' into 'dicit' *Tars.* 7; in all which cases the corruption was easy in the Latin text and quite impossible in the Greek. On the other hand I have not attempted to correct those errors which must be traced to the faulty Greek text which the translator had before him. For example, in *Mar. Ign.* 1 'et Sobelum' is left; for though there can be little doubt that the correct reading is  $\text{Κασσοβή-}\lambda\omicron\nu\text{ or } \text{Κασσοβήλων}$ , it is equally clear that the Latin translator had  $\text{καὶ } \Sigma\acute{\omicron}\beta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$  in his text.

In recording the variations of the mss I have not (except in special cases and for particular reasons) included readings which are corrected *prima manu*. Nor again is any account generally taken of the punctuation of the mss, which is arbitrary and valueless. The marginal glosses and notes moreover, of which a very few occur in  $L_1$ , and which are frequent in  $L_2$ , are not recorded, unless they have a bearing on the reading. Some of these, which have an interest of a different kind, are given in an earlier part of this work.

On the orthography of the mss one or two points require explanation. In  $L_1$  the diphthongs,  $\alpha, \omega$ , are systematically disregarded and written  $e$  (e.g. *eterne, penitet*); and in this same ms  $ci$  is universally, or all but universally, written for  $ti$  (e.g. *Ignacius, propiciacio*). In both these cases the normal spelling is silently adopted. In other instances, where  $L_1$  persistently departs from the normal orthography (e.g. *misterium, carisma, ammonere*), I have contented myself with noticing the fact at the first occurrence of the word.

Much error has arisen in previous collations from inattention to the contractions. Thus for instance, *quando, quoniam, quum, qui, quæ, quem, quia*, etc. have been confused; and again, *ergo, igitur*; and again, *tamen, tantum*. In this way various readings have been erroneously multiplied. In most cases there can be no doubt as to the force of the contraction. In some few instances, where a contraction in  $L_1$  is ambiguous, I have given it the interpretation which accords with the Greek text or with the reading of  $L_2$ .

It did not seem necessary to encumber the notes by pointing out

every instance where previous collators have misread  $L_1$ . In one or two cases I have done so, because the error was sufficiently important to call for notice, e.g. *Trall.* 5 'scire celestia' for 'supercelestia,' *Polyc.* 7 'in oratione' for 'in resurrectione'; but these are exceptional. As I have had the collation which was made for Jacobson's edition constantly before me, the variations recorded in it and not noted by me have been deliberately rejected. Thus for instance the various readings, 'panem qui' for 'passionem quæ' *Smyrn.* 5 (see above, p. 8), 'optimum' for 'opportunum' *Trall.* 2, with many others, have disappeared.

On the other hand, some readings will appear in my text (on the authority of one or both of the mss) for the first time; and in most instances these bring the Latin into stricter accordance with the Greek than it is in the text of the printed copies. Thus for instance, 'venerimini' (ἐντρέπεσθε) for 'veneremur' *Magn.* 6, 'ipsos' (αὐτούς) for 'ipsas' *Philad.* 3, 'apponi' (προσθεῖναι) for 'opponi' *Ign. Mar.* 4, 'portus' (λιμένας) for 'Portum' *Mart.* 5, 'immunda inani gloria' (τῆς ἀκαθάρτου φιλοτιμίας) for 'mundi inani gloria' *ib.*, are read by both  $L_1$  and  $L_2$ . And again, in *Rom.* 7 'adjuvet; ipsi autem magis mei fiatis', and *Mart.* 5 'da ea quæ a nobis futura separatione; justo autem fieri ipsi secundum votum accidit,' the readings of  $L_2$ , involving in both cases a transposition, produce exact conformity to the Greek. The text, thus restored, is 'adjuvet ipsi; magis autem mei fiatis' (βοηθείτω αὐτῶ· μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ γίνεσθε) in the one passage, and 'de ea quæ a nobis futura separatione iusti fieri; ipsi autem secundum votum accidit' (τῶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν μέλλοντι χωρισμῶ τοῦ δικαίου γίνεσθαι· τῶ δὲ κατ' εὐχὴν ἀπέβαιεν).

The correspondence with the Virgin and S. John, forming the second part of this collection, is comparatively unimportant. It is found in a considerable number of mss besides  $L_1$   $L_2$ ; sometimes by itself, sometimes in connexion with the epistles of the Long Recension. In this latter case it sometimes precedes the twelve epistles of this Recension (e.g. *Flor. Laur.* xxiii. 20, *Palat.* 150, *Oxon. Magd.* lxxvi), and sometimes follows them (e.g. *Bruxell.* 20132). The various readings are very numerous, and the order of the four epistles is different in different copies.

For the sake of exhibiting the character of the variations, I have given a collation of three Oxford mss besides the readings of  $L_1$   $L_2$ , taking the *editio princeps* (Paris, 1495) as the basis of my text.

These three MSS are :

(1) *Coll. Magdal.* lxxvi. fol. 213 a (15th century); see Coxe's *Catalogue* p. 43. This correspondence precedes the twelve epistles of the Long Recension, and the four letters composing it occur in the same order as in  $L_1$   $L_2$ .

(2) *Coll. Lincoln.* ci. fol. 48 b (15th century); see Coxe's *Catalogue* p. 48. The four epistles are found by themselves, and in the following order; (i) Ignatius to Mary; (ii) Mary to Ignatius; (iii) Ignatius to John ('De tua'); (iv) Ignatius to John ('Si licitum').

(3) *Bodl. Laud. Misc.* 171, fol. 140 a (end of 13th century); see Coxe's *Catal. MSS Laud.* p. 156. The epistles stand by themselves, and the order is the same as in the last-mentioned MS.

These epistles are sometimes accompanied in the MSS by the testimony of S. Bernard and of Marcus Michael of Cortona (see Ussher p. cxliiii). This is the case in *Flor. Laur.* xxiii. 20, and in *Oxon. Magdal.* lxxvi.

The three MSS are thus designated, [m] [l] [b]. Where the *editio princeps* obviously needed correction, this is done, and its reading [p] is given at the foot.

[*Note.* These sheets were printed off for my first edition some time before the appearance of Funk's work *Die Echtheit der Ignatianischen Briefe* (1883). In an Appendix he gives a full collation of the Caius MS, and I have compared it carefully with my own for this second edition. Considering the character of the MS, the differences are fewer than might have been anticipated. On all points of difference I have consulted the MS afresh, and in most cases, though not in all, have adhered to my previous deciphering of it. I do not doubt for instance, that the MS reads *resurrectione*, not *oratione*, in *Polyc.* 7; and again Funk's reading *aeterna* (for *vera*) in *Ephes.* 7 must be an accidental error. In *Antioch.* 3 (see below, p. 52, l. 21), where he gives *te ego* for *ego*, the *te* is the last syllable of *evangeliste* in the following line.]



## IGNATIUS SMYRNÆIS.

**I**GNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, ecclesiæ Dei Patris et dilecti Jesu Christi, habenti propitiationem in omni charismate, impletæ in fide et caritate, indeficienti existenti omni charismate, Deo decentissimæ et sanctiferæ, existenti in Smyrna Asiæ; in  
5 incoquinato spiritu et verbo Dei plurimum gaudere.

I. GLORIFICO Jesum Christum Deum, qui vos sapientes fecit. Intellexi enim vos perfectos in immobili fide, quemadmodum clavifixos in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et carne et spiritu, et firmatos in caritate in sanguine Christi,  
10 certificatos in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, vere existentem *de genere David secundum carnem*, filium Dei secundum voluntatem et potentiam Dei, genitum vere ex virgine, baptizatum a Johanne ut *impleatur omnis justitia* ab ipso, vere sub Pontio Pilato et Herode tetrarcha clavifixum pro nobis in  
15 carne. A cujus fructu nos a divine beatissima ipsius passione,

IGNATIUS SMYRNÆIS] L<sub>1</sub> has no title or heading of any kind; nor, except the blank space and the illuminated initial letter I, is there any indication that a new author begins. Of the manner in which L<sub>2</sub> commenced no information is given.

1 Theophorus] *theoferus* L<sub>1</sub>. 2 charismate] *carismate* L<sub>1</sub>. The common form of the word is *carisma* in L<sub>1</sub>. 3 indeficienti] L<sub>1</sub>; *indeficiente* L<sub>u</sub>. 4 Deo decentissimæ] L<sub>u</sub>. This is probably also the reading of L<sub>1</sub>, though commonly deciphered *condecentissimæ*; but there is an erasure in the first syllable, and the contractions dō (=deo), cō (=con), are liable to confusion. Smyrna] *smirna* L<sub>1</sub>. So L<sub>1</sub> always writes these words, *Smirna*, *Smirneus*. On the other hand L<sub>2</sub> appears to have had consistently *Smyrna*, *Smyrneus*. 6 vos] In L<sub>1</sub> the beginning of the word is written over what seems like the first letter of *sic*, corresponding to *σῆως* in the Greek text. 15 nos a] L<sub>u</sub>; *nos* (om. a) L<sub>1</sub>.

ut levet signum in sæcula per resurrectionem in sanctos et fideles ipsius, et in Judæis et in gentibus, in uno corpore ecclesiæ ipsius.

II. Hæc enim omnia passus est pro nobis, ut salvemur. Et vere passus est, ut et vere resuscitavit seipsum; non quemadmodum infideles quidam dicunt secundum videri ipsum passum 5 esse, ipsi secundum videri existentes: et quemadmodum sapiunt, et accidet ipsis, existentibus incorporeis et dæmoniacis.

III. Ego enim et post resurrectionem in carne ipsum vidi et credo existentem. Et quando ad eos qui circa Petrum venit, ait ipsis: *Apprehendite, palpate me, et videte quoniam non sum* 10 *dæmonium incorporeum.* Et confestim ipsum tetigerunt, et crediderunt convicti carni ipsius et spiritui. Propter hoc et mortem contempserunt; inventi autem sunt super mortem. Post resurrectionem autem comedit cum eis et bibit ut carnalis, quamvis spiritualiter unitus Patri. 15

IV. Hæc autem monefacio vobis, dilecti, sciens quoniam et vos sic habetis. Præmunio autem vos a bestiis anthropomorphis, quos non solum oportet vos non recipere sed, si possibile, neque eis obviare, solum autem orare pro ipsis, si quo modo pœniteant; quod difficile. Hujus autem habet potestatem Jesus Christus, 20 verum nostrum vivere. Si autem secundum videri hæc operata sunt a Domino nostro, et ego secundum videri ligor. Quid autem et meipsum traditum dedi morti, ad ignem, ad gladium, ad bestias? Sed prope gladium, prope Deum; intermedium bestiarum, intermedium Dei: solum in nomine Jesu Christi, ad 25 compati ipsi. Omnia sustinebo, ipso me fortificante qui perfectus homo factus est.

V. Quem quidam ignorantes abnegant, magis autem abnegati sunt ab ipso, existentes concionatores mortis magis quam

5 videri] L<sub>u</sub>; videre L<sub>x</sub>.      6 videri] L<sub>u</sub>; videre L<sub>x</sub>.      10 me] L<sub>u</sub>; om. L<sub>x</sub>.  
 15 spiritualiter] *spiritaliter* L<sub>x</sub>. In L<sub>x</sub> these words are commonly, though not universally, written *spiritalis*, *spiritaliter*, etc. This seems to have been the case also with L<sub>2</sub>.      17 anthropomorphis] *antropomorphis* L<sub>x</sub>.      19 eis obviare] L<sub>u</sub>: *obviare eis* L<sub>x</sub>. The varying position of *eis* throws suspicion upon it, and there is nothing corresponding to it in the Greek.      22 et ego] L<sub>x</sub>; *ergo et ego* L<sub>u</sub>.  
 28 quidam] *quidm* L<sub>x</sub>; *quidem* L<sub>u</sub>.      ignorantes abnegant] L<sub>u</sub>; *abnegantes ignorant* L<sub>x</sub>.      autem] L<sub>u</sub>; om. L<sub>x</sub>.      29 sunt] L<sub>u</sub>; om. L<sub>x</sub>.

veritatis : quos non persuaserunt prophetiæ neque lex Moysi, sed neque usque nunc evangelium, neque nostræ eorum qui secundum virum passiones. Etenim de nobis idem sapiunt. Quid enim juvat me quis, si me laudat, Dominum autem meum blasphemat, non confitens ipsum carniferum? Qui autem hoc non dicit, ipsum perfecte abnegavit, existens mortifer. Nomina autem ipsorum, existentia infidelia, non visum est mihi inscribere : sed neque fiat mihi ipsorum recordari, usque quo pœniteant in passionem, quæ est nostra resurrectio.

10 VI. Nullus erret. Et supercælestia et gloria angelorum et principes visibiles et invisibiles, si non credant in sanguinem Christi, et illis iudicium est. *Qui capit, capiat.* Qualiter nullus infletur; totum enim est fides et caritas, quibus nihil præpositum est. Considerate autem aliter opinantes in gratiam Jesu Christi  
15 eam quæ in nos venit, qualiter contrarii sunt sententiæ Dei. De caritate non est cura ipsis, non de vidua, non de orphano, non de tribulato, non de ligato vel soluto, non de esuriente vel sitiante. Ab eucharistia et oratione recedunt, propter non confiteri eucharistiam carnem esse salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi pro peccatis  
20 nostris passam, quam benignitate Pater resuscitavit.

VII. Contradictentes ergo huic dono Dei perscrutantes moriuntur. Conferens autem esset ipsis diligere, ut resurgant. Decens est recedere a talibus, et neque seorsum de ipsis loqui neque communiter; attendere autem prophetis, præcipue vero evangelio, in quo passio nobis ostensa est et resurrectio perfecta est.

1 Moysi] *moisi* L<sub>x</sub>. This name is commonly written *Moises* in L<sub>x</sub>, and *Moses* in L<sub>2</sub>. 4 Dominum] L<sub>u</sub>; *deum* L<sub>x</sub>. blasphemat] *blasfemat* L<sub>x</sub>. 7 visum est] L<sub>u</sub>; *est visum* L<sub>x</sub>. mihi] *michi* L<sub>x</sub>; and so the word is always written in this MS, when not contracted. 11 visibiles et invisibiles] L<sub>u</sub>; *invisibiles et visibiles* L<sub>x</sub>. 12 Qualiter nullus infletur] L<sub>x</sub>L<sub>u</sub>. The Greek is τόπος μηδένα φυσούτω. The translator therefore must have read ὅπως or τὸ πῶς for τόπος, as these words are commonly rendered *qualiter*. The inflexions, *nullus infletur* for *nullum inflet*, have probably been changed in the transmission of the Latin text, the contractions facilitating such changes. 13 nihil] *nichil* L<sub>x</sub>. So the word is commonly written in this MS. 15 contrarii] *contrariæ* L<sub>u</sub>; *contrarie* L<sub>x</sub>. 18 eucharistia] *eucaristia* L<sub>x</sub>. This is the common form of the word in L<sub>1</sub>. recedunt] L<sub>u</sub>; om. L<sub>x</sub>. propter] L<sub>u</sub>; *propterea* L<sub>x</sub>. 22 Decens est] Some short word has been erased after 'est' in L<sub>x</sub>, perhaps *g<sup>o</sup> = ergo*, corresponding to the ὀν of the Greek text. 24 vero] L<sub>u</sub>; om. L<sub>x</sub>.

VIII. Partitiones autem fugite, ut principium malorum. Omnes episcopum sequimini, ut Jesus Christus Patrem, et presbyterium ut apostolos; diaconos autem revereamini, ut Dei mandatum. Nullus sine episcopo aliquid operetur eorum quæ conveniunt in ecclesiam. Illa firma gratiarum actio reputetur, 5 quæ sub episcopo est, vel quod utique ipse concesserit. Ubi utique apparet episcopus, illic multitudo sit; quemadmodum utique ubi est Christus Jesus, illic catholica ecclesia. Non licitum est sine episcopo neque baptizare neque agapen facere; sed quod utique ille probaverit, hoc et Deo beneplacitum; ut 10 stabile sit et firmum omne quod agitur.

IX. Rationabile est de cetero evigilare et, cum adhuc tempus habemus, in Deum pœnitere. Bene habet et Deum et episcopum cognoscere. Honorans episcopum a Deo honoratus est: qui occultans ab episcopo aliquid operatur, diabolo præstat 15 obsequium. Omnia igitur vobis in gratia superabundent; digni enim estis. Secundum enim omnia me quiescere fecistis; et vos Jesus Christus. Absentem me et præsentem dilexistis: retribuatur vobis Deus, propter quem omnia sustinentes ipsum adipiscemini. 20

x. Philonem et Reum et Agathopum, qui secuti sunt me in verbum Dei, bene fecistis suscipientes ut ministros Dei Christi: qui et gratias agunt Domino pro vobis, quoniam ipsos quiescere fecistis secundum omnem modum. Nihil vobis utique deperibit. Conformis animæ vestræ spiritus meus, et vincula mea quæ non 25 despexistis neque erubuistis; neque vos erubescet perfecta fides, Jesus Christus.

XI. Oratio vestra pervenit ad ecclesiam quæ est in Antiochia Syriæ; unde ligatus Deo decentissimis vinculis omnes

1 autem]  $L_u$ ; om.  $L_x$ .      2 presbyterium]  $L_u$ ; *presbiterum*  $L_x$ .      4 ali-  
quid]  $L_u$ ; om.  $L_x$ .      6 episcopo] *ipso*  $L_u L_x$ : see above, p. 9.      quod] So the  
contraction in  $L_x$  should be read; *quam*  $L_u$ . The Greek text has  $\phi$  *cui*.      10  
hoc et]  $L_x$ ; *hoc est*  $L_u$ .      11 stabile sit et firmum]  $L_u$ ; *stabile firmum sit*  $L_x$ .  
13 Bene habet et Deum et episcopum cognoscere]  $L_x$ ; om.  $L_u$ . As there is nothing  
in the Greek corresponding to the first *et*, it is probably a scribe's error, repeating  
the last syllable of *habet*.      21 Agathopum] *agathapum*  $L_x$ .      25 Conformis]  
*confirmis*  $L_x$ .      29 Syriæ] *sirie*  $L_x$ . This name is generally written *Siria* in  $L_x$ .  
The usual form in  $L_2$  is *Syria*.

saluto, non existens dignus inde esse, extremus ipsorum existens; secundum voluntatem [autem] Dei dignus factus sum, non ex conscientia, sed ex gratia Dei, quam oro perfectam mihi dari, ut in oratione vestra Deo potiar. Ut igitur perfectum vestri fiat  
 5 opus et in terra et in cælo, decet ad honorem Dei ordinare ecclesiam vestram Deo venerabilem, in factum usque Syriam congaudere ipsis, quoniam pacem habent et acceperunt propriam magnitudinem, et restitutum est ipsis proprium corpusculum. Visum est mihi igitur Deo digna res mittere aliquem vestrorum  
 10 cum epistola; ut conglorificet eam quæ secundum Deum ipsis factam tranquillitatem, et quoniam portu jam potita est oratione vestra. Perfecti existentes perfecta et sapite. Volentibus enim vobis bene facere Deus paratus est ad tribuere.

XII. Salutatur vos caritas fratrum qui in Troade; unde et  
 15 scribo vobis per Burrum, quem misistis mecum simul Ephesiis fratribus vestris, qui secundum omnia me quiescere fecit. Et utinam omnes ipsum imitentur, existentem exemplarium Dei ministerii. Remuneret ipsum gratia secundum omnia. Saluto Deo dignum episcopum et Deo decens presbyterium et conservos  
 20 meos diaconos, et singillatim et communiter omnes, in nomine Jesu Christi, et carne ipsius et sanguine, passioneque et resurrectione, carnali et spirituali, in unitate Dei et vestri. Gratia vobis et misericordia et pax et sustinentia semper.

XIII. Saluto domos fratrum meorum cum uxoribus et filiis,  
 25 et virgines vocatas viduas. Valete mihi in virtute Patris. Salutatur vos Philon mecum existens. Saluto domum Thaviæ; quam oro firmari fide et caritate carnali et spirituali. Saluto Alken, desideratum mihi nomen, et Daphnum incomparabilem, et Eutecnum, et omnes secundum nomen. Valete in gratia Dei.

1 dignus inde]  $L_u$ ; *inde dignus*  $L_1$ . 2 *autem*]  $L_u$ ; om.  $L_1$ . 5 ordinare ecclesiam vestram]  $L_u$ ; *vestram ordinare ecclesiam*  $L_1$ . 6 usque]  $L_u$ ; *usque in*  $L_1$ . 7 ipsis]  $L_u$ ; *eis*  $L_1$ . 10 conglorificet] *συνδοξάσῃ*; *conglorificet*  $L_1 L_u$ . 12 sapite]  $L_u$ ; *sapere*  $L_1$ , but the letters *ite* are written above. 13 bene]  $L_u$ ; *et bene*  $L_1$ . *Deus*]  $L_u$ ; *deo*  $L_1$ . 15 Ephesiis] *effesiis*  $L_1$ . 17 exemplarium] *exemplarium*  $L_1$ . 19 presbyterium]  $L_u$ ; *ᾤσβρῆμ*  $L_1$ . This contraction is common in  $L_1$ , where the Greek has *πρεσβυτέριον*. 21 passioneque] *et passione*  $L_u$ ; *et passione que*  $L_1$ . 23 et misericordia et pax]  $L_u$ ; *pax et misericordia*  $L_1$ .

## 2.

## IGNATIUS POLYCARPO.

**I**GNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, Polycarpo episcopo ecclesiae Smyrnæorum, magis autem visitato a Deo Patre et Jesu Christo, plurimum gaudere.

I. ACCEPTANS tuam in Deo sententiam, firmatam ut supra petram immobilem, superglorifico, dignificatus tua facie 5 immaculata, qua fruar in Deo. Deprecor te in gratia, qua indutus es, apponere cursui tuo, et omnes deprecari ut salventur. Justifica locum tuum in omni cura carnali et spirituali. Unionem cura, qua nihil melius. Omnes supporta; ut et te Dominus. Omnes sustine in charitate; quemadmodum et facis. Orationibus vaca indesinentibus. Pete intellectum ampliorem eo quem habes. Vigila, non dormientem spiritum possidens. Singulis secundum consuetudinem Dei loquere. Omnium ægritudines porta, ut perfectus athleta: ubi major labor, multum lucrum.

II. Bonos discipulos si diligas, gratia tibi non est: magis 15 deteriores in mansuetudine subiice. Non omne vulnus eodem emplastro curatur. Exacerbationes in pluviis quieta. *Prudens*

IGNATIUS POLYCARPO]  $L_1$  has *epistola 2a ignacii smirneis . a polycarpo . troade polycarpo*, but the first *polycarpo* is erased. This is obviously a confusion of *Smyrneis a Troade*, the subscription to the previous epistle (corresponding to  $\text{CMYRNAIOTIC APOT TPWADOC}$  of G), and *Epistola Ignatii Polycarpo*, the title of the present epistle. The title in  $L_2$  is not recorded, but it would probably take the simple form which I have adopted.

1 Theophorus]  $L_u$ ; *theoforus*  $L_1$ . Polycarpo]  $L_u$ ; *polycarpo*  $L_1$ . The name is always so spelt in  $L_1$ , but *Polycarpus* apparently in  $L_2$ . 6 in gratia] *in dei gratia*  $L_u$ ; *in deo gratia*  $L_1$ . Here *deus* seems to be a transcriber's error, whose eye was caught by the neighbouring *in deo*, and in this case *dei* is a subsequent correction of *deus*. G has simply *ἐν χάριτι*. 10 et]  $L_u$ ; om.  $L_1$ . Orationibus]  $L_2$ ; *in orationibus*  $L_1$ . Ussher's collation of  $L_2$  begins at this point. 16 subiice] *subice*  $L_1$ . The form of this verb is commonly *subicio* in this ms. 17 emplastro]  $L_2$ ; *emplastro*  $L_1$ . in pluviis]  $L_1L_2$ s. The translator read *ἐν βροχαῖς*; the marginal gloss in  $L_2$  is 'in dulcibus et desuper venientibus eloquiis.' Ussher prints *inpluvius*.

*fias, ut serpens, in omnibus; et simplex, ut columba.* Propter hoc carnalis es et spiritualis, ut manifesta in tuam faciem blandiaris; invisibilia autem petas ut tibi manifestentur; ut nullo deficias, et omni charismate abundes. Tempus expetit te, ut gubernatores  
5 ventos, et ut qui in procella est portum ad Deo potiendum. Vigila, ut Dei athleta: thema incorruptio, vita æterna; de qua et tu confisus es. Secundum omnia tui refrigerium ego, et vincula mea quæ dilexisti.

III. Qui videntur digni fide esse et altera docent, non te  
10 stupefaciant: sta firmus, ut incus percussa. Magni est athletæ discerpi et vincere. Maxime autem propter Deum omnia sustinere nos oportet; ut et ipse nos sustineat. Plus studiosus fias quam es. Tempora considera; eum qui supra tempora expecta, intemporalem, invisibilem, propter nos visibilem, impalpabilem,  
15 impassibilem, propter nos passibilem, secundum omnem modum propter nos sustinentem.

IV. Viduæ non negligantur: post Dominum tu ipsarum curator esto. Nihil sine sententia tua fiat; neque tu sine Deo quid operare: quod autem operaris, sit bene stabile. Sæpius  
20 congregationes fiant: ex nomine omnes quære. Servos et ancillas ne despicias; sed neque ipsi inflentur, sed in gloriam Dei plus serviant, ut meliori libertate a Deo potiantur. Non desiderant a communi liberi fieri, ut non servi inveniantur concupiscentiæ.

25 V. Malas artes fuge: magis autem de his homiliam fac. Sorores meas alloquere, diligere Dominum et viris sufficere carne

4 abundes] *habundes* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 5 ad Deo potiendum] *eis τὸ Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν; a deo potiendum (pociendum)* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>. The slight correction which I have made brings the Latin into exact accordance with the Greek, from which the existing reading diverges considerably in meaning. For *Deo potiri* as a rendering of Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν, comp. § 7, Rom. 2, 4, etc. 7 tui] L<sub>2</sub>; et tui L<sub>1</sub>. tui refrigerium] The Greek is σου ἀντιψυχον, which the translator possibly read σε ἀναψύχων (or perhaps ἀντιψύχων, for the verb ἀντιψύχειν occurs). Elsewhere he translates ἀντιψυχον correctly. 9 fide] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 11 sustinere nos] L<sub>2</sub>; nos sustinere L<sub>1</sub>. 14 propter nos] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 17 negligantur] *negligantur* L<sub>1</sub>. The word is commonly written *negligo* in this MS. 18 sententia tua] L<sub>2</sub>; tua sententia L<sub>1</sub>. 19 quod autem ... stabile] L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>. The Greek is ὅπερ οὐδὲ πρόσσεις εὐστάθει (or εὐσταθής). The translator appears to have read δὲ for οὐδὲ, and εὐσταθὲς for εὐστάθει. 25 homiliam] *omeliam* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 26 Dominum] L<sub>2</sub>s; deum L<sub>1</sub>.

et spiritu. Similiter et fratribus meis annuncia in nomine Jesu Christi, diligere uxores *ut Dominus ecclesiam*. Si quis potest in castitate manere in honorem carnis Domini, in ingloriatione Domini maneat. Si gloriatur, perditur; et si videri velit plus episcopo, corruptus est. Decet autem ducentes et ductas cum 5 sententia episcopi unionem facere, ut sit secundum Deum et non secundum concupiscentiam. Omnia in honorem Dei fiant.

VI. Episcopo attendite, ut et Deus vobis. Unanimis ego cum subjectis episcopo, presbyteris, diaconis; et cum ipsis mihi pars fiat capere in Deo. Collaborate adinvicem, concertate, 10 concurrere, compatimini, condormite, consurgite, ut Dei dispensatores et assessores et ministri. Placete cui militatis; a quo et stipendia fertis. Nullus vestrum otiosus inveniatur. Baptisma vestrum maneat ut scutum, fides ut galea, caritas ut lancea, sustinentia ut omnis armatura. Deposita vestra opera; ut ac- 15 cepta vestra digna feratis. Longanimiter ferte igitur vos adinvicem in mansuetudine, ut Deus vos. Fruar vobis semper.

VII. Quia ecclesia quæ in Antiochia Syriæ pacem habet, ut ostensum est mihi, per orationem vestram, et ego lætior factus sum in insollicitudine Dei; siquidem per pati Deo potiar, in 20 inveniri me in resurrectione vestri discipulum. Decet, Polycarpe Deo beatissime, concilium congregare Deo decentissimum, et ordinare aliquem quem dilectum valde habetis et impigrum, qui

1 et fratribus]  $L_2$ ; *fratribus* (om. et)  $L_1$ . in nomine Jesu Christi diligere uxores]  $L_2$ ; *diligere uxores in nomine domini jesu christi*  $L_1$ . 6 Deum]  $L_1$ ; *dominum*  $L_{2s}$ . 9 presbyteris] *presbiteris*  $L_1$ ; and so the word is generally spelt in this MS, where the vowel does not disappear in a contraction. mihi pars]  $L_2$ ; *pars mihi*  $L_1$ . 12 assessores] *πάρεδροι*; *assensores*  $L_1$ , and so apparently  $L_2$ . Ussher indeed writes *assessores* in the margin of his collation, but this seems to be his own conjecture. 13 otiosus] The Greek text has *δασέπρωρ*. The Latin rendering is taken from the marginal gloss *ἀργός*, which is found in G. 15 Deposita vestra]  $L_2$ ; *vestra deposita*  $L_1$ . 18 Antiochia] *antiochia*  $L_1$ . 20 in insollicitudine] *ἐν ἀμεριμνίᾳ*; *in sollicitudine (solicitudine)*  $L_1L_2$ . So § 5 'ingloriatione' for *ἀκαυχῆσις*, *Ign. Mar.* 2 'injustificationibus' for *ἀδικήμασιν*. in inveniri me in resurrectione] *in invenire me in resurrectione*  $L_2$ ; *invenire in me in resurrectione*  $L_1$ .  $L_1$ , as well as  $L_2$ , has *resurrectione* (contracted *rrne* with *o* superscribed), which however has been misread *oratione* (sometimes contracted *orne* with *o* superscribed). By a strange coincidence the Greek texts here present a corresponding variation, *ἀναστᾶσει* and *ἀτρήσει*. 22 concilium]  $L_1$ ; *consilium*  $L_2$ . 23 valde habetis]  $L_2$ ; *habetis valde*  $L_1$ .



poterit Dei cursor vocari; et hunc dignificare, ut vadens in Syriam glorificet vestram impigram caritatem in gloriam Dei. Christianus sui ipsius potestatem non habet, sed Deo vacat. Hoc opus Dei est et vestri, quando ipsi perfecti estis. Credo 5 enim gratiæ, quoniam parati estis ad beneficentiam Deo decen- tem. Sciens vestrum compendium veritatis, per paucas vos literas consolatus sum.

VIII. Quia igitur omnibus ecclesiis non potui scribere prop- ter repente navigare me a Troade in Neapolim, ut voluntas 10 præcipit, scribes aliis ecclesiis, ut Dei sententiam possidens, in et ipsos facere; hi quidem potentes pedites mittere, hi autem epistolas per a te missos, ut glorificeris æterno opere; ut dignus existens. Saluto omnes ex nomine; et eam quæ Epitropi, cum dōmo tota ipsius et filiorum. Saluto Attalum dilectum meum. 15 Saluto futurum dignificari ad eundum in Syriam: erit gratia cum ipso semper et mittente ipsum Polycarpo. Valere vos semper in Deo nostro Jesu Christo oro; in quo permanetis in unitate Dei et visitatione. Saluto Alken, desideratum mihi nomen. Valete in Domino.

1 dignificare] *καταξιώσαι*; *dignificari* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. vadens in Syriam glorificet] L<sub>2</sub>; *vadat in siriam et glorificet* L<sub>1</sub>. 4 quando] *ὅταν*; *quoniam* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>. The difference between *qm=quoniam*, and *qn=quando*, is slight. ipsi perfecti estis] The translator probably read *αὐτοὶ ἀπαρισθῆτε* for *αὐτῶ* (or *αὐτὸ*) *ἀπαρισθῆτε*. 5 quoniam parati] L<sub>2</sub>; *quod parati* L<sub>1</sub>. 8 omnibus ecclesiis non] L<sub>2</sub>; *non omnibus ecclesiis* L<sub>1</sub>. A second *non* was written after *ecclesiis* in L<sub>1</sub>, and then erased. 10 in et ipsos facere] L<sub>2</sub>; a gloss in L<sub>2</sub> fixes this as the reading. The word which stands in the place of *in* in L<sub>1</sub> is illegible; but it was read *idem* in the transcript which Ussher used. The exact equivalent to the Greek would be *in et ipsos idem facere*. 11 hi...hi] *hii...hii* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 12 per] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. missos] *missas* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s; but it may be suspected that L<sub>2</sub>, which inserted *per*, also read *missos*, and that Ussher overlooked this in his collation. 14 Attalum] L<sub>2</sub>; *athalum* L<sub>1</sub>. 15 eundum] L<sub>2</sub>s; *eundem* L<sub>1</sub>. 16 ipsum] L<sub>2</sub>; *ipso* L<sub>1</sub>. Valere] L<sub>2</sub>; *valete*, altered into *valere*, L<sub>1</sub>. vos semper] L<sub>2</sub>; *semper vos* L<sub>1</sub>.

## 3.

## IGNATIUS EPHESIIS.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, benedictæ in magnitudine Dei Patris et plenitudine, prædestinatæ ante sæcula esse semper in gloriam permanentem, invertibilem, unitam et electam in passione vera, in voluntate Patris et Jesu Christi Dei nostri, ecclesiæ digne beatæ existenti in Epheso Asiæ; plurimum in Jesu Christo et in immaculata gratia gaudere.

I. ACCEPTANS in Deo multum dilectum tuum nomen, quod possedistis natura justa, secundum fidem et caritatem in Christo Jesu salvatore nostro: quia imitatores existentes Dei, et reaccendentes in sanguine Dei, cognatum opus integre perfecistis. Audientes enim ligatum a Syria pro communi nomine et spe, sperantem oratione vestra potiri in Roma cum bestiis pugnare, ut per potiri possim discipulus esse, videre festinastis. Plurimam enim multitudinem vestram in nomine Dei suscepi in Onesimo, qui in caritate inenarrabilis, vester autem in carne 15 episcopus; quem oro secundum Jesum Christum vos diligere, et omnes vos ipsi in similitudine esse. Benedictus enim qui tribuit vobis dignis existentibus talem episcopum possidere.

IGNATIUS EPHESIIS] So L<sub>1</sub> (writing however *ignacius*), L<sub>2</sub>s.

1 Theophorus] *theoferus* L<sub>1</sub>. 9 nostro] add. *glorificato jesum christum deum* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. This is perhaps a pious gloss, which has been transferred from the margin to the text. See *Magn.* 2, for a similar instance. 10 Dei] L<sub>2</sub>; *christi dei* L<sub>1</sub>. 12 oratione vestra] L<sub>2</sub>; *vestra oratione* L<sub>1</sub>. 13 per potiri] *potiri* (om. *per*) L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>. It is clear however that the original Latin text had *per potiri* (corresponding to the Greek διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν), for L<sub>2</sub> has a marginal note '*ut per potiri sc. eo quod est pugnare cum bestiis, possim esse discipulus sc. christi.*' The *per*, contracted to a single letter, would easily disappear before the *p* in *potiri*. See an instance of the converse error in *Antioch.* 2. 15 in caritate] L<sub>2</sub>; *caritate* (om. *in*) L<sub>1</sub>. inenarrabilis] L<sub>2</sub>; add. *est* L<sub>1</sub>.

II. De conservo autem meo Burro, secundum Deum diacono nostro in omnibus benedicto, oro permanere ipsum in honorem vestri et episcopi. Sed et Crocus Deo dignus et vobis, quem exemplarium ejus quæ a vobis caritatis suscepi, secundum  
5 omnia me quiescere fecit; ut et ipsum Pater Jesu Christi refrigeret; cum Onesimo et Burro et Euplo et Frontone per quos vos omnes secundum caritatem vidi. Fruar vobis semper, siquidem dignus existam. Decens igitur est secundum omnem modum glorificare Jesum Christum, qui glorificavit vos; ut in  
10 una subjectione perfecti, subjecti episcopo et presbyterio, secundum omnia sitis sanctificati.

III. Non dispono vobis, ut existens aliquis. Si enim et ligor in nomine Christi, nequaquam perfectus sum in Jesu Christo. Nunc autem principium habeo addiscendi, et alloquor  
15 vos, ut doctores mei: me enim oportuit a vobis suscipi fide, admonitione, sustinentia, longanimitate. Sed quia caritas non sinit me silere pro vobis, propter hoc præoccupavi rogare vos, ut concurratis sententiæ Dei. Etenim Jesus Christus, incomparabile nostrum vivere, Patris sententia, ut et episcopi secundum terræ fines determinati Jesu Christi sententia sunt.  
20

IV. Unde decet vos concurrere episcopi sententiæ: quod et facitis. Digne nominabile enim vestrum presbyterium Deo dignum sic concordatum est episcopo, ut chordæ citharæ. Propter hoc in consensu vestro et consona caritate Jesus Christus canitur.  
25 Sed et singuli chorus facti estis; ut consoni existentes in consensu, melos Dei accipientes in unitate, cantetis in voce una per Jesum Christum Patri; ut et vos audiat, et cognoscat, per quæ bene operamini, membra existentes filii ipsius. Utile

1 Burro] *berro* L<sub>1</sub>; *borro* L<sub>2</sub>s.      2 permanere ipsum] L<sub>2</sub>; *ipsum permanere* L<sub>1</sub>.  
6 Burro] *borro* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s.      8 dignus] L<sub>2</sub>s; *dignos* L<sub>1</sub>.      10 presbyterio]  
*presbitero* L<sub>1</sub>; *presbytero* L<sub>2</sub>.      13 Christi] L<sub>2</sub>; *jesu christi* L<sub>1</sub>.      15 suscipi]  
The translator must have read ὑποληφθηναί for ὑπαλειφθηναί.      16 admonitione]  
*ammonicione* L<sub>1</sub>. The word is always written *amm-* in L<sub>1</sub>, and this is its common  
orthography in L<sub>2</sub>.      19 episcopi] *ipsi* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. See p. 593 sq.      21 episcopi]  
sententiæ] L<sub>2</sub>; *sententie episcopi* L<sub>1</sub>.      22 digne] L<sub>1</sub>; *si que* L<sub>2</sub>.      nominabile enim]  
L<sub>2</sub>; *enim nominabile* L<sub>1</sub>.      vestrum presbyterium] L<sub>2</sub>; *presbiterium vestrum* L<sub>1</sub>.  
23 chordæ] *corde* L<sub>1</sub>.      28 filii] *filiis* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>.      ipsius] L<sub>2</sub>; *ejus* L<sub>1</sub>.

igitur est vos in immaculata unitate esse, ut et Deo semper participetis.

V. Si enim ego in parvo tempore talem consuetudinem tenui ad episcopum vestrum, non humanam existentem sed spiritualem; quanto magis vos beatifico, conjunctos sic, ut ecclesia Jesu Christo et ut Jesus Christus Patri; ut omnia in unitate consona sint. Nullus erret; si quis non sit intra altare, privatur pane Dei. Si enim unius et alterius oratio tantam vim habet, quanto magis illa quæ episcopi et omnis ecclesiæ. Qui igitur non venit in idem, sic jam superbit et seipsum condemnavit. Scriptum est enim, *Superbis Deus resistit*. Festinemus igitur non resistere episcopo, ut simus Deo subjecti.

VI. Et quantum videt quis tacentem episcopum, plus ipsum timeat. Omnem enim quem mittit dominus domus in propriam dispensationem, sic oportet nos ipsum recipere, ut ipsum mittentem. Episcopum igitur manifestum quoniam ut ipsum Dominum oportet respicere. Ipse igitur quidem Onesimus superlaudat vestram divinam ordinationem: quoniam omnes secundum veritatem vivitis, et quoniam in vobis neque una hæresis habitat, sed neque auditis aliquem amplius quam Jesum Christum loquentem in veritate.

VII. Consueverunt enim quidam dolo malo nomen circumferre, sed quædam operantes indigna Deo. Quos oportet vos ut bestias declinare: sunt enim canes rabidi latenter mordentes; quos oportet vos observare, existentes difficile curabiles. Unus medicus est, carnalis et spiritualis, genitus et ingenitus, in carne factus Deus, in immortalis vita vera, et ex Maria

1 in immaculata unitate esse] *immaculata unitate esse* (om. *in*) L<sub>2</sub>; *esse in immaculata unitate* L<sub>1</sub>. 4 tenui] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 8 privatur pane Dei] L<sub>2</sub>; *pane dei privatur* L<sub>1</sub>. 9 quanto] L<sub>2</sub>; *quanta* L<sub>1</sub>. 10 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; *ergo* L<sub>1</sub>. *sic*] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>. The text used by the translator seems to have had *οὐτως* (*sic*) for *οὐτος* (*hic*): comp. *Tars.* 4. 11 condemnavit] *condemnavit* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>. So the word is commonly, but not always, written in both mss. It is usual with them to insert a *p* between *m* and *n*; e. g. *dampnum*, *contempno*. 12 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; *ergo* L<sub>1</sub>. 17 quidem] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 18 ordinationem] L<sub>2</sub>; *superordinationem* L<sub>1</sub> but the *super* is marked for erasure. 20 una] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 21 auditis] L<sub>1</sub>; *audistis* L<sub>2</sub>. 25 curabiles] L<sub>2</sub>. The word in L<sub>1</sub> has been read *sanabiles*, but seems certainly to be *curabiles*.

et ex Deo, primo passibilis et tunc impassibilis, Dominus Christus noster.

VIII. Non igitur quis vos seducat: quemadmodum neque seducimini, toti existentes Dei. Quum enim neque una lis  
5 complexa est in vobis, potens vos torquere, tunc secundum Deum vivitis. Peripsima vestri et castificer a vestra Ephesiorum ecclesia famosa in sæculis. Carnales spiritualia operari non possunt, neque spirituales carnalia; quemadmodum neque fides quæ infidelitatis, neque infidelitas quæ fidelitatis et fidei.  
10 Quæ autem et secundum carnem operata sunt, hæc spiritualia sunt: in Jesu enim Christo omnia operata sunt.

IX. Cognovi autem transeuntes quosdam inde, habentes malam doctrinam. Quos non dimisistis seminare in vos, obstruentes aures ad non recipere seminata ab ipsis; ut existentes  
15 lapides templi Patris, parati in ædificationem Dei Patris, relati in excelsa per machinam Jesu Christi, quæ est crux, fune utentes Spiritu Sancto. Fides autem vestra dux vester, caritas vero via referens in Deum. Estis igitur et conviatores, Deiferi et templiferi et Christiferi, sanctiferi, secundum omnia ornati in  
20 mandatis Jesu Christi: quibus et exultans dignificatus sum per quæ scribo alloqui vobis et congaudere, quoniam secundum aliam vitam nihil diligitis nisi solum Deum.

X. Sed et pro aliis hominibus indesinenter Deum oratis. Est enim in ipsis spes pœnitentiæ, ut Deo potiantur. Monete  
25 igitur ipsos saltem ex operibus a vobis erudiri. Ad iras ipsorum vos mansueti, ad magniloquia eorum vos humilia sapientes, ad blasphemias ipsorum vos orationes, ad errorem ipsorum vos firmi fide, ad agreste ipsorum vos mansueti; non festinantes imitari ipsos. Fratres ipsorum inveniamur in mansuetudine;  
30 imitatores autem Dei studeamus esse. Quis plus injustum

4 seducimini] ἐξαπατᾶσθε; *seducemini* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>. 6 castificer] perhaps (judging from Ussher's imitation of the traces in the MS) L<sub>2</sub>; *castificet* (apparently) L<sub>1</sub>.  
8 carnalia] L<sub>2</sub>s; *carnales* L<sub>1</sub>. 9 fidelitatis et fidei] A double rendering of the Greek τῆς πίστεως.  
10 operata sunt] reading πρᾶσσειται for πρᾶσσετε, and so again just below. hæc spiritualia...operata sunt] L<sub>1</sub>; om. L<sub>2</sub>.  
12 autem] L<sub>1</sub>; *inter* L<sub>2</sub>. 15 ædificationem] οἰκοδομίην; *ædificatione (edificacione)* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s.  
18 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>s; *ergo* L<sub>1</sub>. 25 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; *ergo* L<sub>1</sub>.

patiatur, quis fraudetur, quis contemnatur? Ut non diaboli herba quis inveniatur in vobis, sed in omni castitate et temperantia maneatis in Jesu Christo, carnaliter et spiritualiter.

XI. Extrema tempora. De cetero verecundemur, et timeamus longanimitatem Dei, ut non nobis in iudicium fiat. Vel 5 enim futuram iram timeamus vel præsentem gratiam diligamus; unum duorum: solum in Christo Jesu invenitur, in verum vivere. Sine ipso nihil vos deceat; in quo vincula circumfero, spirituales margaritas, in quibus fiat mihi resurgere oratione vestra. Qua fiat mihi semper participem esse; ut in sorte 10 Ephesiorum inveniar Christianorum, qui et apostolis semper consenserunt in virtute Jesu Christi.

XII. Novi quis sum, et quibus scribo. Ego condemnatus, vos propitiationem habentes; ego sub periculo, vos firmati. Transitus estis eorum qui in Deum interficiuntur: Pauli con- 15 discipuli, sanctificati, martyrizati, digne beati, cujus fiat mihi sub vestigiis inveniri, quando utique Deo fruar; qui in omni epistola memoriam facit vestri in Christo Jesu.

XIII. Festinate igitur crebrius convenire in gratiarum actionem Dei et in gloriam. Quando enim crebro in idipsum 20 convenitis, destruuntur potentiaë Satanæ, et solvitur perditio ipsius in concordia vestraë fidei. Nihil est melius pace; in qua omne bellum evacuatur caelestium et terrestrium.

XIV. Quorum nullum latet vos, si perfecte in Jesum Christum habeatis fidem et caritatem: quæ sunt principium vitæ et 25 finis, principium quidem fides, finis autem caritas. Hæc autem duo in unitate facta Deus est: alia autem omnia in bonitatem sequentia sunt. Nullus fidem repromittens peccat, neque cari-

1 contemnatur] *contemñnatur* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. This is the usual spelling in these MSS; see on *condemnavit*, § 5. 7 invenitur] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s; probably an error, which has crept into the Latin text in the course of transcription, for *inveniri*, εὐρεθῆναι. 16 martyrizati] *martirizati* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. The usual spelling in L<sub>1</sub> is *martir*, *martirium*, etc. 17 utique] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 18 Christo Jesu] L<sub>1</sub>; *jesu christo* L<sub>2</sub>. 19 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; *ergo* (apparently) L<sub>1</sub>. 20 et in] L<sub>1</sub>; *in* (om. *et*) L<sub>2</sub>. 21 Satanæ] *sathane* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. perditio] *proditio* (-cio) L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. The contractions for *per* and *pro* are easily confused. See *profari*, *perfari*, *Magn.* 10. 22 vestraë fidei] L<sub>2</sub>; *fidei vestraë* L<sub>1</sub>. 24 perfecte] L<sub>2</sub>; *perfectam* L<sub>1</sub>. 27 bonitatem sequentia] L<sub>1</sub>; *bonitate sequenda* L<sub>2</sub>s; but Ussher probably did not examine the contractions of L<sub>2</sub>.

tatem possidens odit. *Manifesta est arbor a fructu ipsius: sic repromittentes Christiani esse, per quæ operantur manifesti erunt. Non enim nunc repromissionis opus, sed in virtute fidei si quis inveniatur in finem.*

5 XV. Melius est silere et esse, quam loquentem non esse. Bonum docere, si dicens facit. Unus igitur doctor, qui dixit, et factum est: sed et quæ silens fecit, digna Patre sunt. Qui verbum Jesu possidet, vere potest et silentium ipsius audire, ut perfectus sit; ut per quæ loquitur operetur, et per quæ silet  
10 cognoscatur. Nihil latet Dominum: sed et abscondita nostra prope ipsum sunt. Omnia igitur faciamus, sic ipso in nobis habitante: ut simus ipsius templa, et ipse in nobis Deus noster: quod et est et apparebit ante faciem nostram, ex quibus juste diligimus ipsum.

15 XVI. Non erretis, fratres mei. Domus corruptores *regnum Dei non hæreditabunt.* Si igitur qui secundum carnem hæc operantur mortui sunt, quanto magis, si quis fidem Dei in mala doctrina corrumpat, pro qua Jesus Christus crucifixus est. Talis inquinatus factus in ignem inextinguibilem ibit: similiter et qui  
20 audit ipsum.

XVII. Propter hoc unguentum recepit in capite suo Dominus, ut spiret ecclesiæ incorruptionem. Non ungamini fœtore doctrinæ principis sæculi hujus: non captivet vos ex præsentī vivere. Propter quid autem non omnes prudentes sumus, accipientes Dei cognitionem, qui est Jesus Christus? Quid fatue  
25 perdimur, ignorantes charisma quod vere misit Dominus?

XVIII. Peripsima meus spiritus crucis; quæ est scandalum non credentibus, nobis autem salus et vita æterna. *Ubi sapiens, ubi conquisitor, ubi gloriatio dictorum sapientum?* Deus enim

carefully, and so noted no difference from the inaccurate transcript of L<sub>1</sub>, which gives *bonitate sequenda.* 1 Manifesta est arbor] L<sub>1</sub>; *manifesta autem arbor* L<sub>2</sub>. 2 manifesti] *manifesta* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>. 11 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; *ergo* L<sub>1</sub>. sic] L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. It should probably be *sicut*=ως. The contraction for *sicut* differs very slightly from *sic*. 21 recepit in capite suo] L<sub>2</sub>; *in capite suo recepit* L<sub>1</sub>.

24 *vivere*] So L<sub>1</sub>, as I read it; *unire* L<sub>2</sub>, according to Ussher; but the two words, as contracted, are hardly distinguishable; and he has probably misread it. *quid*] L<sub>1</sub>; *quod* L<sub>2</sub>s.

noster Jesus Christus conceptus est ex Maria secundum dispensationem Dei, ex semine quidem David, Spiritu autem Sancto: qui natus est, et baptizatus est ut passione aquam purificaret.

XIX. Et latuit principem sæculi hujus virginitas Mariæ, et partus ipsius, similiter et mors Domini; tria mysteria clamoris, 5 quæ in silentio Dei operata sunt. Qualiter igitur manifestatus est sæculis? Astrum in cælo resplenduit super omnia astra, et lumen ipsius ineffabile erat, et stuporem tribuit novitas ipsius. Reliqua vero omnia astra, simul cum sole et luna, chorus facta sunt illi astro; ipsum autem erat superferens lumen ipsius super 10 omnia. Turbatio autem erat, unde novitas quæ dissimilis ipsis; ex qua solvebatur omnis magica, et omne vinculum disparuit malitiæ, ignorantia ablata est, vetus regnum corruptum est, Deo humanitus apparente in novitatem æternæ vitæ. Principium autem assumpsit quod apud Deum perfectum. Inde omnia com- 15 mota erant propter meditari mortis dissolutionem.

XX. Si me dignificet Jesus Christus in oratione vestra et voluntas sit, in secundo libello, quem scripturus sum vobis, manifestabo vobis quam inceperam dispensationem in novum hominem Jesum Christum, in ipsius fide et in ipsius dilectione, 20 in passione ipsius et resurrectione; maxime, si Dominus mihi revelet. Quoniam qui secundum virum communiter omnes in gratia ex nomine convenitis in una fide et in Jesu Christo secundum carnem ex genere David, filio hominis et filio Dei, in obedire vos episcopo et presbyterio indiscerpta mente; unum 25 panem frangentes, quod est pharmacum immortalitatis, antidotum ejus quod est non mori sed vivere in Jesu Christo semper.

5 mysteria] *misteria* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. So the word is commonly written in L<sub>1</sub>.  
 12 magica] L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. I have not ventured to substitute *magia* with other editors.  
 13 ignorantia] L<sub>2</sub>; add. *omnis* L<sub>1</sub>. corruptum] L<sub>2</sub>s; *corruptum* L<sub>1</sub>. This MS commonly writes *corumpere*, *corupcio*, *incorruptibilis*, etc.  
 14 æternæ vitæ] L<sub>2</sub>; *vite eterne* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 17 Jesus Christus] L<sub>2</sub>s; *christus jesus* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 18 scripturus sum] L<sub>2</sub>; *scripsi sum* L<sub>1</sub>, the *sum* however being written beyond the line, as if an afterthought.  
 19 manifestabo vobis] L<sub>1</sub>; om. L<sub>2</sub>.  
 20 in ipsius dilectione] L<sub>2</sub>; *dilectione* (om. *in ipsius*) L<sub>1</sub>.  
 21 resurrectione] L<sub>1</sub>; *in resurrectione* L<sub>2</sub>.  
 mihi revelet] L<sub>2</sub>; *revelet mihi* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 25 presbyterio]  $\overline{\text{psbro}}$  L<sub>1</sub>; *presbitero* L<sub>2</sub>s.  
 26 pharmacum] *farmatum* L<sub>1</sub>. antidotum] *antitodum* L<sub>1</sub>.



XXI. Unanimis vobiscum ego, et quem misistis in Dei honorem in Smyrnam; unde et scribo vobis, gratias agens Domino, diligens Polycarpum ut et vos. Mementote mei, ut vestri Jesus Christus. Orate pro ecclesia quæ in Syria; unde  
5 ligatus in Romam abducor, extremus existens eorum qui ibidem fidelium; quemadmodum dignificatus sum in honorem Dei inveniri. Valetate in Deo Patre et in Jesu Christo communi spe nostra.

## 4.

## IGNATIUS MAGNESIIS.

10 I GNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, benedictæ in gratia Dei Patris in Christo Jesu salvatore nostro, in quo saluto ecclesiam existentem in Magnesia ea quæ juxta Mæandrum, et oro in Deo Patre et in Jesu Christo plurimum gaudere.

I. COGNOSCENS vestram multibonam ordinationem ejus quæ secundum Deum caritatis, exultans prælegi in fide Jesu  
15 Christi alloqui vos. Dignificatus enim nomine Deo decentissimo in quibus circumfero vinculis, canto ecclesias, in quibus unionem oro carnis et spiritus Jesu Christi, ad nos semper vivere, fidei-

1 unanimis] L<sub>1</sub>; *unanimus* (apparently) L<sub>2</sub>. quem] So certainly L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>.  
5 ibidem] *ibm̄* L<sub>1</sub>; *ibi* L<sub>2</sub>. 7 valetate] L<sub>2</sub>s; *valere* (apparently) L<sub>1</sub>. 8 nostra] L<sub>1</sub>; add. *amen.* L<sub>2</sub>.

IGNATIUS MAGNESIIS] L<sub>2</sub>; *epistola ignacii ad magnesiis. qualiter honorare debent episcopum qui conformat voluntatem suam deo cujus voluntati subjecti suam debent conformare voluntatem et nichil sine eo operari sicut nec christo sine patre nichil operatus nec apostoli operati sunt. quorum una oratio. una deprecacio et non errare opinionibus et secundum christum vivere* L<sub>1</sub>.

9 Theophorus] L<sub>2</sub>; *theoferus* L<sub>1</sub>. 12 in Jesu] L<sub>2</sub>; *jesu* (om. *in*) L<sub>1</sub>. 14 quæ] L<sub>2</sub>s; *qui* L<sub>1</sub>. 15 Deo decentissimo] L<sub>2</sub>; *deo decentissimum* L<sub>1</sub>. 17 nos] L<sub>2</sub>; *vos* L<sub>1</sub>. The translator seems to have read τοῦ διαπαντός ἡμᾶς (for ἡμῶν) ξην. fideique] L<sub>1</sub>; and this is also the reading of L<sub>2</sub>, which Ussher has imitated in his collation, apparently without being able to decipher it.

que et caritatis, cui nihil præfertur, principalius autem Jesu et Patris, in quo sustinentes omne nocumentum principis sæculi hujus et perfigentes Deo potimur.

II. Quia igitur dignificatus sum videre vos per Damam dignum Deo vestrum episcopum, et presbyteros dignos Bassum 5 et Apollonium, et conservum meum diaconum Zotionem; quo ego fruar, quoniam subjectus est episcopo ut gratiæ Dei, et presbyterio ut legi Jesu Christi.

III. Sed et vos decet non couti ætate episcopi, sed secundum virtutem Dei Patris omnem reverentiam ei tribuere, sicut 10 agnovi et sanctos presbyteros non assumentes apparentem juniorem ordinem, sed ut prudentes in Deo concedentes ipsi; non ipsi autem, sed Patri Jesu Christi omnium episcopo. In honorem igitur illius volentis nos decens est obedire secundum nullam hypocrisim: quia nequaquam episcopum hunc conspectum se- 15 ducit quis, sed invisibilem paralogizat. Tale autem non ad carnem sermo, sed ad Deum abscondita scientem.

IV. Decens igitur est, non solum vocari Christianos, sed et esse: quemadmodum et quidam episcopum quidem vocant, sine ipso autem omnia operantur. Tales autem non bonæ consci- 20 entia mihi esse videntur, propter non firmiter secundum præceptum congregari.

V. Quia igitur finem res habent, et proponuntur duo simul, mors et vita; et unusquisque in proprium locum iturus est: quemadmodum enim sunt numismata duo, hoc quidem Dei, hoc 25 autem mundi, et unumquodque ipsorum proprium characterem superpositum habet; infideles mundi hujus, fideles autem in caritate characterem Dei Patris per Jesum Christum; per quem nisi

4 igitur] *L*<sub>2</sub>; *ergo* *L*<sub>7</sub>. Damam] *dama* *L*<sub>1</sub> *L*<sub>2</sub><sub>s</sub>. Perhaps however the translator left the exact form of the original, as in *Zarbo*, *Mar. Ign. 1*, *Hero* 9. 6 Apollonium] *L*<sub>2</sub>; *apolonium* *L*<sub>7</sub>. Zotionem] *zouonem* *L*<sub>2</sub>; *zenonem* *L*<sub>7</sub>. quo] *L*<sub>2</sub>; *quem* *L*<sub>7</sub>. 8 presbyterio] *pr̄sb̄ro* *L*<sub>1</sub>; *presbitero* *L*<sub>2</sub><sub>s</sub>. Christi] add. *glorificato deum patrem domini jesu christi* *L*<sub>1</sub> *L*<sub>2</sub><sub>s</sub>; see on *Ephes. 1*. 10 reverentiam ei] *L*<sub>2</sub>; *ei reverentiam* *L*<sub>7</sub>. 11 et] *L*<sub>2</sub>; om. *L*<sub>7</sub>. juniorem] *L*<sub>7</sub>; *minorem* *L*<sub>2</sub>. 14 volentis] *L*<sub>2</sub>; *volentes* *L*<sub>7</sub>. 15 hypocrisim] *ipocrisim* *L*<sub>1</sub>; *ypocrisim* *L*<sub>2</sub>. 16 invisibilem] *L*<sub>2</sub>; *invisibile* *L*<sub>7</sub>. paralogizat] *L*<sub>2</sub><sub>s</sub>; *parologizat* *L*<sub>7</sub>. 19 et quidam] *L*<sub>2</sub>; *quidam* (om. *et*) *L*<sub>7</sub>. quidem] *L*<sub>2</sub>; om. *L*<sub>7</sub>. 20 tales autem] *L*<sub>2</sub>; *tales* (om. *autem*) *L*<sub>7</sub>. 26 characterem] *caracterem* *L*<sub>1</sub> *L*<sub>2</sub><sub>s</sub>; and so again just below.

voluntarie habeamus mori in ipsius passionem, vivere ipsius non est in nobis.

VI. Quia igitur in præscriptis personis omnem multitudinem speculatus sum in fide et dilectione, moneo in concordia  
 5 Dei studete omnia operari; præside[n]te episcopo in loco Dei, et presbyteris in loco consessionis apostolorum, et diaconis mihi dulcissimis habentibus creditam ministracionem Jesu Christi, qui ante sæcula apud Patrem erat et in fine apparuit. Omnes igitur eandem consuetudinem Dei accipientes, veneremini adinvicem;  
 10 et nullus secundum carnem aspiciat proximum, sed in Jesu Christo adinvicem semper diligite. Nihil sit in vobis, quod possit vos partiri, sed uniamini episcopo et præside[n]tibus in typum et doctrinam incorruptionis.

VII. Quemadmodum igitur Dominus sine Patre nihil fecit,  
 15 unitus existens, neque per seipsum neque per apostolos; sic neque vos sine episcopo et presbyteris aliquid operemini. Neque temptetis rationabile aliquid apparere proprie vobis: sed in idipsum una oratio, una deprecatio, unus intellectus, una spes, in caritate, in gaudio incoinquinato; quod est Christus Jesus, quo  
 20 melius nihil est. Omnes ut in unum templum concurrite Dei; ut in unum altare, in unum Jesum Christum, ab uno Patre exeuntem, et in unum existentem et revertentem.

VIII. Non erretis extraneis opinionibus, neque fabulis veteribus inutilibus existentibus. Si enim usque nunc secundum  
 25 Judaismum vivimus, confitemur gratiam non recepisse: divinisimi enim prophetæ secundum Christum Jesum vixerunt. Propter hoc et persecutionem passi sunt, inspirati a gratia ipsius, ad certificari impersuasos quoniam unus Deus est qui manifestavit seipsum per Jesum Christum filium ipsius; qui est ipsius Ver-

4 in fide et dilectione] written twice in L<sub>1</sub>.      5 studete] L<sub>2</sub>s; *studite* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 7 creditam] L<sub>2</sub>; L<sub>1</sub> adds *dis*.      9 veneremini] L<sub>2</sub>; and so apparently L<sub>1</sub> (not *veneremur*).  
 10 Jesu Christo] L<sub>2</sub>s; *christo jesu* L<sub>1</sub>.      12 uniamini] L<sub>2</sub>; *unanimes* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 14 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>.      17 rationabile] L<sub>2</sub>; *rationale* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 19 quod] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. The translator seems to have read *ōs* or *ō* for *ēis*.      21 in unum J. C.] L<sub>1</sub>; *ut in unum* J. C. L<sub>2</sub>.  
 28 certificari] *πληροφορηθῆναι*; *certificare* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s.

bum æternum non a silentio progrediens, qui secundum omnia beneplacuit mittenti ipsum.

IX. Si igitur in veteribus rebus conversati in novitatem spei venerunt, non amplius sabbatizantes, sed secundum dominicam viventes, in qua et vita nostra orta est per ipsum et mortem ipsius, quod quidam negant; per quod mysterium accepimus credere, et propter hoc sustinemus, ut inveniamur discipuli Jesu Christi, solius doctoris nostri; quomodo nos poterimus vivere sine ipso? cujus et prophetæ discipuli existentes spiritu ipsum ut doctorem expectabant; et propter hoc, quem juste expectabant, præsens suscitavit ipsos ex mortuis.

X. Non igitur non sentiamus benignitatem ipsius. Si enim nos persequatur secundum quod operamur, non amplius sumus. Propter hoc discipuli ejus effecti discamus secundum Christianismum vivere. Qui enim alio nomine vocatur amplius ab hoc, non est Dei. Deponite igitur malum fermentum inveteratum et exacescens, et transponite in novum fermentum, qui est Jesus Christus. Salificemini in ipso, ut non corrumpatur aliquis in vobis, quia ab odore redarguemini. Inconveniens est Jesum Christum profari, et Judaizare. Christianismus enim non in Judaismum credidit, sed Judaismus in Christianismum: ut *omnis lingua* credens in Deum congregaretur.

XI. Hæc autem, dilecti mei, non quia cognovi aliquos ex vobis sic habentes; sed, ut minor vobis, volo præservari vos, ut non incidatis in hamos vanæ gloriæ, sed certificemini in nati- tate et passione et resurrectione facta in tempore ducatus Pontii Pilati; quæ facta sunt vere et firmiter a Jesu Christo spe nostra, a qua averti nulli vestrum fiat.

1 a] L<sub>1</sub>; in L<sub>2</sub>. 4 sabbatizantes] *sabatizantes* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 11 præsens] L<sub>1</sub>; *prius* L<sub>2</sub>. 16 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; *ergo* L<sub>1</sub>. 17 exacescens] *exacuens* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. Since *exacuens* has a different meaning, I have restored *exacescens* corresponding to the Greek *ἐνοχλοῦσθαι*, as suggested by Pearson. 18 salificemini] *ἀλοθῆτε*; *salvificemini* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. Pearson pointed out the true reading. 19 quia] *ἐπεὶ*; *qui* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. redarguemini] L<sub>1</sub>; *redarguimini* L<sub>2</sub>. 20 profari] *perfari* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. See *perditio*, *proditio*, above, *Ephes.* 13. non in] L<sub>1</sub>; non (om. in) L<sub>2</sub>. 22 congregaretur] L<sub>2</sub>s; *congregetur* L<sub>1</sub>. 24 minor] L<sub>2</sub>; junior L<sub>1</sub>. 26 passione et] L<sub>2</sub>; *passione domini* L<sub>1</sub>, apparently, but it is confusedly written and not certainly legible.

XII. Fruar vobis secundum omnia; siquidem dignus sim. Etsi enim ligatus sum, ad unum solutorum de vobis non sum. Novi quoniam non inflamini; Jesum enim Christum habetis in vobismetipsis. Et magis quando utique laudo vos, novi quoniam verecundamini: sicut scriptum est quoniam *Fustus sui ipsius accusator*.

XIII. Studete igitur firmari in dogmatibus Domini et apostolorum, ut *omnia quaecunque facitis prosperentur*, carne et spiritu, fide et caritate, in Filio et Patre et in Spiritu, in principio et in fine, cum digne decentissimo episcopo vestro et digne complexa spirituali corona presbyterii vestri et eorum qui secundum Deum diaconorum. Subiicimini episcopo et adinvicem, ut Jesus Christus Patri secundum carnem, et apostoli Christo et Patri et Spiritui; ut unio sit carnalis et spiritualis.

XIV. Sciens quoniam Deo pleni estis, compendiose deprecatus sum vos. Mementote mei in orationibus vestris, ut Deo fruam; et ejus quæ in Syria ecclesiæ, unde non dignus sum vocari. Superindigeo enim unita vestra in Deo oratione et caritate in dignificari eam quæ in Syria ecclesiam per ecclesiam vestram irrorari.

XV. Salutant vos Ephesii a Smyrna, unde et scribo vobis, præsentem in gloriam Dei, quemadmodum et vos: qui secundum omnia me quiescere fecerunt, simul cum Polycarpo episcopo Smyrnæorum. Sed et reliquæ ecclesiæ in honore Jesu Christi salutant vos. Valetate in concordia Dei, possidentes inseparabilem spiritum, qui est Jesus Christus.

6 accusator] L<sub>2</sub>; add. *est* L<sub>1</sub>.  
(om. *in*) L<sub>1</sub>; *in spiritu sancto* L<sub>2</sub>.

12 episcopo] L<sub>2</sub>s; *ipso* L<sub>1</sub>. See above, p. 593 sq.

17 quæ] L<sub>2</sub>s; *qui* L<sub>1</sub>.

in dignificari] L<sub>2</sub>. For *in* the scribe of L<sub>1</sub> has first written *et*. The *in* is superposed, without obliterating the traces of *et*.

8 ut] L<sub>2</sub>; *et* L<sub>1</sub>.

9 in principio] L<sub>2</sub>; *et in principio* L<sub>1</sub>.

14 sit carnalis] L<sub>2</sub>; *carnalis*

dignus sum] L<sub>2</sub>; *sum dignus* L<sub>1</sub>.

19

20 irrorari] L<sub>2</sub>; *irrori* L<sub>1</sub>.

## 5.

## IGNATIUS PHILADELPHICIS.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, ecclesiæ Dei Patris et Jesu Christi quæ est in Philadelphia Asiæ, habenti propitiationem et firmatæ in concordia Dei, et exultanti in passione Domini nostri inseparabiliter, et in resurrectione ipsius certificatæ in omni misericordia; quam saluto in sanguine Jesu Christi qui est 5 gaudium æternum et incoinquatum; maxime si in uno simus cum episcopo et eis qui cum ipso presbyteris et diaconis manifestatis in sententia Jesu Christi, quos secundum propriam voluntatem firmavit in firmitudine Sancto ipsius Spiritu.

I. QUEM episcopum cognovi non a seipso neque per homi- 10 nes possedisse administrationem in commune convenientem, neque secundum inanem gloriam, sed in caritate Dei Patris et Domini Jesu Christi; cujus obstupui mansuetudinem, qui silens plura potest his qui vana loquuntur. Concordes enim estis man- 15 datis, ut chordis cithara. Propter quod beatificat mea anima eam quæ in Deum ipsius sententiam, cognoscens virtuosam et perfectam existentem, immobile ipsius et inirascibile in omni mansuetudine Dei viventis.

IGNATIUS PHILADELPHICIS] *ignatius philadelphis* (sic) L<sub>2</sub>; *epistola ignacii philadelphicis quinta* L<sub>1</sub>.

1 Theophorus] L<sub>2</sub>; *theoferus* L<sub>1</sub>.      2 Philadelphia] L<sub>2</sub>s; *philadelphia* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 3 Domini nostri] L<sub>2</sub>; *domini jesu christi* L<sub>1</sub>.      6 simus] L<sub>2</sub>; *sumus* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 7 cum ipso] L<sub>2</sub>; *in ipso* L<sub>1</sub>, but there is an erasure in the first word.  
 9 ipsius Spiritu] L<sub>2</sub>; *spiritu ipsius* L<sub>1</sub>.      14 his] *hiis* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s.      concordes...  
 estis] As if the translator had read *συνευρύθμισθε* or *συνευρύθμισθε* for *συνευρύθμισται*.  
 15 chordis] *cordis* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s.      16 Deum] *θεόν*; *domini* L<sub>2</sub>s. *Deum* must have stood in the original text of the translator, and so I read L<sub>1</sub>; but *dñi* (= *deum*) and *dñi* (= *domini*) are hardly distinguishable; and it has hitherto been read *domini*.

II. *Filii* igitur *lucis* veritatis, fugite partitionem et malas doctrinas: ubi autem pastor est, illic ut oves sequimini. Multi enim lupi fide digni delectatione mala captivant in Deum cursores; sed in unitate vestra non habent locum.

5 III. Recedite a malis herbis, quas non colit Jesus Christus; propter non esse ipsos plantationem Patris. Non quoniam apud vos partitionem inveni, sed abstractionem. Quotquot enim Dei sunt et Jesu Christi, isti cum episcopo sunt; et quotquot utique pœnitentes veniunt in unitatem ecclesiæ, et isti Dei erunt, ut  
10 sint secundum Jesum Christum viventes. Non erretis, fratres mei. Si quis schisma facientem sequitur, *regnum Dei non hæreditat*; si quis in aliena sententia circumambulat, iste passioni non concordat.

IV. Studete igitur una gratiarum actione uti. Una enim  
15 caro Domini nostri Jesu Christi et unus calix in unionem sanguinis ipsius, unum altare, ut unus episcopus cum presbyterio et diaconis conservis meis; ut quod facitis, secundum Deum faciatis.

V. Fratres mei, valde effusus sum diligens vos, et superex-  
20 ultans corroboro vos; non ego autem, sed Jesus Christus, in quo vinctus timeo magis, ut adhuc existens imperfectus. Sed oratio vestra me perficiet, ut in qua hæreditate propitiationem habuero, potiar, confugiens evangelio ut carni Jesu, et apostolis ut presbyterio ecclesiæ. Sed et prophetas diligamus, propter et ipsos in  
25 evangelium annunciasse et in ipsum sperare et ipsum expectare; in quo et credentes salvati sunt in unitate Jesu Christi, existentes digne dilecti et digne admirabiles sancti, a Jesu Christo testificati et connumerati in evangelio communis spei.

VI. Si autem Judaismum interpretetur vobis, non audiatis  
30 ipsum. Melius est enim a viro circumcisionem habente Christianismum audire, quam ab habente præputium Judaismum.

1 lucis]  $L_2$ ; add. *et*  $L_1$ .      8 episcopo] *ipso*  $L_1 L_2 S$ ; see above, p. 593 sq.  
11 schisma] *scisma*  $L_1 L_2 S$ .      16 ut] *ὡς*; *et*  $L_1 L_2 S$ .      presbyterio] *ἱερό*  $L_1$ ;  
*presbitero*  $L_2 S$ .      17 secundum deum faciatis]  $L_1$ ; om.  $L_2$ .      20 Jesus  
Christus]  $L_2 S$ ; *christus jesus*  $L_1$ .      21 vinctus]  $L_2$ ; *unitus* (apparently)  $L_1$ .  
23 presbyterio] *ἱερό*  $L_1$ ; *presbiterio*  $L_2 S$ .      25 in ipsum]  $L_2$ ; *in christum*  $L_1$ .  
27 a]  $L_1$ ; add. *atque*  $L_2$ ; at least so I read Ussher's writing.

Si autem utrique de Jesu Christo non loquantur, isti mihi columnæ sunt et sepulcra mortuorum, in quibus scripta sunt solum nomina hominum. Fugite igitur malas artes et insidias principis sæculi hujus; ne forte tribulati sententia ipsius infirmemini in caritate. Sed et omnes in idipsum fiatis in impartibili corde. Gratias autem ago Deo meo, quoniam bonam habens conscientiam ego sum in vobis, et non habet aliquis gloriari, neque occulte neque manifeste, quoniam gravavi aliquem in parvo vel in magno. Sed et omnibus in quibus locutus sum oro, ut non in testimonium ipsum possideant.

VII. Si enim et secundum carnem me quidam voluerunt seducere, sed spiritus non seducitur, a Deo existens: *novit enim unde venit et quo vadit*, et occulta redarguit. Clamavi in intermedio existens; locutus sum magna voce, Dei voce, Episcopo attendite et presbyterio et diaconis. Quidam autem suspicati me ut præscientem divisionem quorundam dicere hæc; testis autem mihi in quo vinctus sum, quoniam a carne humana non cognovi. Spiritus autem prædicavit, dicens hæc: Sine episcopo nihil faciatis. Carnem vestram ut templum Dei servate. Unitatem diligite: divisiones fugite. Imitatores estote Jesu Christi, ut et ipse Patris ipsius.

VIII. Ego quidem igitur proprium faciebam, ut homo in unitatem perfectus. Ubi autem divisio est et ira, Deus non habitat. Omnibus igitur pœnitentibus dimittit Dominus, si pœniteant in unitatem Dei et concilium episcopi. Credo gratiæ Jesu Christi, qui solvet a vobis omne vinculum. Deprecor autem vos nihil secundum contentionem facere, sed secundum Christi dis-

1 columnæ] *columbe* L<sub>1</sub>. 2 et] L<sub>2</sub>; *illi* L<sub>1</sub>, but *illi* extends beyond the line and has been written afterwards upon an erasure. The original word may have been *et solum*] L<sub>2</sub>; *sola* L<sub>1</sub>. 3 insidias principis sæculi hujus] L<sub>2</sub>; *principis hujus sæculi insidias* L<sub>1</sub>. 5 in impartibili] L<sub>1</sub>; *impartibili* (om. *in*) L<sub>2</sub>. 7 aliquis] L<sub>2</sub>; *alias* L<sub>1</sub>. 9 et omnibus] L<sub>1</sub>; *omnibus* (om. *et*) L<sub>2</sub>. in quibus] L<sub>2</sub>; *quibus* (om. *in*) L<sub>1</sub>. 11 quidam] L<sub>2</sub>; *quidem* L<sub>1</sub>. voluerunt] L<sub>2</sub>; *voluerint* L<sub>1</sub>. 13 et quo] *aut quo* L<sub>1</sub>; *in quo* L<sub>2</sub>. 15 presbyterio] *psbrō* L<sub>1</sub>; *presbyterio* L<sub>2</sub>s. suspicati] L<sub>1</sub>; add. *sunt* L<sub>2</sub>. 17 quoniam] L<sub>1</sub>; *quia* L<sub>2</sub>s. 22 quidem igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; *igitur quidem* L<sub>1</sub>. 23 perfectus] L<sub>2</sub>s; *perfectis* L<sub>1</sub>. 24 Dominus] L<sub>1</sub>; *deus* L<sub>2</sub>s. 25 concilium] L<sub>1</sub>; *consilium* L<sub>2</sub>. 27 nihil secundum contentionem] L<sub>2</sub>; *secundum contencionem nichil* L<sub>1</sub>.



ciplinam. Quia audivi quosdam dicentes quoniam Si non in veteribus invenio, in evangelio non credo: et dicente me ipsis quoniam Scriptum est, responderunt mihi quoniam Præjacet. Mihi autem principium est Jesus Christus; inapproximabilia  
5 principia crux ipsius et mors et resurrectio ipsius, et fides quæ per ipsum; in quibus volo in oratione vestra justificari.

IX. Boni et sacerdotes, melius autem princeps sacerdotum, cui credita sunt sancta sanctorum, cui soli credita sunt occulta Dei, qui ipse est janua Patris per quam ingrediuntur Abraham  
10 et Isaac et Jacob et prophetæ et apostoli et ecclesia: omnia hæc in unitatem Dei. Præcipuum autem aliquid habet evangelium, præsentiam salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi, passionem ipsius, resurrectionem. Dilecti enim prophetæ annuncia-  
verunt in ipsum; evangelium autem perfectio est incorruptionis.  
15 Omnia simul bona sunt, si in caritate creditis.

X. Quia secundum orationem vestram, et secundum viscera misericordiæ quæ habetis in Christo Jesu, annunciatum est mihi pacem habere ecclesiam quæ est in Antiochia Syriæ, decens est vos, ut ecclesiam Dei, ordinare diaconum ad intercedendum illic  
20 Dei intercessionem, in congaudere ipsis in idipsum factis et glorificare nomen. Beatus in Jesu Christo, qui dignificabitur tali ministracione; et vos glorificabimini. Volentibus autem vobis non est impossibile pro nomine Dei; ut et quædam propinquæ ecclesiæ miserunt episcopos, quædam autem presbyteros et  
25 diaconos.

XI. De Philone autem diacono a Cilicia, viro testimonium habente, qui et nunc in verbo Dei ministrat mihi, cum Reo Agathopode viro electo, qui a Syria me sequitur abrenunciens sæculo; qui et testificantur vobis: et ego Deo gratias ago pro  
30 vobis, quoniam recepistis ipsos; ut et vos Dominus. Qui autem

1 non in veteribus] L<sub>2</sub>; in veteribus non L<sub>1</sub>. 2 ipsis] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 5 crux ipsius] L<sub>2</sub>; ipsius crux L<sub>1</sub>. 7 autem] L<sub>1</sub>; add. et L<sub>2</sub>. 10 et Isaac] L<sub>2</sub>; Isaac (om. et) L<sub>1</sub>. 11 Dei] Θεοῦ; fidei L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 13 resurrectionem] L<sub>1</sub>; et resurrectionem L<sub>2</sub>. 21 tali] L<sub>2</sub>; in tali L<sub>1</sub>. 23 propinquæ ecclesiæ] L<sub>2</sub>; ecclesie propinqua (or propinque?) L<sub>1</sub>. Was the original reading *proxima ecclesiæ*, a literal translation of ἐγγιστα ἐκκλησίαι, the contractions of *propinqua* and *proxima* being easily confused? 29 pro] L<sub>1</sub>; de L<sub>2</sub>.

inhonoraverunt ipsos, liberentur in gratia Jesu Christi. Salutatur vos caritas multorum qui in Troade; unde et scribo vobis per Burrum, missum mecum ab Ephesiis et Smyrnæis in verbum honoris. Honoret ipsos Dominus Jesus Christus, in quem sperent carne, anima, spiritu, fide, caritate, concordia. Valet in 5 Christo Jesu, communi spe nostra.

## 6.

## IGNATIUS TRALESIIS.

**I**GNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, dilectæ Deo patri Jesu Christi ecclesiæ sanctæ existenti in Tralesiis Asiæ, electæ et Deo dignæ, pacem habenti in carne et sanguine et passione Jesu Christi spei nostræ, in ea quæ in ipsum resurrectione; 10 quam et saluto in plenitudine, in apostolico caractere, et oro plurimum gaudere.

I. INCOINQUINATAM mentem et inseparabilem in sustinentia cognovi vos habentes, non secundum usum sed secundum naturam; quemadmodum ostendit mihi Polybius episcopus 15 vester, qui advenit voluntate Dei et Jesu Christi in Smyrna; et sic mihi congavisus est vincto in Christo Jesu, ut ego omnem multitudinem vestram in ipso speculer. Recipiens igitur eam quæ secundum Deum æquanimitatem per ipsum, gloriatus sum inveniens vos, ut cognovi, imitatores Dei. 20

II. Quando enim episcopo subjecti estis ut Jesu Christo, videmini mihi non secundum homines viventes sed secundum

IGNATIUS TRALESIIS] L<sub>2</sub>; *epistola 6a ignacii tralesiis asiæ. quomodo multitudo subjectorum cognoscatur per episcopum bonum. et subjecti nihil agant sine episcopo, sicut nec apostoli sine christo* L<sub>1</sub>.

7 Theophorus] L<sub>2</sub>; *theoforus* L<sub>1</sub>. 8 Tralesiis] So L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 11 caractere] *caractere* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 15 Polybius] *polibius* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 18 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; *ergo* L<sub>1</sub>. 21 Quando] L<sub>1</sub>; *quum* L<sub>2</sub>s.

Jesum Christum propter vos mortuum, ut credentes in mortem ipsius mori effugiatis. Necessarium igitur est, quemadmodum facitis, sine episcopo nihil operari vos, sed subjici et presbyterio ut apostolis Jesu Christi, spei nostræ, in quo conversantes in-  
5 veniamur. Oportet autem et diaconos, ministros existentes mysteriorum Jesu Christi, secundum omnem modum omnibus placere; non enim ciborum et potuum sunt ministri, sed ecclesiæ Dei ministri. Opportunum igitur eos observare accusa-  
tiones, ut ignem.

10 III. Similiter et omnes revereantur diaconos ut mandatum Jesu Christi, et episcopum ut Jesum Christum, existentem filium Patris; presbyteros autem, ut concilium Dei et conjunctionem, apostolorum. Sine his ecclesia non vocatur: de quibus suadeor vos sic habere. Exemplarium enim caritatis  
15 vestræ accepi et habeo cum meipso in episcopo vestro; cujus ipsa compositio magna est disciplinatio, mansuetudo autem ipsius potentia; quem existimo et impios revereri: diligentes quod non parco ipsum aliqualem, potens scribere pro illo: in hoc existimer, ut existens condemnatus, velut apostolus vobis  
20 præcipiam.

IV. Multa sapio in Deo; sed meipsum mensuro, ut non in gloriatione perdar. Nunc enim me oportet plus timere, et non attendere infantibus me; dicentes enim mihi flagellant me. Diligo quidem enim pati, sed non novi si dignus sum. Zelus  
25 enim multis quidem non apparet, me autem plus oppugnat. Indigeo igitur mansuetudine, in qua dissolvitur princeps sæculi hujus.

V. Nonne possum vobis supercælestia scribere? sed timeo

2 mori]  $L_1$ ; *morti*  $L_2$ .      3 subjici et]  $L_2$ ; *subici* (om. et)  $L_1$ .      pres-  
byterio]  $\bar{\rho}\bar{s}\bar{b}\bar{r}\bar{o}$   $L_1$ ; *presbyterio*  $L_2$ s.      8 opportunum] *oportunum*  $L_1$   $L_2$ .      eos]  
 $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$ ; vos  $L_1$   $L_2$ s.      10 diaconos]  $L_2$ s; *diacones*  $L_1$ .      13 Sine]  $L_1$ ;      *cui sine*  $L_2$ .      his] *hiis*  $L_1$   $L_2$ s.      14 suadeor]  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$ ; *suadeo*  $L_1$   $L_2$ s.  
The translator doubtless wrote *suadeor*, though correct diction would require *mihi suadetur*.  
exemplarium] *exemplarium*  $L_1$   $L_2$ s.      19 existens]  $L_2$ ;  
om.  $L_1$ .      22 me oportet]  $L_2$ ; *oportet me*  $L_1$ .      26 igitur]  $L_2$ s; *ergo*  
(apparently)  $L_1$ .      sæculi hujus]  $L_2$ ; *hujus sæculi*  $L_1$ .

ne parvulis existentibus vobis damnum apponam. Et condonate mihi, ne forte non potentes capere strangulemini. Etenim ego non secundum quodcunque ligatus sum, sed potens supercælestia et loci positiones angelicas et constitutiones principatorias, visibiliaque et invisibilia, præter hoc jam et discipulus 5 sum. Multa enim nobis deficiunt, ut Deo non deficiamus.

VI. Deprecor igitur vos, non ego, sed caritas Jesu Christi, solo Christiano alimento utamini; ab aliena autem herba recedite, quæ est hæresis, quæ et inquinatis implicat Jesum Christum: quemadmodum mortiferum pharmacum dantes cum vino 10 mellito; quod qui ignorat, delectabiliter accipit, et in delectatione mala mori.

VII. Observemini igitur a talibus. Hoc autem erit vobis non inflatis, et existentibus inseparabilibus a Deo Jesu Christo et episcopo et ordinibus apostolorum. Qui intra altare est, 15 mundus est: qui vero extra altare est, non mundus est: hoc est, qui sine episcopo et presbyterio et diacono operatur aliquid, iste non mundus est in conscientia.

VIII. Non quia cognovi tale quid in vobis, sed præservo

1 damnum] *dampnum* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. So the word is commonly written in L<sub>1</sub>; see above on *Ephes.* 5.      apponam] L<sub>1</sub>; *opponam* L<sub>2</sub>.      2 forte non] L<sub>1</sub>; *forte* (om. *non*) L<sub>2</sub>.      4 supercælestia] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>. In L<sub>1</sub> *supercelestia* is contracted *srcelestia*, this being a common contraction of *super*. There is no authority for *scire caelestia*, which arises from misreading the contraction. The rendering of *ἐπουράνια* is not *caelestia*, but *supercaelestia*, as it is given a few lines above; comp. *superindigeo*, *ἐπιδέομαι*, *Magn.* 14. The coincidence that some Greek texts (correctly) have *νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια* has encouraged this misreading of the Latin.      principatorias] *principatias* L<sub>2</sub>; *principa<sup>nas</sup>* (apparently) L<sub>1</sub>. Some adjective is wanted to represent the Greek *ἀρχουρικός*. If my conjecture *principatorias* (comp. *administratorius* = *λειτουργικός*, *Hero* 7) is a new coinage, this is the case also with *principationes* which is generally given as the reading of the Latin here. The former more nearly represents the original, and also better explains the phenomena of the mss.      5 præter] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. Perhaps however we should read *propter*, as *præter hoc* is a wrong translation of *παρὰ τοῦτο*, and the two words when contracted are easily confused.      jam et] L<sub>2</sub>; *et jam* L<sub>1</sub>.      6 nobis] *vobis* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s.      8 Christiano alimento] L<sub>2</sub>; *alimento christiano* L<sub>1</sub>.      10 quemadmodum] written twice in L<sub>1</sub>.      pharmacum] *farmacum* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s.      11 et in delectatione mala] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. This reading is confirmed by a marginal gloss in L<sub>2</sub>, *et in delectatione mala, supple, accipit mori*.      13 erit vobis] *erit a vobis* L<sub>1</sub>; *vobis* (om. *erit*) L<sub>2</sub>.      17 presbyterio] *psbrō* L<sub>1</sub>; *presbitero* L<sub>2</sub>s.      18 mundus est] L<sub>2</sub>; *est mundus* L<sub>1</sub>.

vos existentes meos dilectos, prævidens insidias diaboli. Vos igitur, mansuetam patientiam resumentes, recreate vosmetipsos in fide, quod est caro Domini, et in caritate, quod est sanguis Jesu Christi. Nullus vestrum adversus proximum aliquid habet. Non occasiones detis gentibus, ut non propter paucos insipientes ea quæ in Deo multitudo blasphemetur. *Væ enim per quem in vanitate nomen meum in aliquibus blasphematur.*

IX. Obsurdescite igitur, quando vobis sine Jesu Christo loquitur quis; qui ex genere David, qui ex Maria; qui vere natus est, comedit et bibit; vere persecutionem passus est sub Pontio Pilato; vere crucifixus est et mortuus est, adspicientibus cælestibus et terrestribus et infernalibus; qui et vere resurrexit a mortuis, resuscitante ipsum Patre ipsius; qui et secundum similitudinem nos credentes ipsi sic resuscitabit Pater ipsius in Christo Jesu, sine quo verum vivere non habemus.

X. Si autem, quemadmodum quidam sine Deo existentes, hoc est infideles, dicunt secundum videri passum esse ipsum, ipsi existentes secundum videri; ego quid vinctus sum? quid autem et oro cum bestiis pugnare? Gratis igitur morior: ergo non reprehendor mendacii a Domino?

XI. Fugite ergo malas propagines generantes fructum mortiferum; quem si gustet quis, statim moritur. Isti enim non sunt plantatio Patris: si enim essent, apparerent utique rami crucis, et esset utique fructus ipsorum incorruptibilis, per quem in passione ipsius advocat vos, existentes membra ipsius. Non potest igitur caput nasci sine membris, Deo unionem repromittente, quod est ipse.

XII. Saluto vos a Smyrna cum compræsentibus mihi ecclesiis Dei; qui secundum omnia me quiescere fecerunt carne et spiritu. Deprecantur vos vincula mea, quæ pro Jesu Christo fero petens Deo frui. Permanete in concordia vestra, et ea quæ cum adinvicem oratione. Decet enim vos singulos, præcipue et presbyteros, refrigerare episcopum in honorem Patris Jesu

1 diaboli. Vos igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; diaboli in vos. Igitur L<sub>1</sub>. 18 ego quid] L<sub>1</sub>; ego quidem L<sub>2</sub>. 19 et] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. igitur] L<sub>2</sub>S; ergo L<sub>1</sub>. 23 si enim] L<sub>2</sub>; si utique L<sub>1</sub>. 24 ipsorum] L<sub>2</sub>; illorum L<sub>1</sub>. 31 Permanete] permanere L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>S.

Christi et apostolorum. Oro vos in caritate audire me, ut non in testimonium sim in vobis scribens. Sed et pro me orate, ea quæ a vobis caritate indigente in misericordia Dei, ad dignificari me hæreditate qua conor potiri, ut non reprobus inveniar.

XIII. Salutatur vos caritas Smyrnæorum et Ephesiorum. 5 Mementote in orationibus vestris ejus quæ in Syria ecclesiæ; unde non dignus sum dici, existens extremus illorum. Valete in Jesu Christo, subjecti episcopo ut Dei mandato, similiter et presbyterio. Et singuli adinvicem diligite in impartibili corde. Castificate vestrum meum spiritum, non solum nunc, sed et 10 quando utique Deo fruar. Adhuc enim sub periculo sum: sed fidelis Pater in Jesu Christo implere meam petitionem et vestram; in quo inveniamini incoinquinati.

## 7.

## MARIA PROSELYTA IGNATIO.

MARIA proselyta Jesu Christi Ignatio Theophoro, beatissimo episcopo ecclesiæ apostolicæ ejus quæ secundum 15 Antiochiam, in Deo Patre et Jesu dilecto gaudere et valere.

I. SEMPER tibi oramus secundum quod in ipso gaudium et sanitatem. Quia miraculis et apud nos Christus cognitus est filius esse Dei viventis, et in posterioribus temporibus in-

4 hæreditate] L<sub>2</sub>; *in hereditate* L<sub>1</sub>.      7 dignus sum] L<sub>2</sub>; *sum dignus* L<sub>1</sub>.      9  
presbyterio] L<sub>2</sub>S; *presbitero* L<sub>1</sub>.      11 utique Deo] L<sub>2</sub>; *deo utique* L<sub>1</sub>.      12  
Jesu Christo] L<sub>2</sub>; *christo jesu* L<sub>1</sub>.      meam petitionem] L<sub>2</sub>; *petitionem*  
*meam* L<sub>1</sub>.

MARIA PROSELYTA IGNATIO] *epistola marie proselite chassaobolorum ad ignatium episcopum antiochie* L<sub>2</sub>; *epistola marie proselite thassaobolorum ad ignacium episcopum antiochie ut mittat quosdam juvenes predicatorum ad eam et quod non diffidat de eis quia carnem (?) passionis vicerunt, sicut salomon 12 annorum sapientia sua placuit deo. josias rex et david rex* L<sub>1</sub>.

14 proselyta] *proselita* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>S.      Theophoro] *theophero* L<sub>2</sub>S; *theofero*  
L<sub>1</sub>.      17 secundum quod] L<sub>1</sub>; *secundum illud quod* L<sub>2</sub>.

humanatum esse per virginem Mariam ex semine David et Abraham, secundum eas quæ de ipso ab ipso prædictæ sunt voces a prophetarum choro; hujus gratia deprecamur, dignificantes mitti nobis a tuo intellectu Marim amicum nostrum, 5 episcopum Emelapes Neapoleos ejus quæ ad Zarbo, et Eulogium et Sobelum presbyterum, ut non simus desolati præpositis divini verbi; quemadmodum et Moyses dicit, *Provideat Dominus Deus hominem qui ducat populum hunc, et non erit synagoga Domini ut oves quibus non est pastor.*

10 II. Pro eo autem quod juvenes sunt præscripti formides nihil, o beate; cognoscere enim te volo, quod sapiunt super carnem et ipsius passiones non sentiunt ipsi in seipsis, recenti juventute sacerdotii refulgentes canitie. Perscrutare autem cogitationem tuam per datum tibi a Deo per Christum spiri- 15 tum ipsius; et cognosces quod Samuel, parvus puerulus, Videns vocatus est, et choro prophetarum connumeratus presbyterum Heli transgressionis redarguit; quoniam insanientes filios Deo omnium causæ præhonoravit, et ludentes in sacerdotium et in populum luxuriantes dimisit impunitos.

20 III. Daniel autem sapiens, juvenis existens, judicavit crudeles senes quosdam, ostendens adulteros ipsos et non seniores esse, et genere Judæos existentes modo Chananæos existere. Et Jeremias, propter juventutem renuens tributam ipsi a Deo prophetiam, audit; *Non dicas quoniam Junior sum; 25 quia ad omnes quoscunque mittam te ibis, et secundum omnia quæcunque mando tibi loqueris; quia tecum ego sum.* Salomon autem sapiens, duodecim existens annorum, intellexit magnam ignorantiam mulierum de suis filiis quæstionem; ut omnis populus obstupesceret de tanta pueri sapientia, et timeret non ut

5 ad Zarbo] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. I have not ventured to alter it, thinking that the translator may have retained the exact form of the original, *ἡρὸς Ζαρββῆ*, from ignorance of the correct form of the name, as in *Hero* 9; comp. *Dama* in *Magn.* 2. 6 præpositis divini verbi] L<sub>2</sub>; *divini verbi prepositis* L<sub>1</sub>. 9 erit] L<sub>1</sub>; *est* L<sub>2</sub>. synagoga] L<sub>2</sub>; *sinagoga* L<sub>1</sub>. 14 cogitationem] L<sub>2</sub>; and this also (not *cognitionem*) seems to be the reading of L<sub>1</sub>, where it is contracted *cogitonē*. 18 omnium] L<sub>2</sub>; *omni* (apparently) L<sub>1</sub>. 24 ipsi] L<sub>2</sub>; *sibi* L<sub>1</sub>. 26 Salomon] *salamon* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 29 timeret] L<sub>2</sub>; *timerent* (apparently) L<sub>1</sub>.

puerum, sed ut perfectum virum. Ænigmata autem Æthiopum reginæ, lationem habentia quemadmodum Nili fluentia, sic solvit, ut extra seipsam fieret ipsa sic sapiens.

IV. Josias autem Dei amator, inarticulate fere adhuc loquens, redarguit malo spiritu detentos, quod falsiloqui et 5 populi seductores existunt: dæmonumque revelat deceptionem, et eos non existentes deos demonstrat, et sacratos ipsis, puer existens, interficit, delubraque ipsorum evertit, et altaria mortuis reliquiis inquinat, templaque delet, et saltus succidit, et columnas conterit, et impiorum sepulcra suffodit; ut neque signum 10 amplius malorum existat. Sic quidam zelotes erat religionis et impiorum punitor, adhuc balbutiens lingua. David autem, propheta simul et rex, salvatoris secundum carnem radix, puer ungitur a Samuele in regem. Ait enim alicubi ipse quoniam  
*Parvus eram inter fratres meos et junior in domo patris mei.* 15

V. Et deficient mihi tempus, si omnes investigare voluero, qui in juventute bene placuerunt Deo, prophetia et sacerdotio et regno a Deo donati. Rememorationis autem gratia sufficiunt et hæc dicta. Sed te deprecor, ne tibi quædam 20 superba esse videar et ostentatrix. Non enim docens te, sed subrememorans meum in Deo patrem, hos apposui sermones: cognosco enim mei ipsius mensuras et non coextendo meipsam tantis vobis. Saluto tuum sanctum clerum sub tua cura pastum. Omnes apud nos fideles salutant te. Sanam esse 25 me secundum Deum ora, beate pastor.

2 reginæ] L<sub>1</sub>; regione L<sub>2</sub>.      6 existunt] L<sub>1</sub>; existerent L<sub>2</sub>.      8 ipsorum] L<sub>2</sub>; eorum L<sub>1</sub>.  
 9 columnas] columpnas L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s.      11 quidam] τῆς;  
 quidem L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s.      14 quoniam] L<sub>1</sub>; quum L<sub>2</sub>s.      20 esse videar] L<sub>2</sub>;  
 videar esse L<sub>1</sub>.      21 in deo] L<sub>2</sub>; in deum L<sub>1</sub>.      23 tuum] L<sub>1</sub>; tamen L<sub>2</sub>.  
 24 esse me] L<sub>2</sub>; me esse L<sub>1</sub>.



## 8.

## IGNATIUS MARIÆ PROSELYTÆ.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, habenti propitiationem in gratia Dei Patris altissimi et Domini Jesu Christi qui pro nobis mortuus; fidelissimæ, dignæ Deo, Christum ferenti filiæ Mariæ, plurimum in Deo gaudere.

5 I. MELIUS quidem littera visus; quanto quidem, pars melior existens chori sensuum, non solum quibus tradit amicabilia honorat accipientem, sed et quibus recipit in melioribus desiderium ditat. Veruntamen secundus, aiunt, portus et litterarum modus: quem velut bonam applicationem recepimus a  
10 tua fide a longe, velut per ipsas videntes quod in te bonum. Bonorum enim, o omnino sapiens mulier, animæ purioribus assimilantur fontibus: illi enim transeuntes, etsi non sitiant, ipsa specie attrahunt ipsos haurire potum; tuus autem intellectus monet nos, capere iubens de his, quæ in anima tua  
15 scaturiunt, divinis aquis.

II. Ego autem, o beata, non mei ipsius nunc tantum, quantum aliorum effectus, multorum contrariorum voluntatibus impellor, secundum hæc quidem fugis, secundum hæc autem carceribus, secundum hæc vero vinculis. Sed a nullo horum vector: in  
20 injustificationibus autem ipsorum magis disco, ut Jesu Christo potiar. Utinam fruar duris mihi præparatis, quia *Non dignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam revelari in nos.*

IGNATIUS MARIÆ PROSELYTÆ] L<sub>2</sub>; *responsio ignacii marie proselite super eadem epistola . et adimplet votum scribentis. cletus papa ante clementem.* L<sub>1</sub>.

5 quanto] L<sub>1</sub>; *quantum* L<sub>2</sub>. melior] In the translator's text κρείττον must have been incorrectly repeated after μέγος. 6 quibus] L<sub>1</sub>; *quilibet* L<sub>2</sub>.  
12 sitiant] *δισψῶσι*; *sciant* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>. 13 specie] L<sub>1</sub>; *spe* L<sub>2</sub>. 14 monet] L<sub>1</sub>; *movet* L<sub>2</sub>. his] *hiis* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 19 vector] L<sub>2</sub>; *avertor* L<sub>1</sub>.

III. Quæ autem a te per epistolam jussa sunt gratanter implevi, in nullo dubitans eorum quæ ipsa bene habere probasti. Cognovi enim te iudicio Dei testimonium viris fecisse, sed non gratia carnali. Multum enim mihi erant et continuæ tuæ scriptibilia locorum memoriæ, quas legens neque usque 5 ad intellectum dubitavi circa rem. Non enim habebam aliquibus oculis excurrere, quorum habebam incontradibilem a te factam demonstrationem. Conformis animæ tecum fiam ego, quoniam diligis Jesum filium Dei viventis: propter quod et ipse dicet tibi, *Ego diligentes me diligo, me autem quærentes* 10 *invenient pacem.*

IV. Supervenit autem mihi dicere quoniam verus sermo, quem audiavi de te, adhuc existente te in Roma apud beatum Papam Cletum; cui successit ad præsens digne beatus Clemens, Petri et Pauli auditor. Et nunc apposuit ad ipsum centu- 15 pliciter; et apponas adhuc, o dilecta. Desideravi vehementer venire ad vos, ut conquiescerem vobiscum, sed *Non in homine via ipsius*: detinuit enim meum propositum, non concedens ad terminum ire, militaris custodia. Sed neque in quibus sum, operari aliquid vel pati potens ego. Propter quod, secundum 20 ejus quæ in amicis consolationis litteram reputans, saluto sanctam tuam animam, deprecans apponi robori; præsens enim labor paucus, expectata vero merces multa.

V. Fugite abnegantes passionem Christi et secundum carnem nativitatem: multi autem sunt nunc secundum hanc 25 ægrotantes ægritudinem. Alia autem admonere tibi facile, perfectæ quidem omni opere et sermone bono, potenti autem et aliis suadere in Christo. Saluta omnes similes tibi retinentes sui ipsorum salutem in Christo. Salutant te presbyteri et diaconi, et ante omnes sacer Heron. Salutat te Cas- 30 sianus peregrinus meus, et soror mea et sponsa ipsius, et

7 quorum] ὧν; quos L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. habebam] L<sub>1</sub>; habeam L<sub>2</sub>. 16 dilecta] As if the translator had read ἀγαπήνη for αἴτη. 20 ego. Propter quod] ego tibi. propter quod L<sub>2</sub>; ego. quod L<sub>1</sub>. 21 litteram] L<sub>1</sub>; litterarum L<sub>2</sub>. 21 sanctam tuam] L<sub>1</sub>; tuam sanctam L<sub>2</sub>. 22 robori] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. This corresponds to the reading ῥόνη, as ῥῆνος is elsewhere translated *robur* in this version, *Mart.* 1. 27 opere] L<sub>2</sub>; tempore L<sub>1</sub>. 30 Heron] eron L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s.

dilectissima ipsorum. Valentem carnalem et spiritualem sanitatem Dominus sanctificet semper; et videam te in Christo potentem corona.

## 9.

## IGNATIUS TARSENSIBUS.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, salvatæ in Christo eccle-  
 5 siae, dignæ laude et dignæ memoria et dignæ dilectione, existenti in Tarso; misericordia, pax, a Deo Patre et Domino Jesu Christo multiplicetur semper.

I. A SYRIA usque Romam cum bestiis pugno; non ab irrationalibus bestiis comestus (hæ enim, ut scitis, Deo volente  
 10 pepercerunt Danieli), ab his autem quæ humanæ formæ, inter quas immansueta bestia latitans pungit me quotidie et vulnerat. *Sed de nullo sermonem facio durorum, neque habeo animam pretiosam mihi ipsi*, ut diligens ipsam magis quam Dominum. Propter quod paratus sum ad ignem, ad bestias,  
 15 ad gladium, ad crucem: solum Jesum Christum sciens salvatorem meum et Deum, pro me mortuum. Deprecor igitur vos ego vinctus Christi, per terram et mare jactatus; *State in fide firmi*, quoniam *Fustus ex fide vivet*: estote inflexibiles, quoniam *Dominus inhabitare facit unius moris in domo*.

20 II. Novi quoniam quidam ministrorum Satanæ voluerunt vos turbare: hi quidem, quoniam Jesus opinione natus est et opinione crucifixus est et opinione mortuus est; hi autem, quoniam non est filius conditoris; hi vero, quoniam ipse est qui super omnia Deus; alii autem, quoniam nudus homo est,

IGNATIUS TARSENSIBUS] L<sub>2</sub>; *epistola ignacii tarsensibus* L<sub>1</sub>.

4 Theophorus] L<sub>2</sub>; *theoferus* L<sub>1</sub>. 6 Tarso] L<sub>2</sub>; *tharso* L<sub>1</sub>. 9 comestus] L<sub>2</sub>s; *commestus* L<sub>1</sub>. hæ] *hee* L<sub>1</sub>. 10 his] *hiis* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 11 immansueta] L<sub>1</sub>; *in mansueta* L<sub>2</sub>. quotidie] *cotidie* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 13 animam] L<sub>2</sub>; add. *meam* L<sub>1</sub>. 17 terram et mare] L<sub>2</sub>; *mare et terram* L<sub>1</sub>. 20 Satanæ] *sathane* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 21 hi] *hii* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s; and so in the next two clauses.

alteri vero, quoniam caro hæc non resurgit et oportet voluptuosam vitam vivere et transire, hanc enim esse terminum bonorum post non multum corrumpendis. Tantorum malorum multitudo eos inebriavit. Sed vos *neque ad horam veniatis sub subjectionem* ipsorum: Pauli enim estis cives et discipuli, 5 qui *a Hierosolymis et circum usque Illyricum implevit evangelium*, et *stigmata Christi in carne circumtulit*.

III. Cujus memores, omnino cognoscitis quoniam Jesus Dominus vere natus est ex Maria, factus ex muliere, et veritate crucifixus est; *Mihi enim*, ait. *non fiat gloriari nisi in* 10 *cruce Domini*: et veritate mortuus est, et resurrexit; *Si passibilis* enim, ait, *Christus, si primus ex resurrectione mortuorum*; et, *Quod mortuus est, peccato mortuus est semel, quod autem vivit, Deo vivit*. Quia quid opus vinculis, Christo non mortuo? quid opus sustinentia? quid opus flagellis? Quid unquam 15 Petrus crucifixus est, Paulus et Jacobus gladio cæsi sunt? Johannes vero relegatus est in Patmo? Stephanus autem in lapidibus occisus est a Domini occisoribus Judæis? Sed nihil horum vane: veritate enim crucifixus est Dominus ab impiis.

IV. Et sic natus ex muliere filius est Dei; et crucifixus pri- 20 mogenitus omnis creaturæ et Deus Verbum; et ipse fecit omnia. Dicit enim Apostolus; *Unus Deus Pater ex quo omnia, et unus Dominus Jesus Christus per quem omnia*: et rursus, *Unus enim Deus, et unus mediator Dei et hominum, homo Jesus Christus*; et *In ipso creata sunt omnia quæ in cælo et in terra, visibilia et* 25 *invisibilia; et ipse est ante omnia, et omnia in ipso consistunt*.

V. Et quoniam non ipse est qui super omnia Deus Pater sed filius illius, dicit, *Ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem vestrum*,

3 corrumpendis] *φθαρσομένους*; *corumpentis* L<sub>1</sub>; *corrumpetis* L<sub>2</sub>. 4 neque ad horam] L<sub>2</sub>; *ad horam neque* L<sub>1</sub>. 5 sub subjectionem] L<sub>1</sub>; *subjectionem* (om. sub) L<sub>2</sub>. 6 Hierosolymis] *ierosolimis* L<sub>2</sub>; *iherosolimis* L<sub>1</sub>. Illyricum] *illyricum* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 8 Jesus Dominus] L<sub>2</sub>; *dominus jesus* L<sub>1</sub>. 14 quid] L<sub>2</sub>; *quod* L<sub>1</sub>. In the two following clauses L<sub>2</sub> has *quid*, L<sub>1</sub> *quid*. 15 unquam] *unquam* L<sub>1</sub>; *unquam* L<sub>2</sub>. 16 Petrus crucifixus] L<sub>1</sub>; *petrus quid crucifixus* L<sub>2</sub>. 17 Patmo] *pathmo* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. Stephanus] *sthpūs* L<sub>1</sub> and so *Hero* 3. in] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 20 sic] L<sub>1</sub>; om. L<sub>2</sub>. The translator must have read *οὐτως* for *οὐτος*; comp. *Ephes.* 5. 22 Unus Deus] L<sub>2</sub>; *deus* (om. *unus*) L<sub>1</sub>. 24 homo] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. Jesus Christus] L<sub>1</sub>; *christus jesus* L<sub>2</sub>.

*et Deum meum et Deum vestrum; et, Quando subjecta erunt ipsi omnia, tunc et ipse subjicietur ei qui subjecit ei omnia, ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus. Igitur est alter qui subjecit, et qui est omnia in omnibus; et alter cui subjecta sunt, qui et cum omnibus sub-*  
5 *jicietur.*

VI. Et neque nudus homo, per quem et in quo facta sunt omnia; *Omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt; Quando fecit cælum, coaderam ipsi, et illic eram apud ipsum componens, et applaudebat mihi quotidie. Qualiter autem utique nudus homo audiret, Sede*  
10 *a dextris meis? Qualiter autem et diceret, Priusquam Abraham fieret, ego sum, et, Clarifica me claritate quam habui, antequam mundus esset, a te? Qualis autem homo nudus diceret, Descendi de cælo, non ut faciam voluntatem meam sed voluntatem ejus qui misit me? De quali homine vero diceret, Erat lux vera,*  
15 *quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum. In mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est, et mundus eum non cognovit. In propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt? Qualiter ergo talis nudus homo et ex Maria habens principium essendi, sed non Deus Verbum et Filius unigenitus? In principio enim*  
20 *erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum; et in aliis, Dominus creavit me principium viarum suarum in opera sua; ante sæculum fundavit me, et ante omnes colles generat me.*

VII. Quoniam autem et resurgunt corpora nostra, dicit;  
25 *Amen dico vobis, quoniam venit hora, in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient vocem filii Dei, et qui audierint vivent. Et apostolus, Oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem, et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem. Et quoniam oportet temperate vivere et juste, dicit rursus; Non erretis; neque adulteri*

1 et Deum meum] L<sub>2</sub>; *deum meum* (om. et) L<sub>1</sub>. erunt ipsi] L<sub>1</sub>; *ipsi erunt* L<sub>2</sub>. 3 Igitur] L<sub>1</sub>; *qui igitur* L<sub>2</sub>. 7 Quando] L<sub>1</sub>; *quum* L<sub>2</sub>s.  
8 ipsi] L<sub>2</sub>; *ipsa ipsi* L<sub>1</sub> apparently, but the first word is confusedly written and was perhaps intended to be erased. 9 quotidie] L<sub>2</sub>s; *cotidie* L<sub>1</sub>. utique] L<sub>1</sub>; *itaque* L<sub>2</sub>. 11 me] L<sub>2</sub>; add. *pater* L<sub>1</sub>. 12 homo nudus] L<sub>2</sub>; *homo si nudus* L<sub>1</sub>.  
14 vero] *verum* (?) L<sub>1</sub>; om. L<sub>2</sub>. 15 mundum] L<sub>2</sub>s; *modum* L<sub>1</sub>. 19 et filius] L<sub>1</sub>; *filius* (om. et) L<sub>2</sub>. 22 sæculum] L<sub>2</sub>s; *secula* L<sub>1</sub>. 25 Amen] L<sub>2</sub>; add. *quoniam* L<sub>1</sub>. 27 enim] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 29 vivere et juste] L<sub>2</sub>; *et juste vivere* L<sub>1</sub>. dicit] λέγει; *deo* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. The Greek shows that *dicit* must have

*neque molles neque masculorum concubitores neque fornicatores neque maledici neque ebriosi neque fures regnum Dei hæreditare possunt: et, Si mortui non resurgunt, neque Christus resurrexit: inanis ergo prædicatio nostra, inanis autem et fides nostra: adhuc estis in peccatis vestris. Ergo et qui dormierunt in Christo, peri-* 5 *erunt. Si in vita hac sperantes sumus in Christo solum, miserabiliores omnibus hominibus sumus. Si mortui non resurgunt, comedamus et bibamus; cras enim morimur. Sic autem dispositi quid distabimus ab asinis et canibus, qui nihil de futuro curant, in appetitum euntes et eorum quæ post comedere? inscii enim* 10 *sunt moventis intus intellectus.*

VIII. Fruar vobis in Domino. Vigilate omnem unusquisque malitiam deponere, et feralem furorem, detractionem, calumniam, turpiloquium, scurrilitatem, susurrationem, inflationem, ebrietatem, luxuriam, avaritiam, inanem gloriam, invidiam, et omne his 15 *concurrans: indui Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, et carnis providentiam non fieri in concupiscentias.* Presbyteri subjecti estote episcopo, diaconi episcopo et presbyteris, populus diaconis. Consimilis ego his qui custodiunt hanc bonam ordinationem; et Dominus sit cum ipsis continue. 20

IX. Viri, diligite sponsas vestras; uxores, conjuges vestros: pueri, parentes præhonorate; parentes, *filios nutrite in disciplina et admonitione Domini.* Eas quæ in virginitate honorate, ut sacras Christi; eas quæ in honestate viduas, ut altare Dei. Domini, cum moderamine servis præcipite; servi, *cum timore* 25 *Domini* ministrare. Nullus in vobis otiosus maneat; mater enim indigentia otiositas. Hoc enim non præcipio, ut existens aliquis, etsi ligor; sed ut frater, ad memoriam revoco. Sit Dominus vobiscum.

been the original word, and the substitution *deo* doubtless arose from the contractions. 2 maledici] *λοδοφοι; maledicti* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>S. 4 autem et] L<sub>2</sub>; *om.* L<sub>1</sub>. 6 vita hac] L<sub>2</sub>; *hac vita* L<sub>1</sub>. 10 in appetitum euntes] L<sub>2</sub>; *euntes in appetitum* L<sub>1</sub>. 13 deponere] This is certainly the reading of L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>. The translator read *ἀποθέσθαι* for *ἀπόθεσθε*. So too *ἐνδύσασθαι, ποιείσθαι*, for *ἐνδύσασθε, ποιείσθε*, below. calumniam] *calumpniam* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>S; see above, p. 608. 15 his] *hiis* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>S. 17 concupiscentias] *ἐπιθυμίας; concupiscentia* L<sub>2</sub>; *concupiscentiis* L<sub>1</sub>. 19 Consimilis] add. *enim* L<sub>2</sub>. In L<sub>1</sub> there is a blank space after *consimiliis*. his] *hiis* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>S. 20 ipsis] L<sub>2</sub>; *hiis* L<sub>1</sub>.

X. Fruar vestris orationibus. Orate ut Jesu fruar. Com-  
 mendo vobis eam quæ in Antiochia ecclesiam. Salutant vos  
 ecclesiæ Philippensium; unde et scribo vobis. Salutat vos Phi-  
 lon diaconus vester, cui et gratias ego ago studiose ministranti  
 5 mihi in omnibus. Salutat vos diaconus qui ex Syria sequitur  
 me in Christo. *Salutate ad invicem in sancto osculo.* Saluto  
 universos et universas in Christo. Valete anima et spiritu; et  
 mei non obliviscamini. Dominus vobiscum.

## 10.

## IGNATIUS ANTIOCHENIS.

10 I GNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, Ecclesiæ habenti propitia-  
 tionem a Deo, dilectæ a Christo, advenæ in Syria, et primæ  
 Christi cognominationem accipienti, in Antiochia; in Deo Patre  
 et Domino Jesu Christo gaudere.

I. LEVIA mihi et non onerosa vincula Dominus fecit, di-  
 scienti pacem habere vos et in omni concordia carnali et spiritali  
 15 conversari. *Deprecor igitur vos ego vinculus in Domino digne am-  
 bulare vocatione qua vocati estis:* observantes vos ab inductis  
 hæresibus maligni, in deceptione et perditione persuasorum ab  
 ipso; attendere autem apostolorum doctrinæ, et legi et prophetis  
 credere; omnem gentilem et Judaicum abjicere errorem, et

4 ego] ἐγώ; om. L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. Probably it was omitted from its resemblance to *ago*.  
 5 studiose] written twice in L<sub>1</sub>. ministranti mihi] L<sub>2</sub>; *mihi ministrantibus* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 6 sancto osculo] L<sub>2</sub>; *osculo sancto* L<sub>1</sub>.

IGNATIUS ANTIOCHENIS] *epistola 10a ignacii antiochenis* L<sub>1</sub>; *epistola 10 ignatius  
 antiochenis* L<sub>2</sub>, as it appears in Ussher's collation with L<sub>1</sub>; but he has perhaps  
 omitted to erase *epistola 10*.

9 Theophorus] L<sub>2</sub>; *theoforus* L<sub>1</sub>. 15 igitur vos] L<sub>2</sub>; *vos ergo* L<sub>1</sub>. ego]  
 L<sub>1</sub>; om. L<sub>2</sub>. 16 vocatione] L<sub>1</sub>; *in vocatione* L<sub>2</sub>. 18 attendere] προσέχειν;  
 attendite L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 19 abjicere errorem] L<sub>2</sub>; *errorem abicere* L<sub>1</sub>.

neque multitudinem deorum inducere, neque Christum negare occasione unius Dei.

II. Moyses enim fidelis servus Dei, dicens, *Dominus Deus tuus Dominus unus est*, et unum et solum prædicans Deum, confessus est confestim et Dominum nostrum dicens, *Pluit Dominus 5 super Sodomam et Gomorram ignem a Domino et sulphur*; et rursus, *Et dixit Deus, Faciamus hominem secundum imaginem nostram et secundum similitudinem: et fecit Deus hominem; secundum imaginem Dei fecit ipsum*. Et deinceps quoniam *In imagine Dei feci hominem*. Et quoniam fiet homo, ait; *10 Prophetam vobis suscitabit Dominus ex fratribus vestris sicut me*.

III. Prophetæ autem, dicentes ut ex persona Dei, *Ego Deus primus et ego post hæc, et præter me non est Deus*, de patre omnium dicunt. Et de Domino nostro Jesu Christo, *Filius*, ait, *15 datus est nobis, cuius principium desuper: et vocatur nomen ipsius magni consilii angelus, admirabilis, consiliarius, Deus fortis, potestativus*. Et de inhumanatione ipsius; *Ecce virgo in utero concipiet et pariet filium, et vocabunt nomen ejus Emanuel*. Et de passione; *Ut ovis ad occisionem ductus est, et quasi agnus 20 coram tondente ipsum sine voce*; et, *Ego sicut agnus innocens ductus ad sacrificandum*.

IV. Et evangelistæ, dicentes unum Patrem solum verum Deum, et quæ secundum Dominum nostrum non dereliquerunt, sed scripserunt; *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud 25 Deum, et Deus erat Verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil*. Et de inhumanatione, *Verbum*, ait, *caro factum est et habitavit in nobis*: et, *Liber generationis Jesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraham*. Apostoli autem, dicentes quoniam *Deus est*, dicebant illi 30 ipsi quoniam *Unus et mediator Dei et hominum*; et incorpora-

9 ipsum] L<sub>2</sub>; eum L<sub>1</sub>.      10 feci] So L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s.      11 Prophetam] L<sub>1</sub>; per prophetam L<sub>2</sub>; see the note on Ephes. 1.      vobis suscitabit] L<sub>2</sub>; suscitabit vobis L<sub>1</sub>.  
 15 nostro] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>.      16 vocatur] L<sub>2</sub>; vocabitur L<sub>1</sub>.      17 consilii] L<sub>2</sub>s; concilii L<sub>1</sub>.      24 Dominum] L<sub>2</sub>s; deum L<sub>1</sub>.      dereliquerunt] deliquerunt L<sub>1</sub>.  
 28 Verbum, ait] L<sub>2</sub>; verbi ait verbum L<sub>1</sub>.      31 et mediator] L<sub>2</sub>; mediator (om. et) L<sub>1</sub>.



tionem et passionem non erubuerunt: quid enim ait? *Homo Jesus Christus, qui dedit semetipsum pro mundi vita.*

V. Omnis igitur, qui unum annunciat Deum in interemptione divinitatis Christi, *filius est diaboli et inimicus omnis justitiæ.* Et qui confitetur Christum non ejus qui fecit mundum filium, sed alterius cujusdam incogniti præter quem prædicavit lex et prophetæ, iste organum est ipsius diaboli. Et qui inhumanationem renuit, et crucem erubescit, propter quam ligatus sum, iste est Antichristus. Et qui nudum hominem dicit Christum, maledictus est secundum prophetam, non *in Deo confidens* sed *in homine.* Propter quod et sine fructu est, proximus *agresti myricæ.*

VI. Hæc scribo vobis, o Christi juventus, non conscius vobis habere talem sensum, sed præservans vos, ut pater proprios filios. Videte igitur in malum currentes operatores, *inimicos crucis Christi; quorum finis perditio, quorum Deus venter, et gloria in confusione ipsorum.* Videte *canes sine voce, serpentes surrepentes, infoveatos dracones, aspides, basiliscos, scorpiones.* Isti enim sunt thoes vulpes, hominis imitatores simiæ.

VII. Pauli et Petri fiatis discipuli; non perdati depositum. Recordamini Evodii digne beati pastoris vestri, qui primus ordinatus ab apostolis in vestram prælationem. Non erubescamus patrem; fiamus proprii pueri, sed non nothi. Scitis qualiter conversatus sum vobiscum. Quæ præsens dicebam vobis, hæc et absens scribo; *Qui non amat Dominum Jesum, sit anathema. Imitatores mei estote.* Consimilis animæ vobiscum fiam, quando utique Deo potiar. *Mementote meorum vinculorum.*

VIII. Presbyteri, *pascite eum qui in vobis gregem,* usquequo

1 erubuerunt] L<sub>2</sub>; erubuerunt L<sub>1</sub>.      2 semetipsum] L<sub>1</sub>; add. *redemptionem* L<sub>2</sub>  
 from 1 Tim. ii. 6.      4 diaboli] L<sub>2</sub>; *sed diaboli* L<sub>1</sub>.      9 hominem] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>.  
 10 est] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>.      12 myricæ] *mirice* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s.      13 juventus] L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s = *πεολατα*.  
 15 operatores inimicos] L<sub>2</sub>; *inimicos operatores* L<sub>1</sub>.      16 *et gloria*] *in gloria* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s.  
 The editors read *quorum gloria*, but for this *quorum* there seems to be no authority.  
 See the note on the Greek text.      19 thoes] *θωες*; *thoes* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>.      21 Evodii  
 digne beati] L<sub>2</sub>; *digne beati evodii* L<sub>1</sub>.      23 proprii] L<sub>2</sub>; *proximi* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 24 conversatus] L<sub>1</sub>; *conservatus* L<sub>2</sub>.      hæc et] L<sub>2</sub>; *et hæc* L<sub>1</sub>.      27 utique deo]  
 L<sub>2</sub>; *deo utique* L<sub>1</sub>.

ostendat Deus futurum principari vobis. *Ego enim jam sacrificor, et tempus resolutionis meæ instat, ut Christum lucrifaciam.* Diaconi cognoscant cuius sint dignitatis, et studeant immaculati esse, ut sint imitatores Christi. Populus subjiciatur presbyteris et diaconis. Virgines cognoscant cui consecraverunt seipsas. 5

IX. Viri diligant conjuges; recordantes quoniam una uni, non multæ uni, datæ sunt in creatione. Mulieres honorent viros, ut propriam carnem, neque ex nomine ipsos audeant vocare: castificent autem, solos viros conjuges esse existimantes, quibus et unitæ sunt secundum sententiam Dei. Parentes, filios erudite 10 disciplinam sacram. Filii, honorate parentes; *ut bene vobis sit.*

X. Domini, non superbe servis præferamini, imitantes Job dicentem; *Si autem et depravavi iudicium servi mei vel ancillæ meæ, iudicatis ipsis ad me. Quid enim faciam, si scrutinium mei Dominus faciat?* et quæ deinceps, scitis. Servi, non irritetis 15 dominos in ira; ut non malorum insanabilium vobismet causæ fiat.

XI. Otiosus nullus comedat, ut non negligens fiat et fornicarius. Ebrietas, ira, invidia, contumelia, clamor, blasphemiam, *neque nominentur in vobis.* Viduæ non delicientur, ut non aber- 20 rent a sermone. Cæsari subjicimini, in quibus non periculosa subjectio. Principes non irritetis in amaricationem, ut non detis occasionem quærentibus adversum vos occasionem. De incantatione vel puerili desiderio vel homicidio superfluum scribere; quum hæc et gentibus prohibita sunt fieri. Hæc non ut aposto- 25 lus jubeo, sed ut conservus vester monefacio vos.

XII. Saluto sanctum presbyterium. Saluto sacros diaconos, et desideratum mihi nomen; quem videam pro me in Spiritu Sancto, cum utique Christo fruar; cuius consimilis animi fiam. Saluto subdiaconos, lectores, cantores, ostiarios, laborantes, exor- 30

8 ipsos audeant] L<sub>2</sub>; *audeant ipsos* L<sub>1</sub>. 10 sunt] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 15 scitis] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 16 causæ] L<sub>2</sub>; *causa* L<sub>1</sub>. 19 invidia, contumelia] L<sub>2</sub>; *contumelia, invidia* L<sub>1</sub>. 20 aberrant] L<sub>2</sub>; *abhorrent* (but apparently corrected into *aberrant*) L<sub>1</sub>. 25 quum] L<sub>2</sub>S; *quoniam* L<sub>1</sub>. et] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 28 pro] L<sub>2</sub>; *per* L<sub>1</sub>. 29 Christo] So L<sub>2</sub> (but it seems to be Ussher's own emendation, as it is written in the margin in different ink); *proximo* L<sub>1</sub>. The two words when contracted are not very different. 30 ostiarios] *hostiarios* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>S.

cistas, confessores. Saluto custodes sanctarum portarum, existentes in Christo ministros. Saluto a Christo sumptas virgines; quibus fruar in Domino Jesu. Saluto venerabilissimas viduas. Saluto populum Domini a parvo usque ad magnum, et omnes  
5 sorores meas in Domino.

XIII. Saluto Cassianum, et conjugem ipsius, et filios. Salutatur vos Polycarpus, digne decens episcopus, cui et cura est de vobis; cui et commendavi vos in Domino. Sed et omnis ecclesia Smyrnæorum memoriam habet vestri in orationibus in Domino.  
10 Salutatur vos Onesimus, Ephesiorum pastor. Salutatur vos Magnesias episcopus. Salutatur vos Polybius Trallæorum. Salutatur vos Philon et Agathopus diaconi, consecutores mei. *Salutate ad invicem in osculo sancto.*

XIV. Hæc a Philippis scribo vobis. Sanos vos qui est solus  
15 ingenitus per ante sæcula genitum custodiat spiritu et carne; et videam vos in Christi adventu. Saluto eum qui pro me futurus est principari vobis; quo fruar in Christo. Valetate in Deo et Christo, illuminati Spiritu Sancto.

## II.

## IGNATIUS HERONI.

20 **I**GNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, a Deo honorato et desideratissimo, Christophoro, spirituali filio in fide et caritate, Heroni diacono Jesu Christi et famulo Dei, gratia, misericordia, et pax

10 Ephesiorum pastor]  $L_2$ ; *pastor ephesiorum*  $L_1$ . Magnesias] *magnisias*  $L_1L_2s$ . The translator has apparently taken it for a man's name, or at all events has treated it as a nominative. 11 Polybius] *polibius*  $L_1L_2s$ , and so elsewhere.

12 Agathopus] *agathophus*  $L_1L_2s$ ; but in  $L_1$  the second *h* is marked for erasure.

14 Sanos] *ἑρωμένους*; *sanet*  $L_1L_2s$ ; comp. *Hero* 9. 16 futurus]  $L_2$ ; *facturus*  $L_1$ .

IGNATIUS HERONI] *ignatius eroni diacono ecclesie antiochenorum*  $L_2$ ; *epistola ignatii eroni diacono ecclesie antiochenorum*  $L_1$ .

19 Theophorus]  $L_2$ ; *theopherus*  $L_1$ . 20 Christophoro] *christoforo*  $L_2$ ; *christofero*  $L_1$ . Heroni] *eroni*  $L_1L_2s$ ; and so the name is written again in § 6 without the aspirate.

ab omnipotenti Deo et Jesu Christo Domino nostro, unigenito filio ipsius, *qui dedit semetipsum pro nobis et peccatis nostris, ut eriperet nos ex præsentis sæculo nequam et salvaret in regnum ipsius supercæleste.*

I. DEPRECOR te in Deo apponere cursui tuo et justificare 5 tuam dignitatem. Concordiam quæ ad sanctos cura. Infirmiores *porta; ut impleas legem Christi.* Jejunii et orationibus vaca; sed non immoderate, ut teipsum prosternas. A vino et carnibus non omnino abstine, non enim sunt abominabilia: *Bona enim terræ comedite, ait; et, Manducate carnem ut olera; et, Vinum* 10 *lætificat cor hominis, et oleum exhilarat, et panis confirmat:* sed moderate et ordinate, ut Deo tribuente; *Quis enim comedit, vel quis bibit, sine ipso? Quoniam si quid bonum, ipsius? et si quid bonum, ab ipso.* Lectioni attende; ut non solum ipse scias leges, sed et aliis ipsas enarres, ut Dei athleta. *Nullus militans im-* 15 *plicatur vitæ negotiis; ut ei cui militat placeat. Si autem et certet quis, non coronatur, nisi legitime certaverit.* Consimilis animæ tibi ego vincus.

II. Omnis qui dicit præter præcepta, etsi dignus fide sit, etsi jejundet, etsi virginitatem servet, etsi signa faciat et prophetet, 20 *lupus tibi appareat in ovis pelle,* ovium corruptionem operans. Si quis negat crucem et passionem erubescit, sit tibi sicut Antichristus et adversarius; *etsi distribuat in cibos quæ habet pauperibus, etsi montes transferat, etsi tradat corpus in combustionem,* sit tibi abominabilis. Si quis depravat legem vel prophetas, 25 quos Christus præsens adimplevit, sit tibi ut Antichristus. Si quis hominem nudum dicit Dominum, Judæus est Christi occisor.

III. *Viduas honora, eas quæ vere viduæ;* orphanos protege: *Deus enim pater est orphanorum, et judex viduarum.* Nihil sine episcopis operare; sacerdotes enim sunt, tu autem diaconus 30

1 Christo] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>.      5 cursui] L<sub>1</sub>; cursu L<sub>2</sub>.      6 Concordiam quæ] Ussher and later editors wrongly print *concordiamque*.      7 porta] L<sub>1</sub>; om. L<sub>2</sub>.  
 8 immoderate] L<sub>2</sub>; immoderatis L<sub>1</sub>.      9 sunt] L<sub>2</sub>; sub L<sub>1</sub>.      abomina-  
 bilia] *abominabilia* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s, and again § 2; so too *abominare* below §§ 4, 5.  
 11 exhilarat] L<sub>2</sub>s; *exhillarat* L<sub>1</sub>.      19 etsi dignus] L<sub>2</sub>; *ut si dignus* L<sub>1</sub>.      23 quæ  
*habet pauperibus]* L<sub>2</sub>; *pauperibus que habet* L<sub>1</sub>.      25 legem] *leges* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s.  
 27 Christi] L<sub>1</sub>; *et christi* L<sub>2</sub>.      29 nihil] L<sub>2</sub>; add. *enim* L<sub>1</sub>.

sacerdotum. Illi baptizant, sacrificant, manus imponunt; tu autem ipsis ministra, ut Stephanus sanctus in Hierosolymis Jacobo et presbyteris. Congregationes non negligas: ex nomine omnes require. *Nullus tuam juventutem contemnat; sed exemplum esto fidelium in sermone et conversatione.*

IV. Servos non erubescere; communis enim nobis et ipsis natura. Mulieres non abominare; ipsæ enim te genuerunt et enutriverunt. Diligere igitur oportet causas generationis; solum in Domino. Sine muliere autem vir non pueros faciet: honorare igitur oportet conjuges generationis. *Neque vir sine muliere, neque mulier sine viro, nisi in protoplastis. Adæ enim corpus ex quatuor elementis; Evæ autem ex costa Adæ. Sed et gloriosus partus Domini ex sola virgine, non abominabili legali mixtione, sed Deo decente generatione: decuit enim ipsum, conditorem existentem, non consueta uti generatione sed inopinabili et peregrina, ut conditorem.*

V. Superbiam fuge; *Superbis enim Deus resistit. Falsiloquium abominare. Perdes enim omnes loquentes mendacium. Ab invidia te custodi: princeps enim ipsius diabolus; et successor Cain fratri invidens et ex invidia homicidium operans. Sorores meas mone sufficere conjugibus. Virgines custodi, ut Christi vasa. Longanimis sis, ut sis in prudentia multus. Inopes non negligas, in quibus utique abundas; Elemosinis enim et fide purgantur peccata.*

VI. Te ipsum castum conserva, ut Dei habitaculum: templum Christi existis, organumque Spiritus. Nosti qualiter te enutriveri. Etsi minimus sum, zelotes mei fias: imitare meam conversationem. Non gloriator mundo, sed in Domino. Heroni filio meo moneo; *Qui autem gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur.* Fruar te,

<sup>2</sup> ministra] L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s; the translator read διακόνει for διακονείς. in Hierosolymis] in iherosolimis L<sub>1</sub>; ierosolymis (om. in) L<sub>2</sub>. Jacobo] L<sub>2</sub>; sanctis iacobo L<sub>1</sub>.  
<sup>4</sup> contemnat] contempnat L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s; see above, p. 608. <sup>7</sup> mulieres] L<sub>2</sub>; mulieres enim (?) L<sub>1</sub>. <sup>11</sup> protoplastis] prothoplastis L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. <sup>14</sup> decente generatione] add. sed inopinabili et peregrina L<sub>1</sub>, the three last words being marked for erasure, but the sed being left by inadvertence. <sup>20</sup> Cain] caim L<sub>1</sub>; caym L<sub>2</sub>.  
<sup>22</sup> vasa] κεμήλια; stivasa (or stmasa) L<sub>1</sub>; nasci L<sub>2</sub>, as deciphered by Ussher. The sti of L<sub>1</sub> is a repetition of the last syllable of the preceding Christi. multus] L<sub>2</sub>; vultus L<sub>1</sub>. Inopes non] L<sub>1</sub>; non inopes L<sub>2</sub>.

puer meus desiderate; cujus custos fiat solus ingenuus Deus et Dominus Jesus Christus. Non omnibus crede, non de omnibus confide; neque utique aliquis seducat te. Multi enim sunt ministri Satanæ; et *Qui velociter credit, levis est corde.*

VII. Memento Dei, et non peccabis aliquando. Non sis duplicis animæ in oratione tua; beatus enim qui non dubitat. Credo enim in Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et in unigenitum ipsius Filium, quoniam ostendet mihi Deus Heronem in throno meo. Appone igitur ad cursum. Annuncio tibi in Deo omnium et in Christo, præsentem et Spiritu Sancto et administratoriis ordinibus: *Custodi meum depositum*, quod ego et Christus deposuimus tibi; et non te ipsum indignum iudices expectatis de te a Deo. Commendo tibi ecclesiam Antiochenorum. Polycarpo commendavi vos in Domino Jesu Christo.

VIII. Salutant te episcopi, Onesimus, Bitus, Damas, Polybius, et omnes qui a Philippis in Christo; unde misi tibi. Saluta Deo decens presbyterium. Saluta sanctos condiaconos tuos; quibus ego fruar in Domino, carne et spiritu. Saluta populum Domini a parvo usque ad magnum secundum nomen; quos commendo tibi, ut Moyses Jesu post ipsum duci. Et non tibi videatur grave quod dictum est. Et si non sumus tales quales illi, sed tamen oramus fieri; quia et Abraham sumus pueri. Fortificare igitur, o Heron, heroice et viriliter: tu enim *induces amodo et educes* populum Domini eum qui in Antiochia; et *non erit synagoga Domini sicut oves quibus non est pastor.*

IX. Saluta Cassianum peregrinum meum, et conjugem ipsius venerabilissimam, et dilectissimos ipsorum pueros; quibus *dabit Deus invenire misericordiam a Domino in illa die*, ejus quæ in nos administrationis gratia: quos et commendo tibi in Christo Jesu. Saluta eos qui in Laodicea fideles omnes secundum nomen in Christo. Eos qui in Tarso non negligas, sed magis

4 Satanæ] *sathane* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 7 nostri] L<sub>2</sub>; *mei* L<sub>1</sub>. 8 ipsius] L<sub>2</sub>; *in ejus* L<sub>1</sub>.  
ostendet] *δελξει*; *ostendit* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. throno] L<sub>2</sub>; *trono* L<sub>1</sub>. 17 presbyterium]  
L<sub>2</sub>s; *psbrm* L<sub>1</sub>. 19 quos] L<sub>2</sub>; *quod* L<sub>1</sub>. 20 tibi videatur] L<sub>2</sub>; *videatur tibi* L<sub>1</sub>.  
23 Fortificare] L<sub>1</sub>; *mortificare* L<sub>2</sub>. Heron] L<sub>2</sub>; *eroni* L<sub>1</sub>. tu] L<sub>2</sub>;  
*tui* L<sub>1</sub>. 25 synagoga] *sinagoga* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 30 Laodicea] L<sub>2</sub>s; *laodocia* L<sub>1</sub>.  
31 Tarso] L<sub>2</sub>; *tharso* L<sub>1</sub>.

continue ipsos visita, confirmans ipsos secundum evangelium. Marim eum qui in Neapoli ea quæ ad Zarbo episcopum saluto in Domino. Saluta autem et venerabilissimam Mariam filiam meam multimode eruditissimam, et eam quæ secundum domum  
 5 ipsius ecclesiam, cui consimilis animæ fiam, exemplarium piarum mulierum. Sanum te et in omnibus approbatum Pater Christi per Unigenitum custodiat in longum vivere ad utilitatem ecclesiæ Christi. Vale in Domino, et ora ut perficiar.

## 12.

## MARTYRIUM IGNATII.

10 **N**UPER recipiente principatum Romanorum Trajano, apostoli et evangelistæ Johannis discipulus Ignatius, vir in omnibus apostolicus, gubernabat ecclesiam Antiochenorum. Qui quondam procellas vix mitigans multarum sub Domitiano persecutionum, quemadmodum gubernator bonus, gubernaculo orationis et jejunii, continuitate doctrinæ, robore  
 15 spirituali, fluctuationi adversantis se opposuit potentiæ, timens ne aliquem eorum qui pusillanimes et magis simplices prosterneret. Igitur lætabatur quidem de ecclesiæ inconcussione, quiescente ad paucum persecutione; dubitavit autem secundum seipsum, quod nondum vere in Christum caritatem atti-  
 20 gerat neque perfectum discipuli ordinem. Cogitavit enim eam quæ per martyrium confessionem plus ipsum adducere ad familiaritatem Domini. Unde annis paucis adhuc perma-

1 confirmans] L<sub>1</sub>; *consilians* L<sub>2</sub>. 3 autem] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. venerabilissimam Mariam filiam meam] L<sub>1</sub>; *mariam filiam meam venerabilissimam* L<sub>2</sub>.

MARTYRIUM IGNATII] *martirium sancti ignatii episcopi antiochie sirie* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>, to which L<sub>1</sub> adds *epistola 12a*.

15 adversantis] L<sub>2</sub>; *adversanter* (apparently) L<sub>2</sub>.

17 quidem] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>.

19 vere in Christum] L<sub>2</sub>; *in christum vere* L<sub>1</sub>.

21 adducere] L<sub>1</sub>; *abducere* L<sub>2</sub>.

106 L<sub>2</sub>.

nens ecclesiæ, et ad lucernæ modum divinæ cujusque illuminans cor per scripturarum enarrationem, sortitus est iis quæ secundum votum.

II. Trajano enim post, quarto anno imperii sui, elato de victoria illa quæ adversus Scythas et Thraces et alteras multas et diversas gentes, et existimante adhuc deficere ipsi ad omnem subjectionem Christianorum Deum venerantem congregationem, nisi dæmoniacam cogeret culturam cum omnibus subintrare gentibus; persecutionem comminans, omnes ipsos Dei cultores existentes vel sacrificare vel mori cogeat. Tunc igitur timens pro Antiochenorum ecclesia virilis Christi miles voluntarie ductus est ad Trajanum, agentem quidem secundum illud tempus apud Antiochiam, festinantem autem ad Armeniam et Parthos. Ut autem coram facie stetit imperatoris Trajani, Trajanus dixit: Quis es, cacodæmon, nostras festinans præceptiones transcendere, cum et alteros persuadere, ut perdantur male? Ignatius dixit: Nullus Theophorum vocat cacodæmonem; recesserunt enim longe a servis Dei dæmonia. Si autem, quoniam his gravis sum, malum me adversus dæmones vocas, confiteor: Christum enim habens supercælestem regem dissolvo horum insidias. Trajanus dixit: Et quis est Theophorus? Ignatius respondit: Qui Christum habet in pectore. Trajanus dixit: Nos igitur tibi videmur non habere secundum intellectum deos, quibus utimur compugnatoribus adversus adversarios?

1 divinæ] L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. In L<sub>1</sub> the greater part of the word is dotted underneath for erasure (perhaps with the intention of substituting *dī=deī*), though it corresponds to *θεικόυ* in the Greek text. 2 iis] *hiis* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 4 post] L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. Probably read *postea* or *post hæc* corresponding to *μετὰ ταῦτα* in the Greek. 5 Scythas] *scithas*] L<sub>1</sub>; *scitas* L<sub>2</sub>. Thracis] L<sub>2</sub>; *traces* L<sub>1</sub>. The Greek has *Δακῶν*. 8 nisi] L<sub>2</sub>; *ut* L<sub>1</sub>. 15 es] *εἶ*; *est* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. cacodæmon] *kakodemon* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 17 nullus] L<sub>2</sub>; *nullum* L<sub>1</sub>. vocat] L<sub>2</sub>; *voca* L<sub>1</sub>. cacodæmonem] *cakodemonem* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 19 his] *hiis* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 20 habens] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 21 Theophorus] L<sub>2</sub>; *theopherus* L<sub>1</sub>. 22 Qui] L<sub>2</sub>; *et qui* L<sub>1</sub>. Trajanus] L<sub>2</sub>s; *tirannus* (apparently) L<sub>1</sub>.



Ignatius dixit: Dæmonia gentium deos appellas errans. Unus enim est Deus, qui fecit cælum et terram et mare et omnia quæ in ipsis; et unus Christus Jesus, Filius ipsius unigenitus, cujus amicitia fruar. Trajanus dixit: Crucifixum dicis sub  
 5 Pontio Pilato? Ignatius dixit: Crucifigentem peccatum cum hujus inventore, et omnem condemnantem dæmoniacam malitiam sub pedibus eorum qui ipsum in corde ferunt. Trajanus dixit: Tu igitur in teipso Christum circumfers? Ignatius dixit: Etiam: scriptum est enim, *Inhabitabo in ipsis et inambulabo.*  
 10 Trajanus sententiavit: Ignatium præcipimus, in seipso dicentem circumferre crucifixum, vinctum a militibus duci in magnam Romam cibum bestiarum in spectaculum futurum plebis. Hanc audiens sanctus martyr sententiam cum gaudio exclamavit: Gratias ago tibi, Domine, quoniam me perfecta ad te  
 15 caritate honorare dignatus es, cum apostolo tuo Paulo vinculis colligari ferreis. Hæc dicens et cum gaudio circumponens vincula oransque prius pro ecclesia et hanc cum lacrimis commendans Domino, velut aries insignis boni gregis dux, a bestiali militari duritia raptus est, bestiis crudivorantibus ad Romam  
 20 ad cibum adducendus.

III. Cum multa igitur promptitudine et gaudio, ex desiderio passionis, descendens ab Antiochia in Seleuciam illinc habebat navigationem: et applicans post multum laborem Smyrnæorum civitati, cum multo gaudio descendens de navi  
 25 festinabat sanctum Polycarpum episcopum Smyrnæorum coauditorem videre; fuerant enim quondam discipuli Johannis. Apud quem adductus et spiritualibus cum ipso communicans charismatibus et vinculis glorians, deprecabatur concertare ipsius proposito maxime quidem communiter omnem ecclesiam  
 30 (honorabant enim sanctum per episcopos, presbyteros, et dia-

2 et mare] L<sub>2</sub>; mare (om. et) L<sub>1</sub>. 6 hujus] L<sub>2</sub>; ipsius L<sub>1</sub>. 8 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; ergo L<sub>1</sub>. Ignatius] L<sub>2</sub>; add. autem L<sub>1</sub>. 9 etiam] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>.  
 11 duci in magnam Romam] L<sub>2</sub>; in romam duci magnam L<sub>1</sub>. 12 futurum plebis] L<sub>1</sub>; plebis futurum L<sub>2</sub>. A word has been erased before futurum in L<sub>1</sub>. 16 colligari] συνδήσας; collocari L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 19 crudivorantibus] L<sub>1</sub>, as I read it, corresponding to the Greek *ὠμοβόποις*(?); *cruda vorantibus* L<sub>2</sub>s; comp. 'multibonam,' *Magn.* 1. 22 illinc] L<sub>2</sub>; illuc L<sub>1</sub>. 24 civitati] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 29 eccle-

conos, Asiæ civitates et ecclesiæ, omnibus festinantibus ad ipsum, si quo aliquam partem charismatis accipiant spiritualis), præcipue autem sanctum Polycarpum; ut velocius per bestias disprens mundo factus appareat faciei Christi.

IV. Et hoc sic dixit, sic testificatus est; tantum extendens 5 eam quæ circa Christum caritatem, ut cælum quidem apprehendere per bonam confessionem et per coorantium pro certamine studium, reddi autem mercedem ecclesiis obviantibus ipsi per præcedentes litteras gratias agens appositas ad ipsas, spiritualem cum oratione et admonitionibus amplexantes 10 gratiam. Igitur omnes videns amicabiliter dispositos ad ipsum, timens ne forte fraternitatis dilectio ad Dominum ipsius festinationem abscondat, bona aperta ipsi porta martyrii, talia ad ecclesiam mittit Romanorum, ut subordinata sunt.

#### IGNATII EPISTOLA AD ROMANOS.

**I**GNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, habenti propitiationem in 15 magnitudine Patris altissimi et Jesu Christi solius filii ipsius, ecclesiæ dilectæ et illuminatæ in voluntate volentis omnia quæ sunt secundum dilectionem Jesu Christi Dei nostri, quæ et præsidet in loco chori Romanorum, digna Deo, digna decen- 20 tia, digna beatitudine, digna laudè, digne ordinata, digne casta, et præsidens in caritate, Christi habens legem, Patris nomen; quam et saluto in nomine Jesu Christi filii Patris; secundum carnem et spiritum unitis in omni mandato ipsius, impletis gratia Dei indivisim et abstractis ab omni alieno colore; plurimum in Jesu Christo Deo nostro immaculate gaudere. 25

siam honorabant enim] L<sub>2</sub>; ecclesiam honorabant, honorabant enim L<sub>1</sub>. 5 testificatus] L<sub>1</sub>; testificans L<sub>2</sub>. tantum] *tm* (=tantum) L<sub>1</sub>; tamen L<sub>2</sub>s. 7 coorantium] L<sub>2</sub>; coronancium L<sub>1</sub>. 9 ipsi] christi (xpi) L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 13 abscondat] L<sub>2</sub>; abscondit L<sub>2</sub>. talia] L<sub>2</sub>; aliam (apparently) L<sub>1</sub>; the Greek is *ota*, *qualia*.

IGNATII EPISTOLA AD ROMANOS] L<sub>2</sub>; epistola ignacii terciadecima ad romanos, quanto desiderio captat mori pro christo et quod non impediant passionem ejus L<sub>1</sub>.

16 magnitudine] L<sub>1</sub>; magnitudinem L<sub>2</sub>. 19 chori] L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s, as if the translator had read *χόρον* for *χωρον*. 25 in Jesu] L<sub>2</sub>; in domino jesu L<sub>1</sub>.

I. DEPRECANS Deum, attigi videre vestras dignas visione facies, ut et amplius petebam accipere. Ligatus enim in Christo Jesu, spero vos salutare; siquidem voluntas sit, ut dignificer in finem esse. Principium quidem enim bene dispensatum est; 5 siquidem gratia potiar, ad hæreditatem meam sine impedimento lucrari. Timeo enim caritatem vestram, ne ipsa me lædat. Vobis enim facile est quod vultis facere; mihi autem difficile est Deo potiri, siquidem vos non parcitis mihi.

II. Non enim volo vos hominibus placere, sed Deo placere; 10 quemadmodum et placetis. Neque enim ego habebō aliquando tempus tale Deo potiendi, neque vos, si taceatis, meliori operi habetis inscribi. Si enim taceatis a me, ego verbum Dei; si autem desideretis carnem meam, rursus factus sum vox. Plus autem mihi non tribuetis, quam sacrificari Deo, dum adhuc 15 sacrificatorium paratum est: ut in caritate chorus effecti cantetis Patri in Jesu Christo, quoniam episcopum Syriæ dignificavit Deus inveniri in occidentem ab oriente transmittens. Bonum occidere a mundo in Deum, ut in ipso oriar.

III. Nunquam invidistis in aliquo; alios edocuistis. Ego 20 autem volo, ut et illa firma sint quæ docentes præcepistis. Solum mihi potentiam petatis ab intra et ab extra, ut non solum dicam, sed et velim; non ut solum dicar Christianus, sed et inveniar. Si enim inveniar, et dici possum; et tunc fidelis esse, quando utique mundo non appareo. Nihil apparentia

5 gratia] add. *mea* L<sub>2</sub>S. In L<sub>1</sub> *mea* is written, but dotted beneath for erasure. 7 quod] L<sub>2</sub>S; *quæ* L<sub>1</sub>. 9 Deo placere] L<sub>2</sub>; *deo* (om. *placere*) L<sub>1</sub>. 12 habetis] L<sub>2</sub>; *haberetis* (apparently) L<sub>1</sub>. verbum] L<sub>1</sub>. Ussher in the margin of this collation writes *ero* for *verbum*, and so it appears in his printed edition. But he does not mark it as the reading of L<sub>2</sub>, and it is apparently his own emendation, corresponding to γενήσομαι in the corrupt Greek text. See above, p. 198, and compare the next note. 13 vox] L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>S. In the margin Ussher writes *velox*, corresponding to the reading of the corrupt Greek text τρέχων, in exactly the same manner as before he had written *ero*. In his printed edition however he reads *vox* in the text, but puts in the margin, f. (i. e. fortasse) *velox*. 17 in occidentem] *eis δύσω*; but *in occidente* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>S. 19 nunquam] L<sub>2</sub>S; *nuncquam* L<sub>1</sub>. 24 apparentia] L<sub>2</sub>S. L<sub>1</sub> has it contracted *apparenā*, with a marginal gloss 'ablativus(?)'. This contraction suggests that the reading was originally *apparens*, corresponding exactly to φαίνμενον in the Greek.

bonum est. Deus enim noster Jesus Christus in Patre existens magis apparet. Non suasionis opus sed magnitudinis est Christianus, quando utique oditur a mundo.

IV. Scribo ecclesiis, et præcipio omnibus quoniam volens pro Deo morior, siquidem vos non prohibeatis. Deprecor vos, 5 non concordia intempestiva fiatis mihi. Dimittite me bestiarum esse cibum; per quas est Deo potiri. Frumentum sum Dei, et per dentes bestiarum molar, ut mundus panis inveniar Christi. Magis blandite bestiis, ut mihi sepulcrum fiant, et nihil derelinquant eorum quæ corporis mei; ut non dormiens 10 gravis alicui inveniar. Tunc ero discipulus vere Jesu Christi, quando neque corpus meum mundus videbit. Orate Christum pro me, ut per organa ista Dei sacrificium inveniar. Non ut Petrus et Paulus præcipio vobis. Illi apostoli, ego condemnatus; illi liberi, ego usque nunc servus. Sed si patiar, manu- 15 missus fiam Jesu Christi, et resurgam liber. Et nunc disco vinctus nihil concupiscere.

V. A Syria usque Romam cum bestiis pugno, per terram et per mare, nocte et die, vinctus decem leopardis, quod est militaris ordo; qui et beneficiati deteriores fiunt. In injustifica- 20 tionibus autem ipsorum magis erudior: *sed non propter hoc justificatus sum*. Sortiar bestiis mihi esse paratis, et oro promptas mihi inveniri; quibus et blandiar cito me devorare; non quemadmodum quosdam timentes non tetigerunt; sed et si ipsæ volentem non velint, ego vim faciam. Veniam mihi 25 habete: quid mihi confert, ego cognosco. Nunc incipio discipulus esse; nihil me zelare visibillum et invisibillum, ut Jesu Christo fruar. Ignis et crux, bestiarumque congregationes, dispersiones ossium, concisio membrorum, molitiones totius

4 præcipio] ἐντρέλλομαι; præcipue L<sub>1</sub>, and so probably L<sub>2</sub>. Ussher indeed writes præcipio in the margin of his collation, and this may have been the reading of L<sub>2</sub>, but it has the appearance of being his own conjecture. 10 derelinquant] L<sub>1</sub>; derelinquat L<sub>2</sub>. 11 gravis alicui] L<sub>2</sub>; alicui gravis L<sub>1</sub>. vere] L<sub>1</sub>; verus L<sub>2</sub>s. 15 patiar] paciari L<sub>1</sub>; faciam L<sub>2</sub>. 16 et pu.] kal; ut L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 22 mihi esse] L<sub>1</sub>; esse mihi esse (with esse apparently twice, but certainly before mihi) L<sub>2</sub>. As there is nothing in Greek corresponding to esse, it may have been a gloss = edere. 28 et crux] L<sub>2</sub>; crux (om. et) L<sub>1</sub>.

corporis, malæ punitiones diaboli in me veniant; solum ut Jesu Christo fruar.

VI. Nihil mihi proderunt termini mundi, neque regna sæculi hujus. Bonum mihi mori propter Jesum Christum, quam regnare super terminos terræ. Illum quæro qui pro nobis mortuus est, illum volo qui propter nos resurrexit: ille lucrum mihi adjacet. Ignoscite mihi, fratres: non impediatis me vivere, non velitis me mori, Dei volentem esse; per mundum non separetis me, neque per materiam seducatis. Dimittite me purum lumen accipere: illuc adveniens, homo ero. Sinite me imitatore[m] esse passionis Dei mei. Si quis ipsum in seipso habet, intelligat quod volo; et compatiatur mihi, sciens quæ continent me.

VII. Princeps sæculi hujus rapere me vult, et eam quæ in Deum meum sententiam corrumpere. Nullus igitur præsentium de vobis adjuvet ipsi; magis autem mei fiatis, hoc est, Dei mei. Non loquimini Jesum Christum, et mundum concupiscatis. Invidia in vobis non inhabitet: neque utique ego præsens vos deprecor, credite mihi; his autem magis credite quæ scribo vobis. Vivens enim scribo vobis, desiderans mori. Meum desiderium crucifixum est; et non est in me ignis amans aliquam aquam; sed vivens et loquens est in me, intus me dicit, Veni ad Patrem. Non delector cibo corruptionis, neque delectationibus vitæ hujus. Panem Dei volo, quod est caro Jesu Christi, ejus qui ex genere David; et potum volo sanguinem ipsius, quod est caritas incorruptibilis.

VIII. Non amplius volo secundum homines vivere: hoc

3 proderunt]  $L_2$ ; *proderint*  $L_1$ . 6 ille]  $L_1 L_2$ s. The translator has read  $\delta\delta\epsilon$  for  $\delta\delta\epsilon$  and taken  $\tau\omicron\kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{o}s$  as part of the predicate. He has moreover wrongly translated  $\tau\omicron\kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{o}s$  *lucrum*, as if it were  $\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ : unless indeed he had  $\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  in his text.  
 15 igitur]  $L_2$ ; *ergo*  $L_1$ . 16 magis autem]  $L_2$ ; *autem magis*  $L_1$ , thus connecting the *ipsi* with the following sentence. The transposition in  $L_2$  (which has been overlooked in the printed texts) is important, because it brings the Latin into close accordance with the Greek,  $\beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\psi\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\mu\omicron\iota\ \gamma\iota\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$ . For similar transpositions, altering the connexion of the sentences, see below, *Mart.* §§ 5, 7.  
 18 in vobis]  $L_2$ : *vobis* (om. *in*)  $L_1$ . præsens vos]  $L_1$ ; *vos præsens*  $L_2$ .  
 19 credite mihi]  $\pi\epsilon\lambda\sigma\theta\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\ \mu\omicron\iota$ ; *credere mihi*  $L_1 L_2$ . his autem magis]  $L_2$ ; *hiis magis vero* (?)  $L_1$ . 20 vobis]  $L_2$ ; om.  $L_1$ .

autem erit, si vos velitis. Velite autem, ut et vos acceptemini. Per paucas litteras deprecor vos, credite mihi. Jesus autem Christus vobis manifestabit hæc, quoniam vere dico; non mendax os, in quo Pater vere locutus est. Petite pro me, ut attingam. Non secundum carnem vobis scripsi, sed secundum sententiam Dei. Si patiar, voluistis; si reprobus efficiar, odivistis. 5

IX. Mementote in oratione vestra ejus quæ in Syria ecclesiæ, quæ pro me pastore Deo utitur. Solus ipsi Jesus Christus vice episcopi sit, et vestra caritas. Ego autem erubesco ex ipsis dici: non enim sum dignus, existens extremus ipsorum 10 et abortivum; sed misericordiam consecutus sum aliquis esse, si Deo fruam. Salutatur vos meus spiritus, et caritas ecclesiarum quæ receperunt me in nomine Jesu Christi, ut non transeuntem. Etenim non advenientes mihi in via quæ secundum carnem, secundum civitatem me præcesserunt. 15

X. Scribo autem vobis hæc a Smyrna per Ephesios digne beatos. Est autem et simul mecum cum aliis multis et Crocus, desideratum mihi nomen. De advenientibus mecum a Syria in Romam ad gloriam Dei credo vos cognovisse: quibus et manifestatis prope me existentem. Omnes enim sunt digni Deo et 20 vobis: quos decens est vos secundum omnia quietare. Scripsi autem vobis hæc in ea quæ ante novem Kalendas Septembres. Valetate in finem in sustinentia Jesu Christi.

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v. PERFICIENS igitur, ut volebat, eos qui in Roma fratrum absentes per epistolam, sic ductus a Smyrna (urgebatur enim 25 a militibus Christophorus occupare honores in magna civitate, ut in conspectu plebis Romanorum bestiis feris projectus corona justitiæ per tale certamen potiatur) attigit ad Troadem. Deinde illinc ductus ad Neapolim, per Philippenses transivit Macedo-

7 ecclesiæ] L<sub>1</sub>; ecclesia L<sub>2</sub>.      13 receperunt] L<sub>2</sub>s; receperant L<sub>1</sub>.      in nomine] L<sub>2</sub>; add. domini L<sub>1</sub>.      22 Septembres] septembrias L<sub>1</sub>; septembris L<sub>2</sub>.  
 24 fratrum] L<sub>2</sub>; fr (with a blank following) L<sub>1</sub>.      26 Christophorus] christoforus L<sub>2</sub>; christoferus L<sub>1</sub>.      29 Philippenses] philippenses L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s.      transivit] L<sub>1</sub>; pertransivit L<sub>2</sub>.

niam pedes, et terram quæ ad Epidamnum. Cujus in juxta  
 marinis nave potitus navigavit Adriacum pelagus, et illinc ascen-  
 dens Tyrrhenicum et transiens insulas et civitates, ostensis  
 sancto Potiolis, ipse quidem exire festinavit, secundum vestigia  
 5 ambulare volens apostoli Pauli: ut autem incidens violentus  
 non concessit ventus, nave a prora repulsa, beatificans eam quæ  
 in illo loco fratrum caritatem, sic transnavigavit. Igitur in una  
 die et nocte eadem prosperis ventis utentes, nos quidem no-  
 lentes abducimur, gementes de ea quæ a nobis futura separa-  
 10 tione justi fieri; ipsi autem secundum votum accidit, festinanti  
 citius recedere de mundo, ut attingat ad quem dilexit Domi-  
 num. Navigantes igitur in portus Romanorum, debente finem  
 habere immunda inani gloria, milites quidem pro tarditate offen-  
 debantur, episcopus autem gaudens festinantibus obediebat.

15 VI. Illinc igitur expulsi a vocato Portu (diffamabantur  
 enim jam quæ secundum sanctum martyrem), obviamus fratri-  
 bus timore et gaudio repletis, gaudentibus quidem in quibus  
 dignificabantur eo quod Theophori consortio, timentibus autem  
 quia quidem ad mortem talis ducebatur. Quibusdam autem et  
 20 annunciavit silere, ferventibus et dicentibus quietare plebem ad  
 non expetere perdere justum. Quos confestim spiritu cognos-  
 scens, et omnes salutans, petensque ab ipsis veram caritatem,  
 pluraque iis quæ in epistola disputans, et suadens non invidere  
 festinanti ad dominum, sic cum genuflexione omnium fratrum  
 25 deprecans Filium Dei pro ecclesiis, pro persecutionis quietatione,  
 pro fratrum adinvicem caritate, subductus est cum festinatione  
 in amphitheatrum. Deinde confestim projectus secundum quon-  
 dam præceptum Cæsaris, debentibus quiescere gloriationibus

1 Epidamnum] *epidamnium* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>.2 illinc] L<sub>2</sub>; *illuc* L<sub>2</sub>.

3 Ty-

rrhenicum] *Sirannicum* L<sub>2</sub>L<sub>3</sub>.4 Potiolis] *potiolis* L<sub>2</sub>L<sub>3</sub>S.6 eam] L<sub>2</sub>;illam L<sub>2</sub>.7 fratrum caritatem] L<sub>2</sub>; *caritatem fratrum* L<sub>2</sub>.

10 fieri ipsi

autem] L<sub>2</sub>; *autem fieri ipsi* L<sub>2</sub>, thus connecting *justi* with what follows. See above, Rom. 7, and below, Mart. 7, for similar transpositions of *autem*.

16 sanctum

martyrem] L<sub>2</sub>; *martyrem sanctum* L<sub>2</sub>.18 Theophori] L<sub>2</sub>; *theophori* L<sub>2</sub>.19 quia] L<sub>2</sub>; *quod* L<sub>2</sub>S.quidem] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>2</sub>.23 iis quæ] *his*quæ L<sub>2</sub>; *his* (om. *quæ*) L<sub>2</sub>.24 sic] L<sub>2</sub>; add. *que* L<sub>2</sub>.

genuflexione]

L<sub>2</sub>S; *genuflexione* (or *-atione*) L<sub>2</sub>.27 amphitheatrum] L<sub>2</sub>S; *amphitheatrum* L<sub>2</sub>.28 præceptum Cæsaris] L<sub>2</sub>; *cæsaris præceptum* L<sub>2</sub>.

(erat enim solennis, ut putabant, dicta Romana voce tertiadecima, secundum quam studiose convenerunt), sic bestis crudelibus ab impiis apponebatur, ut confestim sancti martyris Ignatii compleretur desiderium secundum quod scriptum est, *Desiderium iusti acceptabile*, ut sit nulli fratrum gravis per collectionem § reliquiarum; secundum quod præoccupans in epistola propriam concupiscit fieri fruitionem. Sola enim asperiora sanctorum ossium derelicta sunt ipsius; quæ in Antiochiam reportata sunt, et in capsâ reposita sunt, thesaurus inappreciabilis ab ea quæ in martyre gratia sanctæ ecclesiæ relicta.

10

VII. Facta autem sunt hæc die ante tredecim Kalendas Januarias, præsentibus apud Romanos Sura et Senecio secundo. Horum ipsimet conspectores effecti cum lacrimis, et domi per totam noctem vigilantes, et multum cum genuflexione et oratione deprecantes Dominum certificare infirmos nos de prius 15 factis, parum obdormitantes, hi quidem repente astantem et amplexantem nos videbant, hi autem rursus superorantem nobis videbant beatum Ignatium, quemadmodum ex labore multo advenientem, et astantem Domino in multa confidentia et ineffabili gloria. Impleti autem gaudio hæc videntes, et glorificantes 20 Deum datorem honorum, et beatificantes sanctum, manifestavimus vobis et diem et tempus, ut secundum tempus martyrii congregati communicemus athletæ et virili Christi martyri, qui conculcavit diabolum et hujus insidias in finem prostravit; glorificantes in ipsius venerabili et sancta memoria Dominum 25 nostrum Jesum Christum, per quem et cum quo Patri gloria et potentia cum Spiritu Sancto in sancta ecclesia in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

1 solennis] L<sub>2</sub>; solemnis L<sub>7</sub>      tertiadecima] tertiadecima L<sub>2</sub>; in decima L<sub>7</sub>      3 martyris Ignatii] L<sub>2</sub>; ignati martyris L<sub>7</sub>      4 compleretur] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>7</sub>      8 ipsius] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>7</sub>      suus] L<sub>2</sub>; deus L<sub>7</sub>      9 inappreciabilis] L<sub>2</sub>; inappricabilis L<sub>7</sub>      11 Facta autem] L<sub>2</sub>; autem facta L<sub>7</sub>      See above, Rom. 7 and Mart. 5.      12 Sura] (apparently) L<sub>2</sub>; Sura L<sub>7</sub>      Senecio secundo] L<sub>2</sub>; Senecio secunde L<sub>7</sub>      16 hi] hi L<sub>2</sub>, L<sub>7</sub>, and so again just below.      18 beatum] L<sub>2</sub>; sanctum L<sub>7</sub>      19 advenientem] L<sub>2</sub>; venientem L<sub>7</sub>      21 et diem] L<sub>2</sub>; diem (om. a) L<sub>7</sub>      22 et tempus] L<sub>2</sub>; tempus, et] L<sub>7</sub>; sanctum et ut L<sub>7</sub>      23 glorificantes] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>7</sub>      26 astantem] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>7</sub>



# LATIN CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

## S. JOHN AND THE VIRGIN

### I.

JOHANNI SANCTO SENIORI IGNATIUS ET QUI CUM EO SUNT  
FRATRES.

DE tua mora dolemus graviter, allocutionibus et consola-  
tionibus tuis roborandi. Si tua absentia protendatur, multos de  
5 nostris destituet. Properes igitur venire, quia credimus expedire.  
Sunt et hic multæ de nostris mulieribus Mariam Jesu videre  
cupientes et discurrere a nobis quotidie volentes, ut eam con-

After the close of the *Martyrium* is the following colophon; *Scripti beatus igna-  
tius smirnelis a troade, pollicarpo a troade, tralessis* [for which *ephesis* is substituted  
in the marg.] *a smirna, magnesitis a smirna, philadelphus a troade, tralessis a smirna,  
marie proselitis ab antiochia, tarsensibus a philipensibus, antiochenis a philipensibus, eroni  
diasono a philipensibus, romantis a S.* [this ends the page, and the remainder of the  
word is accidentally omitted; the word is written in full *smyrna* in  $L_2$ ], *martyrium  
sancti ignacii cum epistola ad romanos scripta ab ipso ad populum romanorum*  $L_2$ . In  
 $L_2$  *autem* is added after *scripti*; the sentences *magnesitis...thralessis a smirna*, and *mar-  
tyrium...romanorum* are omitted; and it concludes *consummatori bonorum deo gratias*.  
Owing to Ussher's mode of collating, the minor variations of spelling are uncertain,  
except that it has *smyrnelis* for *smirnelis*, *smyrna* for *smirna*, etc. After this colophon  
the four Latin epistles follow immediately, without any heading, being numbered 14,  
15, 16, 17, respectively in the marg. of  $L_2$ .

### I.

SUPRSCR. *epistola eiusdem ad iohannem evangelistam*  $L_2$ ; *epistola* (add. *sancti* l)  
*ignacii ad* (add. *sanctum* bl) *iohannem evangelistam*  $L_2$ bl; *epistola sancti ignacii ad  
beatum iohannem. incipit feliciter* m.

1 Ignatius] add. *episcopus* l. eo] *ipso*  $L_1L_2$ . 4 roborandi] *roborari*  
*cupientes* bl; *robora*  $L_2L_3$ . absentia] *mora* bl. protendatur] *profundatur* m.  
8 nostris] *nobis* l. Properes] *propera*  $L_2L_3$  bl. igitur] *ergo*  $L_2L_3$ . venire]  
om. m. expedire] *expediri* m. 6 multæ] *multis* p. Mariam] add.  
*matrem* l. 7 quotidie] *cotidie*  $L_2$  bl.

tingant et ubera ejus tractent, quæ Dominum Jesum aluerunt, et quædam secretiora ejus percuncentur ipsam. Sed et Salome quam diligis, filia Annæ, Hierosolimis quinque mensibus apud eam commorans, et quidam alii noti referunt eam omnium gratiarum abundantam et omnium virtutum fœcundam. Et, ut 5 dicunt, in persecutionibus et afflictionibus est hilaris; in penuriis et indigentibus non querula; injuriantibus grata; et molestata lætatur; miseris et afflictis coafflicta condolet, et subvenire non pigrescit. Contra vitiorum pestiferos insultus in pugna fidei disceptans enitescit. Nostræ novæ religionis est magistra; et 10 apud fideles omnium operum pietatis ministra. Humilibus quidem est devota, et devotis devotius humiliatur. Et mirum ab omnibus magnificatur; cum a scribis et Pharisæis ei detrahatur. Præterea et multi multa nobis referunt de eadem: tamen omni- 15 bus per omnia non audemus fidem concedere, nec tibi referre. Sed, sicut nobis a fide dignis narratur, in Maria Jesu humanæ naturæ natura sanctitatis angelicæ sociatur. Et hæc talia exci- taverunt viscera nostra, et cogunt valde desiderare aspectum hujus (si fas sit fari) prodigii et sanctissimi monstri. Tu autem diligenti modo disponas cum desiderio nostro, et valeas. Amen. 20

2 quædam] *quæ* l. ejus] om. b. ipsam. Sed et] *ipsam. et* l; *ipsam enim et* bm. In L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub> the remainder of the epistle after *percuncentur* is wanting, with the exception of the single sentence *in maria...sociatur.* 3 filia] *filiam* p. Hierosolimis] *ierosolimis* bl. quinque mensibus apud eam] *apud eam quinque mensibus* bl. 4 commorans] *commorantes* p. quidam] *quidem* p. noti] om. bl. referunt] *vociferant* l. eam] om. bm; add. *mariam* p. 5 abundantam] *habundam* pb. 6 hilaris] *hylaris* pb. 7 injuriantibus] *in injuriantibus* p. grata] *leta* m. et molestata] *et molesta* p; *ad molesta* m. 9 insultus] om. blm. in pugna] *impugna* p; *impugnat* l. fidei] *fide* pbl. 10 disceptans] *disco aperta tum* p. novæ] *vero* m. 11 pietatis] add. *est* m. 12 mirum] add. *in modum* l. 13 cum] add. *tamen* l. et] om. bl. 14 multa nobis] *multa alia* m. 15 per omnia] om. m. 16 dignis] *condignis* m. Maria] add. *matre* l. 17 sanctitatis angelicæ] *angelicæ sanctitatis* m. 18 viscera] *corda* l; *in sancta* p. 19 hujus] *eius* l. sit] *est sic* b; *est ita* l. 20 nostro] *meo* bl. et] om. m. Amen] om. bl; add. *explicit* m.

## 2.

## JOHANNI SANCTO SENIORI SUUS IGNATIUS.

SI licitum est mihi apud te, ad Hierosolimæ partes volo ascendere, et videre fideles sanctos qui ibi sunt; præcipue Mariam Jesu, quam dicunt universis admirandam et cunctis 5 desiderabilem. Quem vero non delectet videre eam et alloqui, quæ verum Deum deorum peperit, si sit nostræ fidei et religionis amicus? Similiter et illum venerabilem Jacobum qui cognominatur Justus; quem referunt Christo Jesu simillimum vita et modo conversationis, ac si ejusdem uteri frater esset gemellus; 10 quem, dicunt, si videro, video ipsum Jesum secundum omnia corporis ejus lineamenta: præterea ceteros sanctos et sanctas. Heu, quid moror? Cur detineor? Bone præceptor, properare me jubeas, et valeas. Amen.

## 3.

## CHRISTIFERÆ MARÆ SUUS IGNATIUS.

15 ME neophitum Johannisque tui discipulum confortare et consolari debueras. De Jesu enim tuo percepi mira dictu, et

## 2.

SUPERSCR. *ignacius iohanni evangelistæ* L<sub>x</sub>; *alia ignatii iohanni evangelistæ* L<sub>2</sub>; *it(erum) epistola ignatii ad iohannem evangelistam* b; *alia epistola sancti ignatii ad iohannem evangelistam* l; *idem ad eundem* m; *alia* p.

1 Johanni sancto] *sancto iohanni* p.      2 mihi] *michi* lp.      Hierosolimæ] *ierosolime* L<sub>x</sub>L<sub>2</sub>b[l].  
 3 et] om. l.      fideles] om. L<sub>x</sub>L<sub>2</sub>bl.      Mariam] *add. matrem* l.  
 5 vero] *enim* L<sub>x</sub>L<sub>2</sub>blm.      videre eam] *eam videre* L<sub>x</sub>L<sub>2</sub>bl.  
 et] om. b.      6 quæ] *et quæ* b.      verum] om. L<sub>x</sub>.      deorum] *de se* lm.  
 fidei et] om. L<sub>x</sub>.      8 Christo Jesu] *domino christo* L<sub>x</sub>L<sub>2</sub>.      simillimum] *add. facie* L<sub>x</sub>L<sub>2</sub>blm.  
 10 videro] *video* L<sub>x</sub>.      video] *videro* L<sub>2</sub>.      et] om. bl.  
 Iesum] *dominum iesum* L<sub>x</sub>L<sub>2</sub>.      11 ejus] *sui* b.      lineamenta] *liniamenta* blm.  
 12 Cur detineor] *quid detineor* m: om. b.      13 me] om. l.      et] om. m.  
 valeas] *add. in christo* l.

## 3.

SUPERSCR. *ignacius sancte marie* L<sub>x</sub>; *alia ignatii sancte marie* L<sub>2</sub>; *ignacius ad sanctam mariam* m; *epistola ignatii ad beatam virginem* b; *epistola sancti ignatii ad mariam christiferam* l; *ignacius beate virginis* p.

14 Christiferæ] *christifere* L<sub>x</sub>.      15 neophitum] *neophytum* m.      que] *quem* L<sub>x</sub>.  
 confortare] *confortari* L<sub>x</sub>m.      16 percepi] om. b.

stupefactus sum ex auditu. A te autem, quæ semper ei familiaris fuisti conjuncta et secretorum ejus conscia, desidero ex animo fieri certior de auditis. Scripsi tibi et etiam alias, et rogavi de eisdem. Valeas; et tui neophiti, qui mecum sunt, ex te et per te et in te confortentur. Amen. 5

## 4.

IGNATIO DILECTO CONDISCIPULO HUMILIS ANCILLA DOMINI.

DE Jesu quæ a Johanne audisti et didicisti vera sunt. Illa credas, illis inhæreas, et Christianitatis susceptæ votum firmiter teneas, et mores et vitam voto conformes. Veniam autem una cum Johanne te et qui tecum sunt visere. Sta et viriliter 10 age in fide; nec te commoveat persecutionis austeritas, sed valeat et exultet spiritus tuus in Deo salutari tuo. Amen.

1 stupefactus] *stupens* b.      auditu] *audito* l.      semper] om. b.      ei familiaris fuisti] *fuisti ei familiaris* L<sub>1</sub>; *familiaris ei fuisti* b; *ei fuisti familiaris* L<sub>2</sub>; *fuisti ei familiaris* m.      3 animo] *nunc* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>.      de] *ex* bl.      auditis] *auditu* b.      alias] *aliis* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>bl.      et] om. bl.      4 rogavi] add. *te* l.      eisdem] *eisdem* l; *eis* b.      tui] om. L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>blm.      5 Amen] om. L<sub>2</sub>m.

## 4.

SUPERSCR. *ignacio sancta maria* L<sub>1</sub>; *alia sanctæ mariæ ignatio* L<sub>2</sub>; *epistola beatæ virginis ad ignatium* b; *responsio beate mariæ sancto ignatio* l; *sanctissima maria ad beatum ignatium* m; *beata virgo ignatio* p.

6 dilecto] add. *et* bm.      7 Christi Jesu] *iesu christi* L<sub>1</sub>.      Illa] *et illa* bl.      8 illis] *et illis* l.      susceptæ] *eius cepte* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>bl; om. m.      firmiter] *firmum* m.      9 conformes] *confirmes* p.      10 te] om. L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>bl.      et] om. l.      qui] *eos qui* l.      11 nec te] *nec* b; *ne* L<sub>1</sub>.      12 tuus] om. m.

Subscr. *explicunt epistole ignacii martiris numero decem et septem* L<sub>1</sub>; om. L<sub>2</sub>.

II.

SYRIAC REMAINS

OF

S. IGNATIUS.

EDITED BY W. WRIGHT, LL.D.

1. *THE THREE EPISTLES OF THE CURÉTONIAN ABRIDGEMENT WITH TRANSLATION*; p. 659 sq.

The MSS of this abridged Syriac Version are

- $\Sigma_1$ . *Brit. Mus. Add.* 12175 (To Polycarp).
- $\Sigma_2$ . *Brit. Mus. Add.* 14618 (Three Epistles).
- $\Sigma_3$ . *Brit. Mus. Add.* 17192 (Three Epistles).

2. *FRAGMENTS OF THE UNABRIDGED VERSION*; p. 677 sq.

Three groups of fragments, preserved in these MSS respectively ;

- S<sub>1</sub>. *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Syr.* 38.
- S<sub>2</sub>. *Brit. Mus. Add.* 14577.
- S<sub>3</sub>. *Brit. Mus. Add.* 17134.

3. *ANTIOCHENE ACTS OF MARTYRDOM*; p. 687 sq.

The MSS of this Version are

- A. *Brit. Mus. Add.* 7200.
- B. *Rom. Borg.* 18.
- C. *Rom. Vat. Syr.* 160.
- D. *Berolin. Sachau* 222.

All the MSS here mentioned have been described already in the general introduction.













ܟܝܠܘܢ ܝܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܘܚܝܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܝܢܝܗܘܢ ܝܘܢܝܢܘܢ  
 ܕܡܘܘܨܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܝܢܝܗܘܢ ܝܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܕܡܘܘܨܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܝܢܝܗܘܢ  
 ܝܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܕܡܘܘܨܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܝܢܝܗܘܢ ܝܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܕܡܘܘܨܬܐ  
 ܕܝܫܘܥܝܢܝܗܘܢ ܝܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܕܡܘܘܨܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܝܢܝܗܘܢ  
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 ܝܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܕܡܘܘܨܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܝܢܝܗܘܢ ܝܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܕܡܘܘܨܬܐ  
 ܕܝܫܘܥܝܢܝܗܘܢ ܝܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܕܡܘܘܨܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܝܢܝܗܘܢ

<sup>1</sup> Σ, ܚܝܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܝܢܝܗܘܢ.

<sup>2</sup> Σ, omits ܝܘܢܝܢܘܢ.

<sup>3</sup> Σ, ܝܘܢܝܢܘܢ.

<sup>4</sup> Σ, ܕܝܫܘܥܝܢܝܗܘܢ.



ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲏⲉ ⲛⲁⲗⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ

ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲏⲉⲛⲁⲗⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ

ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ  
ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ : ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ

<sup>1</sup> The words *ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ* are here added to the heading of  $\Sigma_9$ ;  $\Sigma_9$  has: *ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ*.  
*ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ* : *ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ*  
<sup>2</sup>  $\Sigma_9$ , *ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ*.

<sup>3</sup>  $\Sigma_9$  *ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ* (not *ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ*).  
<sup>4</sup>  $\Sigma_9$  *ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ*.  
<sup>5</sup>  $\Sigma_9$ , omits *ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙⲏⲥⲏ ⲁⲓⲥⲁ*.

חֲפֵזֵי מַדְבָּרָא. וְכַסְּבַרְהוֹן מִיַּד אֱלֹהֵי עֲלֵימָא.  
 אֲרִיבְרָא לְרַמְלָא כְּכַסְּבַרְהוֹן מִיַּד אֱלֹהֵי עֲלֵימָא.  
 וְלִפְתֻּחַיִּי מִיַּד אֱלֹהֵי עֲלֵימָא וְנִמְנָם אֲרִיבְרָא:  
 יוֹמֵי חַיֵּי מַדְבָּרָא לְחַיֵּיכֹן. אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן מִן  
 חַיֵּיכֹן כְּרַמְלָא: וְכַסְּבַרְהוֹן מִיַּד אֱלֹהֵי עֲלֵימָא.  
 עַלְמָא עֲלֵימָא. לְאִיִּתֵּיכֹן אֲרִיבְרָא. אֲרִיבְרָא מִן  
 אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן. וְלִפְתֻּחַיִּי מִיַּד אֱלֹהֵי עֲלֵימָא.  
 וְכַסְּבַרְהוֹן מִיַּד אֱלֹהֵי עֲלֵימָא: אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן.  
 אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן.  
 אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן.  
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 אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן.  
 אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן.  
 אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן.  
 אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן.  
 אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן.  
 אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן.  
 אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן.  
 אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן אֲרִיבְרָא מִן לֵב יָדֵיכֹן.

<sup>1</sup> Σ, omits אֲרִיבְרָא.

<sup>4</sup> Σ, אֲרִיבְרָא, without מִן.

<sup>2</sup> Σ, omits לֵב.

<sup>5</sup> Σ, omits מִן.

<sup>3</sup> Σ, אֲרִיבְרָא.





וַתִּפְתָּחֵהּ. אֶל־לֵבָבִי לִקְרֹאֲךָ אֲדֹנָי. לֵשֶׁנִּי  
 נֶאֱמָרָה כִּי־נָכְרִי. וְאֵרָאִיתִי וְאֵנִי אֶת־עַמְּךָ.  
 וְהָיָה כִּי־אֶשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלְךָ אֲדֹנָי. וְאֵרָאִיתִי  
 שַׁמַּיְךָ. יָרָד־לָּךְ וְאֵנִי אֶת־עַמְּךָ. וְאֵרָאִיתִי  
 וְהָיָה כִּי־אֶשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלְךָ אֲדֹנָי. וְאֵרָאִיתִי  
 וְהָיָה כִּי־אֶשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלְךָ אֲדֹנָי. וְאֵרָאִיתִי  
 וְהָיָה כִּי־אֶשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלְךָ אֲדֹנָי. וְאֵרָאִיתִי  
 וְהָיָה כִּי־אֶשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלְךָ אֲדֹנָי. וְאֵרָאִיתִי  
 וְהָיָה כִּי־אֶשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלְךָ אֲדֹנָי. וְאֵרָאִיתִי  
 וְהָיָה כִּי־אֶשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלְךָ אֲדֹנָי. וְאֵרָאִיתִי  
 וְהָיָה כִּי־אֶשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלְךָ אֲדֹנָי. וְאֵרָאִיתִי  
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 וְהָיָה כִּי־אֶשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלְךָ אֲדֹנָי. וְאֵרָאִיתִי  
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 וְהָיָה כִּי־אֶשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלְךָ אֲדֹנָי. וְאֵרָאִיתִי

<sup>1</sup> Σ₂ קרֹאֲךָ.  
<sup>2</sup> Σ₂ קְרֹאֲךָ.  
<sup>3</sup> Σ₂ קְרֹאֲךָ, without י.

<sup>1</sup> Σ₂ has the general colophon,  
 על קריאת דברי חז"ל  
 אוריאל קוריאל

THE THREE EPISTLES OF IGNATIUS  
BISHOP AND MARTYR<sup>1</sup>.

I.

*The Epistle of Mar Ignatius the Bishop, to Polycarp*<sup>2</sup>.

IGNATIUS, who is Theophorus, to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who himself is more visited by God the Father and by Jesus Christ our Lord; much greeting.

Forasmuch as thy mind, which is fixed in God as upon an immoveable rock, is acceptable to me, I praise God the more abundantly that I have been accounted worthy of thy countenance which I long for in God. I beseech thee then, by the grace with which thou art clothed, to add to thy course, and to pray for all men that they may be saved; and require thou things becoming with all diligence of flesh and of spirit. Be careful for concord, than which nothing is more excellent. Bear all men, as our Lord beareth thee. Be longsuffering with all men in love, as thou art (doest). Be constant in prayer. Ask for more understanding than thou hast. Be watchful, for thou possessest a spirit that sleepeth not. Speak with all men according to the will of God. Bear the infirmity of all men like a perfect athlete; for where the labour is much, much also is the gain. If thou love the good disciple only, thou hast no grace. Rather subdue those who are evil by gentleness; for<sup>3</sup> all sores are not healed by one medicine. Allay cutting by embrocation<sup>4</sup>. Be wise as the serpent in everything, and innocent as the dove with respect to those things which are requisite. On this account art thou of flesh and of spirit, that thou mayest allure those things which are seen before thy face; and respecting those things

<sup>1</sup> This general heading is from  $\Sigma_2$ .

<sup>2</sup>  $\Sigma_1$  has *The Epistle of Mar Ignatius the bishop*;  $\Sigma_2$  *The Epistle of Ignatius*;  $\Sigma_3$  *The Epistle of Ignatius bishop of Antioch*.

<sup>3</sup>  $\Sigma_1\Sigma_2$  omit *for*.

<sup>4</sup> Literally *by softening*. The Syriac words, taken by themselves, might also mean, *minister unto the flock with gentleness*.

which are hidden from thee, ask that they may be revealed to thee, that thou mayest be lacking in nothing, and mayest abound in all gifts. The time requireth<sup>1</sup>, as the pilot the ship, and as he who standeth in the tempest the haven, that thou shouldest be worthy of God. Be vigilant, as an athlete of God. That which is promised to us is life eternal incorruptible, of which thou also art persuaded. In everything I will be instead of thy soul, and my bonds which thou hast loved. Let not those who seem to be (*or*, who think themselves) something and teach strange doctrines, astound thee; but stand in truth, like an athlete who is smitten: for it is [the part] of a great athlete that he should be smitten and conquer. More especially for God's sake it behoveth us to endure everything, that He also may endure us. Be diligent more than thou art. Be discerning of the times. Expect Him who is above the times, Him to whom there are no times<sup>2</sup>, Him who is unseen, Him who for our sakes was seen, Him who is impalpable, Him who is impassible, Him who for our sakes suffered, Him who endured every thing in every form for our sakes. Let not the widows be neglected. For our Lord's sake be thou careful of them. And let nothing be done without thy will, neither do thou anything apart from<sup>3</sup> the will of God; nor indeed doest thou. Stand well. Let there be frequent assemblies. Ask every man by his name. Despise not slaves and handmaids. But neither let them despise; but let them serve the more, as for the glory of God, that they may be accounted worthy of the excellent freedom which is of God. Let them not desire to be set free out of the common [property], that they may not be found the slaves of lusts. Flee from evil arts; but rather discourse respecting them. Bid my sisters that they love in the Lord, and that their husbands<sup>4</sup> be sufficient for them in flesh and in spirit. And again, charge my brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they love their wives as our Lord His Church. If any one be able by strength to continue in chastity to the honour of the body of our Lord, let him continue without boasting; if he boast, he is lost; if he become known apart from the bishop, he has corrupted himself. But<sup>5</sup> it is becoming, to men and women who marry, that they marry by the counsel of

<sup>1</sup> Or it might be *required*, or *require*, if the word were differently pointed.

<sup>2</sup> According to the punctuation of the Syriac text, *consider in the times Him who is above the times; expect Him to whom there are no times*, etc.

<sup>3</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  reads *without*, the same word as before.

<sup>4</sup> The reading of  $\Sigma_2$  is, *Bid my sisters take their husbands in the Lord, and let their husbands etc.*

<sup>5</sup>  $\Sigma_1$  has *For*.

the bishop, that the marriage may be in our Lord, and not in lust. But let every thing be for the honour of God. Look ye to the bishop, that God also may look to you. I will be instead of the souls of those who are subject to the bishop and the presbyters and the deacons; with them may I have a portion with God. Labour together with one another; make the struggle together, run together, suffer together, sleep together<sup>1</sup>, rise together. As stewards of God, and His domestics and ministers, please Him and serve Him, from whom ye will receive wages (*or* that ye may receive wages from Him). Let none of you rebel. Let your baptism be to you as armour, and faith as a helmet, and love as a spear, and patience as a panoply. Let your treasures be your good works, that ye may receive the gift of God, as is just. Be ye long-suffering towards each other in gentleness, as God towards you. I rejoice in you at all times. The Christian has not power over himself, but is ready to be subject to God. I salute him who is accounted worthy to go to Antioch in my stead, as I charged thee<sup>2</sup>.

[Here] ends the First<sup>3</sup> [Epistle].

## 2.

*The Second Epistle, to the Ephesians*<sup>4</sup>.

**I**GNATIUS, who is Theophorus, to the church which is blessed in the greatness of God the Father, and perfected; to her who was set apart from eternity to be at all times for abiding and unchangeable glory, and is perfected and chosen in the token of truth<sup>5</sup>, by the will of the Father of Jesus Christ our God; to her who is worthy of happiness; to her who is at Ephesus in Jesus Christ in joy unblameable; much greeting.

Forasmuch as your well-beloved name is acceptable to me in God, which ye have acquired by nature by a right and just will, <sup>6</sup>by faith and by love of Jesus Christ our Saviour, and ye are imitators of God, and have been fervent<sup>7</sup> in the blood of God, and have speedily accomplished a work congenial to you; for<sup>8</sup> when ye heard that I was

<sup>1</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  omits the words *sleep together*.

<sup>2</sup> According to  $\Sigma_3$ , as *thou didst charge us*.

<sup>3</sup>  $\Sigma_1\Sigma_2$  omit *the First*.

<sup>4</sup> So  $\Sigma_3$ . For *The Second Epistle*  $\Sigma_2$  reads *His Second*.



<sup>5</sup> But  $\overline{\text{K}}$  is probably a corruption of  $\overline{\text{K}}$ , so that it will be *in a true passion*; see above, p. 25 sq.

<sup>6</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  inserts *and also*.



<sup>7</sup>  $\Sigma_2$ , and *are fervent*.

<sup>8</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  omits *for*.

bound [so as to be hindered] from acting<sup>1</sup> for the sake of the common name and hope,—and I hope through your prayers to be devoured of beasts at Rome, that by means of this, whereof I am accounted worthy, I may be endued with strength to be a disciple of God,—ye were diligent to come and see me. But forasmuch as we have received your multitude in the name of God by Onesimus, who is your bishop in love unutterable, whom I pray in Jesus Christ our Lord that ye may love, and that ye all may be in his likeness; for blessed is He who hath given you such a bishop, as ye deserve. But forasmuch as love suffereth me not to be silent respecting (from) you, on this account I have been forward to entreat you to be diligent in the will of God; for when no one lust is implanted in you which is able to torment you, lo, ye live in God. I rejoice in you, and I offer supplication on account of you Ephesians, a church renowned in all ages. For those who are carnal are not able to do spiritual things, neither the spiritual carnal things; just as neither faith [can do] those things which are foreign to faith, nor lack of faith [those things which are] of faith. For those things which ye have done in the flesh, even they are spiritual, because ye have done every thing in Jesus Christ. And ye are prepared for the building of God the Father, and ye are raised up on high by the engine of Jesus Christ, which is the Cross, and ye<sup>2</sup> are drawn by the rope, which is the Holy Spirit; and that which hoisteth you up<sup>3</sup> is your faith, and your love is the way that leadeth up on high to God. Pray for all men, for there is hope of repentance for them, that they may be accounted worthy of God. From your works especially let them be instructed. Against their harsh words be ye conciliatory in meekness of mind and in gentleness; against their blasphemies do ye pray; and against their error arm ye yourselves with faith; and against their fierceness be ye peaceful and quiet; and be ye not astounded at them. But let us be imitators of our Lord in meekness, and of whosoever shall more especially be injured and oppressed and defrauded. The work is not of promise, but that a man be found in the strength of faith even to the end. It is better that a man be silent when he is something, than that he should be speaking when he is not; that through those things which he speaks, he may act, and through those things in which he is silent, he may be known. My spirit

<sup>1</sup> Or *visiting*; Σ<sub>2</sub> has the plural, *from actions*: but doubtless  is a corruption of  Syria, as in the Greek.

<sup>2</sup> Σ<sub>2</sub> omits *ye*.

<sup>3</sup> Syriac, , feminine , *qui, quæ extrahit*. Cureton, and your pulley.

boweth down to the Cross, which is a stumbling-block to those who do not believe, but to you for salvation and life eternal. There was concealed from the ruler of this world the virginity of Mary, and her child-bearing<sup>1</sup>, and the death<sup>2</sup> of our Lord, and (*or* even) the three mysteries of shouting, which were wrought in the quiet of God from [the time of] the star even till now. At the manifestation of the Son magic began to cease, and all bonds were loosed, and the ancient kingdom and the error of evil was destroyed. Henceforward all things were moved together, and the destruction of death was devised, and there was the commencement of that which is perfected in God.

[Here] ends the Second Epistle<sup>3</sup>.

## 3.

*The Third Epistle, to the Romans<sup>4</sup>.*

**I**GNATIUS, who is Theophorus, to the church which has found compassion in the greatness of the Father Most High; to her who presideth in the place of the country of the Romans; who is worthy of God, and worthy of life and blessings and praise and remembrance, and is worthy of prosperity, and presideth in love, and is perfected in the law of Christ unblameable (*or* unblameably); much greeting.

From of old I have prayed to God that I might be accounted worthy to behold your faces, which are worthy of God; but now, being bound in Jesus Christ, I hope to receive you and salute you, if it be the Will that I should be accounted worthy to the end. For the beginning is well disposed<sup>5</sup>, if I be accounted worthy to attain to the end, that I may receive my portion without hindrance amid suffering. For I am afraid of your love, lest it should injure me. But for you it is easy to do what you wish; but for me it is difficult to be accounted worthy of God, if indeed [γὰρ] ye spare me not. For there is no other time for me<sup>6</sup> like this, that I should be accounted worthy of God; neither will ye, if ye be silent, be found in a better work than this. If ye leave me, I shall be a word of

<sup>1</sup> Both manuscripts read ܡܘܠܕܐܘܬܐ, and his birth, but there can be little doubt that the upper point has been accidentally omitted, ܡܘܠܕܐܘܬܐ, and her child-bearing.

<sup>2</sup> The word ܡܘܬܐܘܬܐ, and his death, is wanting in Σ<sub>1</sub>. See p. 78 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Σ<sub>2</sub> omits the Second Epistle.

<sup>4</sup> Σ<sub>3</sub> has *The Third Epistle*; Σ<sub>2</sub> *The Third Epistle of the same Saint Ignatius*. The words *to the Romans* are added in our text to complete the title.

<sup>5</sup> Σ<sub>3</sub> has *for the beginning we have well contrived, or planned*.

<sup>6</sup> Σ<sub>2</sub> omits *for me*.

God ; but if ye love my flesh, I become again a voice. Ye will not give me anything better than this, that I should be sacrificed to God while the altar is ready ; that ye may be with one concord in love, and may praise God the Father in Jesus Christ our Lord, because He has accounted the bishop of Syria<sup>1</sup> worthy to be God's, after He has called him from the East to the West. It is good for me \* that I should set from the world in God, that I may rise in Him in life. Ye have never envied any one. Ye have taught others. Only pray for strength to be given to me from within and from without, that I may not only speak, but also desire ; and not that I may be called a Christian only, but also that I may be found to be [one]: for if I am found to be [one], I am also able to be called [so]. Then shall I be faithful, when I am not seen in the world. For there is nothing which is seen that is good. The work is not [a matter] of persuasion, but Christianity is great when the world hateth it. I write to all the churches, and declare to all men that I die willingly for God, if it be that ye hinder me not. I intreat you, be not [affected] towards me with love that is unseasonable. Leave me to be [the prey] of the beasts, that through them I may be accounted worthy of God. I am the wheat of God, and by the teeth of the beasts I am ground, that I may be found the pure bread of God. With provoking provoke ye the beasts, that they may be a grave for me, and may leave nothing of my body, that even when I am fallen asleep, I may not be a burden upon any one. Then am I in truth a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world seeth not even my body. Intreat our Lord for me, that through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God. I do not charge you like Peter and Paul, who are Apostles, but I am one condemned: <sup>2</sup>they are free, but I am a slave even until now. But if I suffer, I am a freedman of Jesus Christ, and I shall rise in Him from the dead free. And now, being bound, I learn to desire nothing. From Syria, and even to Rome<sup>4</sup>, I am cast among beasts, by sea and by land, by night and by day, being bound between ten leopards, which are the band of soldiers, who, even while I do good to them, do evil the more to me. But I am the more instructed by their injury, but not on this account am I justified to myself. I rejoice in the beasts that are prepared for me, and I pray that they may be speedily

<sup>1</sup> Σ<sub>2</sub> omits *of Syria*.

<sup>2</sup> Σ<sub>2</sub> omits *for me*.

<sup>3</sup> Σ<sub>3</sub> inserts *but*, which is erased in Σ<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> According to the punctuation of the Syriac text, *to desire nothing, from Syria and even to Rome. I am cast, etc.*

found for me; and I will provoke them to devour me speedily, and not as that which is afraid of some other men and does not approach them. Even should they not be willing to approach me, I will go with violence against them. Know me from myself; what is expedient for me. Let nothing envy me of things that are seen and that are not seen, that I should be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ<sup>1</sup>. Let fire, and the cross, and the beasts that are prepared, cutting off of limbs, and scattering of bones, and crushing of the whole body, hard torments of the devil, come upon me; and only let me be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ. The pains of birth are standing over me: and my love is the Cross<sup>2</sup>, and there is not in me fire of<sup>3</sup> any other love. I do not desire the food of corruption, neither the lusts of this world. The bread of God I seek, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, and his blood I seek [as] a drink, which is love incorruptible. My spirit saluteth you, and the love of the churches which received me as the name of Jesus Christ; for even those who were not<sup>4</sup> near to the way in the flesh preceded me in every city. Now I am about to arrive (*or* near, so that I shall arrive)<sup>5</sup> at Rome. I know many things in God, but I moderate myself, that I may not perish through boasting; for now it behoveth me to fear the more, and not to regard those who puff me up. For they who say to me such things, scourge me; for I love to suffer, but I do not know if I am worthy. For to many zeal is not seen, but with me it has war. I have need therefore of gentleness, by which the ruler of this world is destroyed. I am able to write to you heavenly things; but I fear lest I should do you an injury. Know me from myself; for I am cautious, lest ye should not be able to suffice [for them], and should be perplexed. For even I, not because I am bound, and am able to know heavenly things, and the places of the angels, and the station of the powers that are seen and that are not seen, on this account am I a disciple; for I am far short of the perfection which is worthy of God. Be ye perfectly strong in the patience of Jesus Christ our God.

[Here] ends the Third [Epistle]<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> According to the punctuation of the Syriac text, *not seen*. *That I may be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ, let fire,* etc.

<sup>2</sup> So according to the present Syriac text; *my love is crucified* would require

ܐܘܢ ܕܠܘܗܝܐ.

<sup>3</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  reads *in* for *of*.

<sup>4</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  omits *not*.

<sup>5</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  reads *I am near, I shall arrive,* omitting *so that*.

<sup>6</sup> So  $\Sigma_2$ .  $\Sigma_3$  has [*Here*] *end the Three Epistles of Ignatius bishop and martyr.*



2.

S<sub>1</sub>.

קלא דתלמך מן קדוּתא דסגוּתא קאפּוּלֵי  
 : דלחזקא דקלסא : סוּם לַבַּיְתָא דלמלך סממא :  
 קאפּוּלֵי דקאפּוּלֵי דקאפּוּלֵי . דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי  
 : דלחזקא דקלסא :

ק. מן קדוּתא דלחזקא דקלסא :

קאפּוּלֵי דקאפּוּלֵי דקאפּוּלֵי . דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי  
 קאפּוּלֵי דקאפּוּלֵי דקאפּוּלֵי . דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי  
 . דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי דקאפּוּלֵי . דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי  
 . דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי דקאפּוּלֵי דקאפּוּלֵי . דלסא  
 . דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי דקאפּוּלֵי דקאפּוּלֵי . דלסא  
 . דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי דקאפּוּלֵי דקאפּוּלֵי . דלסא

(Ephes. 5, 6) : דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי

דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי : דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי  
 דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי . דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי  
 . דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי דקאפּוּלֵי . דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי  
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 דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי דקאפּוּלֵי . דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי

(Ephes. 13) : דלסא דקאפּוּלֵי



לַעֲשֹׂה. אִיךָ תִּלְבַּשְׁתֶּם וְשֵׂד הַחַסְדִּים שֶׁבִי  
 אֲבוֹת וְשֵׂד הַחַסְדִּים הַזֶּה כִּי כֹחַ עֲלֵיכֶם. וְלֵךְ דַּם אֵפ  
 לְהַצִּיחַ וְהַחֲמוֹת קִדּוּם וְיָרוּם וְשֵׂד הַחַסְדִּים  
 דַּחַל אֲשֶׁר בְּפִי לַחֲלֵל. אֵל בִּי וְהַחֲמוֹת  
 הַחַסְדִּים אֲשֶׁר בְּפִי. אֵל דַּחַל וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת  
 וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת  
 מִחַסְדִּים בְּלֵב עַל מַחְסָד וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת  
 שֵׂד הַחַסְדִּים. הַחֲמוֹת אֲשֶׁר בְּפִי וְהַחֲמוֹת  
 דַּחַל : הַחֲמוֹת אִיךָ דַּחַל קִדּוּם וְהַחֲמוֹת  
 מִחַסְדִּים דַּחֲמוֹת. לְבִי הַחֲמוֹת בְּפִי לֵךְ

(Trall. 2, 3) ∴ וְהַחֲמוֹת

מִחַסְדִּים בְּלֵב. אֵפ אֵל בִּי לֵךְ דַּחֲמוֹת אֵל  
 מִחַסְדִּים אֵל דַּחַל וְהַחֲמוֹת אֵפ אֵל וְהַחֲמוֹת  
 דַּחֲמוֹת מִחַסְדִּים דַּחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת דַּחֲמוֹת  
 מִחַסְדִּים אֵל דַּחֲמוֹת. שֵׂד בִּי וְהַחֲמוֹת :  
 דַּחַל אֵל לֵךְ דַּחֲמוֹת. כֹּחַ אֵל מִחַל וְהַחֲמוֹת  
 לֵךְ מִחַסְדִּים : אֵל עַל מִחַסְדִּים וְשֵׂד הַחַסְדִּים  
 דַּחֲמוֹת בְּלֵב דַּחֲמוֹת לְבֵב דַּחֲמוֹת אֵל וְהַחֲמוֹת  
 חַסְדִּים אֵל וְהַחֲמוֹת אֵל וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת  
 דַּחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת  
 דַּחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת  
 מִחַסְדִּים וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת  
 מִחַסְדִּים וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת  
 מִחַסְדִּים וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת  
 מִחַסְדִּים וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת וְהַחֲמוֹת

(Trall. 5, 6) ∴ אֵל



דשבוה חל דאקו נח דנדב אנא פלאהא דאנעם  
אחיהו מלמ. שמוה מו ל דמ נח דמס אשני אנא.  
דמ קסעא ל מלח מלמ. דמס דמ סכא מו  
אחיהו מלמ. חלנ נח אפספסא נדג ל

דחברגא :: (Philad. 7)

אחיהו אנא לל דאשבוה דאנא חלע  
חברגא שמוהא. אנא לל נדג אקו דלחנה  
דאלמא. דחברגא שמוהא נד דמסא אפלא  
דאלמא דאנא ללח מלמא חלמא נד חלמא  
אמנא מלמא ללח דחיהו. אפלא מו  
חלמא חלמא. מו אנא דחברגא מלמא דחברגא.  
אפ אנא חלמא חלמא לל דחלמא חלמא. ל  
חלמא לל מו אנא חלמא דאלמא. אקו חנה  
מחנה מלמ דחיהו אפספסא. אפספסא חלמא

מחנהא :: (Philad. 10)

ו. דמל נח אפספסא חלמא דאשכא ::  
חלמא חלמא חלמא נח אפספסא. לל לחנה  
אנא לחנה חלמא. אנא חנה דמס חלמא מו  
מ חלמא חלמא. דמסא חיהו מלמא חלמא  
דחיהו חלמא. חלמא מו חלמא חלמא חלמא  
לל חנה חלמא חלמא. חלמא מו חלמא חלמא  
חלמא חלמא חלמא. אנא חנה חלמא חלמא  
חלמא חלמא חלמא. אנא חנה חלמא חלמא

נח אפספסא חלמא חלמא :: (Smyrn. 8, 9)

1 Variant at the foot of the page, in the same handwriting as the text,  
אחיהו חלמא חלמא.













אתם לשתיהם אבותם לא מבוא. והנהגה לה עבדתי  
 עם פתי. והנהגה. <sup>2</sup> בעבדתי דאפילו איתיה נפגא.  
 למלך דהא ד'וילך ביה דעלמא ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך  
 לא ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך. והנהגה  
 ד'וילך ד'וילך. <sup>3</sup> הנהגה עם פתי. והנהגה  
 ע'לם: והנהגה ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך. לה עבדתי  
 ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך. והנהגה  
 ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך. והנהגה  
 ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך. והנהגה  
 ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך. והנהגה  
 ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך. והנהגה

3.

והנהגה ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך  
 ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך  
 ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך

(I) מה ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך : ד'וילך ד'וילך  
 ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך : ד'וילך ד'וילך

<sup>1</sup> MS ד'וילך. <sup>5</sup> C ד'וילך ד'וילך ד'וילך.  
<sup>2</sup> Rom. 6. <sup>6</sup> B D omit ד'וילך, C omits  
<sup>3</sup> Rom. 4. ד'וילך ד'וילך.  
<sup>4</sup> C omits ד'וילך.

2. דָּוִד דָּבָר עַל מֵלֵךְ מִלְּפָנָיו לְבִיא...<sup>2</sup>  
 דַּחְלָמָה שְׂחָתָה דָּלֵטָה כְּחֶזְקָה מֵהָא. אִרְכֵּהּ  
 כְּחֵלְקָהּ שְׂחָתָה לְחֵלְקָהּ דְּכַלְפֵּיהּ כְּחֵזְקָה מֵהָא.<sup>3</sup>  
 מְלִיכָהּ כְּחֵזְקָה מֵהָא מִלְּפָנָיו דְּכַלְפֵּיהּ  
 מִלְּפָנָיו דְּכַלְפֵּיהּ מִלְּפָנָיו: אִרְכֵּהּ כְּחֵלְקָהּ  
 כְּחֵלְקָהּ דְּחֵלְקָהּ מִלְּפָנָיו לְמַלְכָּהּ.<sup>7</sup>  
 מִלְּפָנָיו דְּחֵלְקָהּ מִלְּפָנָיו מִלְּפָנָיו דְּחֵלְקָהּ  
 מִלְּפָנָיו דְּחֵלְקָהּ מִלְּפָנָיו.<sup>10</sup> מִלְּפָנָיו דְּחֵלְקָהּ  
 מִלְּפָנָיו דְּחֵלְקָהּ מִלְּפָנָיו.<sup>11</sup> מִלְּפָנָיו דְּחֵלְקָהּ  
 מִלְּפָנָיו דְּחֵלְקָהּ מִלְּפָנָיו.<sup>12</sup> מִלְּפָנָיו דְּחֵלְקָהּ  
 מִלְּפָנָיו דְּחֵלְקָהּ מִלְּפָנָיו.<sup>13</sup> מִלְּפָנָיו דְּחֵלְקָהּ  
 מִלְּפָנָיו דְּחֵלְקָהּ מִלְּפָנָיו.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C omits דָּוִד, B D have מֵהָא.  
<sup>2</sup> One word is illegible in A after לְבִיא.  
<sup>3</sup> This passage is corrupt in both B and C. B has merely דַּחְלָמָה שְׂחָתָה מֵהָא (so D); C דַּחְלָמָה שְׂחָתָה מֵהָא דְּכַלְפֵּיהּ כְּחֵזְקָה מֵהָא. A D omit ד before דְּכַלְפֵּיהּ.  
<sup>4</sup> This is the reading not only of B and C, but also of A (not אִרְכֵּהּ).  
<sup>5</sup> C דָּוִד מִלְּפָנָיו.  
<sup>6</sup> C מִלְּפָנָיו.

<sup>7</sup> B מִלְּפָנָיו, C מִלְּפָנָיו מִלְּפָנָיו.  
<sup>8</sup> B D omit מִלְּפָנָיו.  
<sup>9</sup> C omits מִלְּפָנָיו דְּחֵלְקָהּ, and has דְּחֵלְקָהּ.  
<sup>10</sup> A omits מִלְּפָנָיו, C has merely מִלְּפָנָיו.  
<sup>11</sup> C מִלְּפָנָיו.  
<sup>12</sup> C מִלְּפָנָיו, B only מִלְּפָנָיו. D om. מִלְּפָנָיו.  
<sup>13</sup> So B and C. The reading of A is quite uncertain, the scribe having clumsily altered what hé originally wrote. The word is however pointed as an active participle Pa"el, מִלְּפָנָיו. Cureton read it מִלְּפָנָיו.  
<sup>14</sup> B מִלְּפָנָיו.

כַּיְהוֹדוֹתָ אִם כֹּשֶׁשׁוֹתָ כַּיֵּז מִכֹּהֵן מִן כַּלְמֵי  
כֶּתִיבִיבָתָהּ כִּשְׁלֵףָהּ <sup>1</sup> כִּהִלְכֵּתִיבָהּ . אֲדֹתִיבָהּ מִלְּכֹהֵן  
כִּהִלְכֵּתִיבָהּ . מַחֲבֵרֵיבָהּ אֵל דִּיבָהּ מִכֹּהֵן .  
אֵל כִּהִלְכֵּתִיבָהּ אֵל <sup>2</sup> כִּשְׁלֵףָהּ . כִּלְכֵּלִיבָהּ מִכֹּהֵן  
בִּן אֲבִיבָהּ כִּהִלְכֵּתִיבָהּ כִּשְׁלֵףָהּ . כִּלְכֵּלִיבָהּ .  
מִכֹּהֵן אֵל לְכֵּלִיבָהּ אֵל <sup>3</sup> כִּשְׁלֵףָהּ .  
כִּהִלְכֵּתִיבָהּ מִלְּכֹהֵן אֵל <sup>4</sup> .

(II) אֵל <sup>5</sup> מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל אֵל מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל  
אֵל מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל  
מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל <sup>6</sup> מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל  
מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל <sup>7</sup> מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל  
מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל <sup>8</sup> מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל  
מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל <sup>9</sup> מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל  
מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל <sup>10</sup> מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל  
מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל <sup>11</sup> מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל  
מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל <sup>12</sup> מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל  
מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל .

<sup>1</sup> B D כִּהִלְכֵּתִיבָהּ, C כִּהִלְכֵּתִיבָהּ.

<sup>2</sup> B D כִּשְׁלֵףָהּ.

<sup>3</sup> A C כִּשְׁלֵףָהּ.

<sup>4</sup> The sentence is, as Cureton has observed, grammatically incomplete, notwithstanding the agreement of the MSS.

<sup>5</sup> C omits מִן .

<sup>6</sup> C מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל .

<sup>7</sup> C מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל .

<sup>8</sup> C מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל .

<sup>9</sup> C מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל .

<sup>10</sup> C מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל .

<sup>11</sup> C מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל .

<sup>12</sup> C omits מִן כֹּהֵן אֵל, which has no equivalent in the Greek.

1. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 2. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 3. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 4. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 5. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 6. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 7. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 8. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 9. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 10. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 11. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 12. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 13. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 14. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 15. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 16. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 17. ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ

1 C ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ.  
 2 B D ܘܢܘܢ. The word is hardly legible in A, but it clearly ended with ܢ.  
 3 A ܘܢܘܢ.  
 4 B D add ܘܢܘܢ.  
 5 C ܘܢܘܢ. In A there are two words illegible after ܘܢܘܢ.  
 6 C omits ܘܢܘܢ.  
 7 C ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ. D ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ.  
 8 C omits ܘܢܘܢ.  
 9 B D ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ, C ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ.  
 10 C ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ.  
 11 C ܘܢܘܢ.  
 12 C ܘܢܘܢ.  
 13 C omits ܘܢܘܢ.  
 14 C ܘܢܘܢ.  
 15 C omits ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ.  
 16 C ܘܢܘܢ (sic).  
 17 C omits the words ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ, which have no equivalent in the Greek.



ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ  
 ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ  
 ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ  
 ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ  
 ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ  
 ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ  
 ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ  
 ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ  
 ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ  
 ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ  
 ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ  
 ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ  
 ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ  
 ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܘܥܝܘܢܐ

|                    |                                      |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 C omits ܡܢ.      | 8 C omits ܚܘܒܐ.                      |
| 2 B adds ܘܡܢ.      | 9 C ܚܘܒܐܝܢ.                          |
| 3 A ܚܘܒܐ.          | 10 A B D ܚܘܒܐܝܢܐ.                    |
| 4 C ܚܘܒܐܝܢܐ.       | 11 C ܡܢ ܚܘܒܐܝܢܐ<br>ܚܘܒܐܝܢܐ.          |
| 5 C adds ܚܘܒܐ ܘܡܢ. | 12 A ܘܡܢܐ, C ܘܡܢܐܝܢܐ<br>ܚܘܒܐܝܢܐ ܚܘܒܐ |
| 6 C ܚܘܒܐܝܢܐ.       |                                      |
| 7 C ܚܘܒܐ.          |                                      |



:<sup>1</sup>כתיב וְכִי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ<sup>1</sup> כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ (III)  
 חֲסֵד לְעַלְמֵי־עוֹלָם. כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ<sup>2</sup> כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ  
 יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ<sup>3</sup>. כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ  
 כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ<sup>4</sup>. כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ  
 כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ<sup>5</sup> כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ  
 כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ<sup>6</sup>. כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ  
 כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ<sup>7</sup> כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ  
 כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ<sup>8</sup> כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ  
 כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ<sup>9</sup> כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ  
 כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ<sup>10</sup> כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ  
 כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ<sup>11</sup> כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ  
 כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ<sup>12</sup> כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ  
 כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ<sup>13</sup> כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ  
 כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ<sup>14</sup> כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ  
 כִּי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ יִשְׁעֶיךָ

<sup>1</sup> A B כתיב.

<sup>7</sup> C כתיב.

<sup>2</sup> BD כתיב, C כתיב;

<sup>8</sup> B כתיב.

A B D כתיב וְכִי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ.

<sup>9</sup> C כתיב.

<sup>3</sup> C omits כתיב.

<sup>10</sup> C כתיב.

<sup>4</sup> C omits כתיב; A has כתיב, and below כתיב.

<sup>11</sup> C omits כתיב.

<sup>12</sup> C כתיב. כתיב וְכִי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ.

<sup>5</sup> C כתיב.

<sup>13</sup> C כתיב.

<sup>6</sup> C adds כתיב וְכִי־יִשְׁעֶיךָ.

<sup>14</sup> B D omit כתיב.

2: **ܡܫܘܥܘܬܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ**  
**ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ**  
**ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ**  
 : **ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ**

ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ (IV)

ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ  
 ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ  
 ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ  
 ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ  
 ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ  
 ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ  
 ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ  
 ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ  
 ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ

1 C ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ  
ܟܘܪܝܢܐ; B D also omit the second  
ܟܘܪܝܢܐ.

2 C omits this word.

3 B ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ, C  
ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ.

4 C omits the words ܟܘܪܝܢܐ  
ܟܘܪܝܢܐ, which have no equi-  
valent in the Greek.

5 B omits ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ.

6 B omits ܟܘܪܝܢܐ.

7 C ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ  
ܟܘܪܝܢܐ

8 C ܟܘܪܝܢܐ.

9 C ܟܘܪܝܢܐ.

10 C ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ.

11 C has ܟܘܪܝܢܐ, and omits  
the preceding words from ܟܘܪܝܢܐ.

12 C ܟܘܪܝܢܐ.

13 B ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ.

14 A omits ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ  
ܟܘܪܝܢܐ; C has ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ  
ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ ܟܘܪܝܢܐ  
ܟܘܪܝܢܐ. D ܟܘܪܝܢܐ.

1000 : 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000  
 1000 . 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000  
 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000  
 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000  
 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000  
 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000

1000 1000 : 1000 1000 (1)  
 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000  
 1000 1000 1000 : 1000 1000 1000  
 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000  
 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000  
 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000  
 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000  
 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000

1 C 1000 1000, and omits the following words as far as 1000 1000.  
 2 C omits 1000 1000.  
 3 B 1000.  
 4 C 1000.  
 5 C 1000 1000; D 1000.  
 6 C omits 1000 1000.  
 7 A B 1000.  
 8 C 1000 1000.

9 C 1000 1000.  
 10 C 1000.  
 11 C 1000.  
 12 This word is illegible in A.  
 13 B C 1000.  
 14 B 1000; C omits this clause.  
 15 This clause is wanting in F  
 16 C 1000.  
 17 This word is wanting in A.

1. ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 2. ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 3. ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 4. ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ

5. ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 6. ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 7. ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 8. ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 9. ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 10. ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 11. ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 12. ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 13. ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 14. ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 15. ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 16. ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ

|                       |                                  |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 C ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ.       | 9 C ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ.                  |
| 2 B C D add ܘܢܥܡ.     | 10 A B D ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ.             |
| 3 C adds ܘܢܥܡ.        | ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ.                      |
| 4 C ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, | 11 C ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ.           |
| and omits ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ. | 12 C ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ.                 |
| 5 C ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ.       | 13 C ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ.                 |
| 6 C ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ.       | 14 C ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ, and omits ܘܢܥܡ. |
| 7 A B D ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ, C | 15 C adds ܘܢܥܡ.                  |
| ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ.           | 16 B D ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ, C ܘܢܥܡ        |
| 8 C ܘܢܥܡ, B ܘܢܥܡ.     | ܘܢܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ.                      |







שתיה כ מה. בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כתיב כל כי עמ עמי כתיב כלל בכר בכר  
 כלל<sup>1</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל<sup>2</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל<sup>3</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל<sup>4</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל<sup>5</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל<sup>6</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל<sup>7</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל<sup>8</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל<sup>9</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל<sup>10</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל<sup>11</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל<sup>12</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל<sup>13</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל<sup>14</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל<sup>15</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל<sup>16</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל<sup>17</sup> בכר בכר. כלל בכר בכר.  
 כלל בכר בכר.

<sup>1</sup> C בכר בכר.

<sup>2</sup> B D omit כלל.

<sup>3</sup> B D add בכר בכר.

<sup>4</sup> C omits בכר בכר.

<sup>5</sup> C בכר בכר  
כלל בכר בכר

<sup>6</sup> C omits בכר בכר.

<sup>7</sup> C כלל.

<sup>8</sup> B כלל.

<sup>9</sup> C omits כלל.

<sup>10</sup> B D כלל.

<sup>11</sup> B adds כלל.

<sup>12</sup> C adds כלל.

<sup>13</sup> B D add כלל.

<sup>14</sup> BD add כלל בכר בכר.

<sup>15</sup> C כלל.

<sup>16</sup> B D add כלל.

<sup>17</sup> C כלל.



(6) לך חזקת חזקתם לך חזקתם<sup>1</sup> דחלמך.<sup>2</sup>  
 הלא חלמך<sup>3</sup> דוכח מן. עפי<sup>4</sup> מן לך<sup>5</sup> דאחמך  
 בחזקתם<sup>6</sup> עמך : אה דאחלי על חזקתם דאחמך.  
 למן מן<sup>7</sup> חזקת מן אה דחל אה חזקת עמך.  
 מן חזקת מן אה דחלמך<sup>8</sup> עמך. עמך מן  
 חזקת מן. לך לך חלמך עמך. לך<sup>9</sup> דחזקתם  
 דאחמך. דלך<sup>10</sup> דחזקתם חזקתם. לך דחזקת  
 דחזקת דאחמך. לך חלמך<sup>11</sup> חלמך. הלא  
 דחזקתם. אה חזקתם דאחמך דחזקתם<sup>12</sup>. למן  
 חזקתם : אה מן אה לך<sup>13</sup> חזקתם. אה חזקתם<sup>14</sup>  
 דאחמך חזקתם<sup>15</sup> חזקתם דאחמך. חזקתם דאחמך  
 חזקתם חזקתם : חזקתם<sup>16</sup> חזקתם<sup>17</sup> חזקתם חזקתם.  
 חזקתם חזקתם<sup>18</sup> חזקתם חזקתם<sup>19</sup> לך.

(7) דחזקתם דחזקתם חזקתם<sup>20</sup> דחזקתם חזקתם דחזקתם  
 חזקתם חזקתם חזקתם : חזקתם חזקתם לך אה

<sup>1</sup> חזקתם is wanting in B.  
 B C have חזקתם.  
<sup>2</sup> B adds חזקתם.  
<sup>3</sup> B C D have the singular ; B D  
 add חלמך.  
<sup>4</sup> C עפי.  
<sup>5</sup> B omits לך.  
<sup>6</sup> B D חזקתם עמך.  
<sup>7</sup> B D omit מן.  
<sup>8</sup> B D חזקתם עמך.  
<sup>9</sup> B D חזקתם.  
<sup>10</sup> B D חזקתם.  
<sup>11</sup> B חלמך, probably a  
 misprint.  
<sup>12</sup> B D add חזקתם.  
<sup>13</sup> C omits לך.  
<sup>14</sup> C חזקתם.  
<sup>15</sup> C חזקתם.  
<sup>16</sup> B D חזקתם.  
<sup>17</sup> C חזקתם.  
<sup>18</sup> B D חזקתם.  
<sup>19</sup> B חזקתם.  
<sup>20</sup> B D חזקתם דחזקתם  
 חזקתם.



גַּלְגַּלְתִּים. כְּחֵתֶיךָ וְכֵתֵיךָ כִּדְרֵיךָ אֶת הַיָּם.  
 וְעַתָּה אֵלֶיךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע.  
 וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע. כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָע.  
 וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע. כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָע.  
 וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע. כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָע.  
 וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע. כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָע.

(9) וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע. כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָע.  
 וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע. כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָע.  
 וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע. כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָע.  
 וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע. כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָע.  
 וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע. כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָע.  
 וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע. כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָע.  
 וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע. כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָע.  
 וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע. כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָע.

(10) וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע. כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָע.  
 וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע. כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָע.

<sup>1</sup> B D וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע. Read וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע.  
<sup>2</sup> C וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע.  
<sup>3</sup> B D add וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע. One would have expected וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע.  
<sup>4</sup> B D וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע.  
<sup>5</sup> C adds וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע.  
<sup>6</sup> C וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע.  
<sup>7</sup> D וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע, without ו.  
<sup>8</sup> B D omit וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע.  
<sup>9</sup> B D add וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע.  
<sup>10</sup> C וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע.  
<sup>11</sup> B D וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע.  
<sup>12</sup> B D וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע.  
<sup>13</sup> C omits וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע.  
<sup>14</sup> B וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָע.

1. ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ : ܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܘܨܐ ܕܥܡܘܨܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ

(v) ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ

1 So C, instead of ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ;  
 B D ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ.  
 2 B ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ.  
 3 C adds ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ.  
 4 B D read ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ  
 : ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ

8 B D add ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ.  
 9 C ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ.  
 10 C ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ.  
 11 B ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ.  
 12 B D ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ.  
 13 C ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ.  
 14 B ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ. With the  
 word ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ the text of C comes  
 to an end.

5 B D add ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ.  
 6 B omits ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ.  
 7 C ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ ; D ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ.

15 B ܘܢܘܫܘܬܐ, but the Greek is *ἵνα*  
*ἐπ' ὄψεσι κ.τ.λ.*







כְּיָמֵי כְּמִתְחַלְתֵּי יְיָ. וְכִּי מִלֵּךְ דְּמִן שְׁמֵי פְּסִיחָא  
 מִן כְּלִימָה דְּשָׁמַיָּא כְּתִלְחִתָּהּ. בְּנֵי יְיָ יִשְׁתַּבְּחוּ  
 לְלֵילֵי אֲמִרָתֵיהּ: מִכֵּן מִן אֲבִי  
 לְבָרְכָא דְּמִתְחַלְתֵּי דְּאֲבִי. מִן אֲבִי אֲבִי  
 חַלְלָא: אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי  
 אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי  
 אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי  
 אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי  
 אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי  
 אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי

אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי

אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי אֲבִי

<sup>1</sup> D חַלְלָא.

<sup>2</sup> B אֲבִי אֲבִי; a misprint.



III.

GREEK EPISTLES  
OF THE  
LONG RECENSION.

1. *INTRODUCTION*; p. 127.

2. *TEXT AND NOTES*; p. 135.

III.

GREEK EPISTLES

OF THE

LONG RECENSION.

I.

THE THIRTEEN Ignatian Epistles which form the *Long Recension* and which emanated, as we have seen, from a forger writing in the name of the saint in the latter half of the fourth century, are given in the following pages in the order in which they occur in the Greek manuscripts of this Recension; viz.

1. *Mary to Ignatius.*
2. *Ignatius to Mary.*
3. *Trallians.*
4. *Magesians.*
5. *Tarsians.*
6. *Philippians.*
7. *Philadelphians.*
8. *Smyrnæans.*
9. *Polycarp.*
10. *Antiochenes.*
11. *Hero.*
12. *Ephesians.*
13. *Romans.*

These epistles fall into five classes according to their real or feigned chronology. Of these classes the first, fourth, and fifth are forgeries throughout, while the second and third are interpolated from the genuine epistles.

(i) *First Class*, comprising two forged letters supposed to have been written while the saint was still at ANTIOCH ;

*Mary to Ignatius.*

*Ignatius to Mary.*

(ii) *Second Class*, the four letters actually written by the saint from SMYRNA, with interpolations and alterations :

*Ephesians.*

*Magnesians.*

*Trallians.*

*Romans.*

(iii) *Third Class*, the three letters actually written by the saint from TROAS, with interpolations and alterations as in the class immediately preceding ;

*Philadelphians.*

*Smyrnæans.*

*Polycarp.*

(iv) *Fourth Class*, three forged letters supposed to have been written from PHILIPPI ;

*Tarsians.*

*Antiochenes.*

*Hero.*

(v) *Fifth Class*, a single forged letter supposed to have been written after the saint had reached the shores of ITALY ;

*Philippians.*

## 2.

The *authorities for the text* of these epistles are not the same throughout. This difference is due partly to the imperfection of some MSS at the beginning or end, but still more to the fact that the *forged* (as distinguished from the *interpolated*) epistles were also attached to the genuine letters of Ignatius. Hence the same authorities, which contain the genuine letters, for the most part contain the forged letters also ; whereas the interpolated letters are only preserved in the authorities for the Long Recension.

The authorities are as follows :

### I. GREEK MANUSCRIPTS.

- (1) G, containing the forged epistles ; but this MS is mutilated and ends abruptly *Tars. 7 ἀνεπίστατοι γὰρ εἰσὶν τοῦ*

$\kappa\iota$ -, so that it only gives the first two and the beginning of the third; see above, I. p. 73 sq.

(2) *g*, the epistles of the Long Recension.

The several MSS are

*g*<sub>1</sub> (*Monacensis* or *Augustanus*), mutilated at the beginning and commencing with *Mar. Ign.* 2  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ ; see above, I. p. 102.

*g*<sub>2</sub> (*Vaticanus*), mutilated at the beginning and commencing with *Trall.* 4  $\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \pi\rho\alpha\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ ; see I. p. 103.

*g*<sub>3</sub> (*Nydrpruccianus*), omitting the Epistle of Mary to Ignatius, but containing the other twelve letters whole. This MS is only known through the edition of Gesner; see I. p. 109.

*g*<sub>4</sub> (*Constantinopolitanus*), containing all the thirteen epistles; see I. p. 110.

*g*<sub>5</sub> (*Vatic. Reg.*), containing nearly the whole of the Epistle to the Ephesians; see I. p. 111.

2. LATIN VERSIONS.

*L*, containing all the forged epistles except *Philippians*; see I. p. 80, III. p. 5 sq.

*l*, omitting the letter of *Mary to Ignatius*, but containing the other twelve (the letter to *Polycarp* wanting the latter half); see I. p. 117.

3. ARMENIAN VERSION.

*A*, containing all the forged epistles; see I. p. 84.

4. COPTIC VERSION.

*C*, containing (in its present mutilated state) only the end of the letter to *Hero*; see I. p. 101, III. p. 277.

It will thus be seen that the authorities for the several parts are as follows:

(1) *Mary to Ignatius*;

*G*, *g* (*g*<sub>1</sub> mutilated, *g*<sub>4</sub>), *L*, *A*.

(2) *Ignatius to Mary, Tarsians, Antiochenes*;

*G* (ending *Tars.* 7), *g* (*g*<sub>1</sub>, *g*<sub>2</sub>, *g*<sub>4</sub>, *g*<sub>2</sub> beginning in *Tars.* 4), *L*, *l*, *A*.

(3) *Philippians*;

*g* (*g*<sub>1</sub>, *g*<sub>2</sub>, *g*<sub>3</sub>, *g*<sub>4</sub>), *l*, *A*.

- (4) *Hero* ;  
 g ( $g_1, g_2, g_3, g_4$ ), L, l, A, C (a fragment).
- (5) *Trallians, Magnesians, Philadelphians, Smyrnæans, Polycarp, Ephesians, Romans* ;  
 g ( $g_1, g_2, g_3, g_4, g_5$  for *Ephesians* only), l.

As the letters of this last group are founded on the text of the genuine Ignatius by interpolations and alterations, this latter is very frequently available as an authority. It is designated I in the critical notes.

The above authorities fall into four classes.

(i) g l, which are closely connected. The respective values of the Greek MSS ( $g_1, g_2, g_3, g_4, g_5$ ) have been already discussed, and the relation of the Latin Version (l) to the Greek Text has also been considered (I. p. 102 sq.). Here it is sufficient to say that of the Greek MSS  $g_1$  is the best, and that the Latin Version (though loose and full of blunders) was made from an older Greek text than any contained in extant MSS.

(ii) G L, which again are closely connected. On the whole this type of text is less trustworthy than the former, but it often gives the correct readings where the other is corrupt. The relation of L to G has been investigated already.

(iii) A, an independent authority, which preserves a very ancient form of the text, where this can be discerned through the distortions of a secondary translation and the corruptions of successive transmission.

(iv) C, a mere fragment, but highly valuable as far as it goes.

### 3.

The history of the *printed text* of the Long Recension in the original Greek commences with the publication of two editions, nearly simultaneous in time but independent of each other<sup>1</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Funk (*Die drei ersten Griechischen Ausgaben, etc.*, in *Theolog. Quartalschr.* LXI. p. 610 sq, 1879; see also *Patr. Apost.* II. p. xxx sq) endeavours to prove that Gesner's edition was derived entirely from the *Codex Augustanus* [ $g_1$ ], so that  $g_3$  has no independent value whatever. He bases his conclusion on the coincidences between the readings of  $g_1$

and  $g_3$ . But, when these coincidences are examined, they are found to consist almost entirely (1) of readings which must be pronounced certainly or most probably correct, (2) of readings which  $g_1, g_3$  share with other authorities. Thus they do not at all substantiate his inference. One special coincidence however is brought forward, which deserves more considera-

(1) The one by Valentinus Paceus (Hartung Frid) at Dillingen in 1557; taken from the *Augsburg* (now *Munich*) MS, designated  $g_1$  in the present edition.

(2) The other by Andrew Gesner at Zürich in a volume of miscellaneous Greek patristic works. The title-page of Ignatius is dated 1559. The Ignatian Epistles were taken from a MS belonging to Caspar von Nydprugck, designated  $g_3$  in the present edition.

Neither of these two editions contains the letter of Mary to

tion. In *Philipp.* 7  $g_3$  reads  $\nu\beta\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$  for  $\nu\beta\omega\mu\omega\nu$  and just below  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\eta\tau\omicron\nu$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\eta\tau\omicron\nu$ , both which readings appear in the ed. princ. of Valentinus Paceus. If this coincidence be not accidental, then Gesner's edition must have been derived not from the *Codex Augustanus* [ $g_1$ ] itself (for both words are correctly written there) but from an incorrect transcript made for the ed. princ. or from the sheets of the ed. princ. itself. This hypothesis however is beset with difficulties.

(1) In the first place Gesner states explicitly that his was the earliest edition in the original Greek. Funk indeed believes that the words 'ea quae hactenus circumferebantur' refer only to the *Micro-pesytyicum*, a work which has been mentioned just before by Gesner and which gave the Latin of the Ignatian Epistles; but the expression is quite comprehensive and could not have been used, if the editor had known of any previous Greek edition whatever. (2) In the second place, as Nydprugck died in September 1557 (see Funk, p. 622), and the edition of Paceus is dated November or December ( $\mu\eta\eta\iota\ \mu\alpha\iota\mu\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\omega\nu\iota$ ) of the same year, it is difficult to see how the transcript supposed to have been used for this edition can have belonged to the library of Nydprugck. The hypothesis that the sheets of the ed. princ. itself were used by Gesner is precluded by the fact that he speaks of a manuscript. (3) Lastly; several phenomena in the edition of Gesner are highly difficult to explain,

if  $g_3$  were altogether dependent on  $g_1$ . Thus in the very same chapter from which Funk takes his example, *Philipp.* 7,  $g_1$  has  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\delta' \acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\omega\acute{\omega}\ \delta\iota\omicron\delta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\delta\upsilon\mu\alpha\ \beta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , while  $g_3$  gives  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\delta' \acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\omega\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\sigma}\tau\epsilon\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \lambda\omicron\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\delta\upsilon\mu\alpha\ \beta\alpha\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ . Partly from authorities since discovered we now know that the correct reading is  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\delta' \acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\omega\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\sigma}\tau\iota\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\acute{\xi}\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\delta\upsilon\mu\alpha\ \beta\alpha\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ . Is it conceivable that  $g_3$  by mere conjecture could have arrived so nearly at the correct reading, even with the aid of the Latin 'neque ignoro quoniam curve et lubricè incedis,' more especially as  $g_1$  omits  $\acute{\sigma}\tau\iota$ ? Again in *Ign. Mar.* 3 the reading of  $g_3$   $\tau\eta\eta\nu$  (sic)  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omega\acute{\omega}\nu$  is obviously an error for  $\tau\omega\acute{\iota}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omega\acute{\omega}\nu$  the correct reading; but  $g_1$  has  $\tau\omega\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omega\acute{\omega}\nu$ . Similar phenomena are frequent.

For these reasons I am constrained to believe that the coincidence of  $g_1g_3$  in the reading  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\eta\tau\omicron\nu$  in *Philipp.* 7 is purely accidental. And the probability of such an accidental coincidence becomes the greater when we examine the phenomena of Gesner's edition [ $g_3$ ] elsewhere. I have noticed two other instances where it erroneously substitutes an  $\epsilon$  for an  $\alpha$  in the first syllable of  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , *Magn.* 7  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (p. 13), *Philad.* 4  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (p. 29); and indeed, so far as my observation has gone, the word is as often incorrectly spelt as correctly. We have elsewhere instances of the converse error, e.g. *Magn.* 10  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\sigma\alpha\nu$  (sic) for  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\sigma\alpha\nu$ . Thus Funk's main example proves nothing.

Ignatius, though the ms from which the former was taken preserves the greater part of it.

All the later editions of the Ignatian Epistles till the time of Ussher were founded, so far as I have observed, exclusively on the work of Paceus. The edition of Gesner seems to have been unknown to or ignored by later editors.

The earliest of these subsequent editions, founded on the work of Paceus, was that of Guil. Morel (Paris, 1558), which he followed up by a second edition a few years later (Paris, 1562). Morel was an excellent scholar and corrected numerous errors of the *editio princeps*, but at the same time he introduced some conjectural emendations of his own, which were devoid of ms authority at the time and have not been confirmed by subsequent discovery. From this time till the appearance of Ussher's work (A. D. 1644) the text remained much as Morel had left it. The most important editions in the interval were those of Vairlenius Sylvius 'ex officina Chr. Plantini' (Antwerp, 1572, 1573); of Martialis Mestræus (Paris, 1608); and of Vedelius (Geneva, 1623). These editors however contributed little of their own to the improvement of the text. They neither consulted any new manuscript authority nor made any fresh collation of the old. Thus the text for nearly a century was based on the single Augsburg ms as inaccurately represented by the *editio princeps*, supplemented by the conjectures of Morel.

The edition of Ussher (1644), followed by that of Voss (1646), and soon afterwards by his own *Appendix Ignatiana* (1647), marks an epoch in the textual criticism of the Ignatian letters. Ussher not only restored the seven epistles of the original Ignatius by means of the Latin Version, but he also rendered important service to the text of the forged and interpolated epistles. In his earlier work (1644) he made use of Gesner's edition which had hitherto lain unnoticed, besides giving various readings of the Latin Version from three MSS, *Magdal.* 78, *Balliol.* 229, and *Petar.* He also gave there for the first time the letter of Mary of Cassobola to Ignatius in Latin from his two MSS [L<sub>1</sub>, L<sub>2</sub>], and at the same time he added the conclusion of the same in the original Greek beginning with § 5 οὐ γὰρ διδάσκουσά σε κ.τ.λ. This letter he found in an extract from the Augsburg ms given in *Catal. Cod. in Bibl. Reip. Aug. Vind.* p. 22 (1595). Voss (1646) for the first time published the whole of the letter of Mary in the original from the Medicean ms, *Laur.* lvii. 7, giving at the same time the text of the spurious and interpolated letters ascribed to Ignatius, and making use of this same ms (as far as it goes) for his text. In his *Appendix Ignatiana* (1647) Ussher, while annotating the spurious epistles, added



readings from *Laur.* vii. 21, which he calls *Florentinus*. Somewhat later Cotelier in his edition of the *Patres Apostolici* (1672) gave various readings from *Paris. Suppl. Graec.* 341 ('Claudii Iolii'), and these readings were copied by Whiston (1711), by whom, for reasons which I have explained in my general introduction (i. p. 107), it is called *Codex Thuaneus*. Whiston also added for the first time readings from the worthless *Codex Leicestrensis* (*Bodl. Auct. D. Inf.* 2. 19). With this sole exception, nothing was done from Cotelier's time onwards towards collating MSS of the pseudo-Ignatian letters until Dressel's edition of the *Patres Apostolici* (1857). Dressel (besides giving many various readings from *Laur.* vii. 21) collated the three Greek MSS, *Vatic.* 859 [ $g_2$ ], *Ottob.* 348, *Barber.* 68, as well as the fragment in *Vatic. Reg.* 30, and the two Latin MSS, *Palat.* 150, *Regin.* 81. Of his Greek MSS, *Vatic.* 859 alone has any independent value, but it is important. Meanwhile the publication of the Armenian Version by Petermann (1849) had furnished an altogether new and important witness for the text of the six spurious epistles; but it was wholly neglected by Dressel. As a collector of materials, Dressel deserves our gratitude; but he omitted to take account of some authorities, while he was unable to estimate the relative weight of others, so that his actual text has no great value. Zahn (1876) was the first recent editor who made anything like an adequate use of the available materials. He has been followed by Funk (1881), who with improved materials has produced an improved text.

In the following pages I have not thought it necessary to reproduce the old Latin translation [I], being content to take its readings from others. For the Greek text I collated  $g_1$  anew for my first edition. It had been known previously only through the very inaccurate *editio princeps*. An independent collation was also made by Funk, whose edition appeared before my own, though the sheets of my work had been passed through the press long before. For the readings of  $g_2$  I have gone to Dressel, and for those of  $g_3$  to Gesner's edition itself. The readings of  $g_4$  I owe to the kindness of Bryennios, who furnished me with a collation. He performed this same kind service also to Funk<sup>1</sup>. The readings of the Coptic fragment [C] of Hero were used for the first time in my first edition. The readings of the Anglo-Latin

<sup>1</sup> In several passages the readings assigned to  $g_4$  by Funk differ from my own. Not having access to the MS itself, I have again consulted the collation of Bryennios

in these passages, and with very rare exceptions I find that I have accurately represented this collation. The exceptions are corrected in this edition.

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Version [L] for the six spurious epistles are of course taken from my own printed text of this version (see above, p. 42 sq.). The Armenian readings [A] are derived from Petermann.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΩΙ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕΚ ΚΑΣΣΟΒΟΛΩΝ.

**Μ**ΑΡΙΑ προσήλυτος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἰγνατίω Θεοφόρῳ,  
μακαριωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐκκλησίας ἀποστολικῆς τῆς

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΩΙ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕΚ ΚΑΣΣΟΒΟΛΩΝ] *Ιγνατίω μαρία ἐκ κασσοβήλων* (numbered ζ in the marg.) G; *ἐπιστολὴ μαρίας κασσοβόλων πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἱερομάρτυρα ἰγνάτιον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον θεουπόλεως ἀντιοχείας* g; *epistola marie proselite chassaobolorum ad ignatium episcopum antiochie* L<sub>2</sub> (see above, p. 42); *epistola mariae mulieris cuiusdam e casbalon (casbalon) urbe ad ignatium beatum scripta* A.

1 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] GLA; χριστοῦ ἰησοῦ g (g being represented solely by g<sub>4</sub> in the earlier part of this epistle).  
2 ἀποστολικῆς] GLA; καθολικῆς g.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΩΙ ΜΑΡΙΑ] This correspondence between Ignatius and Mary is supposed to take place while the saint is still at Antioch, though already in custody, so that his actions are fettered (*ad Mar.* 4 *ἐπέχει γὰρ μου τὴν πρόθεσιν... ἡ στρατιωτικὴ φρουρά*). Mary writes, asking him to send officers to preside over her native Church, which is still in its infancy and not yet organized.

In his reply (*ad Mar.* 4) Ignatius speaks of the good report which he heard of her 'while she was still in Rome with the blessed Pope Anencletus.' On this account it has been held by many, alike of those who have accepted the letter as genuine (e.g. Vairlen, Halloix) and of those who condemn it as spurious (e.g. Zahn), that she is intended for the same person whom S. Paul salutes, Rom. xvi. 6 *ἀσπάσαθε Μαρίαν ἣτις πολλὰ ἐκοπίασεν εἰς ὑμᾶς* (v. l. *ἡμᾶς*). This seems probable; and if so, the historical situation is not ill-conceived. This Mary is represented as a native of a Cilician town not very far from Tarsus, while the Mary of

Rom. xvi. 6 was evidently well known to S. Paul before she went to reside in Rome. For the epithet *χριστοφόρῳ* bestowed on her and the consequences which have flowed from it, see the note on *ad Mar.* inscr.

ΕΚ ΚΑΣΣΟΒΟΛΩΝ] Zahn is justified in assuming that this formed part of the original title of the letter as it issued from the hands of the Ignatian writer, and was not an addition of some later scribe. It appears in all the authorities, though with additions and minor variations of spelling. Moreover the designation 'Maria Cassobolita,' which appears in some copies in the title to Ignatius' reply (though no part of the original heading), can only be explained on this hypothesis; for there is nothing in the body of the letters to suggest that she belonged to Cassobela or Cassobola.

Inasmuch as no place *Cassobela* or *Cassobola* is mentioned elsewhere, critics have busied themselves in emending the name. The correction of Casaubon *Κασταβάλων* is the most obvious, and has been received with

κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν, ἐν Θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ Ἰησοῦ ἡγαπημένῳ,  
χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι. πάντοτέ σοι εὐχόμεθα τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ  
χαράν τε καὶ ὑγίαν.

I. Ἐπειδὴ, θαυμάσιε, καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγνω-  
ρίσθη υἱὸς εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς 5

1 Ἰησοῦ] GgL; *filio suo* A.

2 ἐν αὐτῷ] GL; *ἐανῶν* g. It is a question

whether the reading of A should not be adopted, which omits all the words σοι εὐχόμεθα...ὑγίαν. The salutation would then end χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι πάντοτε.

4 θαυμάσιε] GgA; *miraculis* (θαύμασι) L (unless indeed we should correct *miraculis* into *mirabilis*).

5 καὶ ἐν ὑστέροις] GLA; ἐν ὑστέροις δὲ g.

6 ἐκ]

GLA; καὶ G.

7 προρηθείσας φωνὰς] here, GL; *προρηθείσας φωνὰς* after

general favour. Castabala, a town of some note (see Strabo xii. pp. 535, 537), was not very far from Anazarbus. They are mentioned together by Pliny *N. H.* v. 22, quoted below on § 1 τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ζαρθβῷ; and in Hierocl. *Synecd.* p. 706 (Wesseling) Castabala is named among the towns in Cilicia Secunda, of which Anazarbus is the metropolis; comp. *Notit. Episc.* p. 84 (ed. Parthey), Ptol. v. 8. 7. Theophilus, a bishop of Castabala, has a place in history about the time when these Ignatian Epistles were probably written (Socr. *H. E.* iii. 25, Soz. *H. E.* iv. 24); and at an earlier date one Moses, bishop of this see, appears at the Council of Nicæa (Cowper *Syrian Miscellanies* pp. 10, 27, 32). Thus the conjecture has much to recommend it. Nevertheless the coincidence of all our divers authorities here, which exhibit no variation in the consonants (for the Armenian, being derived through the Syriac, represents κ[c]βα[ω]ν), is fatal to it; and the same may be said of its occurrence in § 1, notwithstanding the corruption in GL. The only question therefore remaining is the alternative between *Κασσοβόλων* and *Κασσοβήλων*. The weight of authority (g in both places; L here; C in the heading of *Ign. Mar.*; A in both places, for the long vowel η

would probably have been represented in the Syriac and consequently preserved in the Armenian; all these against G here and GL in § 1) is decidedly in favour of *Κασσοβόλων*, whereas the analogy of Ar-bela, Gaugamela, etc., might suggest *Κασσοβήλων*. Voss would read *Καταβόλων*, supposing it to be the place mentioned in the Itineraries; *Catavolo Antonin., Peutling., Catavolo Hierosol.* (where the MS has *Catavolomis*, but the -mis is evidently a repetition of the following mil., as Wesseling saw, and Parthey corrects the text accordingly). It appears to be a very general opinion (e.g. Leake *Asia Minor* p. 218, Ritter *Erdkunde* VIII. ii. 3, p. 1835 sq) that the place mentioned in the Itineraries is the same as Castabala. This seems very questionable. The forms in all the Itineraries represent the Greek *καταβόλω*, and *κατάβολος* means a place for discharging (*καταβάλλειν*) merchandise (Schol. on Thuc. i. 30; comp. *Etym. Magn.* p. 336 s. v. *ἐμπορος*). Thus it corresponds to the English 'Wharf' or the Italian 'Scaricatojo,' both which are used as proper names. It would seem therefore to have been some small station on the route, perhaps not a town at all. On the other hand the Cilician city is almost universally written

ἐνηθρωπηκέναι διὰ παρθένου Μαρίας, ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ καὶ Ἀβραάμ, κατὰ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προρρηθείσας φωνὰς παρὰ τοῦ τῶν προφητῶν χοροῦ· τούτου ἕνεκεν ἀξιούμεν ἀποσταλῆναι ἡμῖν παρὰ τῆς σῆς συνέσεως Μάριν τὸν  
 10 ἐταῖρον ἡμῶν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς Νέας πόλεως τῆς

χοροῦ g. 8 ἀξιούμεν] g; *rogo* A; παρακαλοῦμεν ἀξιούντες GL. 9 Μάριν] Gg; *marim* L; *marinum* A. 10 ἐταῖρον] GL; *dilectum* A; ἕτερον g. ἡμῶν] *nostrum* L; ὑμῶν Ggs; om. A (unless it is represented by *tu* in *tu* (*tu*) *digito factum episcopum*). ἡμεδαπῆς] g; ἡμελάπης (a proper name) GL; al. A. The correct reading was conjectured by Voss.

Καστάβαλα, and appears to have lain more inland; Plin. *N. H.* v. 22, Strabo xii. p. 537. In Q. Curtius however (iii. 17. 5) the MSS have 'ad oppidum Castabulum' (or 'Castabulum'). Our Cassobola or Cassobela appears to have been different from either. In the absence of all evidence we may conjecture that it was a small town or hamlet in the immediate neighbourhood of Anazarbus, as the notice in § 1 suggests. The writer of these epistles himself probably resided in Syria or Cilicia, and was generally acquainted with the topography of those parts.

1. προσήλυτος] 'a convert'; Justin *Dial.* 22 (p. 241 A) τοῖς βουλομένοις προσηλύτοις γενέσθαι κηρύξω ἐγὼ θεῖον λόγον κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 122 (p. 351 B) οὐχὶ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἀκουσόμεθα καὶ τοὺς προσηλύτους αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τοὺς προσηλύτους αὐτοῦ. So too προσήλυσις, *ib.* 28 (p. 245 C). If the Mary of S. Paul's epistle be intended here, she must have been converted some half century before the assumed date of this Ignatian letter. The expression therefore can mean nothing more than that she was not born a Christian. See Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 153 sq.

9. Μάριν] This is a Syriac name, מֵרַם 'my lord'; comp. Philo in *Flacc.* 6 (I. p. 522) ἐξήχει βοή τις ἄσποπος Μάριν ἀποκαλούντων· οὕτως δὲ φασιν

τὸν Κύριον ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ Σύροις. Embellished with a classical termination, it became Μαρῖνος (comp. Ammias, Ammianus, Tatias, Tatianus, etc). Hence in some texts our Maris is called Marinus, both here and in *Hero* 9. The name is common in these parts. One Marinus of Anazarbus was martyred under Diocletian. His day is given as Aug. 4 (Bolland, *Act. Sanct.* Augustus II. p. 346 sq). This may be the same Marinus who is commemorated on Aug. 12 in the old Carthaginian Calendar, and on Aug. 22 and 24 in the Hieronymian and ancient Syriac Martyrologies respectively. At the Council of Nicæa the bishops of Sebastene in Palestine and of Palmyra in Phœnicia both bear the name Marinus; and Maris of Chalcædon, who was also present, held a prominent place in the Arian controversy. Eusebius also dedicated one of his works to a person of this name, *Quæstiones ad Marinum*. For the name in Greek Christian inscriptions see Boeckh *C. I.* 9238, 9837. We meet with more than one Marinus of Neapolis in history (Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* VIII. p. 464; comp. Jacobs *Anthol. Graec.* III. 2. p. 196 sq), but our Neapolis is not meant.

10. ἐπίσκοπον κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'to be bishop of our Newtown,' and so again

πρὸς τῷ Ζαρβῶ καὶ Εὐλόγιον Κασσοβόλων πρεσβύτερον,

1 Ζαρβῶ] GL; *terbium (derpium)* A; ἀναζάρβω g. Κασσοβόλων] g; *casralonis (gasbalonis)* A (from a nom. *casralon* or *gasbalon*); καὶ σόβηλον (a proper name) GL.

Κασσοβόλων πρεσβύτερον 'to be presbyter of Cassobola.' Ignatius in reply is represented as granting the request, *ad Mar.* 3. Accordingly in a letter purporting to be written later, *Hero* 9, he speaks of Μάρῳ τὸν ἐν Νεαπόλει τῇ πρὸς Ζαρβῶ ἐπίσκοπον. See Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 157.

Νέας πόλεως] 'Newtown.' Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 155) objects to treating this as a proper name, on the ground that no city Neapolis in this neighbourhood is mentioned by any geographer. But whatever the difficulty may be, we have no choice open to us. He very fairly argues that the heading of Ignatius' letter in reply to Mary, as given in G, εἰς Νεάπολιν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ζαρβῶ has no authority. But the expression in *Hero* 9 ἐν Νεαπόλει τῇ πρὸς Ζαρβῶ [v. 1. ἀναζάρβω] is decisive; for, if νέα were intended for a mere epithet, we should require the definite article ἐν τῇ νέᾳ πόλει, and indeed Zahn himself prints it there with a capital letter, ἐν Νεαπόλει. On the other hand the passage before us is inconclusive in itself; for in this and similar proper names the first word is frequently declined (e.g. Ἱερὰς πόλεως, Μεγάλης πόλεως). Zahn indeed says that this practice is only found in 'much older writers'; but the signatures to the decrees of the Councils show that it was common in the 4th and 5th century; e.g. Νέας πόλεως at Constantinople (Cowper *Syr. Miscell.* p. 36), Παλαιὰς πόλεως at Chalcedon (Labbe *Conc.* IV. 1492, ed. Colet.).

τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ζαρβῶ] 'on the river Zarbus,' as it is rendered by the Armenian translator in *Hero* 9, and as the masculine article suggests. The

reading is clearly Ζαρβῶ both here and in *Hero* 9, since in both places g stands alone against all the other authorities in substituting Ἀναζάρβω. This substitution would naturally occur to a scribe who was familiar with the name of the city but unacquainted with the name of the stream. Properly speaking the city was Ἀναζαρβος or (more correctly) Ἀναζαρβά, while the name of the stream or springs about which it lay was Ζαρβός or Ζαρβά. The Arabic name of the place is *Ain-Zarba* (Ritter *Erdkunde von Asien* IX. 2. p. 58 sq), and in Syriac it is frequently written ܕܪܒܝܘܬܐ 'the springs of Darbi' (Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* II. Diss. de Monoph. s. v. *Anazarba*); though elsewhere, especially in translations from the Greek (see Wright's *Catalogue of Syriac MSS in the British Museum* pp. 559, 560, 829), it is ܕܪܒܝܘܬܐ or ܕܪܒܝܘܬܐ, *Anazarba* or *Anzarba*. The Arabic and Syriac forms seem to point to the derivation of the name, which was doubtless in any case of Oriental origin, and explain the expression πρὸς τῷ Ζαρβῶ here. The name *Zarbis* appears also as the designation of a tributary of the Tigris (Plin. *N. H.* vi. 30) now called *Zarb* or *Zab* (Ritter *Erdkunde* VI. 2. p. 521). The main river of the locality with which we are concerned was the Pyramus, but this Ζαρβός seems to have been some minor stream. No credit is due to the myths which make Zarbus or Anazarbus a man's name, the founder or the restorer of the city; e.g. Amm. Marcell. xiv. 8. 3 'Anazarbus auctoris vocabulum referens,' Joann. Malal.

*Chron.* p. 267 (ed. Bonn.) *ἐπιμνήσκει τινὰ ἐκεῖ ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς [Νερβᾶς] συγκλητικὸν Ῥωμαίων ὀνόματι Ζάρβον εἰς τὸ κτίσαι αὐτήν.* This last form of the story condemns itself, for the city bore the name Anazarbus long before Nerva's time; *Plin. N. H. v.* 22 'Anazarbeni qui nunc Caesarea, Augusta, Castabala,' etc. *Steph. Byz., s. v.* Ἀναζαρβά, writes *κέκληται ἀπὸ τοῦ προκειμένου ὄρους ἢ ἀπὸ Ἀναζάρβα* [v. l. Ἀναζάρβου] τοῦ κτίσαντος. His statement respecting the mountain is illustrated by coins of Anazarbus belonging to the age of the Antonines, which bear the inscription *ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ . ΤΩΝ . ΠΡΟΣ . ΤΩ . ΑΝΑΖΑΡΒΩ* (*Mionnet III. p. 551, Suppl. VII. p. 172 sq.*; comp. *Ptolem. v. 8 Καισάρεια πρὸς Ἀναζάρβω*); while one, apparently belonging to the reign of Trajan, is inscribed *ΚΑΙΣΑΡ . ΥΠ . ΑΝΑΖΑΡΒ.* (*Mionnet Suppl. VII. p. 171*; comp. *Eckhel Doct. Num. III. p. 42*). The expressions 'Cæsarea at' or 'under Anazarbus' would indeed be satisfied if we were to suppose that the new city of Cæsarea had been built on a lower site near the old Anazarbus. But the masculine article points to a mountain, since the name of the city is feminine, ἡ Ἀνάζαρβος (*Anthol. III. p. 278 Ἀναζαρβού...κυδαλῆμης*, *Evagr. H. E. iv. 8*, *Philostorg. H. E. iii. 15*, etc.). The word is differently accented, Ἀνάζαρβος or Ἀναζαρβός.

Anazarbus bore various names at different epochs. It was thrown down again and again by earthquakes (*Joann. Malal. Chron. pp. 267, 418*, *Evagr. l. c.*, *Zonaras xiv. 5*); and when rebuilt, it sometimes received a new designation. Thus after the second of these calamities under Julius Cæsar it took the name Cæsarea, by which it was known for some centuries. Malalas confuses it with another Cilician town, when

he calls it Diocæsarea, which name it never bore; and Zahn again (*I. v. A. p. 156*) is wrong in calling it 'Caesarea Augusta', for it is not so designated on the coins or elsewhere, while Augusta is mentioned as a distinct place from Anazarbus in the lists of signatures at Chalcedon (*Labb. Conc. iv. 1480, 1485*, ed. Colet.; comp. *Lequien Or. Christ. II. p. 879, 887*) and elsewhere; so that Sillig and other editors of Pliny correctly punctuate between 'Caesarea' and 'Augusta' in the passage cited above. The third earthquake happened under Nerva (*Joann. Malal. l. c.*), and it is perhaps to this incident that the expression *Νεᾶς πόλεως* is intended to refer (*Zahn I. v. A. p. 156*); though there is no evidence that it ever took the name Neapolis. In later Greek writers it is sometimes written Ἀνάβαρζος or Ἀνάβαρζα (e. g. *Nicet. Chon. p. 33*, ed. Bonn.; *Notit. Episc. p. 84*, ed. Parthey), whence the name *Naversa* by which it was known in the crusading times.

Anazarbus was one of the principal cities of Cilicia. Its favourite epithet on the coins is *ἔνδοξος* (*Mionnet III. p. 552 sq.*, *Suppl. VII. p. 175 sq.*). *Procopius Hist. Arc. 18* (p. 111, ed. Bonn.) speaks of it as *τὴν ἐν Κίλικίᾳ ἐπιφανεστάτην Ἀνάζαρβον*. Under Caracalla it became a 'metropolis' (*Mionnet III. p. 552, Suppl. VII. p. 173 sq.*; comp. *Hierocl. Synecd. p. 705*, with *Wesseling's* note). It continued to strike coins as late as Gallienus. It produced at least two men of some literary repute, Dioscorides the medical writer and Asclepiades (or Asclepios) the historian, who among other works wrote an account of the antiquities of his native place (*πάτρια Ἀναζάρβου*, *Anthol. III. p. 278*; comp. *Müller Fragm. Hist. Graec. III. p. 306*). It had games which were visited by athletes from

ὅπως μὴ ὦμεν ἔρημοι τῶν προστατῶν τοῦ θείου λόγου· καθά-  
που καὶ Μωσῆς λέγει, ἐπισκεψάσθω Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἄνθρω-  
πον ὃς ὀδηγήσει τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἡ συνα-  
γωγὴ Κυρίου ὡσεὶ πρόβατα οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ποιμήν.

II. Ὅτι δὲ τοῦ νέου εἶναι τοὺς προγεγραμμένους<sup>5</sup>  
δείσης μηδέν, ὦ μακάριε. γινώσκειν γάρ σε θέλω ὡς ὑπερ-

4 ἔστιν] ἐστὶ G; ἔστι g. 5 τοῦ] gs; τοὺς G. The sentence is translated  
pro eo autem quod juvenes sunt in L, and et quoniam pueri sunt in A. 6 δει-  
σης] G (but corr. δεισεις by a later hand); δεισεις gs; formides L. ὑπερφρο-  
νοῦσιν] G; ὑπερφρονοῦσι g. 8 ἑαυτοῖς] gs; αὐτοῖς G. πολῶν] G A (?);  
πολιᾶ gL. 9 ἀνώσκαλον] g, begins after the first letter of this word,

distant parts; see Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus* Inscr. vi. 14, p. 62 (with the note). For its later history and for its geographical situation see Ritter *Erdkunde* IX. 2. p. 56 sq. The earliest bishop of Anazarbus, of whom any record is preserved, was Athanasius, whom Arius claimed as his supporter (Theodt. *H. E.* i. 4). Anazarbus was made the head of a separate province in the 5th century by Theodosius II (Ioann. Malal. *Chron.* p. 365, ed. Bonn.); and its prelates appear as metropolitans at Ephesus and Chalcedon. In 435 a synod met at Anazarbus to discuss matters relating to the Nestorian controversy (Labb. *Conc.* IV. 523).

Εὐλόγιον] The name is not uncommon in the conciliar lists. One Eulogius, bishop of Edessa, was present at Constantinople in A.D. 381 (Cowper's *Syr. Miscell.* p. 36); and at Ephesus and Chalcedon the name appears several times.

Κασσοβόλων] Zahn retains καὶ Σόβηλον, but for many reasons this seems to me untenable. (1) The coincidence of gA is strong evidence against it. (2) No proper name Σόβηλος, so far as I have observed, is found elsewhere. (3) On the other hand Κασσοβήλων coincides with the

title of the letter in G, and this coincidence would be very strange if it were purely accidental. (4) If we read καὶ Σόβηλον, the context gives no account of this Sobelus, though the persons on either side of him, Maris and Eulogius, are both described. Zahn evidently feels this difficulty, for he writes 'vix me continui, quin proprio Marte scribe-rem πρεσβυτέρους pro πρεσβύτερον.' (5) Ignatius in his reply to Mary (§ 3) speaks of 'the two men' (τοῖν ἀνδρῶν) whose praises she had sounded, whereas this reading would make them three. Indeed Zahn seems to have been taken captive by an apparently apposite notice in *Rel. Jur. Eccl. Ant.* p. 77 (Lagarde) εἰς ὀλιγανδρία ὑπάρχει καὶ μήπου [I. μήπω] πλήθος τυγχάνη τῶν δυναμένων ψηφίσασθαι περὶ ἐπισκόπου ἐντὸς δεκαδύο ἀνδρῶν, εἰς τὰς πλησίον ἐκκλησίας, ὅπου τυγχάνει πεπηγυῖα, γραφέτωσαν, ὅπως ἐκείθεν ἐκλεκτοὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρες παραγερόμενοι δοκιμῇ δοκιμάσωσι τὸν ἄξιον ὄντα κ.τ.λ. (see *I. v. A.* p. 157, note 3). The three persons however who are mentioned in this ordinance are not intended themselves to be the clergy of the newly founded church, but only to choose the bishop (as Zahn himself sees), and it is afterwards ordered



φρονούσιν σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν ταύτης παθῶν ἀλογοῦσιν, αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς προσφάτω νεότητι ἱερωσύνης ἀστράπτοντες πολιάν. ἀνάσκαλον δὲ τῷ λογισμῷ σου διὰ τοῦ δοθέντος σοι  
 10 παρὰ Θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ γνώσῃ ὡς Σαμουὴλ μικρὸν παιδάριον ὃ βλέπων ἐκλήθη, καὶ τῷ χορῷ

-νάσκαλον. τῷ λογισμῷ] g; τῶν λογισμῶν G; cogitationem L. In A the words are translated *considera (in mentem cape) cogitatione spiritus sancti qui datus est tibi*, etc., which seems to have read τῷ λογισμῷ, and omitted σου διὰ.

10 Θεοῦ] g; τοῦ θεοῦ G.

11 μικρὸν παιδάριον] GgL; παιδάριον ὦν [Anton.

96]; *dum fuer erat* A.

that the bishop shall appoint not two but three presbyters. Thus the notice is not appropriate to the case before us. For the reason why the form *Κασσοβόλων* is preferred to *Κασσοβήλων* see above, p. 136.

2. ἐπισκεψάσθω κ.τ.λ.] A quotation from Num. xxvii. 16, 17, abridged and altered. A part of the same passage appears (though not as a direct quotation) in *Hero* 8.

5. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ] Zahn (*J. v. A.* p. 158 sq.) suggests that some personal motives must have led our Ignatian writer to urge the claims of youth so strongly here and in the parallel passage, *Mag.* 3 (comp. *Hero* 3).

7. αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'though youthful in years and called so recently to the priesthood (προσφάτω νεότητι ἱερωσύνης), yet by their intrinsic character (αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς) they glisten, as it were, with the silver hairs of venerable age (ἀστράπτοντες πολιάν)'; comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 1 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐν παροικία μικρᾷ ὑπαρχούση που προβεβηκῶς τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ εὐρίσκηται...νεὸς δὲ ἢ ἐκεῖ, μεμαρτυρημένος ὑπὸ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ὡς ἄξιος ἐπισκοπῆς, διὰ τῆς νεότητος ἐν πραύτητι καὶ εὐταξίᾳ γῆρας ἐπίδεικνύμενος, δοκιμασθεὶς εἰ ὑπὸ τῶν πάντων οὕτως μαρτυρεῖται, καθιστάσθω ἐν εἰρήνῃ. Accordingly Ignatius, granting the request, replies, *ad Mar.* 3 ἄσμένως ἐπλήρωσα, ἐν

οὐδενὶ ἀμφιβάλλον ὦν αὐτῇ καλῶς ἔχειν δεδοκίμακας· ἔγνω γὰρ σε κρίσει Θεοῦ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῖν ἀνδρῶν πεποιῆσθαι.

8. πολιάν] For the figure comp. Basil. *Comm. in Esai.* 104 (*Op.* i. p. 451) *πολιὰ δὲ ἐστὶ φρόνησις ἐν ἀνθρώποις...διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Δανιὴλ, παιδάριον ὄντα καὶ νεώτερον κατὰ τὴν αἰσθητὴν ἡλικίαν, τὴν δὲ νοητὴν πολιὰν ἐπὶ τῆς φρονήσεως ἔχοντα κ.τ.λ.* For the accus. with this and similar verbs see Kühner II. p. 265 sq.

9. ἀνάσκαλον κ.τ.λ.] Euseb. *Nicom.* in Theodt. *H. E.* i. 5 ἀνασκαλεύσαντι τῷ πνεύματι τὸν λογισμόν, which passage favours the accusative τὸν λογισμόν here. The metaphor of ἀνασκάλλειν, ἀνασκαλεύειν, is from raking embers into a flame; e.g. Dion. *Areop. Eccl. Hier.* vii. 11 (p. 272) τοὺς ἐναποκειμένους ἐν σοὶ τοῦ θείου πυρὸς ἀνασκαλεύσω σπινθήρας.

11. Σαμουὴλ κ.τ.λ.] These same instances are produced by the pseudo-Ignatius himself in the parallel passage, *Mag.* 3; comp. also *Apost. Const.* ii. 1.

ὃ βλέπων] He is so called, 1 Sam. ix. 9, 11, 18, 1 Chron. xxix. 29, but not while he was still μικρὸν παιδάριον. The vision of his childhood however (1 Sam. iii. 4 sq.) might have justified the appellation even then.

τῶν προφητῶν ἐγκαταλεχθεὶς τὸν πρεσβύτην Ἡλεὶ παρανομίας ἐξελέγχει, ὅτι παραπλήγας υἱεὶς Θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων αἰτίου προτετιμῆκει, καὶ παίζοντας εἰς τὴν ἱερωσύνην καὶ εἰς τὸν λαὸν ἀσελγαίνοντας εἶασεν ἀτιμωρήτους.

III. Δανιὴλ δὲ ὁ σοφὸς νέος ὢν ἔκρινεν ὠμογέροντάς 5  
τινας, δείξας ἐξώλεις αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι, καὶ  
τῷ γένει Ἰουδαίους ὄντας τῷ τρόπῳ Χαναναίους ὑπάρχειν.  
καὶ Ἰερεμίας, διὰ τὸ νέον παραιτούμενος τὴν ἐγχειριζομένην  
αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ προφητείαν, ἀκούει· μὴ λέγε ὅτι Νεώ-  
τερος εἰμί· διότι πρὸς πάντας οὔτε εἰς ἐὰν ἐξαποστείλω σε 10  
πορεύσῃ, καὶ κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἄν ἐντείλωμαί σοι λαλή-  
σεις· ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἐγὼ εἰμι. Σολομῶν δὲ ὁ σοφός, δυο-  
καίδεκα τυγχάνων ἐτῶν, συνῆκε τὸ μέγα τῆς ἀγνωσίας τῶν  
γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς σφετέροις τέκνοις ζήτημα, ὡς πάντα τὸν

1 ἐγκαταλεχθεὶς] g; ἐγκατελεχθεὶς Gs; ἐγκατελέχθη [Anton.]. Ἡλεὶ] G;  
ἡλεὶ g<sub>1</sub>; ἡλι g<sub>4</sub>; heli LA. 2 ἐξελέγχει] Gg<sub>1</sub>s; ἐλέγχει g<sub>4</sub>; redarguit L.  
4 εἶασεν] GLA (translating loosely, non castigavit); οὐκ εἶασεν g. With the latter  
reading the nom. would be Σαμουήλ, but it is evidently wrong. 5 ὁ σοφός]  
Gg<sub>1</sub>LA Anton.; ὁ σοφώτατος g<sub>4</sub>. ὠμογέροντάς] GgL; ὁμογέροντάς Anton.;  
calumniantes senes A. 6 ἐξώλεις] Gg<sub>4</sub>s Anton.; ἐξωλίας g<sub>1</sub>; adulteros  
L; impudentes et libidinosos mente A. 8 τὸ] Gg<sub>1</sub> Anton.; τὸν g<sub>4</sub>.

5. νέος ὢν] Susann. 45 παιδαρίου  
νεωτέρου ᾧ ὄνομα Δανιήλ.

ὠμογέροντας] 'crudi senes', not  
'crudeles senes', as it is rendered in  
the Latin Version. It denotes the  
'cruda viridisque senectus' of Virgil,  
and is used with diverse modifica-  
tions of sense; (1) 'in a green old  
age', e.g. Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 791 ὠμογέ-  
ροντα δὲ μὴν φασ' ἔμμεναι; (2) 'in the  
first years of old age', Galen *Op.* vi.  
p. 379 (Kühn) τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ [τοῦ  
γῆρας] μέρος, ὃ τῶν ὠμογερόντων ὀνο-  
μάζουσι, Dionys. Alex. in Euseb. *H.*  
*E.* vii. 21 ὅσους ὠμογέροντας οὐς ἐκά-  
λει πρότερον ὄντας ἔτρεφεν, Megasth.  
*Fragm.* 23 (*Hist. Graec.* II. p. 419)  
τεσσαροντούτεες ἀποθνήσκουσιν οἱ πρεσ-  
βύτατοι αὐτῶν... ὥστε τριακοντούτεες μὲν  
ὠμογέροντες ἄν που εἶεν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ

ἄνδρες κ.τ.λ.; (3) 'prematurely aged',  
Paul. Silent. in *Anthol.* III. p. 74  
βόστρυχον ὠμογέροντα τί μέμφει;  
comp. ὠμὸν γῆρας in Hom. *Od.* xv.  
357. In the passage before us the  
crudity is moral, not physical; the  
passions of youth had not been mel-  
lowed by the courses of the suns.

6. ἐξώλεις] 'abandoned', 'accurs-  
ed', 'profligate', like 'perditos', an  
idea of moral turpitude clinging to  
the word; as e.g. Clem. Alex. *Paed.*  
ii. 10 (p. 235) ταῖς ἐξώλεσιν ἡδυνα-  
θείαις.

7. τῷ γένει κ.τ.λ.] From Susann.  
56 εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Σπέρμα Χαναὰν καὶ οὐκ  
Ἰούδα.

9. Μὴ λέγε κ.τ.λ.] From Jer. i.  
7, 8, abridged.

12. δυοκαίδεκα κ.τ.λ.] So too *Magn.*

15 λαὸν ἐκστήναι ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ τοῦ παιδὸς σοφίᾳ, καὶ φοβη-  
θῆναι, οὐχ ὡς μειράκιον, ἀλλ' ὡς τέλειον ἄνδρα. τὰ δὲ  
αἰνίγματα τῆς Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλίδος, φορὰν ἔχοντα ὡσπερ τὰ  
τοῦ Νείλου ρεύματα, οὕτως ἐπελύσατο ὡς ἔξω ἑαυτῆς γε-  
νέσθαι τὴν οὕτως σοφίην.

20 IV. Ἰωσίας δὲ ὁ θεοφιλής, ἀναρθρα σχεδὸν ἔτι φθευ-  
γόμενος, ἐλέγχει τοὺς τῷ πονηρῷ πνεύματι κατόχους, ὡς  
ψευδολόγοι καὶ λαοπλάνοι τυγχάνουσιν· δαιμόνων τε ἐκκα-  
λύπτει τὴν ἀπάτην, καὶ τοὺς οὐκ ὄντας θεοὺς παραδειγματίζει,  
καὶ τοὺς ἱερωμένους αὐτοῖς νηπιονὶ κατασφάζει, βωμούς τε  
25 αὐτῶν ἀνατρέπει, καὶ θυσιαστήρια νεκροῖς λευψάνοις μαιίνει,  
τεμένη τε καθαιρεῖ καὶ τὰ ἄλση ἐκκόπτει καὶ τὰς στηλάς  
συντρίβει καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀσεβῶν τάφους ἀνορύττει, ἵνα μηδὲ  
σημεῖον ἔτι τῶν πονηρῶν ὑπάρχη· οὕτω τις ζηλωτῆς ἦν τῆς

9 πρὸς τοῦ] Gg; παρὰ Anton.

ὄτι] g (with Jer. i. 7); quoniam L; om.

G Anton.

10 διότι] δι' ὅτι g<sub>r</sub>.

ἐὰν] Gg<sub>r</sub>s; ἂν g<sub>4</sub>.

ἐξαπο-

στελλω] Jer. i. 7; ἐξαποστέλλω g<sub>r</sub>; mitto A; ἐξαποστελῶ Gg<sub>4s</sub> Anton.; mittam L.

11 ἐντελλωμαι] Gg<sub>4s</sub> (with Jer. i. 7); ἐντελλομαι g<sub>r</sub>; mando L.

λαλήσεις] g<sub>r</sub>

(with Jer. i. 7); λαλήσης Gg<sub>4s</sub>.

18 ἔξω] GL[A]; ἔξ g.

19 οὕτως] Gg<sub>r</sub>;

οὕτω g<sub>4</sub>.

21 πνεύματι] GLA; ρεύματι g.

22 τυγχάνουσιν] G;

τυγχάνουσι g.

24 νηπιονί] g; pessime A; νήπιος ὦν GL.

28 ἔτι] GL;

ἦ τι g; super (ἐπι) A.

ὑπάρχη] Gg<sub>4s</sub>; ὑπάρχει g<sub>r</sub>.

τις] Gg<sub>r</sub>L[A]; τι g<sub>4</sub>.

3, *Apost. Const.* ii. 1. The Biblical narrative does not mention his age, but simply calls him 'young and tender' (1 Chron. xxix. 1), while of himself he says, 1 Kings iii. 7, ἐγὼ παιδάριον μικρόν. In 1 Kings ii. 11 however [νιός] ἐτῶν δώδεκα is added in several MSS (including A) and some versions, and the tradition was evidently early, for it appears in Eupolemus as quoted by Alexander Polyhistor in Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 30. 8. See Cotelier's note on *Apost. Const.* l. c. for Solomon; and for the Jewish view of this age as a critical time in the development of the man see Farrar *Life of Christ* I. pp. 67, 68, Taylor *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* p. 112.

15. φοβηθῆναι] 1 Kings iii. 28 καὶ ἤκουσαν πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ τὸ κρίμα τοῦτο ὃ ἔκρινεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ βασιλέως.

20. ἀναρθρα κ.τ.λ.] He was eight years old when he began to reign, 2 Kings xxii. 1, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1; but the beginning of his reform is placed twelve years later (2 Chron. xxxiv. 3). In *Magn.* 3 the language suggests that he began to extirpate the idolatries immediately on his accession, when eight years old; and this is evidently the idea here. Probably the example is carelessly borrowed from *Apost. Const.* ii. 1 Ἰωσίας ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὀκτὼ ἐτῶν ἐβασίλευσεν, where however there is no incorrect statement.

εὐσεβείας καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τιμωρός, ἔτι ψελλίζων τῇ γλώττῃ. Δαυεὶδ δὲ ὁ προφήτης ὁμοῦ καὶ βασιλεύς, ἡ τοῦ σωτηρίου κατὰ σάρκα ρίζα, μεράκιον χρίεται ὑπὸ Σαμουὴλ εἰς βασιλεία· φησὶν γάρ που αὐτὸς ὅτι μικρὸς ἦμην ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου καὶ νεώτερος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου. 5

V. Καὶ ἐπιλείψει με ὁ χρόνος, εἰ πάντας ἀνιχνεύειν βουλοίμην τοὺς [ἐν] νεότητι εὐαρεστήσαντας Θεῷ, προφητείαν τε καὶ ἱερωσύνην καὶ βασιλείαν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἐγχειρισθέντας· ὑπομνήσεως δὲ ἕνεκα αὐτάρκη καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα. ἀλλὰ σε ἀντιβολῶ, μὴ σοὶ τις περιττὸς εἶναι δόξω καὶ φανητιῶσα. 10 οὐ γὰρ διδάσκουσά σε ἀλλ' ὑπομιμνήσκουσα τὸν ἐμὸν ἐν Θεῷ πατέρα τούτους παρεθέμην τοὺς λόγους· γνώσκω γὰρ τὰ ἑαυτῆς μέτρα καὶ οὐ συμπαρακτείνω ἑαυτὴν τοῖς τηλικούτοις ὑμῖν. ἀσπάζομαί σου τὸν ἅγιον κλῆρον καὶ τὸν φιλόχριστόν σου λαὸν τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν κηδεμονίαν ποιμαινόμε- 15

1 γλώττῃ] g; γλώσση G.

2 Δαυεὶδ] δαυιδ g<sub>4</sub>; δαδ g<sub>1</sub>; δαβιδ Gs (but

prob. it is contracted δαδ).

7 ἐν] gL; om. GA (but A, as coming through

the ambiguous Syriac, is valueless here).

8 ἱερωσύνην καὶ βασιλείαν]

GLA; βασιλείαν (βασιλείαν g<sub>1</sub>) καὶ ἱερωσύνην g.

9 ἕνεκα] Gg<sub>1</sub>s; ἕνεκεν g<sub>4</sub>.

αὐτάρκη] Gg<sub>4</sub>s; αὐταρκεῖ g<sub>1</sub>; sufficiens L; sufficiens sit A.

10 περιττὸς]

G; περιττὴ g.

11 ὑπομιμνήσκουσα] Gg<sub>1</sub>; ὑπομνήσκουσα g<sub>4</sub>.

13 ἑαυ-

τὴν] G; ἑαυτὴν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s.

14 ὑμῖν] Gsg<sub>1</sub>sL; ad te A; ἡμῖν g<sub>4</sub>.

καὶ τὸν

φιλόχριστόν σου λαὸν] g; om. GLA.

No subscription in GgLA.

4. Μικρὸς ἦμην κ.τ.λ.] From the apocryphal Psalm cli. 1 of the LXX, which does not appear in the Hebrew.

6. ἐπιλείψει με κ.τ.λ.] The expression is taken from Heb. xi. 32.

10. φανητιῶσα] 'desirous of making a display', 'ostentatious', as e.g. Jul. African. in Euseb. *H. E.* i. 7 εἴτ' οὖν φανητιῶντες εἶθ' ἀπλῶς διδάσκοντες, Basil. *de Spir. Sanct.* 30 (III. p. 66), with other passages given by Cotelier. For desideratives in -άω, -ιάω, see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 80. Comp. ἐπιδεικτικῶντα in *Philipp.* 10.

21. χριστοφόρῳ] For the meaning

of this epithet see the note on *Ephes.*

9. It is applied to Timothy in *Ps-Magn.* 3, as well as to certain deacons, *Ps-Smyrn.* 12, and to Ignatius himself, *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 5. This epithet 'Christ-bearing', applied to one whose name was Mary, led to misunderstanding. The word *filiae* is omitted in some Latin copies, doubtless because it was thought inappropriate as addressed to the Lord's mother. It seems probable too that the spurious Latin correspondence between Ignatius and the Virgin Mary was suggested by this letter addressed χριστοφόρῳ Μαρία.

νον. πάντες οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν πιστοὶ προσαγορεύουσίν σε. ὑγιαίνειν με κατὰ Θεὸν προσεύχου, μακάριε ποιμήν.

## 2.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΜΑΡΙΑΝ.

20 **Ι**ΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ ἡλεημένη χάριτι Θεοῦ πατρὸς ὑψίστου καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντος, πιστοτάτη, ἀξιοθέω, χριστοφόρῳ θυγατρὶ Μαρίας, πλείστα ἐν Θεῷ χαίρειν.

25 **Ι.** Κρείττον μὲν γράμματος ὄψις, ὅσῳ περ μέρος οὔσα τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν αἰσθήσεων οὐ μόνον οἷς μεταδιδοῖ τὰ φιλικὰ τιμᾶ τὸν λαμβάνοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς ἀντιδέχεται τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς κρείττοσι πόθον πλουτέ· πλην δεύτερος, φασίν, λιμῆν καὶ

ΠΡΟΣ ΜΑΡΙΑΝ] πρὸς μαρίαν εἰς νεάπολιν τὴν πρὸς τῷ ζάρβῳ ἰγνατίου (numbered η in the marg.) G; τοῦ ἁγίου (add. ἱερομάρτυρος g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>) ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεουπόλεως (θεοπόλεως g<sub>3</sub>) ἀντιοχείας (add. ἐπιστολή g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>) πρὸς μαρίαν g (marked α in the marg. of g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>); *ignatius mariae proselytae* L\*; *responsio epistolae mariae beato ignatio scriptae* (or *a beato ignatio scripta*) A.

19 ἡλεημένη] ἐλεημένη (-νη) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. χάριτι] GLA; ὑπὸ g. The reading χάριτι is recognised also by l, which for τῇ ἡλεημένη χάριτι has *misericordiam consecutae et gratiam*. 23 μὲν] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>LL; γὰρ g<sub>3</sub>; om. A. ὅσῳ περ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>LA; ἤπερ g<sub>3</sub>; *velut* l. μέρος] Ggl; *pars melior* L\* (repeating κρείττον); *propinqua* (ὄμορος?) A. 24 μεταδιδοῖ] μεταδιδεῖ G. 26 φασίν] Gg<sub>1</sub>; φασί g<sub>3</sub>; *aiunt* L; φησι g<sub>4</sub>; *dicimus* A; al. l.

23. ὅσῳ περ κ.τ.λ.] Zahn's conjecture, ὅσῳ πρῶτον μέρος κ.τ.λ., besides being unnecessary, seems hardly appropriate. The contrast is not between a higher and a lower sense, but between direct apprehension by a sense and indirect apprehension by letter. The *melior* in the Latin comes from an accidental repetition of the κρείττον in the previous clause.

24. οὐ μόνον κ.τ.λ.] 'it not only honours the recipient, when (by those acts whereby) it imparts friendly offices, but also itself is enriched,

when it receives in turn the desire for greater favours'.

26. δεύτερος...λιμῆν] The whole passage has a strong resemblance to Chrysost. *Epist.* 27 (*Op.* III. p. 610) ἐβουλόμην μὲν κατ' ὄψιν συντυχεῖν τῇ εὐλαβείᾳ τῇ σῆ...ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐν...ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἀναγκάτως ἤλθομεν πλοῦν, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων παραψυχὴν ἐάντοῖς χαρίζομενοι. The common form of the Greek proverb for a *pis aller* is not δεύτερος λιμῆν, as here, but δεύτερος πλοῦς, as in Chrysostom; e.g. Plato *Phileb.* 19 C, *Phaed.* 99 D,

ὁ τῶν γραμμάτων τρόπος· ὃν ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸν ὄρμον δεδέγμεθα παρὰ τῆς σῆς πίστεως πόρρωθεν, ὥσπερ δι' αὐτῶν ἰδόντες τὸ ἐν σοὶ καλόν. αἱ γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ᾧ πάνσοφε γύναι, ψυχὰι ταῖς καθαρωτέραις εἰκόασι πηγαῖς· ἐκεῖναί τε γὰρ τοὺς παριόντας, κἂν μὴ διψῶσιν, αὐτῷ τῷ εἶδει ἐφέλκονται αὐτοὺς ἀρύσασθαι τοῦ ποτοῦ· ἢ τε σὴ σύνεσις παρεγγυᾷ, μετασχέιν ἡμᾶς παρακελευομένη τῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ σου βλυζόντων θείων ναμάτων.

II. Ἐγὼ δέ, ᾧ μακαρία, οὐκ ἔμαντοῦ νῦν τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἄλλων γενόμενος, ταῖς πολλῶν τῶν ἐναντίων γνώμαις ἑλαύνομαι, τὰ μὲν φυγαῖς, τὰ δὲ φρουραῖς, τὰ δὲ δεσμοῖς· ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς τούτων ἐπιστρέφομαι· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι, ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ὀναίμην τῶν δεινῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων· ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἄζια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι [εἰς ἡμᾶς].

2 δι' αὐτῶν] G; *per ipsas* (i.e. *litteras*) L; δι' ἑαυτῶν g; *in eo* l; *e propinquo* A.  
 3 ἰδόντες] GLIA; εἰδότες g. 4 καθαρωτέραις] GL; καθαρωτάταις gl; al. A.  
 5 αὐτῷ] GL; *sui* l; om. g; al. A. 6 ποτοῦ] so accentuated correctly in g<sub>4</sub>.  
 The edd. generally (not Zahn or Funk) read *πότου* with g<sub>3</sub>. σῆ] GLAl; om. g.  
 8 ναμάτων] g; *effusionum* A; *liquoribus* l; *aquis* L; πομάτων G. 9 ἔμαντοῦ]  
 ἔμαντῷ g<sub>1</sub>; ἔμαντῶν G. 10 ὅσον] ὅσον G. πολλῶν] GgL[1]; dub. A.  
 There is no authority for *πολλαῖς*. 16 εἰς ἡμᾶς] GLl (with Rom. viii. 18); om.  
 gA. 19 κρῖσει] κρῖσως G. 20 τοῦν] Gg<sub>45</sub>; τῆν (sic) g<sub>3</sub>; τοῖς g<sub>1</sub>. 21 ἦσαν]

Arist. *Eth. Nic.* ii. 9, *Polit.* iii. 13, and so frequently.

2. δι' αὐτῶν] sc. τῶν γραμμάτων. The reading δι' ἑαυτῶν is rendered 'with our own eyes', but it would not be altogether a natural expression with this meaning.

7. παρεγγυᾷ] 'is a pledge, a voucher'.

12. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κ.τ.λ.] Taken from *Rom.* 5. So the following words ὀναίμην κ.τ.λ. are adapted from the context of the same passage, ὀναίμην τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων, but the substitution of δεινῶν for θηρίων shows that this letter is supposed to

be written by Ignatius before his condemnation; see *Mar. Ign.* inscr.

14. οὐκ ἄζια κ.τ.λ.] From *Rom.* viii. 18, quoted also *Mar. Ign. Rom.* 9, where the words are put into the mouth of Ignatius.

20. τοῖν ἀνδροῖν] Maris and Eulogius; see *Mar. Ign.* I with the note.

21. ἦσαν] For this verb ἦδω (= ἀνδάνω), which is rare in the active, see Veitch *Greek Verbs* p. 264 sq.

γραφικῶν χωρίων] 'passages of scripture': see *Mar. Ign.* 2, 3, 4. The expression seems to have puzzled the Latin translators, the one rendering it by the unintelligible words 'scrip-

III. Τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς κελευσθέντα ἀσμένως ἐπλήρωσα, ἐν οὐδενὶ ἀμφιβάλλον ὧν αὐτὴ καλῶς ἔχειν δεδοκίμακας. ἔγνω γὰρ σε κρίσει Θεοῦ τὴν μαρτυ-  
 20 ρίαν τοῖν ἀνδρῶν πεποιῆσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ χάριτι σαρκικῇ· πάνυ δέ με ἦσαν καὶ αἱ συνεχεῖς σου τῶν γραφικῶν χωρίων μνήμαι· ἃς ἀναγνοὺς οὐδὲ μέχρῃς ἐννοίας ἐνεδοίασα περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα· οὐ γὰρ εἶχον τίσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐκδραμεῖν ὧν εἶχον ἀναντίρρητον ὑπὸ σοῦ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. ἀντίψυχόν σου γε-  
 25 νοίμην ἐγώ, ὅτι φιλεῖς Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος· διὸ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρεῖ σοι· ἐγὼ τοῦς ἐμε φιλοῦντας ἀγαπῶ· οἱ δὲ ἐμὲ ζητοῦντες εὐρήσουσιν εἰρήνην.

IV. Ἐπέρχεται δέ μοι λέγειν ὅτι ἀληθινὸς ὁ λόγος ὃν ἤκουον περὶ σοῦ, ἔτι οὔσης σοῦ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρὰ τῷ μακα-  
 30 ρίῳ πάπῃ Ἀνεγκλήτῳ, ὃν διεδέξατο τὰ νῦν ὁ ἀξιομακάριστος Κλήμης ὁ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου ἀκουστής. καὶ νῦν προσέ-

g; *gaudio-affecerunt* A; ἦσαν G; *erant* L (*multum enim mihi erant*); *fuertunt* l. al] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; om. g<sub>3</sub>; al. A; dub. L. It seems to have been wanting in l, which has *assidua fuerunt spatia*, making *συνεχεῖς* the predicate. 22 ἐνεδοίασα] Gg<sub>3</sub>; ἐνεδύασα g<sub>1</sub>; ἐνεδοίασα g<sub>4</sub>. 24 ἀναντίρρητον] Gg<sub>1</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>LA; ἀντίρρητον g<sub>4</sub>; *ineffabilem* [1]. ἀντίψυχόν] G; ἀντίψυχός g. 29 οὔσης σοῦ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>L; οὔσης (om. σοῦ) g<sub>4</sub>; *causante* l (thus omitting *te*, but this might easily occur after the last syllable of *causante*); *dum...eras* A. 30 Ἀνεγκλήτῳ] g; *anenclctum* (v. l. *anacletum*) l; *enacletum* A; *cletum* L; λήψ (i. e. λίνψ) G; see the lower note. τὰ νῦν] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *ad praesens* L; νῦν g<sub>4</sub>; dub. A; om. l. 31 ἀκουστής] Gg<sub>1</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; ἀκουιστής g<sub>4</sub>.

tibulum locorum' and the other going altogether wide of the mark.

24. ἀντίψυχον] Borrowed from the genuine Ignatius; see the note on *Ephes.* 21 (p. 87). It occurs frequently in our spurious Ignatian writer.

26. ἐγὼ τοὺς κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. viii. 17, but the original text of the LXX, following the Hebrew, ends with εὐρήσουσιν, though χάριν is added in A.

29. ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ] See the note on *Mar. Ign.* inscr.

30. Ἀνεγκλήτῳ] Ussher would adopt the reading λίνψ (after G), be-

cause the succession of the Roman bishops thus accords with *Apost. Const.* vii. 46 Κλήμης δὲ μετὰ τὸν Λίνου θάνατον κ.τ.λ. But the preponderance and variety of authorities is decisive in favour of Ἀνεγκλήτῳ, so that our pseudo-Ignatius took the order of the Roman bishops as he found it in Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 21, v. 6), Linus, Anenclctus, Clemens; comp. *Ps-Trall.* 7 Τιμόθεος καὶ Λίνος Παύλω καὶ Ἀνεγκλήτῳ καὶ Κλήμης Πέτρῳ, where the same sequence seems to be implied, though the order is not necessarily chronological.

31. Κλήμης] The chronology of

θηκας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἑκατονταπλασίως, καὶ προσθείης γε ἔτι, ὧ  
 αὐτῆ. σφόδρα ἐπεθύμουν ἔλθειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ συναναπαύ-  
 σασθαι ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' οἶκ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ἡ ὁδὸς ἀγίτου. ἐπέχει  
 γάρ μου τὴν πρόθεσιν, οὐ συγχωροῦσα εἰς πέρας ἔλθειν,  
 ἢ στρατιωτικὴ φρουρά· ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐν οἷς εἰμί, δρᾶν τι 5  
 ἢ παθεῖν οἶός τε ἐγώ. διὸ δευτέρον τῆς ἐν φίλοις παραμυθίας  
 τὸ γράμμα λογιζόμενος κατασπάζομαι τὴν ἱεράν σου ψυχὴν,  
 παρακαλῶν προσθεῖναι τῷ τόνῳ. ὁ γὰρ παρὼν πόνος ὀλίγος,  
 ὁ δὲ προσδοκώμενος μισθὸς πολὺς.

V. Φεύγετε τοὺς ἀρνούμενους τὸ πάθος Χριστοῦ καὶ τὴν 10  
 κατὰ σάρκα γέννησιν· πολλοὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἄρτι οἱ ταύτην νο-  
 σοῦντες τὴν ἀρρωστίαν. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα σοὶ παραινέειν εὔηθες,  
 κατηρτισμένη μὲν παντὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ ἀγαθῷ δυναμένη δὲ  
 καὶ ἄλλους νουθετεῖν ἐν Χριστῷ. Ἄσπασαι πάντας τοὺς  
 ὁμοίως σοι ἀντεχομένους τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας ἐν Χριστῷ. 15

1 ἑκατονταπλασίως] ἑκονταπλασίως g<sub>4</sub>. προσθείης] προσθείη G; πρόσθες g;  
 ἀρρῶνας L; *adjicies* l; *adjicias* or *adjicies* A. ἔτι] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>LA(?)l; om. g<sub>4</sub>.  
 2 αὐτῆ] Gg; *dilecta* (ἀγαπητή) L; *tu ipsa* (αὐτή) l; om. A. καὶ] gAl; ὥστε  
 GL. 5 ἢ] οἱ g<sub>3</sub>. 7 γράμμα] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>L[A][I]; δρᾶμα g<sub>4</sub>. 8 παρακαλῶν]  
 Gg<sub>4</sub>; *deprecans* L; *rogans* l; *et rogo* A; παρακαλώ g<sub>1</sub>; παρακαλλῶ g<sub>3</sub>. προσ-  
 θεῖναι] προσθήναι Gg; ἀρρῶνι L; *superadjicere* l; *augere* A. τόνῳ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;  
*robori* L; *ad propositum* l; *virtutem* (*fortitudinem*) A; πόνῳ g<sub>3</sub>. There is the same  
 v. l. in *Mart. Ant.* i (see II, p. 474). 9 πολὺς] displaced in g<sub>3</sub> and printed  
 after Χριστοῦ. 10 φεύγετε] Gg<sub>4</sub>l; φεύγε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub> (but accentuated φεύγε)  
 Al. Χριστοῦ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; τοῦ χριστοῦ g<sub>4</sub>. 12 τὴν] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; om. g<sub>3</sub>.  
 13 μὲν] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>L; ἐν g<sub>4</sub>; al. A; om. [I]. δὲ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>L; al. A; om. g<sub>4</sub>  
 [I]. 15 ὁμοίως] GA (which has *secundum tuum nomen et similitudi-*  
*nem*); ὁμοίους gL; def. l. σοι] Gg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *tibi* L; σου g<sub>1</sub>l; def. l. For A see the  
 last note. ἀντεχομένους] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἀντισχομένους g<sub>3</sub>. 16 οἱ sec.] g;  
 om. G. πρὸ] gLAl; πρὸς G. 17 Ἡρων] Gg<sub>4</sub>l; *heron* l (with vv. ll.);

this passage is taken from Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 21, 22, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ῥωμαίων εἰσέτι Κλήμης ἡγέετο, τρίτον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπέχων τῶν τῆδε μετὰ Παῦλον τε καὶ Πέτρον ἐπισκοπευσάντων βαθμόν· Δίνος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἦν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀνέγκλητος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Εὐδοίου πρῶτον καταστάντος, δεύτερος ἐν τοῖς δηλουμένοις Ἰγνάτιος ἐγνωρίζετο. In *Ps-Philad.* 4 Clement is represented as already dead (τῶν ἐξεληθόν-

των τὸν βίον), while in this epistle, which pretends to be written a little earlier, he is still living. This is explained, as Zahn has pointed out (*I. v. A.* p. 125 sq.), by the sequence of the narrative in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 34, 36, 38, where the death of Clement is mentioned shortly before the martyrdom of Ignatius, while an account of his epistle is given after that event. The inference of our



ἀσπάζονται σε οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι καὶ πρὸ πάντων ὁ ἱερός Ἡρων. ἀσπάζεται σε Κασσιανὸς ὁ ξένος μου, καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή μου ἡ γαμετὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ φίλτατα αὐτῶν τέκνα. ἐρρωμένην σε σαρκικὴν καὶ πνευματικὴν  
 20 ὑγίαν ὁ Κύριος ἀγιάσει αἰεὶ, καὶ ἴδοιμί σε ἐν Χριστῷ τυχοῦσαν τοῦ στεφάνου.

## 3.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΟΥΣ.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ ἡγαπημένην παρὰ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀγία τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν

ἔρων g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *eron* L; *urion* A (as it is elsewhere written in this version). Κασσιανὸς] gLl; Κασσιανὸς G. A is of no account here. See *Hero* 9, *Ant.* 13. 18 ἡ γαμετῆ] GgAl; *et sponsa* L. 19 τέκνα] gAl; om. GL. σε] gl; om. GL; al. A. σαρκικὴν καὶ πνευματικὴν ὑγίαν] GL; *carnali et spirituali salute* l; σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι g; *spiritu et corpore* A. 20 ἀγιάσει] Gg<sub>1</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>; ἀγιάσει g<sub>3</sub>; *sanctificet* Ll; al. A. αἰεὶ] GLAl; om. g. 21 τυχοῦσαν] g; *consecutam* l; *τυγχάνουσαν* G; *potientem* L; *haeredem* A.

Subscr. τοῦ ἀγίου ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς μαριαν: a g<sub>1</sub>. No subscription in g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>LA.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΟΥΣ] g<sub>4</sub> (with β in the marg.); *ad trallianos ex smyrna* l (with vv. ll., but always retaining the form *trallianos*); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τραλλησιούς g<sub>1</sub> (with β in the marg.); τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπέλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τραλλησιούς β g<sub>3</sub>. As the form Τραλλιανοί is the authentic reading in the heading of the genuine Ignatius (though L has *tralesii*), I have adopted it here.

author was that the death of Clement immediately preceded that of Ignatius.

3. οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ κ.τ.λ.] Jer. x. 23 οἶδα Κύριε ὅτι οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ.

17. Κασσιανός] He is mentioned also *Hero* 9, *Ant.* 13. Zahn adopts the form Κασσιανός, considering that the word is derived from Κάσιον the mountain which overhung Antioch,

or from Κασσιανὰ a fortress near the Syrian Apamea (Strabo xii. 2, p. 752); see *I. v. A.* p. 159, note 2. But, though the word is sometimes written Κασσιανός in the Greek inscriptions (Boeckh *C. I.* 189, 196, 271, 272, all at Athens), it is more commonly Κασσιανός, and so always apparently in those of Syria and the neighbourhood (Boeckh *C. I.* 4498, 4573 b, 4594, 8947 v). In a Greek

Τράλλεσιν, ἐκλεκτῇ καὶ ἀξιοθέῳ, εἰρηνευούσῃ ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ἐν πάθει τῷ διὰ σταυροῦ καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἀναστάσει· ἦν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν τῷ πληρώματι ἐν ἀποστολικῷ χαρακτήρι, καὶ εὐχομαι πλείστα χαίρειν. 5

I. Ἄμωμον διάνοιαν καὶ ἀνυπόκριτον ἐν ὑπομονῇ ἔγνω ὑμᾶς ἔχοντας, οὐ κατὰ χρῆσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ κτήσιν· καθὼς ἐδήλωσέν μοι Πολύβιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὑμῶν, ὃς παρεγένετο θελήματι Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ συνεργεία πνεύματος ἐν Σμύρνη, καὶ οὕτως μοι συνε- 10 χάρη δεδεμένῳ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ὥστε με τὸ πᾶν πλήθος ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρῆσαι. ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν ὑμῶν εὐνοίαν δι' αὐτοῦ, ἔδοξα εὐρῶν ὑμᾶς μιμητὰς ὄντας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτήρος.

II. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ· ἀγτός 15 γὰρ ἀγγρῦπνεῖ ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, ὡς λόγον ἀποδώ- cων Θεῶ. διὸ καὶ φαίνεσθέ μοι οὐ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ζῶντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀποθανόντα, ἵνα πιστεύοντες εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος κοι- νωνοὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ γένησθε. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἐστίν, 20

|   |   |                                  |
|---|---|----------------------------------|
| 1 ἀξιοθέῳ] ἀξιοθέε g <sub>1</sub> .   | 8 μοι] l (with I); om. g.   | 9 πατρὸς]                        |
| g <sub>1</sub> g <sub>3</sub> ]; om. g <sub>4</sub> with [I].   | καὶ] txt l with [I]; add. κυρίου g.   | 10 οὕτως]                        |
| g <sub>1</sub> g <sub>4</sub> with I; sic l; ὅπως g <sub>3</sub> .  | συνεχάρη] συνεχάρει g <sub>1</sub> g <sub>3</sub> .                         | 13 ἔδοξα]                        |
| g <sub>1</sub> g <sub>3</sub> g <sub>4</sub> ; ἀγνοσί l. The correct reading in I is ἐδόξασα (see II. p. 154); but there is no indication of this reading in the Long Recension, and probably the author of it had a corrupt text before him. | εὐρῶν] g <sub>1</sub> g <sub>3</sub> l with I; εὐρεῖν g <sub>4</sub> .      | ὑμᾶς]                            |
| ἡμᾶς g <sub>3</sub> .   | 17 μοι] g <sub>4</sub> s with I; mibi l; με g <sub>1</sub> g <sub>3</sub> . | 22 ὑποτάσσεσθε] g <sub>4</sub> s |
| with I (see II. p. 155); <i>subditi estote</i> l; ὑποτάσσεσθαί g <sub>1</sub> g <sub>3</sub> .  |   | 25 Ἰησοῦ                         |
| Χριστοῦ] g <sub>3</sub> g <sub>4</sub> l with I; χριστοῦ ἰησοῦ g <sub>1</sub> .   | 27 αὐτοῦ] g <sub>1</sub> g <sub>3</sub> g <sub>4</sub> with I. In l the     |                                  |

inscription at Rome also, we meet with a Syrian Christian Cassianus with his wife and son; *C. I.* 9787 ἐνθα κίται ἐμιδάβους, γαμητῆ Κασσιανοῦ Τολμαρίου, κώμης Ἀδάνων καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Πέτρος, and another of the same name from the same place was buried at Treviri, *C. I.* 9892 ἐνθάδε κίτε ἐν ἡρήνε Κασσιανὸς Ἀβεδσμιμίου ἀπὸ [κ]ώ- (μης) [Ἀδ]δάνων κ.τ.λ. Adana was a

Cilician town between Tarsus and Antioch, and therefore in the locality with which this Ignatian letter is concerned. As in all these cases the name is spelt with σσ, and as our authorities all agree in this form in *Hero* 9, *Ant.* 13, and with only one exception here also, I have written it Κασσιανός. Among Christians in the second century the name is borne by

ὅσαπερ ποιεῖτε, ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράττειν ὑμᾶς· ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ἐν ᾧ διάγοντες ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρεθησόμεθα. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὄντας μυστηρίων  
25 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀρέσκειν· οὐ γὰρ βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν εἰσι διάκονοι ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ὑπηρέται· δέον οὖν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐγκλήματα φυλάττεσθαι, ὡς πῦρ φλέγον.

III. Αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ἔστωσαν τοιοῦτοι. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐντρέ-  
30 πεσθε αὐτοὺς ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν οὗ φύλακές εἰσιν τοῦ τόπου, ὡς καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὄλων τύπος ὑπάρχει, οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ καὶ σύνδεσμος ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ. χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία ἐκλεκτὴ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐ συνάθροισμα ἅγιον, οὐ συναγωγὴ ὁσίων. πέπεισ-  
35 μαι δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς οὕτω διακεῖσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἔξεμπλᾶριον τῆς ἀγάπης [ὑμῶν] ἔλαβον καὶ ἔχω μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν· οὗ αὐτὸ τὸ κατάστημα μεγάλη μαθητεία, ἣ δὲ πραότης αὐτοῦ δύναμις· ὃν λογίζομαι καὶ τοὺς ἀθέους ἐντρέπεσθαι.

sentence is translated *oportet ergo praecepta eorum observare*. The ed. princ. substituted *αὐτῶν*, which may have been either a misprint or a conjecture founded on the Latin. It has been followed by subsequent editors. 34 ἅγιον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἀγίων g<sub>3</sub>. The best MSS of l have *neque congregatio sancta neque collectio sanctorum*: the common text transposes the two clauses. 36 ὑμῶν] l with I; om. g. μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ] with I; μεθ' ἑμᾶυτοῦ g<sub>1</sub> (the aspirate over the ε being blotted) g<sub>3</sub>; μετ' ἑμᾶυτοῦ g<sub>2</sub> g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>. The ed. princ. printed μετ' ἑμᾶυτοῦ, and has been followed by subsequent editors. 38 ὃν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> with I; *quam* (ἦν) l (with a v.l. *quem*). Dressel's citation of g<sub>2</sub> for the reading ἦν is an inexplicable error; the MS only begins some lines lower down.

the second Gentile bishop of Jerusalem (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 12) and by the heretic Julius Cassianus (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21, p. 378; iii. 13, p. 553; etc).

'Hospitem illum appellans', says Zahn, 'summam antiquitatis apostolicae simplicitatem affectat; conf. Rom. xvi. 23, Act. xviii. 3'.

13. ἔδοξα] There is no authority for any other reading in this recen-

sion, though it is an obvious corruption of the original *ἐδόξασα* of Ignatius. It cannot have the sense *agnovi* which the Latin Version gives to it, nor can any adequate meaning be assigned to it consistently with Greek usage.

15. αὐτὸς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] From Heb. xiii. 17, where however it is plural, αὐτοὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.

ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς φείδομαι συντονώτερον ἐπιστεῖλαι, ἵνα μὴ δόξω τισὶν εἶναι προσάντης ἢ ἐπιδεῆς. δεδεμαι μὲν διὰ Χριστόν, ἀλλ' οὐδέπω Χριστοῦ ἄξιός εἰμι· εἰ δὲ τελειωθῶ, τάχα γενήσομαι.

IV. Οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος διατάσσομαι· ἀλλ' ἑμαντὸν 5 μετρῶ, ἵνα μὴ ἐν καυχῆσει ἀπόλωμαι. καλὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Κυρίῳ καυχᾶσθαι. κἂν ἔρρωμένος ᾧ τὰ κατὰ Θεόν, πλείον με δεῖ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς εἰκῆ φυσιοῦσί με· οἱ γὰρ με ἐπαινοῦντες μαστιγοῦσιν· ἀγαπῶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ παθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ἄξιός εἰμι. τὸ γὰρ ζῆλος τοῦ ἐχθροῦ πολλοῖς 10 μὲν οὐ φαίνεται, ἐμὲ δὲ πολεμεῖ. χρήζω οὖν πραότητος, ἐν ᾗ καταλύεται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ὁ διάβολος.

V. Μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ὑμῖν μυστικώτερα γράψαι; ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι μὴ νηπίοις οὖσιν ὑμῖν βλαβὴν παραθῶμαι· καὶ σύγγνωτέ μοι, μὴ οὐ δυνηθέντες χωρῆσαι τὴν ἐνέργειαν 15 στραγγαλωθῆτε· καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ, οὐ καθότι δεδεμαι καὶ δύναμαι νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰς ἀγγελικὰς τάξεις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ στρατιῶν ἐξαλλαγὰς, δυνάμεών τε καὶ κυριο-

6 ἵνα μὴ...καλὸν δὲ τὸ] om. g<sub>3</sub>.

τὸν θεόν Dam. ii. 522; *apud deum* l.

πλείονά με g<sub>4</sub>; πλέον [I].

g Max. with I; φυσῶσίν με Dam.

qui me laudant l; ἐπαινοῦντες γὰρ με Max. Dam.

Dam.; add. *me* l; add. *με* I.

10 τὸ γὰρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; ὁ γὰρ g<sub>3</sub>.

ἐν ᾗ] g Anton. 147; ἐν ᾧ Dam. ii. 650; *ut* l.

Dam.; om. I.

14 παραθῶμαι] παράθωμαι g<sub>4</sub>.

7 τὰ κατὰ Θεόν] g Max. ii. 638; κατὰ

πλείον με] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub> Dam.; πλέον με Max.;

8 μὴ] gl with I; om. Max. Dam. φυσιοῦσί με]

οἱ γὰρ με ἐπαινοῦντες] g (comp. I); *hi vero*

9 μαστιγοῦσιν] g Max.

ἀγαπῶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ παθεῖν] l with I; om. g.

11 οὖν πραότητος] Here g<sub>2</sub> begins.

12 ὁ διάβολος] g; διάβολος Anton.

13 ἐδυνάμην] Zahn; *poteram* l; δύναμαι I; ἐβουλόμην g.

18 ἀρχαγγέλων] Morel; ἀγγέλων g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

2. προσάντης κ.τ.λ.] '*harsh or importunate*', i.e. with a beggar's importunity (ἐπιδεῆς 'indigus'). Or does ἐπιδεῆς mean 'deficient', 'weak'?

17. τὰς ἀγγελικὰς κ.τ.λ.] For the enumeration here comp. *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 ἀναριθμητοὶ στρατιαὶ ἀγγέλων, ἀρχαγγέλων, θρόνων, κυριοτήτων, ἀρχῶν, ἐξουσιῶν, δυνάμεων, στρατιῶν αἰώνιων· τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα Σεραφὶμ κ.τ.λ. In the passage which follows,

ἐξαλλαγὰς seems to mean 'varieties', for which διαφορὰς and παραλλαγὰς are synonymes.

22. τὸ...ἀπαράθετον] '*peerlessness*', as e.g. in Basil. c. *Eunom.* i. 26 (l. p. 237).

27. ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ κ.τ.λ.] From I Cor. i. 11. Part of the same passage is quoted also *Ps-Ephes.* 2.

29. εἰσὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] From Tit. i. 10.

τήτων διαφοράς, θρόνων τε καὶ ἔξουσιῶν παραλλαγάς, αἰώνων  
 20 τε μεγαλειότητας, τῶν τε Χερουβείμ καὶ Σεραφείμ τὰς ὑπερο-  
 χάς, τοῦ τε πνεύματος τὴν ὑψηλότητα καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν  
 βασιλείαν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τὸ τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ ἀπαρά-  
 θετον, ταῦτα γινώσκων ἐγὼ οὐ πάντως ἤδη τετελείωμαι ἢ  
 μαθητῆς εἰμι, οἷος Παῦλος καὶ Πέτρος· πολλὰ γάρ μοι λείπει,  
 25 ἵνα Θεοῦ μὴ ἀπολειφθῶ.

VI. Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλ' ἡ ἀγάπη Ἰησοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ, ἵνα τὸ ἀγτὸ λέγητε πάντες καὶ μὴ ἢ ἐν ἡμῖν  
 σχίσματα· ἢτε δὲ καθηρτισμένοι τῇ ἀγτῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῷ  
 ἀγτῷ νοῖ. εἰςὶ γάρ τινες ματαιολόγοι καὶ φρεναπάται, οὐ  
 30 χριστιανοὶ ἀλλὰ χριστέμποροι, ἀπάτη περιφέροντες τὸ ὄνομα  
 Χριστοῦ, καὶ καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, καὶ  
 τὸν ἰὸν προσπλέκοντες τῆς πλάνης τῇ γλυκεῖα προσηγορίᾳ,  
 ὥσπερ οἶνομέλιτι κώνειον κεραυνύντες, ἵνα ὁ πίνων, τῇ γλυ-  
 κυτάτῃ κλαπείσιν ποιότητι τὴν γευστικὴν αἴσθησιν, ἀφυλάκτως  
 35 τῷ θανάτῳ περιπαρῆ. παραινεῖ τις τῶν παλαιῶν· μηδεὶς

The reading ἀρχαγγέλων seems to be required by the context and is suggested by the rendering of I, *et possum quidem intelligere caelestia; angelorum scilicet atque archangelorum ordines, militiarum diversitates, virtutum et dominationum differentias*, where the translator has wrongly connected together τὰς ἀγγελικὰς τάξεις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων. στρατιῶν] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; στραπειῶν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. 20 μεγαλειότη-  
 τας] g<sub>4</sub>; magnificēntias l; μεγαλότητας g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. Χερουβείμ...Σεραφείμ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s;  
 χερουβίν...σεραφίν g<sub>2</sub>; cherubin...seraphim l (but with a v.l. cherubim...seraphim).

22 καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν] om. g<sub>4</sub>. 24 Παῦλος καὶ Πέτρος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; paulus aut  
 petrus l; πέτρος καὶ παῦλος g<sub>2</sub>, this being the common order. 27 λέγητε]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; λέγετε g<sub>2</sub>. 31 Χριστοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; τοῦ χριστοῦ g<sub>3</sub>. καὶ sec.]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; et l; ἵνα καὶ g<sub>2</sub>. 32 γλυκεῖα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; γλυκία g<sub>2</sub>. 33 οἶνο-  
 μέλιτι] οἶνωμέλιτι g<sub>1</sub>. κώνειον] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; κώνιον g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>.

30. χριστέμποροι] 'traffickers in Christ': see *Ps-Magn.* 9 with the note. The word occurs in *Doctr. Duod. Apost.* p. 12. Comp. Basil. *Ep.* 240 (iii. p. 370) χριστέμποροι γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ οὐ χριστιανοί. In both passages the word is suggested by the accompanying καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον 'huckstering the word', with the idea of adulteration involved, a phrase borrowed from 2 Cor. ii. 17.

This last phrase is rightly translated in the Latin Version here 'cauponantes verbum evangelii' (after Ennius 'non cauponantes bellum'), but in *Ps-Magn.* 9 'verbum Dei in tabernis praedicantes'.

35. τις τῶν παλαιῶν] The source of the quotation which follows has not been pointed out. Can it be taken from the elder quoted by Irenaeus (iii. 17. 4), 'sicut quidam dixit

ἀγαθὸς λεγέσθω, κακῶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν κεραυνίς. λέγουσι γὰρ Χριστόν, οὐχ ἵνα Χριστὸν κηρύξωσιν ἀλλ' ἵνα Χριστὸν ἀθετήσωσιν· καὶ οὐ νόμον προβάλλουσιν ἵνα νόμον συστήσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀνομίαν καταγγείλωσιν· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Χριστὸν ἀλλοτριούσι τοῦ πατρός, τὸν δὲ νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ· 5 τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν διαβάλλουσιν· ἐπαισχυνόμενοι τὸν σταυρὸν τὸ πάθος ἀρνοῦνται καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν οὐ πιστεύουσιν· τὸν Θεὸν ἄγνωστον εἰσηγούνται· τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγέννητον νομίζουσιν· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα οὐδὲ ὅτι ἔστιν ὁμολογοῦσιν. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον 10 εἶναι λέγουσι, ταῦτ' οὐκ εἶναι πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ τὴν κτίσιν ἔργον Θεοῦ οὐ διὰ Χριστοῦ ἀλλ' ἑτέρου τινὸς ἀλλοτρίας δυνάμεως.

VII. Ἀσφαλίζεσθε οὖν τοὺς τοιούτους, ἵνα μὴ λάβητε βρόχον ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψυχαῖς· καὶ τὸν βίον ὑμῶν ἀπρόσκοπον 15 τίθεσθε πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἵνα μὴ γένησθε παγὶς τῆ σκοπιᾶ, καὶ ὡς δίκτυον ἐκτεταμένον. ὁ μὴ ἰώμενος γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὸς ἐστίν τοῦ λυγμαινομένου ἑαυτὸν. εἰ οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποθῆσθε φυσίωσιν, ἀλαζονείαν,

1 ἀγαθὸς] ἀγαθὸς g<sub>2</sub>. 3 ἀθετήσωσιν] εὐθετήσωσιν g<sub>3</sub>. νόμον pri.] μόνον g<sub>2</sub>. προβάλλουσιν ἵνα νόμον] om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. I have inserted the words from the Latin which runs *et legem proferunt non ut legem statuant, sed ut legi contraria annuntiant*. They are obviously wanted to preserve the parallelism with the preceding sentence. The omission is easily explained by homœoteleuton. The missing words are differently supplied by Zahn. συστήσωσιν] g<sub>4</sub>; *statuant* l; συστήσουσιν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 6 τὴν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; καὶ τὴν g<sub>3</sub>; *et* l. ἐκ παρθένου] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; κατὰ σάρκα g<sub>4</sub>. 8 πιστεύουσιν...νομίζουσιν] g<sub>1</sub>; πιστεύουσι...νομίζουσι g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 10 ὁμολογοῦσιν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ὁμολογοῦσι g<sub>2</sub>. 11 δὲ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; δ' g<sub>2</sub>. 16 τίθεσθε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἀρροῖτε l; τίθεσθαι g<sub>2</sub> (ε being written above). τῇ σκοπιᾶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *explorationis* (τῆς σκοπιᾶς) l; τῆς κοπιᾶς g<sub>2</sub>, but with σ written above and

superior nobis de omnibus qui quolibet modo depravant quae sunt Dei et adulterant veritatem : *In Dei lacte gypsum male miscetur* ?

9. τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ.] Language closely resembling Acts xix. 2.

10. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.] Three classes of heretics are here signified : (1) Ebionites ; (2) Sabellians ; (3)

Gnostic dualists ; together with the later heresies which were allied to any of these.

16. παγὶς τῇ σκοπιᾶ κ.τ.λ.] From Hosea v. 1 παγὶς ἐγενήθητε κ.τ.λ., where τῇ σκοπιᾶ stands for the proper name 'Mizpah' of the original.

17. ὁ μὴ ἰώμενος κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. xviii. 9.

20 τύφον, ὑπεροψίαν, δυνατὸν ὑμῖν ἔστιν εἶναι ἀχωρίστους Θεοῦ.  
 ἐγγὺς γὰρ τοῖς φοβογμένοις ἀγτόν· καὶ ἐπὶ τίνα, φησίν,  
 ἐπιβλέσω ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν ταπεινὸν καὶ ἡσύχιον καὶ τρέ-  
 μοντά μοι τοὺς λόγους; αἰδεῖσθε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον  
 ὑμῶν ὡς Χριστόν, καθὰ ὑμῖν οἱ μακάριοι διατάξαντο ἀπό-  
 25 στολοι. ὁ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ὢν καθαρὸς ἔστιν· διὸ  
 καὶ ὑπακούει τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις· ὁ δὲ  
 ἔκτὸς ὢν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσ-  
 βυτέρων καὶ τῶν διακόνων τι πράσσω, ὁ τοιοῦτος μεμίαν-  
 ται τῇ συνειδήσει, καὶ ἔστιν ἀπίστον χείρων. τί γὰρ ἔστιν  
 30 ἐπίσκοπος, ἀλλ' ἢ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐπέκεινα πάν-  
 των κρατῶν, ὡς οἶόν τε ἄνθρωπον κρατεῖν μιμητὴν γινόμενον  
 κατὰ δύναμιν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ; τί δὲ πρεσβυτέριον ἀλλ' ἢ  
 σύστημα ἱερόν, σύμβουλοι καὶ συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου;  
 τί δὲ διάκονοι, ἀλλ' ἢ μιμηταὶ τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων, λει-  
 35ουργοῦντες αὐτῷ λειτουργίαν καθαρὰν καὶ ἄμωμον; ὡς  
 Στέφανος ὁ ἅγιος Ἰακώβῳ τῷ μακαρίῳ, καὶ Τιμόθεος καὶ  
 Λίνος Παύλῳ, καὶ Ἀνέγκλητος καὶ Κλήμης Πέτρῳ. ὁ τοῖνυν

afterwards corrected into τῇ σκοπιᾷ. 17 ἐαυτὸν] ἐμαυτόν g<sub>2</sub>. 18 ἐαυτοῦ]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; αὐτοῦ g<sub>4</sub>. ἀδελφός κ.τ.λ.] written in g<sub>3</sub> ἀδελφόν ἔστι καὶ λυμαινόμενος  
 τὸν ἐαυτοῦ. λυμαινομένου] λυμαινομένου g<sub>2</sub>. 19 ἀποθήσθε] g<sub>3</sub>; ἀπόθησε  
 g<sub>4</sub>; ἀπόθεσε g<sub>2</sub>. ἀλαζονεῖαν] ἀλαζωνίαν g<sub>2</sub>. 20 τύφον] τύφον g<sub>4</sub>.  
 ἀχωρίστους] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἀχωρίστοις g<sub>3</sub>. 21 ἐγγὺς γὰρ] g<sub>2</sub>; add. ἐστὶ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> [].  
 τοῖς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. The word was omitted by Ussher, apparently through accident, and  
 he was followed by Voss and several later editors. 24 καθὰ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; καθ'  
 ὁ g<sub>3</sub>. ἀπόστολοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; οἱ ἀπόστολοι g<sub>2</sub>. 28 μεμίανται] μεμίηται g<sub>4</sub>.  
 29 χείρων] χείρων g<sub>2</sub>. 31 ἄνθρωπον] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; add. πάντων g<sub>4</sub>. γινό-  
 μενον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; γενόμενον g<sub>2</sub>. 35 αὐτῷ] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; add. ἀεὶ g<sub>4</sub>. 37 Ἀνέγ-  
 κλητος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *anacletus* l. The form Ἀνάκλητος was tacitly substituted in the  
 Greek text by Morel, as may be inferred from his note on another passage (see  
 p. 148 of his edition), and he has been followed by several other editors (e.g.  
 recently Cureton and Dressel), though not by Ussher.

21. ἐγγὺς κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. lxxxiv (lxxxv). 9. The quotation which follows, ἐπὶ τίνα κ.τ.λ., is from Is. lxvi. 2.

24. διατάξαντο ἀπόστολοι] The reference is to the spurious *Apostolical Constitutions*: see esp. ii. 20 ὁ γὰρ ἀκούων αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸν ἀθετῶν Χριστὸν ἀθετεῖ κ.τ.λ.

28. μεμίανται κ.τ.λ.] From Tit. i. 15 μεμίανται... ἢ συνειδητοῖς, while the following expression, καὶ ἔστιν ἀπίστον χείρων, is from 1 Tim. v. 8.

35. ὡς Στέφανος κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Hiero* 3.  
 37. Ἀνέγκλητος] See the note on Ps-Ign. *Mar.* 4.

τούτων παρακούων ἄθεος πάμπαν εἶη ἂν καὶ δυσσεβῆς, ἀθε-  
τῶν Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάταξιν σμικρύνων.

VIII. Ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπιστέλλω, οὐκ ὅτι ἔγνω  
τοιούτους τινὰς ἐν ὑμῖν· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ συγχωρήσειέν ποτε ὁ  
Θεὸς τοιούτον εἰς ἀκοὰς ἐλθεῖν τὰς ἐμάς, ὁ μὴ φεισάμενος τοῦ 5  
υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀγίαν ἐκκλησίαν· ἀλλὰ προορῶν τὰς  
ἐνέδρας τοῦ πονηροῦ ταῖς παραγγελίαις προασφαλίζομαι  
ὑμᾶς, ὡς τέκνα μου ἀγαπητὰ καὶ πιστὰ ἐν Χριστῷ, προ-  
ποτιζῶν ὑμᾶς τὰ φυλακτικὰ τῆς λοιμικῆς τῶν ἀνυποτάκτων  
νόσου· ἧς ὑμεῖς ἀποφεύγετε τὴν νόσον εὐδοκία Χριστοῦ τοῦ 10  
Κυρίου ἡμῶν. ὑμεῖς οὖν ἀναλαμβάνοντες πραότητα γίνεσθε  
μιμηταὶ παθημάτων [Χριστοῦ] καὶ ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἡγά-  
πησεν ἡμᾶς δοῦς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λύτρον, ἵνα τῷ αἵματι  
αὐτοῦ καθάριση ἡμᾶς παλαιᾶς δυσσεβείας καὶ ζῶν ἡμῖν  
παράσχηται, μέλλοντας ὅσον οὐδέπω ἀπόλλυσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς 15  
ἐν ἡμῖν κακίας· μηδεὶς οὖν ὑμῶν τι κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον  
ἐχέτω· ἀφετε γὰρ, φησὶν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται

1 τούτων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; *istis* l; τοῦτον g<sub>2</sub>. πάμπαν] πάντων g<sub>4</sub>. ἀθετῶν]  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *et contemners* l. The editors read καὶ ἀθετῶν, following the ed. princ.,  
in which the καὶ was inserted without authority from the MS. 4 συγχωρή-  
σειέν] g<sub>1</sub>s<sub>g</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>g</sub>3; συγχωρήσειέ g<sub>4</sub>. 5 ἀκοὰς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>g</sub>4s; τὰς ἀκοὰς g<sub>3</sub>. φεισά-  
μενος] φησάμενος g<sub>2</sub>. 6 τὴν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>g</sub>4s; om. g<sub>3</sub>. 7 παραγγελίαις] g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>g</sub>4s;  
παραγγελείαις g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 9 λοιμικῆς] g<sub>4</sub>s; λοιμικῆς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. The correction was  
made by Morel. The word λοιμικός does not appear to occur. 10 ἧς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>g</sub>4s  
(and so perhaps l, which has *quam...tanquam morbum*); οὖς g<sub>3</sub>, adopted by Zahn.  
εὐδοκίᾳ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; εὐδοκία γὰρ αὐτῆ g<sub>3</sub>. l has *beneficentia in christo* etc. 12 Χρι-  
στοῦ] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 15 παράσχηται] παράσχηται g<sub>2</sub>. 16 ἡμῖν]  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; *nobis* l; ὑμῖν g<sub>2</sub>. ὑμῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; *vestrum* l. The reading ἡμῶν,  
which has no authority, has appeared in the editions after Voss, who appa-  
rently was the first to introduce it. 17 φησὶν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s;

7. προασφαλίζομαι] 'I make you  
secure for myself beforehand'; Jos.  
B. 7. i. 2. 3 προσηφαισθαι πρὸς τὸ  
ἄδηλον, *Clem. Hom.* Ep. Clem. 7  
προασφαλίσθε.

8. προποτιζῶν κ.τ.λ.] 'administer-  
ing a draught to you which shall be  
an antidote to the pestilential malady  
of the disorderly'. The words προποτι-  
ζεῖν, προποτισμός, commonly are medi-

cal terms (e.g. Galen *Op.* XI. p. 795,  
Dioscorid. *Op.* I. p. 300, Kühn). For  
φυλακτικὰ we should rather expect προ-  
φυλακτικά, since φυλακτικός commonly  
takes a genitive of the thing preserved.

13. δοὺς ἑαυτὸν κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim.  
ii. 6 ὁ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάν-  
των; comp. Matt. xx. 28, Mark x. 45.

17. Ἄφετε κ.τ.λ.] A very loose  
quotation from Mark xi. 25 (comp.



ἡμῖν. μὴ ἀφορμὰς δίδοτε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἵνα μὴ ὀλίγων τινῶν ἀφρόνων εἴνεκεν ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία βλασφημηθῆται·  
 20 οὐαὶ γάρ, φησὶν ὁ προφήτης ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ, Δὶ οὐ τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

IX. Κωφώθητε οὖν, ὅταν ὑμῶν χωρὶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λαλῆ τις, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ Δαυεὶδ, τοῦ ἐκ Μαρίας· ὃς ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐκ παρ-  
 25 θένου, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡσαύτως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτὸν Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος· ἀληθῶς ἀνέλαβεν σῶμα· ὁ λόγος γὰρ σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπολιτεύσατο ἄνευ ἁμαρτίας· τίς γάρ, φησὶν, ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐλέγχει με περὶ ἁμαρτίας; ἔφαγεν καὶ ἔπιεν ἀληθῶς· ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου· ἀληθῶς δὲ καὶ οὐ  
 30 δοκῆσει ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν, βλεπόντων οὐρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων· οὐρανίων μὲν ὡς τῶν ἀσωμάτων φύσεων, ἐπιγείων τε Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν παρόντων κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἀνθρώπων σταυρουμένου τοῦ Κυρίου, καταχθονίων δὲ ὡς τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ συναναστάντος

*dicente domino* 1. The later editors (not Zahn) here read ὑμῶν, for which there is no authority. It was so printed however in the ed. princ., and, though corrected to ἡμῶν by Morel, was reintroduced by Ussher and Voss. 18 δίδοτε] g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>;

δίδοται g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; διῶτε g<sub>4</sub>. 19 εἴνεκεν] g<sub>1</sub>sg<sub>2</sub>s; εἴνεκεν (sic) g<sub>3</sub>; ἐνεκεν g<sub>4</sub>.

βλασφημηθῆται] g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s; βλασφημεῖται g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 21 βλασφημεῖται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; βλασφη-

μηται g<sub>2</sub>; βλασφημεῖτε g<sub>4</sub>. 23 Δαυεὶδ] δᾶδ g<sub>1</sub>; δαυὶδ g<sub>3</sub>. 25 ταῦτὸν]

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> (with variations as to the breathing); ταῦτό g<sub>3</sub>. 26 γάρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>;

om. g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *inquit* 1. 28 ἐλέγχει] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἐλέξει g<sub>4</sub>; *arguet* 1. 29 οὐ δοκῆσει]

εὐδοκῆσει g<sub>4</sub>l. 32 τε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; δὲ g<sub>4</sub>s; *vero* 1. The editors read δέ after Morel.

33 ἐκεῖνο] g<sub>4</sub>; ἐκείνου g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. The *v* has been written first and then erased in g<sub>1</sub>.

It was printed ἐκείνου in the ed. princ., but corrected by Morel. Later editors

however with Ussher and Voss have returned to ἐκείνου. See the lower note.

34 καταχθονίων δέ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; καὶ καταχθονίων δὲ g<sub>4</sub>.

Matt. vi. 14, Luke xi. 4). It is quoted almost as here in Polyc. *Phil.* 2: see also Clem. Rom. 13 with the note on the passage.

18. ἵνα μὴ... ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.] The expression is made up from 1 Tim. vi. 1, Tit. ii. 5.

20. Οὐαὶ κ.τ.λ.] From Is. lii. 5; see the note on the genuine Ignatius, p. 172.

26. ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. i.

14. The passage which follows, τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ., is from Joh. viii. 46.

33. κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ] A common expression in later Greek, e. g. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 8, 9, iv. 7, v. 10, vii. 11; comp. iv. 13 κατ' αὐτὸ... τοῦ χρόνου. On the other hand the genitive with κατὰ would be inexplicable in κατ' ἐκείνου καιροῦ.

τῷ Κυρίῳ· πολλά γάρ, φησίν, σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἀγίων ἠγέρθη, τῶν μνημείων ἀνεωχθέντων· καὶ κατήλθεν εἰς ἄδην ὁ μόνος, ἀνήλθεν δὲ μετὰ πλήθους· καὶ ἔσχισεν τὸν ἀπ' αἰῶνος φραγμὸν καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον αὐτοῦ ἔλυσεν· καὶ ἀνέστη διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν τοῦ πατρός· 5 καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας συνδιατρίψας τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἀνελήφθη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ, περιμένων ἕως ἄν τεθῶσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ πόδα αὐτοῦ. τῇ οὖν παρασκευῇ τρίτῃ ὥρα ἀπόφασιν ἐδέξατο παρὰ τοῦ Πιλάτου συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ πατρός· ἕκτη ὥρα 10 ἐσταυρώθη· ἐννάτῃ ἀπέπνευσεν· πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως ἐτάφη· τὸ σάββατον ὑπὸ γῆν μένει ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ ᾧ ἀπέθετο αὐτὸν Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθείας· ἐπιφωσκούσης κυριακῆς ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· ὡς περ ἦν Ἰωνᾶς ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς 15 νύκτας, οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ὁ γιὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας. περιέχει οὖν ἡ μὲν παρασκευὴ τὸ πάθος, τὸ σάββατον τὴν ταφὴν, ἡ κυριακὴ τὴν ἀνάστασιν.

4 μεσότοιχον] μεσότοιχον g<sub>1</sub>; μεσότειχον g<sub>3</sub>. 13 Ἀριμαθείας] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἀριμαθίας g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. 17 καρδίᾳ] κοιλίᾳ g<sub>3</sub>. 21 τὸ δοκῆσαι] g<sub>2</sub>; τῷ δοκῆσαι g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; δοκῆσαι g<sub>4</sub>. The τῷ of the ed. princ. was corrected into τὸ by Morel. Later editors from Ussher and Voss onwards have returned to τῷ, but this is quite inadmissible. γεγενῆσθαι] γεγενεῖσθαι g<sub>2</sub>. It is so printed in the ed. princ. also, but g<sub>1</sub> has γεγενῆσθαι. 22 σώμα] g; τὸ σώμα Chron-Pasch. 416. πεπονθέναι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; τῷ τε πεπονθέναι g<sub>3</sub>. 23 οὐ τῷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; οὕτω g<sub>1</sub>. 29 ἀλλὰ τῷ βυτί] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub> (by homeoteleuton), and so app. l. 31 ἔχον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἔχων g<sub>2</sub>. Θεός] g<sub>1</sub>; om. Chron. παρθένου] g<sub>1</sub>; add. μαρίας Chron. 33 ὁ πάντας

1. πολλά...σώματα κ.τ.λ.] From Matt. xxvii. 52, loosely quoted.

2. κατήλθεν κ.τ.λ.] Taken from the *Doctrine of Addai* p. 9 (ed. Phillips), as quoted by Eusebius *H. E.* i. 13 καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν ἄδην καὶ διέσχισε φραγμὸν...καὶ κατέβη ὁ μόνος ἀνέβη δὲ μετὰ πολλοῦ ὄχλου κ.τ.λ. (with vv. ll.); see Ussher's note here.

4. φραγμὸν κ.τ.λ.] The metaphor of Ephes. iii. 14, τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύσας, but differently applied.

7. ἐκάθισεν κ.τ.λ.] From Heb. x. 12, 13; comp. i. 13, where Ps. cx (cix). 1 is directly quoted.

9. τρίτῃ ὥρα κ.τ.λ.] See *Apost. Const.* v. 14 ἕκτη μὲν ὥρα σταυρώσαντες αὐτόν, τρίτῃ δὲ ὥρα τὴν ἀπόφασιν δεξάμενοι τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ...καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐνάτην ὥραν...ἀπέπνευσε, καὶ θάπτεται πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως ἐν μνημείῳ καινῷ· ἐπιφωσκούσης δὲ τῆς μῆς σαββάτων, ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐπλήρωσεν ἐκεῖνα ἅ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πάθους ἡμῖν προέλεγεν

20 X. Εἰ δέ, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἄθεοι ὄντες, τουτέστιν ἄπιστοι, λέγουσι, τὸ δοκῆσει γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ ἀληθῶς ἀνειληφέναι σῶμα, καὶ τῷ δοκεῖν τεθνηκέναι, πεπονθέναι οὐ τῷ ὄντι· τίνας ἔνεκεν ἐγὼ δέδεμαι καὶ εὐχομαι θηριομαχῆσαι; δωρεὰν οὖν ἀποθνήσκω· ἄρα καταψεύδομαι τοῦ  
 25 σταυροῦ τοῦ Κυρίου. καὶ περιττὸς ὁ προφήτης· ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκένθησαν, καὶ κόψονται ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ ἀγαπητῷ. οὐκοῦν ἄπιστοι αὐτοὶ οὐχ ἦττον τῶν σταυρωσάντων αὐτόν· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ τῷ δοκεῖν ἔχω τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀποθανόντι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι· ἀληθείας γὰρ ἀλλότριον τὸ  
 30 ψεῦδος. ἀληθῶς τοίνυν ἐγέννησεν Μαρία σῶμα Θεὸν ἔνοικον ἔχον· καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη ὁ Θεὸς λόγος ἐκ τῆς παρθένου σῶμα ὁμοιοπαθὲς ἡμῖν ἡμφιεσμένος· ἀληθῶς γέγονεν ἐν μήτρᾳ ὁ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐν μήτρᾳ διαπλάττων· καὶ ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ σῶμα ἐκ τῶν τῆς παρθένου σπερμάτων,  
 35 πλὴν ὅσον ἄνευ ὁμιλίας ἀνδρός· ἐκυοφορήθη, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς, χρόνων περιόδοις· καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐτέχθη, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς· καὶ

ἀνθρώπους ἐν μήτρᾳ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub> (writing however μήτρῳ) g<sub>4</sub> Chron.; om. g<sub>2</sub> (by homeoteleuton). There is great confusion in the rendering of l, but the words πάντας ἀνθρώπους at least are omitted.

34 σπερμάτων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> Chron.; αἱμάτων g<sub>4</sub>.

In l the sentence runs *faciens sibi corpus ex virgine, sine semine scilicet et collocutione viri*. This testifies to the reading σπερμάτων, though the translator has freely altered. The reading αἱμάτων was Morel's conjecture, and hence it appears in some later editions. Its appearance in g<sub>4</sub> was also doubtless due to conjecture.

35 ἄνευ] here, g; after ἀνδρός, Chron. ὁμιλίας] ὁμηλίας g<sub>2</sub>. ἐκυοφορήθη] g; *portatusque in utero* l; ἀληθῶς ἐκυοφορήθη Chron.

36 χρόνων] g<sub>4</sub> Chron.;

χρόνον g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; χρόνον g<sub>3</sub>. For χρόνων περιόδοις l has simply *tempore*. καὶ tert.] g<sub>1</sub>; om. Chron. The words καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐγαλακτοτροφήθη...ἡμεῖς are omitted in g<sub>4</sub> (from homeoteleuton).

φάσκων ὅτι Δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ποιῆσαι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας: comp. viii. 33 τρίτῃ δέ, ὅτι ἀπόφασιν ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπὸ Πιλάτου ἔλαβεν κ.τ.λ.

14. ὥσπερ ἦν κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xii. 40, quoted word for word.

25. ὄψονται κ.τ.λ.] From Zach. xii. 10. The rendering of the first part of the verse however is taken from Joh. xix. 37 (comp. Rev. i. 7),

where the LXX has ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς με ἀνθ' ὧν καταρχήσαντο. The second part is loosely quoted from the LXX.

32. γέγονεν κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 γέγονεν ἐν μήτρᾳ παρθένου ὁ διαπλάσσων πάντας τοὺς γεννωμένους. The context has several expressions in common with this chapter of the Pseudo-Ignatius. See on ὁ κριτῆς κριθεῖς and τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου ὄψεως below.

34. σπερμάτων] Milton *Par. Lost*

ἀληθῶς ἐγαλακτοτροφήθη καὶ τροφῆς κοινῆς καὶ ποτοῦ με-  
 έσχεν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς· καὶ τρεῖς δεκάδας ἐτῶν πολιτευσά-  
 μενος ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου ἀληθῶς καὶ οὐ δοκήσει· καὶ  
 τρεῖς ἐνιαυτοὺς κηρύξας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ποιήσας σημεῖα  
 καὶ τέρατα ὑπὸ τῶν ψευδοῖουδαίων καὶ Πιλάτου τοῦ ἡγε- 5  
 μόνος ὁ κριτῆς ἐκρίθη, ἐμαστιγώθη, ἐπὶ κόρρης ἐραπίσθη,  
 ἐνεπτύσθη, ἀκάνθινον στέφανον καὶ πορφυροῦν ἱμάτιον ἐφό-  
 ρεσεν, κατεκρίθη, ἐσταυρώθη ἀληθῶς, οὐ δοκήσει, οὐ φαν-  
 τασία, οὐκ ἀπάτη· ἀπέθανεν ἀληθῶς καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ ἠγέρθη  
 ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν· καθὼς που προσηύχετο λέγων, σὺ δὲ Κύριε 10  
 ἀνάστησόν με, καὶ ἀνταποδώσω αὐτοῖς· καὶ ὁ πάντοτε ἐπα-  
 κοῦων αὐτῷ πατὴρ ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει, ἀνάστα ὁ Θεός, κρί-  
 νον τὴν γῆν, ὅτι σὺ κατακληρονομήσεις ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς

5 τοῦ] g (comp. 1); om. Chron. 6 ἐμαστιγώθη...κατεκρίθη] om. g<sub>3</sub> (by  
 homoeoteleuton). For ἐμαστιγώθη g<sub>2</sub> has ἐμαστιγώθη. After ἐμαστιγώθη Chron.  
 adds ὑπὸ δούλων. κόρης] suggested by Ussher and read by Voss; κόρης or  
 κάρης g<sub>1</sub>; κάρης g<sub>2</sub>; κόρης g<sub>4</sub> Chron. ἐραπίσθη] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἐραπίσθη edd. after  
 Morel. 7 ἐφόρεσεν] g<sub>2</sub> Chron.; ἐφόρησε g<sub>4</sub>; ἐφόρησεν g<sub>1</sub>. 8 οὐ δοκήσει]  
 g Chron.; voluntarie complacens (εὐδοκῆσει or εὐδοκῆσας) l. 12 αὐτῷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>;  
 αὐτοῦ g<sub>4</sub>. κρίνον] κρίνον g<sub>2</sub>; κρίνων g<sub>3</sub>; judica l. 15 ἀληθινῶς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>;

iii. 284 'Made flesh, when time shall  
 be, of Virgin seed'.

2. τρεῖς δεκάδας κ.τ.λ.] The thirty  
 years and the three years are men-  
 tioned in a similar juxtaposition in  
 Melito *Fragm.* 6 (p. 416 Otto).

6. ὁ κριτῆς ἐκρίθη] *Apost. Const.*  
 viii. 12 κριθεὶς ὁ κριτῆς, Melito *Fragm.*  
 13 (p. 419) 'judex judicatur'.

10. Σὺ δὲ Κύριε κ.τ.λ.] From Ps.  
 xli (xl). 10. The quotation 'Ἀνάστα  
 κ.τ.λ.', which follows, is from Ps. lxxvii  
 (lxxxi). 7.

11. ὁ πάντοτε ἐπακοῦων αὐτῷ] The  
 expression is taken from Joh. xi. 42  
 πάντοτέ μου ἀκούεις.

14. καὶ ἡμᾶς κ.τ.λ.] Taken from 2  
 Cor. iv. 14.

16. Ἐγὼ εἶμι κ.τ.λ.] Inaccurately  
 quoted from Joh. xi. 25, 26.

19. τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου ὄψεως] The ex-

pression occurs *Apost. Const.* viii. 12;  
 comp. *Ps-Smyrn.* 7 τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου  
 πνεύματος.

23. Σίμων κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Apost.*  
*Const.* vi. 8 καὶ προεβάλοντο Κλεόβιον  
 τινα καὶ παρέξεναν τῷ Σίμωνι· οὗτοι δὲ  
 μαθητεύουσι Δοσιθέῳ τινί...εἶτα καὶ ἕτε-  
 ροι ἐτέρων κατήρξαν ἐκτόπων δογμάτων  
 Κήρωνθος καὶ Μάρκος καὶ Μένανδρος καὶ  
 Βασιλείδης καὶ Σατορνίλος, where the  
 anachronisms are quite as flagrant as  
 here, and more obvious.

τὸν πρωτόκοκον κ.τ.λ.] The expres-  
 sion used by Polycarp *Phil.* 7, and  
 ascribed to him by Irenæus iii. 3. 4.

24. ὀρυγμαδὸν] 'a hubbub, a noisy  
 crowd'. The word ὀρυγμαδός is a  
 late and corrupt form of ὀρυμαγδός;  
 see Lobeck *Pathol.* p. 349.

ἀνθρωπολάτρης] This term might  
 well be employed of the Simonians,

ἔθνεσιν. ὁ τοῖνυν ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν πατὴρ καὶ ἡμᾶς δι'  
 15 αὐτοῦ ἐγερεῖ· οὐ χωρὶς τὸ ἀληθινῶς ζῆν οὐχ ἕξει τις· λέγει  
 γὰρ ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ζωὴ· ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, κἄν ἀπο-  
 θάνῃ, ζήσεται· καὶ πᾶς ὁ ζῶν καὶ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, κἄν  
 ἀποθάνῃ, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. φεύγετε οὖν τὰς ἀθέους  
 αἱρέσεις· τοῦ διαβόλου γὰρ εἰσιν ἐφευρέσεις, τοῦ ἀρχεκά-  
 20 κου ὄφους, τοῦ διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπατήσαντος Ἀδὰμ τὸν  
 πατέρα τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν.

XI. Φεύγετε δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς κακὰς παραφνάδας·  
 Σίμωνα τὸν πρωτότοκον αὐτοῦ υἱόν, καὶ Μένανδρον καὶ Βασι-  
 λίδην καὶ ὄλον αὐτοῦ τὸν ὀρυγμαδὸν τῆς κακίας, τοὺς ἀνθρω-  
 25 πολάτρας, οὓς καὶ ἐπικατάρτους λέγει Ἰερεμίας ὁ προφήτης·  
 φεύγετε καὶ τοὺς ἀκαθάρτους Νικολαίτας, τοὺς ψευδωνύμους,

ἀληθῶς g<sub>4</sub>. 17 ζήσεται...κἄν ἀποθάνῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s (see the next note); om. g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.  
 But Dressel wrongly says that the words are wanting in l and in Joh. xi. 26, for  
 they are represented in both, though not verbatim. He has misunderstood a note  
 of Ussher. 18 ζήσεται] add. *els τὸν αἰῶνα* g<sub>4</sub> (so Bryennios, but perhaps he has  
 misread). 19 ἐφευρέσεις] *αἰννευτῖο* (ἐφεύρεσις) l. 24 ὀρυγμαδὸν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>;  
 ὀρυμαγδὸν g<sub>4</sub>. 26 ἀκαθάρτους] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἐπικατάρτους g<sub>4</sub>; *immundissimos* l.

since they worshipped Simon (Just. *Apol.* i. 26, Hippol. *Hær.* vi. 18; see Zahn's note here); but in this sense it would not apply to other heretics named in the context. It is probable therefore that the word is used with a different bearing. These heretics might be called 'men-worshippers', because, though they denied the divinity of Christ, they yet paid Him in some sense divine honours. On somewhat similar grounds the Catholics were called *anthropolatræ* by the Apollinarians (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 101, *Op.* II. p. 89; *Poem. Dogm.* 10, *Op.* II. p. 254), and the Nestorians by the Catholics (Cyril. Alex. *Epist.* 20, *Op.* x. 296 Migne; *Cod. Justin.* i. 1. 5, 6, *Νεστόριον τὸν ἀνθρωπολάτρην*). The force which the word has here appears from Athan. *Or. c. Arian.* ii. 16 (*Op.* I. p. 382) δι' ἀνθρώπου δὲ ψιλοῦ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἀπρεπὲς ἦν, ἵνα μὴ, ἀνθρωπον

Κύριον ἔχοντες, ἀνθρωπολάτραι γενώμεθα.

25. ἐπικατάρτους κ.τ.λ.] Jer. xvii. 5 ἐπικατάρτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃς τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον.

26. Νικολαίτας κ.τ.λ.] So again *Philad.* 6 οἷος ὁ ψευδώνυμος Νικολαίτης. The expression is borrowed from *Apost. Const.* vi. 8. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. p. 490, iii. p. 522) defends Nicolas himself against the charges to which his professed followers laid themselves open; but Irenæus (*Hær.* i. 26. 3) and Hippolytus (*Hær.* vii. 36) represent him as the true founder of the sect; see *Galatians* p. 297, note, ed. 5. These passages of the interpolated epistles are in the mind of Stephanus Gobarus (Photius *Bibl.* 232), when he mentions Ignatius among those writers who exculpated Nicolas.

τοὺς φιληδόνους, τοὺς συκοφάντας· [οὐ γὰρ ἦν τοιοῦτος ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων Νικόλαος·] φεύγετε καὶ τὰ τοῦ ποιηροῦ ἔγγωνα, Θεόδοτον καὶ Κλεόβουλον, τὰ γεννῶντα καρπὸν θανατηφόρον, οὗ ἕαν τις γεύσῃται, παραντικά ἀποθνήσκει, οὐ τὸν πρόσκαιρον θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τὸν αἰώνιον. οὗτοι οὐκ εἰσὶ 5 φυτεία πατρός, ἀλλ' ἔγγωνα κατηραμένα· πᾶσα δέ, φησὶν ὁ Κύριος, φγτεία, ἦν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατὴρ μου ὁ ἐπογγράνιος, ἐκρίζωθῆτω· εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν τοῦ πατρὸς κλάδοι, οὐκ ἂν ἦσαν ἐχθροὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων τὸν τῆς δόξης Κύριον· νῦν δὲ τὸν σταυρὸν ἀρ- 10 νούμενοι καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐπαισχυνόμενοι καλύπτουσι τὴν Ἰουδαίων παρανομίαν, τῶν θεομάχων, τῶν κυριοκτόνων· μικρὸν γὰρ εἰπεῖν, προφητοκτόνων· ὑμᾶς δὲ παρακαλεῖ Χριστὸς εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀφθαρσίαν διὰ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, ὄντας μέλη αὐτοῦ.

XII. Ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ Σμύρνης ἅμα ταῖς συμ-

1 τοὺς συκοφάντας]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; συκοφάντας (om. τοὺς)  $g_4$ . οὐ γὰρ...Νικόλαος]  $g_2 g_4$ ; *non enim talis fuit apostolorum minister nicolaus* 1; om.  $g_3$ . In  $g_1$  apparently these same words (for some are still legible) have been written and afterwards erased. 2 τὰ...ἔγγωνα] τὸν...ἔγγωνα  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; τὸν...ἔκγονον  $g_4$ ; *nepotes* 1. 3 Κλεόβουλον] κλεόβουνον  $g_4$ . 6 πατρός]  $g_1 g_3 g_4$  with 1; τοῦ πατρός  $g_2$ . 7 μου]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$  1; ἡμῶν  $g_4$ . ἐπουράνιος]  $g_1 g_3$ ; οὐράνιος  $g_2 g_4$  with Matt. xv. 13. 14 αὐτοῦ  $g_1$ .]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; ἐαυτοῦ  $g_4$ . 17 μοι]  $g_1 g_4$ ; *michi* 1; μου  $g_2 g_3$ . 18 παρακαλεῖ] παρακαλῆ  $g_1$ . 21 τῇ προσευχῇ]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$

3. Θεόδοτον] Probably the person meant is Theodotus the leather-seller of Byzantium (Anon. in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28, Ps-Tertull. *adv. Omn. Hær.* 8). The gross anachronism is no objection to this identification. In the parallel passage, *Apost. Const.* vi. 8, from which our Pseudo-Ignatius largely borrows, the heretic Marcus is ante-dated by about a century. It is unnecessary therefore to substitute *Theodas* (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. p. 898) as proposed by Ussher, or *Theuthis* (Hegesipp. in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22) as suggested by Cotelier. On the supposed reference to this

passage of the Pseudo-Ignatius in Jerome (*c. Helvid.* 17, *Op.* II. p. 225) see the introduction.

Κλεόβουλον] The same person who is elsewhere called Cleobius; see Epiphan. *Hær.* li. 6 Κλεόβιον, εἵτον Κλεόβουλον. He is first mentioned by Hegesippus in the same context with Simon and Dositheus, as the founder of a sect called Κλεοβιηνοί (in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22). In *Apost. Const.* vi. 8 he appears as a disciple of Dositheus and fellow-disciple of Simon, and lower down (§ 16) he and Simon are spoken of as 'forging poisonous books in the name of Christ and His disci-

παρούσαις μοι ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὧν οἱ ἡγούμενοί με κατὰ πᾶν ἀνέπαυσαν σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι. παρακαλεῖ ὑμᾶς τὰ δεσμά μου, ἃ ἔνεκεν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ περιφέρω αἰ-  
 20 τούμενος Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν· διαμένετε ἐν τῇ ὁμοιοῖα τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ. πρέπει γὰρ ὑμῖν τοῖς καθ' ἓνα, ἔξαιρέτως καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ἀναψύχειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον εἰς τιμὴν πατρὸς καὶ εἰς τιμὴν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων. εὐχομαι ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀκοῦσαί μου ἵνα μὴ  
 25 εἰς μαρτύριον ᾧ ὑμῖν γράψας. καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ δὲ προσεύχεσθε, τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀγάπης χρήζοντος ἐν τῷ ἐλέει τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναί με τοῦ κλήρου οὗ περικείμεαι ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἀδόκιμος εὐρεθῶ.

XIII. Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη Συμυρναίων καὶ Ἐφε-  
 30 σίων. μνημονεύετε ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας· ὅθεν οὐκ ἄξιός εἰμι λέγεσθαι, ὧν ἕσχατος τῶν ἐκεῖ. ἔρρωσθε ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὁμοίως

comp. [I; προσευχῇ (om. τῇ) g<sub>4</sub>.

Ἰησοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; υἱοῦ g<sub>4</sub>.

29 Συμυρναίων] συμυρνεών g<sub>2</sub>.

23 πατρὸς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; τοῦ πατρὸς g<sub>3</sub>.  
 26 χρήζοντος] χρίζοντος g<sub>2</sub>.  
 30 ὑμῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἡμῶν g<sub>3</sub>; I has *memor est vestri* (μνημονεύεται ὑμῶν) *ecclesia quae est in syria*. In I the text runs *μνημονεύετε ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑμῶν τῆς κ.τ.λ.* It seems therefore that ὑμῶν is correct and that the words *ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς* were dropped out accidentally, perhaps in the original MS of this recension or some earlier copy from which it was taken. The editors read ἡμῶν (with g<sub>3</sub>), which makes a sort of sense.

ples'. In the spurious Armenian *Epistle of the Corinthians to S. Paul* ver. 2 (see Rinck's *Sendschr. d. Korinth.* p. 228) he is mentioned as coming to Corinth with Simon and undermining the faith of some persons there. In *Auct. Imp. Op. ad Matth.* Hom. 14 (Chrys. *Op.* VI. p. cxcix) the name is written *Cleonius*, probably, as Cotelier suggests, a corruption for Cleovius (= Κλεόβιος). He and his followers are mentioned by Theodoret *H. F.* i. 1, ii. 1; but no particulars are given.

6. πᾶσα δὲ κ.τ.λ.] From Matt. xv. 13 quoted nearly word for word.

9. ἐχθροὶ κ.τ.λ.] An expression

borrowed from Phil. iii. 18. Just below the words τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων κ.τ.λ. are adapted from 1 Cor. ii. 8.

12. κυριοκτόνων] See *Tars.* 3, with the note.

30. μνημονεύετε ὑμῶν] The words *ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς*, which stand before ὑμῶν in the genuine Ignatius, have disappeared, so that the sentence is imperfect. Hence ὑμῶν is altered into ἡμῶν in some Greek texts; and the Latin translator, reading *μνημονεύεται*, boldly renders the passage, 'memor est vestri ecclesia quae est in Syria', unless indeed we ought to read 'memores este vestri ecclesiae etc.'

καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις· καὶ οἱ κατὰ ἄνδρα ἀλλήλους ἀγαπάτε ἐν ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ. ἀγνίσκεται ὑμῶν τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα, οὐ μόνον νῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω· ἔτι γὰρ ἐπὶ κινδύνων εἰμί· ἀλλὰ πιστὸς ὁ πατήρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληρώσαί μου τὴν αἴτησιν καὶ ὑμῶν· ἐν ᾧ εὐρε- 5  
θείημεν ἅμωμοι. ὀναίμην ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ.

## 4.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΤΣ ΕΝ ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΑΙ.

**Ι**ΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ πατρὸς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ σωτήρι, ἐν ᾧ ἀσπά- 10  
ζομαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ καὶ εὐχομαι ἐν Θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν· ἐν ᾧ πλείστα χαίρειν ὑμᾶς εἶη.

I. Γνούς ὑμῶν τὸ πολυεύτακτον τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγάπης, ἀγαλλιώμενος προειλάμην ἐν πίστει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προσ- 15  
λαλῆσαι ὑμῖν. ἀξιωθεὶς γὰρ ὀνόματος θείου καὶ ποθεινοῦ, ἐν οἷς περιφέρω δεσμοῖς ἄδω τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν αἷς ἔνωσιν

2 ἀγνίσκεται ὑμῶν] with I; *castificet vos* I; ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 4 ἐπὶ κινδύνων] ἐπικίνδυνον g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἐπικίνδυνος g<sub>4</sub>s; ἐπικένδυνος g<sub>3</sub>; *in periculo* I; ὑπὸ κίνδυνον I. 6 ὀναίμην] ὀνέμειν g<sub>2</sub>.

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου πρὸς τραλλησίους (with β in the marg.) g<sub>1</sub>; τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῇ β' πρὸς τραλλησίους g<sub>2</sub>. None recorded for g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

προς τογς εν μαγνησιαι] τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῇ γ πρὸς μαγνησίους g<sub>2</sub>; τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς μαγνησίους (with γ in the margin) g<sub>1</sub>; τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς μαγνησίους. γ. g<sub>3</sub>; τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπισκόπου (sic) πρὸς μαγνησίους (with γ in the marg.) g<sub>4</sub>. See above, p. 105 sq. 10 σωτήρι] g; add. *nostro* I; add. ἡμῶν I (see p. 105). 11 Μαιάνδρῳ]

4. ἐπὶ κινδύνων] For this conjectural reading, on which I have ventured, comp. Xen. *Hierpharch.* iv. 5 ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ κινδύνων ἐλαύνητέ που κ.τ.λ.

18. ὅς ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. iv. 10. The expression οὐ τῷ αἵματι

κ.τ.λ. is adapted from 1 Pet. i. 18, and ἔγνωτε Θεὸν κ.τ.λ. from Gal. iv. 9.

22. πιστὸς κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. x. 13.

33. οὐχ οἱ κ.τ.λ.] A loose quotation from Job xxxii. 9, 10, with a



εὐχομαι σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὅς ἐστιν  
 σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, μάλιστα δὲ πιστῶν· οὗ τῷ  
 20 αἵματι ἐλύτρωσθε· δι' οὗ ἔγνωτε Θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἦπ'  
 αὐτοῦ ἔγνωσθε· ἐν ᾧ ὑπομένοντες τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπήρειαν  
 τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου διαφεύξεσθε. πιστὸς γάρ, ὅς οὐκ ἔδει  
 γῆρας πειρασθῆναι ὑπὲρ ὃ δύνασθε.

II. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἠξιώθη ἰδεῖν [ὑμᾶς] διὰ Δαμᾶ τοῦ ἀξιο-  
 25 θεοῦ ὑμῶν ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτέρων Θεοῦ ἀξίων, Βάσ-  
 σου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ τοῦ συμβιωτοῦ μου διακόνου  
 Ζωτίωνος, οὗ ἐγὼ ὀναίμην, ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ  
 τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ χάριτι Θεοῦ ἐν νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

III. Καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ πρέπει μὴ καταφρονεῖν τῆς ἡλικίας  
 30 τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ πατρὸς πᾶσαν  
 ἐντροπὴν αὐτῷ ἀπονέμειν, καθὼς ἔγνω καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους  
 πρεσβυτέρους οὐ πρὸς τὴν φαινομένην ἀφορώντας νεότητα  
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐν Θεῷ φρόνησιν· ἐπίπερ οὐκ οἱ πολυχρόνιοι  
 εἰσι σοφοὶ οὐδέ οἱ γέροντες ἐπίστανται σύνεσιν, ἀλλὰ  
 35 πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἐν βροτοῖς. Δανιὴλ μὲν γὰρ ὁ σοφὸς δω-  
 δεκαετῆς γέγονε κάτοχος τῷ θείῳ πνεύματι, καὶ τοὺς μάτην  
 τὴν πολιὰν φέροντας πρεσβύτας συκοφάντας καὶ ἐπιθυμη-  
 τὰς ἀλλοτρίου κάλλους ἀπήλεξε. Σαμουὴλ δέ, παιδάριον

Μεάνδρῳ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 15 προειλάμην] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; προειλόμην g<sub>4</sub>s. 16 καί] g<sub>3</sub>l; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 17 ἔνωσιν] *laudare* (ἀνῆσιν?) l. 22 διαφεύξεσθε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>4</sub>; *effugite* l; διαβρήξεσθε g<sub>3</sub>. In I the sentence is different, but *διαφυγόντες* appears there. δs] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> l; ὡς g<sub>2</sub>. ἔδει] ἔαση g<sub>2</sub>. 23 δύνασθε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; δυνάμεθα g<sub>4</sub>. 24 ὑμᾶς] I; vos l; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. διὰ Δαμᾶ] I; *per...damam* l; διὰ δαγμᾶ g<sub>4</sub>; διάδαγμα (sic) g<sub>1</sub>; διαδαγμα (sic) g<sub>2</sub>; διάδεγμα g<sub>3</sub>. 27 Ζωτίωνος] ζωτιώνος (sic) g<sub>4</sub>. ὑποτάσσεται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> l; ὑποτάσσετε g<sub>2</sub>. 32 οὗ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l; οὓς g<sub>2</sub>. 37 ἐπιθυμητὰς] ἐπιθυμητὰς g<sub>1</sub>. 38 ἀπήλεξεν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἀπήλεξε g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; *manifestavit* l. The word was incorrectly printed *ἀπήλειξεν* in the ed. princ., which was emended *ἀπέδειξεν* in the edd. of Plantinus. This emendation has been adopted by some later editors.

transposition of clauses.

35. Δανιὴλ μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] For these examples which follow, see the parallel passage *Mar. ad Ign.* 2, 3, 4, with the notes.

δωδεκαετῆς] His age is not given in

the narrative, and it is difficult to see whence it could have been derived. It may have been transferred from Solomon; see the note on *Mar. ad Ign.* 3 δυοκαίδεκα κ.τ.λ.

ὄν μικρόν, τὸν ἐνενηκονταετῆ Ἡλεὶ διελέγχει τοῦ Θεοῦ προ-  
 τετιμηκότα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας. ὡσαύτως καὶ Ἰερεμίας  
 ἀκούει πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, μὴ λέγε ὅτι νεώτερός εἰμι. Σολομῶν  
 δὲ καὶ Ἰωσίας, ὁ μὲν δωδεκαετῆς βασιλεύσας τὴν φοβερὰν  
 ἐκείνην καὶ δυσερμήνευτον ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν κρίσιν ἕνεκα τῶν 5  
 παιδίων ἐποίησατο, ὁ δὲ ὀκταετῆς ἄρξας τοὺς βωμοὺς καὶ  
 τὰ τεμένη κατερρίπου καὶ τὰ ἄλση κατεπίμπρα· δαίμοσιν  
 γὰρ ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐ Θεῶ, ἀνακείμενα· καὶ τοὺς ψευδοῖερεῖς κατα-  
 σφάττει ὡς ἂν φθορέας καὶ ἀπατεῶνας ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' οὐ  
 θειότητος λατρευτάς. τοιγαροῦν οὐ τὸ νέον εὐκαταφρόνητον, 10  
 ὅταν Θεῶ ἀνακείμενον ᾗ· ἀλλ' ὅταν γνώμην μοχθηρόν, κἂν  
 πεπαλαιωμένον ᾗ ἡμερῶν κακῶν. νέος ἦν ὁ χριστοφό-  
 ρος Τιμόθεος· ἀλλ' ἀκούσατε, οἷα γράφει αὐτῷ ὁ διδάσκα-  
 λος· μηδεὶς σοῦ τῆς νεότητος καταφρονεῖτω, ἀλλὰ τύπος  
 γίνοῦ τῶν πιστῶν ἐν λόγῳ, ἐν ἀναστροφῇ. πρέπον οὖν 15

1 ὄν μικρόν, τὸν ἐνενηκονταετῆ] ὄν, μικρόν τὸν ἐνενήκοντα ἐτη g<sub>2</sub>. Ἡλεὶ] οἱ ἡλεὶ  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἡλὶ g<sub>2</sub>. 7 τεμένη] τεμένει g<sub>2</sub>. κατερρίπου] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; κατηρίπου g<sub>4</sub>.  
 There is no authority for κατέρριπτε, which is generally read. κατεπίμπρα]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; κατεπίμπρα g<sub>2</sub>. 8 ψευδοῖερεῖς] g<sub>3</sub>; ψευδιερεῖς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s.  
 κατασφάττει] g; interfecit l. The editors commonly read κατέσφαττεν against all  
 the Greek authorities. 9 ἀπατεῶνας] ἀπαταιώνας g<sub>2</sub>. 11 ἀλλ' ὅταν  
 γνώμην μοχθηρόν, κἂν πεπαλαιωμένον κ.τ.λ.] sed illa aetas quae sententiae nocet, etiam  
 si inveterata etc. l.; ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν γνώμην μοχθηρὰν κἂν πεπαλαιωμένον κ.τ.λ. g<sub>2</sub>; ἀλλ'  
 ὁ τὴν γνώμην μοχθηρὰν κἂν πεπαλαιωμένος κ.τ.λ. g<sub>1</sub>; ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν γνώμην μοχθηρὸς  
 κἂν πεπαλαιωμένος κ.τ.λ. g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. I have ventured on a conjectural emendation  
 which is suggested by a comparison of the authorities. 14 καταφρονεῖτω]

3. μὴ λέγε κ.τ.λ.] From Jer. i. 7,  
 quoted also *Mar. ad Ign.* 3.

7. κατερρίπου] There seems to be  
 quite sufficient authority for a verb  
 καταρριπῶ (καταρριπῶ); see Steph.  
 Thes. s. v. κατερειπῶ (ed. Hase et  
 Dind.).

12. πεπαλαιωμένον κ.τ.λ.] From *Si-  
 sanni.* 52 πεπαλαιωμένε ἡμερῶν κακῶν  
 (LXX and Theodotion).

14. μηδεὶς σου κ.τ.λ.] From I Tim.  
 iv. 12, quoted exactly.

22. Οὐ σὲ κ.τ.λ.] Freely quoted  
 from I Sam. viii. 7 οὐ σὲ ἐξουθενήκα-  
 σιν, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐμὲ ἐξουθενώκασιν (v. l. ἐξου-

θενήκασιν). The next passage, οὐ γὰρ  
 καθ' ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ., is from Exod. xvi. 8.

24. οὐδεις κ.τ.λ.] The passage  
 which follows is taken from *Apost.*  
*Const.* vi. 1, 2 Δαθὰν γὰρ καὶ Ἀβειρῶν  
 ἀντιπρόσωποι γενόμενοι Μωσῆϊ κατεπό-  
 θησαν εἰς γῆν, Κορὲ δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ  
 διακόσιοι πεντήκοντα διαστασίασαντες  
 πρὸς παρανόμιον γεγόνασι...καὶ Ἀζα-  
 ρίας [ὁ] καὶ Ὀζίας...κατατολήσας τῆς  
 ἱερουσλήμης...ἐξανέτειλε λέπραν...καίτοιγε  
 οὐδὲ εἰς ἀτιμώρητος· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀβειρ-  
 σαλὼν καὶ Ἀβεδδαδὰν ἔμειναν ἀτιμώρη-  
 τοι κ.τ.λ. (comp. § 3 κατήλθοσαν εἰς  
 ἄβου ζῶντες), combined with ii. 27 ὡς

ἐστιν καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπακούειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν καὶ κατὰ  
 μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν· φοβερὸν γάρ ἐστι τῷ τοιοῦτῳ  
 ἀντιλέγειν· οὐ γὰρ τουτοῦ τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾷ τις,  
 ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον  
 20 παρά τινος παραλογισθῆναι· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτο οὐ πρὸς  
 ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ πρὸς Θεὸν ἔχει τὴν ἀναφορὰν. τῷ γὰρ  
 Σαμουὴλ λέγει ὁ Θεός, οὐ γὰρ ἐπέπαυσαντο, ἀλλ' ἐμέ.  
 καὶ ὁ Μωσῆς φησὶν, οὐ γὰρ καθ' ἡμῶν ὁ γογγυσμός,  
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ. οὐδεὶς ἔμεινεν ἀτιμώρητος  
 25 ἔπαρθεις κατὰ τῶν κρειττόνων· οὔτε γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ Δαθὰν  
 καὶ Ἀβειρῶν ἀντεῖπαν, ἀλλὰ Μωσεὶ καὶ ζῶντες εἰς ἄδου  
 κατηνέχθησαν. Κορὲ δὲ καὶ οἱ συμφρονήσαντες αὐτῷ κατὰ  
 Ἱαβὼν διακόσιοι πεντήκοντα πυρίφλεκτοι γεγόνασιν. Ἀβεσ-  
 σαλώμ, πατραλοίας γενόμενος, ἐκκρεμῆς ἐν φυτῷ γέγονεν  
 30 καὶ ἀκίσιν ἐβλήθη τὴν κακόβουλον καρδίαν. Ἀβεδδαδὰν

καταφρονεῖτο  $g_2$ . 17 τῷ]  $g_1g_2sg_4s$ ; τὸ  $g_3$ . 21 ἀλλὰ πρὸς]  $g_1g_2g_3$ ;  
 πρὸς δὲ  $g_4$ . 22 παρελογίσαντο] παρελογήσαντο  $g_2$ . 23 Μωσῆς]  $μωϋσῆς$   
 (sic)  $g_3$ . But the name is not so written in this authority where it occurs just  
 below. γὰρ]  $g_1g_2s1$ ; om.  $g_4$ . ἡμῶν] So all the authorities ( $g_1g_2g_3g_4s1$ ),  
 as in LXX, Exod. xvi. 8. The editors commonly print ὑμῶν. 26 Ἀβειρῶν]  
 ἀβειρῶν  $g_2$ . ἀντεῖπαν]  $g_1g_2$ ; ἀντίπον  $g_3g_4s$ . Μωσεὶ]  $μωϋῆ$   $g_2$ .  
 28 Ἀβεσσαλώμ]  $g_1g_2g_3g_4s$ ; ἀβεσαλὼν  $g_2$ . 29 πατραλοίας]  $πατραλύας$   $g_1g_2$ .  
 ἐκκρεμῆς]  $g_4s$ ; ἐκκρεμῆς  $g_1$ ; ἐκκρεμῆς  $g_2$ ; *arphensus* 1; ἐκεῖ κρημηθεὶς  $g_3$ . 30 Ἀβεδ-  
 δαδὰν]  $g_1g_2sg_4s$ : *achab* (or *ahab* or *aab*) *et dadan* 1; ἀβνέρ  $g_3$ . It seems probable  
 that the reading of 1 (*asabtdadan*, when taken in its simplest form) is only a cor-  
 ruption of ἀβεδδαδὰν. See the lower note.

γὰρ ὁ Σαουλ, ἄνευ τοῦ Σαμουὴλ προσ-  
 ενέγκας, ἤκουσεν ὅτι Μεματαιώται σοι  
 ...καὶ ὡς Ὁζίας...ἐλεπρώθη διὰ παρα-  
 νομίαν, οὕτως καὶ πᾶς λαϊκὸς οὐκ ἀτιμώ-  
 ρητος ἔσται...οὐχὶ οἱ Κορεῖται...πυρίκαν-  
 στοι ἐγένοντο...καὶ Δαθὰν καὶ Ἀβειρῶν  
 ζῶντες κατέβησαν εἰς ἄδου, and viii. 46  
 οἱ Κορεῖται καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ὁζίας...γε-  
 νόμενοι οἱ μὲν πυρίφλεκτοι, ὁ δὲ κατὰ  
 τοῦ μετώπου λεπρός.

30. Ἀβεδδαδὰν] The reference is  
 explained by *Apost. Const.* vi. 2 (the  
 context of the passage already quoted)  
 ὁ δὲ Ἀβεδδαδὰν, οὐκ ἔστι μοι, φησί,  
 μερὶς ἐν Δαυὶδ οὐδὲ κληρονομία ἐν νίῳ

Ἰεσσαί, δῆλον ὡς ἀναξιοπαθῶν ἄρχεσθαι  
 ὑπὸ Δαυὶδ κ.τ.λ. It is therefore a  
 blundering substitution of Obededom  
 (2 Sam. vi. 10), sometimes written  
 Ἀβεδδαδὰν, for Sheba (2 Sam. xx.  
 1) by the author of the *Apostolic  
 Constitutions*; and the blunder has  
 been blindly copied by our Ignatian  
 writer. Cotelier (on *Apost. Const.*  
 l. c.) suggests an explanation of  
 the error; 'Initio potuit scriptum  
 haberi Ἀβεε, ut est in MS Alexandr.  
 2 Reg. xx. 1, 7, vel etiam Σαβεε, ita  
 ut nonnemo ad oram libri sui Ἀβελα  
 Δὰν posuerit e 2 Reg. xx. 18, unde

ὡσαύτως τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφαιρεῖται δι' ὁμοίαν αἰτίαν. Ὁζίας λεπρούται, κατατολμήσας ἱερέων καὶ ἱερωσύνης. Σαοὺλ ἀτιμῶνται, μὴ περιμείνας τὸν ἀρχιερέα Σαμουήλ. χρῆ οὖν καὶ ὑμᾶς αἰδεῖσθαι τοὺς κρείττους.

IV. Καὶ πρόπον ἐστὶν μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι Χριστιανούς 5 ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ τὸ λέγεσθαι ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶναι μακάριον ποιεῖ. εἴ τινες ἐπίσκοπον μὲν λέγουσιν, χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα ποιοῦσιν· τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐρεῖ καὶ αὐτός, ὃς καὶ ὁ ἀληθινὸς καὶ πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μόνος φύσει ἀρχιερεὺς, τί με καλεῖτε, Κύριε, Κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω; 10 οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι οὐκ εὐσυνείδητοι, ἀλλ' εἰρωνές τινες καὶ μόρφωνες εἶναι μοι φαίνονται.

V. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τέλος τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, καὶ πρόκειται ζωὴ ἢ ἐκ φυλακῆς καὶ θάνατος ὁ ἐκ παρακοῆς, καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν εἰρημένων εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ αἰρεθέντος μέλλει χωρεῖν, 15 φύγωμεν τὸν θάνατον καὶ ἐκλεξώμεθα τὴν ζωὴν. δύο γὰρ λέγω χαρακτήρας ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐρίσκεισθαι, καὶ τὸν μὲν νομίσματος τὸν δὲ παραχαράγματος· ὁ θεοσεβῆς ἄνθρωπος

7 εἴ τινες] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; ὁτινες g<sub>4</sub>; quidam autem l. 8 ὃς καὶ] g<sub>4</sub>s; qui et l;

ὡς καὶ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; om. g<sub>3</sub> (the transcriber probably had the reading ὡς καὶ before him, and the words seemed superfluous). 9 ἀρχιερεὺς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἱεράρχης g<sub>4</sub>.

12 φαίνονται] g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>; φαίνονται g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 14 ἕκαστος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s; unusquisque l; ἕκαστον g<sub>3</sub>.

15 εἰρημένων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἡρμημένων g<sub>4</sub>s; de praedictis l. The reading ἡρμημένων was a conjecture of Morel's, accepted by subsequent editors.

τοῦ αἰρεθέντος] Cotelier; quem sibi...elegerit l; τοῦ ἀρεθέντος (sic) g<sub>3</sub>; τοῦ εὐρεθέντος g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>. I has *els τὸν ἴδιον τόπον*. In l the sentence runs *in locum quem sibi de praedictis elegerit*, connecting τῶν εἰρημένων with what follows. The misprints in g<sub>3</sub> are especially frequent hereabouts, e.g. ὑτρεῖ for ἐπεῖ, ξωῆ for ζωῆ, χάρειν for χωρεῖν. A comparison of the authorities led me to con-

postea factum 'Αβεδαν'. The reading 'Αβνερ in g<sub>3</sub> here is of course a deliberate emendation.

8. ὁ ἀληθινὸς κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Ps-Smyrn.* 9, and see also *Apost. Const.* viii. 46 οὐ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἢ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους πολεμοῦσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀλλὰ τὸν πάντων ἐπίσκοπον καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχιερέα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν κ.τ.λ., and again πρώτος τοῖνυν τῇ φύσει ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ μονογενῆς

Χριστός κ.τ.λ.

10. τί με καλεῖτε κ.τ.λ.] From Luke vi. 46.

11. μόρφωνες] 'impersonators, hypocrites'. The lexicons do not give any other instance of the word. Its coinage was perhaps suggested by 2 Tim. iii. 5 ἔχοντες μόρφωσιν εὐσεβείας.

15. τῶν εἰρημένων] i.e. the two

- νόμισμά ἐστιν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ χαραχθέν· ὁ ἀσεβῆς ψευδώνυμον  
 20 νόμισμα, κίβδηλον, νόθον, παραχάραγμα, οὐχ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἀλλ'  
 ὑπὸ διαβόλου ἐνεργηθέν. οὐ δύο φύσεις ἀνθρώπων λέγω,  
 ἀλλὰ τὸν ἓνα ἄνθρωπον ποτὲ μὲν Θεοῦ ποτὲ δὲ διαβόλου  
 γίνεσθαι· ἐὰν εὐσεβῇ τις, ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ ἐστίν· ἐὰν δὲ  
 ἀσεβῇ τις, ἄνθρωπος τοῦ διαβόλου, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀλλ'  
 25 ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης γινόμενος. οἱ ἄπιστοι εἰκόνα ἔχουσι  
 τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῆς πονηρίας· οἱ πιστοὶ εἰκόνα ἔχουσι τοῦ  
 ἄρχοντος Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· δι' οὗ ἐὰν μὴ  
 αὐθαιρέτως ἔχωμεν τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ  
 πάθος, τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐστίν ἐν ἡμῖν.
- 30 VI. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις προσώποις τὸ  
 πᾶν πλήθος ἐθεώρησα ἐν πίστει καὶ ἡγάπησα, παραινῶ, ἐν  
 ὁμοιοῖα Θεοῦ σπουδάσατε πάντα πράττειν, προκαθημένου  
 τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς  
 τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν διακόνων τῶν ἐμοὶ  
 35 γλυκυτάτων πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὅς  
 πρὸ αἰῶνος παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ γεννηθεὶς ἦν λόγος Θεός, μονο-

ture τοῦ αἰρεθέντος, before I saw that it had been anticipated by Cotelier and that Patrick Young (see Ussher, p. 16) before Cotelier had suggested τὸν αἰρεθέντα.

21 οὐ δύο]  $g_2g_4s$ ; non duas 1; δύο (om. οὐ)  $g_1$ ; δύο (sic)  $g_3$ . 22 πότε μὲν]  $g_1g_3g_4s$ ; τότε μὲν  $g_2$ . διαβόλου]  $g_1g_2s g_3$ ; τοῦ διαβόλου  $g_4$ . 25 γινόμενος]  $g_1g_2s g_4s$ ; γενόμενος  $g_3$ . 26 οἱ πιστοὶ]  $g_1g_2g_3g_4s$ ; οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ I; *fideles autem* [1]. The interpolator however has so altered the context, that the text of I does not weigh much in determining his reading; and l freely inserts connecting particles. 27 Θεοῦ]  $g_1g_2s g_3$ ; τοῦ θεοῦ  $g_4$ . ἐὰν]  $g_1g_3g_4s$ ; ἂν  $g_2$ . 28 ἔχωμεν] ἔχομεν  $g_2$ . 31 ἡγάπησα]  $g_1g_4$ ; ἡγάπησα  $g_2$ ; ἀγάπη  $g_3$ ; *dilectione* l. There is the same v. l. in I, 36 Θεός]  $g_1g_2s g_4s l$ ; θεοῦ  $g_3$ ; comp. *Philipp.* 2 for this same v. l. in  $g_3$ .

classes of persons indicated in the preceding chapter. If the reading τοῦ αἰρεθέντος be correct, the words will mean 'the place assigned to the alternative chosen', i.e. to obedience (*φυλακῆς*) or disobedience (*παρακοῆς*), as the case may be.

35. ὅς πρὸ αἰῶνος κ.τ.λ.] This is directed against the teaching of Marcellus of Ancyra, as Zahn (*I. v.*

*A. p. 137 sq.*) has rightly seen. The main charge against the Christology of Marcellus was that he obscured the doctrine of the personality of the Son at both ends; (1) He denied its existence before the world began (controverted in ὅς πρὸ αἰῶνος...μονογενῆς υἱός), and (2) He merged it in God the Father at the end of the world (controverted in ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ...

γενῆς υἱός, καὶ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων ὁ αὐτὸς διαμένει· τῆς γὰρ βασιλείας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔσται τέλος, φησὶν Δανιὴλ ὁ προφήτης. πάντες οὖν ἐν ὁμοιοῖα ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσωμεν, καὶ μηδεὶς κατὰ σάρκα βλεπέτω τὸν πλησίον ἀλλ' ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. μηδὲν ἔστω ἐν ὑμῖν, ὃ δυνήσεται ὑμᾶς μερίσαι, 5 ἀλλ' ἐνώθητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ Θεῷ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ.

VII. Ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ποιεῖ· οὐ δύναμαι γάρ, φησὶν, ποιεῖν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδέν· οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ πρεσβύτερος, μὴ 10 διάκονος, μὴ λαϊκός· μηδέ τι φαινέσθω ὑμῖν εὐλογον παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην· τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον παράνομον καὶ Θεοῦ ἐχθρόν. πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ἅμα συνέρχεσθε· μία δέησις ἔστω κοινή, εἰς νοῦς, μία ἐλπίς, ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν πίστει τῇ ἀμώμῳ τῇ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, οὗ ἄμεινον 15

1 ὁ αὐτὸς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; αὐτὸς (om. ὁ) g<sub>4</sub>; *ipse* l. 9 ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἀφ' ἑμ<sup>ου</sup>του g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> (with Joh. v. 30); *a me ipso* l. 10 μηδὲ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; καὶ μηδὲ (sic) g<sub>3</sub>; *sive* l; μὴ g<sub>4</sub>. μὴ...μὴ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; μὴδὲ...μὴδὲ (sic) g<sub>3</sub>; *seu (sive)...sive* l.  
13 συνέρχεσθε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; συνέρχεσθαι g<sub>2</sub>; *convenite* l. 16 Θεοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; τοῦ θεοῦ g<sub>4</sub>. 17 ἐπὶ ἓνα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ὡς ἐπὶ ἓνα g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> l. 19 μύθοις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I;

διαμένει): see e.g. Euseb. *c. Marc.* ii. 4 (p. 110 Gaisford) ἀρχὴν τε πρόσκαιρον καὶ νεωτέραν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδούς, καὶ ταύτης τέλος ὑφίστάμενος, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀληθῶς μονογενῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱὸν ἀρνούμενος, λόγον δὲ ψιλὸν ἀνούσιον καὶ ἀνυπόστατον ὑποτιθέμενος κ.τ.λ. The prophecy of Daniel (ii. 44, vii. 14, 27), quoted below, is taken, not from the Greek text of the prophet, but from the indirect quotation in the angel Gabriel's message, Luke i. 33. This same passage is quoted also by Eusebius against Marcellus, *c. Marc.* ii. 1 (p. 66). See also *Ps-Smyrn.* 3.

9. οὐ δύναμαι κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. v. 30.

20. ἐπέχετε] 'give heed'. If the

reading ἐπέχετε be correct, it must mean 'insist upon', but ἐπέχειν with the dative generally signifies 'to press upon', i.e. 'to threaten' (e.g. Gen. xlix. 23), and the emendation seems therefore necessary.

21. τὰ ἀρχαῖα κ.τ.λ.] Verbatim from 2 Cor. v. 17, as commonly read, but τὰ πάντα should be omitted there.

28. οὐ ῥήτος κ.τ.λ.] The original text of Ignatius seemed to favour strongly the doctrine of Marcellus (see above, p. 126 sq.); but the interpolator, whose theological sympathies lay in quite the opposite direction, has altered it so as to make it a direct polemic against this heretic. Marcellus denied, or seemed to deny, the separate personality, οὐσία or ὑπό-

οὐδέν ἐστιν. πάντες ὡς εἷς εἰς τὸν ναὸν Θεοῦ συντρέχετε, ὡς ἐπὶ ἐν θυσιαστήριον, ἐπὶ ἓνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ ἀγεννήτου Θεοῦ.

VIII. Μὴ πλανασθε ταῖς ἑτεροδοξίαις, μηδὲ μύθοις  
 20 ἐπέχετε καὶ γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις καὶ Ἰουδαϊκοῖς τύ-  
 φοις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονε καινὰ τὰ πάντα.  
 εἰ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ νόμον Ἰουδαϊκὸν καὶ περιτομὴν σαρκὸς  
 ζῶμεν, ἀρνούμεθα τὴν χάριν εἰληφέναι. οἱ γὰρ θεϊότατοι  
 προφῆται κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἔζησαν· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ  
 25 ἐδιώχθησαν, ἐμπνεόμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος, εἰς τὸ πληρο-  
 φορηθῆναι τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ὅτι εἷς Θεὸς ἐστιν ὁ παντοκρά-  
 τωρ ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ, ὃς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος οὐ ῥητὸς ἀλλ' οὐσιώδης· οὐ  
 γὰρ ἐστιν λαλιᾶς ἐνάρθρου φώνημα, ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θεϊκῆς

*fabulis* 1; μύθους  $g_2g_3$ .

20 ἐπέχετε] *intendatis* 1; ἐπέχετε  $g_3$ ; ἀνέχετε  $g_1g_2g_4$ .

As both ἐπέχετε and ἀνέχετε are unintelligible, I have substituted ἐπέχετε. Vedelius conjectured ἐπέχεσθε, and Ussher προσέχετε (comp. 1 Tim. i. 4). 21 τὰ πάντα]  $g_1g_2g_3$ ; πάντα (om. τὰ)  $g_4$ . 25 ἀπὸ]  $g_1sg_2sg_3$ ; ὑπὸ  $g_4$ . 26 ἀπειθοῦντας]  $g_1g_2g_3g_4$  with I. There is no authority for ἀπιστοῦντας. The ed. princ. misprinted it ἀπειτοῦντας, which Morel corrected into ἀπιστοῦντας.

σταις, of the Son; his conception of the Logos reduced it to a mere utterance of the Father; it was a voice issuing from silence; Euseb. *Ecccl. Theol.* ii. 8 (p. 214) οἶα λόγον αὐτὸν σημαντικὸν τινος ἢ προστακτικὸν προελθεῖν τοῦ Θεοῦ φάσκει, *ib.* ii. 9 (p. 219) μετὰ δὲ τὴν σιγὴν καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν προελθεῖν τὸν λόγον τῷ Θεῷ...κατὰ προφορὰν φωνῆς ἐνάρθρου, φθεγγόμενον δηλαδὴ καὶ λαλοῦντος τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁμοίως ἀνθρώποις (comp. *ib.* iii. 3, p. 318 sq.). Accordingly Eusebius in reply discusses the different significations of λόγος (*ib.* ii. 13, p. 229 sq.). Among others he mentions ὁ διὰ γλώττης καὶ φωνῆς ἐνάρθρου σημαίνων τι, and he rejects this (τὸν διὰ φωνῆς ἀκουόμενον) as inadequate for the theological conception, because

it does not allow a distinct ὑπόστασις. Thus our Ignatian writer directly controverts the language in which Marcellus either actually stated or was represented to have stated his opinions. See also Meletius in Epiphanius. *Hær.* lxxiii. 30 (p. 878 sq.) λόγος ἐστὶ τε καὶ λέγεται υἱός, οὐ μὴν φωνὴ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲ ῥῆμα νοεῖται· ὑφέστηκε γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐνεργεῖ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα κ.τ.λ. It seems to follow from this change that our interpolator read the words in his text of the original Ignatius αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθὼν, without the insertion αἰδιος οὐκ (see above, pp. 125, 126), since otherwise he would not have gone so far out of his way, even if he had thought it necessary to make any alteration at all.

οὐσία γεννητή· ὃς κατὰ πάντα εὐαρέστησεν τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν.

IX. Εἰ οὖν οἱ [ἐν] παλαιοῖς γράμμασιν ἀναστραφέντες εἰς καιρότητα ἐλπίδος ἦλθον ἐκδεχόμενοι Χριστόν, ὡς ὁ Κύριος διδάσκει λέγων, εἰ ἐπιστεῦτε Μωσῆ, ἐπιστεύσατε 5 ἄν ἐμοί· περὶ γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψεν, καὶ, Ἄβραάμ ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν ἠγαλλιᾶσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν, καὶ εἶδεν καὶ ἐχάρη· πρὶν γὰρ Ἄβραάμ [γενέσθαι] ἐγὼ εἶμι· πῶς ἡμεῖς δυνησόμεθα ζῆσαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ; οὗ καὶ οἱ προφηῆται ὄντες δούλοι τῷ πνεύματι προεώρων αὐτὸν καὶ 10

1 ὃς κατὰ πάντα εὐαρέστησεν] I; ὃς πάντα κατεναρέστησεν g<sub>1</sub>; ὃς πάντα κατεναρέσκησε g<sub>3</sub>; ἐν πᾶσιν εὐάρεστος g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; in omnibus bene complacens l. τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; τῷ ὑποστήσαντι g<sub>2</sub>; substitutori l. 3 ἐν παλαιοῖς] I; παλαιοῖς (om. ἐν) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ex antiquis l. The reading of g however might perhaps stand, as the dative of the *norma*. 4 καιρότητα] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; κενότητα g<sub>1</sub>; vacuam (*spret*) l; νεότητα g<sub>3</sub>. 5 ἐπιστεῦτε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἐπιστεύσατε g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. Μωσῆ]

1. τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν] It is tempting with Zahn (see *I. v. A.* p. 137, note 1) to adopt the other reading τῷ ὑποστήσαντι, i.e. 'who gave Him His ὑπόστασις' (comp. e.g. Alex. Aphrod. *Probl.* I τῷ Θεῷ τῷ καὶ τὴν τούτων οὐσίαν ὑποστήσαντι); but we are precluded by the fact that τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν stands in the text of the genuine Ignatius.

5. εἰ ἐπιστεῦτε κ.τ.λ.] The passages are from Joh. v. 46 (εἰ ἐπιστεῦτε κ.τ.λ.) and Joh. viii. 56, 58 (Ἄβραάμ ὁ πατήρ κ.τ.λ.).

8. γενέσθαι] This insertion from Joh. viii. 58 seems necessary, for πρὶν is never a preposition. The editors have silently acquiesced in the faulty text. Comp. *Philipp.* 6.

12. αὐτός κ.τ.λ.] Verbatim from Is. xxxv. 4. The next passage, ὁ μὴ ἐργαζόμενος κ.τ.λ., is loosely quoted from 2 Thess. iii. 10; the third, ἐν ἰδρωτί κ.τ.λ., is word for word from Gen. iii. 19.

13. ἀργίας κ.τ.λ.] Chrysost. *de Laz.* i. 7 (I. p. 716) οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι νομίζουσιν ὅτι

δι' ἀργίαν αὐτοῖς τὸ σάββατον δέδοται. See Mayor on *Juv.* xiv. 105 sq.

16. σαββατιζέτω κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* ii. 36 γίνωσκε δημιουργίαν Θεοῦ...καὶ σαββατιεῖς...σαββατισμὸν μελέτης νόμων, οὐ χειρῶν ἀργίαν, vi. 23 ὁ σαββατίζειν δι' ἀργίας νομοθετήσας διὰ τὴν τῶν νόμων μελέτην νῦν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς, ἀναλογιζομένους δημιουργίας καὶ προνοίας νόμον, εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ Θεῷ, vii. 23 τὸ σάββατον μέντοι καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἐορτάζετε, ὅτι τὸ μὲν δημιουργίας ἐστὶν ὑπόμνημα τὸ δὲ ἀναστάσεως, vii. 36 κόσμον ἔκτισας...καὶ σάββατον ὥρισας εἰς μνήμην τούτου...εἰς μελέτην τῶν σῶν νόμων, and again σαββατίζειν ἐνετεῖλω, οὐ πρόφασιν ἀργίας διδούς.

μελέτη νόμων] See *Philad.* 2.

17. ἔωλα] 'stale meats, a day old'; because the Jews were not allowed to kindle a fire on the sabbath (Exod. xxxv. 3), and were ordered to cook their meat on the previous day (Exod. xvi. 23); comp. Hieron. *in Isai.* lxxv. 4 sq. (*Op.* IV. p. 775) 'jus hesternum, quod Graeci vocant ἔωλον, avidis faucibus devora-



ὡς διδάσκαλον ἀνέμενον, καὶ προσεδόκων ὡς Κύριον καὶ  
σωτήρα, λέγοντες· αὐτός ἤξει καὶ σώσει ἡμᾶς. μηκέτι  
οὖν σαββατίζωμεν Ἰουδαϊκῶς καὶ ἀργίαις χαίροντες· ὁ μὴ  
ἐργαζόμενος γὰρ μὴ ἐσθιέτω· ἐν ἰδρωτί γὰρ τοῦ προσώ-  
15 ποῦ σοῦ φάγη τὸν ἄρτον σοῦ, φασὶ τὰ λόγια. ἀλλ' ἕκα-  
στος ὑμῶν σαββατίζέτω πνευματικῶς, μελέτη νόμων χαίρων,  
οὐ σώματος ἀνέσει· δημιουργίαν Θεοῦ θαυμάζων, οὐχ ἔωλα  
ἐσθίων καὶ χλιαρὰ πίνων καὶ μεμετρημένα βαδίζων καὶ  
ὀρχήσει καὶ κρότοις νοῦν οὐκ ἔχουσι χαίρων· καὶ

g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; μωσεὶ g<sub>1</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s. 8 εἶδεν] ἴδεν g<sub>2</sub>. γενέσθαι] om. gl. 9 δυνασόμεθα]  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; δυνασώμεθα g<sub>2</sub>. 13 σαββατίζωμεν] g<sub>4</sub>s; σαββατίζομεν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. ἀρ-  
γίαις] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἀργεῖαις g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 14 ἰδρωτί] ἰδρωτήτι g<sub>2</sub>. 15 φάγη] φαγῆ g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.  
φασὶ τὰ λόγια] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; τὰ λόγια φησιν g<sub>4</sub>; *dicunt eloquia* l. 16 νόμων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.  
*legis* l. The common reading νόμον was Morel's conj.; comp. *Philad.* 4 for the  
same v. l. 17 οὐχ ἔωλα] οὐκ ἔωλα (sic) g<sub>4</sub>s; οὐχ ἔωλα g<sub>2</sub>; οὐκ ἔωλα g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *non om-  
nia* (οὐ καὶ ὄλα οὐ οὐχὶ ὄλα?) l. 18 μεμετρημένα] μεμετριμένα g<sub>2</sub>. 19 ὀρχήσει]  
ὀρχίσει g<sub>2</sub>. κρότοις...χαίρων] *plausum manuum* (χειρῶν) *nunc* (νῦν) *habens* l.

bant [Judaei]', quoted by Ussher.

18. χλιαρὰ] 'lukewarm drinks'; comp. Justin. *Dial.* 29 (p. 246) μηδέ, ὅτι θερμὸν πίνομεν ἐν τοῖς σάββασι, δειῶν ἠγείσθε. The drinks were 'lukewarm', not cold, because some degree of warmth could be kept in them by furnaces lighted overnight. The conditions of lighting and keeping lighted and of using furnaces for this purpose are laid down in Mishna *Shabbath*.

μεμετρημένα βαδίζων] Referring to the Talmudical regulations which defined the limits of a Sabbath day's journey (Acts i. 12); comp. Mishna *Erubin* passim. See also Orig. *de Princ.* iv. 17 (I. p. 176) περὶ τοῦ σαββάτου φάσκοντες τόπον ἐκάστῳ εἶναι δισχιλίους πήχεις, Hieron. *Epist.* 121 (I. 884) 'Barachibas et Simeon et Hellel magistri nostri tradiderunt nobis, ut bis mille pedes ambulemus in sabbato', where he has erroneously substituted feet for cubits. These passages are quoted by Ussher.

19. ὀρχήσει καὶ κρότοις κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Exod. xxxii. 19, Judges xxi. 21, 2 Sam. vi. 16, 21 (LXX). The common Hebrew word for a festival was derived from 'dancing'; see Gesen. *Thes.* s. v. 227. Dancing was also a religious ceremonial even with the staid and ascetic sect of the Therapeutes; see Philo *de Vit. Cont.* 11 (II. p. 485 M). The Christian fathers are frequent in their denunciations of this mode of observing their sabbaths among the Jews; e.g. Augustin, *In Psalm. xxxii Enarr.* ii. 6 (*Op.* iv. 191) 'Observa diem sabbati non carnaliter, non Judaicis deliciis, qui otio abutuntur ad nequitiam; melius enim utique tota die foderent, quam tota die saltarent'; comp. ib. *In Psalm. xci Enarr.* 2 (IV. 982), *Serm. ix de Dec. Chord.* 3 (v. 50) 'melius feminae eorum die sabbati lanam facerent quam toto die in menianis suis impudice saltarent', Chrysost. *adv. Iud.* i. 2 (I. p. 590) οὗτοι δὲ χοροὺς μαλακῶν συναγάγοντες κ.τ.λ.

μετὰ τὸ σαββατίσαι ἑορταζέτω πᾶς φιλόχριστος τὴν κυριακὴν, τὴν ἀναστάσιμον, τὴν βασιλίδα, τὴν ὑπατον πασῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἣν περιμένων ὁ προφήτης ἔλεγεν, εἰς τὸ τέλος, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδοῦς· ἐν ἣ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου γέγονεν νίκη ἐν Χριστῷ· ὃν τὰ 5 τέκνα τῆς ἀπωλείας ἀρνοῦνται, οἱ ἐχθροὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἡ κοιλία, οἱ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονοῦντες, οἱ φιλήδονοι καὶ οὔ φιλόθεοι, μύρφωσιν εὔσεβείας ἔχοντες τὴν δὲ ἀγναμιν ἀγτῆς ἡρνημένοι, οἱ χριστέμποροι, τὸν λόγον καπηλεύοντες καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πωλοῦντες, οἱ τῶν γυναικῶν 10 φθορεῖς καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν ἐπιθυμηταί, οἱ χρηματολαίλαπες· ὧν ῥυσθείητε ἐλεεί Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

X. Μὴ οὖν ἀναίσθητοι ὦμεν τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ·

5 νίκη]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; ἡ νίκη  $g_4$ . ὃν]  $g_1 g_3 g_4 s_1$ ; ὧν  $g_2$ . 6 σταυροῦ] σωτήρος  $g_1 g_2 g_3 g_4$ ; *salvatoris* l. I have restored σταυροῦ from Phil. iii. 18. The similarity of the contractions of the two words has doubtless caused the substitution. 9 χριστέμποροι] χριστέμποροι  $g_2$ . 11 χρηματολαίλαπες] χρηματολάλαπας (sic)  $g_2$ . 15 μωμῆσθαι]  $g_1 g_2$  with I; μωμῆσθαι  $g_3 g_4 s$ . I translates nisi (ἐὰν μὴ) *nos tentaverit*. καθὰ]  $g_1$  with I; καθὸ  $g_3$ ; καθὰ καὶ  $g_2$ ; καὶ  $g_4$  (so Bryennios, but does it not read καθὰ καὶ with  $g_2$ ?). 16 παρατηρήσῃ]  $g_1$ ; παρατηρήσῃς  $g_2 s g_4 s$ ; παρατηρήσεις  $g_3$ . In Ps. cxxx. 3 there are both readings, παρατηρήσῃς and παρατηρήσῃ. 19 οὐ]  $g_1 g_2$ ; οὐ γάρ  $g_3$ ; *non enim* l; οὐδὲ  $g_4$ . 20 φ]  $g_2$ ; *quo* l; ὁ (with Is. lxii. 2)  $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$ . 22 πρῶτως]  $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$ ; πρῶτος  $g_2$ . 24 ὑπέρθεσθε]  $g_1 g_2 g_4$  with I; ἀπόθεσθε  $g_3$ . 25 χάριτος] χαίριτος  $g_2$ . 26 αὐλισθητε]  $g$ ; *exultate* l; ἀλίσθητε l. 28 παυσθέντα] παυθέντα  $g_4$ . ὁ γὰρ χριστιανισμὸς...χριστιανισμὸν *els ὃν πᾶν ἔθνος κ.τ.λ.*] So I, except that for *els ὃν* his text has φ; *non enim christiani-*

1. ἑορταζέτω κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* ii. 60 καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναστασίμῳ, τῇ κυριακῇ, σπουδαιότερως ἀπαντᾶτε, vii. 36 διὸ καὶ τὴν ἀναστάσιμον, ἑορτὴν πανηγυρίζοντες τῇ κυριακῇ χαίρομεν κ.τ.λ.; comp. v. 20.

2. τὴν βασιλίδα] 'the queen of days', as in Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xlv. 10 (I. p. 841) ἡ βασίλισσα τῶν ὥρῶν τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν ἡμερῶν πομπεύει; comp. ib. *Orat.* xviii. 28 (I. p. 348 sq.) τὸ ἄγιον πάσχα καὶ περιβόητον ἡ βασίλισσα τῶν ἡμερῶν. So too the Jews spoke of the sabbath as  $\text{הַלַּבַּת}$ . See the

notes of Ussher and Cotelier.

3. εἰς τὸ τέλος κ.τ.λ.] Ps. vi. 1, xii (xi). 1. The LXX rendering ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδοῦς was commonly so explained by the Greek fathers, e.g. Euseb. *Comm. in Psalm.* (Op. v. 120, Migne) ὀγδοὴ ἡ ἀναστάσιμος τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμέρα κυριακὴ σωτήριος (comp. *ib.* 140). Similarly Gregory Nazianzen, Theodoret, and Cyril of Alexandria. The Hebrew is probably a musical term 'on the octave', whatever may be the meaning of 'octave' in this connexion.

- 15 ἔὰν μιμήσῃται ἡμᾶς καθὰ πράσσομεν, οὐκ ἔτι ἐσμέν·  
 ἔὰν γὰρ ἀνομίας παρατηρήσῃ, Κύριε, Κύριε, τίς ὑποστή-  
 σεται; γενώμεθα οὖν ἄξιοι τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἧς εἰλήφαμεν·  
 ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἄλλῳ ὀνόματι καλεῖται πλεῖον τούτου, οὗτος οὐκ  
 ἔστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ· οὐ δέδεκται τὴν προφητείαν τὴν λέγουσαν  
 20 περὶ ἡμῶν ὅτι κληθήσεται ὀνόματι καινῷ, ᾧ ὁ Κύριος ὀνο-  
 μάσει αὐτόν, καὶ ἔσται λαὸς ἄγιος. ὅπερ καὶ πεπλήρωται  
 πρῶτως ἐν Συρίᾳ· ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ γὰρ ἐχρημάτισαν οἱ μαθη-  
 ταὶ χριστιανοί, Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλη-  
 σίαν. ὑπέρθεσθε οὖν τὴν κακὴν ζύμην τὴν παλαιωθείσαν,  
 25 τὴν σεσηπυῖαν, καὶ μεταβάλλεσθε εἰς νέαν ζύμην χάριτος.  
 αὐλίσθητε ἐν Χριστῷ, ἵνα μὴ ὁ ἀλλότριος ὑμῶν κυριεύσῃ.  
 ἄτοπὸν ἔστιν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν λαλεῖν ἐπὶ γλώσσης, καὶ τὸν  
 παυσθέντα ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἐπὶ διανοίας ἔχειν· ὁ γὰρ χριστιανι-

*tas in judaismum credidit, sed judaismus in christianitatem, omnes denique gentiles aequaliter etc.* 1 (Zahn suggests that *eis ὃν* is omitted, owing to the similarity to the preceding *-ισμον*, but prob. *eis ὃν* was read *ἴσον* by a common itacism and translated *aequaliter*); οὐ γὰρ χριστιανισμὸς, οὐκ ἔστιν ἰουδαϊσμὸς· *eis γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ χριστὸς eis ὃν* (*eis eis ὃν g4*) *πάν ἔθνος g*. Zahn has done right in supplying words from the Latin, but he gives them οὐ γὰρ χριστιανισμὸς *eis* ἰουδαϊσμὸν κ.τ.λ. The form which I have substituted seems to me to be preferable for two reasons: (1) It adheres more closely to the original Ignatius; (2) It better explains the existing text of the Greek mss. Words would be omitted partly owing to the recurrence of similar letters, ὁ γὰρ χριστιανισμὸς οὐκ *eis* [*ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἐπίστευσεν ἀλλ'*] *ἰουδαϊσμὸς eis* χριστιανισμῶν, and the emendations would follow to make this mutilated text intelligible.

5. τὰ τέκνα κ.τ.λ.] Is. Ivii. 4; comp. Joh. xvii. 12, 2 Thess. ii. 3, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας.

6. οἱ ἐχθροὶ κ.τ.λ.] From Phil. iii. 18, 19. See the upper note.

7. φιλήδονοι κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Tim. iii. 4, 5, but not verbatim.

9. χριστέμποροι] As in *Ps-Trall.* 6. So Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xl. 11 (i. p. 698) *μηδὲ γενώμεθα χριστοκάπηλοι καὶ χριστέμποροι*; comp. *ib. Carm. de Vit. Sua* 1756 (ii. p. 766). See also the passage of Basil quoted on *Ps-Trall.* 6.

τὸν λόγον κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Cor. ii. 17.

11. χρηματολαίλαπες] *Apost. Const.* ii. 49 *χρηματολαίλαψ* with a v. l. *χρηματολαψ*.

16. ἔὰν κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. cxxix (cxxx). 3 verbatim.

20. κληθήσεται κ.τ.λ.] Loosely quoted from Is. lxii. 2, 12.

22. ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κ.τ.λ.] Acts xi. 26, where the reading *πρῶτως* (instead of *πρῶτον*) is supported by the context here. Comp. *Antioch. inscr.*

23. Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου] See the note on *Antioch.* 7.

26. αὐλίσθητε] *'βίνουακ'*. Though Ignatius himself read *ἀλίσθητε* *'be ye*

σμός οὐκ εἰς ἰουδαϊσμόν ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλ' ἰουδαϊσμός εἰς  
 χριστιανισμόν· εἰς ὃν πᾶν ἔθνος πιστεύσαν καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα  
 ἔξομολογησάμενη εἰς Θεὸν σὺνήχθη, καὶ γέγοναν οἱ λιθώ-  
 δεις τῇ καρδίᾳ τέκνα τοῦ Θεοῦ φίλου Ἀβραάμ, καὶ ἐν τῷ  
 σπέρματι αὐτοῦ ἐνευλογῆθησαν πάντες οἱ τεταγμένοι εἰς 5  
 ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἐν Χριστῷ.

XI. Ταῦτα δέ, ἀγαπητοί μου, οὐκ ἐπέγνων τινὰς ἐξ  
 ὑμῶν οὕτως ἔχοντας, ἀλλ' ὡς μικρότερος ὑμῶν θέλω προ-  
 φυλάσσεσθαι ὑμᾶς μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὰ ἄγκιστρα τῆς κενοδο-  
 ξίας, ἀλλὰ πεπληροφόρησθε ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ πρὸ πάντων μὲν 10  
 αἰῶνων γεννηθέντι παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, γεννωμένῳ δὲ ὕστερον  
 ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου δίχα ὁμιλίας ἀνδρός, καὶ πολιτευ-  
 σαμένῳ ὁσίως, καὶ πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ μαλακίαν θεραπεύσαντι  
 ἐν τῷ λαῷ, καὶ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ποιήσαντι ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ  
 ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τοῖς ἐξοκέλασιν εἰς πολυθείαν τὸν ἕνα καὶ 15

2 πιστεύσαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἐπίστευσε g<sub>4</sub>. 3 γέγοναν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; γέγονασιν (sic) g<sub>3</sub>;  
 γεγόνασιν g<sub>4</sub>s. λιθώδεις] ὕπατον g<sub>2</sub> (Dressel), but this substitution is unin-  
 telligible and probably (as Zahn suggests) it is some confusion, as ὕπατον occurs § 9  
 above. Perhaps it was seen through from the previous page or leaf. 4 τοῦ]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>. Θεοῦ φίλου] Cotelier after I, which has *amici dei* (see the  
 lower note); θεοῦ φίλοι g. But probably we should go a step further and read θεο-  
 φιλοῦς or φιλοθέου: see the end of the next chapter. 5 ἐνευλογήθησαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>;  
 ἐνευλογήθησάν τε g<sub>2</sub>; εὐλογήθησαν g<sub>4</sub>. The τε (= ται) of g<sub>2</sub> seems to be an incomplete  
 correction into the ἐνευλογηθήσονται of Gen. xxii. 18. 6 ἐν Χριστῷ] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>;  
 add. ἰησοῦ g<sub>4</sub>. 10 πεπληροφόρησθε] πεπληροφορεῖσθε g<sub>2</sub>; *ut ad plenum instructi*  
*sitis* I; πληροφορεῖσθαι g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. The reading in I may be doubtful, but it must  
 have been either πεπληροφόρησθε or πεπληροφορήσθαι, and was probably the former.

*salted*, there seems to be no reason for doubting that the interpolator either read in his text or substituted *αὐλίσθητε*. The Latin translator's rendering '*exultate*' seems to arise from a confusion of *αὐλίξειν* with *αὐλεῖν*.

2. πᾶν ἔθνος κ.τ.λ.] The language is adapted from Is. xlv. 23 (Alex.), lxvi. 18; comp. Phil. ii. 11.

3. οἱ λιθώδεις κ.τ.λ.] An allusion to Matt. iii. 9, Luke iii. 8.

4. Θεοῦ φίλου] For the title 'friend

of God' as applied to Abraham see the note on Clem. Rom. 10.

ἐν τῷ σπέρματι κ.τ.λ.] Gen. xxii. 18.

5. τεταγμένοι κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Acts xiii. 48.

11. γεννωμένῳ δὲ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii. 37 τὸν ἐκ Μαρίας γεννηθέντα δίχα ἀνδρός, τὸν πολιτευσάμενον ὁσίως, τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα κ.τ.λ., vii. 41 ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου Μαρίας γεννηθέντα καὶ πολιτευσάμενον ὁσίως... καὶ σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ

μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν καταγγείλαντι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα, καὶ τὸ πάθος ὑποστάντι, καὶ πρὸς τῶν χριστοκτόνων Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἡγεμόνος καὶ Ἡρώδου βασιλέως καὶ σταυρὸν ὑπομείναντι καὶ ἀποθανόντι, καὶ ἀναστάντι, καὶ 20 ἀνελθόντι εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα, καὶ καθεσθέντι ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐρχομένῳ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων μετὰ δόξης πατρικῆς κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα ὁ γνούς ἐν πληροφορίᾳ καὶ πιστεύσας μακάριος· ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς 25 φιλόθεοι καὶ φιλόχριστοί ἐστε ἐν πληροφορίᾳ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν· ἧς ἐκτραπήναι μηδενὶ ἡμῶν γένηται.

XII. Ὅναίμην ὑμῶν κατὰ πάντα, εἴανπερ ἄξιός ᾤ· εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι, πρὸς ἓνα τῶν λελυμένων ὑμῶν οὐκ εἰμί. οἶδα ὅτι οὐ φυσιοῦσθε, Ἰησοῦν γὰρ ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. καὶ 30 μᾶλλον, ὅταν ἐπαινῶ ὑμᾶς, οἶδα ὅτι ἐντρέπεσθε, ὡς γέγραπ-

11 γεννωμένῳ] g<sub>3</sub>; γενωμένῳ g<sub>4</sub>; γεννώμενον g<sub>1</sub>; γεννόμενον g<sub>2</sub>. 12 ὁμιλίας]

ὁμιλίας g<sub>2</sub>. πολιτευσαμένῳ] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; πολιτευσάμενον g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; and so for θεραπεύσαντι, ποιήσαντι, καταγγείλαντι, ὑποστάντι, ὑπομείναντι, ἀποθανόντι, ἀναστάντι, ἀνελθόντι, καθεσθέντι, ἐρχομένῳ, where g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s have datives, and g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub> accusatives. See *Ps-Smyrn.* I for a similar phenomenon.

15 ἐξοκειλασιν] g<sub>4</sub>; ἐξωκίλασιν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ξῶ αὐλίσασι g<sub>3</sub>. 16 εἰς πολυθεῖαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; τῆς πολυθείας g<sub>3</sub>.

In I the whole sentence is translated *iis qui longe erant et iis qui prope in multitudinē* (or *-nem*) (τοῖς ἔξω καὶ πλησίον εἰς πολυπληθίαν?).

17 καὶ πρὸς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; 18 πρὸς (om. καὶ) g<sub>3</sub>. 24 ὥσπερ οὖν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ὥσπερ νῦν g<sub>3</sub>; *quomodo* I.

26 ἡμῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *nostrum* (but v. I. *vestrum*) I. The reading in I seems certainly to be ὑμῶν (though there is a v. l.), and perhaps it should be read here. But I have thought it best to retain ἡμῶν as supported by the authorities.

27 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν g<sub>4</sub>. 28 ᾧ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ᾧν g<sub>2</sub>.

ἀποθανόντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναστάντα ...καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθεσθέντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος μετὰ δόξης κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, viii. I ὅτι...ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων μονογενὴς ἐν ὑστέρω καιρῷ ἐκ παρθένου γεγέννηται δίχα ὁμιλίας ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὅτι ἐπολιτεύσατο ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἄνευ ἁμαρτίας κ.τ.λ., viii. 12 γενόμενος ἐκ παρθένου...πολιτευσάμενος ὁσίως...πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελάσας, σημεῖά τε καὶ τέρατα ἐν τῷ

λαῷ ποιήσας κ.τ.λ. Comp. *Ps-Smyrn.* I, *Ps-Trall.* 10.

13. πᾶσαν κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Philipp.* 5.

20. ἀνελθόντι κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* v. 19 ἀνήλθε πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα αὐτὸν...καθίσας ἐκ δεξιῶν...ὁς καὶ ἐλεύσεται ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, with vii. 41 (quoted in the last note). For ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ κ.τ.λ. comp. *Ps-Smyrn.* 3.

ται· δίκαιος ἕαυτοῦ κατηγορός· καί, λέγε σὺ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου πρῶτος, ἵνα δικαιωθῆς· καί, ὅταν ποιήσῃτε πάντα τὰ διατεταγμένα ἡμῖν, λέγετε ὅτι Δοῦλοὶ ἐσμεν ἀχρεῖοι· ὅτι τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἕψηλόν βδέλυγμα παρὰ Θεῶ· ὁ Θεὸς γάρ, φησὶν, ἰλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. διὰ τοῦτο οἱ 5 μεγάλοι ἐκεῖνοι Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰωβ γῆν καὶ σποδὸν ἔμ-προσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἑαυτοὺς ὠνόμαζον καὶ ὁ Δαυεὶδ, τίς εἰμι ἐγὼ ἐναντίον σου, Κύριε, ὅτι ἐδόξασάς με ἕως τοῦ-του; καὶ Μωσῆς ὁ παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους πραότατος λέγει πρὸς Θεόν· ἰσχυρόφωνος καὶ βραδύγλωσσός εἰμι ἐγώ. τα- 10 πεινοφρονεῖτε οὖν καὶ αὐτοί, ἵνα ὑψωθῆτε· ὁ ταπεινῶν γὰρ ἕαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται, καὶ ὁ ὑψῶν ἕαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται.

XIII. Σπουδάσατε οὖν βεβαιωθῆναι ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἵνα πάντα ὅσα ποιεῖτε κατεγοδωθήσεται, σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι, πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, 15 μετὰ τοῦ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτου ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν καὶ ἀξιοπλόκου καὶ πνευματικοῦ στεφάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ Θεὸν διακόνων. ὑποτάγητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀλλή-λοις, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί, ἵνα ἔνωσις ᾗ κατὰ Θεὸν ἐν ὑμῖν.

20

2 πρῶτος] here,  $g_1g_2g_3$ ; after σὺ,  $g_4[1]$ . 6 Ἰωβ] 1; ἰακώβ  $g_1$ . 7 ἑαυτοὺς] here,  $g_1g_2g_3$ ; after σποδόν,  $g_4$ . ὠνόμαζον] txt  $g_3g_4$  1; praef. ἴσον  $g_2$ ; praef. ἴσον  $g_1$ . It may have come in from the termination of the preceding and the commencement of the following word ἕσων. Δαυεὶδ] δὲδ  $g_1$ . 9 πραότατος]  $g_2sg_4$ ; πραώτατος  $g_1$ ; πρῶτατος  $g_3$ . 11 αὐτοί]  $g_1g_4$ ; αὐτοῖς  $g_2$ ; ὑμεῖς  $g_3$ ; vos *ipsi* 1. 15 κατεγοδωθήσεται]  $g_1g_3$ ; κατεγοδοθήσεται  $g_2$ ; κατεγοδωθῆ  $g_4$ ; *dirigamini in viam rectam* 1. τε]  $g_1g_2sg_3$ ; om.  $g_4[1]$ . 17 πρεσβυτερίου]  $g_1g_2g_4$ ; πρεσβυτερον (sic)  $g_3$ ; *presbytero* 1. 19 ὁ Χριστὸς]  $g$ ; *iesus* 1; *ihous* *christos* 1. 24 ἄξιός εἰμι]  $g_1g_2sg_3$  (but written *εἰμή*) with I; *εἰμι ἄξιος*  $g_4$ . 25 ἡνωμένης] *ἐνωμένης*  $g_2$ ; *laudabili* (*αἰνουμένης*) 1. προσευχῆς καὶ ἀγάπης]  $g_1g_2g_3$  1 (with I); ἀγάπης καὶ προσευχῆς  $g_4$ . 29 καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ]  $gI$ ; om. 1. 30 αἱ]  $g_1g_3g_4$  with I; om.  $g_2$ .

I. Δίκαιος κ.τ.λ.] The passages which follow are taken from Prov. xviii. 17 (Δίκαιος κ.τ.λ.), Is. xliiii. 26 (Λέγε κ.τ.λ.), Luke xvii. 10 (Ὅταν ποιήσῃτε κ.τ.λ.), Luke xvi. 15 (τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις κ.τ.λ.), Luke xviii. 13 (ὁ Θεὸς ἰλάσθητι κ.τ.λ.).

6. Ἀβραὰμ κ.τ.λ.] For Abraham see Gen. xviii. 27 ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι γῆ καὶ σποδός; for Job, Job xlii. 6 ἡγῆμαι δὲ ἑμαυτὸν γῆν καὶ σποδόν: comp. Wisd. xvii. 32. The reading Ἰακώβ is a very natural corruption owing to the proximity of Ἀβραὰμ. The passage

XIV. Εἰδὼς ὑμᾶς πεπληρωμένους παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ, συντόμως παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. μνημονεύετε μου ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑμῶν, ἵνα Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω, καὶ τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, ἧς οὐκ ἄξιός εἰμι καλεῖσθαι  
25 ἐπίσκοπος· ἐπιδέομαι γὰρ τῆς ἡνωμένης ὑμῶν ἐν Θεῷ προσευχῆς καὶ ἀγάπης, εἰς τὸ ἀξιοθῆναι τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν διὰ τῆς εὐταξίας ὑμῶν ποιμανθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ.

XV. Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς Ἐφέσιοι ἀπὸ Σμύρνης, ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν, παρόντες εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς,  
30 οἱ κατὰ πάντα με ἀνεπαύσατε, ἅμα Πολυκάρπῳ. καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ ἐκκλησίαι ἐν τιμῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς. ἔρρωσθε ἐν ὁμοιοῖα, πνεῦμα κεκτημένοι ἀδιάκριτον, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ.

## 5.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΡΣΩΙ.

35 **Ι**ΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ σεσωσμένῃ ἐν Χριστῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀξιεπαίνῳ καὶ ἀξιολογημένῳ καὶ ἀξιαγα-

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς μαγνησίους  $g_1$  (the epistle being numbered γ' in the marg.); τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου πρὸς μαγνησίους ἐπιστολῆ γ'  $g_2$ . Nothing in  $g_3g_4$ .

πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τάρσῳ Ἰγνάτιος G; τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τάρσῳ (τάρσῳ)  $g_1g_4$  (with δ' in the marg. of  $g_4$ , but not of  $g_1$ ); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῆ δ' πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τάρσῳ Ἰγνατίους  $g_2$ ; τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τάρσῳ. δ.  $g_3$ ; *ignatius tarsensisibus* L\* (see p. 47); *ad tarsenses...ex philippis* I (with vv. ll.); *ad tarsum urbem* A.

36 ἀξιεπαίνῳ] G; ἀξιεπαυέντῳ g. καὶ sec.] GLI; om. g[A] (but A omits the previous καί).

seems to be suggested by Clem. Rom. 17, 18, where Abraham and Job, Moses and David, are mentioned together in this connexion.

7. τίς εἰμι κ.τ.λ.] Loosely quoted from 2 Sam. vii. 18.

10. ἰσχνόφωτος κ.τ.λ.] From Exod. iv. 10.

11. ὁ ταπεινῶν κ.τ.λ.] From Luke

xiv. 11, xviii. 14, the clauses being transposed.

14. πάντα κ.τ.λ.] Ps. i. 3.

17. πρεσβυτερίου] The false reading πρεσβυτέρου makes στεφάνου a proper name, and ἀξιοπλόκου thus becomes nonsense. Hence Morel's conjecture ἀξιονίκου, in which he has been followed by several editors.

πητῶ, τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Ταρσῶ· ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη διὰ παντός.

I. Ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ· οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀλόγων θηρίων βιβρωσκόμενος, ταῦτα γάρ, ὡς ἴστε, Θεοῦ 5 θελήσαντος ἐφείσαντο τοῦ Δανιήλ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπομόρφων, οἷς ὁ ἀνήμερος θῆρ ἐμφωλεύων νύττει με ὡσημέραι καὶ τιτρώσκει· ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς λόγον ποιοῦμαι τῶν δεινῶν, οὐδέ ἔχω τὴν ψυχὴν τιμίαν ἐμαγτῶ, ὡς ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὴν μάλ- λον ἢ τὸν Κύριον. διὸ ἔτοιμός εἰμι πρὸς πῦρ, πρὸς 10 θηρία, πρὸς ξίφος, πρὸς σταυρόν· μόνον, ἵνα [τὸν] Χριστὸν ἴδω τὸν σωτήρά μου καὶ Θεόν, τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀποθανόντα. παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ὁ δέσμιος Χριστοῦ ὁ διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐλαυνόμενος· στήκετε ἐν τῇ πίστει ἐδραῖοι, ὅτι [ὁ] δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται· 15 γίνεσθε ἀκλινεῖς, ὅτι Κύριος κατοικίζει μονοτρόπους ἐν οἴκῳ.

5 ἴστε] ἴσται g<sub>2</sub>; ἴστε g<sub>4</sub>.

δὲ G.

7 ὁ ἀνήμερος] gLA; ὡς ἀνήμερος G; al. l.

ἐμφωλεύων νύττει]

GL; *habitat in iis et...agitat* A; ἐμφωλεύει ὡς νύττει g; *obsident...ac devorant* [I].

ὡσημέραι] ὡς ἡμέραι g<sub>2</sub>.

9 ἐμαυτῶ] gLIA; ἐν αὐτῶ G.

ὡς ἀγαπᾶν] g; *ut...diligam* l; ὡς ἀγαπῶν GL; al. A.

11 τὸν] G;

om. g.

12 ἴδω] εἶδω g<sub>2</sub>; ἴδε g<sub>3</sub>; *sciens* (εἰδῶς) L (omitting ἵνα).

σωτήρα] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>LlA; πατέρα g<sub>3</sub>.

14 γῆς] γῆς καὶ γῆς g<sub>2</sub>, θαλάττης] g;

θαλάσσης G.

15 ἐδραῖοι] txt GLl[A]; add. γίνεσθε g. It perhaps

comes from below.

ὁ] G; om. g.

16 μονοτρόπους] ὁμοτρόπους g<sub>3</sub>.

20 καὶ δοκῆσει ἀπέθανεν] GL; om. gl Anon-Syr.<sup>4</sup>. For καὶ δοκῆσει ἐσταυρώθη καὶ δοκῆσει ἀπέθανεν A has *specie passus est et crucifixus est*, so that it is doubtful

4. Ἀπὸ Συρίας κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Ign. *Rom.* 5.

6. ἀνθρωπομόρφων] See the note on Ign. *Smyrn.* 4 τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων.

8. οὐδενὸς κ.τ.λ.] The expressions are borrowed from Acts xx. 24.

10. πρὸς πῦρ κ.τ.λ.] A combination of Ign. *Smyrn.* 4 πρὸς πῦρ, πρὸς μάχαιραν, πρὸς θηρία, with *Rom.* 5 πῦρ καὶ σταῦρος...μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.

13. παρακαλῶ οὖν κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes. iv. 1; comp. Philem. 9.

14. διὰ γῆς κ.τ.λ.] See Ign. *Rom.* 5.

στήκετε κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 1 Cor. xvi. 13, Col. i. 23. See also Ign. *Ephes.* 10, Polyc. *Phil.* 10.

15. δίκαιος κ.τ.λ.] From Hab. ii. 4, quoted also Rom. i. 17, Gal. iii. 11, Heb. x. 38.

16. Κύριος κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. lxxvii (lxxviii). 6.



II. Ἔγνω ὅτι τινὲς τῶν τοῦ Σατανᾶ ὑπηρετῶν ἐβουλήθησαν ὑμᾶς ταραξάσαι· οἱ μὲν, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς δοκῆσει  
 20 ἐγεννήθη καὶ δοκῆσει ἐσταυρωθῆ [καὶ δοκῆσει ἀπέθανεν]· οἱ δέ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν υἱὸς τοῦ δημιουργοῦ· οἱ δέ, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός· ἄλλοι δέ, ὅτι ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν· ἕτεροι δέ, ὅτι ἡ σὰρξ αὕτη οὐκ ἐγείρεται καὶ δεῖ τὸν ἀπολαυστικὸν βίον [ζῆν καὶ] μετιέναι·  
 25 τοῦτον γὰρ εἶναι πέρασ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς μετ' οὐ πολὺ φθαρησομένοις. τοσοῦτων κακῶν ἐσμὸς εἰσεκώμασεν, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οὐδέ πρὸς ὦραν εἴζατε τῇ ὑποταγῇ αὐτῶν· Παῦλος γάρ ἐστε πολῖται καὶ μαθηταὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ κύκλω μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωκότος τὸ εἶδα-  
 30 γέλιον καὶ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ περιφέροντος.

III. Οὗ μεμνημένοι πάντως γινώσχετε ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Κύριος ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη ἐκ Μαρίας, γενόμενος ἐκ  
 γυναικός, καὶ ἀληθείᾳ ἐσταυρωθῆ. ἐμοὶ γάρ, φησίν,  
 35 μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Κυρίου

whether this translator's text had the second clause or not. Voss accidentally omits *δοκῆσει ἐγεννήθη καὶ*, though found in all the authorities. 21 οὐκ ἔστιν]

G<sub>1</sub>G<sub>2</sub>G<sub>3</sub>LIA Anon-Syr. 4; om. g<sub>4</sub>. 22 Θεός] txt G<sub>1</sub>LIA; add. *pater* Anon-Syr.<sub>4</sub> 23 ἐγείρεται] G<sub>1</sub>G<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>L; ἐγήγεραι g<sub>3</sub>; *resurrexit* l.

24 ζῆν καὶ μετιέναι] GL; μετιέναι (om. ζῆν καὶ) g; *habere* l; *frui* A. 25 τοῦ-  
 του] GLg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; τοῦτο g<sub>4</sub>; al. A. 27 εἴζατε] εἴζατε g<sub>3</sub>; ἤζατε g<sub>2</sub>; *veniat*

(ἤζατε, taken as an aor. imper. from ἤκω) L; *intendatis* l. ὑποταγῇ] *mandatis* (ἐπιταγῇ?) l. 28 Ἱεροσολύμων] Ἱεροσολύμων g<sub>2</sub>. 34 φησίν] G<sub>2</sub>; φησί g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; contr. g<sub>1</sub>.

35 τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ] Gg (g<sub>1</sub> does not insert τοῦ before Ἰησοῦ, as in the ed. princ.); *domini* L; *domini nostri iesu christi* IA (but l has a v. l. *mei*).

19. οἱ μὲν κ.τ.λ.] For this attack on diverse heresies comp. *Philipp.* 3—7, *Trall.* 6.

22. ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός] See *Philipp.* 7.

23. ἡ σὰρξ αὕτη κ.τ.λ.] See the note on [Clem. Rom.] ii. 9 ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σὰρξ οὐ κρίνεται οὐδὲ ἀνίσταται, with the note.

26. εἰσεκώμασεν] See *Antioch.* I, with the note.

27. οὐδὲ πρὸς ὦραν κ.τ.λ.] From Gal. ii. 5. Here τῇ ὑποταγῇ αὐτῶν must be 'the subjection which they imposed.'

28. ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων κ.τ.λ.] From Rom. xv. 19.

30. τὰ στίγματα κ.τ.λ.] An allusion to Gal. vi. 17.

33. γενόμενος κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Gal. iv. 4.

34. ἐμοὶ κ.τ.λ.] From Gal. vi. 14.

[Ἰησοῦ]: καὶ ἀληθείᾳ ἔπαθεν καὶ ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη· εἰ παθητός γάρ, φησίν, ὁ Χριστός, εἰ πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν· καί, ὁ ἀπέθανεν, τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανεν ἐφάπαξ· ὁ δὲ ζῆ, τῷ Θεῷ ζῆ. ἐπεὶ τίς χρεῖα δεσμῶν, Χριστοῦ μὴ ἀποθανόντος; τίς χρεῖα ὑπομονῆς; τίς χρεῖα μαστίγων; τί δῆποτε Πέτρος μὲν ἐσταυροῦτο, Παῦλος δὲ καὶ Ἰάκωβος μαχαίρα ἐτέμνοντο, Ἰωάννης δὲ ἐφυγαδεύετο ἐν Πάτμῳ, Στέφανος δὲ ἐν λίθοις ἀνγρεῖτο πρὸς τῶν κυριοκτόνων Ἰουδαίων; ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων εἰκῆ· ἀληθείᾳ γὰρ ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Κύριος ὑπὸ τῶν δυσσεβῶν. 10

IV. Καὶ ὅτι οὗτος ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ γυναικὸς υἱὸς ἐστὶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὁ σταυρωθεὶς πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως καὶ Θεὸς λόγος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν τὰ πάντα· λέγει γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος, εἰς Θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα· 15 καὶ πάλιν, εἰς γὰρ Θεός, καὶ εἰς μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· καί, ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ

1 ἔπαθεν καὶ] gl[A]; om. GL. ἀπέθανεν Gg<sub>1</sub>; ἀπέθανε g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. εἰ παθητός] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>Ll; συμπαθητός (sic) g<sub>3</sub>; al. A. 2 εἰ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>Ll; καὶ εἰ g<sub>3</sub>; al. A. 3 ὁ ἀπέθανεν] Gg<sub>1</sub>; ὁ ἀπέθανε g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; quod mortuus est L; qui mortuus est l. 4 τῷ Θεῷ ζῆ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>L; ζῆ τῷ θεῷ g<sub>2</sub> (with Rom. vi. 10) l. 5 τίς χρεῖα ὑπομονῆς] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>LlA; om. g<sub>2</sub>. 6 δὲ] g; et A; om. Ll. 7 ἐτέμνοντο] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; κατετέμνοντο g<sub>4</sub>; caesi sunt L; obtruncati sunt l. 8 πρὸς] g; παρὰ G. 9 οὐδὲν τούτων εἰκῆ] GgL; ne unus quidem vane laboravit A; ne in hoc quidem est victoria (οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ νίκη) l. ἀληθείᾳ γὰρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>L[I]A; ἀλήθεια γὰρ ὅτι g<sub>3</sub>. 11 ὅτι] gl; om. GL[A]. οὗτος] Ggl; sic (οὕτως) L; om. A (but the Syriac from which it was translated doubtless had οὗτος; see Petermann). 12 ὁ] glA; om. GL. 16 καὶ πάλιν] GLAl; om. g. 18 τὰ] GL; om. g. Both l and A translate as if they had τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς.

1. εἰ παθητός κ.τ.λ.] From Acts xxvi. 23.

3. ὁ ἀπέθανεν κ.τ.λ.] From Rom. vi. 10.

4. ἐπεὶ τίς χρεῖα κ.τ.λ.] Imitated from Trall. 10, Smyrn. 4.

8. κυριοκτόνων] So Ps-Trall. 11; comp. Apost. Const. viii. 46 Στέφανος ...πρὸς τῶν κυριοκτόνων Ἰουδαίων λίθοις βληθείς. The word is found in Joseph.

Ant. vii. 2. 1. Similarly χριστοκτόνος occurs several times.

12. πρωτότοκος κ.τ.λ.] Col. i. 15, the context being quoted below.

14. εἰς Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. viii. 6.

16. εἰς γὰρ Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.] 1 Tim. ii. 5. The passage following, ἐν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ., is from Col. i. 15—17 abridged.

πάντα, [τὰ] ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, ὄρατὰ καὶ ἀύρατα· καὶ  
 ἀγτός ἐστιν πρό πάντων, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν ἀγτῷ συνέ-  
 20 στήκεν.

V. Καὶ ὅτι οὐκ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς ἀλλ'  
 υἱὸς ἐκείνου, λέγει, ἀναβαίνω πρός τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ  
 πατέρα ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν μου καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν· καί, ὅτε  
 ἵποταγῆ ἀγτῷ τὰ πάντα, τότε καὶ ἀγτός ἵποταγῆσεται τῷ  
 25 ἵποτάξαντι ἀγτῷ τὰ πάντα, ἵνα ἢ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν  
 πᾶσιν. οὐκοῦν ἕτερός ἐστιν ὁ ὑποτάξας καὶ ὢν τὰ πάντα  
 ἐν πᾶσιν, καὶ ἕτερος ᾧ ὑπετάγη, ὃς καὶ μετὰ πάντων  
 ὑποτάσσεται.

VI. Καὶ οὐτε ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ δι' οὗ καὶ ἐν ᾧ  
 30 γέγονε τὰ πάντα· πάντα γὰρ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο· ἡνίκα  
 ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανόν, συμπάρημην ἀγτῷ, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἤμην παρ'  
 ἀγτῷ ἀρμόζουσα, καὶ προσέχαιρεν μοι καθ' ἡμέραν. πῶς δ'  
 ἂν ὁ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ἤκουσεν, κάθοι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου; πῶς  
 δὲ καὶ ἔλεγεν, πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμι; καὶ, δοξά-

ὄρατὰ] txt g[L] (see above, II. p. 173) [I][A]; add. τε G. 19 πρὸ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>L[I]; ὁ  
 πρὸ g<sub>4</sub>; al. A. 21 Θεός] G[I][A]; add. καὶ πατήρ g; add. pater L. It should  
 probably be omitted. 22 ἐκείνου] txt gL; add. οὗ G; add. ὃς (?) I; al. A.  
 23 ὅτε] Gg; quando L. Zahn rightly infers that L read ὅτε, as it generally trans-  
 lates ὅταν 'quando utique.' In I Cor. xv. 28 it is ὅταν. 24 ὑποταγῆ] g; ὑπο-  
 ταγεῖ G (Dressel). αὐτὸς] GLI A; add. ὁ υἱὸς g (from I Cor. xv. 28).  
 25 ἵνα ἢ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>Ll; om. g<sub>2</sub> A. 26 ὢν] g; ὁ ὢν G; qui est  
 Ll; def. A. 27 ὑπετάγη] ὑπετάγει g<sub>2</sub>. ὃς] Gg<sub>3</sub>Ll; ᾧ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; def. A.  
 μετὰ πάντων] Gg; cum omnibus L; post haec omnia (μετὰ πάντα, but it is probably  
 a loose translation) I; def. A. 28 ὑποτάσσεται] Gg; subjicietur L; subiectus  
 erit I; def. A. 29 ὁ δι' οὗ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ille per quem I; δι' οὗ (om. ὁ) Gg<sub>3</sub>; per  
 quem L[A]. 31 καὶ ἐκεῖ] Gsg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; κακεῖ g<sub>4</sub>. 33 ὁ ψιλός] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>;  
 ψιλὸς (om. ὁ) g<sub>4</sub>. 34 δοξάσεις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; δοξάσης g<sub>2</sub>; δόξασον (with Joh.  
 xvii. 5) G; glorifica I; clarifica L.

22. ἀναβαίνω κ.τ.λ.] John xx. 17.  
 23. ὅτε ὑποταγῆ κ.τ.λ.] From I Cor.  
 xv. 28. For ὅτε with the conjunctive  
 see Winer *Gramm.* § xli. p. 372 sq.  
 30. πάντα κ.τ.λ.] John i. 3. The  
 next passage, ἡνίκα κ.τ.λ., is from  
 Prov. viii. 27, 30, loosely quoted.  
 33. Κάθου κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. cx

(cix). I, quoted also Acts ii. 34, Heb.  
 i. 13.

34. ἔλεγεν κ.τ.λ.] The passages  
 which follow are taken from Joh.  
 viii. 58 πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ κ.τ.λ., Joh. xvii.  
 5 δόξασον κ.τ.λ., Joh. vi. 38 καταβέ-  
 βηκα κ.τ.λ., Joh. i. 9—11 ἦν τὸ φῶς  
 κ.τ.λ., Joh. i. 1 Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν κ.τ.λ.

σεῖς με τῆ δόξῃ ἣ εἶχον πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον γενέσθαι; ποῖος δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐρεῖ, καταβέβηκα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οὐχ ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με; *περὶ ποίου δὲ ἀνθρώπου ἔλεγεν τὸ ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον* 5 *εἰς τὸν κόσμον· ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω· εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθεν, καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον; πῶς οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας ἔχων τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ Θεὸς λόγος καὶ μονογενῆς υἱός; ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ* 10 *ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις, Κύριος ἔκτισέν με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ· πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέν με, πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουγνῶν γεννᾷ με.*

VII. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀνίστανται τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν, λέγει 15 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἔρχεται ὥρα ἐν ἣ πάντες οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις ἀκούσονται τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ γίοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ

1 δόξῃ] gLIA (but IA add *apud te* after εἶχον with Joh. xvii. 5, g<sub>4</sub> adds *παρά σοι* after γενέσθαι, and L adds *a te* after *mundus esset*); add. σου G. γενέσθαι]

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; γίνεσθαι g<sub>2</sub>; *feriet* IA; εἶναι (from Joh. xvii. 5, though there is a v. 1. γενέσθαι) G; *esset* L. 2 ἄνθρωπος] txt GgIA; add. *nudus* (ψιλὸς) L. ἐρεῖ] g;

*posset dicere* I; *valet dicere* A; *diceret* L; ἔλεγεν G. 4 ἔλεγεν τὸ] G; *dictum est quod* A; *diceretur* (ἐλέγετο?) I; ἔλεγεν or ἔλεγε (om. τὸ) g. No stress can be laid on the fact that τὸ is unrepresented in L. 10 μονογενῆς υἱός] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ὁ μονογενῆς υἱός g<sub>4</sub>; υἱὸς μονογενῆς G. 13 ἐθεμελίωσεν] g<sub>1</sub> (but ν is afterwards erased) g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἐθεμελίωσε G. 15 ἀνίστανται] G; ἀνίσταται g. ἡμῶν]

Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>LIA; ὑμῶν g<sub>4</sub>. 17 τοῦ υἱοῦ] gLIA; om. G. 19 καὶ τὸ...ἀθανασίαν] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>[A]LI; om. g<sub>3</sub>. 20 σωφρόνως ζῆν G. 21 πάλιν λέγει] GL\*IA (A however omits πάλιν); praef. καθὼς Παῦλος g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> (but om. πάλιν g<sub>4</sub>); praef. αὐτὸς ὁ Παῦλος g<sub>3</sub>; praef. *secundum quod* I (but om. in some MSS). οὔτε μοιχοὶ] GgLA; *neque fornicarii* (πόρνοι) I (omitting οὔτε πόρνοι below). οὔτε μαλακοὶ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>LIA; om. g<sub>2</sub><sup>r</sup>. 22 οὔτε. ἀρσενοκοῦται] gLIA; om. G. οὔτε πόρνοι] GLA; om. gl. 23 οὔτε κλέπται] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>LIA; om. g<sub>2</sub>. In A μέθυσοι and κλέπται are transposed. After κλέπται I adds *neque rapaces* (οὔτε ἄρπαγες). οὐ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>A; om. Gg<sub>2</sub>. The negative is not repeated in LI, but the genius of the language was adverse. Both readings appear in 1 Cor. v. 9, but the omission has by far the highest support.

12. Κύριος κ.τ.λ.] Prov. viii. 22, 23, 25, a favourite text in the Arian controversy.

16. Ἀμὴν κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. v. 25, 28, loosely quoted.

18. ὁ ἀπόστολος] The passages

οἱ ἀκοῦσαντες ζήσονται. καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος· δεῖ γάρ τὸ  
 φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν [καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο  
 20 ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν]. καὶ ὅτι δεῖ σωφρόνως ζῆν καὶ  
 δικαίως, [πάλιw] λέγει· μὴ πλανᾶσθε· οὔτε μοιχοὶ οὔτε  
 μαλακοὶ οὔτε ἄρσενοκοῖται οὔτε πόρνοι οὔτε λοῖδοροὶ  
 οὔτε μέθυσοι οὔτε κλέπται βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὔ κληρο-  
 25 νομήσαι δύνανται· καί, εἰ νεκροὶ οὔκ ἐγείρονται, οὔδὲ  
 Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται· κενὸν ἄρα τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ δὲ  
 καὶ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν· [ἔτι ἔστε ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν] ἄρα  
 καὶ οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ ἀπώλοντο. εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ  
 ταύτῃ ἡλπιότες ἐσμὲν ἐν Χριστῷ μόνον, ἑλεεινότεροι  
 πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν. εἰ νεκροὶ οὔκ ἐγείρονται, φάγω-  
 30 μεν [καὶ] πίωμεν, αἴψιον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν. οὕτω δὲ  
 διακείμενοι, τί διοίσομεν ὄνων καὶ κυνῶν, οἳ μὴδὲν τοῦ  
 μέλλοντος φροντίζοντες μόνου τοῦ φαγεῖν εἰσιν ὀρεκτικοὶ  
 καὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸ φαγεῖν; ἀνεπιστάτητοι γὰρ εἰσιν τοῦ  
 κινουήτος ἐνδοθεν νοῦ.

The negative is unquestioned in Gal. v. 21. κληρονομήσαι δύνανται] GL; hereditant A; κληρονομήσουσιν (as in 1 Cor. v. 10, Gal. v. 21) g; possidebunt l.

24 εἰ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>lA; om. (but supplied in the marg.) G; οἱ g<sub>2</sub>. 26 ὑμῶν pri.] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>A; ἡμῶν Gg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>Ll (but with a v. l. *vestra*). 27 καὶ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>Ll; om. g<sub>4</sub>A. 28 καὶ κυνῶν] GLA; om. g.

(vel a canibus) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l (but the words are transposed *canum vel asinorum*); om. g<sub>2</sub>. 29 οἱ μὴδὲν] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>Ll; οἱ μὴδὲ (sic) g<sub>4</sub>; al. A. 30 μόνου] Gg<sub>4</sub>; μόνον g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 31 εἰσιν ὀρεκτικοὶ] g<sub>1</sub>; φροντίζουσιν εἰς ὄρεξιν ἐρχόμενοι GL (but L has omitted the words φροντίζοντες μόνον τοῦ φαγεῖν, owing to the repetition of φροντίζο-); al. A. The reading of G is best taken thus, οἱ μὴδὲν τοῦ μέλλοντος φροντίζοντες (sc. ἡμεῖς); μόνου τοῦ φαγεῖν φροντίζουσιν (ὄνοι καὶ κύνες), εἰς ὄρεξιν ἐρχόμενοι καὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸ φαγεῖν. But it cannot be right. 32 ἀνεπιστά- τητοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἀνεπίστατα g<sub>3</sub>; ἀνεπίστατοι G; inscii L[1]. A is altogether wide here, but the words *non resurgunt* seem to be intended as a rendering (though wholly incorrect) of ἀνεπιστάτητοι. The reading ἀνεπίστητοι, which some editors adopt, has nothing to recommend it. See the lower note. 33 τοῦ κινουή- τος ἐνδοθεν νοῦ] τοῦ κι- G (breaking off abruptly in the middle of the word); *moventis intus intellectus* L; τὸν νοῦν τοῦ κινουήτος ἐνδοθεν g; *quid interiorius moveatur* l; al. A.

which follow are from 1 Cor. xv. 53  
 δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν κ.τ.λ., and 1 Cor.  
 vi. 9, 10, μὴ πλανᾶσθε κ.τ.λ.

24. εἰ νεκροὶ κ.τ.λ.] Passages strung  
 together from 1 Cor. xv. 16, 14, 17, 18,

19, 32.

33. ἀνεπιστάτητοι] 'without a di-  
 rector,' as Euseb. *Dem. Ev.* iv. 7 (p.  
 155) ὡς ἂν μὴ ἀνάρχοι καὶ ἀνεπιστάτητοι  
 θρεμμάτων δικῆν ἀλόγων, Cyr. Alex. *de*

VIII. Ὁναίμην ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ. νήφετε· πᾶσαν ἕκαστος κακίαν ἀπόθεσθε, καὶ τὸν θηριώδη θυμόν, καταλαλίαν, συκοφαντίαν, αἰσχρολογία, εὐτραπελίαν, ψιθυρισμόν, φυσίωσιν, μέθην, λαγνείαν, φιλαργυρίαν, φιλοδοξίαν, φθόνον, καὶ πᾶν τὸ τούτοις συνωδόν· ἐνδύσασθε δὲ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς πρόνοιαν μὴ ποιεῖσθε εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν. οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑποτάσσεσθε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, οἱ διάκονοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ὁ λαὸς τοῖς διακόνοις. ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν φυλαττόντων ταύτην τὴν εὐταξίαν· καὶ ὁ Κύριος εἶη μετ' αὐτῶν διηνεκῶς. 10

IX. Οἱ ἄνδρες, στέργετε τὰς γαμετὰς ὑμῶν· αἱ γυναῖκες, τοὺς ὁμοζύγους. οἱ παῖδες, τοὺς γονεῖς προηγείσθε· οἱ γονεῖς, τὰ τέκνα ἐκτρέφετε ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ

2 ἕκαστος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>Ll; om. g<sub>4</sub>A. ἀπόθεσθε] g; ἀποθέσθαι L (and so ἐνδύσασθαι, ποιεῖσθαι: see above, p. 50) l (but it reads ἐνδύσασθε, ποιεῖσθε); et amovete A. 3 αἰσχρολογίαν εὐτραπελίαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>Ll; εὐτραπελίαν αἰσχρολογίαν g<sub>4</sub>. A has only *scurrilitatem* for all the three words αἰσχρολογίαν, εὐτραπελίαν, ψιθυρισμόν. In l εὐτραπελίαν is rendered *malam conversationem*. εὐτραπελίαν] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; εὐτραπελείαν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 6 δὲ] gl; et A; om. L. ἡμῶν] So it is read in g (not ὑμῶν) with the other authorities. The omission in A is due to the ambiguous Syriac. 7 ποιεῖσθε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ποιήσθε g<sub>2</sub>; ποιεῖσθαι L; ποιήτε g<sub>4</sub>. 8 τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις] glA; *episcopo et presbyteris* L. 9 ὁ λαὸς] txt LIA; add. τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ g. ἀντίψυχον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἀντίψυχος g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. ἐγὼ] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>L; add. γενομένη g<sub>4</sub>; add. *efficiat* l; *persona mea sit (= ipse sim)* A. φυλαττόντων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; φυλασσόντων g<sub>4</sub>. 13 προηγείσθε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *praehonorate* L; *honorate* lA; αἰδεῖσθε (sic) g<sub>3</sub>. This last is evidently a pure conjecture, and editors ought not to have been misled into reading αἰδεῖσθε or αἰνεῖσθε. The various reading αἰνεῖσθε, which Ussher gives (App. Ign. p. 102) as from the Medicus (i. e. G), must be a mistake. This MS ends abruptly at the close of § 7; but

*Ador.* vi. p. 200 τὴν κτίσιν ἅπασαν οὐκ ἀνεπιστατήτοις κινήμασι φερομένην. For the construction with the genitive, 'without the guidance of the mind,' see Kühner *Gramm.* II. § 421 (p. 344 sq.). For the other reading ἀνεπισταται, 'careless, neglectful of,' comp. Porphyry. *de Abst.* i. 9 ἀνεπιστατον τῆς διαφορᾶς.

1. πᾶσαν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 1.

5. ἐνδύσασθε κ.τ.λ.] From Rom. xiii. 14.

9. ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ κ.τ.λ.] Imitated from *Polyc.* 6.

13. προηγείσθε] The word has the same sense as in Rom. xii. 10.

14. τὰ τέκνα κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes. vi. 4; the context of our Pseudo-Ignatius being also suggested by the context of St Paul.

15. ὡς ἱερείας] Tertull. *de Cult.*

15 νογθεσία Κυρίου. τὰς ἐν παρθενία τιμᾶτε ὡς ἱερείας  
 Χριστοῦ, τὰς ἐν σεμνότητι χήρας ὡς θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ.  
 οἱ κύριοι, μετὰ φειδούς τοῖς δούλοις ἐπιτάσσετε· οἱ δοῦ-  
 λοι, μετὰ φόβου τοῖς κυρίοις ἐξυπηρετεῖτε. μηδεὶς ἐν ὑμῖν  
 ἀργὸς ἔστω· μήτηρ γὰρ τῆς ἐνδείας ἡ ἀργία. ταῦτα οὐκ  
 20 ἐπιτάττω ὡς ὢν τι, εἰ καὶ δέδεμαι· ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδελφὸς ὑπο-  
 μνήσκω. εἴη Κύριος μεθ' ὑμῶν.

X. Ὀναίμην ὑμῶν τῶν προσευχῶν· προσεύχεσθε ἵνα  
 Ἰησοῦ ἐπιτύχω. παρατίθεμαι ὑμῖν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκ-  
 κλησίαν. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησῖαι τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ  
 25 Πολύκαρπος ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ᾧ καὶ παραθήσομαι  
 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Συρίας. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐκκλησία  
 Φιλιππησίων, ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Φίλων  
 ὁ διάκονος ὑμῶν, ᾧ καὶ ἐγὼ εὐχαριστῶ, σπουδαίως ὑπη-  
 ρετοῦντί μοι ἐν πᾶσιν. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Ἀγαθόπους ὁ διά-

Voss is not explicit on the subject (p. 116), and Ussher, while giving Voss's text, supposes himself to be giving the reading of the MS. At least I cannot account for the statement in any other way. Voss himself must have got *αλειῖσθε* (p. 80) by conjecture or by misprint from Ussher's *αἰδεῖσθε*; and Ussher's *αἰδεῖσθε* was founded on the reading of g<sub>3</sub>.

15 παρθενία] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; παρθενία g<sub>1</sub>. 17 οἱ κύριοι...ἐξυπηρετεῖτε] txt L1A. The two clauses are transposed, οἱ δοῦλοι κ.τ.λ. and οἱ κύριοι κ.τ.λ., in g.

ἐπιτάσσετε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>LA; ὑποτάσσεσθε g<sub>4</sub>; *estote* [I]. 19 ἔστω] gl; *maneat* L; *stet* (*maneat*) A. ἀργία] ἀργελα g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

ταῦτα] g; add. *quidem* A; add. *enim* L; add. *autem* I. 20 ὑπομνήσκω] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ὑπομίμησκω g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub> (but the variation is likely to have been overlooked). See the note on Clem. Rom. 7.

23 Ἀντιοχείᾳ] ἀντιοχείαν g<sub>2</sub>. 24 τῆς Ἀσίας...ἡ ἐκκλησία] A; om. gl (by homœoteleuton). 29 Ἀγαθόπους] glA; om. L. Ussher says 'Desideratur hoc nomen in Græco Mediceo et in vetere Latino nostro interprete,' i.e. in G and L. But G is wanting here; and as Ἀγαθόπους stands in Voss's text, the explanation which I have given

*Fem.* ii. 12 'quae sacerdotes pudicitiae dicimini'.

16. θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ] See the note on Polyc. *Phil.* 4, where the expression occurs. The false Ignatius however may have borrowed it from *Apost. Const.* ii. 27, iii. 6.

18. μηδεὶς κ.τ.λ.] Ign. *Polyc.* 6 μή τις ὑμῶν δεσέρτωρ εὐρέθη, where G has the gloss ἀργός. The gloss must either have suggested or been sug-

gested by this passage in the Pseudo-Ignatius.

19. μήτηρ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* ii. 4 μήτηρ ἡ ἀργία λιμῶν.

οὐκ ἐπιτάττω κ.τ.λ.] *Comp. Philiph.*

13. Imitated from Ign. *Ephes.* 3; see the note there.

25. ὁ ἄνθρωπος κ.τ.λ.] An imitation of 1 Tim. vi. 11 (comp. 2 Tim. iii. 17), where Timothy is so called.

28. ὁ διάκονος ὑμῶν] See the notes

κονος ὁ ἐκ Συρίας, ὃς ἀκολουθεῖ μοι ἐν Χριστῷ. ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀγίῳ φιλήματι. ἀσπάζομαι πάντας καὶ πάσας, τοὺς ἐν Χριστῷ. ἔρρωσθε σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ πνεύματι [ἐνί], καὶ ἐμοῦ μὴ ἐπιλάβησθε. ὁ Κύριος μεθ' ὑμῶν.

5

6.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΣΙΟΥΣ.

ἸΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ ἡλεημένη. ἐν πίστει καὶ ὑπομονῇ καὶ ἀγάπῃ ἀνυποκρίτως, τῇ οὐσῃ ἐν Φιλίπποις· ἔλεος, εἰρήνη ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς ἐστὶν σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, μάλιστα πιστῶν.

I. Μεμνημένοι τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ σπουδῆς, ἧς ἐνεδείξασθε εἰς ἡμᾶς, πρέπον ἡγησάμεθα

of Ussher's v.l. to προηγείσθε § 9 will not hold here. I can only conjecture that in answer to some enquiry about the reading here Ussher got a reply, 'desideratur in Mediceo,' meaning that the *passage* was wanting in this ms. With the omission in L before him, he would interpret the ambiguously reply to mean that the *word* was wanting. 1 ὁ ἐκ Συρίας, κ.τ.λ.] LA translate as if ὃς ἐκ Συρίας ἀκολουθεῖ κ.τ.λ. 3 τοὺς] glA; om. L. σώματι καὶ] glA; om. L. 4 ἐνί] g; om. LiA. ἐπιλάβησθε] ἐπιλάβησθε g<sub>3</sub>, a solecism.

Subscr. δ. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταρσῷ g<sub>1</sub>; τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ δ' πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταρσῷ g<sub>2</sub>. Nothing in g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

προς φιλιππησιους] τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς φιλιππησίους περὶ βαπτίσματος g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> (with ε in the marg. of g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>); τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς φιλιππησίους. e g<sub>3</sub>; ad philippenses de baptismo scripta de endamno per cithanum l (with vv. ll.); ad phillipos urbem A.

on Ign. *Philad.* 11 for Philo and Agathopus.

I. ἀσπάσασθε κ.τ.λ.] As in Rom. xvi. 16, 1 Cor. xvi. 20, 2 Cor. xiii. 12; comp. 1 Thess. v. 26.

προς φιλιππησιους] The addition περὶ βαπτίσματος, which is found in the Greek and Latin copies, is not adequately explained by the contents of the epistle itself. Possibly it was

originally a marginal note calling attention to the subject of § 8 βάπτισμα, φωνῇ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ βαπτιζομένῳ, κ.τ.λ. (comp. § 9 ἰδὼν πρῶτον ὡς κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων βαπτιζόμενον), and was transferred afterwards accidentally to the heading.

10. ὅς ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. iv. 10.

16. ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ κ.τ.λ.] A combina-



γράψαι πρὸς τὴν φιλάδελφον ὑμῶν κατὰ Θεὸν ψυχικὴν  
 15 ἀγάπην, ὑπομιμνήσκειν ὑμᾶς τοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ ὑμῶν δρόμου,  
 ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες, σὺμψυχοι, τὸ ἐν φρονοῦντες,  
 τῷ αὐτῷ κανόνι τῆς πίστεως στοιχοῦντες, ὡς Παῦλος ὑμᾶς  
 ἐνουθέτει. εἰ γὰρ εἰς ἔστιν ὁ τῶν ὄλων Θεός, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα· εἰς δὲ καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς  
 20 [Χριστός], ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ τῶν ὄλων Κύριος,  
 δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα· ἐν δὲ καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ ἐνεργήσαν ἐν  
 Μωσῆ καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις· ἐν δὲ καὶ τὸ βάπ-  
 τισμα, τὸ εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου διδόμενον· μία [δὲ]  
 καὶ ἡ ἐκλεκτὴ ἐκκλησία· μία ὀφείλει εἶναι καὶ ἡ κατὰ  
 25 Χριστὸν πίστις. εἰς γὰρ Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα,  
 εἰς Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν  
 πάσιν.

II. Εἰς οὖν Θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, καὶ οὐ δύο οὐδὲ τρεῖς·  
 εἰς ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν πλὴν αὐτοῦ, ὁ μόνος  
 30 ἀληθινός· Κύριος γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ Θεὸς σοῦ Κύριος εἰς ἔστιν.  
 καὶ πάλιν· οὐχ εἰς Θεὸς ἔκτισεν ἡμᾶς; οὐχ εἰς πατὴρ

12 μεμνημένοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>!; μεμνημένος g<sub>4</sub>. A translates μεμνημένοι, ἡγησάμεθα, both by singulars. 18 εἰ γὰρ] gA; om. l. 20 Χριστός] g<sub>3</sub>!A; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ] *filius dei unigenitus* l; *unigenitus filius dei* A; om. g. ὁ τῶν ὄλων Κύριος] gl; om. A. 23 τὸν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; om. g<sub>3</sub>. διδόμενον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; διὰ διδόμενον g<sub>2</sub> (a repetition of similar letters διὰ διὰ). δὲ] g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

A has *una est et electa ecclesia*, but it has translated δὲ καὶ in this way in the previous clauses. Moreover it makes the apodosis begin with *μία ὀφείλει κ.τ.λ.* In l the words are *una itaque etiam ecclesia esse debet et una fides quae est in christo*, which seems to point to the reading δὲ καὶ, but in which the apodosis is made to begin with *μία [δὲ] καὶ κ.τ.λ.* 24 ἡ ἐκλεκτὴ ἐκκλησία· μία ὀφείλει κ.τ.λ.] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>A; ἡ ἐκκλησία ὀφείλει κ.τ.λ. g<sub>4</sub> (comp. l, as given in the last note). ὀφείλει] ὀφείλη g<sub>2</sub>.

29 ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν] *qui erat et est* A; ὁ ὢν] gl.

tion of I Cor. i. 10, Phil. ii. 2, iii. 15.

18. εἰ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Modified from I Cor. viii. 6.

23. εἰς τὸν θάνατον κ.τ.λ.] In accordance with the teaching of Rom. vi. 3.

25. εἰς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes. iv. 5, 6.

29. ὁ ἦν κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Rev. i.

4, 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xvi. 5. I have restored this reading from the Armenian Version.

καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν κ.τ.λ.] Deut. iv. 35; comp. Is. xlv. 5 sq., etc.

μόνος ἀληθινός] See Joh. xvii. 3.

30. Κύριος κ.τ.λ.] From Deut. vi. 4.

31. οὐχ εἰς Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.] Mal. ii. 10, loosely quoted.

πάντων ἡμῶν; εἰς δὲ καὶ υἱός, λόγος Θεός. ὁ μονογενὴς γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ ὢν εἰς τοὺς κόλπους τοῦ πατρὸς. καὶ πάλιν· εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ· τί ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ἢ τί ὄνομα τῷ γίῳ, ἵνα γινώμεν; εἰς δὲ καὶ ὁ παράκλητος. ἐν γάρ, φησὶν, καὶ πνεῦμα, ἐπειδὴ ἐκλήθημεν ἐν 5 μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ἡμῶν. καὶ πάλιν· ἐν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· πάντα δὲ ταῦτα, τὰ χαρίσματα δηλονότι, ἐνεργεῖ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα. οὔτε οὖν τρεῖς πατέρες οὔτε τρεῖς υἱοὶ οὔτε τρεῖς παράκλητοι, ἀλλ' εἰς πατὴρ καὶ εἰς υἱὸς καὶ εἰς παράκλητος. διὸ καὶ 10 [Κύριος] ἀποστέλλων τοὺς ἀποστόλους μαθητεῖσαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ γίῳ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος· οὔτε εἰς ἓνα τριώνυμον οὔτε εἰς τρεῖς ἐνανθρωπήσαντας, ἀλλ' εἰς τρεῖς ὁμοτίμους. 15

III. Εἰς γάρ ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας, οὔτε ὁ πατὴρ οὔτε ὁ παράκλητος, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὁ υἱός· οὐ δοκῆσει, οὐ φαντασία,

1 λόγος Θεός]  $g_1 g_2 s g_4 l A$ ; λόγος θεοῦ  $g_3$ ; comp. *Ps-Magn.* 6. 2 τοὺς κόλπους]  $g_1 g_2 s g_3$ ; τὸν κόλπον  $g_4$  (after *Joh.* i. 18); *sinu*  $l A$ . 4 τῷ υἱῷ]  $g_1 g_2 s g_3 l$ ; τῷ χριστῷ  $g_4$ ; def. A. 5 καὶ πνεῦμα]  $g_1 g_2 s g_3$ ; τὸ πνεῦμα  $g_4$ ; *spiritus*  $l$ ; *spiritus sanctus* A. 8 ἐν]  $g_1 g_2 s g_3 A$ ; τὸ ἐν  $g_4$ ; *ipse unius*  $l$ . 10 καὶ tert.]  $g_2 s g_3 g_4 l A$ ; om.  $g_1$ . 11 Κύριος]  $g_1$ ; ὁ κύριος  $g_2 g_4$ ; *dominus*  $l$ ; *dominus noster* A; om.  $g_3$ . 12 ἔθνη] *ἔθνης*  $g_2$ . 14 εἰς τρεῖς ἐνανθρωπήσαντας, ἀλλ'] om.  $l$  and *Reg.* 1026 (see *Cotelier*) by homœoteleuton. The clause *οὔτε εἰς τρεῖς ἐνανθρωπήσαντας* is wanting also in A. For *ὁμοτίμους* *Reg.* 1026 has *ὁμωνύμους*. *ἐνανθρωπήσαντας*] *ἐνανθρωπίσαντας*  $g_2 g_3$ . 16 ἐνανθρωπήσας] *ἐνανθρωπίσας*  $g_3$ . 17 μόνον]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; μόνος  $g_4 s$  (and so the edd.); *solus*  $l$ ; dub. A. 18 ὁ λόγος γάρ]  $g_1 g_2 s g_3$ ; ὁ γάρ λόγος  $g_4$ ; *verbum enim*  $l$ ; *verbum* (om. γάρ) A (connecting it with the previous words, ἀλλ' ἀληθεῖα ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο). 21 καὶ τέξεται]

1. ὁ μονογενὴς κ.τ.λ.] *Joh.* i. 18. On the possibility of a reading ὁ μονογενής, without either υἱός or Θεός, in this passage of the Gospel, see *Hort's Two Dissertations* p. 11 sq. So far as it goes, this passage of our Ignatian writer favours such a reading.

3. εἰς Κύριος] A reference to 1 *Cor.* viii. 6.

τί ὄνομα κ.τ.λ.] *Prov.* xxx. 4 (xxiv.

27), but instead of τῷ υἱῷ the best supported reading is τοῖς τέκνοις, while some copies have τῷ τέκνω. It is quoted as here by *Theodoret* on *Heb.* iii. 6 (*III.* p. 563, *Schulze*).

5. ἐν...πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ.] *Ephes.* iv. 4, loosely quoted.

6. ἐν πνεύμα κ.τ.λ.] From 1 *Cor.* xii. 13. The next passage, πάντα δὲ κ.τ.λ., is from the same context, 1 *Cor.* xii. 11.

ἀλλ' ἀληθεία· ὁ λόγος γὰρ σὰρξ ἐγένετο· ἡ γὰρ σοφία  
 ὑποκόσμησεν ἑαυτὴν οἶκον. καὶ ἐγεννήθη ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ  
 20 Θεὸς λόγος μετὰ σώματος ἐκ τῆς παρθένου, ἄνευ ὁμιλίας  
 ἀνδρός· ἡ παρθένος γὰρ ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται καὶ τέξεται  
 γίον. ἀληθῶς οὖν ἐγεννήθη, ἀληθῶς ηὔξήθη, ἀληθῶς ἔφα-  
 γεν καὶ ἔπιεν, ἀληθῶς ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη.  
 ὁ ταῦτα πιστεύσας, ὡς ἔχει, ὡς γεγέν[υ]ηται, μακάριος· ὁ  
 25 ταῦτα μὴ πιστεύων ἐναγῆς οὐχ ἦιτον τῶν τὸν Κύριον  
 σταυρωσάντων. ὁ γὰρ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου χαίρει,  
 ὅταν τις ἀρνήται τὸν σταυρόν· ὄλεθρον γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ γνώσ-  
 κει τὴν ὁμολογίαν τοῦ σταυροῦ. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν τὸ τρό-  
 παιον κατὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως· ὅπερ ὀρών φρίττει καὶ  
 30 ἀκούων φοβεῖται.

IV. Καὶ πρὶν μὲν γένηται ὁ σταυρός, ἔσπευδεν γενέσ-  
 θαι τοῦτο· καὶ ἐνήργει ἐν τοῖς γίοις τῆς ἀπειθείας, ἐνήρ-  
 γει ἐν Ἰουδα, ἐν Φαρισαίοις, ἐν Σαδδουκαίοις, ἐν πρεσβύταις,  
 ἐν νέοις, ἐν ἱερεῦσιν. μέλλοντος δὲ γίνεσθαι, θορυβεῖται

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>A (*et peperit*); om. g<sub>3</sub> (apparently an error of the press). 22 ἀληθῶς  
 ηὔξήθη] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>IA; om. g<sub>2</sub>. 24 ταῦτα] αὐτὰ g<sub>3</sub>. γεγέννηται] g<sub>1</sub>  
 (but the first *v* is erased); *natus est* I; γεγέννηται g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>F. In A ὡς ἔχει, ὡς  
 γεγέν[υ]ηται, is rendered briefly, *quomodo et factum est*, so that the translator's  
 reading is doubtful but was probably γεγέννηται. 25 μὴ πιστεύων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; μὴ  
 πιστεύσας g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>, which is a conformation to the preceding clause. In IA a present  
 tense *credit* appears in both clauses. 26 τούτου] g; *in hoc* (τούτῳ) I;  
 om. A(?). 27 ἀρνήται] ἀρνείται g<sub>3</sub>. ἑαυτοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; αὐτοῦ  
 g<sub>4</sub>. 30 φοβεῖται] φοβῆται g<sub>2</sub>. 32 τοῦτο] g (all the four MSS);  
*hoc* I; *hujusmodi* (τοιούτου?) A. There is no authority for the *τοῦτον* of the  
 editors. ἐνήργει] ἐνεργη g<sub>2</sub>; ἐνεργεῖν I. 34 θορυβεῖται] θορυ-  
 βῆται g<sub>2</sub>.

12. ἐνετείλατο] As recorded in  
 Matt. xxviii. 19.

16. εἰς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] This passage,  
 as far as ἔφαγεν καὶ ἔπιεν, is quoted  
 in the *Antirrhetica* of Nicephorus;  
 see *Spicil. Solesm.* I. p. 356, and  
 Cotelier here.

18. ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.] John i. 14. The  
 following words, ἡ σοφία κ.τ.λ., are  
 from Prov. ix. 1, a favourite text in  
 the Arian controversy; comp. *Ps-*

*Smyrn.* 2, *Apost. Const.* v. 20.

21. ἡ παρθένος κ.τ.λ.] Is. vii. 14,  
 quoted in Matt. i. 23.

22. ἀληθῶς οὖν κ.τ.λ.] This pas-  
 sage is copied from Ign. *Trall.* 9;  
 comp. *Smyrn.* I. It itself is repro-  
 duced substantially in an Arabic  
 fragment printed later in this volume.

32. ἐνήργει κ.τ.λ.] The expression  
 is taken from Ephes. ii. 2.

καὶ μετάμελον ἐμβάλλει τῷ προδότῃ, καὶ βρόχον αὐτῷ  
 δείκνυσιν καὶ ἀγγόνην διδάσκει· φοβεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ γύναιον,  
 ἐν ὀνείροις αὐτὸ καταπαράπτων, καὶ παύειν πειράται τὰ  
 κατὰ τὸν σταυρόν, ὃ πάντα κάλων κινῶν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ  
 κατασκευήν· οὐ μεταγινώσκων ἐπὶ [τῷ] τοσοῦτῳ κακῷ· ἧ 5  
 γὰρ ἂν οὐ πάντα ἦν πονηρός· ἀλλ' ἐπήσθητο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ  
 ἀπωλείας. ἀρχὴ γὰρ αὐτῷ καταδίκης ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σταυ-  
 ρός, ἀρχὴ θανάτου, ἀρχὴ ἀπωλείας· διὸ καὶ ἐν τισιν  
 ἐνεργεῖ ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸν σταυρόν, τὸ πάθος ἐπαισχύνεσθαι,  
 τὸν θάνατον δόκησιν καλεῖν, τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν 10  
 περικόπτειν, τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν διαβάλλειν ὡς μυσεράν·  
 Ἰουδαίοις συμμαχεῖ εἰς ἄρνησιν τοῦ σταυροῦ, Ἑλλησιν  
 εἰς συκοφαντίαν μαγείας, αἰρετικοῖς εἰς φαντασίαν· ποικί-  
 λος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῆς κακίας στρατηγός, κλεψίνους, ἄστατος,  
 ἑαυτῷ ἐναντίος καὶ ἄλλα μὲν προβαλλόμενος ἕτερα δὲ 15  
 δεικνύς· σοφὸς γάρ ἐστι τοῦ κακοποιῆσαι, τὰ δὲ καλὸν ὅ  
 τι ποτέ ἐστιν ἀγνοεῖ· ἀγνοίας [γὰρ] πεπλήρωται, δι' ἐκού-

1 ἐμβάλλει] ἐμβάλλει g<sub>4</sub>. αὐτῷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>2</sub>1A; om. g<sub>4</sub>. [3 αὐτὸ καταπα-  
 ράπτων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἀποκαπαράπτων g<sub>3</sub>; *perturbabat eam* A; *ipse* (αὐτός) *conturbans* l.  
 4 τὸν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>: τὸ g<sub>2</sub> (unless indeed Dressel is in error, and this is a v. l. for the  
 preceding τὰ, as Zahn suspects). κάλων] g<sub>4</sub>; καλῶν g<sub>3</sub>; κάλον (so accented,  
 unless the accent escaped me) g<sub>1</sub>; καλόν g<sub>2</sub>. In g<sub>3</sub> the clause is read ὁ πάντα καλῶν  
 τε καὶ κινῶν (obviously a misprint for κινῶν), and in l it is rendered *omnia evocans et*  
*movens*. The particles were inserted from a misunderstanding of κάλων, as if καλῶν.  
 The rendering in A, *omnem corruptionem movebat*, is accounted for by the Syriac  
 5 τῷ] g<sub>1</sub>; om. g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. ἧ] g<sub>4</sub>; ἧ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἧ (sic) g<sub>2</sub>. In l the words run *in*  
*tantum enim mala erant omnia*, so that κακῷ ἧ...ἂν appears to have been  
 omitted. The reading of Ussher (followed by Zahn and others) *εἰ γὰρ ἂν οὐ πάντα*  
*κ.τ.λ.* must be rejected; for ἂν is not wanted with *εἰ*, and is wanted with *ἧ*.

2. τὸ γύναιον] Pilate's wife; see  
 Matt. xxvii. 19.

4. πάντα κάλων κινῶν] A nautical  
 metaphor, πάντα κάλων κινεῖν or ἐξίε-  
 ναι or ορεῖν, 'to let out every reef,'  
 equivalent to the English 'to leave  
 no stone unturned.' The various  
 readings are due to later ignorance  
 of this proverb.

11. περικόπτειν] 'to mutilate,' i.e.  
 'to invalidate.'

μυσεράν] For this form see the  
 note on Clem. Rom. 14.

13. συκοφαντίαν μαγείας] 'the false  
 charge of magic,' brought against  
 Jesus; comp. § 5 πῶς δὲ καὶ μάγος  
 οὖτος κ.τ.λ.

16. σοφὸς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.*

σιον παρανοϊαν. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν τοιοῦτος, ὃς μῆτε  
πρὸ ποδῶν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον βλέπει;

20 V. Εἰ γὰρ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ Κύριος, ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ  
σώματος, τί περικόπτεις τὴν γέννησιν τῆς κοινῆς τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων φύσεως; τί δέ, ὡς παράδοξόν τι ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου  
γενόμενον, τὸ πάθος δόκησιν καλεῖς, καὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ  
25 θνητοῦ δόξαν νομίζεις; εἰ δὲ Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, τί παρά-  
νομον καλεῖς τὸν τῆς δόξης Κύριον, τὸν τῇ φύσει ἄτρεπ-  
τον; τί παράνομον λέγεις τὸν νομοθέτην, τὸν οὐκ ἀνθρω-  
πίαν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα; ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, ὁ λόγος ἄν-  
θρωπος, οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ κατοικήσας. πῶς δὲ καὶ μάγος  
οὗτος, ὁ πάλαι μὲν πᾶσαν αἰσθητὴν καὶ νοητὴν φύσιν  
30 κατασκευάσας γνώμη πατρός, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνανθρωπήσει πᾶ-  
σαν νόσον καὶ μαλακίαν θεραπεύσας;

VI. Πῶς δὲ οὐχ οὗτος Θεός, ὁ νεκροὺς ἀνιστῶν, χωλοὺς

6 ἐπήσθητο] g<sub>3</sub>; ἐπέσθαιτο g<sub>1</sub>; ἐπαισθαιτὸ (sic) g<sub>2</sub>; ἐπαισθανθεὶς g<sub>4</sub>. ἑαυτοῦ]  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; suam l; αὐτοῦ g<sub>4</sub>. 10 δόκησιν] δικησιν g<sub>3</sub>; *putant* (δοκοῦσιν) l.  
11 μυσαράν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. The editors substitute *μυσαράν*, and so g<sub>4</sub>s. 13 εἰς pri.]  
om. g<sub>4</sub>. μαγείας] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; μαγίας g<sub>2</sub>. 14 γὰρ] g<sub>3</sub>!; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;  
*sed et* A. 18 μῆτε] So all the four MSS. The editors read *μηδέ*.  
19 τὸν] g<sub>3</sub>; τῶν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>; al. A. In l the sentence runs *quī non sibi proponit*  
*suum sermonem*. λόγον] g<sub>3</sub>!; λόγων g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; al. A. 21 σώματος]  
txt. lA; add. μόνον g. 22 ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου γενόμενον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; γενόμενον ἐπ'  
ἀνθρώπου g<sub>4</sub>. 24 Θεὸς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; ὁ θεὸς g<sub>4</sub>. 26 οὐκ] l; om. g. In  
A the whole clause τὸν οὐκ...ἔχοντα is wanting. ἀνθρωπίαν] ἀνθρωπιαν  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἀνθρωπίνην g<sub>4</sub>. 27 ὁ λόγος ἄνθρωπος] *verbum homo* l; *verbum*  
*homo-factum-est* A; καὶ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος g. 30 ἐνανθρωπήσει] ἐνανθρω-  
πίση g<sub>2</sub>. 32 Θεός] g<sub>3</sub>!; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. The omission of ΘC would be easy  
after the termination -OC. In A the clause is paraphrased, *quomodo dicis merum*  
*hominem, o calumniator, illum quī mortuos etc.*

vi. 6 ὁ πονηρός, σοφὸς ὢν τοῦ κακο-  
ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ καλὸν ὃ τι ποτέ ἐστὶν  
ἀγνοῶν κ.τ.λ.

17. δι' ἐκούσιον κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.*  
viii. 2 ἀγνοία γὰρ εἰσι πεπεισμένοι  
δι' ἐκούσιον μοχθηρίαν.

19. τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον] 'his own  
*language*;' for he contradicts himself,  
as the writer goes on to show.

20. ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος] For the

Christology of this Ignatian writer,  
and for the motive of the various  
readings in this chapter more espe-  
cially, see the note on *Ps-Philad.* 6.

25. τὸν τῆς δόξης Κύριον] Taken  
from I Cor. ii. 8; see also below § 9,  
and *Trall.* 12.

27. ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.] John i. 14.

30. πᾶσαν νόσον κ.τ.λ.] *Matt.* iv.  
23, ix. 35, x. 1; comp. *Magh.* 11.

ἀρτίους ἀποστέλλων, λεπρούς καθαρίζων, τυφλοὺς ὀμματῶν, τὰ ὄντα ἢ αὐξων ἢ μεταβάλλων, ὡς τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους καὶ τοὺς δύο ἰχθύας καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς οἶνον, τὸν δὲ σὸν στρατὸν ῥήματι μόνον φυγαδεύων; τί δὲ κακίζεις τὴν φύσιν τῆς παρθένου, καὶ τὰ μόρια ἀποκαλεῖς αἰσχρά; πάλαι ταῦτα 5 πομπεύων, καὶ γυμνοῦσθαι κελεύων ἄρρενας μὲν εἰς ὄψιν θηλειῶν θηλείας δὲ εἰς ἀκόλαστον ἐπιθυμίαν ἀρρένων. νῦν αἰσχρά σοι ταῦτα νενόμισται, καὶ σεμνὸς εἶναι προσποιῆσὺ, τὸ τῆς πορνείας πνεῦμα, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τότε γίνεται αἰσχροῦν τι, ὅταν παρανομία ῥυπανθῇ· ἀμαρτίας δὲ ἀπούσης οὐδὲν 10 τῶν γενομένων αἰσχροῦν, οὐδὲν φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ πάντα καλὰ λίαν καὶ σὺ μὴ βλέπων κακίζεις αὐτά;

VII. Πῶς δὲ πάλιν οὐκέτι σοι δοκεῖ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶναι ἐκ τῆς παρθένου, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, ὁ ὢν, ὁ παντοκράτωρ; τίς οὖν ὁ τοῦτον ἀποστείλας, εἶπέ· τίς ὁ 15 τούτου κυριεύων; γνώμη δὲ τίνος οὗτος ἐπειθάρχησεν; νόμων δὲ ποίων πληρωτῆς γέγονεν, ὁ μῆτε γνώμη τινὸς

1 ἀποστέλλων]  $g_1g_2g_3$ ; ἀποτελών  $g_4$ ; def. A. For ἀρτ. ἀποστ. 1 has *sanavit*.  
 2 καὶ]  $g_1g_3g_4s1A$ ; ἢ (sic)  $g_2$ . 4 μόνον]  $g_1sg_2s$ ; μόνω  $g_3g_4$ ; *tantum* 1; om. A.  
 φυγαδεύων] φυγαδεύειν  $g_3$ . 5 ἀποκαλεῖς]  $g_3g_4s$ ; ἀπολαλεῖς  $g_1g_2$ . 6 πομπεύων]  $g_1g_2sg_4sA(?)$ ; *praeseminans* 1; πομπεύειν  $g_3$ . 7 θηλειῶν θηλείας]  $g_3g_3g_4s$ ; θηλιῶν θηλείας  $g_2$ . 8 προσποιῆ] προσποιεῖ  $g_2$ . 11 γενομένων]  $g_1g_2sg_3$ ; γινόμενων  $g_4(?)$ ; al. A. οὐδὲν]  $g_1g_2sg_3l$ ; οὐδὲ  $g_4A(?)$ .  
 19 νομοθετεῖς]  $g_3g_4s$ ; νομοθέτης  $g_2$ ; νομοθετῆς  $g_1$ . γεγενῆσθαι]  $g_2sg_4s$ ; γεγενῆσθαι  $g_1g_3$ ; al. 1A. 21 λέληθάς] λέλυθάς  $g_2$ . 22 ὅτι διάλοξαι] ὅτε διὰ λοξὰ  $g_3$ ; ὅτι διὸ δόξη  $g_2$ ; διοδόξη (sic, the ὅτι being omitted)  $g_1$ . In  $g_4$  the words ὅτι...βαίνεις are omitted and a blank space is left, the scribe apparently

5. ταῦτα πομπεύων κ.τ.λ.] See *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 7 οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖν ὑμᾶς ἠνάγκαζον θεατριζόντες, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν γυμνὰς ὡς ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ πομπεύοντες;

14. ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός] See *Tars.* 5; comp. *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 6. This was one of the charges brought against Marcellus, Euseb. *Eccl. Theol.* ii. 4 εἰ δὴ οὖν ἐν καὶ ταῦτόν ἦν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ λόγος, ὡς δοκεῖ Μαρκέλλω, ὁ ἐν τῇ ἀγία παρθένῳ γενό-

μενος...αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.

21. τοῦ παλιμβόλου] ‘changeableness, inconsistency, fickleness,’ being associated with the idea of ‘treachery,’ ‘deceit’; comp. *Æschines Fals. Leg.* 40 (p. 33) ὁ κέρκωψ ἢ τὸ καλοῦμενον παιπάλημα ἢ τὸ παλιμβολον ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥήματα, where, as here, τὸ παλιμβολον is used for ἢ παλιμβολία. On this word see Ruhnken *Timaeus* s. v. It is sometimes wrongly written

μήτε ἐξουσία εἶκων; καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐξαιρῶν τῆς γεν-  
νήσεως τὸν ἀγέννητον νομοθετεῖς γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ σταυρῶ  
20 προσηλωσθαι τὸν ἀναρχον· τίνος συγχωρήσαντος, οὐκ ἔχω  
εἰπεῖν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ λέληθάς με τοῦ παλιμβόλου, οὐδ'  
ἀγνοῶ ὅτι διάλοξα καὶ δίδυμα βαίνεις· ἀγνοεῖς δὲ σὺ τίς  
ὁ γεννηθεῖς, ὁ πᾶν εἶδέναι προσποιούμενος.

VIII. Πολλὰ γάρ σε λαυθάνει ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας,  
25 ὁ παράδοξος τοκετός· ὅστις ὁ ἐν τῷ σώματι· ὁ ἡγούμενος  
ἀστῆρ τῶν ἐν ἀνατολῇ, τῶν τὰ δῶρα κομιζόντων μάγων·  
ἀρχαγγέλου ἀσπασμὸς πρὸς παρθένον· παρθένου παρά-  
δοξος σύλληψις μεμνηστευμένης· παιδὸς προδρόμου κηρυ-  
κεία ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκ τῆς παρθένου, καὶ ἐν κοιλίᾳ σκίρτησις ἐκ  
30 τοῦ προθεωρουμένου· ἀγγέλων ὕμνοι ἐπὶ τῷ τεχθέντι· ποι-  
μένων εὐαγγέλια· Ἡρώδου φόβος ἐπὶ ἀφαιρέσει βασιλείας·  
νηπιοκτόνον πρόσταγμα· εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετανάστασις· ἐκεῖ-  
θεν ἐπὶ τὰ τῆδε ἐπάνοδος· σπάργανα παιδικὰ· ἀπογραφή

being unable to decipher or to interpret them. The whole sentence runs in I, *neque ignoro quoniam curve et lubrico incedis*; and in A, *et perversos quodammodo vel obliquos gressus (sc. tuos) habeo* (i.e. *aestimo*). Most editors read διὰ λοξά, in two words; but this must be wrong. See below.

βαίνεις] βαίνεις g<sub>2</sub>; βέν-  
νεις g<sub>1</sub>. 24 παρθενία] g<sub>4</sub>; παρθενία g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 26 κομιζόντων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;  
κομισάντων g<sub>3</sub>. 28 μεμνηστευμένης] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>[1]; πεπιστευμένη g<sub>3</sub>; def. A.  
κηρυκεία] g<sub>4</sub>; κηρυκία g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 31 εὐαγγέλια] So accentuated in g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; εὐαγγελια  
g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. Ἡρώδου] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>!A; καὶ Ἡρώδου g<sub>4</sub>. 32 νηπιοκτόνον] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;  
νηπιοκτόνων g<sub>1</sub>; νηπιοκτόνων (sic) g<sub>3</sub>. The editors read νηπιοκτόνων, but νηπιοκτόνον  
is far better. In I it is *praeceptio ad parvulorum necem*, and in A, *quia mandatum  
dedit necare pueros*. Both these renderings point to νηπιοκτόνον.

παλίμβουλον; comp. the vv. ll. παρα-  
βουλευσόμενος, παραβουλευσάμενος, in  
Phil. ii. 30.

22. διάλοξα] 'crookedly.' This com-  
pound is very rare, but the lexicons  
give an instance from Liban. *Or.*  
IV. p. 1071 *διαλόξοις στροφαῖς*, where  
it is used of an oblique glance of the  
eyes. For the use here comp. Ba-  
brius *Fab.* 109 *λοξά βαίνειν*, describ-  
ing the motion of a crab.

24. Πολλὰ γάρ κ.τ.λ.] See the  
note on Ign. *Ephes.* 19, on which

this passage is founded.

31. εὐαγγέλια] So it should prob-  
ably be accentuated, not εὐαγγελία  
with previous editors. The word  
εὐαγγελία however is found, though  
rarely, in Hellenistic Greek; e.g.  
2 Sam. xviii. 20, 27.

33. ἐπὶ τὰ τῆδε] The spurious Ig-  
natiuus forgets that he elsewhere  
(§ 15) supposes this letter to have  
been written after the saint has  
already reached the shores of Italy.  
Zahn suggests that perhaps this lan-

ἀνθρωπίνη· γαλακτοτροφία· ὄνομα πατρὸς οὐ σπείραντος· φάτναι, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τόπον· οὐδεμία παρασκευὴ ἀνθρωπίνη· αὐξήσεως προκοπή· ἀνθρώπινα ῥήματα· πείνη, δίψη, ὄδοιπορία, κόπος· θυσιῶν προσκομιδαί, ἐπειδὴ καὶ περιτομή· βάπτισμα, φωνὴ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ βαπτιζομένῳ, ὅστις καὶ πόθεν· 5 μαρτυρία πνεύματος καὶ Θεοῦ ὑπεράνωθεν φωνή· Ἰωάννου προφητεία σημαίνουσα πάθος διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀμνοῦ προσηγορίας· σημείων διαφόρων ἐνέργειαι· ἰάσεις ποικίλαι· ἐπιτίμησις δεσποτικὴ προστάττουσα θαλάττη καὶ ἀνέμοις· πνεύματα ποιηρὰ φυγαδεύόμενα· σεαυτὸν στρεβλούμενον 10 [καὶ] ἐκ τῆς τοῦ φαινομένου δυνάμεως αἰκιζόμενον, οὐκ ἔχοντα ὅ τι ποιήσης.

IX. Ταῦθ' ὁρῶν ἰλιγγιάς· καὶ ὅτι παρθένος ἢ τεκούσα, ἡγνούεις, ἀλλ' ἐξέπληττέν σε ἢ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὑμνολογία, ἢ τῶν μάγων προσκύνησις, ἢ τοῦ ἀστέρος ἐπιτολή. εἰς ἄ- 15

2 φάτναι]  $g_1g_2sg_3$ ; φάτνη  $g_4$ . 3 πείνη]  $g_1$ ; πίνη  $g_3$ ; πείνα  $g_2sg_4s$ . δίψη]  $g_1g_2g_3$ ; δίψα  $g_4s$ . 4 ὄδοιπορία, κόπος]  $g_1g_2g_3$ ]; κόπος, ὄδοιπορία  $g_4$ ; *defatigatio in via* A (as if ὄδοιπορίας or -ία κόπος). ἐπειδὴ καὶ]  $g_1g_2g_4$ ; ἔπειτα καὶ  $g_3$ ; om. 1A. περιτομή]  $g_1g_2sg_3$ 1A; περιτομαί  $g_4$ . 6 Θεοῦ]  $g_2g_4$ 1A; πατρὸς  $g_1g_3$ . 7 προφητεία] προφήτου  $g_1g_2g_3g_4s$ . The editors read the passage μαρτυρία πνεύματος καὶ πατρὸς ὑπεράνωθεν. φωνὴ Ἰωάννου προφήτου σημαίνουσα κ.τ.λ. I have restored προφητεία from 1A, and altered the punctuation accordingly. In l it runs *testificatio spiritus et dei vox iohannis prophetia significans etc.* (where ὑπεράνωθεν is untranslated); in A *testificationem dei de hoc qui desuper erat, prophetiam iohannis agnum nominando etc.* (where ὑπεράνωθεν is translated as if it were ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄνωθεν). See the explanatory note. 9 θαλάττη]  $g_1g_2sg_3$ ; θαλάσση  $g_4$ . 10 σεαυτὸν] It would appear that some

guess may favour his conjecture (*I. v. A.* p. 141 sq.) that Acacius of Cæsarea was the author of these spurious epistles. It seems at first sight to betray a Palestinian authorship. On the other hand the language might perhaps be satisfied by a reference to Antioch the see of Ignatius.

3. αὐξήσεως προκοπή] A reference to Luke ii. 40 τὸ δὲ παιδίον ἠΰξανε, ii. 52 καὶ Ἰησοῦς προέκοπεν.

πείνη, δίψη] For the form πείνη

see Lobeck *Phryn.* 499, Steph. *Theas.* s. v. (ed. Hase et Dind.); for δίψη Æsch. *Choeph.* 743, where however editors emend in various ways.

5. φωνὴ Θεοῦ] This refers, I suppose, to the premonitory warning given to the Baptist, which is mentioned only in Joh. i. 33. The voice, which is mentioned by the other three Evangelists as following upon the descent of the Spirit, is intended in Θεοῦ ὑπεράνωθεν φωνὴ below.

17. πάθη] A dialectic form of φάτνη, as κιθών and χιτών, κύθρα



γνοιαν σὺ παλιδρομεῖς διὰ τὰ εὐτελῆ· μικρὰ γάρ σοι δοκεῖ σπάργανα, πάθνη, περιτομή, γαλακτοτροφία· ἀνάξιά σοι ταῦτα κατὰ Θεοῦ κατεφαίνετο. πάλιν εἶδες ἄνθρωπον τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἄγευστον μείναντα τροφῆς ἀνθρωπίνης, ἀγγέλους διακονοῦντας, οὓς καὶ ἔφριττες, ἰδὼν πρῶτον ὡς κοινὸν ἄνθρωπον βαπτιζόμενον, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀγνοῶν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν νηστείαν πεινῶντι κατεθάρσει πάλιν, καὶ ἐπέιραζες ὡς κοινὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀγνοῶν ὅστις εἶη· ἔλεγες γάρ, εἰ γιός εἰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰπέ ἵνα οἱ λίθοι οἷον ἄρτοι γένωνται· τὸ γὰρ εἰ γιός εἰ ἀγνοίας ἐστίν· εἰ γὰρ ὄντως ἐγίνωσκες, ἠπίστω ὅτι δημιουργῶ καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ ὄν μεταβαλεῖν ἐπ' ἴσης δυνατόν. καὶ διὰ γαστρὸς πειράζεις τὸν τρέφοντα πάντας τοὺς τροφῆς δεομένους, καὶ πειράζεις τὸν τῆς δόξης Κύριον, ἐπιλαθόμενος ἐκ κακονοίας ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος

word or words (e.g. εἶδες) had dropped out, since the accusative has no government: but, if so, the omission is prior to any existing authorities. 11 καὶ] g<sub>3</sub>[A]; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 12 ποιήσης] ποιήσεις g<sub>3</sub>. 13 ἰλιγγίης] ἡ λιγγιάς g<sub>2</sub>. 17 πάθνη] πάθη g; *passiones* l. I have restored the reading πάθνη from A, which has *praesepe*. For the form see below. 18 κατὰ] g (all the mss). It is untranslated in 1A, which have *indigna* (*non digna*) *deo*, but this is perhaps carelessness. κατεφαίνετο] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; καταφαίνεται g<sub>4</sub>; *videntur* l; *sunt* A. εἶδες] ἴδες g<sub>2</sub>. 22 πεινῶντι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. Some editors read πεινῶντα, and so g<sub>4</sub>. 25 οἷον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>A; om. g<sub>4</sub>; def. l. ἀγνοίας] ἀγνοί (sic) g<sub>2</sub>. 26 ἠπίστω] ἐπίστω g<sub>2</sub>. 27 ὄν bis] ὦν g<sub>2</sub>. μεταβαλεῖν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; μεταβάλλειν g<sub>3</sub>. ἐπ' ἴσης] g<sub>4</sub>; ἐφ' ἴσης g<sub>1</sub>; ἐφ' ἴσης g<sub>3</sub>; ἐφ' ἴσις g<sub>2</sub>. 28 πειράζεις] πειράξης g<sub>2</sub>.

and χύτρα, πιθάκη and φιδάκη, ἐντεῦθεν and ἐνθεῦτεν, etc.; e.g. *Georhon.* xv. 4. I τὰ στόμια τῶν παθῶν: comp. *Mæris* 212. 9 (ed. Bekker) φάτη Ἄττικοι, πάθνη Ἑλληνες. The common reading, πάθη, is out of place here.

22. πεινῶντι] If any correction were made, it should not be πεινῶντα, which several editors (e.g. Ussher, Dressel, and Zahn) adopt, but πεινῶντος (e.g. Diod. Sic. xv. 34, Strabo

xii. p. 573). The dative however is amply justified by the analogous uses of καταγελᾶν, κατατρέχειν, etc., with this same case.

24. εἰ υἱὸς εἶ κ.τ.λ.] Quoted from Matt. iv. 3. The subsequent quotation also, οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ κ.τ.λ., is taken from the same Gospel, Matt. iv. 4. For the expression τὸν τῆς δόξης Κύριον comp. I Cor. ii. 8; see also above, § 5.

Θεοῦ. εἰ γὰρ ἦδεις ὅτι υἱὸς Θεοῦ ἦν, ἐγίνωσκες ὅτι ὁ ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις καὶ ἰσαριθμοῖς νυξὶν ἀνευδεὲς ποιήσας τὸ [φθαρτὸν] σῶμα καὶ εἰς τὸ διηνηκὲς ἐδύνατο τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. διὰ τί οὖν πεινᾷ; ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἔλαβε σῶμα ὁμοιοπαθὲς ἀνθρώποις· διὰ μὲν τοῦ 5 πρώτου ἔδειξεν ὅτι Θεός, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου ὅτι καὶ ἄνθρωπος.

X. Σὺ οὖν, ὁ ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς ὑψηλοτάτης δόξης ὡς ἀστραπή, τολμᾷς λέγειν τῷ Κυρίῳ· βάλε σεαυτὸν ἐντεῖθεν κάτω· ᾧ τὰ ὄντα λελόγισται ὡς μὴ ὄντα· καὶ εἰς κενοδοξίαν 10 προκαλέσαι τὸν οὐκ ἐπιδεικτιῶντα; καὶ προσποιῆ τὴν γραφὴν ἀναγινώσκειν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσί σε, τοῦ μὴ προσκόψαι πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σοῦ; καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσποιῆ ἀγνοεῖν, κλέπτων ἃ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν προπόλων 15

1 ἦδεις] Anast. (see the lower note); ἐγίνωσκες g; scires I (having cognosceres for ἐγίνωσκες below). So also in A two different words are used, corresponding to scio and cognosco respectively. υἱὸς Θεοῦ] g; θεοῦ υἱὸς Anast. ἦν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> Anast.; erat I; est A; εἰ g<sub>2</sub>. 2 ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις] g<sub>1</sub>; τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας Anast. [A]. ἰσαριθμοῖς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἰσάριθμον g<sub>2</sub>; quadraginta I. The words καὶ ἰσαριθμοῖς νυξὶν are wanting in A Anast. 3 φθαρτὸν] Anast.; passibile I; om. gA. 4 τοῦτο] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>I; το (sic) g<sub>2</sub>; def. A. οὖν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; οὐ g<sub>2</sub>; om. A; al. I. κατ' ἀλήθειαν] g; ἀληθῶς Anast.; dub. A; vere I. The reading κατ' ἀλήθειαν is necessary to explain the variation given in the next note. 5 ἔλαβε] g<sub>2</sub>; sumpsit A; ἀνέλαβε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> Anast.; suscepit I. As ἀνέλαβε is not a very suitable word, the αν- seems to be a repetition of the last syllable of ἀλήθειαν.

1. εἰ γὰρ ἦδεις κ.τ.λ.] This passage, to the end of the chapter, is quoted by Anastasius (Mai *Vet. Script. Nov. Coll.* VII. I. p. 22; see Zahn p. 359). He cites it by inadvertence as ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Τάρσῳ.

8. ὡς ἀστραπή] From Luke x. 18.

9. βάλε σεαυτὸν] From Luke iv. 9; but the next quotation, τοῖς ἀγγέλοις κ.τ.λ., is nearer to Matt. iv. 6 than to Luke iv. 10 sq. The latter evangelist more nearly preserves the words of the LXX, Ps. xc (xci). 11, 12.

10. τὰ ὄντα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Rom. iv. 17, I Cor. i. 28.

11. ἐπιδεικτιῶντα] 'desirous of making a display'; comp. e.g. Orig. c. Cels. iv. 6 καθάπερ οἱ νεόπλουτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδεικτιῶντες...οὐ γὰρ ἐπιδεικτιᾶ ὁ Θεός. Similarly φανητιᾶν, *Mar. Ign.* 5.

15. κλέπτων] 'suppressing, concealing'; for the next quotation, ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα κ.τ.λ., follows immediately upon the previous one in Ps. xc (xci). 13.

20. οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κ.τ.λ.] Deut. vi.

προεφήτευσεν· ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήσῃ, καὶ καταπατήσεις λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα.

XI. Εἰ τοίνυν σὺ πάτημα τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ Κυρίου, πῶς πειράζεις τὸν ἀπειραστον, ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ νομοθέτου  
 20 παρακελευομένου ὅτι οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου; ἀλλὰ καὶ τολμᾶς, ἐναγέστατε, τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔργα οἰκειοῦσθαι καὶ σοὶ παραδεδόσθαι λέγειν τὴν τούτων ἀρχὴν· καὶ τὴν σὴν πτώσιν προτείνεις τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ διδόναι τὰ αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ ἐπαγγέλλῃ, ἐὰν πεσὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς προσκυνήσῃ σοι;  
 25 καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἔφριξας τοιαύτην φωνὴν κατὰ τοῦ δεσπότου προήκασθαι, ὃ πάντων πονηρῶν πνευμάτων πονηρότερον ἐκ κακονοίας πνεῦμα; διὰ γαστρὸς ἡττήθης καὶ διὰ κενοδοξίας ἡτιμάσθης· διὰ φιλοχρηματίας καὶ φιλαρχίας εἰς ἀσέβειαν ἐφέλκῃ. σὺ ὁ Βελίαρ, ὁ δράκων ὁ ἀποστάτης, ὁ σκο-  
 30 λιὸς ὄφις, ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀποστάς, ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χωρισθεὶς, ὁ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀλλοτριωθείς, ὁ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν

9 βάλλε] βάλλε g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s.

10 τὰ ὄντα] *quae sunt* l; τὰ ἐνόντα g; A paraphrases the whole clause, *cui omne aliquid possibile est*. It seems necessary to read ὄντα for ἐνόντα.

11 προκαλέσαι] προκαλήσαι g<sub>3</sub>; προκαλεῖσαι g<sub>1</sub>; προκαλεῖσθαι g<sub>2</sub>; προσκαλῆ g<sub>4</sub>; *provoacas* l; *vocas* A. 13 καὶ] g; *ut* lA. 14 προσ-

ποιῆ ἄγνοεῖν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>3</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἄγνοεῖν προσποιῆ g<sub>4</sub>. 15 ἃ] g<sub>3</sub>l; ὁ g<sub>4</sub>; *quae* or *quod* A; οὐ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>.

προπόλων] *ministris* l; προπολλῶν g<sub>2</sub>; πρὸ πολλῶν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; πρὸ πολλοῦ g<sub>4</sub>; om. A. 16 καταπατήσεις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; καταπατήσης g<sub>2</sub>.

19 πειράζεις] πειράζης g<sub>2</sub>. 20 ὅτι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>; *quod* A. 22 λέ-

γειν] g<sub>3</sub>l; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>[A]. 24 προσκυνήσῃ] g<sub>1</sub>s<sub>4</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; προσκυνήσει g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

29 ἐφέλκῃ] ἐφέλκει g<sub>2</sub>; ἀφέλκῃ g<sub>3</sub>. Βελίαρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>A; βελίας g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *incensor* l.

16, quoted Matt. iv. 7, Luke iv. 12.

23. τὴν σὴν πτώσιν κ.τ.λ.] ‘*en-ticest Him to fall like thyself*’; comp. Euseb. *Praepr.* Ev. vii. 16 (p. 329) ὠδε πῶς τὴν πτώσιν αὐτοῦ...διηγούμενοι· πῶς ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁ ἑωσφόρος κ.τ.λ. In the context Ps. xc. 13 is quoted, and there are several other coincidences with this passage of our Pseudo-Ignatius.

27. διὰ γαστρὸς] i.e. ‘by thy appeal to His appetites’; comp. § 9 πεινῶντι κατεθάρσεις. The other ex-

pressions, διὰ κενοδοξίας and διὰ φιλοχρηματίας κ.τ.λ., refer to the two remaining temptations.

29. ὁ δράκων ὁ ἀποστάτης] As *Ps-Philad.* 6. The expression is taken from Job xxvi. 13. The connexion which we find here, was the more readily suggested from the fact that the fathers commonly interpreted Βελίαρ by ἀποστάτης; see Ussher’s note.

ὁ σκολιὸς ὄφις] An expression taken from Is. xxvii. 1.

ἀγγέλων ἐξωσθείς, ὁ τῶν νόμων τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑβριστής, ὁ τῶν νομίμων ἐχθρός, ὁ τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις ἐπαναστὰς καὶ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἀποστήσας καὶ αἰκίσας τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικήσαντάς σε, ὁ τῷ Ἄβελ ἐπαναστήσας τὸν ἀνθρωποκτόνον Κάϊν, ὁ τῷ Ἰὼβ ἐπιστρατεύσας, λέγεις τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἐὰν πεσῶν 5  
 προσκυνήσῃς μοι; ὦ τῆς τόλμης, ὦ τῆς παραπληξίας· δούλος δραπέτης, δούλος μαστιγίας, ἀφηνιᾶς τοῦ καλοῦ δεσπότη; δεσπότη τηλικούτω, Θεῷ πάντων τῶν νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν, λέγεις, ἐὰν πεσῶν προσκυνήσῃς μοι;

XII. Ὁ δὲ Κύριος μακροθυμεῖ, καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν 10  
 ἀναιρεῖ τὸν ἀπὸ ἀγνοίας τοιαῦτα θρασυνομένον, ἀλλὰ πράως ἀποκρίνεται, ὕπαγε Σατανᾶ. οὐκ εἶπεν, ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου· οὐ γὰρ ὑποστρέψαι οἷός τε· ἀλλ' ὕπαγε Σατανᾶ, ἐν οἷς ἐπελέξω, ὕπαγε ἐν οἷς ἠρεθίσθης ἐκ κακονοίας· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὅστις εἰμὶ γινώσκω, καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος ἀπέσταλμαι, καὶ ὄν χρη 15  
 προσκυνεῖν ἐπίσταμαι. Κύριον γάρ, φησὶν, τὸν Θεόν σοῦ

1 ἀγγέλων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>lA; ἀποστόλων g<sub>4</sub>. 2 πρωτοπλάστοις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>d</sup>; πρωτοπλάστοις g<sub>2</sub>. 3 ἀποστήσας καὶ αἰκίσας] ἠκέισας g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἡ ἀπατήσαι (sic) g<sub>3</sub>; κινήσας g<sub>4</sub>; *avertisti* l. The rendering of the sentence in A is *fecisti eam* (i.e. *primam creaturam*) *praecepti-violatorem et cruciasti eos qui tibi nihil peccaverunt*. From this version, with the fragmentary help of the other authorities, I have attempted to restore the original text. Zahn had seen that *αἰκίσας* must form part of it. The omission of *ἀποστήσας* may be explained by the proximity of *ἐπαναστήσας*. οὐδὲν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; μηδὲν g<sub>4</sub>. 4 σε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>[l][A]; om. g<sub>4</sub>. 7 ἀφηνιᾶς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; ἀφηνιάσας g<sub>4</sub>; *descivit* [A]; al. l. 8 τῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 9 αἰσθητῶν] ἐσθητῶν g<sub>2</sub>. 10 μακροθυμεῖ] μακροθυμῆ g<sub>2</sub>. εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *in praesenti* (els τὸ παρὸν) l; om. g<sub>4</sub>; def. A. Perhaps we should read *els τὸ παρὸν*. 11 ἀπὸ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ὑπὸ g<sub>4</sub>. 13 τε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>. 14 ἠρεθίσθης] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἠρεθίσθης g<sub>2</sub>; ἠρέσθης g<sub>4</sub>; *dilexisti* A; *tibi elegisti* l. The two versions seem to

9. ἐὰν πεσῶν κ.τ.λ.] Matt. iv. 9. It is somewhat different in Luke iv. 8.

12. ὕπαγε Σατανᾶ] Matt. iv. 10. In Luke iv. 10 it is an interpolation. The following quotation ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου is from Matt. xvi. 23. The idea of the passage is borrowed from Origen *in Matth. Tom. xii* (III. p. 540 Delarue), πρὸς μὲν τὸν Πέτρον εἶπεν Ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου Σατανᾶ, πρὸς

δὲ τὸν διάβολον... Ὑπαγε Σατανᾶ, χωρὶς τῆς ὀπίσω μου προσθήκης, quoted by Zahn.

16. Κύριον κ.τ.λ.] Deut. vi. 13, as quoted in Matt. iv. 10.

21. ἐγὼ...ζῶ κ.τ.λ.] From John vi. 57.

23. οὐκ ὄν τι] Comp. *Tars.* 9. See the note on Ign. *Ephes.* 3.

26. ὡς ἴδια μέλη] *Apost. Const.* vi. 29 οἱ ἄνδρες, στέργετε τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυ-

προσκυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις. οἶδα τὸν ἕνα, ἐπίσταμαι τὸν μόνον, οὗ σὺ ἀποστάτης γέγονας. οὐκ εἰμι ἀντίθεος, ὁμολογῶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν· καὶ οὐ παραιτοῦμαι προσ-  
 20 κυνεῖν ἐκείνῳ ὃν ἐπίσταμαι, τὸν τῆς ἐμῆς γεννήσεως αἵτιον...ἐγὼ γὰρ ζῶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα.

XIII. Ταῦτα, ἀδελφοί, ἀπὸ διαθέσεως τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἠναγκάσθην ἐπιστεῖλαι, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ παραινῶν, οὐκ ὦν  
 τι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδελφός. ὑποτάσσεσθε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, τοῖς  
 25 πρεσβυτέροις, τοῖς διακόνοις. ἀγαπάτε ἀλλήλους ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὡς Θεοῦ ἀγάλματα. ὁρᾶτε, οἱ ἄνδρες, ὡς ἴδια μέλη τὰς  
 γαμετὰς στέργετε· αἱ γυναῖκες, ὡς ἐν οὖσαι τῇ συναφείᾳ, στέργετε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας. εἴ τις ἀγνεύει ἢ ἐγκρατεύ-  
 εται, μὴ ἐπαιρέσθω, ἵνα μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθόν. τὰς ἑορτὰς  
 30 μὴ ἀτιμάζετε· τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν μὴ ἐξουθενεῖτε· μίμησιν γὰρ περιέχει τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου πολιτείας· καὶ τὴν τοῦ πά-

point to a reading ἡρέμισας.

16 φησίν] 1A; om. g.

19 καὶ οὐ...ἔν]

Zahn with 1A; om. g.

20 αἴτιον...ἐγὼ γὰρ ζῶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα] αἴτιον τὸν

πατέρα (alone, omitting all the other words) g; *auctorem et dominum atque [meae]*

*perseverantiae custodem*: *ego enim [inquit] vivo propter patrem* l; *causam, hunc eundem ipsum scio dominum naturarum, et ego vivus sum propter patrem* A. It is clear

from the comparison of these two translations, that several words have dropped

out from the Greek, and that the quotation from Joh. vi. 57 formed part of these.

The divergence being so great between the two, it is impossible to attempt to

restore the first part; Zahn supplies καὶ κύριον καὶ ὑποστάσεως φύλακα.

23 οὐκ ὦν τι] g (all the four MSS); *non quod sim aliquid* A; *non quasi extraneus* l. The

editors read οὐχ ὡς ὦν τι, quite unnecessarily.

27 τῇ συναφείᾳ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;

τῆς συναφείας g<sub>2</sub>.

29 ἀπολέσῃ] ἀπολέσει g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

τὸν μισθόν] g; add. αὐτοῦ Nicon (see the lower note); add. *suam* [1][A].

31 καὶ] g<sub>3</sub>; *etiam* l; *μετὰ* g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. A has nothing corresponding to either word.

ναῖκας ὡς ἴδια μέλη; comp. Ephes. v. 28.

28. εἴ τις ἀγνεύει κ.τ.λ.] Suggested by Ign. *Polyc.* 5. Nicon *Serm.* 57 (see Cotelier here) quotes from this point onward to the end of the chapter.

29. τὰς ἑορτὰς κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* v. 13 τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἑορτῶν φυλάσσετε...φυλακτέα ἡ νηστεία τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, μνήμην περιέχουσα τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου πολιτείας τε καὶ νομοθεσίας: comp. *Apost.*

*Can.* 69 εἴ τις...τὴν ἀγίαν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἢ τετράδα ἢ παρασκευὴν οὐ νηστεύει κ.τ.λ.

31. τὴν τοῦ πάθους κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* v. 15 παρήγγειλεν οὖν ἡμῖν αὐτὸς νηστεύειν τὰς ἐξ ἡμέρας ταύτας [τῆς ἐβδομάδος τοῦ πάσχα]...τετράδα δὲ καὶ παρασκευὴν προσέταξεν ἡμῖν νηστεύειν κ.τ.λ., v. 20 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐβδομάδα τῆς νηστείας πᾶσαν τετράδα καὶ πᾶσαν παρασκευὴν προστάσσομεν ὑμῖν νηστεύειν καὶ τὴν περισσεῖαν ὑμῶν τῆς

θους ἐβδομάδα μὴ παροράτε, τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν νηστεύοντες, πένησιν ἐπιχορηγοῦντες τὴν περισσείαν. εἴ τις κυριακὴν ἢ σάββατον νηστεύει, πλὴν ἐνὸς σαββάτου [τοῦ πάσχα], οὗτος χριστοκτόνος ἐστίν.

XIV. Αἱ προσευχαὶ ὑμῶν ἐκταθείησαν εἰς τὴν Ἄντι-5 οχείας ἐκκλησίαν, ὅθεν καὶ δέσμιος ἀπάγομαι εἰς Ῥώμην. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἅγιον ἐπίσκοπον Πολύκαρπον· ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἅγιον ἐπίσκοπον Βιτάλιον καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πρεσβυτέριον καὶ τοὺς συνδούλους μου τοὺς διακόνους· ὧν ἐγὼ ἀντίψυχον γενοίμην, ὅτι ὑποτάσσονται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς 10 πρεσβυτέροις ἐν Κυρίῳ. εἴ τις μετὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐπιτελεῖ τὸ πάσχα ἢ τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἑορτῆς αὐτῶν δέχεται, κοινωνός ἐστι τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων τὸν Κύριον καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους αὐτοῦ.

XV. Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς Φίλων καὶ Ἀγαθόπους οἱ διά- 15 κωνοὶ. ἀσπάζομαι τὸ σύστημα τῶν παρθένων, τὸ τάγμα

2 νηστεύοντες] g Nicon; νηστεύετε [1][A]. ἐπιχορηγοῦντες] g[1]; ἐπιχορηγεῖτε Nicon (see Cotelier) [A]. 3 ἐνὸς σαββάτου τοῦ πάσχα] g<sub>3</sub>1; ἐνὸς σαββάτου (om. τοῦ πάσχα) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub> Nicon; ἐνὸς μόνου (om. σαββάτου τοῦ πάσχα) g<sub>2</sub>; def. A. Probably τοῦ πάσχα is a gloss. The reading of g<sub>2</sub> is probably taken from *Apost. Can.* 56. See the lower note. 4 χριστοκτόνος] χριστοκτόνος g<sub>2</sub>. 7 ἀσπάζομαι...Πολύκαρπον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>1 (comp. A); om. g<sub>3</sub>. 8 Βιτάλιον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>5; βητάλιον g<sub>2</sub>; *vitale*m 1; *bitum* A. 9 ἀντίψυχον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἀντίψυχος g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>5. 10 ὅτι ὑποτάσσονται] *quoniam obediunt* A; ἔτι συντάσσομαι g; *adhuc dico* 1. 19 διὰ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>5; δι' g<sub>2</sub>. 20 Ῥήγιον] ῤήγιονα g<sub>2</sub>; ῤήγιονα g<sub>1</sub>; *regionem* 1. For *συντυχῶν περὶ ῤήγιον* g<sub>4</sub> has *ἐντυχῶν ἐν ῤήγιω*, and g<sub>3</sub> *συντυχῶν περιρηγείς* (sic)

νηστείας πένησιν ἐπιχορηγεῖν, vii. 23 ὑμεῖς δὲ...νηστεύσατε...τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν.

2. εἴ τις κυριακὴν κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii. 23 τὸ σάββατον μέντοι καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἑορτάζετε...ἐν δὲ μόνου σάββατον ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, τὸ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ταφῆς, ὅπερ νηστεύειν προσήκεν: comp. v. 15, 18, 20; *Apost. Can.* 66 εἴ τις...κληρικὸς εὐρεθῆ ἢ τὴν κυριακὴν ἡμέραν νηστεύων ἢ τὸ σάββατον, πλὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς μόνου, καθαιρείσθω κ.τ.λ.

5. ἐκταθείησαν] See the note on *Ign. Magn.* 14.

8. Βιτάλιον] 'Vitalis' (comp.

*Liban. Ep.* 60), a very common Latin name. The termination follows the ordinary rule where Latin names are transferred into Greek, e.g. Apollinaris, Ἀπολλινάριος. Benseker is disposed to make it equivalent to Vitellius, but this seems to be wrong. Βιτάλιος here is obviously intended for the bishop of Philippi, and should probably be identified with the Βίτος of *Hero* 8. The Armenian has 'Bitus' here also.

9. τοὺς συνδούλους] See the note on *Ign. Ephes.* 2.

10. ὅτι ὑποτάσσονται] The Arme-

τῶν χηρῶν ὧν καὶ ὀναίμην. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν λαὸν Κυρίου ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου. ἀπέστειλα ὑμῖν ταυτά μου τὰ γράμματα διὰ Εὐφανίου τοῦ ἀναγνώστου, ἀνδρὸς θεοτιμῆ-  
 20 του καὶ πιστοτάτου, συντυχῶν περὶ Ῥήγιον, ἀναγομένου ἐν πλοίῳ. μέμνησθέ μου τῶν δεσμῶν, ἵνα τελειωθῶ ἐν Χριστῷ. ἔρρωσθε σαρκί, ψυχῇ, πνεύματι, τέλεια φρονοῦντες, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τοὺς ἐργάτας τῆς ἀνομίας, καὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἀληθείας φθορεῖς, ἐνδυναμούμενοι ἐν τῇ χάριτι τοῦ  
 25 Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

## 7.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΣ.

**Ι**ΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ, ἐν

τῶν δεσμῶν, omitting the intervening words ἀναγομένου ἐν πλοίῳ. μέμνησθέ μου, while A renders *cum quo locutus sum in tempore*. ἀναγομένου] g. The sense given by 1A would require ἀναγόμενος, but this may be due to the looseness of the rendering. 21 τελειωθῶ] τελειωθῆ g<sub>2</sub>.

Subscr. ε. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς φιλιππησίους περὶ βαπτίσματος g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>. Nothing in g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

πρὸς φιλαδέλφεις] g<sub>4</sub> (with S in the marg.); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς φιλαδέλφεις g<sub>1</sub> (with S in the marg.) g<sub>2</sub>s; τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς φιλαδέλφους S g<sub>3</sub>; *ad philadelphiensis [ex troia]* l (with vv. 11).

nian has preserved the right reading: comp. Ign. *Polyc.* 6 ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνις, *Magn.* 2 τοῦ διακόνου Ζωτίωνος, οὗ ἐγὼ ὀναίμην ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ... καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ (comp. *Trall.* 13), from which passages the Pseudo-Ignatius has obviously borrowed. The common reading ἔτι συντάσσομαι makes no good sense.

11. εἴ τις μετὰ Ἰουδαίων κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Can.* 70 εἴ τις...νηστεύει μετὰ Ἰουδαίων ἢ ἑορτάζει μετ' αὐτῶν ἢ δέχεται αὐτῶν τὰ τῆς ἑορτῆς ξένια, οἶον

ἄζυμα ἢ τι τοιούτων, καθαιρεῖσθω. For decrees of councils, etc., on these points see Cotelier's note here, and Ussher's *Proleg.* c. 14.

12. τὰ σύμβολα] The unleavened bread, etc., which are so called by analogy, just as the eucharistic elements are the σύμβολα, 'the outward tokens,' of the Christian feast; see Suicer's *Thes.* s. v.

15. Φίλων κ.τ.λ.] See the note on Ign. *Philad.* 11.

19. τοῦ ἀναγνώστου] See the note on *Antioch.* 12.

20. Ῥήγιον] See above, 11. p. 379.

ἀγάπη ἠληθμένη καὶ ἠδρασμένη ἐν ὁμοιοῖα Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγαλλομένη ἐν τῷ πάθει τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἀδιακρίτως καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει αὐτοῦ, πεπληροφορημένη ἐν παντὶ ἐλέει ἣν ἀσπάζομαι ἐν αἵματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἣτις ἐστὶν χαρὰ αἰώνιος καὶ παράμονος· μάλιστα ἐὰν ἐν ἐνὶ ὧσιν σὺν τῷ 5 ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις, ἀποδεδειγμένοις ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον βούλημα ἐστήριξεν αὐτοῦ βεβαίως τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομῇ πνευματικῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ· ἢ συγκλύσαντες οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ οὐκ 10 ἴσχυσαν αὐτὴν ἀνατρέψαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἰσχύσειάν ποτε τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐξασθενήσειαν δυνάμει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.

I. Θεασάμενος ὑμῶν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἔγνων ὅτι οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων ἠξιώθη τὴν διακονίαν τὴν εἰς τὸ 15 κοινὸν ἀνήκουσαν ἐγχειρισθῆναι, οὐδὲ κατὰ κενοδοξίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγάπῃ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν· οὗ καταπέπληγμαι τὴν ἐπιείκειαν, ὃς σιγῶν

2 τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν] II; add. ἰησοῦ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; add. ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 5 ἐὰν ἐν ἐνὶ ὧσιν] I; ἐν ἐνὶ ὧσιν (om. ἐὰν) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἐν ἐνὶ ὧσι g<sub>4</sub>; ἐν ἐνὶ οὐσι g<sub>3</sub>; *iis qui sunt in unum* (but *iis* is wanting in some important mss) l. The editors, following Morel, have adopted ἐν ἐνὶ οὐσι (which is also the reading of g<sub>3</sub>), and Dressel has inserted an article τοῖς ἐν ἐνὶ οὐσι. But there can be no doubt, I think, that the correct emendation is to supply ἐὰν, as in the original Ignatius. The omission would be easy in such a combination of similar letters as ΔΕΔΝΕΝΕΝ.

6 τοῖς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>. 8 βούλημα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>. Cureton reads θέλημα which stands in the genuine Ignatius. But since there is no authority for θέλημα here, it seems more probable that βούλημα was an arbitrary alteration of the interpolator, perhaps to get rid of the awkward repetition after θελήματι just before. ἐστήριξεν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; ἐστήρισεν g<sub>2</sub>. 9 οἰκοδομῇ πνευματικῇ] g<sub>3</sub>l; οἰκοδομῇ πνεύματι g<sub>1</sub>; οἰκοδο πνῖ (with μῆ in the marg.) g<sub>2</sub>. Bryennios has omitted to record the variation of g<sub>4</sub> from inadvertence. 10 συγκλύσαντες] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; συγκλήσαντες g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>. In l it is *quam flumina inundantia et*

10. οἱ ἄνεμοι κ.τ.λ.] A reference to Matt. vii. 25.

11. τὰ πνευματικὰ κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes. vi. 12.

21. ἄμεμπτος κ.τ.λ.] Luke i. 5 ερεῦς τις ὀνόματι Ζαχαρίας...καὶ ἡ γυνὴ.....Ἐλισάβετ' ἦσαν δὲ δίκαιοι

ἀμφότεροι.....ἄμεμπτοι: comp. *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* 3 (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1) συνεξισούσθαι τῇ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ζαχαρίου μαρτυρίᾳ πεπόρευτο γοῦν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαιομασι τοῦ Κυρίου ἄμεμπτος.

27. μολυσμὸς κ.τ.λ.] Quoted from



πλέον δύναται τῶν λαλούντων· συνηρμωσται γὰρ ταῖς ἐντο-  
 20 λαῖς Κυρίου καὶ τοῖς δικαιοώμασιν, ὡς χορδαὶ τῇ κιθάρα, καὶ  
 ἔστιν ἄμεμπτος οὐχ ἦττον Ζαχαρίου τοῦ ἱερέως. διὸ μακα-  
 ρίζει μου ἢ ψυχὴ τὴν εἰς Θεὸν αὐτοῦ γνώμην, ἐπιγνοὺς  
 ἐνάρετον καὶ τελείαν οὔσαν, τὸ ἀκίνητον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀόρ-  
 γητον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιεικείᾳ Θεοῦ ζῶντος.

25 II. Ὡς τέκνα οὖν φωτὸς ἀληθείας, φεύγετε τὸν μερισμὸν  
 τῆς ἐνότητος καὶ τὰς κακοδιδασκαλίας τῶν αἵρεσιωτῶν, ἐξ  
 ὧν μόλγσμος ἐξῆλθεν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. ὅπου δὲ ὁ ποι-  
 μὴν ἐστιν, ἐκεῖ ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε· πολλοὶ γὰρ λύκοι  
 κωδίοις ἡμφιεσμένοι ἠδονῆ κακῇ αἰχμαλωτίζουσιν τοὺς θεο-  
 30 δρόμους· ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐνότητι ὑμῶν οὐχ ἔξουσιν τόπον.

III. Ἀπέχεσθε οὖν τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν, ἄστυας Ἰησοῦς  
 Χριστὸς οὐ γεωργεῖ, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀνθρωποκτόνος θῆρ, διὰ τὸ μὴ  
 εἶναι αὐτοὺς φυτεῖαν πατρὸς ἀλλὰ σπέρμα τοῦ πονηροῦ.  
 οὐχ ὅτι παρ' ὑμῶν μερισμὸν εὐρῶν ταῦτα γράφω, ἀλλὰ προασ-  
 35 φαλίζομαι ὑμᾶς ὡς τέκνα Θεοῦ· ὅσοι γὰρ Χριστοῦ εἰσιν,  
 οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσίν· ὅσοι δ' ἂν ἐκκλίνωσιν αὐτοῦ,

*flantes venti non valuerunt subvertere.* The ed. princ. printed the word *συγκλήσαν-  
 τες*, and it has been followed apparently by all editors before Zahn, though Ussher  
 in his notes pronounces *συγκλίσαντες* more correct. There is no meaning in *συγ-  
 κλήσαντες*. 18 καταπέπληγμα] καταπέπλειγμα g<sub>2</sub>. ἐπιεικείαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;

ἐπιεικίαν g<sub>2</sub>. 19 πλέον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; πλείον g<sub>4</sub>. τῶν λαλούντων]

with I\* ; a *loquente* l ; τῶν πλέον λαλούντων g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> ; τῶν κλείω λαλούντων g<sub>4</sub>.

22 εἰς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> with I ; πρὸς g<sub>4</sub>. 26 ἐνότητος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub> ; *unitatis* l ; ἐνώτητος

g<sub>3</sub> ; νεότητος g<sub>4</sub>. τὰς κακοδιδασκαλίας] with I ; τῆς κακοδιδασκαλίας g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> ;

τὴν κακοδιδασκαλίαν g<sub>3</sub> ; *malam doctrinam* l (but some MSS *malae doctrinae*, which  
 is doubtless the prior reading). 28 πρόβατα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l with I ; πρόβατον g<sub>2</sub>.

33 αὐτοὺς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I ; dub. l. Morel tacitly printed *αὐτὰς*, and he has  
 been followed apparently by all subsequent editors before Zahn. There is no  
 authority for this reading. 34 εὐρῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub> ; *εῦρων* (so Dressel) g<sub>2</sub> ; *inve-*

*niens* l ; *εῦρον* g<sub>4</sub>. The editors read *εῦρον* after Morel. It is true that *εῦρον*  
 stands in I, but there is no *ταῦτα γράφω* in his text, and the structure of the  
 sentence is thus different.

Jer. xxiii. 15 ; comp. *Apost. Const.*  
 vi. 5 ἐκ γὰρ τῆς κακίας τῶν αἵρεσιωτῶν  
 ἐξῆλθε μόλυσμα ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν,  
 ὡς φησιν Ἰερεμίας ὁ προφήτης.

28. λύκοι κωδίοις κ.τ.λ.] *Matt.* vii.  
 15 ; comp. *Apost. Const.* vi. 13.

33. φυτεῖαν κ.τ.λ.] For *φυτεῖαν*  
*πατρὸς* see the note on II. p. 256 ; for  
*σπέρμα τοῦ πονηροῦ* comp. *Matt.* xiii.  
 39 ὁ δὲ ἐχθρὸς ὁ σπειρας αὐτὰ ἐστιν ὁ  
 διάβολος.

καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἀσπάσονται μετὰ τῶν κατηραμένων, οὗτοι  
 σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκκοπήσονται· οὐ γάρ εἰσιν γεώργιον Χριστοῦ  
 ἀλλ' ἐχθροῦ σπορά· οὐ ῥυσθείητε πάντοτε εὐχαῖς τοῦ προ-  
 καθεζομένου ὑμῶν ποιμένος, τοῦ πιστοτάτου καὶ πραστάτου.  
 παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὅσοι ἂν μετανοήσαντες ἔλθω- 5  
 σιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, προσδέχεσθε αὐτοὺς μετὰ  
 πάσης πραότητος, ἵνα διὰ τῆς χρηστότητος καὶ τῆς ἀνεξικα-  
 κίας ἀνανήψαντες ἐκ τῆς τοῦ διαβύλου παγίδος, ἄξιός ἴησού  
 Χριστοῦ γενόμενοι, σωτηρίας αἰωνίου τύχῳσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ  
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ἀδελφοί, μὴ πλανᾶσθε· εἴ τις σχίζονται ἀπὸ τῆς 10  
 ἀληθείας ἀκολουθεῖ, βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσει· καὶ  
 εἴ τις οὐκ ἀφίσταται τοῦ ψευδολόγου κήρυκος, εἰς γέενναν  
 κατακριθήσεται· οὔτε γὰρ εὐσεβῶν ἀφίστασθαι χρή, οὔτε δὲ  
 δυσσεβέσιν συγκείσθαι δεῖ· εἴ τις ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γνώμῃ περι-  
 πατεῖ, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν Χριστοῦ, οὔτε τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ κοι- 15  
 νῶνός· ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀλώπηξ, φθορεὺς ἀμπελώνος Χριστοῦ· τῷ  
 τοιοῦτῳ μὴ συναναμίγνυσθε, ἵνα μὴ συναπόλησθε αὐτῷ, κἂν  
 πατὴρ ᾦ, κἂν υἱός, κἂν ἀδελφός, κἂν οἰκεῖος· οὐ φείσεται  
 γὰρ σοῦ, φησὶν, ὁ ὀφθαλμός ἐπ' αὐτῷ. τοὺς μισούντας οὖν  
 τὸν Θεὸν μισεῖν χρή καὶ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτοῦ 20  
 ἐκτετηκέναι· οὐ μὴν καὶ τύπτειν αὐτοὺς ἢ διώκειν, καθὼς τὰ

1 ἀσπάσονται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἀσπάζονται g<sub>2</sub>s. The reading ἀσπάζονται appears in Cureton and Dressel; whether earlier, I do not know. 4 πραστάτου] πρῶ-  
 τάτου g<sub>1</sub>.

6 προσδέχεσθε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; suscipite l; προσδέξεσθε g<sub>3</sub>; προσδέχεσθαι  
 g<sub>2</sub>. 10 τοῦ Χριστοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>sg<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ g<sub>4</sub>. 12 γέενναν] γέεναν g<sub>4</sub>.

13 δὲ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>[l]. 14 συγκείσθαι δεῖ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἀφ' ἠροφίνquare oportet l;  
 ἀκολουθεῖν (om. δεῖ) g<sub>4</sub>. 16 ἀλώπηξ] ἀλώπιε g<sub>2</sub>. 19 ἐπ'] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; ἐν g<sub>4</sub>.

20 καὶ ὑμᾶς] gl; om. Theod-Stud. 21 ἐκτετηκέναι] Theod-Stud.; ἐκτετήκεσθαι  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἐκτετίκεσθαι g<sub>2</sub>; ἐκτῆκεσθαι g<sub>4</sub>s. τύπτειν αὐτοὺς ἢ διώκειν] g; *persequi*  
*eos aut percutere* l; δὲ διώκειν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἢ τύπτειν Theod-Stud. καθὼς] g;

καθάπερ Theod-Stud. 22 τὸν Κύριον καὶ Θεόν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; κύριον τὸν θεόν g<sub>4</sub>; *deum*

2. γεώργιον Χριστοῦ] Comp. I Cor. iii. 9.

8. ἀνανήψαντες ἐκ τῆς κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Tim. ii. 26; comp. I Tim. iii. 7, [vi. 9].

16. ἀλώπηξ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* v. 13 φθορεῖς ἀλωπέκων μερίδες καὶ

χαιμαῖζήλων ἀμπέλων ἀφανισταί, vi. I οἱ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ διαφθειρόντες ὡς ἀλώπεκες πικροὶ ἀμπελώνων. The idea is derived from Cant. ii. 15.

18. οὐ φείσεται κ.τ.λ.] Deut. xiii.

8. The context of this passage (ver. 6) has suggested the preceding words

ἔθνη τὰ μὴ εἰδότα τὸν Κύριον καὶ Θεόν· ἀλλ' ἐχθροὺς μὲν  
 ἠγέισθαι καὶ χωρίζεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, νουθετεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 ἐπὶ μετάνοιαν παρακαλεῖν, ἂν ἄρα ἀκούσωσιν, ἂν ἄρα  
 25 ἐνδῶσιν. φιλόανθρωπος γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ πάντας  
 ἀνθρώπους θέλει σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας  
 ἔλθειν· διὸ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροῦς καὶ  
 ἀγαθοῦς, καὶ βρέχει [τὸν ὑετὸν] ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους·  
 οὗ τῆς χρηστότητος θέλων καὶ ἡμᾶς εἶναι μιμητὰς ὁ Κύριος  
 30 λέγει, γίνεσθε τέλειοι, καθὼς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος  
 τέλειός ἐστιν.

IV. Ἐγὼ πέποιθα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο  
 φρονήσετε· διὸ καὶ θαρρῶν γράφω τῇ ἀξιοθέῳ ἀγάπῃ ὑμῶν,  
 παρακαλῶν ὑμᾶς μιᾷ πίστει καὶ ἐνὶ κηρύγματι καὶ μιᾷ εὐχα-  
 35 ριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι· μία γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ  
 καὶ ἐν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκχυθέν· εἰς γὰρ ἄρτος  
 τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐθρύφθη, καὶ ἐν ποτήριον τοῖς ὅλοις διενεμήθη·  
 ἐν θυσιαστήριον πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ εἰς ἐπίσκοπος ἅμα  
 τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις τοῖς συνδούλοις μου·  
 40 ἐπέπερ καὶ εἰς ἀγέννητος, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ· καὶ εἰς μονο-  
 γενῆς υἱός, Θεὸς λόγος καὶ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ εἰς ὁ παράκλητος,  
 τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας· ἐν δὲ καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα, καὶ ἡ

1; τὸν θεόν Theod-Stud. 23 δὲ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; τε g<sub>4</sub>; et l. 28 τὸν ὑετὸν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;  
 om. g<sub>2</sub> (with Matt. v. 45). I has simply *pluit*. 29 ἡμᾶς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; nos l;  
 ἡμῶν g<sub>4</sub>. Ussher wrote ὑμᾶς by an error (which he corrects in his *Emendata*) and  
 was followed by Voss and later editors before Dressel, who restored ἡμᾶς, without  
 however tracing the error to its source. 35 χρῆσθαι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; χρῆσθε g<sub>3</sub>; *ut*  
*instetis utentes* l. 36 ἐκχυθέν· εἰς] These words are displaced in g<sub>3</sub> and stand  
 after ἡ σὰρξ just above. γὰρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *etiam* l. Morel silently substituted  
*καὶ* for γὰρ and was followed apparently by all subsequent editors before Zahn.  
 38 ἅμα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *simul cum* l; σὺν g<sub>4</sub>.

of our Pseudo-Ignatius, *κἂν πατὴρ ἢ*  
 κ.τ.λ.

19. τοὺς μισοῦντας οὖν κ.τ.λ.] A-  
 dapted from Ps. cxxviii (cxxxix).  
 21; comp. *Apost. Const.* vi. 18.

21. καθὼς κ.τ.λ.] I Thess. iv. 5.

22. ἐχθροὺς κ.τ.λ.] Modified from

2 Thess. iii. 15.

25. πάντας κ.τ.λ.] From I Tim. ii. 4.

27. τὸν ἥλιον κ.τ.λ.] Matt. v. 45;  
 comp. *Apost. Const.* i. 2, ii. 14.

30. γίνεσθε κ.τ.λ.] Matt. v. 48.

41. ὁ παράκλητος, τὸ πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ.]  
 John xv. 26; comp. xiv. 17, xvi. 13.

πίστις μία, καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ἓν, καὶ μία ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἣν ἰδρύσαντο οἱ ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἰκείοις ἰδρῶσι καὶ πόνοις. καὶ ὑμᾶς οὖν χρῆ, ὡς λαὸν περιούσιον καὶ ἔθνος ἄγιον, ἐν ὁμοιοῖα πάντα ἐν Χριστῷ ἐπιτελεῖν. αἱ γυναῖκες, τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὑποτάγητε ἐν φόβῳ Θεοῦ· αἱ παρθένοι, τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ, οὐ βδελυσσόμεναι γάμον ἀλλὰ τοῦ κρείσσονος ἐφιέμεναι, οὐκ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ συναφείας ἀλλ' ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν νόμων μελέτης. τὰ τέκνα, πειθαρχεῖτε τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑμῶν, καὶ στέργετε αὐτοὺς ὡς συνεργοὺς Θεοῦ εἰς τὴν ὑμέτεραν γέννησιν. οἱ δούλοι, ὑποτάγητε τοῖς κυρίοις ἐν Θεῷ, ἵνα Χριστοῦ ἀπελεύθεροι γένησθε. οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπάτε τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν, ὡς ὁμοδόλους Θεῷ, ὡς οἰκεῖον σῶμα, ὡς κοινωνοὺς βίου καὶ συνεργοὺς τεκνογονίας. αἱ παρθένοι, μόνον τὸν Χριστὸν πρὸ ὀφθαλ-

1 ἡ ἐκκλησία] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἐκκλησία (om. ἡ) g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 2 ἅγιοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; om. g<sub>4</sub>.  
 3 τοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>. 4 χρῆ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἐχρῆ g<sub>3</sub>; oportet l. 8 διαβολῇ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; διαβολῆς g<sub>2</sub>. τῶν νόμων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; legis l. The ed. princ. printed τῶν νόμον, which Morel altered silently into τοῦ νόμον. This last has been read by all subsequent editors. The text has been similarly tampered with in *Ps-Magn.* 9 μελέτη νόμων. 10 Θεοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; om. g<sub>4</sub>. 13 καὶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; ὡς g<sub>4</sub>. 15 ψυχαῖς] Zahn; animabus l; εὐχαῖς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; εὐχαῖς ἀγιοσύνης g<sub>4</sub>. 16 ἀγιοσύνης] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἀγιοσύνης g<sub>3</sub>; sanctitatis l; ἀγάπης g<sub>4</sub>. 19 Εὐδοῦ] Εὐδοῦ g<sub>2</sub>. 20 οὐ ψέγων...τούτων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; οὐ ψέγω δὲ.....ὦν g<sub>3</sub>; non detraho

4. λαὸν περιούσιον] From Tit. ii. 14; see *Fresh Revision of the New Testament* p. 236 sq. The other expression ἔθνος ἅγιον is from a parallel passage, 1 Pet. ii. 9.

8. ἕνεκα τῆς κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'that they may have time for the study of God's laws'; comp. *Magn.* 9 μελέτη νόμων χαίρων. It will appear from the passages there quoted (*Apost. Const.* ii. 36, vi. 23, vii. 23, 36), in the note on σαββατιζέτω κ.τ.λ., that the term is not confined to the moral and ceremonial precepts of 'the law' properly so called, but refers chiefly to God's laws as manifested in creation and providence.

11. Χριστοῦ ἀπελεύθεροι] Comp.

1 Cor. vii. 22.

13. ὡς οἰκείον σῶμα] See *Philiph.* 13 ὡς ἴδια μέλη, with the note.

16. ὡς Ἥλια κ.τ.λ.] In the Pseudo-Clement *de Virgin.* i. 6, John the Baptist, John the beloved disciple, S. Paul, Barnabas, Timotheus, Elias, and Elisæus, are mentioned as instances of virginity. Jerome discusses the instances of the two Johns, of Joshua, of Elias and Elisæus, *ad Jovin.* i. 21, 25, 36 (*Op.* II. pp. 270, 275, 295), and that of Jeremiah, *Dial. c. Pelag.* 28 (*Op.* II. p. 777). The argument from silence seems to have been the foundation of the belief in many of the examples. The virginity of Titus however is in-

- 15 μῶν ἔχετε, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, φωτιζόμεναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος. οὐαίμην ὑμῶν τῆς ἀγιοσύνης, ὡς Ἡλία, ὡς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ, ὡς Μελχισεδέκ, ὡς Ἐλισσαίου, ὡς Ἰερεμίου, ὡς τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου, ὡς τοῦ ἠγαπημένου μαθητοῦ, ὡς Τιμοθέου, ὡς Τίτου, ὡς Εὐδοδίου, ὡς Κλήμεντος,
- 20 τῶν ἐν ἀγνείᾳ ἐξελθόντων τὸν βίον. οὐ ψέγων τοὺς λοιποὺς μακαρίους, ὅτι γάμοις προσωμίλησαν, τούτων ἐμνήσθη ἄρτι· εὐχομαι γὰρ ἄξιος Θεοῦ εὑρεθῆναι πρὸς τοῖς ἵχνεσιν αὐτῶν εὑρεθῆναι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ὡς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὡς Ἰωσήφ καὶ Ἡσαίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προφη-
- 25 τῶν, ὡς Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων τῶν γάμοις προσομιλησάντων οὐχ ὑπὸ προθυμίας τῆς περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐννοίας ἑαυτῶν τοῦ γένους ἔσχον ἐκείνους. οἱ πατέρες, ἐκτρέφετε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας ἐν παιδείᾳ

*autem...quorum* l. 21 μακαρίους] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; τοὺς μακαρίους g<sub>4</sub>. προσωμίλησαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; προσομίλησαν g<sub>2</sub>; ὠμίλησαν g<sub>4</sub>. 24 ὡς Ἰωσήφ] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s; *sicut ioseph* l; καὶ ὡς Ἰωσήφ g<sub>4</sub>; καὶ Ἰωσήφ g<sub>3</sub>. Ἡσαίου] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; Ἰσαίου g<sub>2</sub>s (but?); Ἰσαίου g<sub>4</sub>s; *isaias* (the printed text, but *esaias* some MSS) l. Ἰσαίου was printed by Morel, and apparently all later editors have followed him in this abnormal spelling. 26 οὐχ ὑπὸ προθυμίας τῆς περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐννοίας ἑαυτῶν τοῦ γένους ἔσχον ἐκείνους] οὐχ ὑπὸ προθυμίας δὲ τῆς κ.τ.λ. g<sub>3</sub>; *qui non libidinis causa sed posteritatis subrogandae gratia conjuges habuerunt* l; ἀλλ' ὑπὸ προθυμίας τῆς περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπ' ἐννοίας αὐτοῦ ἔσχον ἐκείνους g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

ferred by S. Jerome on Tit. ii. 7 (*Op.* VII. p. 720) from the expression 'in incorruptione' there used of him; that of Timotheus by Theophylact on 1 Tim. iv. 12 from the expression ἐν ἀγνείᾳ applied to this disciple. Jerome however (l.c.) is disposed to infer the opposite of Timothy. The virginity of Euodius appears not to be noticed elsewhere, and was probably a venture of our Ignatian writer. The tradition with respect to Clement seems to be due to the forged *Epistles to Virgins* written in his name; see Epiphanius. *Hær.* xxx. 15 (p. 139), Hieron. *adv. Jovin.* i. 12 (*Op.* II. p. 257).

25. καὶ Παύλου] This representation of S. Paul as a married man is

founded on misinterpretations of 1 Cor. ix. 5, Phil. iv. 3; comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 6 (p. 535), Orig. *in Rom.* I § I (IV. p. 461). The words *et Paulus* are omitted in some Latin copies; see Ussher *Proleg.* c. xvii.

καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κ.τ.λ.] Justified by 1 Cor. ix. 5 ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι. The only other Apostle, of whom it is distinctly mentioned on good authority, is Philip (Papias in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39; see *Colossians* p. 45 sq.).

27. ἐκείνους] i.e. τοὺς γάμους. It does not seem necessary to substitute *γυναικας*, as the editors generally have done.

28. οἱ πατέρες κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes. vi. 4; comp. also *Tars.* 9.

καὶ νοϋθεσίᾳ Κυρίου· καὶ διδάσκετε αὐτοὺς τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα καὶ τέχνας, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀργίᾳ χαίρειν· καλῶς δέ, φησίν, ἐκτρέφει πατήρ δίκαιος, ἐπὶ γίῳ συνετῶ εὐφρανθήσεται ἡ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. οἱ κύριοι, εὐμενῶς τοῖς οἰκέταις προσέχετε, ὡς ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωβ ἐδίδαξεν· μία γὰρ φύσις, καὶ ἐν 5 τὸ γένος τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος· ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ οὔτε δοῦλος οὔτε ἐλεῦθερος. οἱ ἄρχοντες πειθαρχεῖτωσαν τῷ Καίσαρι· οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν· οἱ διάκονοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις· ἀρχιερεῦσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι· καὶ οἱ διάκονοι καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς κλήρος ἅμα παντὶ τῷ λαῷ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς 10 ἄρχουσι καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ· ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῷ Χριστῷ, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί· καὶ οὕτως ἡ ἐνότης διὰ πάντων σώζεται. ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ αἱ χῆραι μὴ ῥεμβοί, μὴ λίχνοι, μὴ περιτροχάδες, ἀλλ' ὡς Ἰουδιθ ἡ σεμνοτάτη, ὡς ἡ Ἄννα ἡ σωφρονεστάτη. ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος διατάσ- 15 σομαι· τίς γάρ εἰμι ἐγώ; ἢ τίς ὁ οἶκος τοῦ πατρὸς μου; ἵνα ἰσοτίμον ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνων εἶπω, ἀλλ' ὡς συστρατιώτης ὑμῶν, ὑποφωνητοῦ τάξιν ἐπέχων.

V. Ἀδελφοί μου, λίαν ἐκκέχυμαι ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὑπεραγαλλόμενος ἀσφαλίζομαι ὑμᾶς· οὐκ ἐγὼ δέ, ἀλλὰ δι' 20 ἐμοῦ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, ἐν ᾧ δεδεμένος φοβούμαι μᾶλλον.

2 ἀργίᾳ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἀργείᾳ g<sub>2</sub>. 3 πατήρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l (with Prov. xxiii. 24); om. g<sub>3</sub>. 7 πειθαρχεῖτωσαν] πειθαρχήτωσαν g<sub>2</sub>. 9 ἀρχιερεῦσιν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ut (v. 1. et) sacerdotibus l. In g<sub>1</sub> the sentence is rightly punctuated after πρεσβυτέροις, so as to connect ἀρχιερεῦσιν with what follows. Owing to wrong punctuation I inserts ut (or et) to make sense. Zahn, following l, reads ὡς ἱερεῦσιν. 13 ῥεμβοί] So all the mss. μὴ λίχνοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; μὴδὲ λίχνοι g<sub>4</sub>; μὴ λίχναι g<sub>3</sub>; neque gulosae [l]. 14 Ἰουδιθ] ἰδιθ g<sub>4</sub>. 17 ἑαυτὸν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἑμαυτὸν g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. 18 ἐπέχων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; continens l; ἔχων g<sub>4</sub>. 23 ἀπαρτήσῃ] ἀπαρτήσῃ g<sub>2</sub>.

2. τέχνας] According to a precept of the Jewish rabbis, which enjoined that every boy should be taught a trade; see Farrar's *Life of Christ* i. p. 82, *St Paul* i. p. 23.

καλῶς κ.τ.λ.] Quoted from Prov. xxiii. 24, but not accurately.

5. Ἰωβ ἐδίδαξεν] In Job xxxi. 13 sq.

6. οὔτε δοῦλος κ.τ.λ.] Gal. iii. 28,

Col. iii. 11.

13. αἱ χῆραι κ.τ.λ.] *Ap. Const.* iii. 6 ἡ χῆρα μὴ περιτροχὰς ἢ ῥεμβομένη κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οἰκίας κ.τ.λ. For ῥεμβὸς comp. *Antioch.* 11.

14. ὡς ἡ Ἄννα κ.τ.λ.] Anna is given as an instance of a virtuous widow in *Ap. Const.* iii. 1, and Judith in *Ap. Const.* iii. 7.

16. τίς κ.τ.λ.] Quoted, but not

ἔτι γὰρ εἶμι ἀναπάρτιστος, ἀλλ' ἡ προσευχὴ ὑμῶν εἰς Θεόν  
 με ἀπαρτίσει, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθην ἐπιτύχω, προσφυγὼν τῷ  
 εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις  
 25 ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας. καὶ τοὺς προφήτας δὲ ἀγαπῶ,  
 ὡς Χριστὸν καταγγείλαντας, ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ πνεύματος μετα-  
 σχόντας, οὗ καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι. ὡς γὰρ οἱ ψευδοπροφήται  
 καὶ οἱ ψευδαπόστολοι ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἴλκυσαν πονηρὸν καὶ  
 ἀπατηλὸν καὶ λαοπλάνον πνεῦμα, οὕτω καὶ οἱ προφήται καὶ  
 30 οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἀγαθὸν καὶ  
 ἡγεμονικόν, ἀληθές τε καὶ διδασκαλικόν, ἔλαβον παρὰ  
 Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα· εἰς γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς  
 παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης· εἰς ὁ μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀν-  
 θρώπων, εἷς τε δημιουργίαν νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν, καὶ πρό-  
 35 νοιαν πρόσφορον καὶ κατάλληλον· εἷς δὲ καὶ ὁ παράκλητος,  
 ὁ ἐνεργήσας ἐν Μωσῇ καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις. πάν-  
 τες οὖν οἱ ἅγιοι ἐν Χριστῷ ἐσώθησαν, ἐλπίσαντες εἰς αὐτὸν  
 καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναμείναντες· καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας ἔτυχον,  
 ὄντες ἀξιαγάπητοι καὶ ἀξιοθαύμαστοι ἅγιοι, ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ  
 40 Χριστοῦ μεμαρτυρημένοι ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλπίδος.

VI. Ἐάν τις Θεὸν νόμου καὶ προφητῶν κηρύττη ἔνα,  
 Χριστὸν δὲ ἀρνεῖται υἱὸν εἶναι Θεοῦ, ψεύστης ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ

24 σαρκί] σαρῆ g<sub>4</sub>. 25 πρεσβυτερίῳ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; πρεσβυτέρω g<sub>4</sub>; *presbyterium*  
 (but with v. l. *presbyteros*) l. 31 τε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *et* [l]; om. g<sub>4</sub>. ἔλαβον  
 παρὰ Θεοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *acceperunt* l; om. (altogether) g<sub>4</sub>. 32 εὐθὲς πνεῦμα]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; om. g<sub>3</sub>; *spiritum* l (but omitting *spiritum* in the previous part of the  
 sentence). 36 Μωσῇ] μωσῆ g<sub>1</sub>. 39 ἀξιαγάπητοι] ἀξιοαγάπητοι g<sub>4</sub>.  
 καὶ ἀξιοθαύμαστοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *et digni laude* l; θαύμαστοι g<sub>3</sub>. Ἰησοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *christo jesu* l; χριστοῦ g<sub>4</sub>. 41 κηρύττη] g<sub>4</sub>s; κηρύττει  
 g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; κηρύττειν g<sub>1</sub>. 42 ἀρνεῖται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἀρνεῖται g<sub>4</sub>s.

verbatim, from 2 Sam. vii. 18.

18. ὑποφωνητοῦ] Judith xvi. 14  
 ἐξήρχεν Ἰουδιθ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν ταύ-  
 την ἐν παντὶ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ὑπεφώνει  
 πᾶς ὁ λαὸς κ.τ.λ. Hence ὑποφωνητῆς  
 is properly 'succentor'; comp. ὑπο-  
 φήτης. Here it signifies 'a humble  
 follower,' rather than 'an applauder'  
 or 'an encourager,' as it is some-

times taken.

31. ἡγεμονικόν] The epithet is  
 taken from Ps. l (li). 10. The epithet  
 εὐθὲς also, which occurs below, is  
 from the same psalm, ver. 11.

32. εἷς κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. ii. 5;  
 comp. *Tars.* 4.

42. ψεύστης ἐστίν κ.τ.λ.] A refer-  
 ence to John viii. 44.

ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ· ὁ διάβολος· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος τῆς κάτω περιτομῆς, ψευδοῖουδαῖος. εἴαν τις ὁμολογῇ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν Κύριον, ἀρνεῖται δὲ τὸν Θεὸν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, οὐκ εἶναι λέγων τὸν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ποιητὴν πατέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐχ ἔστηκεν, ὡς καὶ ὁ 5 πατήρ αὐτοῦ ὁ διάβολος· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος Σίμωνος τοῦ μάγου, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, μαθητής. εἴαν τις λέγῃ μὲν ἓνα Θεόν, ὁμολογεῖ δὲ καὶ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ψιλὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι νομίζῃ τὸν Κύριον, οὐχὶ Θεὸν μονογενῆ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ λόγον Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος αὐτὸν 10 εἶναι νομίζῃ, ὁ τοιοῦτος ὄφεις ἐστίν, ἀπάτην καὶ πλάνην κηρύττων ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ ἀνθρώπων· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος πένης τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς ἐπὶ κλῆν Ἐβίων. εἴαν τις ταῦτα μὲν ὁμολογῇ, φθορὰν δὲ καὶ μολυσμὸν καλεῖ τὴν νόμιμον μίξις καὶ τὴν τῶν παίδων γένεσιν, ἢ τινὰ τῶν βρωμάτων βδελυκτά, 15 ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔνοικον ἔχει τὸν δράκοντα τὸν ἀποστάτην. εἴαν

2 ὁμολογῇ]  $g_1 s g_2 s g_4 s$ ; ὁμολογεῖ  $g_3$ . 3 ἀρνεῖται]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; ἀρνήται  $g_4 s$ . 7 τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; τοῦ χριστοῦ  $g_4$ . λέγῃ]  $g_1 s g_4 s$ ; λέγει  $g_2 g_3$ . 8 ὁμολογεῖ]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; ὁμολογῇ  $g_4 s$ . 9 νομίζῃ]  $g_1 g_2 g_4 s$ ; νομίζει  $g_3$ . 10 αὐτὸν] txt  $g_1 g_2 g_3 g_4$  (but some MSS add *solum*). The editors have added *μόνον* after Morel. 11 νομίζῃ]  $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$ ; νομίζει  $g_2$ . 12 κηρύττων]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; κηρύττη  $g_4$ . 13 ἐπὶ κλῆν Ἐβίων] Morel; ἐπὶ κλῆν βίων  $g_1 g_2 g_4$ ; ἐπικαλεῖται Ἐβίων  $g_3$ ; *vocatur et adinventor ipsius erroris ebion* l. ὁμολογῇ]  $g_1 g_4 s$ ; ὁμολογεῖ  $g_2 g_3$ . 14 καλεῖ]  $g_1 g_3$ ; καλεῖ  $g_2 s g_4 s$ . 15 γένεσιν]  $g_1 g_2 s g_3$ ; γέννησιν  $g_4$ . 17 ὁμολογῇ]  $g_1 s g_2 s g_4 s$ ; ὁμολογεῖ  $g_3$ . 18 ἐπαινῇ]  $g_1 s g_2 s g_4 s$ ; ἐπαινεῖ

6. Σίμωνος τοῦ μάγου] Who was regarded as the parent of all the heresies; Iren. i. 23. 2, ii. præf. I, iii. præf. I.

7. εἴαν τις λέγῃ κ.τ.λ.] For the heresies here enumerated comp. *Apost. Const.* vi. 26 (comp. c. 10), which has many resemblances to this passage of our Pseudo-Ignatius.

10. ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος] The theory of our author is that the Divine Logos took the place of the human soul in Christ (Θεὸς λόγος ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ σώματι κατέκειτο...ὡς ψυχὴ ἐν σώματι κ.τ.λ.); and hence he re-

gards it as a heresy to maintain that our Lord 'consisted of soul and body.' Not understanding this, Morel added *μόνον* after *σώματος*, and he has been followed herein by many later editors. So also in *Philiph.* 5, after ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος the Greek MSS (like the editors here) add *μόνον*; while lower down, τὸν οὐκ ἀνθρωπεῖαν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα, the Greek MSS omit οὐκ, and the Armenian Version leaves out the whole sentence. Our author's view is quite different from Apollinarianism, which recognized the *tripartite* division of



τις πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ὁμολογῆ καὶ τὴν  
κτίσιν ἐπαινῆ, δόκησιν δὲ λέγει τὴν ἐνσωμάτωσιν καὶ τὸ  
πάθος ἐπαισχύνεται, ὁ τοιοῦτος ἡρνηται τὴν πίστιν οὐχ  
20 ἦττον τῶν χριστοφόνων Ἰουδαίων. εἰάν τις ταῦτα μὲν ὁμο-  
λογῆ, καὶ ὅτι Θεὸς λόγος ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ σώματι κατώκει, ὡν  
ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος, ὡς ψυχὴ ἐν σώματι, διὰ τὸ ἔνοικον εἶναι  
Θεὸν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἀνθρωπείαν ψυχὴν, λέγει δὲ τὰς παρανόμους  
μίξεις ἀγαθόν τι εἶναι καὶ τέλος εὐδαιμονίας ἡδονὴν τίθεται,  
25 οἷος ὁ ψευδώνυμος Νικολαΐτης· οὗτος οὔτε φιλόθεος οὔτε  
φιλόχριστος εἶναι δύναται, ἀλλὰ φθορεὺς τῆς οἰκείας σαρκὸς  
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κενὸς καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
ἀλλότριος. οἱ τοιοῦτοι πάντες στηλαί εἰσι καὶ τάφοι νε-  
κρῶν, ἐφ' οἷς γέγραπται μόνον ὀνόματα νεκρῶν ἀνθρώπων.  
30 φεύγετε οὖν τὰς κακοτεχνίας καὶ ἐνέδρας τοῦ πνεύματος  
τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς γίοις τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, μὴ  
ποτε οἱ θλιβέντες ἐξασθενήσητε ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ· ἀλλὰ πάντες  
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε ἐν ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ καὶ ψυχῇ θελοῦση,

g<sub>3</sub>. λέγει] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; λέγει g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. ἐνσωμάτωσιν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>!; ἐνσώματον g<sub>4</sub>.  
19 ἐπαισχύνεται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἐπαισχύνηται g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 20 ὁμολογῆ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; ὁμολογεῖ g<sub>3</sub>.  
22 αὐτῷ] g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; ἐαυτῷ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; al. 1. ὡς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ὡσπερ καὶ g<sub>3</sub>; sicut et 1.  
23 ἀνθρωπείαν] ἀνθρωπιαν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. λέγει] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; λέγει g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. 24 τί-  
θεται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; τιθῆται g<sub>4</sub>. 26 οἰκείας] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; οικίας g<sub>2</sub>. 27 διὰ  
τοῦτο] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>!; om. g<sub>4</sub>. 32 θλιβέντες] θλιβοντες g<sub>4</sub>. ἐξασθενήσητε]  
g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; ἐξασθενήσετε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. The aorist imperative, ἐξασθενήσατε, suggested by Zahn  
would be a solecism with μῆ.

the human being and substituted the Divine Logos, not for the ψυχὴ, but for the νοῦς. For the Christology of our Ignatian writer, and for this point especially, see Zahn on *Philipp.* 5, and *I. v. A.* p. 138 sq. In his language here he copies *Apost. Const.* vi. 26 ἀσεβοῦσι, ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπον εἶναι φανταζόμενοι τὸν Χριστόν, ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος αὐτὸν εἶναι νομίζοντες.

13. ὡς ἐπὶ κλην] 'according to his surname'; comp. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 27 τοῦ Ἐβριναίων ὀνόματος τὴν τῆς διανοίας πτωχείαν αὐτῶν ὑποφαίνοντος, ταύτη γὰρ ἐπὶ κλην ὁ πτωχὸς παρ'

Ἐβραίοις ὀνομάζεται, *Eccl. Theol.* i. 14 (p. 75). This account of the name Ἰϛϛ was derived by Eusebius from Origen; see the note on [Clem. Rom.] ii. 1.

22. ὡς ψυχῇ] The substitution of ὡσπερ καὶ for ὡς was prompted by the like motive which suggested the insertion of μόνον above.

25. ὁ ψευδώνυμος Νικολαΐτης] *Apost. Const.* vi. 8 οἱ νῦν ψευδώνυμοι Νικολαῖται: see the note on *Trall.* II.

30. τοῦ πνεύματος κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Ephes. ii. 2.

σύμψυχοι, τὸ ἐν φρονοῦντες, πάντοτε τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν δοξάζοντες, ἐν τε ἀνέσει καὶ κινδύνοις, καὶ ἐν λύπαις καὶ ἐν χαρμοναῖς. εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι εὐσυνείδητός εἰμι ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἔχει τις καυχῆσασθαι οὔτε λάθρα οὔτε φανερώς, ὅτι ἐβάρησά τινα ἢ ἐν μικρῷ ἢ 5 ἐν μεγάλῳ. καὶ πᾶσιν ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησα εὐχομαι, ἵνα μὴ εἰς μαρτυρίαν αὐτὸ κτήσωνται.

VII. Εἰ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα με ἠθέλησάν τινες πλανῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμά μου οὐ πλανᾶται· παρὰ γὰρ Θεοῦ αὐτὸ εἴληφα· οἶδε γὰρ πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ἵπάγει, καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ 10 ἐλέγχει. ἐκραύγασα μεταξὺ ὧν, ἐλάλουν μεγάλη φωνῇ· οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ· τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις. οἱ δὲ ὑποπτεύοντές με ὡς προμαθόντα τὸν μερισμὸν τινων λέγειν ταῦτα· μάρτυς μοι δι' ὃν δέδεμαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ στόματος ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔγνω· τὸ δὲ 15 πνεῦμα ἐκήρυξέ μοι, λέγον τάδε· Χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε· τὴν σάρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ τηρεῖτε· τὴν ἔνωσιν ἀγαπάτε, τοὺς μερισμοὺς φεύγετε· μιμηταὶ γίνεσθε Παύλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

VIII. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἴδιον ἐποίουν, ὡς ἄνθρωπος εἰς 20 ἔνωσιν κατηρτισμένος· ἐπιλέγων καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὗ διάστασις

2 ἀνέσει] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; αἰνέσει g<sub>4</sub>; om. g<sub>2</sub>. 3 εὐχαριστῶ] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sl; εὐχαριστῶς g<sub>2</sub>; εὐχαρίστως g<sub>1</sub>. 8 με] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sl with I; μὲν g<sub>2</sub>. 11 ἐκραύγασα] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; add γὰρ g<sub>3</sub>l. ὧν] I\*; ὧν g<sub>1</sub> (but it punctuates after the word) g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> (but as no variation is noticed, it probably punctuates as g<sub>1</sub>); οὗς (sic) g<sub>3</sub> (punctuating after μεταξὺ); eos quibus (either ὧν or οὗς) l. 12 τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l (with v.l. *presbyteris*); τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις g<sub>4</sub>. 13 οἱ δὲ ὑποπτεύοντες] I\*; *hi vero despexerunt* l; el δὲ ὑποπτεύετε g. The interpolator seems to have left the broken sentence which he found in the text of the genuine Ignatius: see above, II p. 267. 16 λέγον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; λέγων g<sub>2</sub> (comp. I\*). 23 ἀφίησιν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἀφιεί g<sub>2</sub>. 24 συνεδρεῖαν] g<sub>1</sub> (altered from συνεδρίαν) g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; συνεδρίαν g<sub>2</sub>; *concessum* l; συνέδριον I. 25 ἡμῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sl; ὑμῶν I.

1. σύμψυχοι κ.τ.λ.] Phil. ii. 2; comp. *Philipp.* i.

34. πρόκειται] 'are preferable to.' The word is used in a different sense in the original Ignatius; see the note

above, II p. 273.

35. σκληρὸν τὸ κ.τ.λ.] From Acts xxvi. 14. In Acts ix. 5 the words are an interpolation.

38. καὶ οἱ τοῦ λόγου διάκονοι] The

γνώμης καὶ ὀργῇ καὶ μῖσος, ἐκεῖ Θεὸς οὐ κατοικεῖ. πᾶσιν  
 οὖν τοῖς μετανοοῦσιν ἀφήσιν ὁ Θεός, ἐὰν συνδράμωσιν εἰς  
 ἐνότητα Χριστοῦ καὶ συνεδρείαν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. πιστεύω  
 25 τῇ χάριτι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι λύσει ἀφ' ἡμῶν πάντα σύν-  
 δεσμον ἀδικίας· παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν κατ' ἐριθείαν  
 πράσσετε, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χριστομαθίαν· ἤκουσα γάρ τινων  
 λεγόντων, ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὖρω τοῦ εὐαγγελίου,  
 οὐ πιστεύω· τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις ἐγὼ λέγω, ὅτι ἐμοὶ ἀρχεῖά  
 30 ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, οὗ παρακοῦσαι πρόδηλος ὄλεθρος.  
 ἄθικτόν μοι ἐστὶν ἀρχεῖον ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ  
 ἡ ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ περὶ τούτων· ἐν οἷς θέλω ἐν  
 τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν δικαιωθῆναι. ὁ ἀπιστῶν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ  
 πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ ἀπιστεῖ· οὐ γὰρ πρόκειται τὰ ἀρχεῖα τοῦ πνεύ-  
 35 ματος. σκληρὸν τὸ πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν, σκληρὸν τὸ  
 Χριστῷ ἀπιστεῖν, σκληρὸν τὸ ἀθετεῖν τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν ἀπο-  
 στόλων.

IX. Καλοὶ μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ τοῦ λόγου διάκονοι·  
 κρείσσων δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων,  
 40 ὃς μόνος πεπίστευται τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. καλαὶ αἱ λει-  
 ουργικαὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεις. ἅγιος ὁ παράκλητος, καὶ ἅγιος

There is no authority for ὑμῶν in the interpolator's text. 26 ἐριθείαν] g<sub>4s</sub>;  
 ἐριθίαν g<sub>1g2g3</sub>. 27 πράσσετε] g<sub>1g2sg4s</sub> with I; πράττετε g<sub>3</sub>. χριστομαθίαν]  
 g<sub>2g3</sub> I; χριστομάθειαν g<sub>1g4s</sub>; *christi dimicationem* (χριστομαχίαν) I. 28 τοῦ  
 εὐαγγελίου] g<sub>1g2g4</sub>; τὸ εὐαγγέλιον g<sub>31</sub>; ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ I. 31 ἄθικτον] g<sub>1g2</sub>; τὰ  
 ἄθικτα I (the construction being different); ἀθηνικόν g<sub>3g4s</sub>; om. I (unless indeed  
 it is represented by *et irremissibilis* (ἄθικτος?) attached to the previous sentence).  
 34 πρόκειται] g<sub>1g2g4</sub>, and so I (but with a different meaning and connexion);  
 προκρίνεται g<sub>3</sub>; *praesudicatur* [I]. 35 τὸ Χριστῷ] Morel, and so g<sub>4s</sub>; τῷ  
 Χριστῷ (τῷ Χριστῷ) g<sub>1g2g3</sub>. 38 ἱερεῖς] ἱρεῖς g<sub>2</sub>. 39 κρείσσω] g<sub>4s</sub>; κρείττων  
 g<sub>3</sub>; *melior* I; κρείσσω g<sub>1g2</sub>; κρείσσον I\*. 40 λειτουργικαὶ] g<sub>1g3g4s</sub>; λειτουρ-  
 γεῖαι καὶ g<sub>2</sub>, and so app. I, which translates *etiam officia virtutis dei*, and seems  
 therefore to read δυνάμεις also. 41 ἅγιος pri.] g<sub>1g2g4</sub>; *add.* δὲ g<sub>3</sub>; *add.*  
*quoque* [I].

interpolator has entirely misunder-  
 stood the meaning of the genuine  
 Ignatius, who intended the Levitical  
 priesthood by the ἱερεῖς and Christ  
 by the ἀρχιερεῖς (see the note on the

passage). Misapplying the words  
 to the presbyters and bishops, he  
 finds it necessary to insert a mention  
 of the deacons also.

ὁ λόγος, ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς υἱός, δι' οὗ ὁ πατήρ τὰ πάντα πεποίηκεν καὶ τῶν ὄλων προνοεῖ· οὗτός ἐστιν ἢ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἄγουσα ὁδός, ἢ πέτρα, ὁ φραγμός, ἢ κλείς, ὁ ποιμήν, τὸ ἱερεῖον, ἢ θύρα τῆς γνώσεως, δι' ἧς εἰσῆλθον Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, Μωσῆς καὶ ὁ σύμπας τῶν προφητῶν 5 χορός, καὶ οἱ στύλοι τοῦ κόσμου οἱ ἀπόστολοι, καὶ ἡ νύμφη τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὑπὲρ ἧς, φέρηνς λόγῳ, ἐξέχεεν τὸ οἰκεῖον αἷμα, ἵνα αὐτὴν ἐξαγοράσῃ. πάντα ταῦτα εἰς ἐνότητα τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ. ἐξαιρέτον δέ τι ἔχει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ πάθος, 10 αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνάστασιν. ἃ γὰρ οἱ προφήται κατήγγειλαν, λέγοντες, ἕως ἄν ἔλθῃ ᾧ ἀπόκειται, καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν, ταῦτα ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ πεπλήρωται· πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. πάντα 15 οὖν ὁμοῦ καλά, ὁ νόμος, οἱ προφήται, οἱ ἀπόστολοι, τὸ πᾶν συνάθροισμα τὸ δι' αὐτῶν πιστεύσαν· μόνον ἐὰν ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους.

X. Ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἃ ἔχετε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἀπηγγέλη μοι εἰρηνεύειν τὴν 20 ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, πρέπον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, ὡς ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ, χειροτονῆσαι ἐπίσκοπον εἰς τὸ πρεσβεῦ-

2 τῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>. 3 κλείς] κλῖς g<sub>1</sub>. 11 κατήγγειλαν] I; κατήγγειλον g<sub>2</sub>; κατήγγελλον g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; κατήγγελλον g<sub>3</sub>. 12 ᾧ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l; ὁ g<sub>2</sub>. In Gen. xlix. 10 (LXX) it is ἕως ἐὰν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν. 20 Χριστῷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; τῷ χριστῷ g<sub>2</sub>; domino l. ἀπηγγέλη] I; ἀπηγγέλει g<sub>4</sub>; ἀπηγγέλλη g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἀπηγγέλλει g<sub>2</sub>. 22 ἐκκλησία] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l I; ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ g<sub>4</sub>. 25 καὶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>3</sub>l. 27 οὐ πᾶσιν ἀδύνατον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; οὐ πᾶσαν ἀδύνατον g<sub>2</sub>; οὐ πᾶσιν (ἀδύνατον γὰρ) g<sub>3</sub>; quod non est omnibus

1. δι' οὗ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii. 25 Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σου, δι' οὗ καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησας καὶ τῶν ὄλων προνοεῖς.

3. ὁ φραγμός, ἢ κλείς] 'The fence' of the Church, 'the key' of Heaven. For φραγμός see Is. v. 5, lviii. 12;

for κλείς, Is. xxii. 22.

12. ἕως ἄν ἔλθῃ κ.τ.λ.] Gen. xlix. 10, where the LXX has ἕως ἄν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ. Some copies however have, as here, ᾧ ἀπόκειται for τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ; see Field Orig. *Hexapl.* i. p. 70. It is so

σαι ἐκεῖ Θεοῦ πρεσβείαν εἰς τὸ συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενομένοις, καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ. μακάριος 25 ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς κατηξιώθη τῆς τοιαύτης διακονίας· καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ σπουδάσαντες ἐν Χριστῷ δοξασθήσεσθε. θέλουσιν δὲ ὑμῖν οὐ πᾶσιν ἀδύνατον, ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος Θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ αἰεὶ αἱ ἔγγιστα ἐκκλησῖαι ἔπεμψαν ἐπισκόπους, αἱ δὲ πρεσβυτέ- ρους καὶ διακόνους.

30 XI. Περὶ δὲ Φίλωνος τοῦ διακόνου, ἀνδρὸς ἀπὸ Κιλικίας μεμαρτυρημένου, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἐν λόγῳ ὑπηρετεῖ μοι, ἅμα Γαίῳ καὶ Ἀγαθόποδι, ἀνδρὶ ἐκλεκτῷ, ὃς ἀπὸ Συρίας μοι ἀκολουθεῖ, ἀποταξάμενοι τῷ βίῳ, οἳ καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν ὑμῖν· καγὼ τῷ Θεῷ εὐχαριστῶ περὶ ὑμῶν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐδέξασθε αὐτούς· προσ- 35 δέξεται καὶ ὑμᾶς ὁ Κύριος. οἱ δὲ ἀτιμάσαντες αὐτοὺς λυτρω- θείησαν ἐν τῇ χάριτι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ΜΗ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΤὸΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ ἀλλὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν. ἀσπά- ζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐν Τρωάδι· ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν διὰ Βούργου πεμφθέντος ἅμα ἀπὸ Ἐφεσίων καὶ 40 Σμυρναίων εἰς λόγον τιμῆς· οὓς ἀμείψεται ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, εἰς ὃν ἐλπίζουσιν σαρκί, ψυχῇ, πνεύματι, πίστει, ἀγάπῃ, ὁμοιοῖα. ἔρρωσθε ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν, ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι.

*impossibile* I; οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδύνατον I. Perhaps we should read παντάπασι (the conj. of P. Young) for πᾶσιν. 30 δὲ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>l with I; καὶ g<sub>3</sub>. Κιλικίας]

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> I; κοιλίας g<sub>3</sub>. 31 ὑπηρετεῖ] ὑπηρετῆ g<sub>2</sub>. Γαίῳ] g<sub>3</sub>;

γανῖα g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; βάλω I\* : see above, II p. 279. 33 ἀποταξάμενοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>l;

ἀποταξάμενος g<sub>4</sub>. 37 τὸν] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub> (comp. Ezek. xxxiii. II οὐ βούλομαι τὸν

θάνατον); εἰς τὸν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>. 40 ἀμείψεται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub> (comp. τιμήσει in I);

ἀμείψαιτο g<sub>4</sub>; redimat I.

Subscr. τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς φιλαδελφεῖς g<sub>1</sub> (adding the number 5) g<sub>2</sub>. Nothing in g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

quoted also *Apost. Const.* vi. II, 23. Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 120 (p. 348 sq.), mentions both readings, giving the preference to φ' ἀπόκειται : and so he himself quotes it elsewhere, *Apol.* i. 32 (p. 73), 54 (p. 89).

13. πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε] From

Matt. xxviii. 19.

31. Γαίῳ καὶ Ἀγαθόποδι] For the insertion of the conjunction see the note on II p. 280 sq.

36. μὴ βουλομένου κ.τ.λ.] Loosely quoted from Ezek. xxxiii. II.

## 8.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΥΣ.

**Ι**ΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ πατρὸς ὑψίστου καὶ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡλεημένη ἐν παντὶ χαρίσματι, πεπληρωμένη ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, ἀνυστερήτῳ οὐσῇ παντὸς χαρίσματος, θεοπρεπε- 5 στατή καὶ ἀγιοφόρῳ, τῇ οὐσῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐν ἀμώμῳ πνεύματι καὶ λόγῳ Θεοῦ πλείστα χαίρειν.

I. Δοξάζω τὸν Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸν δι' αὐτοῦ οὕτως ὑμᾶς σοφίσαντα· ἐνόησα γὰρ ὑμᾶς κατηρτισμένους ἐν ἀκινήτῳ πίστει, ὡσπερ καθηλωμένους 10 ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι καὶ ἐδρασμένους ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πεπληροφορημένους ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰς τὸν Κίριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱόν, τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, τὸν Θεὸν λόγον, τὸν μονογενῆ υἱόν· ὄντα δὲ ἐκ γένους Δαυεὶδ 15 κατὰ σάρκα, ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, βεβαπτισμένον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, ἵνα πληρωθῇ πάσα δικαιοσύνη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· πολιτευσάμενον ὁσίως ἄνευ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκὶ ἀληθῶς· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν, ἀπὸ τοῦ θεομακα- 20 ρίστου αὐτοῦ πάθους, ἵνα ἄρῃ κύσσημον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας

ΠΡΟΣ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΥΣ] g<sub>4</sub> (with ζ in the marg.); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς σμυρναίους g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς σμυρναίους. ζ. g<sub>3</sub>.

4 πεπληρωμένη] So all the four MSS with I; but many edd. πεπληροφορημένη after Morel. 6 τῆς] repeated in g<sub>2</sub>. 9 αὐτοῦ] g; *seírsuati* (αὐτοῦ) l. 11 Κυρίου] txt l with I\*; add. ἡμῶν g. Χριστοῦ] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s 1 I; om. g<sub>1</sub>. 12 ἐδρασμένους] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἐδρασμένους g<sub>1</sub>; ἡδρασμένους g<sub>4</sub>s with I.

14. τὸν πρωτότοκον] Col. i. 15; vii. 37, 41; see *Ps-Magn.* 11, with comp. *Tars.* 4, *Ps-Ephes.* 20. the note.

17. πληρωθῇ κ.τ.λ.] A reference to Matt. iii. 15. 21. ἄρῃ σύσσημον] See above, 11, p. 292.

πολιτευσάμενον κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* 30. εἰπόντος] The passages which

διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους καὶ πιστοὺς αὐτοῦ,  
εἴτε ἐν Ἰουδαίοις εἴτε ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι τῆς ἐκ-  
κλησίας αὐτοῦ.

25 II. Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἔπαθεν δι' ἡμᾶς· καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν  
καὶ οὐ δοκῆσει, ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστη· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ τινὲς  
τῶν ἀπίστων ἐπαισχυνόμενοι τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πλάσιν καὶ  
τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν θάνατον λέγουσιν, ὅτι δοκῆσει  
καὶ οὐκ ἀληθείᾳ ἀνείληφε τὸ ἐκ τῆς παρθένου σῶμα καὶ τὸ  
30 δοκεῖν πέπονθεν, ἐπιλαθόμενοι τοῦ εἰπόντος, ὁ λόγος σὰρξ  
ἐγένετο, καὶ, λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τούτων καὶ δια τριῶν ἡμερῶν  
ἐγερῶ αὐτόν, καὶ, ἐὰν ὑψωθῶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, πάντας ἐλκύσω  
πρὸς ἑμαυτόν. οὐκοῦν ὁ λόγος ἐν σαρκὶ ᾤκησεν· ἡ σοφία  
γὰρ ἐλγτῆ ᾤκοδόμησεν οἶκον. ὁ λόγος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ναὸν  
35 λυθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν χριστομάχων Ἰουδαίων ἀνέστησεν τῇ  
τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὁ λόγος, ὑψωθείσης αὐτοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς κατὰ  
τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ χαλκοῦν ὄφιν, πάντας εἴλκυσεν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν  
εἰς σωτηρίαν αἰώνιον.

III. Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐν τῷ γεννᾶσθαι καὶ σταυροῦσθαι  
40 γινώσκω αὐτὸν ἐν σώματι γεγονέναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ  
τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα. καὶ  
ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· λάβετε, ψηλα-  
φήσατέ με, καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἄσώματον.  
πνεῦμα γὰρ σὰρκα καὶ ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμέ θεωρεῖτε  
45 ἔχοντα· καὶ τῷ Θωμᾷ λέγει· φέρε τὸν δάκτυλόν σου [ᾧδε]

See the note on *Smyrn.* 13 (II p. 325).

13 πεπληροφορημένους]  $g_1g_4s$  with I; πεπληροφορομένους  $g_2$ ; πεπληρωφορημένους  $g_3$ . 14 τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱόν]  $g_1g_2g_3$ ; τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ  $g_4$ .

15 Δαυελδ]  $d\alpha\delta$   $g_1$ . 17 πολιτευσάμενον]  $g_3$ ; πολιτευσάμενος  $g_1g_2$ ; πολιτευσαμένου  $g_4$ . 19 καθηλωμένον] I; καθηλωμένον  $g_3$ ; καθηλωμένου  $g_1g_2g_4$ .

29 τὸ δοκεῖν]  $g_2$  with I\*; τῷ (τῆ) δοκεῖν  $g_1g_3g_4s$ . 36 σαρκὸς]  $g_3$  adds ὑπὸ τῶν χριστομάχων Ἰουδαίων here also.

45 ᾧδε]  $g_1g_3$  with Joh. xx. 27; om.  $g_2g_4$  l.

follow are from John i. 14 (ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.), John ii. 19 (λύσατε κ.τ.λ.), John xii. 32 (ἐὰν ὑψωθῶ κ.τ.λ.).

33. ἡ σοφία κ.τ.λ.] Prov. ix. 1, quoted also *Philipp.* 3.

42. λάβετε κ.τ.λ.] For this uncan-

onical quotation found in the genuine Ignatius see above, II p. 294 sq. The interpolator here connects it with Luke xxiv. 39 πνεῦμα σὰρκα κ.τ.λ., John xx. 27 φέρε τὸν δάκτυλον κ.τ.λ., and John xx. 28 ὁ Κύριος κ.τ.λ.

εἰς τὸν τύπον τῶν ἡλῶν καὶ φέρε τὴν χειρὰ σοῦ καὶ βάλε εἰς τὴν πλεγρὰν μοῦ. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπίστευσαν ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη ὁ Χριστός. διὸ καὶ Θωμᾶς φησὶν αὐτῷ, ὁ Κύριός μοι καὶ ὁ Θεός μοι. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ θανάτου κατεφρόνησαν· μικρὸν γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ὕβρεων καὶ πληγῶν. οὐ μὴν δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ 5 τὸ ἐπιδείξαι ἑαυτὸν αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἀληθῶς ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐγγεργεται, καὶ συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν ἄχρισ ἡμερῶν ὄλων τεσσαράκοντα· καὶ οὕτως σὺν τῇ σαρκὶ βλεπόντων αὐτῶν ἀνελήφθη πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα αὐτόν, σὺν αὐτῇ πάλιν ἐρχόμενος μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως. φασὶν γὰρ τὰ λόγια, 10 οὔτως ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς ἀφ' ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν οὔτως ἐλεῖσεται, ὃν τρόπον ἐθεάσατο αὐτὸν πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. εἰ δὲ ἄνευ σώματος φασὶν ἐρχεσθαι ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος, πῶς αὐτὸν καὶ ὄψονται οἱ ἐκκεκνη- 15 σαντες καὶ ἐπιγνόντες κόψονται ἐφ' ἐαυτοῖς; ἀσωμάτων γὰρ οὔτε εἶδος οὔτε χαρακτήρ ἐστὶν ἢ σχῆμα ζώου μορφήν ἔχοντος διὰ τὸ ἀπλοῦν τῆς φύσεως.

IV. Ταῦτα δὲ παραινῶ ὑμῖν, ἀγαπητοί, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτως ἔχετε· προφυλάσσω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων, οὓς οὐ μόνον ἀποστρέφεσθαι χρὴ ἀλλὰ 20 καὶ φεύγειν· μόνον δὲ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰάν πως

1 βάλε]  $g_1sg_2sg_4s$ ; βάλλε  $g_3$ .

2 ἐπίστευσαν]  $g_3g_4s$  I with I; ἐπίστευσεν

$g_1g_2$ .

6 τὸ δοκεῖν]  $g_2$ ; τῷ (or τῷ) δοκεῖν  $g_1g_3g_4s$ .

8 οὕτως]  $g_3$ ; οὕτω

$g_1sg_2sg_4s$ .

11 ὁ Ἰησοῦς]  $g_1g_3g_4s$  with Acts i. 11; ἰησοῦς (om. ὁ)  $g_2$ .

14 ὄψονται] ὄψονται  $g_2$ .

15 ἐπιγνόντες]  $g_1g_3$ ; ἐπιγνώνντες (sic)  $g_2$ ; *cognos-*

*centes* I; ἐπιγνώσονται καὶ  $g_4$ .

16 σχῆμα] *τμήμα*  $g_1g_2g_4$ ; *σημα*  $g_3$ . The

paraphrase of I, *effigies...aliqua animalis formae...in qua fixura clavorum vel lanceae foramen appareat*, seems to be a combination of *τμήμα* and *σχῆμα*. 20 οὓς]

$g_1g_2g_3g_4$  with I. There is therefore no authority for *ἄ* which the edd. commonly read after Morel, unless indeed *quas* of I (agreeing with *bestiis*) can be so regarded.

21 προσεύχεσθε]  $g_4s$  I (comp. I\*); προσεύχεσθαι  $g_1g_2g_3$ .

22 τὸ δοκεῖν]  $g_2$  with

I\*; τῷ (τῷ) δοκεῖν  $g_1g_3g_4s$ .

23 τὸ δοκεῖν pri.] τῷ (τῷ) δοκεῖν  $g_1g_2s$  (but?)

8. βλεπόντων αὐτῶν] From Acts i. 9; the quotation which follows, οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς κ.τ.λ., being taken from the same context, i. 11.

13. εἰ δὲ ἄνευ κ.τ.λ.] See *Ps-Magn.* 6, with the note.

14. ὄψονται κ.τ.λ.] From Zach. xii. 10, not however as translated in the LXX, but substantially as quoted in Joh. xix. 37, Rev. i. 7.

16. σχῆμα] I have ventured on this conjecture (which is partially



μετανοήσωσιν. εἰ γὰρ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐν σώματι γέγονεν ὁ Κύριος  
καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ γὰρ τὸ δοκεῖν δέδεμαι. τί δὲ καὶ  
ἐμαντὸν ἔκδοτον δέδωκα τῷ θανάτῳ, πρὸς πῦρ, πρὸς μάχαι-  
25 ραν, πρὸς θηρία; ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι πάντα ὑπο-  
μένω διὰ Χριστὸν εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ, αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυνα-  
μοῦντος· οὐ γάρ μοι τοσοῦτον σθένος.

V. Ὅν τινες ἀγνοοῦντες ἠρνήσαντο, καὶ συνηγοροῦσι  
τῷ ψεύδει μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· οὓς οὐκ ἔπεισαν αἱ προφη-  
30 τεῖαι οὐδ' ὁ νόμος ὁ Μωσέως, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέχρι νῦν τὸ εὐαγγέ-  
λιον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα παθήματα· καὶ  
γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦσι. τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖ, εἰ ἐμὲ  
ἐπαινεῖ τις τὸν δὲ Κύριόν μου βλασφημεῖ, μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν  
σαρκοφόρον Θεόν; ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ λέγων τελείως αὐτὸν  
35 ἀπήρηται, ὡν νεκροφόρος. τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, ὄντα  
ἄπιστα, νῦν οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι ἐγγράψαι· μηδὲ γένοιτό μοι αὐτῶν  
μνημονεύειν, μέχρις οὗ μετανοήσωσιν.

VI. Μηδεὶς πλανάσθω, ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσῃ Χριστὸν  
Ἰησοῦν ἐν σαρκὶ πεπολιτεῦσθαι καὶ ὁμολογήσῃ τὸν σταυ-  
40 ρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸ αἷμα ὃ ἐξέχεεν ὑπὲρ τῆς  
τοῦ κόσμου σωτηρίας· ὅτι ζωῆς αἰωνίου οὐ τεύξεται, κἂν

g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>. τὸ δοκεῖν sec.] I\*; τῷ (τῷ) δοκεῖν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup> (but?) g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>. 24 ἔκ-  
δοτον...θανάτῳ] ἐκδέδωκα τῷ Δο (sic) θανατῷ g<sub>2</sub>. 25 τὸ δοκεῖν] g<sub>2</sub>; τῷ (τῷ)  
δοκεῖν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>. 28 συνηγοροῦσι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *consentiunt* l; συνηγόρου  
g<sub>4</sub>. 31 τῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; τὰ g<sub>3</sub>. παθήματα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> l with I;  
μαθήματα g<sub>4</sub>; see the note on Clem. Rom. 2. 36 μοι sec.] g<sub>4</sub> with I; με  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>3</sub>. 37 μετανοήσωσιν] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> with I; μετανοήσουσιν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>. 38 πισ-  
τεύσῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; πιστεύσει g<sub>2</sub>. 39 πεπολιτεῦσθαι] πεπολιτεῦθα g<sub>4</sub>. ὁμο-  
λογήσῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; ὁμολογήσει g<sub>2</sub>. 41 ὅτι] g; om. l. The emendation  
οὐ τῆς (for ὅτι), adopted in the common editions and retained even by Zahn, is  
due to Morel: see the next note. οὐ] l; om. g. The οὐ would easily be  
omitted after the preceding αἰωνίου; comp. Clem. Rom. 39 (Syr.). I have there-  
fore adopted this mode of correcting the text in preference to the reading of  
Morel, which involves a solecism in the position of the article.

supported by the Latin Version and by g<sub>3</sub>, because *τμήμα* 'a portion,' 'a section,' can hardly stand. If retained, it must mean 'an incision,' and refer to the piercing of the side,

etc., as the Latin translator paraphrases it; but such a connexion is very awkward. For the combination of *σχῆμα* and *μορφή* see the passages quoted *Philippians* p. 127, 129 (ed. 4).

βασιλεὺς ἢ καὶ ἱερεὺς, καὶ ἄρχων καὶ ἰδιώτης, καὶ δεσ-  
 πότης ἢ δούλος, [καὶ ἀνὴρ] ἢ γυνή. ὁ χωρῶν χωρεῖτω,  
 ὁ ἀκοῶν ἀκογέτω. τόπος καὶ ἀξίωμα καὶ πλοῦτος μη-  
 δένα φυσιούτω· ἀδοξία καὶ πενία μηδένα ταπεινούτω· τὸ  
 γὰρ ὅλον ἐστὶν πίστις ἢ εἰς Θεὸν καὶ ἢ εἰς Χριστὸν 5  
 ἐλπίς, ἢ τῶν προσδοκωμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσις, ἀγάπη τε  
 περὶ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὸ ὁμόφυλον· ἀγαπήσεις γὰρ Κύριον τὸν  
 Θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου, καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς  
 σεαυτόν· καὶ ὁ Κύριος φησὶν, ἀγῆ ἐστὶν ἡ αἰώνιος ζωὴ, τὸ  
 γινώσκειν τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεόν, καὶ ὃν ἀπέστειλεν 10  
 Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· καὶ, ἐντολὴν καινὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγα-  
 πάτε ἀλλήλους· ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἀγῆς ἐντολαῖς ὅλος ὁ νόμος  
 καὶ οἱ προφῆται κρέμανται. καταμάθετε οὖν τοὺς ἑτεροδοξ-  
 οῦντας, πῶς νομοθετοῦσιν ἄγνωστον εἶναι τὸν πατέρα τοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ, πῶς ἄπιστον ἔχθραν μετ' ἀλλήλων ἔχουσιν. ἀγάπης 15  
 αὐτοῖς οὐ μέλει, τῶν προσδοκωμένων ἀλογούσι, τὰ παρόντα  
 ὡς ἐστῶτα λογίζονται, τὰς ἐντολὰς παρορωῶσιν, χῆραν  
 καὶ ὄρφανὸν περιωρῶσιν, θλιβόμενον διαπτύουσιν, δεδεμένον  
 γελῶσιν.

VII. Τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπαισχύνονται, τὸ πάθος χλευάζουσι, 20

2 καὶ ἀνὴρ] Morel; *seu vir* 1; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>. 4 πενία] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; πένεια g<sub>2</sub>.  
 7 ἀγαπήσεις] ἀγαπήσης g<sub>2</sub>. 8 καρδίας σου] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> 1; add. καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς  
 διανοίας σου g<sub>2</sub>. 12 ὅλος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> 1; om. g<sub>2</sub>. 16 τὰ παρόντα ὡς ἐστῶτα  
 λογίζονται] g (except that g<sub>3</sub> has ἐνεστῶτα for ἐστῶτα). But 1 translates the whole  
 sentence ἀγάπης...λογίζονται, *dilectionem enim futurorum negligunt, praesentia  
 dissimulant, quae ventura sunt tanquam praesentia* (v. l. *nunc instantia*) *esse putant  
 et tanquam somnium et phantasiam existimant*. This suggests (after allowance  
 made for faulty punctuation, etc.,) that some words have fallen out from the latter  
 part of the Greek text, and that it should be read τὰ παρόντα [κλέπτουσι, τὰ  
 μέλλοντα] ὡς ἐνεστῶτα λογίζονται [καὶ φαντάζονται], and the omissions might be  
 explained by homocoteleuton. The Greek however, as it stands, makes better  
 sense and may be substantially correct. Perhaps however the word φαντάζονται

2. ὁ χωρῶν] The two clauses are loosely quoted, the first from Matt. xix. 12, the second from Matt. xiii. 43, etc.

7. ἀγαπήσεις κ.τ.λ.] See Luke x. 27; comp. Matt. xxii. 37 sq., Mark xii. 30, 31. See *Ps-Ephes.* 14.

9. φησὶν] The passages which follow are taken from John xvii. 3 *αὕτη ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ.*, John xiii. 34 *ἐντολὴν κ.τ.λ.*, Matt. xxii. 40 *ἐν ταύταις κ.τ.λ.*

21. ἀρχεκάκου] Comp. *Ps-Trall.* 10, with the note.

23. τοῦ τὸν Ἀβελ κ.τ.λ.] *Philipp.*

τὴν ἀνάστασιν κωμῳδοῦσιν ἔγγονοί εἰσι τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου  
 πνεύματος, τοῦ τὸν Ἄδὰμ διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς ἐντολῆς ἐξώ-  
 σαντος, τοῦ τὸν Ἄβελ διὰ τοῦ Κάϊν ἀποκτείναντος, τοῦ τῷ  
 25 Ἰὼβ ἐπιστρατεύσαντος, τοῦ κατηγοροῦντος Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ἰω-  
 σεδέκ, τοῦ ἐΞΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΙΝΙΑΣΘἆΝΑΙ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν  
 πίστιν, τοῦ τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν πλῆθος ἐπεγείραντος τῷ Κυρίῳ, τοῦ  
 καὶ Νῆν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς γίοις τῆς ἀπειθείας ὧν ῥύσεται  
 ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ δεηθεὶς μὴ ἐκλείπειν τὴν  
 30 πίστιν τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὐχ ὡς μὴ αὐταρκῶν φυλάξαι αὐτὴν  
 ἀλλ' ὡς χαίρων τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπεροχῇ. πρέπον οὖν ἔστιν  
 ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ μήτε κατ' ἰδίαν περὶ αὐτῶν  
 λαλεῖν μήτε κοινῇ, προσέχειν δὲ νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις καὶ τοῖς  
 εὐαγγελισαμένοις ὑμῖν τὸν σωτήριον λόγον.

VIII. Τὰς δὲ δυσωνύμους αἰρέσεις καὶ τοὺς τὰ σχίσματα  
 35 ποιοῦντας φεύγετε, ὡς ἀρχὴν κακῶν. πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ  
 ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς τῷ πατρί· καὶ τῷ πρεσ-  
 βυτερίῳ δὲ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε,  
 ὡς Θεοῦ ἐντολὴν διακονοῦντας. μηδεὶς χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τι  
 πρᾶστέω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐκείνη βεβαία

should be substituted for λογίζονται, as suggested by l.

18 θλιβόμενον]

g<sub>1</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; *tribulatum* l; θλιβομένων g<sub>2</sub>.

διαπτύουσιν] g<sub>1</sub>; διαπτύουσι

g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>.

δεδεμένον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> l; δεδεμένων g<sub>2</sub>.

21 κωμῳδοῦσιν] κομο-

δοῦσιν g<sub>2</sub>.

22 ἐξέωσαντος] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; ἐξέωσαντος g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; comp. *Mart. Ant.* 6

(with the note, II p. 485).

24 τοῦ κατηγοροῦντος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; τοῦ καταργή-

σαντος g<sub>3</sub>; *qui...resistere temptavit* l.

τοῦ] g<sub>4</sub>; τοῦ τῷ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; om. g<sub>3</sub>. There

is no authority for *υἱοῦ* which the editors have adopted after Morel, though l has *filio*. The τῷ seems to be a duplication of the first syllable of ΙΩΣΕΔΕΚ.

26 τοῦ τῷ] τοῦτο g<sub>2</sub>.

28 ἡμᾶς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> l; ὑμᾶς g<sub>3</sub>. Dressel omits the

word by accident, but corrects his error in the Addenda.

30 πρέπον]

πρέπων g<sub>2</sub>.

31 περὶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; μετ' g<sub>3</sub>; *cum* l.

33 ὑμῖν]

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup> l; ἡμῖν g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

36 ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *jesus christus* l; ὁ χριστὸς

g<sub>4</sub>.

II ὁ τῷ Ἄβελ ἐπαναστήσας τὸν ἀνθρω-  
 ποκτόνον Κάϊν, ὁ τῷ Ἰὼβ ἐπιστρατεύ-  
 σας.

τοῦ τῷ Ἰὼβ κ.τ.λ.] See *Apost. Const.* vi. 5, where Satan is mentioned as attacking Job, Joshua the son of Josedek, and 'us' the Apostles.

25. ἐξαιτησαμένου κ.τ.λ.] Luke xxii.

32 ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐξητήσατο ὑμᾶς τοῦ σι-  
 νιάσαι κ.τ.λ. Just below there is a  
 reference to the next verse, ἐγὼ δὲ  
 ἐδεήθην περὶ σοῦ κ.τ.λ.

26. τοῦ...νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος κ.τ.λ.]  
 Ephes. ii. 2; comp. *Philipp.* 4.

εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἡ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ· ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλήθος ἔστω ὡσπερ ὅπου ὁ Χριστός, πᾶσα ἡ οὐράνιος στρατιὰ παρέστηκεν ὡς ἀρχιστρατήγῳ τῆς δυνάμεως Κυρίου καὶ διανομεῖ πάσης νοητῆς φύσεως. οὐκ ἔξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε 5 βαπτίζειν οὔτε προσφέρειν οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν οὔτε δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν· ἀλλ' ὁ ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκῇ κατ' εὐαρέστησιν Θεοῦ, ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ᾦ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν, ὅσ' ἂν πράσσετε.

IX. Εὐλογόν ἐστι λοιπὸν ἀνανῆσαι ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔτι καιρὸν ἔχομεν εἰς Θεὸν μετανοεῖν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ ᾄδῃ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐζομο- 10 λογόμενος· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ. τίμα, φησί, γιέ, τὸν Θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα· ἐγὼ δὲ φημί, Τίμα μὲν τὸν Θεὸν ὡς αἴτιον τῶν ὅλων καὶ Κύριον, ἐπίσκοπον δὲ ὡς ἀρχιερέα Θεοῦ εἰκόνα φοροῦντα, κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄρχειν, Θεοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερατεύειν, Χριστοῦ· καὶ μετὰ τούτων 15 τιμᾶν χρῆ καὶ βασιλέα. οὔτε γὰρ Θεοῦ τις κρείττων ἢ παραπλήσιος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσι, οὔτε δὲ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπισκόπου τι μείζον ἱερωμένου Θεῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς σωτηρίας, οὔτε βασιλέως τις παραπλήσιος ἐν ἄρχουσιν εἰρήνην καὶ εὐνομίαν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις πρυτανεύοντος. ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκο- 20

I εὐχαριστία]  $g_1g_3g_4^s$ ; εὐχαριστεία  $g_2$ . 2 ἐπιτρέψῃ]  $g_1g_4^s$  with I; ἐπι-  
τρέψει  $g_2g_3$ . ἔστω]  $g_1g_2^sg_4^s$  with I; *congregetur* I; ἔσται  $g_3$ . 3 πᾶσα]  
 $g_1g_2g_3$  I; ἐκείσε πᾶσα  $g_4$ . 4 διανομεῖ]  $g_1g_2^sg_4^s$ ; *ipse est dispensator* I; δια-  
νομῆ]  $g_3$ . 6 θυσίαν] οὖσιαν  $g_2$ . 7 δοκῇ]  $g_2^sg_4^s$  (comp. I); δοκεῖ  
 $g_1g_3$ . 8 ἀσφαλὲς] ἀσφαλῆς  $g_2$ . 8σ' ἂν] δ' ἂν  $g_1g_2$  (written how-  
ever δδ' ἂν)  $g_4$ ; δ τ' ἂν  $g_3$ . The sentence in I runs *ergo omnia quaecumque agitis  
et facitis, jam rationabilia sunt, ut corrigamus nos in deo, cum tempus habemus  
poenitendi*. In I the words are δ πράσσετε (πράσσεται), being attached to the pre-  
vious sentence (see above II p. 314). It seems impossible with the MSS to connect  
πράσσετε with the next sentence on account of the first persons, ἡμᾶς, ἔχομεν; and

4. ἀρχιστρατήγῳ] So Christ is called by Justin Martyr *Dial.* 34 (p. 251), 61 (p. 284), from an application of Josh. v. 13, 14, 15, to Him, *ib.* 62 (p. 286).

7. δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν] See the note above, II p. 312.

10. ἐν...τῷ ᾄδῃ κ.τ.λ.] Loosely

quoted from Ps. vi. 6. Of the passages which follow, *ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος κ.τ.λ.* (quoted in the same way in *Apost. Const.* ii. 14) is a loose quotation from Is. lxii. 11; and τίμα κ.τ.λ. is cited, likewise loosely, from Prov. xxiv. 21.

22. εἰ γὰρ ὁ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.*

πον ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τιμηθήσεται, ὡς περ οὖν ὁ ἀτιμάζων αὐτὸν  
 ὑπὸ Θεοῦ κολασθήσεται. εἰ γὰρ ὁ βασιλευσιν ἐπεγει-  
 ρόμενος κολάσεως ἄξιος δικαίως γενήσεται, ὡς γε παραλίω  
 τὴν κοινὴν εὐνομίαν, πόσῳ δοκεῖτε χείρονος ἀζιωθήσεται  
 25 τιμωρίας ὁ ἄνευ ἐπισκόπου τι ποιεῖν προαιρούμενος καὶ τὴν  
 ὁμόνοιαν διασπῶν καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν συγχέων; ἱερωσύνη γάρ  
 ἔστιν τὸ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀναβεβηκός· ἧς ὁ  
 καταμανεῖς οὐκ ἀνθρωπον ἀτιμάζει ἀλλὰ Θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν  
 Ἰησοῦν τὸν πρωτότοκον καὶ μόνον τῇ φύσει τοῦ πατρὸς  
 30 ἀρχιερέα. πάντα οὖν ὑμῖν μετ' εὐταξίας ἐπιτελείσθω ἐν  
 Χριστῷ. οἱ λαϊκοὶ τοῖς διακόνους ὑποτασσέσθωσαν· οἱ διά-  
 κονοὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις· οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ· ὁ  
 ἐπίσκοπος τῷ Χριστῷ, ὡς αὐτὸς τῷ πατρί. καθά με ἀνεπαύ-  
 σατε, ἀδελφοί, καὶ ὑμᾶς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός. ἀπόντα με καὶ  
 35 παρόντα ἠγαπήσατε· ἀμείψεται ὑμᾶς ὁ Θεός, δι' ὃν ταῦτα εἰς  
 τὸν δέσμιον αὐτοῦ ἐνεδείξασθε· εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ εἶμι ἱκανός,  
 ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς προθυμίας ὑμῶν μέγα· ὁ τιμῶν γὰρ προφήτην  
 εἰς ὄνομα προφήτου μισθὸν προφήτου λήψεται· δηλονότι  
 καὶ ὁ τιμῶν δέσμιον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτύρων λήψεται  
 40 μισθόν.

I have therefore substituted ὅσ' ἂν for δ' ἂν. πράσσετε] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> [1] with I  
 (which however omits ἂν); 9 εὐλογόν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub> [1] with  
 I; I; ἄλογόν g<sub>4</sub>. ἡμᾶς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub> l with I\*; ὕμᾶς g<sub>3</sub>. 10 ἔχομεν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s  
 I with I; ἔχοντας g<sub>3</sub>. ἄδῃ] ἄδῃ g<sub>1</sub>. 17 ἐν sec.] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> l; om. g<sub>4</sub>.  
ἐπισκόπου τι μείζον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; τι μείζον ἐπισκόπου g<sub>4</sub>. 19 τίς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> l;  
 om. g<sub>4</sub>. 22 βασιλευσιν ἐπεγειρόμενος] g<sub>1</sub>; *contra regem insurgens* l; βασι-  
λευσιν ἐπαγειρόμενος g<sub>3</sub>; βασιλευσι μὴ ἐπεγειρόμενος g<sub>2</sub> (see Dressel's Addenda) g<sub>4</sub>.  
 With this last reading ἐπεγειρόμενος must mean 'rising to do honour to.' 23 κολ-  
λάσεως] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> l; καὶ κολάσεως g<sub>4</sub>. ἄξιος δικαίως] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἀξίως καὶ δικαίως  
g<sub>2</sub>; dignus l. 24 χείρονος] χείρονως g<sub>2</sub>. 27 πάντων] πᾶν τῶν g<sub>2</sub>,  
 and so apparently l *summa omnium bonorum*. 33 καθά με] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; κα-  
θᾶμε (sic) g<sub>2</sub>; καθό με g<sub>3</sub>. 35 παρόντα] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s l; add. με g<sub>2</sub>.

vi. 2 εἰ γὰρ ὁ βασιλευσιν ἐπεγειρό-  
 μένος κολάσεως ἄξιος, κἂν υἱὸς ἢ κἂν  
 φίλος, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ ἱερεῦσιν ἐπιστο-  
 τάμενος· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἱερωσύνη βασιλείας  
 ἀμείνων κ.τ.λ.

24. πόσῳ δοκεῖτε κ.τ.λ.] From Heb.  
 x. 29.

29. τῇ φύσει κ.τ.λ.] See *Ps-Magn.*  
 4, with the note.

37. ὁ τιμῶν κ.τ.λ.] Matt. x. 41,  
 loosely quoted.

39. μαρτύρων λήψεται κ.τ.λ.] For  
 this belief see *Apost. Const.* v. 1,  
 where it is stated at length.

X. Φίλωνα καὶ Γάϊον καὶ Ἀγαθόποδα, οἱ ἐπηκολούθησαν μοι εἰς λόγον Θεοῦ διάκονοι Χριστοῦ ὄντες, καλῶς ἐποιήσατε ὑποδεξάμενοι ὡς διακόνους Χριστοῦ· οἱ καὶ σφόδρα εὐχαριστοῦσιν τῷ Κυρίῳ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀνεπαύσατε κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. οὐδὲν ὑμῖν παραλογισθήσεται ὧν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατε· δῶν ὑμῖν ὁ Κύριος εἶρεῖν ἔλεος παρὰ Κυρίου ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμά μου, καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου ἃ οὐχ ὑπερηφανήσατε οὐδὲ ἐψησχύνθητε· διὸ οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς ἐπαισχυνηθήσεται ἡ τελεία ἐλπίς, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός. 10

XI. Αἱ προσευχαὶ ὑμῶν ἤγγισαν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ εἰρηνεύεται· ὅθεν δεδεμένος πάντας ἀσπάζομαι, οὐκ ὧν ἄξιος ἐκείθεν εἶναι, ἔσχατος αὐτῶν ὧν κατὰ θέλημα κατηξιώθην, οὐκ ἐκ συνειδήσεως ἐμῆς ἀλλ' ἐκ χάριτος Θεοῦ· ἦν εὐχομαι τελείαν μοι δοθῆναι, ἵνα ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑμῶν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ὅπως οὖν ὑμῶν τὸ ἔργον τέλειον γένηται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, πρέπει εἰς Θεοῦ τιμὴν χειροτονῆσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑμῶν θεοπροσβύτην εἰς τὸ γενόμενον ἐν Συρίᾳ συγχαρῆναι αὐτοῖς, ὅτι εἰρηνέουσιν καὶ ἀπέλαβον τὸ ἴδιον μέγεθος καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη αὐτοῖς τὸ ἴδιον σωματίον. ὃ ἐφάνη μοι ἄξιον, τοῦτο ἐστίν· ὥστε πέμψαι τιὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων μετ' ἐπιστολῆς, ἵνα συνδοξάσῃ τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν αὐτοῖς γενομένην εὐδίαν, καὶ ὅτι λιμένος εὐόρμου τετύχηκα Χριστοῦ διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν. τέλειοι ὄντες,

7 τὸ πνεῦμά μου] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> l; τὸ πνεῦμα μα (sic) μου g<sub>4</sub>. Add. καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα μου g<sub>4</sub>; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> l. 8 ὑπερηφανήσατε] I\*; ὑπερηφανεύσατε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

9 ἐψησχύνθητε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἐπαισχυνήθητε g<sub>2</sub>; see the note on II. p. 316 sq. 12 εἰρηνεύεται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; εἰρηνεύετε g<sub>2</sub>; *pacifici estis* l. 13 εἶναι] l with I; om. g.

ὧν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>3</sub> with I; om. g<sub>4</sub> l. κατὰ] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; add. δὲ g<sub>3</sub> l; see above, II. p. 318. 14 θέλημα] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; add. τοῦ Θεοῦ g<sub>3</sub> l; see the note on *Ephes.* 20 (II. p. 85).

16 ὑμῶν τὸ ἔργον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> (comp. I); τὸ ἔργον ὑμῶν g<sub>4</sub>. 20 ἀπεκατεστάθη] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s with I; ἀποκατεστάθη g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s.

22 συνδοξάσῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; συνδοξάσει g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 23 εὐδίαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; εὐδελαν-g<sub>2</sub>. 25 ἔτοιμος ὁ Θεός] ἔτοιμοὺς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἔτοιμος g<sub>4</sub>; ἔτοιμός ἐστίν (sic) ὁ θεός g<sub>3</sub>; θεός ἔτοιμος I; *deus paratus est* l.

The reading adopted will account for the two variations, ἔτοιμοὺς and ἔτοιμός ἐστίν ὁ θεός. The repetition of similar letters explains the corruptions. The insertion of καὶ in the interpolator shows that

6. δῶν...ὁ Κύριος κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Tim. i. 18, quoted also *Hero* 9.

25 τέλεια καὶ φρονεῖτε· θέλουσι γὰρ ὑμῖν εὖ πράττειν, καὶ ἔτοιμος ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸ παρασχεῖν.

XII. Ἀσπάζεταιται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν τῶν ἐν Τρωάδι· ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν διὰ Βούργου, ὃν ἀπεστείλατε μετ' ἐμοῦ ἅμα Ἐφεσίοις τοῖς συναδέλφοις ὑμῶν· ὃς κατὰ  
30 πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν. καὶ ὄφελον πάντες αὐτὸν ἐμιμοῦντο, ὄντα ἐξεμπλάριον Θεοῦ διακονίας. ἀμείψεται αὐτὸν ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου κατὰ πάντα. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἀξιόθεον ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν Πολύκαρπον καὶ τὸ θεοπρεπὲς πρεσβυτέριον καὶ τοὺς χριστοφόρους διακόνους τοὺς συνδούλους μου, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ  
35 ἄνδρα καὶ κοινῇ πάντας, ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τῆ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ αἵματι, πάθει τε καὶ ἀναστάσει σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ, [ἐν] ἐνότητι Θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν. χάρις ὑμῖν, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, ὑπομονή, διὰ παντὸς ἐν Χριστῷ.

XIII. Ἀσπάζομαι τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου σὺν  
40 γυναιξίν καὶ τέκνοις, καὶ ἀειπαρθένους καὶ τὰς χήρας. ἔρρωσθέ μοι ἐν δυνάμει πατρός. ἀσπάζεταιται ὑμᾶς Φίλων ὁ συνδιάκονος, ὁ ὢν σὺν ἐμοί. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν οἶκον Γαυίας, ἣν εὐχομαι ἠδραῖσθαι πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ. ἀσπάζομαι Ἄλκην, τὸ ποθητὸν μοι ὄνομα, καὶ Δάφνον  
45 τὸν ἀσύγκριτον καὶ Εὐτεκνον καὶ πάντας κατ' ὄνομα. ἔρρωσθε ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, πεπληρωμένοι πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ σοφίας θείας καὶ ἱεράς.

he tampered with the original text of Ignatius here. 27 ὑμῶν]  $g_1g_2sg_3$  l I;

ἡμῶν  $g_4$ . 29 συναδέλφοις]  $g_1g_2g_4$ ; ἀδελφοῖς  $g_3$  with I; *fratribus* l. The

word however appears to be accentuated *συναδέλφοις* in  $g_1g_2g_4$ , and this excites suspicion.

34 χριστοφόρους] *χρηστοφόρους*  $g_2$ . τοὺς συνδούλους μου]

$g_1g_3g_4$  l with I; om.  $g_2$ . κατὰ ἄνδρα]  $g_1g_2sg_3$ ; κατ' ἄνδρα  $g_4$  I.

35 καὶ κοινῇ] l with I; κοινῇ (om. *καὶ*)  $g$ . Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ]  $g_1g_2sg_3$ ; *Ιησοῦ*

χριστοῦ  $g_4$  l with I. τῆ σαρκὶ] l with I; *τῆς σαρκὸς*  $g$ . 37 ἐν]

I; *in* [I]; om.  $g$ . 40 ἀειπαρθένους] *virgines* l; τὰς παρθένους I; ἀειπαρ-

θένους  $g_1g_2$  (for Dressel's *ἀειπαρθένους*, though uncorrected in the Addenda, is an

obvious misprint)  $g_3g_4$ . 41 πατρός] I (but with a v. l. *πνεύματος*); *dei patris*

l; *πνεύματος*  $g$ : see above II. p. 324. 43 καὶ ἀγάπῃ σαρκικῇ τε]  $g_1g_2g_3$  with

I; *et dilectione carnali* l; *σαρκικῇ ἀγάπῃ*  $g_4$ . 44 Ἄλκην]  $g_2$ ; ἀλκὴν  $g_1g_3g_4$ .

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς σμυρναίους (*σμυρνεύς*  $g_2$ )

$g_1g_2$ , to which  $g_1$  adds the number ζ. No subscription in  $g_3g_4$ .

40. ἀειπαρθένους] The Vestals are so called, Dion Cass. lix. 3, lx. 5.

## 9.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΝ.

ἸΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀντιοχείας, ὁ καὶ μάρτυς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Πολυκάρπῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐκκλησίας Σμυρναίων, μᾶλλον ἐπισκοπημένῳ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, πλείστα χαίρειν.

I. Ἀποδεχόμενος τὴν ἐν Θεῷ σου γνώμην ἠδρασμένην ὡς ἐπὶ πέτραν ἀκίνητον, ὑπερδοξάζω καταξιωθεὶς τοῦ προσώπου σου τοῦ ἀμώμου, οὗ ὀναίμην ἐν Θεῷ. παρακαλῶ ὅτε ἐν χάριτι ἢ ἐνδέδυσαι προσθεῖναι τῷ δρόμῳ σου, καὶ πάντας παρακαλεῖν ἵνα σώζωνται. ἐκδίκει σου τὸν τόπον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ. τῆς ἐνώσεως φρόντιζε, ἧς οὐδὲν ἄμεινον. πάντας βάσταζε, ὡς καὶ σε ὁ Κύριος· πάντων ἀνέχου ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ ποιεῖς. προσευχαῖς σχόλαζε ἀδιαλείπτως. αὐτοῦ σύνεσιν πλείονα ἢς ἔχεις. γρηγόρει ἀκοίμητον πνεῦμα κεκτημένος. τοῖς κατὰ ἄνδρα κατὰ ὁμοίθειαν λάλει Θεοῦ. πάντων τὰς νόσους βάσταζε, ὡς τέλειος ἀθλητῆς, ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος πάντων· ἀγίτος γάρ, φησί, τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν καὶ τὰς νόσους ἡμῶν ἐβάστασεν. ὅπου πλείων κόπος, πολὺ κέρδος.

II. Καλοὺς μαθητὰς εἶν φιληῖς, χάρις σοι οὐκ ἔστιν.

ΠΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΝ] πρὸς πολύκαρπον ἐπίσκοπον σμύρνης (with η in the marg.) g<sub>4</sub>; τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς πολύκαρπον ἐπίσκοπον σμύρνης g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub> (numbered η in g<sub>1</sub>); τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς πολύκαρπον ἐπίσκοπον σμύρνης. ἢ. g<sub>3</sub>.

4 ἐπισκοπημένῳ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἐπεσκοπημένῳ g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>. Ἰησοῦ] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> I; præf. κυρίου g<sub>2</sub>; def. 1: see II. p. 331. 9 προσθεῖναι] g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; προσθῆναι g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 10 σώζονται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; σώζονται g<sub>2</sub>. 14 ἀδιαλείπτως] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> I; ἀδιαλείπτως g<sub>4</sub> 1: see above, II. p. 334. 16 ὁμοίθειαν] g; *adimitorium* (βοήθειαν) 1: see above, II. p. 335. 17 ὁ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; om. g<sub>3</sub>. 19 ἡμῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup> 1; ἡμῶν g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub> (with Matt. viii. 17). πλείων] πλείον (sic) g<sub>2</sub>. πολὺ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> with I; πλείον g<sub>4</sub>; *maius* [1]. 21 πραῖτητι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; *πραβήτητι*

17. αὐτὸς...τὰς ἀσθενείας, κ.τ.λ.] Is. liiii. 4, not as it stands in the LXX, but as quoted in Matt. viii. 17.



μάλλον δὲ τοὺς λοιμοτέρους ἐν πραύτητι ὑπότασσε. οὐ πάν  
 τραῦμα τῇ αὐτῇ ἐμπλάστρω θεραπεύεται· τοὺς παροξυσμοὺς  
 ἐμβροχαῖς παῦε. φρόνιμος γίνογ ὡς ὁ ὄφισ ἐν πᾶσιν, καὶ  
 ἀκέραιος εἰσαεὶ ὡς ἡ περιστερά. διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ  
 25 σώματος εἶ, σαρκικὸς καὶ πνευματικὸς, ἵνα τὰ φαινόμενά  
 σοι εἰς πρόσωπον ἐπανορθώσης, τὰ δὲ ἀόρατα αἶτει ἵνα  
 σοι φανερωθῆῖ· ἵνα μηδὲν σοι λείπη, καὶ παντὸς χαρίσ-  
 ματος περισσεύης. ὁ καιρὸς ἀπαιτεῖ σε εὐχέσθαι· ὥσπερ  
 γὰρ κυβερνήτη ἄνεμος συμβάλλεται, καὶ ὡς νηὶ χειμα-  
 30 ζομένη λιμένες εὐθετοὶ εἰς σωτηρίαν, οὕτω καὶ σοὶ τὸ ἐπι-  
 τυχεῖν Θεοῦ. νῆφε ὡς Θεοῦ ἀθλητῆς· οὐ τὸ θέλημα ἀφ-  
 θαρσία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος· περὶ ἧς καὶ σὺ πέπεισαι. κατὰ  
 πάντα σοῦ ἀντίψυχος ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου ἃ ἠγάπησας.

III. Οἱ δοκοῦντες ἀξίόπιστοι εἶναι καὶ ἑτεροδιδασκα-  
 35 λοῦντες μὴ σε καταπληστέωσαν· στῆθι δὲ ἐδραῖος ὡς  
 ἄκμων τυπτόμενος. μεγάλου ἐστὶν ἀθλητοῦ δέρεσθαι καὶ  
 νικᾶν· μάλιστα δὲ ἔνεκεν Θεοῦ πάντα ὑπομένειν ἡμᾶς δεῖ,  
 ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἀναμείνῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν. πλείον  
 πρόσθετες τῇ σπουδῇ οὐ εἶ· συντονώτερον δράμε. τοὺς και-  
 40 ροὺς καταμάνθανε· ὡς ἐνταῦθα εἶ, νίκησον· ὧδε γὰρ ἐστὶν  
 τὸ στάδιον, ἐκεῖ δὲ οἱ στέφανοι. προσδόκα Χριστὸν τὸν  
 υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ· τὸν ἄχρονον ἐν χρόνῳ· τὸν ἀόρατον τῇ  
 φύσει, ὄρατον ἐν σαρκί· τὸν ἀψηλάφητον καὶ ἀναφή ὡς  
 ἀσώματον, δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπτὸν καὶ ψηλαφητὸν ἐν σώματι·

g<sub>3</sub>. 22 τῇ αὐτῇ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s I; τῆ αὐτῇ g<sub>3</sub>; see II. p. 337. ἐμπλάστρω]  
 ἐμπλάστρω g<sub>2</sub>. θεραπεύεται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub> I I; θεραπεύετε g<sub>4</sub>. 23 ἐμ-  
 βροχαῖς] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; *embroche* (or *embrochae*) I; ἐν βροχαῖς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>. φρόνιμος] φρόνημος  
 g<sub>2</sub>. γίνου] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub> I; γενου g<sub>4</sub>. ὁ ὄφισ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub> (see II. p. 338); ὄφισ (om. ὁ)  
 g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> (but g<sub>4</sub> transposes, ἐν πᾶσιν ὁ ὄφισ). 24 ἀκέραιος] ἀκαίρεος g<sub>2</sub>. εἰσαεὶ]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> (see II. p. 338); ἀεὶ g<sub>4</sub>; om. [I]. 26 ἐπανορθώσης] ἐπανορθώση g<sub>3</sub>;  
 ἐπανορθῶσαι g<sub>1</sub>; ἐπανορθῶσαι g<sub>4</sub>; ἐπανορθοῦσαι (sic) g<sub>2</sub>; *corrigas* I; *κολακεύης*  
 I. αἶτει] g<sub>4</sub> I; *pete* I; αἰτῇ g<sub>1</sub>; αἰσῆς g<sub>2</sub>s; αἰτήση g<sub>3</sub>. 27 φανερω-  
 θείη] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; φανερωθῆ g<sub>4</sub> with I. 30 τὸ ἐπιτυχεῖν] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *præf.* ἡ  
 εὐχὴ πρὸς g<sub>3</sub>. These words are omitted in I, in which however the whole context is  
 confused. 33 ἀντίψυχος] So all the four MSS, but I has ἀντίψυ-  
 χον. 35 καταπληστέωσαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub> I; καταπληττέωσαν g<sub>4</sub>. 36 δέ-  
 ρεσθαι] δέρρεσθαι g<sub>4</sub>. 37 ἔνεκεν] ἔνεκε g<sub>2</sub>. ἡμᾶς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s I I; ὑμᾶς g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

τὸν ἀπαθῆ ὡς Θεόν, δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ παθητὸν ὡς ἄνθρωπον· τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα.

IV. Αἱ χῆραι μὴ ἀμελείσθωσαν· μετὰ τὸν Κύριον σὺ αὐτῶν φροντιστῆς ἔσο. μηδὲν ἄνευ τῆς γνώμης σου γινέσθω, μηδὲ σὺ ἄνευ Θεοῦ γνώμης τι πράσσει· ὅπερ οὐδὲ 5 πράττεις. εὐστάθει. πυκνότερον συναγωγαὶ γινέσθωσαν· ἐξ ὀνόματος πάντας ζῆτει. δούλους καὶ δούλας μὴ ὑπερηφάνει· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ αὐτοὶ φυσιοῦσθωσαν, ἀλλ' εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πλείονα δουλευέτωσαν, ἵνα κρείττονος ἐλευθερίας τύχωσιν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ. μὴ ἐράτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, 10 ἵνα μὴ δούλοι εὐρεθῶσιν ἐπιθυμίας.

V. Τὰς κακοτεχνίας φεύγε, μάλλον δὲ περὶ τούτων ὀμιλίαν ποιοῦ. ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μου προσλάλει ἀγαπᾶν τὸν Κύριον, καὶ τοῖς συμβίοις ἀρκεῖσθαι σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι. ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου παράγγελλε ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ 15 Χριστοῦ ἀγαπᾶν τὰς συμβίους ὡς ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. εἴ τις δύναται ἐν ἀγνείᾳ μένειν εἰς τιμὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐν ἀκαυχησίᾳ μενέτω· ἐὰν καυχῆσθαι, ἀπώλετο· καὶ ἐὰν γνωσθῆ πλὴν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἔφθαρται. πρέπει δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμούσαις μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπι- 20 σκόπου τὴν ἔνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾗ κατὰ Κύριον καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν. πάντα εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ γινέσθω.

1 ὡς ἄνθρωπον] I breaks off at these words.

2 τρόπον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> I;

δρόμον g<sub>4</sub>.

4 γινέσθω] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s I; γενέσθω g<sub>2</sub>s.

5 ὅπερ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>3</sub> I;

ὡσπερ g<sub>4</sub>.

6 πράττεις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s, though the other form πράσσει appears just above. As I has πράσσεις here, this must have been an arbitrary alteration of the interpolator, who forgot at the same time to alter the πράσσει and thus produced an incongruous result.

πυκνότερον] ποικνότερον g<sub>2</sub>.

7 πάντας ζῆτει] πάντα ἐζῆτει g<sub>2</sub> (apparently; see Dressel).

9 πλείονα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; πλέον I (see II. p. 345); def. g<sub>3</sub>. The editors read πλείον here without any authority.

10 ἀπὸ pri.] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>4</sub>s; παρὰ g<sub>3</sub>.

ἐράτωσαν] g<sub>2</sub> I; αἰρέτωσαν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; αἰρέσθωσαν g<sub>3</sub>.

The editors have commonly acquiesced in αἰρέτωσαν, but have not explained what they understood by it. It is an obvious corruption of ἐράτωσαν, and has been further corrected into αἰρέσθωσαν. This last is intended, I suppose, for αἰρείσθωσαν, which would at least be intelligible.

κοινοῦ] κυρίου g<sub>3</sub>, which stands quite alone in this reading.

11 εὐρεθῶσιν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s with I; ἐλευθερωθῶσιν g<sub>2</sub>.

12 φεύγε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>3</sub> I; φεύγετε g<sub>4</sub>.

13 ποιού] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> I; μὴ ποιού g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>: see II. p. 347.

20 γαμούσαις] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s;

VI. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν.  
 ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτερίῳ,  
 25 διακόνοις· μετ' αὐτῶν μοι τὸ μέρος γένοιτο ἔχειν παρὰ Θεῶ.  
 συγκοπιᾶτε ἀλλήλοις, συναθλεῖτε, συντρέχετε, συμπάσχετε,  
 συγκοιμᾶσθε, συνεγείρεσθε, ὡς Θεοῦ οἰκονόμοι καὶ πάρεδροι  
 καὶ ὑπηρέται. ἀρέσκετε ᾧ στρατεύεσθε, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὰ  
 ὀψώνια κομίσεσθε. μήτις ὑμῶν δεσέρτωρ εὐρεθῆ. τὸ βάπ-  
 30 τισμα ὑμῶν μενέτω ὡς ὄπλα, ἢ πίστις ὡς περικεφαλαία, ἢ  
 ἀγάπη ὡς δόρυ, ἢ ὑπομονὴ ὡς πανοπλία· τὰ δεπόσιτα ὑμῶν  
 τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν, ἵνα τὰ ἄκκεπτα ὑμῶν ἄξια Θεοῦ κομίσησθε.  
 μακροθυμεῖτε οὖν μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐν πραύτητι, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς  
 μεθ' ὑμῶν. ὀναίμην ὑμῶν διὰ παντός.

35 VII. Ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας  
 εἰρηνεύει, ὡς ἐδηλώθη μοι, διὰ τῆς προσευχῆς ὑμῶν, κἀγὼ  
 εὐθυμότερος ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀμεριμνίᾳ Θεοῦ, ἐάν περ διὰ τοῦ  
 παθεῖν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω, εἰς τὸ εὐρεθῆναί με ἐν τῇ αἰτήσει  
 ὑμῶν μαθητήν. πρέπει, Πολύκαρπε θεομακαριστότατε, συμ-  
 40 βούλιον ἀγαγεῖν θεοπρεπέστατον, καὶ χειροτονῆσαι, εἴ τινα  
 ἀγαπητὸν λίαν ἔχετε καὶ ἄκκνον, ὃς δυνίσεται θεόδρομος  
 καλεῖσθαι· τοῦτον καταξιώσαι πορευθῆναι εἰς Συρίαν, ἵνα  
 πορευθεὶς εἰς Συρίαν δοξάσῃ ὑμῶν τὴν ἄκκνον ἀγάπην εἰς

γαμόυσαι (sic) g<sub>1</sub>: see the note II. p. 350.

22 τιμὴν Θεοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> I; θεοῦ

τιμὴν g<sub>4</sub>.

24 ἐπισκόπῳ...διακόνοις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> (comp. I); τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῷ πρεσ-

βυτερίῳ τοῖς διακόνοις g<sub>4</sub>.

25 ἔχειν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἔχειν (sic) g<sub>2</sub>. Perhaps σchein

may be the right reading, as in I.

Θεῶ] g<sub>2</sub>; θεοῦ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. The dative comes

nearer to the reading of I, ἐν θεῶ.

29 ὀψώνια] ὀψόνια g<sub>2</sub>. κομίσεσθε]

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; κομίσησθε g<sub>2</sub>.

δεσέρτωρ] δεσέλτωρ g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; δεσέλτωρ (without accent)

g<sub>1</sub>. For δεσέρτωρ εὐρεθῆ g<sub>3</sub> substitutes διασαλευθῆ, just as it gets rid of all the

other Latin words in the context. It may however have read so owing to

the obliteration of some letters δαισα[ι]λ[τωρ]ευσθη. The reading of g<sub>1</sub> is falsely

given in the editio princeps as δεσελτωρευθη.

30 μενέτω] μαινετω

g<sub>2</sub>. 31 δεπόσιτα] πολεμικὰ g<sub>3</sub>.

32 ἄκκεπτα] g<sub>1</sub> I; ἄσκεπτα g<sub>2</sub>;

a g<sub>4</sub> (leaving a blank and not finishing the word); ἄθλα g<sub>3</sub>.

33 μακρο-

θυμεῖτε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; μακροθυμητε g<sub>2</sub>.

πραύτητι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; πραότητι g<sub>3</sub>.

37 εὐ-

θυμότερος] εὐθυμώτερος g<sub>2</sub>.

38 αἰτήσει] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. There is no authority for

ἀναστάσει in this recension: see II. p. 355 sq.

39 θεομακαριστότατε] θεομα-

καριστότατε g<sub>1</sub>.

41 λίαν ἔχετε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> I; ἔχετε λίαν g<sub>4</sub>.

43 δοξάσῃ]

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; δοξάσει g<sub>2</sub>.

δόξαν Θεοῦ. ὁ χριστιανὸς ἐξουσίαν ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ Θεῷ σχολάζει. τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Θεοῦ ἐστὶν καὶ ὑμῶν, ὅταν αὐτὸ ἀπαρτίσητε. πιστεύω γὰρ τῇ χάριτι, ὅτι ἔτοιμοί ἐστε εἰς εὐποΐαν Θεῷ ἀνήκουσαν. εἰδὼς ὑμῶν τὸ σύντομον τῆς ἀληθείας δι' ὀλίγων ὑμᾶς γραμμάτων παρεκάλεσα. 5

VIII. Ἐπεὶ οὖν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ ἠδυνήθην γράψαι διὰ τὸ ἐξαίφνης πλεῖν με ἀπὸ Τρωάδος εἰς Νεάπολιν, ὡς τὸ θέλημα προστάσσει, γράψεις ταῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς Θεοῦ γνώμην κεκτημένος, εἰς τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι—οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι πεζοὺς πέμψαι, οἱ δέ, ἐπιστολὰς 10 διὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῖ πεμπομένων, ἵνα δοξασθῆτε ἐν αἰωνίῳ ἔργῳ—ὡς ἄξιός ὢν. Ἀσπάζομαι πάντας ἐξ ὀνόματος, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἐπιτρόπου σὺν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων· ἀσπάζομαι Ἄτταλον τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου· ἀσπάζομαι τὸν μέλλοντα καταξιούσθαι εἰς Συρίαν πορεύεσθαι· ἔσται ἡ χάρις 15 μετ' αὐτοῦ διὰ παντός, καὶ τοῦ πέμποντος αὐτὸν Πολυκάρπου. ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς διὰ παντός ἐν Θεῷ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ εὐχομαι, ἐν ᾧ διαμεῖνῃτε ἐν ἐνότητι Θεοῦ καὶ ἐπισκοπῇ. ἀσπάζομαι Ἄλκην, τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα. ἀμὴν· ἡ χάρις. 20 ἔρρωσθε ἐν Κυρίῳ.

3 αὐτὸ ἀπαρτίσητε]  $g_1g_2g_4^s$  I; αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσητε  $g_3$ . 4 σύντομον]

So  $g_1g_2g_3g_4^s$ . The word in I is *σύντονον*, and this is perhaps the right reading here also, but it is without authority in this recension. 5 ὑμᾶς γραμμάτων]

$g_1g_3g_4^s$  I; ὑμῶν πραγμάτων  $g_2$ . 8 τὸ θέλημα]  $g_1g_2g_4^s$  with I; τὸ θεοῦ

θέλημα  $g_3$ . γράψεις]  $g_1g_2g_4^s$  with I; add. *συ*  $g_3$ . 9 κεκτημένος]  $g_1g_2g_4^s$

with I; κερτημένους  $g_3$ . 15 ἡ χάρις] txt  $g_1g_2g_3$  I; add. *τοῦ θεοῦ*  $g_4$ .

16 αὐτὸν] αὐτὸν αὐτὸν  $g_2$ . 18 διαμεῖνῃτε] I; *διαμείνατε*  $g_1g_2$ ; *διαμείνατε*

$g_3g_4^s$ . ἐπισκοπῇ]  $g_1g_2^s g_3g_4^s$ . There is no authority for reading *ἐπισκόπου*

in this recension, though it is found in several editions. 19 Ἄλκην]

$g_1^s g_2^s$ ; ἀλκην  $g_3g_4$ . ἀμὴν· ἡ χάρις]  $g_1g_2g_4^s$ ; ἡ χάρις μεθ' ἡμῶν· ἀμὴν  $g_3$ .

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς πολύκαρπον ἐπίσκοπον σμύρνης  $g_1g_2$ . In  $g_1$  the number *η* is added. Nothing in  $g_3g_4$ .

19. ἀμὴν· ἡ χάρις] For this unusual mode of expression and for the incident connected with it see the note on *Ps-Ephes.* 21.

## IO.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΣ.

ἸΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησία ἡλεημένη ὑπὸ Θεοῦ,  
 ἐκλελεγμένη ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ, παροικούση ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ  
 πρώτη Χριστοῦ ἐπωνυμίαν λαβούση, τῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ἐν  
 25 Θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ χαίρειν.

I. Ἐλαφρά μοι καὶ κούφα τὰ δεσμὰ ὁ Κύριος πεποί-  
 ηκεν, μαθόντι εἰρηνεύειν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ὁμονοίᾳ σαρκικῇ  
 τε· καὶ πνευματικῇ διάγειν. παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ὁ  
 δέσμιος ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἀξίως περιπατῆσαι τῆς κλήσεως ἧς ἐκ-  
 30 λήθητε· φυλαττόμενοι τὰς εἰσκωμασάσας αἱρέσεις τοῦ  
 πονηροῦ ἐπ' ἀπάτη καὶ ἀπωλεία τῶν πειθομένων αὐτῷ·  
 προσέχειν δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων διδαχῇ, καὶ νόμῳ καὶ  
 προφήταις πιστεύειν· πάσαν Ἰουδαϊκὴν καὶ Ἑλληνικὴν

ΠΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΣ] g<sub>4</sub> (with θ in the marg.); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἀντιοχείς  
 (with θ in the marg.) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεσπόμενος  
 ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἀντιοχείς. θ. g<sub>3</sub>; ad antiochiam urbem A. For L see  
 P. 51.

23 ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; a christo L; διὰ χριστοῦ g<sub>3</sub>. [A] translates by the  
 same preposition as in ὑπὸ θεοῦ (transposing the clauses, ἐκλελεγμένη ὑπὸ χριστοῦ,  
 ἡλεημένη ὑπὸ θεοῦ). In l the text runs misericordiam a christo consecutae,  
 omitting θεοῦ, ἐκλελεγμένη ὑπὸ (or διὰ). It seems probable therefore that l also  
 had ὑπὸ, since the repetition of the same word would account for the omission.

27 μαθόντι] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; μαθόντα g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; discenti L; cum didicissem l; quando  
 didici A.

30 εἰσκωμασάσας] εἰσκομασάσας g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; εἰσκομισάσας g<sub>3</sub>; εἰσκωμά-  
 σας g<sub>4</sub>; inductis (εἰσκομισθείσας) L; introcuntibus l. In A the whole sentence  
 φυλαττόμενοι...τοῦ πονηροῦ is translated ut custodiamur ab iniquis et malis haere-  
 ticiis.

31 ἐπ' ἀπάτη] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἐπὶ ἀπάτη g<sub>4</sub>. ἀπωλεία] ἀπολεία g<sub>1</sub>.  
 33 Ἰουδαϊκὴν καὶ Ἑλληνικὴν] gl A; gentilem et judaicum L.

24. πρώτη Χριστοῦ κ.τ.λ.] See *Ps-Magn.* IO, with the note.

26. Ἐλαφρά μοι κ.τ.λ.] Borrowed  
 from the commencement of a letter  
 written by Alexander of Jerusalem  
 early in the third century to the  
 Antiochenes and preserved in Euseb.  
*H. E.* vi. II Ἐλαφρά μοι καὶ κούφα

τὰ δεσμὰ ὁ Κύριος ἐποίησε κατὰ τὸν  
 καιρὸν τῆς εἰρκτῆς κ.τ.λ.

28. παρακαλῶ κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes.  
 iv. 1.

30. εἰσκωμασάσας] As in *Tars.* 2;  
 comp. Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* ii. 12 (p. 241).  
 See also Suicer *Thes.* s. v.

ἀπορρίψαι πλάνην· καὶ μήτε πλῆθος θεῶν ἐπεισάγειν μήτε τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρνεῖσθαι προφάσει τοῦ ἐνὸς Θεοῦ.

II. Μωσῆς τε γὰρ ὁ πιστὸς θεράπων τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰπών, Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς σοῦ Κύριος εἰς ἔστιν· καὶ τὸν ἕνα καὶ μόνον κηρύξας Θεόν, ὡμολόγησεν εὐθέως καὶ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν 5 λέγων, Κύριος ἔβρεζεν ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα παρὰ Κυρίου πῦρ καὶ θεῖον· καὶ πάλιν, [καὶ] εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν· καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν· καὶ ἐξῆς, ἐν εἰκόνι Θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον. καὶ ὅτι γενήσεται 10 ἄνθρωπος, φησίν· προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει Κύριος ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐμέ.

III. Οἱ δὲ προφηῆται, εἰπόντες ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐγὼ Θεὸς πρῶτος, καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ πλὴν ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν Θεός, περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὄλων λέγουσιν. καὶ 15 περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, γίος, φησίν, ἐδόθη ἡμῖν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἄνωθεν, καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μεγάλης βοῦλῆς ἀγγελος, θαυμαστός, σύμβουλος, Θεὸς ἰσχυρός, ἐξουσιαστικός. καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως αὐτοῦ, ἰδοὺ ἡ

3 τε] g; om. L[C][A].  
καὶ] g (all the four mss).

7 καὶ εἶπεν] et dixit L1; quod dixit A; εἶπεν (om. 8 ἡμετέραν] txt gA; add. et secundum similitudinem L; add. et similitudinem nostram l; from Gen. i. 26 καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν. 9 καὶ

ἐξῆς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς g<sub>3</sub>; et paulo post l; et deinceps quoniam L; def. A.

10 ἐποίησα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; feci L; fecit l; def. g<sub>3</sub>A. The edd. generally give ἐποίησε in the Greek, and fecit in L. This is quite wrong. The passage quoted is Gen. ix. 6, not Gen. v. 1.

16 φησίν] g (all the four mss); ait L; idem...dicit [A]; rursus prophetae proclamaverunt dicentes l. The editors read φασίν, without any authority.

17 ἡ ἀρχὴ ἄνωθεν] initium est desuper l; principium desuper L; imperium suum super humeros suos A; ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἄνωθεν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. Thus A substitutes ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου αὐτοῦ for ἄνωθεν from Is. ix. 6, while the mss of g combine both forms.

19 ἐξουσιαστικός] txt gL; add. princeps pacis lA.

20 ἐν γαστρὶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub> L1; om. g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. A has only one word concipiet for ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται.

22 ἀμνός] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> L1 A; add. ἄμμος g<sub>4</sub>.

4. Κύριος ὁ Θεός κ.τ.λ.] Deut. vi. 4, quoted also Mark xii. 29; but σου is here substituted for ἡμῶν.

6. λέγων] The passages which follow are taken from Gen. xix. 24 Κύριος ἔβρεζεν κ.τ.λ., Gen. i. 26, 27 καὶ εἶπεν

κ.τ.λ., Gen. ix. 6 ἐν εἰκόνι κ.τ.λ., Deut. xviii. 15 προφήτην κ.τ.λ., in which last passage the form is influenced by the quotations in Acts iii. 22, vii. 37.

13. εἰπόντες] The passages which follow are taken from Is. xlv. 6 ἐγὼ

20 παρθένος [ἐν γαστρὶ] λήψεται καὶ τέξεται γίον, καὶ καλέσονται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ. καὶ περὶ τοῦ πάθους, ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἀμνός ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος αὐτὸν ἄφωτος· καί, ἐγὼ ὡς ἀρνίον ἀκακὸν ἀγόμενον τοῦ θύεσθαι.

25 IV. Οἱ τε εὐαγγελισταί, εἰπόντες τὸν ἕνα πατέρα μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεόν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Κύριον ἑμῶν οὐ παρέλιπον, ἀλλ' ἔγραψαν· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος· οὔτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν.  
30 καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως· ὁ λόγος, φησί, σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν· καί, Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γιοῦ Δαυεὶδ, γιοῦ Ἀβραάμ· οἱ δὲ ἀπόστολοι, εἰπόντες ὅτι Θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν, εἶπον οἱ αὐτοὶ ὅτι εἷς καὶ μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τὴν ἐνσωμάτωσιν καὶ τὸ πάθος οὐκ ἐψησ-  
35 χύνθησαν τί γὰρ φησιν; ἀνθρωπος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ὁ δοῦς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς.

V. Πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ἕνα καταγγέλλει Θεὸν ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεότητος γίος ἐστὶν διαβόλου καὶ ἐχθρός

23 καί, ἐγὼ] κάγω g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; καί (om. ἐγὼ) g<sub>3</sub>; et ego L; et iterum de se ipso referens dicit, ego autem I; def. A. In Jerem. xi. 19 it is ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἀρνίον κ.τ.λ. (but some MSS omit δὲ). ὡς] ὡς g<sub>2</sub>. 26 παρέλιπον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; παρέλειπαν g<sub>2</sub>.

29 οὐδὲ ἓν] txt L1; add. ὁ γέγονεν (γέγονε) g (all four MSS) A. An argument for omitting ὁ γέγονεν here is the fact that in early writers these words were commonly connected not with the preceding, but with the following sentence. 31 γενέ-

σεως] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; γεννέσεως g<sub>4</sub>; γεννήσεως g<sub>2</sub>; generationis L1A. 32 Δαυεὶδ] δαδ g<sub>1</sub>.

33 ὅτι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> L1A; ὅ (sic) g<sub>2</sub>. εἷς] g1A; om. L. 35 τί γὰρ φησιν] g; quid enim ait L; sed potius fiducialiter subjunxerunt dicentes I; veluti quando dicunt A.

36 ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς] with Joh. vi. 51; pro seculi vita I; pro mundi vita L; ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας g (all four MSS); pro mundo A. 37 ἕνα] L1A; add. καὶ μόνον g.

38 θεότητος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> L1A; δυνάμει g<sub>4</sub>. υἱός ἐστιν διαβόλου] filius est diaboli L1; hi filii veri sunt satanae A: διάβολος g: see the lower note.

Θεὸς πρῶτος κ.τ.λ., from Is. ix. 6 υἱὸς ἐδόθη κ.τ.λ., from Is. vii. 14 ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος κ.τ.λ., from Is. liii. 7 ὡς πρόβατον κ.τ.λ., and from Jer. xi. 19 ἐγὼ ὡς ἀρνίον κ.τ.λ.

27. ἔγραψαν] The following quo-

tations are taken from Joh. i. 1 sq. Ἐν ἀρχῇ κ.τ.λ., from Joh. i. 14 ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ., from Matt. i. 1 Βίβλος γενέσεως κ.τ.λ., from 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6, εἷς Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.

38. υἱός... διαβόλου κ.τ.λ.] The ex-

πάσης δικαιοσύνης· ὁ τε ὁμολογῶν Χριστὸν οὐ τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὸν κόσμον υἱὸν ἀλλ' ἐτέρου τινὸς ἀγνώστου, παρ' ὃν ἐκήρυξεν ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφήται, οὗτος ὄργανόν ἐστιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ διαβόλου· ὁ τε τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν παραιτούμενος καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπαισχυνόμενος, δι' ὃν δέδεμαι, οὗτός 5 ἐστὶν ἀντίχριστος· ὁ τε ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον λέγων τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπάρατός ἐστι κατὰ τὸν προφήτην, οὐκ ἐπὶ Θεῷ πεποιθώς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπῳ· διὸ καὶ ἄκαρπός ἐστιν, παραπλησιῶς τῆ ἀγριομυρική.

I ποιήσαντος] ποιήσαντον g<sub>2</sub>. 7 κατὰ τὸν προφήτην] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> L; secundum dictum prophetae 1A; om. g<sub>4</sub>. 8 ἀνθρώπῳ] ἀνῶν g<sub>2</sub>. παραπλησιῶς] proximus (παραπλήσιος) L. 9 ἀγριομυρική] ἀγριομυρική g<sub>2</sub>. 10 ὦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>LA; ὁ g<sub>2</sub>; cum sim (ὦν) l; τῇ g<sub>4</sub> (thus making νεολαία a dative). νεολαία] novellum olivae l; νεολαία g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; νεολεά g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; juventus L; novī pueri A. For the reasons which have decided me to adopt the less supported reading νεολαία see the lower note. 11 ὑμῶν] ὑμῶν g<sub>3</sub>. 14 ὁ θεὸς ἡ κοιλία, καὶ] AL\* (see p. 637); deus

pressions are taken from Acts xiii. 10. For the other reading διάβολος comp. Joh. vi. 70.

7. ἐπάρατος κ.τ.λ.] Jer. xvii. 5 ἐπικατάρατος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃς τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον...καὶ ἀπὸ Κυρίου ἀποστή ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἀγριομυρική ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ κ.τ.λ. Comp. *Ps-Trall.* 11, with the note on ἀνθρωπολάτρας.

10. νεολαία] 'young olive,' the metaphor being suggested by the previous ἀγριομυρική; comp. *Ps.* cxxvii (cxxviii). 3 ὡς νεόφυτα ἑλαιῶν. The devout servant of God is elsewhere compared to an olive-tree; *Ps.* li (lii). 9 ὡσεὶ ἑλαία κατὰκαρπος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ (comp. *Hos.* xiv. 6), *Jer.* xi. 16 ἑλαίαν ἄραιαν εὐσκιον, *Ecclus.* xxiv. 14 ὡς ἑλαία εὐπρεπῆς ἐν πεδίῳ (of wisdom), l. 10 ὡς ἑλαία ἀναβάλλουσα κάρπους. See also Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* iv. i (VII. p. 58) for the typical character of the olive tree. On the other hand for νεολαία comp. *Clem. Alex. Protr.* 9 (p. 69) ἦκετε, ἦκετε, ὦ νεολαία ἡ ἐμῆ, *Euseb. V. C.* iv. 43 τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀνοσούντα κάλλη τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ νεολαίας.

12. βλέπετε κ.τ.λ.] A combination of *Phil.* ii. 2 βλέπετε τοὺς κύνας, βλέπετε τοὺς κακοὺς ἐργάτας, and *Phil.* ii. 18, 19 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κ.τ.λ., with *Is.* lvi. 10 κύνες ἐνεοί.

κακεντρεχεῖς] 'quick, nimble, clever, in mischief,' and so 'wily.' The word occurs as early as *Epicharmus*; *Bekker Antiatt.* p. 105. Like so much of the peculiar diction of our Pseudo-Ignatius, it is a Eusebian word; *Praef. Ev.* iv. 1 (p. 132) τὸ δεινὸν καὶ κακεντρεχὲς τῶν περὶ τὴν κακότεχνον ταύτην διατριβὴν τευταζόντων.

15. τοὺς κύνας τοὺς ἐνεοὺς] The 'dumb dogs' of *Is.* lvi. 10 are introduced again, *Ps-Ephes.* 7 κύνες ἐνεοί, οὐ δυνάμενοι ὑλακτεῖν, λυσσῶντες λαθροδηκται. Here ἐνεοὺς is rendered *rabidos* by l (but not by L in *Ephes.* 7, as stated by *Ussher*, for ἐνεοὶ does not occur there in the genuine Ignatius, and 'rabidi' is a translation of *λυσσῶντες*). This seems to be explained by *Epiph.* *Haer.* lxxviii. 3 (p. 1035 sq.) οἱ μὲν αὖθις μανέντες, δίκην λυσοπηγῶν κυνῶν, ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῶν δεσπότην ὑλακτοῦσι, καθάπερ



- 10 VI. Ταῦτα γράφω ὑμῖν, ὃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νελαία, οὐ  
 συνειδῶς ὑμῖν τὸ τοιοῦτο φρόνημα, ἀλλὰ προφυλαττόμενος  
 ὑμᾶς, ὡς πατὴρ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τέκνα. Βλέπετε οὖν τοὺς κακεν-  
 τρεχεῖς ἐργάτας, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ,  
 ὧν τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια, ὧν [ὁ Θεὸς ἢ κοιλία, καὶ] ἡ δόξα ἐν  
 15 τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αἰγῶν. Βλέπετε τοὺς κύνας τοὺς ἐνεοῦς, τοὺς  
 ὄφεις τοὺς συρομένους, τὰ φολιδωτὰ δρακόντια, τὰς ἀσπίδας,  
 τοὺς βασιλίσκους, τοὺς σκορπίους· οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσι θῶες  
 ἀλωποί, ἀνθρωπόμοιμοι πίθηκοι.

VII. Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου γεγόνατε μαθηταί· μὴ ἀπο-

*venter est, quorum* l; om. g. The words are perhaps an insertion to complete the quotation, but the coincidence of authorities in their favour gives them a claim to consideration. 15 τοὺς κύνας] om. g<sub>3</sub>. ἐνεοῦς] ἐννεοῦς g<sub>4</sub>. 16 φολιδωτὰ] *squamosos* 1A; φιλόδωρα g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; φιλόδωρα g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *infoveatos* L (see the lower note). 19 γεγόνατε] g; *fiatis* L; *estis* 1A. ἀπολέσητε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἀπολέσηται g<sub>2</sub>.

ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς Ἰουδαῖοι τοῦτον ἀγνοήσαντες κέκληνται Κύνες ἐννεοί... φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς λυσοῶντας κύνας ἐννεοὺς καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ νωδούς ἀποτελεῖσθαι ἐκ τῆς καταλιμπανούσης αὐτοὺς διανοίας. This is an entire misunderstanding of the meaning of the prophet; but the supposed secondary sense, which was thus attached to the word, accounts for the employment of it in these two passages of the spurious Ignatius, where 'madness,' not 'sloth' or 'remissness,' is the idea.

16. *συρομένους*] 'trailing,' as e.g. Antiphilus in *Anthol.* II. p. 175 *πάσα δὲ νηδὺς συρομένη*; comp. LXX Micah vii. 17 *ὡς ὄφεις σύρουτες γῆν*. Later lexicographers and others seem to have confused *σύρειν*, *σύρεσθαι*, with *συρίζειν*. So perhaps the Scholiast on Lycophr. 217 *σύρουσαν ἄλμη κᾶπι ροιζοῦσαν πάτρη*, who has the gloss, *συρομένην, συρίζουσαν τῇ πατρίδι*. The confusion was assisted by such passages as Job xxvii. 23 *συριεῖ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ*, Is. v. 26 *συριεῖ αὐτοὺς* (v. l. *αὐτοῖς*) *ἀπ' ἄκρου τῆς γῆς*. See the notes of Ussher and Cotelier

here. There is no sufficient ground however for ascribing this confusion to our Ignatian writer.

φολιδωτὰ] *Arist. de Part. An.* iv. 12 (p. 692) *τὰ μὲν τριχωτὰ ἐστὶ, τὰ δὲ φολιδωτὰ, τὰ δὲ λεπιδωτὰ, οἱ δὲ ὄρνιθες πτερωτοί*. The *φολις* is the horny scale of a reptile as opposed to the *λεπίς* the thin scale of a fish; *ib.* iv. 11 (p. 691) *ἐστὶ δ' ἡ φολις ὅμοιον χῶρα λεπιδος, φύσει δὲ σκληρότερον*. The 'infoveatos' of L is explained by the fact that Suidas (p. 1521 Gaisford) under *φολιδωτός* writes, *ὁ δὲ κροκόδειλος τὰς χειμερίους ἡμέρας μ' φωλεύει κατὰ γῆς ἐγκεκρυμμένος*, and that at a later point (p. 1534) some copies in connexion with *φωλεά*, *φωλεύειν*, etc., give *φωλίς* καὶ *φωλιδωτός*.

18. *ἀλωποί*] 'fox-like': see Hesych. *ἀλωπός*· *ἀλωπεκάδης, πανούργος*· *Σοφοκλῆς Θυέστη Ἰνάχω*, and similarly *Ἐτίμη. Magn.* s. v. It is a fit epithet of the jackal (θῶς).

19. Παύλου κ.τ.λ.] *Ps-Magn.* 10 Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν [τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ]. For S.

λέσητε τὴν παραθήκην. μνημονεύσατε Εὐδορίου τοῦ ἀξιομακαρίστου ποιμένος ὑμῶν, ὃς πρῶτος ἐνεχειρίσθη παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ὑμετέραν προστασίαν. μὴ καταισχύνωμεν τὸν πατέρα· γενώμεθα γνήσιοι παῖδες, ἀλλὰ μὴ νόθοι. οἴδατε ὅπως συνανεστράφη μεθ' ὑμῶν· ἃ παρῶν ἔλεγον 5 ὑμῖν, ταῦτα καὶ ἀπὼν γράφω· εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν, ἢ τῷ ἀνάθεμα. μιμηταὶ μοῦ γίνεσθε. ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν γενοίμην, ὅταν Ἰησοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ΜΗΜΟΝΕΥΕΤΕ ΜΟΥ ΤῶΝ ΔΕΣΜῶΝ.

VIII. Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ποιμάνετε τὸ ἐν γμῖν ποιμνιον, 10 ἕως ἀναδείξῃ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχειν ὑμῶν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι, ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω. οἱ διάκονοι γνωσκέτωσαν οἷον εἰσὶν ἀξιώματος, καὶ σπουδαζέτωσαν ἄμemptοι εἶναι, ἵνα ὧσιν μιμηταὶ Χριστοῦ. ὁ λαὸς ὑποτασσέσθω τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις. αἱ παρθένοι γνω- 15 σκέτωσαν τίνι καθιέρωσαν ἑαυτάς.

IX. Οἱ ἄνδρες στεργέτωσαν τὰς ὁμοζύγους, μνημο-

2 ὑμῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>L1A: ἡμῶν g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 3 ὑμετέραν] g<sub>1</sub>sg<sub>2</sub>sL1A; ἡμετέραν g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.  
 5 ἃ] quae L; et quae A; quae ergo 1; ὡς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ὡς οὖν g<sub>3</sub>. 7 ἦτω] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἔστω g<sub>3</sub>. 8 Ἰησοῦ] g; christum 1; iesum christum A; deo L. 12 σπένδομαι] add. et tempus resolutionis meae instat L. This addition is wanting in g<sub>1</sub>A. For σπένδομαι g<sub>3</sub> has σπεύδομαι, and 1 festino.  
 13 ἄμemptοι] g<sub>1</sub>A; immaculati (ἄμμοι?) L. 19 σάρκα ἰδίαν] g<sub>1</sub>L: sarra abrahamum A (comp. 1 Pet. iii. 6). Petermann supposes that the Greek text of A was Σάρρα ἰδιον. 20 σωφρονέτωσαν] g<sub>4</sub>; castifcent L; erubescant [A];

Paul see Acts xi. 26, xiii. 1, etc.; for S. Peter, Gal. ii. 11. It is not however strictly accurate to say that either 'founded' the Church of Antioch: comp. Acts xi. 20 sq.

1. Εὐδορίου] The constant tradition, whatever may be its worth, makes Eudodius or Euhodius the first bishop of Antioch after the Apostles; Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 22, *Chron.* II. p. 152 (Schoene). Accordingly Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 8, writes Ἰγνάτιος Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Συρίας τρίτος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρον ἐπίσκοπος, and Origen *Hom. vi. in Luc.* (III p. 938)

doubtless means the same, though he says τὸν Ἰγνάτιον...τὸν μετὰ τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας δεύτερον ἐπίσκοπον (just as Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 22, 36, calls him δεύτερος ἐπίσκοπος, not reckoning in S. Peter, and so also *Mart. Rom. Ign.* 1). A more precise statement is hazarded in *Apost. Const.* vii. 47 Ἀντιοχείας δὲ Εὐδόδιος μὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρον, Ἰγνάτιος δὲ ὑπὸ Παύλου.

5. ἃ παρῶν κ.τ.λ.] Similarly 2 Cor. xiii. 2; comp. 1 Cor. v. 3.

6. εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

νεύοντες ὅτι μία ἐνί, οὐ πολλαὶ ἐνί, ἐδόθησαν ἐν τῇ κτίσει. αἱ γυναιῖκες τιμάτωσαν τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς σάρκα ἰδίαν, μηδὲ  
 20 ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτοὺς τολμάτωσαν καλεῖν, σωφρονεῖτωσαν δέ, μόνους ἄνδρας τοὺς ὁμοζύγους εἶναι νομίζουσαι, οἷς καὶ ἠνώθησαν κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ. οἱ γονεῖς, τὰ τέκνα παιδεύετε παιδεῖαν ἱεράν. τὰ τέκνα, τιμάτε τοὺς γονεῖς, ἵνα  
 εὔ ἡμῖν ἤ.

25 X. Οἱ δεσπότες, μὴ ὑπερηφάνως τοῖς δούλοις προσέχετε, μιμούμενοι τὸν τλητικὸν Ἰῶβ εἰπόντα, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐφάγλις κρῖμα θεράποντός μου ἢ θεραπαίνης μου, κρινομένων ἀγτῶν πρὸς με· τί γὰρ ποιήσω, ἐὰν ἔτασιν μου ὁ Κύριος ποιήσῃται; καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ἐπίστασθε. οἱ δούλοι, μὴ παρορ-  
 30 γίζετε τοὺς δεσπότες ἐν μηδενί, ἵνα μὴ κακῶν ἀνηκέστων ἑαυτοῖς αἴτιοι γένησθε.

XI. Μηδεὶς ἀργὸς ἐσθιέτω, ἵνα μὴ ῥεμβὸς γένηται καὶ πορνοκόπος. μέθη, ὀργή, φθόνος, λοιδορία, κραυγή, βλασφημία, μηδὲ ὀνομαζέσθω ἐν ἡμῖν. αἱ χῆραι μὴ σπα-

σωφρονιζέτωσαν  $g_1sg_2sg_3$ ; *sciunt* (φρονεῖτωσαν?) l. The edd. have retained *σωφρονιζέτωσαν*, though a transitive verb makes no sense. 25 προσέχετε] g

(comp. lA); *praeferamini* (προέχετε). 26 τὸν τλητικὸν] gAl; om. L.

Ἰῶβ]  $g_1g_2g_3LlA$ ; *viden*  $g_4$ .

27 θεραπαίνης] *θεραπένης*  $g_1$ .

29 ποι-

ήσῃται]  $g_1sg_3g_4s$ ; *ποιήσεται*  $g_2$ .

30 ἐν μηδενί] gl; *propter res nihili* A (prob.

an interpretation of ἐν μηδενί); *in ira* L.

31 ἑαυτοῖς]  $g_1g_3g_4sLl$ ; *αὐτοῖς*  $g_2$ ;

om. A. 32 ῥεμβὸς]  $g_1g_3g_4$ ; *ῥεμπτός*  $g_2$ .

33 πορνοκόπος]  $g_2$ ; *πορροκόπος*

$g_1sg_3g_4s$ , and so the edd., but see Steph. *Thes.* s. v. (ed. Hase et Dind.).

34 βλασφημία] glA; *blasphemiae* L.

7. μιμηταὶ μου γίνεσθε] I Cor. iv. 16, xi. 1.

8. μνημονεύετε μου κ.τ.λ.] From Col. iv. 18.

10. ποιμάνετε κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Pet. v. 2.

11. ἐγὼ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] 2 Tim. iv. 6, followed by Phil. iii. 8.

19. ὡς σάρκα ἰδίαν] Comp. Ephes. v. 29.

μηδὲ ἐξ ὀνόματος κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vi. 29 ὡς ἡ ἅγια Σάρρα τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐτίμα οὐδ' ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτὸν ὑπομένουσα καλεῖν ἀλλὰ κύριον αὐτὸν

προσαγορεύουσα κ.τ.λ. (comp. I Pet. iii. 6). This passage will account for the substitution in the Armenian.

23. ἵνα εὖ ὑμῖν ᾗ] Exod. xx. 12; comp. Ephes. vi. 3.

26. εἰ δὲ καὶ κ.τ.λ.] From Job xxxi. 13, 14.

32. μηδεὶς ἀργὸς κ.τ.λ.] Suggested by 2 Thess. iii. 10.

34. μηδὲ ὀνομαζέσθω κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes. v. 3.

σπαταλάτωσαν, καταστρηνιάσωσι] These two words in this connexion are borrowed from I Tim. v. 6, 11.

ταλάτωσαν, ἵνα μὴ καταστρηνιάσωσι τοῦ λόγου. τῷ Καίσαρι ὑποτάγητε, ἐν οἷς ἀκίνδυνος ἡ ὑποταγή. τοὺς ἄρχοντας μὴ ἐρεθίζετε εἰς παροξυσμόν, ἵνα μὴ δῶτε ἀφορμὴν τοῖς ζητοῦσι καθ' ὑμῶν. περὶ δὲ γοητείας ἢ παιδευαστίας ἢ φόβου περιττὸν τὸ γράφειν, ὅποτε ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν 5 ἀπηγόρευται πρᾶττειν. ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος παρακελεύομαι, ἀλλ' ὡς σύνδουλος ὑμῶν ὑπομμνήσκω ὑμᾶς.

4 ἡμῶν] g<sub>3</sub>L1A; ἡμῶν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. The ἀφορμὴν is repeated after ζητοῦσω καθ' ἡμῶν by LA, being probably a reminiscence of 2 Cor. xi. 12 ἵνα ἐκκόψω ἀφορμὴν τῶν θελόντων ἀφορμὴν. δέ] g1A; om. L. γοητείας] g4s; γοητίας g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

I. τῷ Καίσαρι κ.τ.λ.] See *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 6 (p. 515), and the remarks, II. p. 379.

3. εἰς παροξυσμόν] This expression occurs Heb. x. 24 in a different connexion. The words which follow, ἵνα μὴ κ.τ.λ., are an echo of 2 Cor. xi. 12. So again περιττὸν τὸ γράφειν is borrowed from 2 Cor. ix. 1, and καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν κ.τ.λ. is suggested by 1 Cor. v. 1.

9. τὸ ποθεινόν κ.τ.λ.] i.e. Hero. For the expression see *Ign. Polyc.* 8 with the note II. (p. 361).

II. ὑποδιακόνους κ.τ.λ.] See the enumeration of the Church officers at Rome (A.D. 251) by Cornelius in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43 πρεσβυτέρους τεσσαράκοντα ἕξ, διακόνους ἑπτὰ, ὑποδιακόνους ἑπτὰ, ἀκολουθούς δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, ἐξορκιστὰς δὲ καὶ ἀναγνώστας ἅμα πυλωροῖς δύο καὶ πενήκοντα, χήρας σὺν θλιβομένοις ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλίας πεντακοσίας. Of these offices the acolytes were confined to the Western Church and so are not mentioned here. On the other hand the 'deaconesses' seem to have been confined to the Eastern Church at this time. See also *Apost. Const.* iii. 11 τοῖς λοιποῖς κληρικοῖς. οἷον ἀναγνώσταις ἢ ψάλταις ἢ πυλωροῖς ἢ ὑπηρεταῖς κ.τ.λ., viii. 12 πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, δικαίων, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακό-

νων, ὑποδιακόνων, ἀναγνοστών, ψαλτῶν, παρθένων, χηρῶν, λαϊκῶν κ.τ.λ., *ib.* ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἔπειτα οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι καὶ ὑποδιάκονοι καὶ οἱ ἀναγνώσται καὶ οἱ ψάλται καὶ οἱ ἀσκηταί, καὶ ἐν ταῖς γυναῖξιν αἱ διακόνισσαι καὶ αἱ παρθένοι καὶ αἱ χήραι; comp. viii. 19—28, 31, *Apost. Can.* 43, *Conc. Laodic. Can.* 24 τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τάξεως ἕως ὑπηρετῶν ἢ ἀναγνοστών ἢ ψαλτῶν ἢ ἐπορκιστῶν ἢ θυρωρῶν ἢ τοῦ τάγματος τῶν ἀσκητῶν, *Conc. Antioch. Can.* 10. Of these lower orders the 'sub-deacons' are first mentioned in the middle of the third century, in the passage of Cornelius already quoted and in the contemporary letters of Cyprian. On the cause of the institution of this office see *Philippians* p. 188 sq. The 'readers' occur as early as Tertullian *de Praescr.* 41 'hodie diaconus, qui cras lector,' where the language shows that this was already a firmly established order in the Church. Of the 'singers' the notices in the *Apostolical Constitutions* are probably the most ancient. The 'door-keepers,' like the subdeacons, seem to be first mentioned in the letter of Cornelius. The κοπιῶντες first appear a full century later; see the next note. The 'exorcists,' as we have seen, are mentioned as a distinct order by Cornelius, while in *Apost. Const.*

XII. Ἀσπάζομαι τὸ ἅγιον πρεσβυτέριον. ἀσπάζομαι τοὺς ἱεροὺς διακόνους, καὶ τὸ ποθεινὸν μοι ὄνομα, ὃν ἐπίδοιμι 10 ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, ὅταν Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω· οὗ ἀντίψυχον γενοίμην. ἀσπάζομαι ὑποδιακόνους, ἀναγνώστας, ψάλτας, πυλωροὺς, τοὺς κοπιῶντας, ἐπορκιστάς, ὁμολογητάς.

7 ὑμᾶς] ἡμᾶς g<sub>3</sub>.

9 ἐπίδοιμι] *reservavi* l (ἐφειδῶμην) pointing to an intermediate reading ἐφίδοιμι (ἐφείδοιμι). 12 ἐπορκιστάς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>; ἐξορκιστάς g<sub>3</sub>; *exorcistas* Ll; om. A (substituting *religiosos* for the two words, ἐπορκιστάς, ὁμολογητάς): see the lower note.

viii. 26 it is ordered that they shall not be ordained, because it is a spiritual function which comes direct from God and manifests itself by its results. The name and the function however appear much earlier in the Christian Church; e.g. Justin Mart. *Apol.* ii. 6 (p. 45). The forms ἐπορκιστής and ἐξορκιστής are convertible; e.g. Justin Mart. *Dial.* 85 (p. 311) οἱ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐπορκισταὶ... ἐξορκίζουσι κ.τ.λ. The 'confessors' hardly deserve to be reckoned a distinct order, though accidentally they are mentioned in proximity with the different grades of clergy in *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 already quoted. Perhaps the accidental connexion in this work has led to their confusion with the offices of the Christian ministry in our false Ignatius. In *Apost. Const.* viii. 23 διατάσσομαι περὶ ὁμολογητῶν ὁμολογητῆς οὗ χειροτονεῖται κ.τ.λ., they are treated in much the same way as the exorcists, being regarded as in some sense an order and yet not subject to ordination. Possibly however the word ὁμολογηταὶ has here a different sense, 'chanters,' as the corresponding Latin '*confessores*' seems sometimes to have, e.g. in the Sacramentary of Gregory 'Oremus et pro omnibus episcopis, presbyteris, diaconibus, acolythis, exorcistis, lectoribus, ostiariis, confessoribus, virginibus, viduis, et pro omni populo sancto Dei'; see Ducange *Gloss.*

*Lat. s. v.* (II. p. 530, Henschel).

12. τοὺς κοπιῶντας] 'the labourers,' i.e. 'grave-diggers' or 'sextons.' In a law of the year 357 (*Cod. Theod.* xiii. 1) mention is made of 'clerici qui copiatæ appellantur,' and another law of the year 361 (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 2. 15) runs 'clerici vero vel his quos copiatas recens usus instituit nuncupari' etc. From these passages it is clear that the name was not in use much before the middle of the fourth century, though the office under its Latin name 'fossores' or 'fossarii' appears somewhat earlier. Even later Epiphanius (*Expos. Fid.* 21) writes καὶ κοπιатаί, οἱ τὰ σώματα περιστέλλοντες τῶν κοιμωμένων, as if the word still needed some explanation. In accordance with these facts Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 129) correctly argues with regard to our Ignatian writer, urging that on the one hand he would not have ascribed such language to Ignatius if the word had been quite recent, while on the other hand his using the participle (τοὺς κοπιῶντας) rather than the substantive indicates that it had not yet firmly established itself. For these 'copiatæ' see especially de Rossi *Roma Sotterranea* III. p. 533 sq., Gothofred on *Cod. Theod.* ll. cc., and for the Latin 'fossores' Martigny *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s.v. See also the inscriptions, *C. I. G.* 9227, *Bull. de Corr. Hellen.* VII. p. 238, *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* VI. p. 362.

ἀσπάζομαι τὰς φρουροὺς τῶν ἀγίων πυλώνων, τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ  
 διακόνους. ἀσπάζομαι τὰς χριστολήμπτους παρθέτους, ὧν  
 ὀναίμην ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ. ἀσπάζομαι τὰς σεμνοτάτας  
 χήρας. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν λαὸν Κυρίου ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγά-  
 λου, καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀδελφάς μου ἐν Κυρίῳ. 5

XIII. Ἀσπάζομαι Κασσιανὸν καὶ τὴν ὁμόζυγον αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ τὰ φίλτατα αὐτοῦ τέκνα. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Πολύκαρπος  
 ὁ ἀξιοπρεπῆς ἐπίσκοπος, ᾧ καὶ μέλει περὶ ὑμῶν, ᾧ καὶ  
 παρεθέμην ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ· καὶ πᾶσα δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία Σμυρ- 10  
 ναίων μνημονεύει ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἐν Κυρίῳ. ἀσπά-  
 ζεται ὑμᾶς Ὀνήσιμος ὁ Ἐφεσίων ποιμὴν. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς  
 Δαμᾶς ὁ Μαγνησίας ἐπίσκοπος. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Πολύβιος  
 ὁ Τραλλαίων. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Φίλων καὶ Ἀγαθόπους, οἱ  
 διάκονοι οἱ συνακόλουθοί μου. ἀσπάσαθε ἀλλήλους ἐν  
 ἀγίῳ φιλήματι. 15

1 τὰς pri.] τοὺς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>, but the feminine is wanted, for the clause clearly stands  
 in apposition with τὰς ἐν χριστῷ διακόνους, as A and L translate it. I must have  
 read τοὺς φρουροὺς τῶν ἀγίων πυλώνων ὄντας ἐν χριστῷ διακόνους (ΠΥΛΩΝΩΝΤΑΣ  
 for ΠΥΛΩΝΩΝΤΑΣ). This is intelligible in itself, but inappropriate here; for  
 both the male deacons and the male door-keepers have been saluted already.

2 χριστολήμπτους] g<sub>2</sub>; χριστολήπτους g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 3 ἀσπάζομαι τὰς σεμνοτάτας  
 χήρας] saluto venerabilissimas viduas L; saluto pudicissimas viduas I (comp. *Hero*  
 inscr.); saluto verecundas viduas A. The clause is omitted in all the Greek mss.

6 Κασσιανὸν] gLl. Zahn writes Κασσιανόν, but see above, p. 149. 7 φίλτατα

αὐτοῦ] gA; om. L. 8 ὁ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>. μέλει] μέλλει g<sub>4</sub>; 'μελλει

erat in V [i.e. g<sub>2</sub>]' Dressel. 9 ἡ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; om. g<sub>2</sub>. 12 Δαμᾶς] damas I;

δημᾶς g; demas A; om. L (doubtless owing to the homœoteleuton -μας). See

*Magn.* 2, *Hero* 8. 13 Τραλλαίων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; trallaeorum L; trallianorum

I; tralanorum A. ἀσπάζεται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; salutat I; ἀσπάζονται g<sub>3</sub>; salutant LA.

It is difficult to decide between the two. Internal probability is divided, gram-

matical strictness being set off against diplomatic conformity. 14 ἀσπά-

I. τὰς φρουροὺς κ.τ.λ.] This function  
 of door-keeping was especially  
 assigned to the deaconesses; *Apost.*  
*Const.* viii. 28 διακόνισσα οὐκ εὐλογεῖ  
 οὐδὲ τι ὧν ποιοῦσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἢ  
 οἱ διάκονοι ἐπιτελεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ φυλάτ-  
 τειν τὰς θύρας κ.τ.λ. It was only the  
 women's gate however, which they  
 kept; *Apost. Const.* ii. 57 στηκέτωσαν

δὲ οἱ μὲν πυλωροὶ εἰς τὰς εἰσόδους τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν φυλάσσοντες αὐτάς, αἱ δὲ διά-  
 κονοὶ εἰς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν κ.τ.λ., and  
 accordingly they placed the women  
 in their seats, *ib.* 58. Comp. Ziegler  
*de Diaconis et Diaconissis* xix. 10  
 (p. 352 sq.).

2. χριστολήμπτους] 'Christ-possessed';  
 as in *Method. Conv.* i. 5 (p. 13

XIV. Ταῦτα ἀπὸ Φιλίππων γράφω ὑμῖν. ἔρρωμένους ὑμᾶς ὃ ὢν μόνος ἀγέννητος διὰ τοῦ πρὸ αἰώνων γεγεννημένου διαφυλάξει πνεύματι καὶ σαρκί, καὶ ἴδοιμι ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείᾳ. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ μέλλοντα 20 ἄρχειν ὑμῶν· οὗ καὶ ὀναίμην ἐν Χριστῷ. ἔρρωσθε Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ, πεφωτισμένοι τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

## II.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΗΡΩΝΑ.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὃ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῷ θεοτιμῆτῳ καὶ ποθεινοτάτῳ, [σεμνοτάτῳ,] χριστοφόρῳ, πνευματοφόρῳ, ΓΝΗΣΙῳ

σασθε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἀσπάζεσθε g<sub>4</sub>. 18 διαφυλάξει] *custodiat* L1; διαφυλάξει g: dub. A. 19 βασιλείᾳ] g1[A]; *adventu* (παρουσίᾳ) L. 20 καὶ pri.] g1: om. L; def. A. ἔρρωσθε] ἔρρωσθαι g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. Θεῷ] g1; *in deo* L; *gratia dei patris* A. 21 πεφωτισμένοι] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *illuminati* L1; πεφωτισμένον g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; al. A.

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ιερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς ἀντιοχείς. θ. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>. Nothing in g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>LA.

προς ηρωνα] *ad urionem* A; πρὸς ἥρωνα διάκονον ἀντιοχέα (with ι in the marg.) g<sub>4</sub>; τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς ἥρωνα διακόνον ἀντιοχείας g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub> (with ι in the marg. of g<sub>1</sub>); τοῦ ἁγίου ιερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπέλως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς ηρωνα (sic) διάκονον ἀντιοχείας. l. g<sub>3</sub>; *ignatius eroni diacono ecclesiae antiochenorum* L\* (see p. 55).

24 σεμνοτάτῳ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *rudico* l; *ruo* A; om. g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>L. The omission is probably owing to homœoteleuton. πνευματοφόρῳ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>L1; om. g<sub>3</sub>A. Again the homœoteleuton may account for the omission. γνησίῳ τέκνῳ] gA; om. l; *filiio* (om. γνησίῳ) L.

Jahn) ὁ χριστόληπτος...Ἰωάννης. The word is framed on the analogy of μουσόληπτος, φοιβόληπτος, θεόληπτος, etc.

6. Κασσιανόν] See the note on *Ign. Mar.* 5.

14. ἀσπάσασθε κ.τ.λ.] See *Tars.* 10, with the note.

20. Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ] The dative of that whereby or wherein the person is strengthened, 'Fare ye well

in God and Christ'; e.g. Plut. *Viz. Pophl.* 23 ἔρρωσθη χρήμασι.

24. γνησίῳ κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. i. 2 (comp. Tit. i. 4). This letter is largely borrowed from the Pastoral Epistles of S. Paul, as also from the Epistle of the genuine Ignatius to Polycarp. The form of salutation χάρις ἔλεος [καὶ] εἰρήνη is derived from these epistles.

τέκνω ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, Ἦρωνι διακόνω Χριστοῦ, ὑπηρέτῃ Θεοῦ, χάρις, ἔλεος, καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ, τοῦ δόντος ἐαγτόν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐξέλθῃται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ, καὶ 5 σῶσῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουράνιον.

Ι. Παρακαλῶ σε ἐν Θεῷ προσθεῖναι τῷ δρόμῳ σου, καὶ ἐκδικεῖν σου τὸ ἀξίωμα. τῆς συμφωνίας τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους φρόντιζε· τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους βάσταζε, ἵνα πληρώσῃς τὸν νόμον [τοῦ] Χριστοῦ. νηστεύεις καὶ δεήσεις σχόλαζε, 10 ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμέτρως, ἵνα μὴ σαυτὸν καταβάλῃς· οἴνου καὶ κρεῶν μὴ πάντα ἀπέχου· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν βδελυκτά· τὰ γὰρ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς, φησί, φάγεσθε· καί, ἔδεσθε κρέα ὡς λάχανα· καί, οἶνος εὔφραίνει καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ἔλαιον ἰλαρύνει, καὶ ἄρτος στηρίζει· ἀλλὰ μεμετρημένως καὶ εὐτάκτως, ὡς Θεοῦ 15 χορηγοῦντος· τίς γὰρ φάγεται ἢ τίς πίεται παρὲς αὐτοῦ; ὅτι εἴ τι καλόν, αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἴ τι ἀγαθόν, αὐτοῦ. τῆ ἀναγνώσει πρόσχε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς εἰδῆς τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις

1 Ἦρωνι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; ἠρωνι g<sub>2</sub>; eroni L (and so generally, but see p. 58); urioni A. Χριστοῦ] glA; jesu christi L. ὑπηρέτῃ] gl; praef. et LA. 3 Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ] gl; Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ L\*A. 4 τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν] glA; nobis et peccatis nostris L. 6 σῶσῃ] g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; salvaret L; salvos faceret l; σώσει g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; invitavit [A]. 7 προσθεῖναι] g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; προσθῆναι g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 9 φρόντιζε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>L; φρόνθιζε g<sub>3</sub>; φροντίζετε g<sub>4</sub>; curam gerere l; studere [A]; but from the connexion lA must have had the singular, if indeed they did not read φροντίζειν. 10 τοῦ Χριστοῦ] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; χριστοῦ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 11 μὴ sec.] glA; om. L. καταβάλλῃς] καταβάλλῃς g<sub>3</sub>. 12 ἐστὶν g<sub>1</sub>; ἐστι g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; εἰσι g<sub>3</sub>. 13 φησί, φάγεσθε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; φάγεσθε. φησι g<sub>4</sub>.

4. τοῦ δόντος κ.τ.λ.] From Gal. i. 4.

7. προσθεῖναι κ.τ.λ.] Modified from Ign. Polyc. i. Several of the injunctions in this chapter are derived from this same epistle.

9. βάσταζε, ἵνα κ.τ.λ.] Modified from Gal. vi. 2.

12. τὰ γὰρ ἀγαθὰ κ.τ.λ.] See *Apost. Const.* vii. 20, where the same passages are quoted, τὰ ἀγαθὰ κ.τ.λ.

from Is. i. 19, ἔδεσθε κ.τ.λ. from Gen. ix. 3, τίς φάγεται κ.τ.λ. from Eccles. ii. 25, ὅτι εἴ τι καλόν κ.τ.λ. from Zech. ix. 17. The remaining quotation, οἶνος κ.τ.λ. (from Ps. ciii (civ). 15), is not found there.

15. μεμετρημένως κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* i. 9 εὐτάκτως...μεμετρημένως.

17. τῆ ἀναγνώσει πρόσχε] Borrowed from I Tim. iv. 13.

19. νῆφε] I have supplied the



αὐτοὺς ἐξηγή. νῆφε ὡς Θεοῦ ἀθλητῆς. οὐδεὶς στρατεγόμενος  
 20 ἐμπλέκεται ταῖς τοῦ βίου πραγματεῖαις, ἵνα τῷ στρατολογή-  
 σαντι ἀρέσῃ· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀθλῆ τις, οὐ στεφανοῖται, ἐὰν μὴ  
 νομίμως ἀθλήσῃ. ἀντίψυχόν σου ἐγὼ ὁ δέσμιος.

II. Πᾶς ὁ λέγων παρὰ τὰ διαταγαγμένα, καὶ ἀξιοπίστος  
 ἦ, καὶ νηστεύῃ, καὶ παρθενεύῃ, καὶ σημεῖα ποιῇ, καὶ προ-  
 25 φητεύῃ, λύκος σοι φανέσθω ἐν προβάτου δορᾷ, προβάτων  
 φθορὰν κατεργαζόμενος. εἴ τις ἀρνεῖται τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ  
 τὸ πάθος ἐπαισχύνεται, ἔστω σοι ὡς [αὐτὸς] ὁ ἀντικείμενος·  
 καὶ ψωμίῃ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πτωχοῖς, καὶ ὄρη μεθιστᾷ, καὶ  
 παραδῶ τὸ σῶμα εἰς καῦσιν, ἔστω σοι βδελυκτός. εἴ τις  
 30 φαυλίζει τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφήτας οὓς ὁ Χριστὸς παρὼν  
 ἐπλήρωσεν, ἔστω σοι ὡς ὁ ἀντίχριστος. εἴ τις ἄνθρωπον  
 λέγει ψιλὸν τὸν Κύριον, Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν χριστοκτόνος.

III. Χήρας τίμα τὰς ὄντως χήρας· ὄρφανῶν προΐστασο·  
 ὁ Θεὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν πατὴρ τῶν ὄρφανῶν καὶ κριτὴς τῶν χηρῶν.  
 35 μηδὲν ἄνευ τῶν ἐπισκόπων πράττε· ἱερεῖς γὰρ εἰσιν, σὺ δὲ  
 διάκονος τῶν ἱερέων· ἐκεῖνοι βαπτίζουσιν, ἱερουργοῦσιν,

15 στήριζει] στερίζει g<sub>2</sub>.

18 εἰδῆς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; οἶδες g<sub>2</sub>.

19 νῆφε]

vigila A; om. gL1: see the lower note.

20 πραγματεῖαις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;

πραγματεῖαις g<sub>2</sub>.

21 ἀρέσῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἀρέσει g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

ἀθλῆ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;

ἀθλεῖ g<sub>3</sub>.

22 ἀθλήσῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἀθλήσει g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

ἀντίψυχόν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἀντί-

ψυχός g<sub>4</sub>.

24 ἦ] om. g<sub>3</sub>.

26 ἀρνεῖται] ἀρνεῖτε g<sub>1</sub>.

27 αὐτὸς

ὁ ἀντικείμενος] g; *adversarius* 1A; *antichristus et adversarius* L.

31 ὁ ἀντί-

χριστος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> (comp. 1 Joh. ii. 22, 2 Joh. 7); *ἀντίχριστος* (om. ὁ) g<sub>4</sub>. The edd. omit the definite article.

32 λέγει] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; λέγη g<sub>1</sub>.

ψιλὸν] g<sub>4</sub>;

*nudum* L; *merum* A; *tantum* 1; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

word from the Armenian. Patrick Young had suggested the insertion of *κακοπάθησον*, supposing the passage to be borrowed from 2 Tim. ii. 3; but it is taken word for word from Ign. *Polyc.* 2.

οὐδεὶς κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Tim. ii. 4, 5.

23. ἀξιοπίστος] See the note on Ign. *Philad.* 2 II. (p. 254).

25. λύκος κ.τ.λ.] From Matt. vii. 15; comp. *Ps-Ephes.* 5.

28. καὶ ψωμίῃ κ.τ.λ.] Adapted

from 1 Cor. xiii. 2, 3.

33. χήρας τίμα κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. v. 3.

34. πατὴρ κ.τ.λ.] Adapted from Ps. lxxvii (lxxviii). 5.

35. μηδὲν κ.τ.λ.] See Ign. *Magn.* 7, with the note (II. p. 122).

36. ἱερουργοῦσιν] Used especially of celebrating the eucharist; e.g. Athan. *Apol. c. Arian.* II (p. 105). So too *ἱερουργία*; e.g. Euseb. *V. C.* iv. 45 *μυστικαῖς ἱερουργίαις*.

χειροτονοῦσιν, χειροθετοῦσιν· σὺ δὲ αὐτοῖς διακόνει, ὡς Στέφανος ὁ ἅγιος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰακώβῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. τῶν συνάξεων μὴ ἀμέλει· ἐξ ὀνόματος πάντας ἐπιζήτει. μηδεὶς σοῦ τῆς νεότητος καταφρονεῖτω, ἀλλὰ τύπος γίνου τῶν πιστῶν ἐν λόγῳ, ἐν ἀναστροφῇ. 5

IV. Οἰκέτας μὴ ἐπαισχύνου· κοινωνεῖ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ αὐτοῖς ἢ φύσιν· γυναῖκας μὴ βδελύττου· αὐταῖ σε γὰρ γεγεννήκασιν καὶ ἐξέθρεψαν. ἀγαπᾶν οὖν χρὴ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς γεννήσεως, μόνον ἐν Κυρίῳ· ἄνευ δὲ γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ οὐ παιδοποιήσει. τιμᾶν οὖν χρὴ τὰς συνεργοὺς τῆς γεννήσεως. οὔτε 10 ἀνὴρ χωρὶς γυναικὸς οὔτε γυνὴ χωρὶς ἀνδρός, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ τῶν πρωτοπλάστων· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀδάμ τὸ σῶμα ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων, τῆς δὲ Εὕας ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Ἀδάμ. καὶ ὁ παράδοξος δὲ τοκετὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐκ μόνης τῆς παρθένου, οὐ βδελυκτῆς οὔσης τῆς νομίμου μίξεως, ἀλλὰ θεοπρεποῦς 15 τῆς γεννήσεως· ἔπρεπε γὰρ τῷ δημιουργῷ μὴ τῇ συνήθει

1 χειροτονοῦσιν] g1; om. LA. διακόνει] g2; διακονῆ g2g4; ministra L; ministrabis (or ministres) A; διακονεῖς g3; ministras (v.l. ministrans) l. 2 Στέφανος] g1g2g3; ὁ στέφανος g4. 4 καταφρονεῖτω] καταφρονήτω g3. 6 κοινωνεῖ] g3; κοινωνῆ (sic) g1; κοινῆ (sic) g2; κοινῆ g4; communis est (sic) lA; communis L. 7 αὐταῖ] g1g2g3; ἑσέ l1; αὐται (sic) g4; illae A. σε γὰρ] g1g3g4s; γὰρ σε g2. 8 γεγεννήκασιν] g1g3g4s; γεγεννηκαν g2. 9 μόνον] txt l1; add. δὲ gA. 13 Εὔας] Eὔa g3. 16 τῇ συνήθει] g1g3g4s; consueta L; τῇ συνηθεία g2; secundum humanam consuetudinem l; al. A. 19 ὑπερη-

1. χειροτονοῦσιν, χειροθετοῦσιν] *Apost. Const.* viii. 28 ἐπίσκοπος...χειροθετεῖ, χειροτονεῖ, προσφέρει. While χειροθεσία is used of 'laying on of hands,' e.g. in Confirmation, χειροτονία is said of Ordination; e.g. *Apost. Const.* viii. 27 ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ τριῶν ἢ δύο ἐπισκόπων χειροτονεῖσθω, comp. *Apost. Can.* 1, 2. Referring originally to the election of the Clergy, χειροτονία came afterwards to be applied commonly, as here, to their ordination; see Suicer *Theas.* s. vv. χειροτονεῖν, χειροτονία, with the passages there quoted.

ὡς Στέφανος κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Ps-*

*Trall.* 7. The example of Stephen as a deacon is given in *Apost. Const.* viii. 18.

3. ἐξ ὀνόματος κ.τ.λ.] See the note (II. p. 345) on Ign. *Polyc.* 4, whence this injunction is borrowed.

4. μηδεὶς σου κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. iv. 12.

10. τὰς συνεργοὺς κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vi. 29 ὡς κοινωνοὺς βίου καὶ συνεργοὺς πρὸς γένεσιν παιδῶν.

οὔτε ἀνὴρ κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. xi. 11, from which passage also some ideas in the context are borrowed.

12. τὸ σῶμα κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 τῆς μὲν [ψυχῆς] ἐκ τοῦ μὴ

ἀποχρήσασθαι γεννήσει ἀλλὰ τῇ παραδόξῳ καὶ ξένη, ὡς δημιουργῶ.

V. Ὑπερηφανίαν φεύγε· ὑπερηφάνοις γὰρ ἀντιτίσσεται  
 20 Κύριος. ψευδολογίαν βδελύττου· ἀπολεῖς γὰρ πάντας τοὺς  
 λαλοῦντας τὸ ψεῦδος. φθόνου φυλάττου· ἀρχηγὸς γὰρ αὐτοῦ  
 ὁ διάβολος, καὶ διάδοχος ὁ Κάϊν, ἀδελφῶ βασκάνας καὶ ἐκ  
 φθόνου φόνον κατεργασάμενος. ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μου παραίνει  
 ἀγαπᾶν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ μόνον ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν·  
 25 μοίως καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου παραίνει ἀρκεῖσθαι ταῖς ὁμο-  
 ζύγοις. παρθένους φύλαττε, ὡς Χριστοῦ κειμήλια. μακρό-  
 θυμος ἔσο, ἵνα ἦς πολὺς ἐν φρονήσει. τῶν πενήτων μὴ  
 ἀμέλει, ἐν οἷς ἂν εὐπορήῃς. ἐλεημοσύναις γὰρ καὶ πίστεσιν  
 ἀποκαθαίρονται ἁμαρτίαι.

30 VI. Σεαυτὸν ἀγνὸν τήρει, ὡς Θεοῦ οἰκητήριον· ναὸς  
 Χριστοῦ ὑπάρχεις, ὄργανον εἰ τοῦ πνεύματος. οἶδας ὅπως  
 σε ἀνέθρεψα· εἰ καὶ ἐλάχιστός εἰμι, ζηλωτῆς μου γενοῦ·

φανίαν] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ὑπερηφανείαν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>. 20 γὰρ] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>L; add. φησί g<sub>3</sub>l;  
*enim ait* l (but *ait* is wanting in some important mss). A cannot have had φησί,  
 for he mends the passage by substituting a third person *etenim perdit dominus* etc.

21 αὐτοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *ipsius* L; *ejus* lA; om. g<sub>2</sub>. In g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>[A] *est* is added; om.  
 g<sub>2</sub>l. 22 ὁ διάβολος] here, g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; before αὐτοῦ, g<sub>4</sub>. For g<sub>2</sub> see the last  
 note.

βασκάνας] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s; *bascainas* g<sub>3</sub>; *baschinas* g<sub>4</sub>. 24 τοῖς ἰδίοις  
 ἀνδράσιν· ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου παραίνει ἀρκεῖσθαι] om. l by homoeote-  
 leuton. 29 ἀποκαθαίρονται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἀποκαθαίρονται g<sub>2</sub>. 31 ὄργανον

εἰ] g; *et organum...existens* l; *organumque* L; *et cithara* A.

ὄντος, τοῦ δὲ [σώματος] ἐκ τῶν τεσσά-  
 ρων στοιχείων.

13. ὁ παράδοξος κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Philippi*. 8.

19. ὑπερηφανίαν κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.*  
 vii. 5 οὐκ ἔση...ὑπερήφανος· ὑπερηφά-  
 νοις γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἀντιτίσσεται. This  
 same passage (Prov. iii. 34) is quoted  
 in the genuine Ignatius, *Ephes.* 5  
 (see the note, II. p. 45).

20. ψευδολογίαν κ.τ.λ.] *Apost.*  
*Const.* vii. 4 οὐ ψεύση· Ἀπολεῖς γὰρ,  
 φησί, πάντα τοὺς λαλοῦντας τὸ ψεῦδος  
 (Ps. v. 6).

22. Κάϊν] See Clem. Rom. 4 with

the notes.

23. ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μου κ.τ.λ.] Bor-  
 rowed from Ign. *Polyc.* 5; see also  
*Apost. Const.* viii. 32.

26. μακρόθυμος κ.τ.λ.] *Apost.*  
*Const.* vii. 8 γίνου μακρόθυμος, ὁ γὰρ  
 τοιοῦτος πολὺς ἐν φρονήσει, based on  
 Prov. xiv. 29 (LXX) μακρόθυμος ἀνὴρ  
 πολὺς ἐν φρονήσει.

27. τῶν πενήτων κ.τ.λ.] *Apost.*  
*Const.* vii. 12 ἐὰν ἔχης, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν  
 σου δός... ἐλεημοσύναις γὰρ κ.τ.λ., a  
 quotation from Prov. xv. 27 (xvi. 6).

30. σεαυτὸν κ.τ.λ.] From I Tim.  
 v. 22.

μίμησαί μου τὴν ἀναστροφήν· οὐ καυχῶμαι ἐν κόσμῳ ἀλλ' ἐν Κυρίῳ· Ἡρωὶ τῷ ἐμῷ τέκνῳ παραινῶ· ὁ δὲ καυχώμενος ἐν Κυρίῳ καυχάσθω. ὀναίμην σου, παιδίον ποθεινόν· οὗ φύλαξ γένηται ὁ μόνος ἀγέννητος Θεὸς καὶ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. μὴ πᾶσιν πίστευε, μὴ πᾶσιν θάρρει, μηδὲ ἂν τις 5 ὑποκοριζήται σε· πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσιν ὑπηρέται τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ ὁ ταχὺ ἐμπιστεύων κοῦφος τῇ καρδίᾳ.

VII. Μέμνησο τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεις ποτέ. μὴ γίνου δίψυχος ἐν προσευχῇ σου, μακάριος γὰρ ὁ μὴ διστάσας. πιστεύω γὰρ εἰς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ 10 Χριστοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ υἱόν, ὅτι δείξει μοι ὁ Θεὸς Ἡρώνα ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου μου· πρόσθες οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ δρόμῳ. παραγγέλλω σοι ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, παρόντος καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος καὶ τῶν λειτουργικῶν ταγματῶν· φύλαξόν μου τὴν παραθήκην, ἣν ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Χρισ- 15 τὸς παρεθέμεθά σοι, καὶ μὴ ἑαυτὸν ἀνάξιον κρίνης τῶν δοχθέντων περὶ σοῦ Θεῷ. παρατίθημί σοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Ἀντιοχείων. Πολυκάρπῳ παρεθέμην ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.

VIII. Ἀσπάζονται σε οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, Ὀνήσιμος, Βίτος, 20

2 Ἡρωὶ τῷ ἐμῷ τέκνῳ] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>2</sub>*sg*<sub>4</sub>*s*; ἥρωνα τὸ ἐμὸν τέκνον *g*<sub>3</sub>; *heroni (eroni) filio meo* L; *heronem filium meum* I; *filium meum urionem* A. Both the Latin versions have the same verb *monere*.

4 γένηται] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>2</sub>*sg*<sub>3</sub>; γένοιτο *g*<sub>4</sub>.

6 ὑποκοριζήται σε] ὑποκορίζεται σε *g*<sub>3</sub>; ὑποκορούζεται σε *g*<sub>1</sub>; ὑποκορούζηται σε *g*<sub>2</sub>; ὑποκορούζητέ σου *g*<sub>4</sub>.

10 Κυρίου] *g*; add. *nostrī* Ll[A].

11 μονογενῆ] *g*; add. *ipsius* L; add. *ejus* lA.

15 φύλαξόν] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>2</sub>*sg*<sub>3</sub>; φύλαξαί *g*<sub>4</sub>.

16 τῶν δοχθέντων] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>2</sub>;

τῶν δοθέντων *g*<sub>4</sub>; τῶν δεχθέντων *g*<sub>3</sub>; *expectatis* L; *eorum quae ostensa sunt* (δειχθέντων) l. In A the sentence is translated *indignum ejus in quo et deo gratus vere es*.

17 Θεῷ] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>2</sub>*g*<sub>4</sub>; τῷ θεῷ *g*<sub>3</sub>.

18 Ἀντιοχείων] *αντιοχείων* *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>3</sub>.

Πολυκάρπῳ]

πολυκάρπου *g*<sub>2</sub>. C begins at this point.

21 Δαμᾶς] *δάμας* *g*<sub>1</sub>*sg*<sub>2</sub>*sg*<sub>3</sub>*g*<sub>4</sub>*s*;

see II. p. 110 sq.

22 ὅθεν...σοι] om. C.

καὶ] *g*A; om. Ll; def. C.

2. ὁ δὲ καυχώμενος κ.τ.λ.] 2 Cor. x. 17; comp. 1 Cor. i. 31.

13. ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] Suggested by 1 Tim. v. 21.

7. ὁ ταχὺ κ.τ.λ.] From Ecclus. xix. 4.

15. φύλαξόν κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. vi. 21.

9. μὴ γίνου κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii. 11 μὴ γίνου δίψυχος ἐν προσευχῇ σου...λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ἐμοὶ Πέτρῳ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, Ὀλιγόψυχε, εἰς τί ἐδίστασας;

20. Βίτος] See the note on *Philipp.* 14.

29. ἴσχυε] The injunction of Moses to Joshua, Deut. xxxi. 7; comp. Josh. i. 6, 7, 9.

Δαμᾶς, Πολύβιος, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ Φιλίππων, ἐν Χριστῷ, ὅθεν καὶ ἐπέστειλά σοι. ἄσπασαι τὸ θεοπρεπὲς πρεσβυτέριον. ἄσπασαι τοὺς ἁγίους συνδιακόνοὺς σου, ὧν ἐγὼ ὀναίμην ἐν Χριστῷ, σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι. ἄσπασαι τὸν  
 25 λαὸν Κυρίου ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου κατ' ὄνομα· οὓς παρατίθημί σοι, ὡς Μωυσῆς Ἰησοῦ τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν στρατηγῷ· καὶ μὴ σοι φανῆ βαρὺ τὸ λεχθέν· εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐσμὲν τοιοῦτοι οἴοι ἐκείνοι, ἀλλ' οὖν γε εὐχόμεθα γενέσθαι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐσμὲν παῖδες. ἴσχυε οὖν, ὡς Ἡρων, ἠρωϊκῶς καὶ  
 30 ἀνδρικῶς· σὺ γὰρ εἰσάξεις ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἐξάξεις τὸν λαὸν Κυρίου τὸν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἡ συναγωγὴ Κυρίου ὡς πρόβατα οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ποιμὴν.

ΙΧ. Ἄσπασαι Κασσιανὸν τὸν ξένον μου, καὶ τὴν σεμνοτάτην αὐτοῦ ὁμόζυγον, καὶ τὰ φίλτατα αὐτῶν παιδία· οἷς  
 35 δώσει ὁ Θεὸς εἶρεῖν ἔλεον παρὰ Κυρίου ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς διακονίας· οὓς καὶ παρατίθημί σοι ἐν Χριστῷ. ἄσπασαι τοὺς ἐν Λαοδικίᾳ πιστοὺς ἅπαντας κατ' ὄνομα ἐν Χριστῷ. τῶν ἐν Ταρσῷ μὴ ἀμέλει, ἀλλὰ συνεχέστερον αὐτοὺς ἐπίβλεπε, ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Μάριν

23 ἁγίους] gLIA; om. C.

26 Μωυσῆς] g<sub>4</sub> (contrary to its general practice)

LI[C]; μωσῆς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>[A?].

αὐτὸν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>LAC; αὐτοῦ g<sub>4</sub>; al. l.

27 ε[

txt LIC; add. γὰρ gA.

τοιοῦτοι οἴοι] om. C alone.

31 ἡ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;

om. g<sub>2</sub>.

33 Κασσιανὸν] gLI; *kasianum* [C]; *kisianum* [A]; comp. *Antioch.*

13, and see p. 149.

34 αὐτῶν] gLIA; αὐτοῦ C.

παιδία] παιδεῖα g<sub>2</sub>.

35 δώσει] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *dabit* L; δῶη (δῶη) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub> (from 2 Tim. i. 18); *det* 1; dub. AC.

36 Χριστῷ] txt gIAC; add. Ἰησοῦ L.

37 Λαοδικία] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>[C]; *λαοδικεῖα* g<sub>4</sub>;

*laodicia* (v. l. *laodicea*) 1; dub. A. For L see p. 58.

39 αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον

αὐτοῖς] *eis evangelium* A; αὐτοὺς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; αὐτοὺς τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ g<sub>4</sub>; *eos in evangelium* C; *eos in evangelio* 1; *ipsos secundum evangelium* L. The editors read

αὐτοὺς *eis* τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

Μάριν] *marim* L; *marinum* (ΜΑΡΙΝΟΣ) C; *marianum* A; *marium* 1: see above p. 137.

30. εἰσάξεις κ.τ.λ.] Words borrowed from the functions assigned to Joshua on his appointment, Num. xxvii. 17.

33. Κασσιανὸν] See the note on *Ign. Mar.* 5.

35. δώσει ὁ Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.] Quoted from 2 Tim. i. 18, but not quite verbatim.

37. Λαοδικία] The Syrian Laodicea; not the Phrygian city mentioned by S. Paul (Col. ii. 1, iv. 13, 15, 16) and S. John (Rev. iii. 14 sq.). For the orthography of the word see the evidence in the passages of the N. T. just cited.

39. Μάριν] See the note on *Mar. Ign.* 1.

τὸν ἐν Νέα πόλει τῇ πρὸς Ζαρβῶ ἐπίσκοπον προσαγορεύω ἐν Κυρίῳ. πρόσκειπε δὲ καὶ τὴν σεμνοτάτην Μαρίαν τὴν θυγατέρα μου τὴν πολυμαθεστάτην, καὶ τὴν κατ' οἶκον αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίαν ἧς ἀντίψυχον γενοίμην· τὸ ἐξεμπλάριον τῶν εὐσεβῶν γυναικῶν. ὑγιαίνοντά σε καὶ ἐν πάσιν εὐδοκιμούντα 5 ὁ πατήρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς φυλάττοι ἐπὶ μήκιστον [βίου] χρόνον εἰς ὠφέλειαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἔρρωσο ἐν Κυρίῳ, καὶ προσεύχου ἵνα τελειωθῶ.

## 12.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΥΣ.

**Ι**ΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ εὐλογημένη ἐν μεγέθει 10 Θεοῦ πατρὸς πληρώματι, τῇ καὶ προωρισμένη πρὸ αἰώνων εἶναι διὰ παντὸς εἰς δόξαν παράμονον, ἄτρεπτον, ἠνωμένην καὶ ἐκλελεγμένην ἐν πάθει ἀληθινῶ ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀξιομακαρίστῳ, τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ 15 τῆς Ἀσίας, πλείστα ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῶ καὶ ἐν ἀμώμῳ χαρᾷ χαίρειν.

1 πρὸς Ζαρβῶ] *ad zarbo* L; *apud (prope) zarbo* C; *secus zarbo* l; *prope ad derbim fluvium* A; πρὸς ἀναζαρβῶ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s; πρὸς ἀναζάρβω g<sub>4</sub>; πρὸς ἀναζαρκῶ g<sub>3</sub>; see *Mar. Ign.* 1. 2 Μαρίαν τὴν] om. g<sub>2</sub>. 6 δι' αὐτοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>; *per* (om. αὐτοῦ) LC; om. (altogether) A. τοῦ] repeated in g. φυλάττοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sLiAC; φυλάττει g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 7 ἐπὶ μήκιστον βίου χρόνον] g; *in longum vivere* L; *aevio longiore* l; *in longum tempus* C; *per longa tempora* A. τῆς ἐκκλησίας] lA; *ecclesiae christi* L; τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας gC.

Subscr. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς ἥρωνα διάκονον (ἥρωνα διάκονον g<sub>2</sub>) ἀντιοχείας g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>. In the marg. of g<sub>1</sub> is the number ι. No subscr. in g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>ACL.

πρὸς ἐφεσίους] g<sub>4</sub> (with ια in the marg.); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς ἐφεσίους g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>2</sub> (with ια in the marg. of both MSS); Ἰγνατίου ἐπισκόπου ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς ἐφεσίους g<sub>5</sub> (with α' in the marg.); τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς ἐφεσίους. ια. g<sub>3</sub>.

10 ἐν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s with I; om. g<sub>5</sub>l, but l here degenerates into a paraphrase, *magnitudine patris dei repletae*. 11 πληρώματι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub> with I (see II. p. 22); καὶ πληρώματι g<sub>3</sub>. See the previous note for l. 12 παράμονον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub> I; *singulari* l; παραμένειν g<sub>4</sub>. 15 ἀξιομακαρίστῳ] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s I I; *θεομακαρί-*

I. Ἀποδεξάμενος ὑμῶν ἐν Θεῷ τὸ πολυπόθητον ὄνομα, ὃ κέκτησθε φύσει δικαία κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην ἐν Χριστῷ  
 20 Ἰησοῦ τῷ σωτήρι ἡμῶν· μιμηταὶ ὄντες Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας, ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι Χριστοῦ, τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον τελείως ἀπηρτίσατε· ἀκούσαντες γάρ με δεδεμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, τῆς κοινῆς ἐλπίδος, πεποιθότα τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ θηριομαχῆσαι, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ μαρτυ-  
 25 ρίου δυνηθῶ μαθητῆς εἶναι τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐλαττον ἀνενεγκόντος Θεῷ προσφοράν καὶ θυσίαν. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν πολυπλήθειαν ὑμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ ἀπέληφα ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ, τῷ ἐπ' ἀγάπῃ ἀδιηγῆται, ὑμῶν δὲ ἐπισκόπῳ· ὃν εὐχομαι κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ὑμᾶς ἀγαπᾶν, καὶ πάντα ὑμᾶς ἐν ὁμοιώματι  
 30 αὐτοῦ εἶναι· εὐλογητὸς γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ χαρισάμενος ὑμῖν τοιοῦτοις οὖσις τοιοῦτον ἐπίσκοπον κεκτήσθαι ἐν Χριστῷ.

II. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ συνδούλου ἡμῶν Βούρρου, τοῦ κατὰ Θεὸν διακόνου ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν πάσιν εὐλογημένου, εὐχομαι παραμεῖναι αὐτὸν ἄμωμον εἰς τιμὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ  
 35 ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν τοῦ μακαριωτάτου. Κρόκος δὲ ὁ Θεοῦ ἄξιος καὶ ὑμῶν, ὃν ὡς ἐξεμπλᾶριον τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀγάπης ἀπελάβομεν, κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν καὶ τὴν ἄλγισιν μοῦ οὐκ ἐπῆσχύνθη, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναψύξει, ἅμα Ὀνησίμῳ καὶ Βούρρῳ καὶ Εὐπλοῖ καὶ Φρόντωνι, δι'

τῷ g<sub>5</sub>. 16 Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s<sup>l</sup>; χριστῷ ἰησοῦ g<sub>5</sub>. 18 ἀποδεξάμενος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub><sup>l</sup> I; ἀπεδεξάμην g<sub>3</sub>. This is only one of several alterations, by which g<sub>3</sub> endeavours to remedy the anacolutha and mend the grammar of the text in the passage which follows. 19 Χριστῷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub>s<sup>l</sup> I\*; κυρίῳ g<sub>4</sub>. 20 σωτήρι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s<sup>l</sup> I; κυρίῳ g<sub>5</sub>. 21 ἀναζωπυρήσαντες] add. οὖν g<sub>3</sub>. 22 ἀπηρτίσατε] ἀπηρτήσατε g<sub>2</sub>. γάρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>s<sup>l</sup> I; om. g<sub>3</sub>. 23 πεποιθότα] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s<sup>l</sup> (comp. I); πεποιθότες g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. 25 ἀνενεγκόντος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>s<sup>l</sup> I; ἀνερέγκαντος g<sub>2</sub>. 26 ἐπεὶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub><sup>l</sup> I; ἐγὼ μὲν g<sub>3</sub>. πολυπλήθειαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>s<sup>l</sup> I; πολυπάθειαν g<sub>2</sub>. 32 Βούρρου] I (see II. p. 33); burro 1; βίρρου (or βίβρου) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s<sup>l</sup>; βήβρου g<sub>5</sub> ('η secundis curis' Dressel). 38 ἐπῆσχύνθη] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>s<sup>l</sup>; ἐπαισχύνθη g<sub>2</sub>. 39 Ὀνησίμῳ] ὄνισήμῳ g<sub>2</sub>. Βούρρῳ] I; burro 1; βίρρω (βίβρω) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s<sup>l</sup>; βήβρω g<sub>2</sub>; βίβρω altered into βήβρω g<sub>5</sub>. Εὐπλοῖ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s<sup>l</sup>; εὐπλοῖ g<sub>2</sub>; εὐπλόη g<sub>5</sub>. Φρόντωνι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>s<sup>l</sup>; φρόντωνι g<sub>2</sub>.

25. τοῦ ὑπὲρ κ.τ.λ.] Adapted from Ephes. v. 2.

37. καὶ τὴν ἄλυσίν μου κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Tim. i. 16.

ὧν πάντας ὑμᾶς κατὰ ἀγάπην εἶδον. ὀναίμην ὑμῶν διὰ παντός, ἐάν περ ἄξιός ᾧ. πρόπον οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δοξάζειν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δοξάσαντα ὑμᾶς· ἵνα ἐν μιᾷ ὑποταγῇ ἦτε, καθηρτισμένοι τῷ ἀγτῷ νοῖ καὶ τῇ ἀγτῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ τὸ ἀγτὸ λέγητε πάντες περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα 5 ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ κατὰ πάντα ἦτε ἡγιασμένοι.

III. Οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν, ὡς ὦν τι. εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι διὰ τὸ ὄνομα, οὐπω ἀπήρτισμαι ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. νῦν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι, καὶ προσλαλῶ ὑμῖν 10 ὡς ὁμοδούλοις· ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔδει παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπομνησθῆναι πίστει, νουθεσίᾳ, ὑπομονῇ, μακροθυμίᾳ. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἔᾶ με σιωπᾶν περὶ ὑμῶν, διὰ τοῦτο προέλαβον παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὅπως συντρέχητε τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς πάντα κατὰ γνώμην πράττει τοῦ πατρός, ὡς αὐτός 15 που λέγει· ἐγὼ τὰ ἀρεστὰ ἀγτοῦ ποιῶ πάντοτε. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς χρὴ ζῆν κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ καὶ ζηλοῦν, ὡς Παῦλος· μιμηταὶ γάρ μου, φησίν, γίνεσθε, καθὼς κἀγὼ Χριστοῦ.

IV. Ὅθεν καὶ ὑμῖν πρέπει συντρέχειν τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου 20 γνώμῃ τοῦ κατὰ Θεὸν ποιμαίνοντος ὑμᾶς· ὅπερ καὶ ποιεῖτε αὐτοί, σοφισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος. τὸ γὰρ ἀξιονόμαστον πρεσβυτέριον, ἄξιον ὄν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὕτως συνήρμονται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρα, συνδεδεμένοι οὕτω τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ συμφώνῳ ἀγάπῃ, ἧς ἐστὶν ἀρχηγὸς καὶ 25

1 ὑμᾶς] ὑμᾶς ὑμᾶς g<sub>2</sub>. 2 πρόπον] πρόπων g<sub>2</sub>. 4 ὑποταγῇ] *praecipione* (ἐπιταγῇ) l. νοῖ] add. καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι g<sub>4</sub> (not supported by any other authority). 5 λέγητε] g<sub>4</sub>sg<sub>5</sub>; *dicitis* l; λέγετε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 9 ὄνομα] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; add. αὐτοῦ g<sub>3</sub>; add. *jesu christi* l. Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> l; χριστῷ ἰησοῦ g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; def. l. 14 συντρέχητε] συντρέχετε g<sub>2</sub>. καὶ γὰρ] g<sub>3</sub> omits from here to κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ. The omission is explained by the homeo-teleuton. 15 ὡς] καθὼς g<sub>4</sub> alone. 16 αὐτοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> (but g<sub>4</sub> transposes, ποιῶ αὐτοῦ) g<sub>5</sub>; def. g<sub>3</sub>. The edd. read αὐτῷ, as it stands in Joh. viii. 29. In

4. ἦτε, καθηρτισμένοι κ.τ.λ.] From I Cor. i. 10, the clauses being transposed.

Joh. viii. 29.

18. μιμηταὶ ... μου κ.τ.λ.] From I Cor. xi. 1.

16. ἐγὼ τὰ ἀρεστὰ κ.τ.λ.] From

30. δὸς...αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ.] A very loose



φύλαξ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός. καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα δὲ χορὸς  
 γένεσθε εἰς, ἵνα σύμφωνοι ὄντες ἐν ὁμοιοίᾳ, συνάφειαν Θεοῦ  
 λαβόντες, ἐν ἐνότητι ἐν γένησθε τῇ συμφωνίᾳ τῷ Θεῷ πατρὶ  
 καὶ τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν  
 30 δός γὰρ αὐτοῖς, φησί, πάτερ ἄγιε, ἵνα ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ ἔν ἐσμεν,  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐν ὤσιν. χρήσιμον οὖν ἐστὶν ὑμᾶς ἐν  
 ἀμώμῳ ἐνότητι συνημμένους Θεῷ μιμητὰς εἶναι Χριστοῦ,  
 οὗ καὶ μέλη ὑπάρχετε.

V. Εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐν μικρῷ χρόνῳ τοιαύτην συνήθειαν  
 35 ἔσχον πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην οὔσαν  
 ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς μακαρίζω τοὺς ἀνα-  
 κευραμένους αὐτῷ, ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία τῷ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ὁ  
 Κύριος τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα πάντα ἐν ἐνότητι σύμ-  
 φωνα ᾦ. μηδεὶς πλανάσθω· εἰ μὴ τις ἐντὸς ἧ τοῦ θυσιασ-  
 40 τηρίου, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ. εἰ γὰρ ἐνός καὶ  
 δευτέρου προσευχῆ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει, ὥστε τὸν Χριστὸν  
 ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστάναί, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ  
 πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσευχῆ σύμφωνος ἀνιούσα πρὸς  
 Θεὸν πιστοὶ παρασχεθῆναι αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ ἐν Χρισ-  
 45 τῷ αἰτήματα. ὁ οὖν τῶν τοιούτων χωριζόμενος καὶ μὴ  
 συνερχόμενος ἐν βουλῇ θυσιῶν καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων  
 ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανῷ λίκος ἐστὶν ἐν προβάτοῦ δορᾷ,  
 ἡμερον ἐπιδεικνὺς μορφήν. σπουδάσατε, ἀγαπητοί, ὑποτα-  
 γῆναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις·

I it is rendered *quae placita sunt ei*, as in the Vulgate.

17 ζηλοῦν] ζηλοῦν g<sub>2</sub>.

23 οὕτως] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> I; οὕτω g<sub>5</sub>.

24 συνδεδεμένοι] g; *colligatae* (συνδεδε-  
 μέναι) l.

25 ἧς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *cujus* l; ἧ g<sub>5</sub>.

26 ὁ Χριστός] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>;

χριστός g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

28 γένησθε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; γένεσθε g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>.

πατρὶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>

l; καὶ πατρὶ g<sub>5</sub>.

30 σὺ] σοι g<sub>2</sub>.

36 ἀνακεκραμένους] g<sub>4</sub>; ἀνακε-  
 κραμένους g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; ἀνακεκραμένους g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *qui pendetis* l. For the reading of I see

II. p. 43.

44 πιστοὶ] g<sub>3</sub>; *persuadet* l; *πίστει* g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; *πιστῆ* g<sub>4</sub>. The edd.

(before Zahn) generally read *πέσει*, and Dressel has *πίστει πέσει*.

47 οὐ-  
 ρανῷ] οὐρανοῖς g<sub>4</sub> alone (with Heb. xii. 23).

quotation made up of John xvii. 11,  
 21.

46. ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων κ.τ.λ.]  
 From Heb. xii. 23. The next ex-

pression, *λίκος ἐν προβάτου δορᾷ*, sug-  
 gested by Matt. vii. 15, occurs also  
 in *Hero* 2.

ὁ γὰρ τούτοις ὑποτασσόμενος ὑπακούει Χριστῷ τῷ προχειρισμένῳ αὐτούς· ὁ δὲ ἀπειθῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπειθεῖ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· ὁ δὲ ἀπειθῶν τῷ γίῳ οὔκ ὄψεται τὴν ζωὴν, ἀλλ' ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ μένει ἐπ' αὐτόν· αὐθάδης γὰρ ἐστὶν καὶ δύσερις, ὑπερήφανος, ὁ μὴ πειθαρῶν τοῖς κρείττοσι. ὑπερηφάνοις δέ, φησὶν, 5 ὁ Θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν· καί, ὑπερήφανοι παρηνόμογον ἕως σφόδρα· λέγει δὲ καὶ ὁ Κύριος πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς, ὁ ἡμῶν ἀκούων ἐμοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ ἐμοῦ ἀκούων ἀκούει τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρός· ὁ ἡμᾶς ἀθετῶν ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ, ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν ἀθετεῖ τὸν πέμψαντά με. 10

VI. Ὅσῳ οὖν βλέπετε σιωπῶντα τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, πλείον αὐτὸν φοβεῖσθε. πάντα γὰρ ὃν πέμπει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν, οὕτως αὐτὸν δεῖ ἡμᾶς δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμψαντα. τὸν οὖν ἐπίσκοπον δηλονότι ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν, τῷ Κυρίῳ παρεστῶτα· ὀρατικὸν δὲ 15 ἄνδρα καὶ ὄζην τοῖς ἔργοις βασιλεῦσι δεῖ παρεστάναι, καὶ μὴ παρεστάναι ἀνθρώποις νωθοῖς. αὐτὸς μέντοι Ὀνησίμος ὑπερεπαινεῖ ὑμῶν τὴν ἐν Θεῷ εὐταξίαν, ὅτι πάντες κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ζῆτε, καὶ ὅτι ἐν ὑμῖν οὐδεμία αἵρεσις κατοικεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀκούετέ τινος ἢ μόνου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ 20

1 ὁ...ὑποτασσόμενος] οἱ...ὑποτασσόμενοι g<sub>4</sub> alone (notwithstanding that it has a sing. verb ὑπακούει). ὑπακούει] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>s; *obedit* l; ὑπακούσει g<sub>2</sub>. 9 ἀκούει] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l; οὐκ ἀκούσει ἐμοῦ ἀλλὰ] g<sub>5</sub>. 10 πέμψαντα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>s; ἀποστελλαντα g<sub>2</sub> (from Luke x. 16). 11 οὖν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>sl; om. g<sub>2</sub>. 12 πέμπει] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s I; *mittit* l; πέμψει g<sub>5</sub>. 13 ἡμᾶς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub>sl I; ὑμᾶς g<sub>4</sub>. 16 παρεστάναι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sl (as in Prov. xxii. 29); om. g<sub>5</sub>. 17 ἀνθρώποις νωθοῖς] ἀνθρώπους νωθούς g<sub>3</sub> against all the other authorities. In Prov. xxii. 29 it is ἀνδρασι νωθοῖς. 18 ὅτι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>sl I; καὶ ὅτι g<sub>3</sub>. κατὰ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub>s; κατ' g<sub>4</sub>. 22 διὰ τὸ καὶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; διὰ τὸ g<sub>5</sub>; *quoniam* l; καὶ (om. διὰ τὸ) g<sub>4</sub>. 25 τοιοῦνδε παιδευταῖν] τοιοῦνδε παιδευτῶν, all the

2. ὁ δὲ ἀπειθῶν κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. iii. 6.

5. ὑπερηφάνοις κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Hero* 5.

6. ὑπερήφανοι κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. cxviii (cxix). 51.

7. λέγει δὲ κ.τ.λ.] The quotation which follows is taken mainly from Luke x. 16, but the clause καὶ ὁ

ἐμοῦ...πατρός does not occur there.

15. ὀρατικὸν—ἄνδρα κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. xxii. 29.

22. ἐν σῶμα κ.τ.λ.] The expressions are borrowed from Ephes. iv. 4—6.

25. ὑπὸ τοιοῦνδε κ.τ.λ.] 'under two such instructors.' Considering the reading of the MSS, there cannot,

ποιμένος καὶ διδασκάλου· καὶ ἐστὲ, ὡς Παῦλος ὑμῶν ἔγραφεν, ἐν σῶμα καὶ ἐν πνεῦμα διὰ τὸ καὶ ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι κεκλήσθαι τῆς πίστεως· ἐπέειπερ καὶ εἰς Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐν Βάπτισμα, εἰς Θεός καὶ πατὴρ πάντων ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων  
25 καὶ ἐν πάσιν. ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐστε τοιοῦτοι, ὑπὸ τοιούτων παιδευταῖν στοιχειωθέντες, Παύλῳ τῷ χριστοφόρῳ καὶ Τιμοθέῳ τῷ πιστοτάτῳ.

VII. Τινὲς δὲ φαυλότατοι εἰώθασιν δόλῳ ποιηρῶ τὸ ὄνομα περιφέρειν, ἄλλα τινὰ πράσσουντες ἀνάξια Θεοῦ καὶ  
30 φρονούντες ἐναντία τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐπ' ὀλίβρω ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πειθομένων αὐτοῖς· οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ὡς θηρία ἐκκλίνειν· δίκαιος γὰρ ἐκκλίνας σώζεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· πρόχειρος δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἐπίχαρτος ἀσεβῶν ἀπώλεια· εἰσὶ γὰρ κύνες ἐνεοί, οὗ δυνάμενοι ἕλακτεῖν, λυσσῶντες, λαθρο-  
35 δῆκτοι, οὓς φυλάσσεσθαι χρή· ἀνιάτα γὰρ νοσοῦσιν. ἰατρὸς δὲ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ μόνος ἀληθινὸς Θεός, ὁ ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀπρόσιτος, ὁ τῶν ὄλων Κύριος, τοῦ δὲ μονογενοῦς πατὴρ καὶ γεννήτωρ. ἔχομεν ἰατρὸν καὶ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν, τὸν πρὸ αἰῶνων υἱὸν μονογενῆ καὶ  
40 λόγον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου ὁ λόγος γὰρ σὰρξ ἐγένετο, ὁ ἀσώματος ἐν σώματι, ὁ ἀπαθὴς

Greek MSS. In 1 it is a *tali eruditi estis, hoc est a paulo christifero et timotheo fidelissimo*. I have made the correction on account of the datives which follow: see the lower note.

26 Παύλῳ τῷ χριστοφόρῳ]  $g_1g_2g_5$ ; παύλου τοῦ χριστοφόρου  $g_3g_4$ . Τιμοθέῳ τῷ πιστοτάτῳ]  $g_1g_2g_5$ ; τιμοθέου τοῦ πιστοτάτου  $g_3g_4$ .

29 ἄλλα τινὰ]  $g_1g_2sg_4g_5$ ; ἄλλα τινα  $g_3$ ; *sed aliquid* 1: see above II. p. 47. 33 ἀπώλεια] ἀπώλεια  $g_1$ . 34 κύνες] κύνες  $g_2$ . οὓ:]  $g_1g_2sg_3g_4$

1; οἱ  $g_5$ . λυσσῶντες] λυσσοῦντες  $g_2$ . λαθροδῆκτοι] All the mss. Many edd. have λαθροδῆκται. 38 καὶ sec.] om.  $g_4$  alone. 39 τὸν Χριστόν]

$g_1g_2g_3$ ; χριστόν (om. τὸν)  $g_4g_5$ . 40 Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου] παρθένου *μαρίας*  $g_4$  alone.

I think, be any doubt that the text should be read as I have restored it. For this use of ὑπὸ with the dative comp. e.g. Plat. *Lach.* p. 184 E ὑπὸ παιδοτρίβῃ ἀγαθῷ πεπαιδευμένος καὶ ἡσκήκως, *Resp.* viii. p. 558 D υἱὸς ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ τεθραμμένος.

32. δίκαιος κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. x. 25, xi. 4.

34. κύνες ἐνεοί, κ.τ.λ.] From Is. lvi. 10: see the note on *Antioch.* 6.

36. ὁ μόνος κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. xvii. 3.

41. ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. i. 14.

ἐν παθητῷ σώματι, ὁ ἀθάνατος ἐν θνητῷ σώματι, ἡ ζωὴ ἐν φθορᾷ, ὅπως θανάτου καὶ φθορᾶς ἐλευθερώσῃ καὶ ἰατρούσῃ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν, καὶ ἰάσῃται αὐτὰς νοσηλευθείσας ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ πονηραῖς ἐπιθυμίαις.

VIII. Μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατάτω, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐξαπα- 5  
τάσθε· ὅλοι γὰρ ἐστε Θεοῦ. ὅταν γὰρ μηδεμία ἐπιθυμία ἐν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχῃ δυναμένη ὑμᾶς ῥυπᾶναι καὶ βάσανον ἐπαγαγεῖν, ἄρα κατὰ Θεὸν ζῆτε, καὶ ἐστὲ Χριστοῦ. περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ἀγνοιάτης Ἐφεσίων ἐκκλησίας τῆς διαβολήτου καὶ πολυῦμνήτου τοῖς αἰώσιν. οἱ σαρκικοὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ πράτ- 10  
τειν οὐ δύνανται, οὐδὲ οἱ πνευματικοὶ τὰ σαρκικά· ὥστε οὐδὲ ἡ πίστις τὰ τῆς ἀπιστίας οὐδὲ ἡ ἀπιστία τὰ τῆς πίστεως. ὑμεῖς δέ, πλήρεις ὄντες τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐδὲν σαρκικὸν ἀλλὰ πνευματικὰ πάντα πράσσετε· ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τελει-  
οῦσθε, ὃς ἐστὶν σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, μάλιστα πιστῶν. 15

IX. Ἔγνων δέ τινας παροδεύσαντας δι' ὑμῶν ἔχοντας κακὴν διδαχὴν ἀλλοκότου καὶ πονηροῦ πνεύματος· οἷς οὐκ ἐδώκατε πάροδον σπείραι τὰ ζιζάνια, βύσαντες τὰ ὦτα εἰς τὸ μὴ παραδέξασθαι τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καταγγελλομένην πλάνην, πεπεισμένοι τὸ λαοπλάνον πνεῦμα οὐ τὰ Χριστοῦ ἀλλὰ τὰ 20

I ὁ ἀθάνατος ἐν θνητῷ σώματι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>3</sub>l; om. g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub> (by homoeoteleuton).  
2 ἐλευθερώσῃ καὶ ἰατρούσῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup>; ἐλευθερώσει καὶ ἰατρούσει g<sub>2</sub>. 5 ἐξα-  
πατάτω] ἐξατάτω g<sub>2</sub>. ὥσπερ] g<sub>3</sub> I; ὅπερ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; and I seems to have  
had this reading, for it translates loosely *nullus ergo vestrum seducatur, quod et de  
vobis confido.* 6 ὅλοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup> [I]; ὅλος g<sub>3</sub>; al. l. 7 ὑπάρχῃ]  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup>; ὑπάρχει g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 8 ἐστὲ Χριστοῦ. περίψημα ὑμῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>5</sub>; *erit*  
(ἔσται) *christi subiectio vestra* l; ἐστὲ χριστοῦ· περίψημα δὲ ὑμῶν (also adding *ἐκβάλλετε*  
at the end of the sentence after τοῖς αἰώσιν) g<sub>3</sub>; see II. p. 59 sq. The interpolator  
has left the words of the original, merely altering the (to him) unintelligible ἀγνί-  
ζομαι into ἀγνοιάτης. 9 ἀγνοιάτης] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; ἀγνωιάτης g<sub>5</sub>; om. l.  
διαβολήτου] *auxiliatrix* l (some confusion with βουθου). 12 ἀπιστίας] ἀπιστελας  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. ἀπιστία] ἀπιστεία g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 13 ὑμεῖς] ἡμεῖς g<sub>4</sub> (notwithstanding  
the following πράσσετε). 14 πνευματικὰ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup>l; πνεύματι καὶ g<sub>2</sub>.  
20 λαοπλάνου] λαοπνάνου g<sub>5</sub>. 22 ἀλλὰ sec.] ἀλλ' g<sub>5</sub>. 23 τὰ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup>;  
om. g<sub>2</sub>. 24 κατήγγελλεν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; κατήγγειλεν g<sub>3</sub>; ἀπήγγελλεν g<sub>5</sub>;  
*annunciat* l. 26 λαλήσει] λαλήσε (sic) g<sub>2</sub>. 28 ἔδωκας] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>3</sub>

15. ὃς ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ.] From I Tim. iv. 10.

24. κατήγγελλεν] The quotations

are taken from John xiv. 24 ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ., Joh. xvi. 13 οὐ λαλήσει κ.τ.λ., Joh. xvii. 4, ἔγώ σε ἐδόξασα κ.τ.λ.,

ἴδια λαλεῖν· ψευδολόγον γάρ ἐστιν τὸ δὲ ἅγιον πνεῦμα οὐ  
 τὰ ἴδια ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ Κυρίου· ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν  
 κατήγγελλεν· ὁ λόγος γάρ, φησὶν, ὃν ἀκογετε, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸς  
 25 ἀλλὰ τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρὸς· καὶ περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ  
 ἁγίου, οἷ λαλήσει, φησὶν, ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν ἀκούσῃ παρ'  
 ἐμοῦ. καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ φησι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· ἐγὼ σε, φησὶν;  
 ἐδόξασα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὸ ἔργον ὃ ἔδωκάς μοι, ἐτελείωσα·  
 ἐφανέρωσά σοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. καὶ περὶ τοῦ  
 30 ἁγίου πνεύματος· ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ δοξάζει, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λαμβάνει.  
 τὸ δὲ πλάνον πνεῦμα ἐαυτὸν κηρύττει, τὰ ἴδια λαλεῖ·  
 αὐτάρεσκον γάρ ἐστιν· ἐαυτὸν δοξάζει, τύφου γάρ ἐστι μεστόν·  
 ψευδολόγον ὑπάρχει, ἀπατηλόν, θωπευτικόν, κολακευτικόν,  
 ὑπουλον, ῥαψωδόν, φλύαρον, ἀσύμφωνον, ἀμετροεπές, γλίσ-  
 35 χρον, ψοφοδεές· οὗ τῆς ἐνεργείας ῥύσεται ὑμᾶς Ἰησοῦς ὁ  
 Χριστὸς ὁ θεμελιώσας ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν, ὡς λίθους  
 ἐκλεκτούς, συναρμολογουμένους εἰς οἰκοδομὴν Θεοῦ πατρὸς·  
 ἀναφερόμενοι εἰς τὰ ὕψη διὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν  
 σταυρωθέντος, σχοίνῳ χρώμενοι τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι· πίστει  
 40 δὲ ἀναγόμενοι, καὶ ἀγάπῃ κουφιζόμενοι ἐκ γῆς πρὸς οὐρανόν,  
 g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup>; δέδωκάς g<sub>4</sub>. 29 σου τὸ ὄνομα] τὸ ὄνομά σου g<sub>4</sub> alone. 30 λαμβάνει] add.  
 et annuntiabit vobis ergo uterque eorum ipsum glorificat, a quo accepit quod faceret, et  
 ipsum praedicat, atque eius verba pronunciat l. 31 ἑαυτὸν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἑαυτὸ  
 g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup>; dub. l. 32 ἑαυτὸν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>5</sub> (but corrected) g<sub>2</sub> (probably); ἑαυτὸ g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; dub. l.  
 τύφου...μεστόν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; acerbus namque est, plenus l. 33 κολακευ-  
 τικόν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup>; om. g<sub>2</sub> (by homœoteleuton); and l has only one word *lubricus* for  
 the two, θωπευτικόν, κολακευτικόν. 34 φλύαρον] φλοιαρον g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>. 35 ὑμᾶς] g<sub>3</sub>;  
 ἡμᾶς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; nos [I]. ὁ] g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub> (see I. p. 265); om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>3</sub>. 36 ὑμᾶς]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup>; ἡμᾶς g<sub>4</sub>; nos l. ὡς] om. g<sub>4</sub> alone. 37 συναρμολογουμένους] *arzi*  
 l; *εὐαρμολογουμένους* all the Greek MSS. For this conjectural reading which I have  
 substituted comp. Ephes. ii. 21. The change is slight,  $\overline{\text{c}}\overline{\gamma}$  for  $\epsilon\gamma$ . Θεοῦ] I I;  
 θείου g<sub>4</sub>; θεῖαν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup>. 38 ἀναφερόμενοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>5</sub> [I]; ἀναφερομένοι (sic) g<sub>2</sub>;  
 ἀναφερομένους g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>. The interpolator has forgotten to alter the nom. which he found  
 in the original and then has made the following participles to conform. ὕψη]  
 ὕψει g<sub>2</sub>. 40 ἀναγόμενοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; ἀναγώμενοι g<sub>2</sub>; ἀναγομένους g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>. κουφι-  
 ζόμενοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; κουφιζόμενους g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>. γῆς πρὸς] τῆς ὑπ' g<sub>4</sub> alone (the  
 expression borrowed from Luke xvii. 24).

Joh. xvi. 14 ἐκεῖνος κ.τ.λ. Of the expressions which follow ἑαυτὸν κηρύττει is modified from 2 Cor. iv. 5,

τὰ ἴδια λαλεῖ from Joh. viii. 44, and ἑαυτὸν δοξάζει from Joh. viii. 54.

συνοδοιοποροῦντες ἅμα ἀμώμως. μακάριοι γάρ, φησίν, οἱ ἀμωμοὶ ἐν ὁδῷ, οἱ πορευόμενοι ἐν νόμῳ Κυρίου· ὁδὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπλανῆς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός· ἐγὼ γάρ, φησίν, εἰμὶ ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ζωὴ· ὁδηγεῖ δὲ ἡ ὁδὸς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, εἰ μὴ δι' ἐμοῦ. μακάριοι οὖν ἐστε ὑμεῖς 5 οἱ θεοφόροι, πνευματοφόροι, ναοφόροι, ἀγιοφόροι, κατὰ πάντα κεκοσμημένοι ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, βασιλείων ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἄγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν· δι' οὓς ἀγαλλιώμενος ἠξιώθη δι' ὧν γράφω προσομιλῆσαι τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὐκ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τοῖς πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. χαίρω 10 οὖν ἐφ' ὑμῖν, ὅτι μὴ τῇ ματαιότητι προσέχετε· οὐδὲ κατὰ σάρκα ἀγαπάτε ἀλλὰ κατὰ Θεόν.

X. Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε· ἔστιν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλπίς μετανοίας, ἵνα Θεοῦ τύχωσιν· μὴ ὁ πίπτων γὰρ οὐκ ἀνίσταται; ἢ ὁ ἀποστρέφων 15 οὐκ ἐπιστρέφει; ἐπιτρέψατε οὖν αὐτοῖς μαθητευθῆναι ὑμῖν· γίνεσθε οὖν διάκονοι Θεοῦ καὶ στόμα Χριστοῦ· λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος, ἐὰν ἐξαγάγητε ἐξ ἀναζίου τίμιον, ὡς στόμα μοῦ ἔσειεθε. γίνεσθε πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ταπεινόφρονες· ἀντιτάξατε πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς τὰς ἐκτενεῖς 20 εὐχάς· αὐτῶν πλανωμένων, στήκετε ὑμεῖς ἐν τῇ πίστει ἐδραῖοι

I συνοδοιοποροῦντες] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; συνοδοιοποροῦντας g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. ἀμώμως] g<sub>4</sub>; im-maculate l; ἀμώμοις g<sub>1</sub>s<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub>s. 3 ὁ Χριστός] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s<sub>5</sub>s; χριστός (om. ὁ) g<sub>2</sub>. 4 γάρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; add. φησίν g<sub>3</sub> l. 6 πνευματοφόροι ναο-φόροι ἀγιοφόροι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; καὶ ναοφόροι χριστοφόροι ἀγιοφόροι I; πνευματοφόροι ἀγιο-φόροι g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; spiritiferi sanctiferi templiferi l; om. g<sub>5</sub>. 13 δὲ] here g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub>s; after ὑπὲρ g<sub>4</sub>. 16 ἐπιτρέψατε] I; ἐπιστρέψατε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s<sub>5</sub>s; convertimini l. The v. l. ἐπιστρέψατε is due to the accidental proximity of ἐπι-στρέφει. αὐτοῖς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub> with I; αὐτοὺς g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; al. l. 22 ἐν sec.] g<sub>3</sub>; per l (it has translated the previous ἐν by per); om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. The omission is probably due to the similar ending -ONEN. 24 Δαυεῖδ] dād g<sub>1</sub>. δῶ]

1. μακάριοι κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. cxviii (cxix). I.

3. ἐγὼ...εἰμὶ κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. xiv. 6.

7. βασιλεῖον κ.τ.λ.] Taken from I Pet. ii. 9.

9. τοῖς ἁγίοις κ.τ.λ.] Ephes. i. 1;

so that this Ignatian writer must have had ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in his text.

15. μὴ ὁ πίπτων κ.τ.λ.] From Jer. viii.<sup>1</sup> 4. The quotation which follows, ἐὰν ἐξαγάγητε, is from Jer. xv. 19.

21. τῇ πίστει ἐδραῖοι] See the note, II. p. 59.

νικήσατε τὸ ἄγριον ἦθος ἐν ἡμερότητι, τὸ ὄργιλον ἐν πραότητι· μακάριοι γὰρ οἱ πραεῖς, καὶ Μωσῆς πρῶτος παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ Δαυεὶδ πρῶτος σφόδρα. διὸ παραινεῖ Παῦλος, 25 δοῦλον, λέγων, Κυρίου οὐ δεῖ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἥπιον εἶναι πρὸς πάντας, διδακτικόν, ἀνεζίκικον, ἐν πραότητι παιδεύοντα τοὺς ἀντιδιατιθεμένους. μὴ σπουδάζοντες ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀδικούντας ὑμᾶς· εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα γάρ, φησί, τοῖς ἀνταποδοῦσί μοι κακά. ἀδελφούς αὐτοὺς ποιήσωμεν τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ· 30 εἶπατε γὰρ τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, Ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν ἐστε· ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου δοξασθῇ· καὶ μιμησώμεθα τὸν Κύριον, ὃς λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντέτεινεν, πάσχων οὐκ ἠπείλει· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν προσήυχετο· πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐκ οἶδασιν ὃ ποιοῦσιν. εἴ τις πλέον 35 ἀδικηθεὶς πλείονα ὑπομείνῃ, οὗτος μακάριος· εἴ τις ἀποστερηθῇ, εἴ τις ἀθετηθῇ, διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου, οὗτος ὄντως Χριστοῦ ἐστιν. βλέπετε μὴ τοῦ διαβόλου βοτάνῃ εὐρεθῇ ἐν ὑμῖν· πικρὰ γάρ ἐστιν καὶ ἀλμυρά τις αὕτη. νήψατε, σωφρονήσατε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

40 XI. Ἔσχατοι καιροὶ λοιπὸν εἰσιν· αἰσχυρθῶμεν, φοβηθῶμεν τὴν μακροθυμίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ· μὴ τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> 1; add. καὶ g<sub>5</sub>. 25 ἥπιον] ἥπιον g<sub>1</sub>. 28 εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα...μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sg<sub>5</sub>1; λέγετε δὲ g<sub>3</sub>. It has first omitted the words owing to homœoteleuton, and then inserted λέγετε δὲ as required by the sense. 29 ἐπιεικείᾳ] ἐπιεικία g<sub>2</sub>. 30 ἡμῶν] ὑμῶν g<sub>3</sub>. 31 τοῦ] om. g<sub>5</sub>. μιμησώμεθα] μιμησόμεθα g<sub>1</sub>. 32 ἀντέτεινεν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἀντέτεινε g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; ἀντίπε g<sub>3</sub>; *contradicebat* 1. 33 ἠπέλει] ἠπήλει g<sub>2</sub>. 34 ὃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; τί g<sub>4</sub> alone (after Luke xxiii. 34). εἰ...εἰ...εἰ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. (Bryennios has only recorded the reading of g<sub>4</sub> in the 2nd and 3rd cases, but prob. it applies to the first also.) The edd. commonly (not Zahn) read ἐάν...ἐάν...ἐάν. πλέον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; πλείον g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. 35 ὑπομείνῃ] ὑπομείνει g<sub>2</sub>. 36 τοῦ Κυρίου] τοῦ χριστοῦ g<sub>4</sub> alone. 39 σωφρονήσατε] σωφρονίσατε.

22. ἐν πραότητι] The quotations which follow are from Matt. v. 5 μακάριοι κ.τ.λ., from Num. xii. 3 Μωσῆς πρῶτος κ.τ.λ., from 2 Tim. ii. 24 sq. δοῦλον Κυρίου κ.τ.λ., from Ps. vii. 4 εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα κ.τ.λ.

31. τὸν Κύριον] The passages fol-

lowing are quoted from 1 Pet. ii. 23 ὃς λοιδορούμενος κ.τ.λ., Luke xxiii. 34 πάτερ ἄφες κ.τ.λ.

38. νήψατε, σωφρονήσατε] Words taken from 1 Pet. iv. 7.

41. τοῦ πλοῦτου κ.τ.λ.] From Rom. ii. 4.

ΧΡΗΣΤΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΟΧΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΗΣΩΜΕΝ· ἢ γὰρ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὀργὴν φοβηθῶμεν ἢ τὴν ἐνεστώσαν χάριν ἀγαπήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν βίῳ· μόνον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εὐρεθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἀληθινῶς ζῆν. χωρὶς τούτου μηδ' ἀναπνεῦσαι ποτὲ ἔλησθε· οὗτος γάρ μου ἡ ἐλπίς, οὗτος τὸ καύχημα, 5 οὗτος ἀνεκλιπῆς πλοῦτος· ἐν ᾧ τὰ δεσμὰ ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης περιφέρω, τοὺς πνευματικοὺς μαργαρίτας, ἐν οἷς γένοιτό μοι τελειωθῆναι τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν, μέτοχον τῶν παθημάτων Χριστοῦ καὶ κοινωνὸν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς ἀνεκλιπούς 10 ζωῆς· ἥς γένοιτό μοι ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἵνα ἐν κλήρῳ Ἐφεσίων εὐρεθῶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, οἳ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πάντοτε συνῆσαν ἐν δυνάμει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Παύλῳ, Ἰωάννῃ, Τιμοθέῳ τῷ πιστοτάτῳ.

XII. Οἶδα τίς εἰμι καὶ τίσιιν γράφω· ἐγὼ ὁ ἐλάχιστος 15 Ἰγνατίος [καὶ] τοῖς ὑπὸ κίνδυνον καὶ κρίσιν παρόμοιος· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἠληθμένοι, ἐστηριγμένοι ἐν Χριστῷ· πάροδος ἔστε τῶν διὰ Θεὸν ἀναιρουμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος Ἄβελ τοῦ δικαίου ἕως τοῦ αἵματος Ἰγνατίου τοῦ ἐλαχίστου. Παύλου συμμύσταί ἔστέ, ἡγιασμένου, μεμαρτυρημένου ὅτι σκεῖός ἐστιν ἐκλογῆς· 20

1 ἢ γὰρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub> I; μάλλον γὰρ (sic) g<sub>3</sub>; plus l. 2 χάριν] I; gratiam l; χαρὰν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; ὀργὴν g<sub>4</sub>. 3 βίῳ] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; add. ἔστω δὲ ἡ ἐνεστώσα χαρὰ καὶ ἡ ἀληθινὴ τὸ g<sub>3</sub>. In l the passage runs *praesentem gratiam diligamus: praesens enim gratia est, ut inveniamur in christo jesu*. There is nothing corresponding to this addition in I. 4 ἀναπνεῦσαι] ἀν ἀνεῦσαι g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; ἀν ἀναπνεῦσαι g<sub>3</sub>; respirare l. The reading of g<sub>3</sub> is adopted commonly by the edd., though not grammatical. 5 ἔλησθε] ἔλοισθε g<sub>5</sub>. 6 οὗτος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; οὗτος ὁ g<sub>5</sub>. ἀνεκλιπῆς] LXX; ἀνεκλειπῆς g<sub>2</sub>; ἀνελλειπῆς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἀνελλιπῆς g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. 10 ἀνεκλιπούς] ἀνεκλειπούς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἀνεκλειπτου g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. 12 συνῆσαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; συνείσαν g<sub>2</sub>; conversati sunt l. For I see II. p. 62. 15 ἐγὼ] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; add. μὲν g<sub>3</sub>; add. itaque l. 16 καὶ pri.] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; om. g<sub>3</sub>; al. l. 17 πάροδος ἔστε] with I; παραδοθεὶς γε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; traditus sum autem l; παραδοθήσεσθε g<sub>4</sub>; παραδοθεὶς γε ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ g<sub>3</sub>. The difference between παροδοσεστε and παραδοθεισε is not great; and πάροδος ἔστε was doubtless the original reading in the interpolator's text, as it is in Ignatius himself.

6. ἀνεκλιπῆς πλοῦτος] See Wisd. viii. 18; comp. Wisd. vii. 14, Luke xii. 33.

18. ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος κ.τ.λ.] From Matt. xxiii. 35.

20. σκεῖος...ἐκλογῆς] Acts ix. 15.



οὐ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη εὐρεθῆναι, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀγίων, ὅταν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω· ὃς πάντοτε ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσιν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν.

XIII. Σπουδάξετε οὖν πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι εἰς  
 25 εὐχαριστίαν Θεοῦ καὶ δόξαν· ὅταν γὰρ συνεχῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ  
 γένησθε, καθαιροῦνται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ ἄπρακτα  
 αὐτοῦ ἐπιστρέφει τὰ πεπρωμένα βέλη πρὸς ἁμαρτίαν· ἡ  
 γὰρ ὑμετέρα ὁμόνοια καὶ σύμφωνος πίστις αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐστὶν  
 ὄλεθρος, τῶν δὲ ὑπασπιστῶν αὐτοῦ βάσανος. οὐδὲν ἄμεινον  
 30 τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν εἰρήνης, ἐν ᾗ πᾶς πόλεμος καταργεῖται  
 ἀερίων καὶ ἐπιγείων πνευμάτων· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἡ πᾶλη  
 πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ πρὸς ἐξουσίας  
 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους, πρὸς τὰ πνευ-  
 ματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπογρανίσις.

XIV. Οὐκοῦν οὐ λήσεται ὑμᾶς τι τῶν νοημάτων τοῦ  
 35 διαβόλου, ἕαν, ὡς Παῦλος, τελείως εἰς Χριστὸν ἔχητε τὴν  
 πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ζωῆς καὶ τέλος·  
 ἀρχὴ ζωῆς πίστις, τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη· τὰ δὲ δύο ἐν ἐνότητι  
 γενόμενα Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον ἀποτελεῖ· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα εἰς

The corruption into *παραδοθεῖς γε* however was earlier than any existing authorities for the interpolator's text. The reading of  $g_3$  is a deliberate alteration.

18 διὰ Θεοῦ] *propter deum* 1; εἰς θεοῦ I; διὰ χριστὸν  $g_{1g_2}g_3g_4$   $g_5$ .

19 τοῦ αἵματος]  $g_1g_3$ ; αἵματος (om. τοῦ)  $g_2g_4g_5$ . τοῦ ἐλα-

χίστου]  $g_1g_2g_4g_5$  1; ἐλάχιστος, ὑμεῖς δὲ  $g_3$ . 22 Ἰησοῦ] om.  $g_4$  alone. 23 ὑ-

μῶν]  $g_1g_2g_4g_5$  1 with I; ἡμῶν  $g_3$ . 24 πυκνότερον] *poiknōteron*  $g_2$ . 25 εὐ-

χαριστίαν] *eucharistēan*  $g_2$ . *συνεχῶς*] here,  $g_1g_2g_3g_4$ ; after αὐτὸ,  $g_5$ . The

order of  $g_1g_2g_3g_4$  is also the order of I, which has *πυκνῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, and of 1,

which translates *assidue hoc ipsum*. 26 γένησθε]  $g_1g_2g_3g_4$ ; γίνησθε  $g_5$ ;

γίνεσθε I. 27 ἐπιστρέφει] *μένει*  $g_4$  alone. 28 ὑμετέρα]  $g_1g_3g_4$   $g_5$

1; ἡμετέρα  $g_2$ . 30 καταργεῖται] *κατεργῆται*  $g_2$ . 31 ἀερίων] *ἀερίων*

$g_2$ . 32 καὶ πρὸς ἐξουσίας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κ.τ.λ.]  $g_1g_2g_3$ ; καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας

πρὸς τοὺς κ.τ.λ.  $g_4$ ; *et potestates et adversus* etc. 1; πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς

κ.τ.λ.  $g_5$  (in conformity with Ephes. vi. 12). 34 πονηρίας] *ἐξουσίας*  $g_3$ , probably

an error of the press. 36 ἔχητε]  $g_1g_3g_4$  with I; ἔχετε  $g_2g_5$ . 39 δὲ

ἄλλα] δ' ἄλλα  $g_5$ .

27. τὰ πεπρωμένα βέλη] Ephes. vi. 16, taken from the context of the quotation which follows almost immediately, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν κ.τ.λ.

(Ephes. vi. 12).

39. Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον κ.τ.λ.] A reminiscence of 2 Tim. iii. 17.

καλοκαγαθίαν ἀκόλουθά ἐστίν. οὐδεὶς πίστιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ὀφείλει ἀμαρτάνειν, οὐδὲ ἀγάπην κεκτημένος μισεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν· ὁ γὰρ εἰπών, ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου, εἶπεν, καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Χριστοῦ εἶναι, οὐκ ἐξ ὧν λέγουσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὧν 5 πράττουσι, γνωρίζονται· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκειται.

XV. Ἄμεινόν ἐστι σιωπᾶν καὶ εἶναι ἢ λαλεῖν καὶ μὴ εἶναι· οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει· καρδίᾳ πιστεύεται, στόματι δὲ ὁμολογεῖται· τῇ μὲν εἰς δικαιο- 10 σῆνην, τῷ δὲ εἰς σωτηρίαν. καλὸν τὸ διδάσκειν, εἰάν ὁ λέγων ποιῇ· ὅς γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ, οὗτος μέγας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ. ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, πρῶτον ἐποίησεν καὶ τότε ἐδίδαξεν, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Λουκᾶς, οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν 15 ἐκκλησιῶν. οὐδὲν λανθάνει τὸν Κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἡμῶν ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ ἐστίν. πάντα οὖν ποιῶμεν, ὡς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικοῦντος, ἵνα ὦμεν αὐτοῦ ναοί, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν Θεός. Χριστὸς ἐν ἡμῖν λαλείτω, ὡς καὶ ἐν Παύλῳ· τὸ πνεῦμα

2 ὀφείλει] ὀφείλει g<sub>2</sub>. 4 σεαυτόν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; εἰαυτόν g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. 10 πισ-  
τεύεται.....ὁμολογεῖται] πιστεύετε.....ὁμολογεῖτε g<sub>4</sub> alone. 11 λέγων]  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sg<sub>5</sub>; λέγω g<sub>2</sub>. 12 ποιήσῃ...διδάξῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sg<sub>5</sub>; ποιήσει, διδάξει  
g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 13 ὁ Χριστός] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; χριστὸς (om. ὁ) g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. 17 αὐτῷ]  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub> with I. There is no authority for αὐτοῦ, which the edd. commonly  
read. 18 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῷ g<sub>4</sub> alone. 24 σέκου] om. g<sub>4</sub>  
alone. 25 διδασκαλίαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>l; ἐκκλησίαν g<sub>3</sub>, which has been adopted  
commonly by the edd. before Zahn. 26 καὶ θάνατον ὑπέμεινεν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>  
(ὑπέμεινε); ὑπέμεινεν καὶ θάνατον g<sub>5</sub>. 27 ὁ Κύριος] κύριος (om. ὁ) g<sub>4</sub>  
alone. ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ] praef. ὁ θεός g<sub>4</sub> alone. υἱός· οὐ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sg<sub>5</sub>sl; υἱοῦ  
(or perhaps υἱὸς· υἱοῦ, for Dressel is not explicit) g<sub>2</sub>. 28 λιπανθεῖς] λιπανθεῖς

3. ἀγαπήσεις κ.τ.λ.] Luke x. 27 (from Deut. vi. 5, Lev. xix. 18); comp. *Ps.-Smgrn.* 6.

6. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xii. 33.

8. μὴ εἶναι] The quotations which follow are from 1 Cor. iv. 20 οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ κ.τ.λ., and from Rom. x. 10 καρδία κ.τ.λ.

12. ὁς...ἂν ποιήσῃ κ.τ.λ.] Matt. v. 19. For the whole passage see *Apost. Const.* ii. 6 ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν...ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἤρξατο πρῶτον ποιεῖν καὶ τότε διδάσκειν διό φησιν Ὅς δ' ἂν ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ κ.τ.λ. We have thus an explanation of ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Λουκᾶς, which is a reference to Acts i. 1 ὃν ἤρξατο Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν.

20 τὸ ἅγιον διδασκέτω ἡμᾶς τὰ Χριστοῦ φθέγγεσθαι παρα-  
πλησίως αὐτῷ.

XVI. ΜΗ ΠΛΑΝᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου· οἱ οἰκοφθόροι βασι-  
λείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν· εἰ δὲ οἱ τοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους  
οἴκους διαφθείρουτες θανάτῳ καταδικάζονται, πόσω μᾶλλον  
25 οἱ τὴν Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίαν νοθεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες αἰωνίαν  
τίσουσι δίκην· ὑπὲρ ἧς σταυρὸν καὶ θάνατον ὑπέμεινεν  
ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενῆς υἱός· οὗ τὴν διδασ-  
καλίαν ὁ ἀβεθήσας λιπανθεὶς καὶ παχυνθεὶς εἰς γέενναν  
χωρήσει. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὁ τὸ διακρίνειν παρὰ  
30 Θεοῦ εἰληφῶς κολασθήσεται, ἀπείρῳ ποιμένι ἐξακολουθήσας  
καὶ ψευδῇ δόξαν ὡς ἀληθῆ δεξάμενος. τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ  
πρὸς σκότος ἢ Χριστῷ πρὸς Βελίᾳ; ἢ τίς μερὶς πιστοῦ πρὸς  
ἄπιστον, ἢ ναῶν Θεοῦ μετὰ εἰδώλων; φημὶ δὲ καὶ γὰρ, τίς  
κοινωνία ἀληθείας πρὸς ψεῦδος, ἢ δικαιοσύνης πρὸς ἀδικίαν,  
35 ἢ δόξης πρὸς ψευδοδοξίαν;

XVII. Διὰ τοῦτο μύρον ἔλαβεν ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς κεφα-  
λῆς, ἵνα ἡ ἐκκλησία πνέῃ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν. μύρον γάρ, φησὶν,  
ἐκκενωθὲν ὄνομά σοι· διὰ τοῦτο νεάνιδες ἠγάπησάν σε,  
εἰλικυδάν σε· ὁπίσω εἰς ὄσμην μύρων σου δραμοῦμεθα. μὴ

g<sub>2</sub>. γέενναν] γέεναν g<sub>4</sub>. 29 ὁ] om. g<sub>4</sub> alone. 30 κολασ-  
θήσεται] om. g<sub>3</sub> alone. ἀπείρῳ ποιμένι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>l; ποιμένι ἀπείρῳ δὲ  
g<sub>3</sub>. 31 ἀληθῆ] g<sub>5</sub>; *veram* l; ἀληθῆν g<sub>3</sub>; ἀληθῶς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 32 Βε-  
λίᾳ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; βελίαν g<sub>2</sub>; *belial* l. 34 δικαιοσύνης] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l; δικαιο-  
σύνη g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. 35 δόξης] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l; δόξη g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. ψευδοδοξίαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l;  
ψεῦδοξίαν g<sub>2</sub>; ἀδοξίαν g<sub>5</sub>. 36 ἐπὶ τῆς] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub> with I; ἐπὶ (om. τῆς) g<sub>1</sub>; ὡς  
ἐπὶ (om. τῆς) g<sub>3</sub>; *in* l. κεφαλῆς] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>l; add. τῆς ἐκκλησίας  
g<sub>3</sub>. 37 ἵνα] om. g<sub>4</sub>. 38 σοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; σου g<sub>5</sub>; *tuum* l. The edd.  
read σου (as in Cant. i. 3, where however there is a v. l. σοι). 39 ὁπίσω]  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; ὁπίσω αὐτῶν g<sub>2</sub>; *post te* l. In Cant. i. 3 it is ὁπίσω σου. μύρων]  
μύρου g<sub>4</sub> alone. In g<sub>3</sub> it is misprinted μύζων. The LXX has μύρων.

15. οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος κ.τ.λ.] 2 Cor. viii.  
18, applied to S. Luke from a mis-  
taken interpretation of ἐν τῷ εὐαγγε-  
λίῳ as his written Gospel. So prob-  
ably Origen, quoted by Euseb. *H. E.*  
vi. 25.

22. μὴ πλανᾶσθε... βασιλείαν κ.τ.λ.]  
Expressions from 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

28. λιπανθεὶς καὶ παχυνθεὶς] Words  
borrowed from Deut. xxxii. 15; comp.  
Clem. Rom. 3.

31. τίς κοινωνία κ.τ.λ.] 2 Cor. vi.  
14 sq; comp. *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 4.

37. μύρον... ἐκκενωθὲν κ.τ.λ.] From  
Cant. i. 3, 4.

ἀλειφέσθω δυσωδίαν διδασκαλίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἢ ἀγία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία· μὴ αἰχμαλωτισθῆ ὑπὸ τῆς πανουργίας αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἡ πρώτη γυνή. διὰ τί λογικοὶ ὄντες οὐ γινόμεθα φρόνιμοι; διὰ τί ἔμφυτον τὸ περὶ Θεοῦ παρὰ Χριστοῦ λαβόντες κριτήριον εἰς ἄγνοιαν καταπίπτομεν ἐξ ἀμελείας; 5 ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ χάρισμα ὃ εἰλήφαμεν, ἀνοήτως ἀπολλύμεθα.

XVIII. Ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπίστοις σκάνδαλόν ἐστίν, τοῖς δὲ πιστοῖς σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος. ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ συζητητής; ποῦ καύχησις τῶν λεγομένων δυνατῶν; ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱός, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων γεννηθεὶς 10 καὶ τὰ πάντα γνώμη τοῦ πατρὸς συστησάμενος, οὗτος ἐκυφορήθη ἐκ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν, ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαυεὶδ πνεύματος δὲ ἀγίου. ἰδοῦ γάρ, φησί, ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται καὶ τέζεται γίον, καὶ κληθήσεται Ἐμμανοὴλ. οὗτος ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, ἵνα πιστοποιήσῃται 15 τὴν διάταξιν τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν τῷ προφήτῃ.

XIX. Καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἢ παρθενία Μαρίας, καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου· τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἐπράχθη, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐφανερῶθη. ἀστὴρ ἐν οὐρανῷ 20 ἔλαμψεν ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἀνεκλάλητον ἦν, καὶ ξενισμὸν παρείχεν ἢ καιότης αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὀρώσιν αὐτόν· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἄστρα ἅμα ἠλίω

1 ἀλειφέσθω] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; add. τις g<sub>3</sub>; add. quis l. This is quite unnecessary, and involves a change in the punctuation. δυσωδίαν] δυσωδελαν g<sub>1</sub>. διδασκαλίας] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; τῆς διδασκαλίας I; doctrinae l; διδασκαλιαν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. 2 τοῦ Θεοῦ] θεοῦ (om. τοῦ) g<sub>3</sub>. 3 γινόμεθα] γινόμεθα g<sub>3</sub>. 4 φρόνιμοι] φρόνημοι g<sub>2</sub>. τὸ] τὸν g<sub>2</sub>. Χριστοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; τοῦ χριστοῦ g<sub>3</sub>. 5 ἐξ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>l; καὶ ἐξ g<sub>3</sub>. ἀμελείας] ἀμελίας g<sub>2</sub>. 9 λεγομένων] g<sub>5</sub> ends with λεγο-. 12 οἰκονομίαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; add. θεοῦ g<sub>3</sub>. Dei appears in some texts of l, but is wanting in the most important MSS. In the existing authorities of I it is found, but it is probably an interpolation. Δαυεὶδ] δαδ g<sub>1</sub>. 13 πνεύματος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l with I;

9. ποῦ σοφός κ.τ.λ.] See the note above, II. p. 74.

13. ἰδοῦ...ἡ παρθένος κ.τ.λ.] Is. vii. 14 (Matt. i. 23), quoted also *Philipp.* 3, *Antioch.* 2.

15. ἵνα πιστοποιήσῃται κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii. 22 ἐβαπτίσθη... ἵνα καὶ Ἰωάννη ἀληθείαν προσμαρτυρήσῃ καὶ ἡμῖν ὑπογραμμὸν παράσχηται.

30. οὔτε τὸ πρότερον] i.e. 'the one,

καὶ σελήνη χορὸς ἐγίνοντο τῷ ἀστέρι· αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑπερ-  
 25 βάλλων αὐτοὺς τῷ φανῶ. ταραχή τε ἦν, πόθεν ἢ και-  
 νότης ἢ φαινομένη. ἔνθεν ἐμωραίνεται σοφία κοσμική, γοητεία  
 ὕθλος ἦν, καὶ γέλως ἢ μαγεία· πᾶς θεσμὸς κακίας ἠφανίζετο,  
 ἀγνοίας ζόφος διεσκεδάννυτο, καὶ τυραννικὴ ἀρχὴ καθηρεῖτο,  
 Θεοῦ ὡς ἀνθρώπου φαινομένου, καὶ ἀνθρώπου ὡς Θεοῦ ἐνε-  
 30 γούντος· ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸ πρότερον δόξα, οὔτε τὸ δεύτερον  
 ψιλότης· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀλήθεια, τὸ δὲ οἰκονομία. ἀρχὴν δὲ  
 ἐλάμβανεν τὸ παρὰ Θεῶ ἀπηρτισμένον· ἔνθεν τὰ πάντα συνε-  
 κινεῖτο διὰ τὸ μελετᾶσθαι θανάτου κατάλυσιν.

XX. Στήκετε, ἀδελφοί, ἐδραῖοι ἐν τῇ πίστει Ἰησοῦ  
 35 Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγάπῃ, ἐν πάθει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνα-  
 στάσει. πάντες ἐν χάριτι ἐξ ὀνόματος συναθροίζεσθε κοινῇ,  
 ἐν μιᾷ πίστει Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μονο-  
 γενοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ, τοῦ καὶ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, κατὰ  
 σάρκα δὲ ἐκ γένους Δαυεὶδ, ἐφοδηγούμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ παρα-  
 40 κλήτου· ὑπακούοντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ  
 ἀπερισπᾶστω διανοίᾳ· ἓνα ἄρτον κλῶντες, ὃ ἔστιν φάρμακον  
 ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Θεῷ  
 διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καθαρτήριον ἀλεξίκακον.

XXI. Εἴην ὑμῶν ἀντίψυχον, καὶ ὧν ἐπέμψατε εἰς Θεοῦ  
 45 τιμὴν εἰς Σμύρναν· ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν, εὐχαριστῶν τῷ

διὰ πνεύματος g<sub>3</sub>. 15 καὶ] g<sub>3</sub> with I; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; al. l. πιστο-  
 ποιήσθαι] πιστοποιήσεται g<sub>2</sub>. 16 ἐγχειρισθείσαν] ἐγχειρισθήσαν g<sub>2</sub>. 18 παρ-  
 θενία] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; παρθενεία g<sub>1</sub>. 21 τοὺς] τοῦ g<sub>1</sub>. 25 αὐτοὺς]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; omnes (ἀστρα has been translated by sidera) l; αὐτὰ g<sub>3</sub>. 26 γοη-  
 τεία] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; γοητρία g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 27 γέλως] γέλος g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. μαγεία] g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>;  
 μαγία g<sub>3</sub>; μαγίας g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>. ἠφανίζετο] καθηρεῖτο (sic) g<sub>4</sub> alone (from  
 below). 28 καθηρεῖτο] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; καθαιρεῖτο g<sub>2</sub>. 32 ἀπηρτισμένον]  
 ἀπηρτισμένον g<sub>2</sub>. συνεκινεῖτο] συνεκινεῖτο g<sub>2</sub>. 34 Στήκετε] στήκεται  
 g<sub>1</sub>. 35 πάθει] πάθη g<sub>1</sub>. 37 καὶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>l; om. g<sub>2</sub>. 39 Δαυεὶδ]  
 dād g<sub>1</sub>. ἐφοδηγούμενοι] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἐποδηγούμενοι g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

the incarnation of Deity, is not a mere phantasm, and the other, the humanity of Christ, is not bare humanity.' For ψιλός, ψιλότης, as applied to the pure humanitarian Christology of the Ebionites and

others, see *Ps-Trall.* 6, *Tars.* 6, *Philipp.* 5, *Hero* 2.

31. οἰκονομία] See the note on κατ' οἰκονομίαν *Ign. Ephes.* 18, II. p. 75.

38. πρωτοτόκου κ.τ.λ.] *Col.* i. 15, quoted also *Tars.* 4, *Ps-Smyrn.* 1.

Κυρίῳ, ἀγαπῶν Πολύκαρπον ὡς καὶ ὑμᾶς. μνημονεύετέ μου, ὡς καὶ ὑμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχείων τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ, ὅθεν δεδεμένος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπάγομαι, ἔσχατος ὢν τῶν ἐκεῖ πιστῶν, ὥσπερ ἠξιώθην εἰς Θεοῦ τιμὴν φορέσαι ταυτασὶ 5 τὰς ἀλύσεις· ἔρρωσθε ἐν Θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν, ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ· ἔρρωσθε. ἀμήν· ἢ χάρις.

## 13.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ.

**Ι**ΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ ἠλεημένη ἐν μεγαλειότητι 10 ὑψίστου Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ, ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡγιασμένη καὶ πεφωτισμένη ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὰ πάντα ἃ ἔστιν, κατὰ πίστιν καὶ

1 ἀγαπῶν] ἀγαπῶ g<sub>3</sub> alone. 5 ὥσπερ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; unde l. There is no authority for ὥσπερ, which is commonly read by editors. 7 ἐν πνεύματι] καὶ ἐν πνεύματι g<sub>3</sub> alone. 8 ἢ χάρις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>: om. [g<sub>3</sub>][I], but as g<sub>3</sub> makes a similar omission in *Polyg.* 7, its testimony is suspicious here. After χάρις add. *Ιγνατίου ἐφεσίους* g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>, without any interpunctuation (at least in g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>); but this is obviously an isolated subscription which has been accidentally attached to the body of the letter.

Subscr. τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς ἐφεσίους ia. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>. Nothing in g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

πρὸς ρωμαίους] g<sub>4</sub> (with the number ιβ in the marg.); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς ῥωμαίους g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub> (There is no number in the marg. or elsewhere in either MS; Dressel is wrong in giving ιβ as part of the superscription in g<sub>2</sub>); τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολῆ πρὸς ῥωμαίους. ιβ. g<sub>3</sub>.

8. ἀμήν· ἢ χάρις] Comp. *Ps-Polyg.* 8. Anastasius of Antioch, writing to Gregory the Great, about A.D. 594, quotes these words; to which Gregory replies (*Op.* VII. p. 320, Venet. 1770) 'Amen. Gratia. Quæ videlicet verba de scriptis vestris accepta, idcirco in meis epistolis pono, ut de sancto Ignatio vestra

beatitudo cognoscat etc.' This is adduced as one of the earliest testimonies to the circulation of the interpolated Ignatian Epistles. The inference however is not certain; for the Armenian Version adds 'Gratia vobiscum: Amen,' at the end of the genuine letter to the Ephesians, and this seems to be a loose translation

ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ἥτις  
 15 προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων, ἀξιόθεος, ἀξιοπρεπής,  
 ἀξιομακάριστος, ἀξίειπαινος, ἀξιεπίτευκτος, ἀξίαγνος, καὶ  
 προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης, χριστόνομος, πατρώνυμος, πνευ-  
 ματοφόρος, ἣν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ παντοκρά-  
 20 τορος καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ· τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα  
 καὶ πνεῦμα ἠνωμένοις πάσῃ ἐντολῇ αὐτοῦ, πεπληρωμένοις  
 πάσης χάριτος Θεοῦ ἀδιακρίτως καὶ ἀποδιῦλισμένοις ἀπὸ  
 παντὸς ἄλλοτρίου χρώματος· πλείστα ἐν Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ  
 Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἀμώμως χαίρειν.

I. Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος τῷ Θεῷ ἐπέτυχον ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὰ  
 25 ἀξιόθεα πρόσωπα, ὡς καὶ πλεον ἡτούμην λαβεῖν· δεδεμένους  
 γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐλπίζω ὑμᾶς ἀσπάσασθαι, ἕανπερ  
 θέλημα ἦ τοῦ ἀξιοθῆναί με εἰς τέλος εἶναι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴ  
 εὐοικονόμητός ἐστιν, ἕανπερ χάριτος ἐπιτύχω, εἰς τὸ τὸν  
 κληρὸν μου εἰς πέρας ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν· φοβοῦμαι  
 30 γὰρ τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν, μὴ αὐτὴ με ἀδικήσῃ· ὑμῖν γὰρ  
 εὐχερές ἐστιν, ὃ θέλετε, ποιῆσαι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δύσκολόν ἐστιν

10 ἠλεημένη] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s l with I; εὐλογημένη g<sub>3</sub>. 12 ἡγιασμένη] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s l.  
 There is no authority in this recension for ἡγαπημένη, which some editors adopt  
 here. The marginal alternative ἡγαπημένη, which Dressel's language appears to  
 assign to V (=g<sub>1</sub>), doubtless belongs to the secondary MS O. 13 α] ἡ g<sub>3</sub>  
 alone. 14 καὶ σωτῆρος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s l; σωτῆρος (om. καὶ) g<sub>2</sub>. 16 ἀξιεπίτευκτος] ἀξιοε-  
 πίτευκτος g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἀξιοεπίστευκτος g<sub>2</sub>; ἀξιεπίστευτος g<sub>3</sub>; *fide dignae* (ἀξιοπίστευτος)  
 l: see II. p. 191. ἀξίαγνος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s with I; *castitate dignae* l; ἀξιάγιος  
 g<sub>3</sub>. 17 χριστόνομος] with I (see II. p. 192); *lege* (v. l. *fide*) *Christi* l; χριστό-  
 νυμος g<sub>2</sub>; χριστώνυμος g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. 18 Θεοῦ] om. g<sub>4</sub> alone. 23 ἡμῶν] om.  
 g<sub>3</sub> alone. 24 Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *deprecans* (as if ἐπευξάμενος) l: see  
 above, II. p. 194. 25 ὡς] *sicuti* l, with I (II. p. 194); οὓς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. ἡτούμην]  
 ἡ τοῦμή (sic) g<sub>2</sub>. 30 ἀδικήσῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἀδικήσει g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 31 ἐστὶν τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ] g<sub>1</sub> with I; ἐστὶ τὸ θεοῦ g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἐστὶν θεοῦ g<sub>2</sub>.

or a paraphrase of ἀμὴν ἢ χάρις. So again at the end of the Epistle to Polycarp, where ἀμὴν ἢ χάρις stands now only in the interpolator's text, the Armenian Version of the original Ignatius has 'Gratia cum omnibus vobis: Amen.' It is probable therefore that ἀμὴν ἢ χάρις stood at

the close of both these epistles in the original text, or in some early copies, of the genuine Ignatius. Transcribers would be sorely tempted to omit or alter such an unusual expression. For the absolute use of ἢ χάρις in Ignatius see *Smyrn.* 12 with the note (II. p. 321).

τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν, εἴνπερ ὑμεῖς μὴ φείσησθέ μου προφάσει φιλίας σαρκίνης.

II. Οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀνθρωπαρεσκῆσαι, ἀλλὰ Θεῷ ἀρέσαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀρέσκετε· οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ ποτε ἔξω καιρὸν τοιοῦτον, ὥστε Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν, οὔτε ὑμεῖς, εἴν σιωπήσητε, 5 κρείττονι ἔργῳ ἔχετε ἐπιγραφῆναι. εἴν τε γὰρ σιωπήσητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ γενήσομαι Θεοῦ· εἴν δὲ ἐρασθήτε τῆς σαρκός μου, πάλιν ἔσομαι τρέχων. πλείον δέ μοι μὴ παρέχεσθε τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι Θεῷ, ὡς ἔτι θυσιαστήριον ἔτοιμόν ἐστιν, ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι ἄσητε τῷ πατρὶ ἐν Χριστῷ 10 Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας κατηξίωσεν ὁ Θεὸς εὐρεθῆναι εἰς δύοσιν, ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς μεταπεμφάμενος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παθημάτων μάρτυρα. καλὸν τὸ διαλυθῆναι ἀπὸ κόσμου πρὸς Θεόν, ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνατεῖλω.

III. Οὐδέποτε ἐβασκάνατε οὐδενί, ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε. 15 ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω ἵνα κἀκεῖνα βέβαια ἦ, ἃ μαθητεύοντες ἐτέλλεσθε. μόνον δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθέ μοι ἔσωθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω, ὅπως μὴ μόνον λέγωμαι

1 μὴ φείσησθέ]  $g_1g_2s$ ; γέ φείσησθέ  $g_3$ ; φείσησθέ  $g_4$ ; *perperceritis* l. For the omission of μὴ see above, II. p. 197. 4 ποτε ἔξω]  $g_3g_4$  with I (see II. p. 197); ἔξω ποτε  $g_1g_2s$ ; *habui aliquando* l. 8 πλείον δέ μοι μὴ] πλέον [δέ] μοι μὴ I (see II. p. 200); πλείον δέ μοι  $g_3$ ; πλείον δέ με  $g_1g_2sg_4s$ ; *multum enim mihi* l. 9 τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι]  $g_1g_2sg_4s$  with I; εἰ ἤδη σπονδισοισθέ με  $g_3$ ; *si me offeratis deo* l. These are arbitrary alterations in order to make sense, the omission of μὴ (see the last note) having rendered the passage unintelligible.

12 μεταπεμφάμενος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παθημάτων μάρτυρα· καλὸν κ.τ.λ.] Zahn; *praemittens suarum passionum martyrem bonum etc.* l (the MSS read *suam passionem*, but this makes no sense and the Greek shows what the original Latin text must have been: the common contraction for *-rum* is easily confused with a simple *m*); *μεταπεμφάμενος, τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παθημάτων μάρτυρα καλῶν κ.τ.λ.*  $g_1g_2g_4$ ; *μεταπεμφάμενος, καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παθημάτων μάρτυρα καλῶν κ.τ.λ.*  $g_3$ . I has simply *μεταπεμφάμενος· καλὸν κ.τ.λ.* (see II. p. 202). A comparison of the authorities leaves no doubt about the reading. 13 τὸ]  $g_1g_2$  with I; τοῦ  $g_3g_4s$ . διαλυθῆναι]  $g_1g_2g_4$ ; δύοσιν I; διελεῖν αὐτὸν  $g_3$ ; *proficiscenitem* l. 14 πρὸς]  $g_1g_2g_4$  with I; εἰς  $g_3$ . εἰς αὐτὸν]  $g_1g_2sg_3$  with I; ἐν αὐτῷ  $g_4$ ; *in ipso* l. 15 ἐβασκάνατε]  $g_1g_2sg_3$  I (II. p. 203); ἐβασκῆνατε  $g_4$ . 17 αἰτεῖσθέ] ἐτεῖσθέ  $g_2$ . 18 μὴ μόνον λέγω ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω,

12. τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. I Pet. v. 1. The Ignatian forger seems to accept the story that Ignatius was

the child whom our Lord took in His arms (Θεόφορος, not Θεοφόρος). Or perhaps he misinterpreted *Smγρν*.



χριστιανὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐρεθῶ. εἰ γὰρ εὐρεθῶ, καὶ λέγεσθαι  
 20 δύναμαι, καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι, ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι.  
 οὐδὲν φαινόμενον αἰώνιον. τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα· τὰ δὲ  
 μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια. οὐ πεισμονῆς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ μεγέθους  
 ἐστὶν ὁ χριστιανισμὸς. ὅταν μισῆται ὑπὸ κόσμου, φιλεῖται  
 παρὰ Θεοῦ· εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου γάρ, φησί, τοῦτο ἦτε, ὁ  
 25 κόσμος ἄν ἐφίλει το ἴδιον· νυνὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου,  
 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐξελεξάμην ὑμᾶς· μείνατε παρ' ἐμοί.

IV. Ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ἐντέλ-  
 λομαι πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἐκὼν ὑπὲρ Θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω, εἴνπερ ὑμεῖς  
 μὴ κωλύσητε. παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, μὴ εὐνοια ἄκαιρος γένησθί  
 30 μοι. ἄφετέ με θηρίων εἶναι βρῶμα, δι' ὧν ἔστιν Θεοῦ  
 ἐπιτυχεῖν. σίτος εἰμι τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ δι' ὀδόντων θηρίων  
 ἀλήθομαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος Θεοῦ εὐρεθῶ. μᾶλλον κολα-  
 κεύσατε τὰ θηρία, ἵνα μοι τάφος γένωνται καὶ μηθὲν κατα-  
 λείπωσιν τῶν τοῦ σώματός μου, ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθεῖς βαρὺς τινι  
 35 εὐρεθῆσομαι· τότε δὲ ἔσομαι μαθητῆς ἀληθῆς Ἰησοῦ Χρι-  
 στοῦ, ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται. λιτανεύσατε

ὅπως]  $g_1g_2g_4^s$  I; om.  $g_3$  l (owing to the recurrence of the same words, μὴ μόνον λέγω). 20 ὅταν]  $g_4^s$  I (II. p. 204); ὅτε  $g_1g_2g_3$ ; quando l. φαίνωμαι]  $g_1g_2$  with I; *comparuero* l; φαίνομαι  $g_3g_4$ . 22 πεισμονῆς] πλεισμονῆς (sic)  $g_2$ ; al. l. μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ χριστιανισμὸς. ὅταν μισῆται] I (but with a different punctuation: see II. p. 205); *in magnitudine, christianitas enim est, quae oditur* l; μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ χριστιανός, ὅταν μισεῖται (μισῆται  $g_2^sg_4^s$ )  $g_1g_2g_3g_4$ . The words were doubtless read originally in this recension as in I; and it seems probable that I ran *in magnitudine christianitas est; quum oditur*. 23 κόσμου]  $g_1g_3g_4^s$  I; τοῦ κόσμου  $g_2$ . 27 ἐντέλλομαι] I; ἐπιστέλλω  $g_3$ ; *mando* l; ἐντελοῦμαι  $g_1g_2g_4$ . 28 ὅτι] txt  $g_1g_2g_3g_4$  l. The edd. add ἐγὼ; but there is no authority for it in this recension, though it is found doubtfully in I (see II. p. 206). 29 παρακαλῶ]  $g_1g_3$  with I; παρακαλῶ οὖν  $g_2g_4$ ; *rogo itaque* l. γένησθί]  $g_1g_3g_4$  with I; γένεσθί  $g_2$  (a solecism). 30 δι' ὧν]  $g_1g_2^sg_3$  I; δι' οὗ  $g_4$ , and so *per quam* (i. e. *escam*) l. 32 ἀλήθομαι] ἀλιθομαι  $g_2$ . 33 γένωνται]  $g_1g_3g_4^s$ ; γένηνται  $g_2$ . μηθὲν]  $g_1g_4$  I; μηδὲν  $g_2^sg_3$ . καταλείπωσιν]  $g_1g_2^sg_3$  (but -σι  $g_2^sg_3$ ); καταλιπῶσι (-σιν)  $g_4$  I. 34 κοιμηθεῖς] *κοιμηθης*  $g_2$ . 35 εὐρεθῆσομαι]  $g_2^sg_3g_4^s$ ; εὐρεθῆσωμαι  $g_1$ . 36 λιτανεύσατε]  $g_1g_3g_4^s$ ; *λιτανεύσατε*  $g_2$ .

3; see the note, II. p. 294.

21. τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Cor. iv. 18.

24. εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. xv. 19. The last words, μείνατε παρ' ἐμοί, are a reminiscence of Joh. xv. 4.

τὸν Κύριον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων Θεοῦ  
 θυσία εὔρεθῶ. οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι  
 ὑμῖν· ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐλάχιστος·  
 ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι ὡς δοῦλοι Θεοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος·  
 ἀλλ' εἰάν πάθω, ἀπελεύθερος γενήσομαι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ 5  
 ἀναστήσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος. νῦν μανθάνω δεδεμένος  
 μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν κοσμικὸν ἢ μάταιον.

V. Ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ, διὰ γῆς καὶ  
 θαλάσσης, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις,  
 ὃ ἔστιν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα· οἱ καὶ εὐεργετούμενοι χεῖρους 10  
 γίνονται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι,  
 ἀλλ' οὐκ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι. ὀναίμην τῶν θηρίων τῶν  
 ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων, ἃ καὶ εὐχομαι σύντομά μοι εὔρεθῆναι·  
 ἃ καὶ κολακεύσω συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν, οὐχ ὡσπερ τινῶν  
 δειλαινώμενα οὐχ ἦσαντο. κἂν αὐτὰ δὲ ἐκόντα μὴ θέλη, ἐγὼ 15  
 προσβιάσομαι. συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε· τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ  
 γινώσκω· νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι. μηθέν με ζηλώσαι  
 τῶν ὄρατῶν καὶ τῶν ἀοράτων, ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.  
 πῦρ καὶ σταυρός, θηρίων τε συστάσεις, ἀνατομαί, διαίρέσεις,  
 σκορπισμοὶ ὀστέων, συκοπαὶ μελῶν, ἀλεσμοὶ ὄλου τοῦ 20  
 σώματος, καὶ κόλασις τοῦ διαβόλου ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθω· μόνον  
 ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.

1 Θεοῦ θυσία] g<sub>3</sub> (which is also the probable reading of I); θεῶ θυσία g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s;  
*sacrificium* l. 6 μανθάνω] txt l I; add. ἐν αὐτῷ g. It seems to have slipped  
 in from the preceding sentence. 7 μάταιον] μάται g<sub>2</sub>. 10 χεῖρους] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s  
 l with I; χεῖρον g<sub>2</sub>. 15 δειλαινώμενα] δειλαιώμενα g<sub>4</sub>. κἂν] g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s with  
 I; *etsi* l; καὶ g<sub>1</sub>. ἐκόντα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>I; εἰκόντα g<sub>4</sub>; om. l. θέλη] θέλει  
 g<sub>4</sub> alone. 17 μηθέν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub> (with I); μηθέν g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>. ζηλώσαι] ζηλώσαι  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. In l μηθέν με ζηλώσαι is translated *nulli aemulor*. The reasons for  
 preferring the optative to the infinitive are given above, II. p. 215. 20 ἀλεσμοὶ]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; *interitus* l. This last is perhaps a corruption from *contritiones* or *con-*  
*tritio*, easily explained by the common contractions in Latin mss. There is no  
 authority for the reading *άλυσμοι* which is commonly adopted by edd.; see above,  
 II. p. 216. 23 πέρατα] g I; om. l. 26 κερδήση] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; κερδήσει  
 g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 27 αὐτοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; αὐτοῦ g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. 28 Θεοῦ] g<sub>3</sub>l; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>,  
 owing to the recurrence of similar letters -ΟΤΘΤ; see the notes on θεοῦ θυσία,  
 II. p. 209. 35 πάθους] om. g<sub>4</sub> alone. Χριστοῦ] g; om. l with I (see

VI. Οὐδέν με ὠφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου, οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλείαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. καλὸν ἔμοι ἀποθανεῖν διὰ  
 25 Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἢ βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς· τί γὰρ ὠφελείται ἄνθρωπος, ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσῃ; τὸν Κύριον ποθῶ, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρός, Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν. ἐκείνον ζητῶ, τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα. συγγνω-  
 30 μονεῖτέ μοι, ἀδελφοί. μὴ ἐμποδίσσητέ μοι εἰς ζωὴν φθάσαι· Ἰησοῦς γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ ζωὴ τῶν πιστῶν. μὴ θελήσητέ με ἀποθανεῖν· θάνατος γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ ἄνευ Χριστοῦ ζωὴ. τοῦ Θεοῦ θέλοντά με εἶναι κόσμῳ μὴ χαρίσησθε. ἄφετέ με καθαρὸν φῶς λαβεῖν· ἐκεῖ παραγενόμενος, ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ  
 35 ἔσομαι. ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι πάθους Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ μου. εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει, νοησάτω ὃ θέλω, καὶ συμπαθεῖτω μοι, εἰδὼς τὰ συνέχοντά με.

VII. Ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου διαρπάσαι με βού-  
 40 λεται καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν Θεόν μου γνώμην διαφθεῖραι. μηδεὶς οὖν τῶν παρόντων ὑμῶν βοηθεῖτω αὐτῷ· μᾶλλον ἔμοι γένεσθε, τουτέστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ. μὴ λαλεῖτε Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν κόσμον δὲ προτιμάτε. βασκανία ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ κατοικεῖτω· μηδέ, ἐὰν ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς παρὼν παρακαλῶ, πείσθητε· τούτοις δὲ μᾶλλον πιστεύσατε, οἷς γράφω ὑμῖν. ζῶν γὰρ γράφω ὑμῖν,  
 45 ἔρων τοῦ διὰ Χριστόν ἀποθανεῖν. ὃ ἐμὸς ἔρωσ ἐσταύρωται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἔμοι πῦρ φιλοῦν τι· ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν,

II. p. 220). 36 ἐν ἑαυτῷ] I; *in seipso* l; ἐνταῦθα g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 39 δια-  
 φθεῖραι] διαφθῆραι g<sub>2</sub>. 40 μᾶλλον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s with I; μᾶλλον δὲ g<sub>3</sub>; *magis autem* l.  
 41 γένεσθε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; γένεσθε or γίνεσθε I (II. p. 222); παραγι-  
 νεσθε g<sub>3</sub>; *adiutores estote* l. τουτέστιν] g<sub>1</sub>; τουτέστι g<sub>3</sub>; τοῦτ' ἔστιν g<sub>2</sub>;  
 τουτέστι (sic) g<sub>4</sub>. τοῦ Θεοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; *dei* l; τῷ θεῷ g<sub>3</sub> (to conform to the  
 reading παραγένεσθε in this MS). λαλεῖτε g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> with I; λαλήτε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. Many  
 edd. have retained the solecism μὴ λαλήτε. 42 κατοικεῖτω] κατοικήτω g<sub>2</sub>.  
 43 ἐὰν ἐγὼ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἂν ἐγὼ I; ἐγὼ ἐὰν g<sub>4</sub>. πείσθητε] πισθῆτε (sic) g<sub>2</sub>.  
 46 φιλοῦν τι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; φιλόυλον g<sub>4</sub> with I. In l the words πῦρ φιλοῦν τι are  
 omitted. The reading of g<sub>4</sub> is probably derived from the Menæa, where the

25. τί γὰρ ὠφελείται κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xvi. 26, Mark viii. 36, Luke ix. 25; comp. *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 2.

ἀλλόμενον ἐν ἐμοί, ἔσωθέν μοι λέγει, Δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. οὐχ ἡδομαι τροφῇ φθορᾶς οὐδὲ ἡδομαις τοῦ βίου τούτου. ἄρτον τοῦ Θεοῦ θέλω, ἄρτον οὐράνιον, ἄρτον ζωῆς, ὃ ἔστιν σὰρξ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐν ὑστέρω ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ καὶ Ἀβραάμ· καὶ πόμα θέλω 5 τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἔστιν ἀγάπη ἀφθαρτος καὶ ἀένναος ζωῆ.

VIII. Οὐκέτι θέλω κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῆν· τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς θέλητε· Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι· ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ἐπειδήπερ ζῆ ἐν ἐμοί ὁ Χριστός. δι' ὀλίγων γραμμάτων αἰτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς μὴ παραιτήσασθαί με πιστεύ- 10 σατέ μοι, ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν φιλῶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ παραδοθέντα. τί ἀνταποδώσω τῷ Κυρίῳ περὶ πάντων, ὧν ἀνταπέδωκέ μοι; αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς φανερώσει ὑμῖν ταῦτα, ὅτι ἀληθῶς λέγω. καὶ ὑμεῖς συνεύξασθέ μοι, ἵνα τοῦ σκοποῦ τύχω ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ. 15 οὐ κατὰ σάρκα ὑμῖν ἔγραψα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ. ἐὰν πάθω, ἠγαπήσατε· ἐὰν ἀποδοκιμασθῶ, ἐμισήσατε.

passage is quoted. Otherwise the combination of  $g_4$  with I would require its substitution in the text; see above, II. pp. 223, 224.

1 ἀλλόμενον]  $g_2sg_3g_4s$ ; ἀλλόμενον  $g_1$ ; *vina manet* (i.e. ἄλλο μένον) l. See above, II. pp. 223, 224 sq.

2 ἡδομαι]  $g_1g_2g_4s$  with I; ἡσομαι  $g_3$ ; *comedam* (v. l. *comedo*) l. φθορᾶς]  $g_1g_3g_4s$  with I; φθορᾶ  $g_2$ . τούτου] τοῦ  $g_2$ . 4 τοῦ Χριστοῦ]  $g_1g_2$  (so prob., though Dressel is not clear)  $g_3g_4$  (and this is the probable reading of I; see above, II. p. 226); *jesu christi* l. 5 Δαυεὶδ] δᾶδ  $g_1$ .

6 αἷμα] I; *sanguinem* l; πόμα  $g_1g_2g_3$  (an obvious error of inadvertence). Bryennios gives θέλω τὸ πόμα as the reading of  $g_4$  for πομα θέλω, so that it would appear to have θέλω τὸ πόμα τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ. ἀένναος]  $g_2sg_4s$ ; ἀέναος  $g_1g_3$ .

10 παραιτήσασθαί]  $g_3$ ; παραιτήσασθέ  $g_1sg_2s$ ; παραιτήσησθέ  $g_4$ ; *observetis* (v. l. *obsistatis*) l. The editors from Morel downwards, including Ussher, Voss, Cureton, Dressel, and Zahn, have all (apparently without exception) acquiesced silently in the solecism μὴ παραιτήσασθε; comp. the false reading μὴ λαλήτε in § 7. 13 ὁ Χριστός]  $g_1g_2sg_4s$ ; χριστός  $g_3$ . 19 ἦτις]  $g_1g_3g_4s$  with I; εἴ τις  $g_2$ ; and this must have been the reading of l, which translates *mementote in orationibus vestris illius qui pro me recturus est ecclesiam quae est in syria*.

χρῆται]  $g_1g_2sg_3$ ; χράται  $g_4$ . 20 μόνος]  $g_1g_2sg_4s$  l with

3. ἄρτον τοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] For the coincidences with John vi. in this passage, see above, II. p. 226.

8. Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι κ.τ.λ.]

From Gal. ii. 19.

12. τί ἀνταποδώσω κ.τ.λ.] Ps. cxv. 3 (cxvi. 12).

IX. Μνημονεύετε ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, ἣτις ἀντ' ἐμοῦ ποιμένοι χρηταὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ τῷ εἰπόντι, 20 ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός· καὶ μόνος αὐτὴν ἐπισκοπήσει, καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπη. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ αἰσχύνομαι ἐξ αὐτῶν λέγεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ εἶμι ἄξιος, ὡν ἔσχατος αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκτρωμα· ἀλλ' ἠλέημαί τις εἶναι, ἐὰν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ἀσπάζεταιται ὑμᾶς τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν 25 δεξαμένων με εἰς ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐχ ὡς παροδεύοντα· καὶ γὰρ αἱ μὴ προσήκουσαί μοι τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ πόλιν με προήγαγον.

X. Γράφω δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἀπὸ Σμύρνης διὰ Ἐφεσίων τῶν ἀξιομακαρίστων. ἔστιν δὲ ἅμα ἐμοὶ σὺν πολλοῖς καὶ 30 ἄλλοις Κρόκος, τὸ ποθητὸν ὄνομα. περὶ τῶν προσελθόντων ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πιστεύω ὑμᾶς ἐπεγνωκέναι· οἷς καὶ δηλώσετε ἐγγύς με ὄντα· πάντες γὰρ εἰσιν ἄξιοι Θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν· οὓς πρέπον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν κατὰ πάντα ἀναπαῦσαι. ἔγραψα δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα τῇ πρὸ ἐννέα καλ- 35 ανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων. ἔρρωσθε εἰς τέλος ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

I; add. γε οὗτος g<sub>3</sub>.

21 εἰς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; ἡ εἰς g<sub>2</sub>.

25 με] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>

l with I; om. g<sub>2</sub>.

εἰς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> with I (see II. pp. 230, 231); ὡς g<sub>3</sub>;

sicut l. 28 δὲ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>3</sub> I (see II. p. 232); igitur l; om. g<sub>4</sub>. 30 περι]

περα g<sub>4</sub>.

32 δηλώσατε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; mandatis (or mandastis) [1]. The probable reading in I is δηλώσατε (II. p. 232), and this may have stood originally in the text of this recension also.

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου πατριάρχου θεουπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. ιβ. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῶν δώδεκα τέλος g<sub>3</sub>. Nothing in g<sub>4</sub>.

20. ἐγὼ εἶμι κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. x. 11.



IV.

COPTIC REMAINS

OF

S. IGNATIUS.

I. *FRAGMENTS OF THE EPISTLES IN THE SAHIDIC DIALECT.*

- α. To Hero.
- β. To the Smyrnæans.

The MS, *Borg.* 248, from which these fragments are taken is described in the chapter on *Manuscripts and Versions* in vol. 1.

II. *ROMAN ACTS OF MARTYRDOM IN THE MEMPHITIC DIALECT.*

The MS, *Vatic. Copt.* lxvi, from which these Acts are printed here, is described in the introduction to the *Acts of Martyrdom*, II. p. 365. A few obvious errors in the MS are tacitly corrected.



## I.

## a.

.....αἰτ[τῆ̄ προσ] πολτκαρπος ρ̄μ̄ πχοεις ἰς πεχ̄ς .

[VIII]. Сешне ерок п̄сӣ п̄пископос опнсѣмос ѣтос тамас полтѣѣос м̄п̄ отоп ким ет ρ̄μ̄ πεχ̄ς εβολρ̄п̄ неф̄г̄л̄иппос . шне е неперсѣттерос еттаεινт ρ̄μ̄ п̄котте . шне е некшѣр̄ д̄лакопос паг апок п̄т̄ αἰτ̄ρ̄нт̄ м̄моот ρ̄μ̄ πεχ̄[с̄ ат]ω [ρ̄]п̄ тсарз м̄п̄ [пепп̄]а . шне е п̄лаос [м̄п̄]хоεις ж[ин] м̄п̄коти ша п[н]о[с̄] ката петрап . [паг̄ п̄]т̄ αἰτ̄ м̄моот етоот[тк] [п̄]ѣε̄ м̄мωтснс̄ п̄нсот̄ патн̄ п̄стра-тѣтос м̄п̄п̄сωф̄ . атω̄ м̄пертре пепт̄ аг̄хооф̄ шне еф̄рорш̄ паграк . ешже апок пет̄ м̄мат̄ ап̄ алла̄ т̄п̄ш̄л̄н̄л̄ етρεф̄р̄ѣε̄ п̄пет̄ м̄мат̄ . епеган̄ апок̄ п̄ш̄нре̄ п̄а̄в̄рагам̄ ρ̄ωωп̄ . ѣм̄ѣом̄ отп̄ [ω] ρ̄нрωп̄ ρ̄п̄ от̄м̄п̄т̄[ж̄ω]ре̄ м̄п̄ от̄тажро̄ . [п̄то]к̄ тар̄ ж̄п̄ е̄ поот̄ εβολ̄ пет-паж̄ еротп̄ атω̄ еεпне̄ εвол̄ м̄п̄лаос̄ м̄п̄хоεις̄ ет̄ ρ̄п̄ тап̄т̄ио̄χ̄ја̄ . атω̄ м̄п̄р̄тре̄ т̄εт̄паг̄ωг̄н̄ м̄п̄хоεις̄ шне̄ п̄ѣε̄ п̄пег̄ есоот̄ е̄ м̄п̄т̄ от̄ ш̄ωс̄ м̄мат̄ .

[IX]. шне е каспапос̄ пет̄ѣалωот̄ ерог̄ м̄п̄ т̄εф̄ερ̄ε̄ме̄ п̄семпн̄ м̄п̄ п̄εф̄мерит̄ п̄ш̄нре̄ . паг̄ ере̄ п̄хоεις̄ таас̄ пат̄ ере̄ етпа̄ ρ̄μ̄ пероот̄ ет̄ м̄мат̄ . же̄ ат̄д̄лакопег̄ ероп̄ . паг̄ ет̄ εἰτ̄ м̄моот̄ етоотк̄ ρ̄μ̄ πεχ̄ς̄ . шне̄ м̄п̄стос̄ т̄нрот̄ ет̄ ρ̄п̄ лаоз̄ак̄ја̄ ρ̄μ̄ πεχ̄ς̄ ката рап̄ . м̄пераме̄ле̄г̄ е̄ пет̄ ρ̄п̄ тар̄сос̄ . алла̄̄ ф̄εт̄н̄к̄ ероот̄ ах̄п̄ ωх̄п̄ . п̄т̄а̄жроот̄ еротп̄ е̄ пет̄ат̄т̄ε̄л̄иоп̄ . ф̄ш̄не̄ е̄ мар̄пос̄ п̄еп̄скопос̄ п̄не̄апол̄ис̄ ет̄ ρ̄ат̄п̄̄ ж̄а̄в̄ρω̄ ρ̄μ̄ п̄хоεις̄ . шне̄ оп̄ е̄ мар̄ја̄



ἴτ ἀτμεετε ερος еспащопе ἄμοот . ἴсещопе ἴδαίμοпion ахἴ  
сωма .

[III]. апок де ꙗсоотп ἄмоу мἴпса трецтвоотп он зп̄ тсарз .  
аѡ ꙗпстете ероу ἴтеи зе . ἴтереѡѡк де еротп ѡа папе-  
трос пезаѡ пат . же аментἴ ἴтетἴѡмѡм ерои ἴтетп пат же  
ап̄ отѡаімопion ап̄ ἴатсѡма . ἴтетпот де аѡѡз ероу аѡ-  
пстете . еатамарте ἄмоу зп̄ теѡсарз мἴ пецппа̄ . етἴе паг рѡ  
аѡкатафронеи мἴпмот . аѡре ѡар ероот етѡмѡм ехἴ пмот .  
мἴпса трецтвоотп де аѡотѡм он пἴмат аѡ аѡсѡ . еѡ  
ἴсарпикос аѡ мἴпἴкос . еѡ ἴѡта мἴ пейѡт .

[IV]. паг де еисѡа ἄмоот пнтἴ памерате . еисоотп же  
отἴнтἴ паг зѡтнтἴтἴ . еи ѡрп̄ зарез де еротἴ еѡлзрἴ пей  
ѡнрion ἴро ἴрѡме . паг же от̄ мопion ѡще е тἴ ѡпот еротἴ .  
аλλα ещже отἴ ѡѡм . е тἴ тѡмἴт ероот е птнрѡ . мопion де  
ѡлнл зароот мнпоте сенашметанои . зопер паг моке пат .  
отἴтеѡ теѡѡсга де е паг ἴѡи ἴс̄ пех̄с̄ пепѡнз ἄме . ещже зп̄  
от̄смот ѡар ἴта паг ѡпне еѡлзрἴтἴ пепѡеис . еие апок зѡѡт  
он еимнр зп̄ от̄ смот . етἴе от̄ де ἴѡотп аѡтаат еѡаи е  
пмот ἴпазрἴ пкѡрт ἴпазрἴ тснѡе аѡ ἴпазрἴ пѡнрion .  
аλλα петр[н]н ерот[п е]тснѡе е[ѡр]нн еротп е ппотте . пет  
зп̄ тмнте ἴпѡнрion еѡ зп̄ тмнте мἴппотте . мопion за пран  
ἴс̄ пех̄с̄ . еиѡи за зѡἡ нм етрамот пἴмаѡ . ἴѡѡ петѡѡм  
паг . пей телиос ἴрѡме .

[V]. паг ет ере зопне арпа ἄмоу . ет̄ о̄ ἴатсоотп ἄмоу .  
ἴрѡѡ де еѡарпа ἄмоот еѡлзрἴѡѡтѡѡ . еѡѡще еѡаи ехἴ пмот  
еротте тме . паг ет̄ емпотпѡе ἄмоот ἴѡи пепрофитнс̄ от̄де  
ппомос мἴѡтснс̄ от̄де петаггелион ѡаѡаи е тепот̄ от̄де  
пезро ἴἴрἴсе . каг ѡар етмеете ἴтеи зе етἴннтἴ зѡпion он .  
ере от̄а ѡар паѡрнт̄ ммои ἴѡт̄ . еѡѡаптаеис̄ мен . пѡ̄ жѡта  
де е паѡеис̄ . епѡромологей ммоу ап̄ же аѡѡфореи ἴтсарз .  
петѡ де мἴпаг . аѡарпа ἄмоу е птнрἴ . еѡѡфореи [ἴт]ѡу мἴпмот̄ .  
ἴ[р]ан̄ де ἴ[ ] о̄ ἴатпа[р]те мἴпейеѡѡаис̄от̄ пнтἴ . аλλα

ἡπεσῶπε ἄμοι οἱ ἐτραῖ πετκέμεετε . ὡαντοῦ μετανοῖ εῖροτι  
 εἰ πμοῦ ἡπεπχοεῖς ἰς πεχῆς . εἰτε παῖ πε τεπαναστασίς.

[VI]. μπῖτρε λααῦ πλάπα εἰτε πετ ρῖῖ τπε εἰτε πεοοῦ  
 ἡπαγγελος μῖ παρχωπ . ἡнет οῦπαῦ εῖροοῦ μῖ πεт епсепат  
 ерооῦ ап . етщан тῖ πιστετε εἰ πεпχοеῖς ἰς πεχῆς μῖ πεссноу  
 етотааѣ . ἡтооῦ ρωоῦ οἱ сепатѣрап ерооῦ . петнащѣ маречѣ.  
 мпῖтρε лааῦ χῖсе ἡρηт еχῖῖ οὔτοпос . птирѣ сар не тпстис  
 мῖ тагали . παῖ εἰτε μῖлааῦ сотп ерооῦ . фῖтитῖ ῥε εἰ πεт  
 епсепарте ап ε τεχарис ἡπεпχοеῖς ἰς πεχῆς . ἡт асеῖ ерраῖ  
 ехωп . ἡѳе ет οὔѳоῦѳе е тегпωми ἡппоῦте . ἡпетрооῦщ ап  
 пе агали η етѳе χηра η ορѳанос η οὔа еурѳρωῡ η οὔа  
 еурнщ η οὔа еуркаеῖт еурѳ[ε] . . . .

## 2.

Ἐμάρτυρια ἰτενιαγος ικναδιος φηιет στμοу† ёроу же θεοφορος етеφн пе етерфорнн ἰφ†. φηиет асер епископос еап-  
τιωχια мепенса пириωиш ἰτενιαпостолос. еаужек теμμартурия  
ёхол зеп рωми. ἰсот ζ ἰπιαδот епнн зеп отурипнн ἰтеф†.  
амнн.

I. Ἦеп ѿμαρ ѿ ἰромпи ἰтетметрентемωн ἰаптрапалос кесар,  
етеѿμαρ ἰ† ἰромпи те ἰте†μαρ ск† ἰромпи ἰтеолтμпиа.  
зеп тзпπατια ἰаттикос стρῆωн пем маркеλλос.

Ἰκναδιос пепископос ἰапτιωχια еасер маρ ἦ мепенса па-  
постолос. етоздиос тар пе пищорп етауѿи ἰ†метепископос.  
аѿптеу же ёрωми етρωис ёроу зеп отпш† ἰспотан ёхо-  
лзитен пнетатоторпот еѿе †омологиа еѿи ёзотп ёпхс.

Нн же епатарез ёроу паѿири ἡи пе зеп тотпнн ёраппрозактωр  
ἰтетрапалос потро пе. паг же пе потрап, корпнлиос, фисωн,  
ютῆпос, сезос, һартос, лелархос, палмас, лтμпн, һарһарос,  
лтμпнос. рапρωми пе ἰагтриос зеп отметрото ёотоп ἰтωот  
ἰματ ἰрапсмот ἰѿнриоп.

Аѿи же ἰпмакариос еусонз аѿи ёхолзеп †χωρα ἰте†асиа  
отоз ёхолзеп пма етеμματ аѿи ёѿѿраки пем рнчюп. сон  
меп зеп пμωит сон же зеп фюм. е†ῆмакз ἰпιαкиеос  
етωѿи ἰмоу зеп отметрото пнезоот пем пезωрз. кетои  
ере писпнот ката полис † пωот ἰраппш† ἰтаю. же зпа  
ἰтот†асо еφнеѿотаһ.

Ἀλλὰ ἡπερλι θεν παг ρερι ἄποτῶπιτ ἀλλὰ πατροχρεχ ἄπι-  
 αικεос θεн ραпβαλ ἡαϑшпи отог ἡαϑπαг.

Καταφρητῆ ἡϑοϋ ετεϋοг ἄμεϑρε θεн оти ἡνεϋεπιστολι, еϋχω  
 ἄμοс ἄπαгρηт.

Хе аг исхеп тѣтріа ша ρωми. ите θεн пимωит ите θεн пет-  
 шотωот ите θεн φиом, еимошп нем пῶнриоп. еисопг ἡтотϋ  
 ἄт ἄμοτι ете пиматог пе паг аτшанер пеϑпанеϋ пωот  
 шаттго ἡгого.

II. Στατιпи отп ἄπιγαιкеос ἐβολθεп ρигиоп аτше ἐδотп ἐρωми  
 атерстмени ἄпιαττοκратωρ ἡтеϋпаротсиа.

Тотε аϋотатаршпи ἐϑроттарог ἐратϋ паϋ. еаϋϑωотϋ ἡтстп-  
 κλιηтос тирс ἐпес ἐрнот отог пежаϋ паϋ.

Хе ἡϑок пе гῑпадиос. φиет аϋототпос тпoлис аηтпoxia ρωсте  
 еϑре пекωит г памашх. хе актасϑе тстрия тирс ἐβoлga  
 пшемшп ἡппотϋ ἐδотп ἐпшемшп ἡппхристпанос.

Ἀϋеротω ἡхе гῑпадиос пежаϋ хе аμοг ω ποτρο апашхемжом  
 ἡтасϑок ρωк ἐβoлθεп пшемшп ἡпгωлон епросепегке  
 ἄмок ἄφϋ отог еагк ἡшφнр ἄппшϋт ἡотро пхс хе ρпа  
 ἡтеϋташро ἡтекметотро.

Ἀϋеротω ἡхе трапанос пежаϋ хе исхе χотωш ἐт ппн ἡραп-  
 харисма отог еϑрекшωпн екпн пемап ἡшφнр хω ἡсωк  
 ἡтагпωми ἡтекерϑтсиа ἡппотϋ отог хпашωпн ἡархне-  
 ретс ἄппшϋт пгзетс, отог ἡтекер отро немнп.

Ἀϋеротω ἡхе гῑпадиос хе отρωh етесшϋе ап пе ω ποτρο ἐт  
 ἡραпхарисма етпаерῑлаптп ἡтψтхп отог ἡсеβттс еп-  
 коласгс ша ἐπεг.

Некωш хе етакωш ἄμωот ἐтнитот ппн тωп ἄμωот ап хе  
 семшп ἡρли ептирϋ. отог отае тпашемшп ап ἡраппотϋ  
 ἡтсωотп ἄμωот ап.

Отог пгзетс мен етексахи ἐроϋ темг ап хе оташ ἡсмот пе  
 отог ϑметотро мпг носмос тереπнῑтмпн ἐрос ап. епа-  
 тρнот гар ἡот. ашшан хемρнот ἄпгикосмос тирϋ ἡтатосг  
 ἡтаψтхп.

Ἀγερῶτω ἦχε τραγανὸς πεχασί . καὶ χροτοῦρ ἔβολ καὶ ἄμορλι  
 ἡσῶνσις ἄμετκαρῆτ ἡβῆτι. εἶθε φαί ἀκρῶσῃ ἡπῆρωρα  
 εταῖοσῶσῃ ετῆτοτ πακ. ὁτορ χλαῶρι χῶπτ ἡταερκολαζῆτ  
 ἄμοκ βεπ τιμῶρια πῆβеп. ὁτ μοποп ρῶс ατсωтеп, ἀλλὰ  
 ρῶс ατшепρμῶт ὁτορ есерапτιлетῆп ὁтῆε πῆροσῆα ἡτετсῆп-  
 κῆтос εἶοτῆδ, ὁτορ епсераῶтсῆа ап ἡппоτῆт.

Ἀγερῶτω ἡχε ἰσπατιὸс πεχασί . καὶ ἀριῶти πῆи κατῆ φῆет рапак  
 ὦ ποτρο.

Ἄποκ γαρ φῆαεῶтсῆа ап. ὁтῆε γαρ ἄμοп χρῶм ὁтῆε  
 ἄмоп [с]тῆтрос ἄмоп χῶпτ ἡῶнrioп ἄмоп шῶт ἔβολ  
 ἡпшмелос пашхемхом ап εἶфорхт ἔβολρα φῆт етῆнδ. φμει  
 γαρ ап ἡпαικосмос ἀλλὰ εἰμει ἄφῆет αμῶт βароп пхс  
 еαγтῶпсῃ ἔβολβеп пнеῶμῶтт.

III. Ἄ φсῆтκῆтос тῆрс еρωτῶ πεχас. καὶ ἀпоп тепсῶтῆп  
 καὶ ппоτῆт ραпатῶт пе. ἡш ἡпῆт кхῶ ἄмос ἡῶок καὶ  
 а пхс мῶт. еῶппоτῆт пе.

Ἀγερῶτω ἡχε ἰспадиос πεχασί . καὶ παсῶ апок καп ἰсхе  
 αμῶт κατῆ ὁτοῖκοпomia εἶθε пепῶтхαι αγтῶпсῃ ἄпшмаρ  
 т̄ ἡεροῶт.

Πῆет етепхῶ ἄмос еρωῶт ἡῶωтеп καὶ ποτῆт αтῶт ρῶс  
 реқμῶтт. ὁτορ ἄпоτ тῶотпоτ καὶ ρῆпа ἡтетепемῆ пзетс  
 меп φῶомс βеп κῆтῆи.

Ἄσκῆпῆиос δе атрадтсῃ ρῆтеп откератῆиос ешῶп βеп о.ῶотῆис.

Ἄφροαгаи δе сῶомс βеп пῆраῶт пем пкῆпῆиос.

Πρακῆис аτροкρсῃ ρῆтеп отхрῶм еαγῶшем. петеппоτῆт  
 сешша ἡоттῆиῶria ἡпαιрῆт εἶθε καὶ ραпатамагῆ пе ὁтоρ  
 ἡресерапетρῶот ὁтоρ ἡреқтῆако ἡпῆρωм.

Πепῶт δе ἡῶоῃ пхс кап ἰсхе атерстатρῶпῆип ἄмоῃ ὁтоρ  
 αμῶт еκοтсῆотс ἀλλὰ αγῶтῶпρ ἔβολ ἡтеγхом. βеп  
 пшмῶреῃ тῶпсῃ ἔβολβеп пнеῶμῶтт. ὁтоρ αῃтῆ ἄшш  
 ἡпῆет атβῶῶῆеῃ, ἔβολρῆтеп ῶппоτ пῆρωмеос. Ὀтоρ петеп-  
 ютῆ атῆ ἄшшп ἄμῶт ἔβολρῆтеп φῆт ρῶс ерғатῆис ἡте-  
 тага.

Πεπ̄ο̄ ρε ἰθουϋ εταϋμοτ ἐβολριτεп ραπρωμι ἰφ̄θοπирοϋ  
 ἰποτϋϋαι ἐρρι ραροϋ εϋϋφιο ἰμωοτ ε̄θε ποτπετρωοτ.  
 εατερ ατϋεϋμοτ μεπεпса пπε̄θпапет εταϋαιτοτ πωοτ.

Λϋεροτω ἰχε τραпαпос πεϋαϋ. ϋε αποκ φ̄ερστμ̄θοτлетпп пак  
 ε̄φрек котк ἐβολρ̄εп φμοτ ἐ̄θοтп ἐπωп̄ς.

Πεϋαϋ ἰχε пπαп̄иос. ϋε καλωϋ κ̄φ̄с̄ω ппп ω ποτρο. φ̄φит  
 ϋар ἰτοτϋ ἰφ̄μοτ ἰπεп̄ρ. οτορ φ̄иωϋ ἰμοι ἐϋе ε̄θοтп ἐπωп̄ς  
 ἰπεп̄ρ. ке ϋар οτοп ἦ ἰμωит ϋоп отаи. εϋϋαϋспп ἰϋωлем  
 οτορ отаи εϋппп ἐβολ.

Πεϋαϋ ἰχε трапαпос. ϋε ари отс̄иа ἰпипοτ̄φ ἰтекер ἐβολ  
 ἰραппш̄φ ἰпап̄ωр̄иа. от̄ε ἰθοок ксотеп ап εροте тке-  
 ротс̄иа ἰφ̄ стпк̄л̄н̄тос.

Λϋεροτω ἰχε пπαп̄иос. ϋε апаер̄отс̄иа ἰаϋ ἰμωοτ. ρара  
 φ̄нет аϋωрϋ ἐ̄ρпп ἐотп̄θос ε̄θε φ̄метп̄ωӣк. ие п̄са̄ле  
 ἰ̄н̄есп̄ит ε̄о̄маϋи ἰπεϋ̄са̄ла̄т̄х. ие φ̄нет аϋреи ἐβολρ̄εп  
 ε̄мап̄т̄ӣкн̄ ете̄φ̄метреϋш̄пп̄ӣ те εа̄т̄ε̄ро̄ ἐ̄роϋ ϋитеп отс̄р̄ӣӣ  
 ие φ̄нет отс̄лоп̄леп̄ ἰμοϋ ἐβολριτεп п̄га̄тапос етои ἰρ̄ωот̄т̄  
 пем с̄р̄ӣӣ. ие п̄нет а̄т̄к̄ω̄т̄ ἰп̄исо̄в̄т̄ ἰ̄т̄л̄иос а̄т̄ϋо̄х̄от̄ ἰπο̄т̄-  
 ъ̄е̄ке. ие п̄р̄ӣо̄ӣ е̄т̄ӣ ἰφ̄μωит ἰп̄ӣρ̄ωот̄т̄ ε̄а̄тер п̄ω̄ш̄ϋ  
 ἰп̄ӣρ̄н̄о̄т̄ӣ е̄т̄п̄ е̄то̄т̄φ̄т̄с̄ӣс.

Т̄ш̄п̄ӣ е̄ῑμο̄т̄φ̄ е̄п̄аи ἰпа̄г̄ӣт̄ ϋε ποτ̄φ̄ ἐραпρωми п̄ε ἰρεϋερ̄ϋӣк  
 οτορ ἰρεϋεϋ̄ кот̄х̄ӣ ἰ̄ᾱло̄т̄ οτορ ἰп̄ωӣк.

Εϋϋᾱτο̄т̄ω̄т̄ε̄н̄ ἐο̄та̄ε̄т̄ос̄ οτορ ἐο̄т̄ма̄с̄ӣ. п̄ем от̄мо̄т̄ӣ п̄ем от̄-  
 ϋра̄к̄ωп̄ ε̄φ̄ρο̄т̄ е̄р̄ от̄ρ̄ω̄н̄ ап ἐ̄па̄п̄εϋ̄ а̄л̄ла̄ ε̄φ̄ρο̄т̄ ϋор̄ϋер̄  
 ἰ̄та̄мо̄с̄ ἰ̄ᾱл̄ло̄т̄р̄ӣоп̄. п̄аи е̄т̄ε̄с̄ϋе̄ ἐ̄μ̄ε̄ст̄ω̄ο̄т̄. οτορ ἐο̄т̄ω̄ш̄т̄  
 πωοτ ап.

Наӣ е̄те̄ п̄ε̄т̄ε̄п̄р̄ӣо̄ӣ ϋ̄л̄н̄л̄ πωοτ ϋε ϋп̄а ἰ̄то̄т̄а̄реϋ̄ π̄ω̄т̄еп̄  
 ἰ̄то̄т̄мет̄ш̄а̄т̄. м̄ӣ п̄аи ἰпа̄г̄ӣт̄ ϋап̄πο̄т̄φ̄ п̄е.

Πεϋαϋ ἰχε трапαпос. ϋε αποк п̄ε ε̄та̄ӣш̄ωп̄ӣ пак ἰ̄ε̄т̄иос̄ ἐ̄п̄аи  
 ἄλας̄φ̄ӣм̄ӣа̄ ἐ̄θο̄тп̄ ἐ̄п̄п̄ο̄т̄φ̄ ϋε ἰ̄п̄ε̄рт̄ӣμ̄ω̄р̄ӣп̄ ἰ̄μο̄к.

Πεϋαϋ ἰχε пπαп̄иос ϋε а̄ӣх̄ос̄ пак ис̄х̄еп̄ ϋор̄п̄ ϋε φ̄с̄ε̄н̄т̄ω̄т̄  
 еϋаи ἐ̄р̄р̄ӣ ϋа ἄса̄п̄ос̄ п̄ӣн̄еп̄ οτορ ἐ̄ε̄ρ̄ε̄т̄п̄о̄м̄е̄п̄п̄ е̄с̄мо̄т̄  
 п̄ӣн̄еп̄ ἰ̄μο̄т̄, е̄ӣϋω̄лем ϋар ἐ̄ϋе̄ ш̄а φ̄φ̄.





ατση πλανη σπαεραπεχесεε απ. ερετη φμεοποτх пем  
φμεομнι. ιε ποτωπι пем пикаρι. ιε петρολх пем φиет  
епшаши пнете λπατφερх пай гар епотέρηот. φтраφн хω  
λμος еρωот хе отои пωот.

Αυ гар пе пφμαφ λпхс пем һеллар ιе ау те омерис һот-  
пстос пем отапстос.

Ιе ау пе пφμαφ λперφει λφφ пем пηωλοп.

V. Пезау һхе трапалос. хе φωρш һпегуагх ёһол һтетеп  
магот λхрωм.

Пезау һхе ιгнаδιос. хе отде хрωм һрегурωкз отде пахри  
һөһриоп. отде пхωр ёһол һпикас. отде псотхет һпи-  
мелос. отде птако λписωма тирγ. гпащфорхт ап ёһолга  
таагапн ёѕотп ёφφ.

Пезау һхе трапалос. хе ωмс һгаппапироп һпег һтетеп-  
рωкз һпегсφирωти.

Пезау һхе ιгнаδιос. хе хотопз ёһол ω потро. хе кой һат-  
сωотп хе φφ етопѕ шоп һѕнт. φай етсарн пнн һφхом.  
отоз еγири һтаψтхн һһери. ёһнл епе еöhe φай ап пе. пе  
λмоп шхом λмог ап пе ёгаг ѕа пекһасапос.

Пезау һхе трапалос. хе арηот һθок отһеппн еγпашт. λмоп  
пαхпаерпарахωрп пе һпнһасапос һтекеротсга һпнпотφ.

Пезау һхе ιгнаδιос. хе еγгаг ёррип. отоз егегртпомепп  
ёпекһасапос. гωс ере пай θг ап ёѕотп ёροι отоз хе  
егерсθαпесеε ёρωот ап алла таагапн ёѕотп ёроγ. һθоγ  
φφ λμнι. φай етере таψтхн пем пасωма ѕеп пегуагх  
һснот пнһеп пем φпнγ һотоп пнһеп. етергелпнс ёпагаθоп  
еπαшωпн. һθос еоро һпнһасапос шωпн етасωот һтотот  
сегорш паггаг ап.

Отде гар λмоп хрωм отде мωот еγош пашωшем ап  
һφагапн етентпн ёѕотп ёφφ.

Пезау һхе трапалос. хе апюти һотхрωм һтетепфоршγ ёһол  
ггхеп пкари һтетептаго ιгнаδιос ёратγ ггхωγ хе гпа-  
кап λпагнφ һтеγθет пегγнт һтеγеротсга һпнпотφ.

Πεζαυ ήχε ιγναδιος. же проωκρ ήπαγχρωμ отпросотснот пе  
 цпаѣ пни ήπερφμετι ήπιχρωμ ήμεθμνι εθμνп ёћол отор  
 ήατωשמ.

Πεζαυ ήχε τραпнос. же ѣметн же екеркатафронп ήпнѣаса-  
 нос ѡеп отмагта ήметреѣерзк. пе ήмон пе паχпаѡтп  
 еакшеп паг ѡсгс тнрот ёћолргитотеп.

Πεζαυ ήχε ιγναδιος. же пнеотасѡο ήμωот ёћол ήпнѣемωп  
 рѡс етатреп ёћолргитеп ѣѣ. отор етѡћѡѣ ήпнѡωлон. ήаш  
 ήрнѣ атпаерреѣерзк аѡос пни. ήѡтеп ѡе маллон ѡа  
 пнетשמшп ήпаг. етѡи ήнеохос ёрашшшп ήпагрнѣ. апок  
 ѡе аѣѣ помос пап. ёштемѡа пѣфармаѡос ёωпѡ. је прѣѣ-  
 мотѣ. је прѣѣѡсѡтп. је прѣѣѡсѡ мнпн аλλα еѡрен рѡкρ  
 ήѡоу ήпнѡωμ ήтенпетнргн ήпаг ήпагрнѣ ѡеп отметпергерѡс.  
 откотп апок отреѣерзк ап аλλα ήѡтеп. пнет отѡшт  
 ήпнѡωлон етнргн ήпаг.

Πεζαυ ήχε τραпнос. же шѣ ппѡтѣ етгапнѡтт азсгс азхатот  
 ёћол падрак.

Πεχε ιγναδιος. же отор ήπερѣѡсгс пак ω потро. аλλα је мнп  
 ётотѣ ήпнѡωμ. је шѡтт ёћол ήтснѣп. је ћерћѡрт ёпшѡк  
 ήѣгом је мнп ήпнѡнргоп рпа ήтекпагѣ же ήмон рлп ѡеп  
 паг роршп ап падрат еѡће таагапн ёѡотп ёпѡхс ήтнп.

VI. Πεζαυ ήχε τραпнос. же аш те ѣреλпнс етекѡотшт ёћол  
 ѡахѡс ω ιγναδιος. екпамот ѡеп паг ѡасапос. етекшѡп  
 ήμωот иѣемг ап.

Πεζαυ ήχε ιγναδιος. же пнетатератсѡтеп ѣѣ етрнжен птнрѣ  
 пем пеѣлотос етѡпѡ инс пѡхс пепѡс. сеогн патсѡтеп ѣѣ  
 пем пеѣагаѡоп. етѡпѡ ήѣрнѣ ήпнѣћпѡтп сеерреλпнс ап.  
 ёрлп ήпѣѡпапѣу мепепса пѣѡрѡ ёћол ήпагнпос.

Апок ѡе тепсѡтпп иѣметерсећнс тепѡнт иргнт. же мепепса  
 ѡрен г ёћолѡеп пама теппаѡс ипшпѡ ѡепег отор теппаѡс  
 ипепсѡма еатѡотпѡт ёћолѡеп пнеѡμωотт теппаеркλнро-  
 помп ѡе оп ѡеп пепѡс инс пѡхс иѡтметотро иатмѡтпк.  
 ѡаг етеѣпаѣѡт ёћол иѡнтс иѡче пнмакρ иргнт пем пнннп пем  
 пѣгадом.



φρητ̄ ἑτακχος. ἀλλὰ φαι πε тенхонт еѳѳнтѣ же асѳωλ  
ἐβολ̄ λпשמשי̄ һппот̄.

Πεχαϋ̄ һхе гпазюс. же отор̄ от̄ пе ппегзот̄ етаϋшопи  
ω̄ φкеротсиа етгаинотт̄ же а̄ тепгзмиа̄ λπεп̄с̄ ρиот̄  
ἐβολ̄зен̄ пиромӣ һпппа̄ һтеφлапн̄. ете пгземоп̄ пе.

Етоӣ һттраппос̄ ἔхеп̄ пиромеос̄ жатрӣ λφоот̄ λφρηт̄ етаϋѳере  
пифт̄лн̄ һеѳпос̄ һѳарѳарос̄ ете λмоп̄ ρлг̄ һст̄пнзис̄с̄ һжн-  
тот̄, ѳпехзот̄ һтархн̄ һпиромеос̄, ѳаг̄ ете φтраφн̄ еѳотаѳ̄  
һтенпхристианос̄ мот̄ φ̄ ерос̄ же пшѳωт̄ һѳенпг̄ еаϋтсаѳе  
пиромӣ. же отпот̄ φ̄ һот̄ωт̄ етггзеп̄ птирѣ̄ отор̄ аϋагтот̄  
λремре̄ ἐβολ̄ρᾱ φметѳωк̄. етепшаш̄ һте φпорпна̄. етоӣ һаѳпаг̄  
отор̄ һот̄амспоϋ̄. ἐжот̄п̄ епенгепос̄.

Натрт̄ѳа̄ гар̄ пе жеп̄ писпоϋ̄ һтенетепшнрӣ. ететепшот̄ λμωот̄  
пωот̄. отор̄ пат̄ѳωжем̄ λμωтеп̄ пе жеп̄ пподемос̄ ететеп-  
прг̄ λμωот̄ пем̄ петеп̄ ернот̄ пн̄етп̄ етагф̄тс̄с̄ пем̄ паг-  
гепос̄ һот̄ωт̄.

Отор̄ патерапат̄казп̄ λμωтеп̄ еерасхимопн̄ отор̄ еѳретен  
шопӣ еретеп̄һнш̄ пем̄ петепг̄д̄мӣ жеп̄ пот̄шга̄ һѳот̄ жеп̄  
гтзопн̄ пѳеп̄ катаφρηт̄ ρωс̄ еретепшоп̄ жеп̄ отеχмаλωс̄а̄.

Отор̄ пат̄ѳωжем̄ λпикарг̄ жеп̄ пот̄споϋ̄. отор̄ пшнр̄ жеп̄ пот̄-  
акаѳарс̄а̄.

Шеп̄ пѳеѳпос̄ һтеспскип̄ѳнс̄ отор̄ сепатамωтеп̄. же пот̄еѳпос̄  
пе, ешга̄т̄ пиромӣ һφартеμс̄с̄ һѳωтеп̄ же тетепот̄ωш̄ ап̄  
ееромологпн̄ λпетепшпн̄ еѳѳе̄ φкот̄жг̄ һшерӣ ешга̄т̄ ж̄ел̄ж̄ωлс̄  
һпикропос̄.

Нгеллпнос̄ һѳωот̄ сешот̄шот̄ λμωот̄ ἔхеп̄ паг̄ ѳтс̄а̄ λпагн̄т̄  
еаот̄саѳо̄ ер̄ωот̄ ἐβολ̄гитеп̄ пѳеѳпос̄ һѳарѳарос̄.

Аϋерот̄ω̄ һхе трапанос̄ пезаϋ̄ же ш̄е ппот̄φ̄. φог̄ һшфнрӣ  
λмоп̄ ω̄ гпазюс̄ ἔхеп̄ пекпш̄φ̄ һс̄ωот̄п̄, кап̄ исхе̄ φтаю̄  
ап̄ λпекשמשי̄.

Πεχαϋ̄ һхе гпазюс̄. же отор̄ от̄ пе пгзωѳ̄ етегρиот̄ λпен-  
שמשי̄ е̄прап̄ һжнтѣ̄.

Аϋерот̄ω̄ һхе трапанос̄ пезаϋ̄. же еѳѳе̄ же тетепот̄ωшт̄ ап̄

ἄπεποῦ φρη, οὔτε τφε, οὔτε πпоз εῶσταῖ. πρεψαπш  
пепχαι πῆен.

Πεχαψ ἦχε ιγναδιос. же οὔτοз пп пе εῶπαοτωшт ἄφρη.  
φαг етшоп жеп οὔсхпиа. οὔтоз етшокисѳе ἰтепесѳесис.  
φнетριоти ἄπεψμομ ἐῶл жеп откерос. οὔтоз еψῖ ἄмоу  
ἰккерос.

Επαοτωшт ἄмоу ἦаш ἦρη†. φнете шаре пезотшп. шожел  
ἰотснот ἐпρωῖ етогмот† ἐроу жателѳнпот же еклѳис.  
φнет ἄмоп шжом ἄмоу епез ἐшп† ἰтеψтазис пем теψеп-  
ерсῖа пара пѳωш ἰтеφнет аѳѳаміоу οὔтоз етогтазсарп  
пау ἐѳохи ἐπεψμωг† паг тпрот гашшемо пе етѳтсис  
ἰ†меѳпот† ἰшототшшт пас ἄмататс.

Тфе де оп. апаοτωшт ἄмос ἦаш ἦρη† гωс пот†. етρωῖс  
ἄмоу ἰотшпш ἰсоп гител шѳнп. ѳаг ἔта песреѳсшпт  
форш ἐῶл ἄφρη† ἰоткамара οὔтоз аѳтаχрос ἄφρη†  
ἰотскпнп.

Επαοτωшт де оп ἄппоз ἦаш ἦρη†. фаг етхожел οὔтоз  
етмер οὔтоз етѳпо ἰжωψ ἰппаѳос ешадерешпп ἰотшпш  
ἰсоп.

Ἄλλα екшω ἄмос. же сше еотшшт ἄμωот εῶѳе потшпш  
етѳершот. паг сахи отшпг ап пе.

Ета потаншотртос гар † ἄпототшпш ἐρωот ап еѳрот отшшт  
ἄμωот гωс пот† ἄλλα еѳрот еротшпш ἐпρωшп οὔтоз  
еѳрот †агаῖ ἰпшкарпос еѳрот ѳоз жеп поткерос οὔтоз ἰсе-  
маг пезоот ἰотшпш пем пезωрг.

Нсшот де оп етатѳашот ἰгашпшпш еѳрот ерстменп ἰпкк-  
рос пем шшп† ἰпсснот οὔтоз еѳрот шшп ἰгаш пшпш ἰпнет  
шѳнр жеп ѳшом.

Шмоп глш отп жеп паг ἰшотшшт ἄμωот гωс пот†. οὔτε  
пшωот φнет отмот† ἐроу же поснзашп.

Οὔτε пшхрωм фаг ἐтетепмот† ἐроу же нѳестос.

Οὔτε пшнр фаг ἐтетепмот† ἐроу же нра. οὔτε пшкарῖ фаг  
ἐтетепмот† ἐроу же дшпгпнр.

Отъе пикарпос. паг тирот кап исхе етаѳамιωот ἐπταρο  
ἐрату λπεωνῆς ραпреѳуиѳт не отоз ραπαψυχон не.

VIII. Διερотω ἦχε τραпанос. же ὑπικος пак исхен шорп. же  
ἦθος петактасѳе ѳапатолн ἐшттемшемши ἦппотоѳ.

Нм гар еѳнасωтем ἐпаг сахг паг ἐβολεγитотк ἦтеѳштем  
εραѳпагѳт ἐппотоѳ.

Пежаѳ ἦχε ιсπαδιос. же отоз еѳѳе от кхонт. ω потро. же  
тепѳсѳω ἐшттемотωшт ἦпнете сше ап еотωшт ἡμωот алла  
еотωшт ἡѳѳт ἡмнн отоз етопῆς ѳреѳсωпт ἦтѳе нем пкагг  
отоз ѳреѳсωотпоз ἦρωῆ пѳен ῥατηн ἡпатотшопи.

Отоз пецмопотеннс ἦшнри пепотс инс пхс. ѳаг гар не псωотп  
ἡмнн ἡмататѳ. отоз ѳотωпг ἐβολ ἦтепешшемши. етѳериωот  
ῥеп ρап тогма ἡмнн етотонг ἐβολ.

Ἐορισκία же ἦθος ἦтепеглнпос ἐтепаше песпотѳ отаѳпотоѳ  
те. отоз смотек ἦсозг ἡмос же сшоѳт отоз стахрнотт  
ап. отоз созг ἐратс ἐжен глг ἦρωῆ еѳтотхнотт ап.

Ἐсѳω гар ἐтеппотсарωс сорем ката петсῥнотт.

Еппашттепротс гар ἡаш ἦриѳ. соп меп схωἡмос же ἡῆ  
ἦпотоѳ етшоп ἐжен птирѳ. соп он же ζ. ке соп же β. ке  
соп же τ. соп же стаото ἦрапннш ἦпотоѳ ἡмон рап ἡмон  
нпг ἐρωот.

Стаото же он ἦрапхпхѳо нем ρапченеалогῖα ρапсон же он  
сеотωшт ἦппаѳос ἦтептепкωотг ρωс потѳ. отоз птепкωотг  
ἦгнмерос ἡмататот ап. алла пкеагргос он.

Соп же он пшшнп. отоз шя ἐῥнн ἡпшшн нем пἡхωἡ  
ἡпатерпаратисѳе еотωшт ἡμωот нем пшпомѳтлгз ἡппа  
ἦтеѳпезг.

Наг же тирот. пм не еѳпашпѳг ἡмоѳ. ге ἦтеѳѳот ἦгнт ἐхωот.  
маллон же пм не еѳнасωῆг ἦсωот ап. ге еѳпаргмг ап  
ἐρωот.

Пѳриѳ гар ἦпнет аѳфорхот ἐβολ. еаѳхѳωот ἐβολῥеп отпорнн.  
ешатмети ἐρωгг пѳен же потгωт не. ῥеп пхпѳерот ерат-  
сотек потгωт етаѳхѳоот. ѳаг не ἡѳриѳт ἦпнет аѳмети

ἡγραμνιϣ ἡραп. же ραппοτ̄т не џеп пхп̄п̄орот ρεи ἐβολ̄џеп  
псотеп ф̄т̄ ἡμни ἡματатϣ φᾱε̄те ἡμοп теϣарϣи от̄џе  
жок.

Δϣεροτ̄ω ἡχε τραпαпос отор पेжаϣ. же от̄кети ф̄пашϣаг ап џа  
теκмет̄џасӣнт. κω̄ωи γар ἡ̄сωп џеп от̄мет̄ρο̄то εϣот̄ωϣ  
ἐ̄џро ἐ̄роп џеп ρапсаж ӣкоте.

Δρῑο̄тсiа же от̄п ф̄пот̄ ἡп̄п̄от̄т̄ сер̄ωшп γар ἐ̄рок ἡχε п̄нет  
ак̄хотот̄ ἐ̄џот̄п̄ ἐ̄ррап. џеп от̄мет̄ф̄ло̄ларос. ε̄шωп џе ϣ̄па̄ер-  
от̄сiа ап. ф̄па̄ерко̄ла̄зп̄п ἡ̄мок. отор ἐ̄п̄џа̄е̄ ἡ̄тат̄нӣκ ἡ̄п̄-  
о̄н̄рӣоп.

Пежаϣ ἡχε ῑгна̄џӣос. же џа̄ о̄п̄ат̄ κ̄т̄ро̄т̄ џеп п̄са̄ж. κ̄ж̄ок  
ἐ̄хол̄ ап ἡ̄п̄ῡρ̄η̄нот̄ӣ е̄теκωш ἡ̄μω̄т̄.

Δпок γар, апок от̄ϣ̄р̄н̄с̄тiапос ф̄па̄ер̄от̄сiа ап ἡ̄п̄п̄от̄т̄ ἡ̄п̄-  
п̄н̄роп. а̄л̄ла̄ а̄п̄а̄от̄ωш̄т̄ ἡ̄ф̄т̄ ἡ̄га̄џос. ф̄ӣω̄т̄ ἡ̄п̄а̄о̄с̄ ἡ̄н̄с̄ п̄ϣ̄с̄  
ф̄нет̄ аϣεροτ̄ωп̄ӣ ἐ̄рог џеп ф̄от̄ωп̄ӣ ἡ̄п̄εϣ̄ε̄μ̄ӣ. ф̄нет̄ аϣот̄ωп̄  
ἡ̄п̄а̄џа̄л̄ ε̄ор̄п̄а̄т̄ ἐ̄п̄εϣ̄ф̄ӣрӣ. фа̄г пе е̄т̄ϣ̄ε̄μ̄ш̄п̄ ἡ̄моϣ. отор  
ε̄г̄т̄ω̄т̄ паϣ. ἡ̄о̄ῡγ γар џеп от̄ме̄џнӣ пе ф̄т̄. отор п̄о̄с̄ отор  
п̄от̄ро. отор п̄ит̄п̄а̄тос ἡ̄маτатϣ.

IX. Пехе трапαпос. же ф̄па̄рок̄ок̄ ρ̄ӣџеп п̄х̄λ̄о̄ж ἡ̄β̄ε̄п̄п̄ӣ.  
ак̄ш̄те̄м̄ е̄р̄ме̄та̄п̄о̄п̄.

Пежаϣ ἡχε ῑгна̄џӣос. же от̄п̄ε̄о̄п̄а̄п̄εϣ̄ те ф̄ме̄та̄п̄о̄ӣа̄ ω̄ п̄от̄ро  
ἡ̄п̄п̄ε̄о̄п̄а̄котот̄ ἐ̄хол̄џеп̄ п̄п̄ε̄τ̄ρο̄т̄ ἐ̄џот̄п̄ ἐ̄п̄п̄ε̄о̄п̄а̄п̄εϣ̄. п̄ӣ  
џе ε̄о̄п̄а̄котот̄ ἐ̄хол̄џеп̄ п̄п̄ε̄о̄п̄а̄п̄εϣ̄ ἐ̄џот̄п̄ ἐ̄п̄п̄ε̄τ̄ρο̄т̄  
сер̄ω̄т̄ӣ ἐ̄п̄рап.

От̄ п̄ε̄т̄ε̄с̄ш̄е̄ пе ἐ̄џо̄ж̄ ἡ̄са̄ п̄ε̄т̄сот̄п̄ отор̄ п̄ε̄т̄џа̄ӣω̄т̄ ап ἡ̄моп  
ρ̄л̄г̄ сот̄п̄ е̄т̄ме̄т̄ε̄с̄ε̄н̄с̄.

Пежаϣ ἡχε трапαпос. же ρ̄ω̄ж̄ ἡ̄т̄εϣ̄џӣс̄ӣ отор̄ ἡ̄т̄ε̄т̄ε̄п̄ж̄ос̄ паϣ.  
же с̄ω̄те̄м̄ ἡ̄са̄ п̄а̄т̄то̄κ̄ρᾱт̄ω̄р̄ отор̄ ἡ̄т̄ε̄к̄ε̄р̄ε̄т̄сiа ἡ̄п̄п̄от̄т̄  
ка̄та̄ п̄а̄о̄г̄ма̄ ἡ̄т̄с̄т̄п̄κ̄л̄ӣтос̄.

Пежаϣ ἡχε ῑгна̄џӣос. же апок̄ ф̄ε̄ρ̄ро̄т̄ џа̄т̄рӣ ἡ̄п̄а̄о̄г̄ма̄ ἡ̄ф̄т̄  
ε̄т̄ж̄ω̄ἡ̄мо̄с̄. же ἡ̄п̄от̄ϣ̄ωп̄ӣ п̄ак̄ ἡ̄χε ρаппοτ̄т̄ ἡ̄ϣ̄ε̄μ̄мо̄ ἐ̄н̄η̄л̄  
ἐ̄рог.

Отор̄ же ф̄ӣε̄о̄п̄а̄ш̄ε̄μ̄ш̄п̄ ἡ̄рап̄ ке̄ п̄от̄т̄ ἡ̄ϣ̄ε̄μ̄мо̄ е̄т̄εϣ̄от̄ϣ̄ ἐ̄хол̄.



Τησωтем απ ησα φστηκλнтос нем поτρο. еротасагнн пнн  
еерпарапомпн.

Πημοσ τар ητε φ̄τ̄ жω λμοσ же ηπεκσг про ηотатпаствнс  
δεν прап. отор он же ηπεксемнн ηтотк нем отμнш̄ εхен  
тоткака.

Πεχαγ ηхе трапанос. же жωш̄ ηотрмот̄ нем отремж̄ εхен  
пешшаш̄.

Πεχε ιπαδιос. же δισι пннен еонашопн пнн. еоше φомολог̄α  
εтσг̄ εδотп̄ εφ̄т̄. сеωωот̄т̄ пнн εδотп̄ ηпн̄εχε. от̄г̄ еоотаη  
пн̄макт̄р τар ηтепаиснот̄ ηтеφ̄пот̄. семша ап λпшот̄ ео-  
паδωрп̄ пап̄ ε̄ηол̄ ката φрн̄т̄ етсδнот̄т̄.

Πεχαγ ηхе трапанос. же φρωμг маасо̄ ерок̄ λμαтатк̄ лопон̄  
ηтеκггг̄ ηпн̄етотарсагнн̄ λμωт̄ пап̄. еш̄ωп̄ λмон̄ φпаерχра-  
сое̄ пап̄ ηрап̄ ке васапос̄ етρωот̄ ероте̄ пап̄.

Πεχαγ ηхе ιπαδιос̄ же. пнм̄ еонафорхтеп̄ саηол̄ ηфагалӣ  
ηтеφ̄т̄.

Отрохрех̄ пе. је от̄ тартро̄ је отроко. је от̄ηωш̄. је от̄к̄т̄п̄а-  
пос. је от̄снцг̄.

Πарнт̄ же онт̄ оп. же от̄де̄ φмот̄ от̄де̄ пωп̄δ. λмон̄ глг̄  
пащфорхтеп̄ саηол̄ ηфагалӣ ηтеφ̄т̄ нем̄ φмететсеηнс̄  
εгтажрнот̄т̄ εхен̄ тжом̄ λпχ̄с.

Πεχαγ ηхе трапанос. же екметӣ есро̄ ерог̄ ε̄ηол̄ггг̄теп̄ текмет-  
γαῑ δα δисι пннен. пурωμг τар̄ от̄зωп̄ пе̄ λмагсро.

Πεχαγ ηхе ιπαδιос. еиметӣ ап̄ λμαтатг̄. алла̄ φпаг̄т̄ δен̄  
отмеомнн. же δен̄ от̄сро̄ агсро. отор̄ φпасро.

Πεχαγ ηхе трапанос. же алгтг̄ ηтетептахре̄ ηεγсалатх̄ εхен̄  
отше. отор̄ ηтетепггг̄т̄ епш̄т̄ек̄о̄ етсаδотп̄ отор̄ ηтетеп-  
штем̄ χᾱ глг̄ па̄т̄ ерог̄ отор̄ ηсештем̄ χаг̄ есе̄ мωот̄ от̄де̄  
еотем̄ ωк̄ η̄т̄ ηεροот̄ нем̄ т̄ ηεжωрр̄. же̄ гпа̄ ηтатнц̄  
ηп̄θнргоп̄ менепса̄ пап̄ отор̄ паггн̄т̄ ηтеφ̄ωрх̄ ε̄ηол̄  
λпагωп̄δ.

Δсеротω̄ ηхе̄ φστηκλнтос. же̄ апон̄ он̄ тиреп̄ теперст̄менӣ  
ηтеγаноφасис̄. ацшошен̄ τар̄ тиреп̄ нем̄ па̄т̄тократωр̄ отор̄

ἡπεγεραπεχεσθε εερωτσια ἡπιποτφ ἀλλὰ ἀγερομολοτην κε  
ἀποκ οτχρηστιαποσ.

Πεχαϋ ἦχε ιγπαδιος. κε γμαρωοττ ἦχε φφ φωτ ἡπαδ̄ε ἡν̄ς  
πχ̄ς φ̄νιет ἀγατ ἡεμπша ζεν τεμμεθαγαθос εὐπαϋωс  
εεριοκωπ̄ηп̄ еп̄ῑκατ̄η ἡτεπεϋχ̄ς̄ πεϋμεпгг ἡшири оτορ  
ἡπισтос ἡμεορε ἡτε τεμметποτφ.

X. Οτορ ζεν πμαρ τ̄ ἡεροот а τραπαποσ μοτφ ἐφ̄επ̄тп̄κλ̄ηтос  
пем п̄префектос. оτορ ат̄ӣ ἐп̄т̄еат̄роп̄. εа π̄г̄ап̄μοс т̄ӣг̄у  
ἡτεп̄ӯω̄меос θωοτφ ἐροϋ. п̄еаτ̄с̄ω̄т̄еμ т̄а̄р̄ п̄е ке п̄ӣе̄п̄с̄к̄о-  
п̄ос ἡтеφ̄ετ̄р̄ӣа паτ̄ п̄ем п̄θ̄ηриоп̄.

Οτορ ζεν π̄χ̄п̄θ̄εϋϋ οταρсагп̄ ἦχε ποτρο ат̄ӣп̄ ἡπεоотаϋ  
ιγπαδιос. оτορ етаϋпаτ̄ ἐροϋ πεχαϋ паϋ. κε ἀποκ φ̄εϋ-  
ϋφ̄ӣри ке ет̄ӣ коп̄с̄ мен̄еп̄са паг̄ в̄асап̄ос т̄ӣроτ̄ п̄ем п̄г̄око  
п̄ем п̄п̄ӣг̄.

Ἀλλὰ καп̄ φ̄п̄от̄ с̄ω̄т̄еμ ἡс̄ωп̄ ρ̄п̄а еχ̄п̄аеϋ ἐβολ̄ ἐпаг̄ ζ̄ӣг̄  
т̄ӣроτ̄ ет̄χ̄ӣ паκ̄ ἐз̄р̄ӣг̄. оτορ ἡт̄ек̄щ̄ωп̄ӣ пап̄ ἡшири.

Πεχαϋ ἦχε ιγπαδιος. κε παμεт̄ӣ ке отоп̄ от̄морφ̄ӣ ἡρωп̄ӣ  
ἡз̄ӣт̄к̄ п̄е. φ̄п̄от̄ ζ̄е т̄ек̄т̄п̄ωп̄ӣ соп̄ӣ ἡθ̄ап̄т̄е̄п̄ω̄т̄ӣ.

Са̄во̄л̄ м̄еп̄ кер̄ко̄ла̄к̄ет̄ӣп̄ ἡμοг̄ ζ̄ен̄ ρ̄ап̄саχ̄ӣ. кер̄еπ̄ӣθ̄о̄т̄л̄ет̄ӣп̄  
ζ̄е ἐροι ζ̄ен̄ ρ̄ап̄саχ̄ӣ ет̄ρ̄ӣп̄.

Н̄ек̄саχ̄ӣ ρ̄ап̄саχ̄ӣ ἡмаг̄ρωп̄ӣ п̄е п̄ек̄мет̄ӣ ἡмоп̄ ρ̄л̄ӣ ἡот̄жаг̄  
ἡз̄ӣт̄от̄.

С̄ω̄т̄еμ ἐροι κε φ̄п̄от̄ ζ̄ен̄ от̄па̄р̄р̄ӣс̄ӣа. ἀποκ φ̄ωп̄ ап̄ ἐп̄т̄ӣг̄у  
ἡпа̄ωп̄ӣс̄ ἡреϋμοτ̄ оτορ ἡреϋтако е̄θ̄е ἡн̄с̄ π̄χ̄с̄ па̄с̄т̄  
φ̄аг̄ е̄т̄мег̄ ἡмоϋ оτορ е̄л̄а̄ш̄ӣ ἡс̄ωϋ оτορ е̄ӣг̄л̄ ἐ̄рат̄ϋ. ἡθ̄оϋ  
т̄а̄р̄ п̄е п̄ω̄ӣк̄ ἡт̄̄ме̄θ̄а̄θ̄ом̄от̄ оτορ от̄с̄ω̄от̄ӣ п̄е ἡт̄еп̄ωп̄ӣс̄  
ἡп̄е̄реϋ. оτορ ἀποκ ἀποκ φ̄ωϋ т̄ӣрт̄ оτορ а̄г̄φ̄ω̄ρ̄ϋ ἡпа̄мет̄ӣ  
т̄ӣг̄у па̄ρ̄г̄аϋ. е̄θ̄е φ̄аг̄ φ̄ε̄рка̄та̄φ̄роп̄ӣп̄ ἡп̄ек̄в̄асап̄ос т̄ӣроτ̄  
оτορ φ̄т̄ас̄θ̄о̄ ἐβολ̄ ἡп̄ек̄та̄г̄о.

Πεχαϋ ἦχε τραπαποσ. κε еп̄г̄ап̄ γ̄μ̄п̄ӣ ἐβολ̄ζ̄ен̄ τεμмет̄с̄а̄с̄г̄ӣт̄  
соп̄г̄ϋ ἡт̄ет̄еп̄χ̄ω̄ ἐβολ̄ ἐχ̄ωϋ ἡμοт̄ӣ ē. ρ̄п̄а ἡт̄ещ̄т̄еμ ρ̄л̄ӣ  
с̄ω̄ж̄п̄ ἐβολ̄ζ̄ен̄ п̄еϋс̄ω̄ма.

Ғ̄ен̄ п̄χ̄п̄θ̄εϋϋ паτ̄ ζ̄е ἦχε п̄ма̄ка̄риос ιγπαδιос ἐп̄ῑμοт̄ӣ ē.

ετηνοτ ἐξωφ. αφωψ ἐβολ παρρεп πζανμοc тирφ еφζω  
 μμοc.

Нирωμг нирωμεοc ннетерφεωρпн мпаδτωп μφοοτ арнмг пωтн  
 же ешщоп нпаг ζιcι ан ἐжеп отпразгс есζωοτ еαгагс алла  
 ешщоп μμωοτ ἐжеп φμεтетсеѣнc.

Алок отсото вар нтефѣ. отог етпапотт μμοг гптеп пеппазгг  
 нпагѣнрпюп. же гппа нташщпн нотωпк еφтотѣнотт.

Наг δε етаφσοомот нже трапаноc аφершфнрг μμαшщ. отог  
 пезащ же отпшѣт те тгтпмомпн нпнеѣпазѣт ἐпχ̄c. пм жеп  
 пѣарѣвароc ге пеллнпос еѣпаерапехесѣе ешщоп нпаг ζιcι  
 ἐжеп пегпотѣт паг ета фаз ергтпмомеппн ерωοτ еѣѣе пнет-  
 еφѣнт нрнт ἐζωοτ.

Пезащ нже гпаζагос. же фа отжом нрωμг ан пе ω потро алла  
 шеротот нрнт μμαтатг пем ппазѣт етсωк пап μп̄οc  
 нѣонѣοc.

Наг δε етаφχотот. аѣѣоѣгг ἐζωφ нже пмомг. отог жеп пжп-  
 ѣрот г ἐζωφ. отаг са паг са μμοφ отог ке отаг са фаз са.  
 аѣѣоѣгг μμαтатг μп̄οѣо δε ептнрф епегсаргг еѣотаѣ.  
 же гппа нте пегсωма шщпн нотфтлактнрпюп нѣпшѣт μп̄ο-  
 лгс ρωμн.

Ѧаг он ета петроc жωк ἐβολ нѣнтс гптеп отстатроc. отог  
 патлоc етатшщот ἐβολ нтеφпазѣт. пем онснмоc.

XI. Аѣтωпгг δε нже трапаноc. ешщоп жеп отпшѣт ншфнрг.  
 Етг δε еφплнссе отог еφершфнрг. аѣпн паг нгапсѣаг еѣолзгтеп  
 пглнпос секотптос пгнтсēmωп еφерстмепнн паг μпашщаг  
 нпнет атермарттроc пем пнрнѣт етотѣт μμωοτ μμαтатот  
 етотг μфмоτ аѣпне готѣт ѣа ппазѣт пем фомологга етѣг  
 еѣѣотпн епχ̄c.

Отог же μмоп глг μпразгс есζωοτ ѣатеп пхрнстнаноc  
 мѣтѣт фаз μμαтатг же сеергтμпос епχ̄c гωс потѣт  
 μфпат нгапатоотг μμнпн пем роггг.

Ннѣωтеѣ δε пем пметпωпк пем пкепаранома μпагнрнѣт сетас-  
 ѣнотг еѣолѣатеп пхрнстнаноc ероте ρωμг пѣен отог  
 потгѣнотг тнрот сешщоп жеп отаколотѣа.

Наг δε εταρεμι ερωот ηχε τραγανος εβολριτεп нисѣαι ητεпли-  
 пιος отоз егри љфмети ηπαποлогια ητε пмакариос гпа-  
 диос. ηθοϋ γαρ пе εταρεп етρη љпљлаѣ ѣеп пιατων ητε  
 пмарттрос мписнот етеммат.

Агтωχι ηотрогма εβολ љпагриѣ же пххристианос меп  
 маротѣотѣет ηсωот. атшанотωпг εβολ εштемерколагп  
 љμωот.

Агеркелетп δε еѣе псωма љпмакариос гпадиос εште-  
 ерколп љфнеѣпаотωщ еѣомсϋ.

Ниснот δε етѣеп рωми пай εтаρεѣαι шарωот еϋχω љмос  
 же а тетеншанерколп љмои емот ѣа пхс тетенпаϋотт  
 еѣрелпс еѣхотшт εβολ ѣахωс.

Атси љпегсωма отоз атхаϋ ѣеп пма ешпатѣωотѣ ероϋ  
 етсмот еѣѣ пем пегхрс ехеп пхωк εβολ љфнеѣотаѣ  
 ηепископос отоз љмарттрос ητε пхс фѣ. отсωит γαρ еѣпа-  
 пег пе перфмети љпизкеос.

XII. Јерепнеос δε пепископос ηлоттгдпос еϋсωотп ηѣмарттриа  
 љпмакариос. гермеѣре ѣароϋ ѣеп пегешстоли еϋχω љмос  
 љпагриѣ.

Же а отаг ѣеп пнетп ерон хос. еатрпг епгп љфмот етпг  
 ηпѣнрион еѣе фомологиа етси еѣотп епхс же апок  
 отсото ηте фѣ отоз етпатпг. етпапотт љмои ѣеп пеп-  
 пахри ηпѣнрион гпа ηтащωпп ηотωпк еϋтотѣнотт.

Полпкарпос δε он. еϋои ηепископос еѣеккѣлсга етѣеп смтрга  
 гпг љфмети ηпай. еϋсѣаг ηпѣлпппоис. еϋχω љмос љпагриѣ.

Же фѣго еρωтеп есωтем. отоз еераскп еѣпшѣ ηшоттагос  
 ηотпомонп. ета петепѣал пат ерос.

От моноп ѣеп пмакариос гпадиос пем ротѣос пем зωсгмос.  
 Алла пем гапкехωотп епащωот пай εтащωпп εβολѣеп-  
 ѣнпот.

Отоз он ѣеп ппшѣ патлос пем пнет атпагѣ тпрот εβολ-  
 рптотϋ.

Наг δε тпрот гапапостолос пе отоз гапмарттрос пе. тенѣт  
 ηгнт ехеп пай тпрот же етатѣохи ан ката отшотпт алла



Ш фнет аґеокы ёболзеи пеппои мпикосмос. еаґфорзѣ ёбол  
 мпгагаболос.

Ш птепнеос паѡлнтис. писофос помологитис фнет аґерагѡпи-  
 зесѡе зеп о[т]меѡми зеп пстазион ите фмететсебис  
 аґшѡпи мпшотзас ммон рли тепѡон ёроґ.

Алнѡс акѡро зеп отметѡри ѡ пмтстагѡтос еѡтаѡ фрег-  
 фсѡ ите пгаотма еѡтаѡ ите фороозоґа.

Акґас зеп пексѡма зеп отжом паѡѡл ёбол ипшѡлз ите  
 пхс.

Акѣшпи итраганос нем фстпгялнтос. нем ткеротсиа ипирѡ-  
 меос пагrent.

Акерремпи мфѣ пилотос инс пхс пепсѡтир зеп фпагѣ нем  
 фагали ите пѡпс.

Арифмети мпекшири нрѡп рпа апок рѡ итаг ёболзеи паг  
 бис зеп оттоѡѡ отог исеопт немак. ита мпша ёпиѡпс  
 ишотершфйри ммоґ. отог исежемт. еио иремге ёбол га  
 ѡмерис ипнет атоѡи ёбол га фѣ.

Алнѡс иѡок отмакарис ѡ паѡт ппазис же етакоѡтеѡ  
 ёбол зеп отѡот.

Ш прарма мписл нем пегрѡппетс.

Акфѡт итотґ мфмоѡ отог акѡшк ипнет ерепѡхли. отог  
 етѡершо мпекжoi.

Ак.....пи ёѡтп ёплтмип пагшѡортер. акеркатафроши  
 мпикари,

Акѡл ёрри ёпифноѡи.

Отоґ зеп пжнѡрек ѡро зеп ппшѣ пагѡп еѡрапаґ мфѣ  
 акерфорпи пхлом паѡлѡп итотґ мпхс.

Ари памети са фнет акшапѡшѣ ѡ пмакарис ппазис фмар-  
 ттрос мпхс. итекоѡпрк пи ёбол отог итекѣсѡ пи  
 катафрнѣ етекири ммос ишорп.

V.

ARABIC EXTRACTS  
FROM  
IGNATIAN LETTERS.

EDITED BY W. WRIGHT, LL.D.

The Arabic text of these extracts has been edited by Möisinger (*Suppl. Corp. Ignat.* p. 13 sq.) from the MS *Vatic. Arab.* 101. He also gives various readings from other Vatican MSS.

An Ethiopic translation from the Arabic is edited by Dillmann in Cureton's *Corp. Ignat.* p. 257 sq. It is somewhat amplified.

The following text is taken from the Paris MS, *Bibl. Nat. Supplément* 51, f. 12 b, here designated P. The notes give the principal variants of Möisinger's text (M). All the MSS are very incorrect in point of grammar and diction. The Ethiopic translation is denoted by D.

An English translation is appended.



## ARABIC EXTRACTS.

وقال القديس اغناطيوس الشهيد بطريرك انطاكية وهو الثاني فيها بعد  
بطرس رئيس الكواريين في رسالته.

الله خالق الطبايع كلها هو<sup>1</sup> ظافر بطقس الطبيعة الثالث علي  
عرشها ويكوي الكل<sup>2</sup> وملؤها في احشاء العذري. ووحداية اللاهوت  
هي التي نتكلم<sup>3</sup> لأجلها ها هنا هذه التي هي في الابن وليس للاقانيم<sup>4</sup>.  
هو معلق علي الصليب ويغفر الذنوب<sup>5</sup> هو في المقبرة ويقدم الموتى  
هو خارج من المقبرة ويترك<sup>6</sup> الثياب فيها هو دخل<sup>7</sup> الي التلاميذ  
والابواب مغلقة واعطاهم<sup>8</sup> السلام. ثم الاب في الابن والابن في الاب  
والروح القدس هذه الثالث المتساوية الغير مفترقة ولا متغيرة ثلثة  
اقانيم لاهوتية واحدة ربوية واحدة جوهر واحد قوة واحدة مملكة  
واحدة ساجدة واحدة (fol. 13 a) تمجيد واحد تسبيح واحد يجب  
للتالث مجد واحد مشورة واحدة سلطان واحد عز واحد ثبات واحد

<sup>1</sup> وهو M.

<sup>2</sup> كلا M.

<sup>3</sup> تتكلم P.

<sup>4</sup> الاقانيم M.

<sup>5</sup> الخاطايا M.

<sup>6</sup> ويخلف M.

<sup>7</sup> يدخل M.

<sup>8</sup> يدفع لهم M.

فكر واحد ارادة واحدة للثالوث<sup>1</sup> المقدس. الاب هو اب وليس هو ابن  
والابن هو ابن وليس هو اب والروح القدس هو الروح القدس وليس<sup>2</sup>  
ينتقل الي الابوة ولا الي البنوة. هذا<sup>3</sup> الثالوث تام<sup>4</sup> علي عرش المجد  
الذي هم<sup>5</sup> مرتبطة بوحداية اللاهوتية الواحدة الذي هو النور الواحد  
المشرق من الثالوث ويملا كل الخليقة وينور<sup>6</sup> علي ما تحت الارض  
كما هو مكتوب اني املا السماء والارض والذين هم اسفل<sup>7</sup> للجسيم  
نظروا بمجدي<sup>8</sup>. وانت ايها القايل ان اللاهوت متألّم ومايّة نحن  
نؤمن ان المسيح الله تألم بالجسد كالانسان وهو غير متألّم كالله  
وذاق الموت بالجسد وهو غير مايّت كالله. فاذا سمعت ان الله تألم  
عنا وان الله الكلمة مات لأجلنا فافهم انا نوصل الطبايع الي وحدانية  
اللاهوت والناسوت ونسميها بهذا الاسم الواحد اللايق بالله كما انك  
انت ايضا من طبيعتين نفس وجسد وتسمّا بهذا الاسم الواحد اللايق  
بالانسان. ونفسك غير مواتة (fol. 13 b) بالطبع<sup>9</sup> ونفسك ليس هي  
لاهوت بل هي غير الجسد. والكرامة التي نشتهي ان نعطيها<sup>10</sup> لأنفسنا  
التي هي انها لا تموت كيف لا تشتهي انت ان تعطيها<sup>11</sup> لللاهوت  
الواحد الذي في الثالوث هذا الذي هو في الابن الواحد ربنا يسوع  
المسيح. اما تعلم انك اذا قلت ان اللاهوت مات فأنت قاتل

تام<sup>4</sup> P. بل هذا<sup>3</sup> M. لا<sup>2</sup> M. في الثالوث<sup>1</sup> M.

مجدي<sup>8</sup> M. والذي اسفل<sup>7</sup> M. ينورون<sup>6</sup> M. لهم<sup>6</sup> M.

تدفعها<sup>11</sup> M. ندفعها<sup>10</sup> M. طبيعي<sup>9</sup> M.

الثالوث وجسد الرب في المقبرة وصيرته مثل جثة بتمام لانه  
 جوهر واحد للثالوث<sup>1</sup> الذي هو اللاهوتية الواحدة. فاين الآن الذي  
 ظفر<sup>2</sup> بالموت وسبا<sup>3</sup> اللججيم وانت تصيره مثل واحد لا عزاء له<sup>4</sup> مع  
 الموتى ولا حركة<sup>5</sup>. لكن بالكثر قد تاجد آخرين في الثاوماخوسيين<sup>6</sup> هكذا  
 يظنوا بالجسد الذي بناه الله له من<sup>7</sup> لحم ودم العذري كما يعرف  
 هو كصانع انه جسد بلا نفس وقالوا ان اللاهوت هي نفسه. فهل  
 تري خرجت منه اللاهوتية ومات الجسد بالجملة. فليفتضح<sup>8</sup> الآن  
 من يقول هذا الكفر هكذا ويسمعوا قول الرب ان نفسي حزينه حتي  
 الي<sup>9</sup> الموت. علي من يا رب علي الشعب الذي يهلك :

والذي سبي M<sup>3</sup>. الان الظافر M<sup>2</sup>. في الثالوث M<sup>1</sup>.

وغير متحرك M<sup>6</sup>. عزاء له; but D evidently read عزاء له. So P; M has عزاء له.

و تفسيره مكرني الله M adds الله. الثاوماخوسيين M, الثاوماخوسيس P<sup>6</sup>,  
 في P<sup>7</sup>. مكاربي الله. the note on p. 29 shows that we should read الله.

الي M omits<sup>9</sup>. فليفتضح M<sup>8</sup>.

2.

وقال هذا القديس اغناطيوس الشهيد بطريرك انطاكية في رسالته  
الثالثة عشر.

(fol. 14 a) حقًا ولد المسيح حقًا نما<sup>1</sup> حقًا اكل وشرب حقًا صلب  
حقًا تألم ومات<sup>2</sup> وقبر وقام من الموت. من امن بهذا انه هكذا فهو  
مغبوط ومن ازدرى بهذا فانه غريب من الحياة المغبوطة التي  
نحن نترجها. والذين يقسمون المسيح الواحد الي طبيعتين من  
بعد الاتحاد فانهم يتكسبوا مع اليهود قاتلي الله. هؤلاء الذين قالوا  
له بنفاق ليس لأجل فعل حسن نريد نرجمك بل لأجل التجديف  
لأنك انسانا وتجعل نفسك الها. ويكونوا مع هؤلاء متساويين<sup>3</sup> هكذا  
اعني الذين يفكروا ضعفا لابن الله الكلمة الذين هم اصحاب  
الطبيعتين ✽

<sup>1</sup> This clause is not in M.

<sup>2</sup> Wanting in M.

<sup>3</sup> M ويكونون واحدا ترانت (sic) معا (sic) هؤلاء M

*The holy Ignatius, the Martyr, Patriarch of Antioch, being the second therein after Peter the chief of the Apostles, says in his Epistle :*

**G**OD, the Creator of all natures, He it is that possesseth the ordering of nature, (being) the Trinity on Its throne; and He compriseth the universe (*lit.*, the whole); and the fullness thereof (*i.e.*, of the Trinity) was in the womb of the Virgin. But the unity of the Godhead (with Manhood) is that of which we speak here, that which is in the Son, and doth not belong to the (other) Persons. He is hung upon the Cross, and forgiveth sins; He is in the grave, and raiseth up the dead; He cometh forth from the grave, and leaveth the clothes therein; He went in to His disciples while the doors were shut, and gave them (the salutation of) peace. So the Father in the Son, and the Son in the Father, and the Holy Spirit, this is the Trinity, equal, indivisible, and immutable; three Persons, one Godhead, one Lordship, one essence; one power, one kingdom, one adoration, one glorification, one praise, is due to the Trinity; one glory, one counsel, one dominion, one might, one permanence, one thought, one will, belongeth to the Holy Trinity. The Father is Father, and not Son; and the Son is Son, and not Father; and the Holy Spirit is the Holy Spirit, and changeth not unto Fatherhood nor Sonship. This Trinity is perfect on the throne of glory, being bound together by the unity of the one Godhead, which is the one light that shineth from the Trinity and filleth all creation and giveth light upon that which is beneath the earth, as it is written: *Behold I fill the heavens and the earth, and they that are in the depth of hell look upon my glory.* But as for thee that sayest that the Godhead suffered and died, we believe that the Christ God suffered in body as a man, while he is impassible as God; and that he tasted death in the body, while he is undying as God. Therefore, when thou hearest that God suffered for us, and that God the Word died on our behalf, understand that we join the Natures into a unity of Godhead and Manhood, and name them by this one name which beseemeth God, just as thou thyself art likewise (made up) of two natures, soul and body, and named by this one name which beseemeth man. And thy soul is immortal by nature, but thy soul is not Deity, yet is different from the body. And the honour which we desire to give unto our souls, namely that they die not, how dost thou not desire to give it to the one Godhead which is in the Trinity, that which is in the only (begotten) Son our Lord Jesus

Christ? Dost thou not know that, when thou sayest that the Godhead died, thou slayest the Trinity and the body of the Lord in the grave, and makest it utterly like a dead body? because to the Trinity (belongeth) one essence, which is the one Divinity. Where then now is He that conquered Death and led Hell captive? since thou makest him like one that hath no power<sup>1</sup> along with the dead, and no motion. Nay more, thou mayest find others among the Theomachi, who think thus of the body which God framed for Him of the flesh and blood of the Virgin, as He knoweth (how) as a maker, that it was a body without a soul, and they say that the Godhead was its soul. Dost thou think then that the Godhead went out of it, and the body died altogether? Let them be put to shame now who thus speak this blasphemy, and let them hear the word of the Lord, *Verily my soul is sorrowful even unto death.* For whom, O Lord? For the people that perisheth.

*And this holy Ignatius, the Martyr, Patriarch of Antioch, says in his thirteenth Epistle:*

CHRIST was really born, He really grew up, He really ate and drank, He was really crucified, He really suffered and died and was buried and rose from the dead. Whosoever believeth this that it is so, is blessed; and whosoever despiseth this, is a stranger to the blessed life, which we hope for. And they who divide the one Christ into two Natures after the union, shall be reckoned with the Jews, the murderers of God. These are they who said to Him with hypocrisy, *We wish not to stone thee because of a good work, but because of blasphemy, because thou art a man and makest thyself a God.* And thus shall they be equal unto these, I mean those who think that there is weakness in the Son of God, the Word, who are the holders of the two Natures (the Dyophysites).

<sup>1</sup> Reading عز with D, which has *za-'albōtū khayl*.

VI.

PRAYER OF HERO.

## I. LAUS HERONIS.

The Latin Version of the 'Prayer of Hero,' which in the MSS is found appended to the Latin translation of the Ignatian Epistles in the Long Recension. It was first printed by Baronius (*Ann. Eccl.* sub ann. 110) from a Vatican MS which Zahn (p. 297) would identify with *Palat.* 150; but see Funk II. p. xl sq. Ussher (*Ign. et Polyc. Ep.* p. 191) likewise printed it, making use (besides the edition of Baronius) of three MSS, *Magd.* 78, *Ball.* 229, and *Petav.*, from which also he gave various readings (*Ign. et Polyc. Mart.* p. 131 sq). Much later Dressel (*Patr. Apost.* p. xxi) edited it from *Reg.* 81 and *Palat.* 150. It has since been edited by Zahn, Funk, and Lagarde together with the Latin Epistles to which it is attached. I have only given the various readings where they are of interest.

## II. THE PRAYER IN GREEK.

In this attempt at a restoration of the original, I have chiefly followed the Coptic Version (see II. p. 364 sq), which is printed at length above (p. 297) and is somewhat fuller than the Latin. At the same time I have sought assistance from the Latin, more especially in determining the form of the sentences.



I.

LAUS HERONIS.

Sacerdos et assessor sapientissime Dei, Ignati, immaculata stola indute, perenni fonte saturate, cum angelis laudem canens, primogeniti certe amice, a peccatis liberate, a diabolo separate : agonista constitutus in stadio veritatis, adquisisti pretiosam  
 5 salutem ; confudisti Traianum et senatum Romae, prudentiam tunc non habentem ; domesticus factus es Christo in dilectione et fide et vita. Memor esto mei, filii tui Heronis, ut et ego de hac vita exiens sancte sanctis connumerer et dignum nomen merear adipisci et de iniusta statione atque a Deo aliena extra-  
 10 neus inveniari. Ter quaterque beate, qui ad talia pervenisti, pater Ignati, currus Israel et equester eius ; evasisti mortem fugiendo, et de terris ad caelestia evolasti ; coronam deificam et magnam meruisti et in amabili Dei agone vicisti. Memento eius, quem nutristi, beate martyr, et praesta mihi colloquium, sicuti et  
 15 prius faciebas.

1. *assessor*] Reg., Pet., with the Coptic ; *assertor* cet.

*sapientissime*] Zahn's conj., and so the Coptic ; *sapientissimi* MSS.

11. *equester*] Pal., Magd. ; *auriga* cet. (from the Vulg. of 2 Kings ii. 12, xiii. 14).

2.

Εὐχὴ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἡρωνοῦ ὃς διεδέξατο τὸν μακάριον Ἰγνάτιον  
 τὸν Θεοφόρον.

Ἱερεῦ καὶ παραστάτα Θεοῦ, Ἰγνάτιε σοφέ, στολὴν ἄσπιλον ἐνδεδυμένε, ἐκ πηγῆς ἀενάου πεπληρωμένε, συν-εορταστὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων, οἰκέιε ὄντως τοῦ πρωτοτόκου, ὃν ἐδήλωσεν τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὃν ἐξέρύσατο ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν

τοῦ κόσμου, ἀποχωρίσας τοῦ διαβόλου· ἀθλητὰ γενναίε, ὁμολογητὰ σοφέ, ὁ ἀγωνίσας ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ τῆς εὐσεβείας, ὁ ἀπολαβὼν τὴν ἀσύγκριτον σωτηρίαν· ἀληθῶς ἐνίκησας ἐν ἰσχύϊ, ὃ μυσταγωγῆ ἱερέ, διδάσκαλε τῶν δογματῶν τῆς ἀληθείας· ἐβάστασας ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐν δυνάμει ἀκαταλύτῳ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐδυσώπησας τὸν Τραϊανὸν [καὶ τὸν σύγκλητον] μετὰ τῆς γερουσίας τῆς ἀνοήτου τῶν Ῥωμαίων· οἰκέϊος ἐγένου τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ τῆς ζωῆς.

Μνήσθητι τοῦ παιδός σου Ἡρῶνος, ἵνα καὶ γὰρ ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ βίου τούτου ἅγιος ἀγίοις συναριθμηθῶ, ἀξιωθεὶς τῆς ἀγαστῆς ζωῆς, καὶ εὐρεθῶ μακρὰν τῆς μερίδος τῶν ἀποστάντων ἀπὸ Θεοῦ.

Ἀληθῶς εἶ μακάριος, πάτερ Ἰγνάτιε, ὅτι μετωκίσθης ἐν δόξῃ, ἄρμα Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἰππεὺς αὐτοῦ· ἐξέφυγες ἐκ θανάτου καὶ ἐξέλευσας τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας καὶ ἐκταράττοντας τὴν σὴν ναῦν, [ἐφορμίσας] εἰς τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἀόχλητον· καταφρονήσας τῆς γῆς, ἀπῆλθες εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν· καὶ ἐν τῷ νικῆσαί σε ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀγῶνι τῷ εὐαρέστῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπήνεγκας τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἄθλου ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ.

Μνήσθητι ἐμοῦ ὃν ἐξέθρεψας, Ἰγνάτιε μακάριε, μάρτυς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ φανέρωσόν μοι σεαυτὸν καὶ δίδασκέ με, καθὼς καὶ ἐποίησας τὸ πρότερον.

S. POLYCARP.



## THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP.

### I.

THE Epistle of Polycarp was written in reply to a communication from the Philippians. They had invited him to address words of exhortation to them (§ 3); they had requested him to forward by his own messenger the letter which they had addressed to the Syrian Church (§ 13); and they had asked him to send them any epistles of Ignatius which he might have in his hands (*ib.*).

This epistle is intimately connected with the letters and martyrdom of Ignatius himself. The Philippians had recently welcomed and escorted on their way certain saints who were in bonds (§ 1). From a later notice in the epistle it appears that Ignatius was one of these (§ 9). Two others besides are mentioned by name, Zosimus and Rufus (*ib.*). As these persons are not named elsewhere by any trustworthy authority in connexion with the history of Ignatius, and as some such mention of them in the epistles of Ignatius himself would probably have been found if they had formed part of his company, when those epistles were written, it may be supposed that they joined him afterwards at Philippi. A not improbable conjecture makes them Bithynian Christians who had been sent by Pliny to Rome to be tried there (see the note on § 9). In this case they would be placed under the same escort with Ignatius at Philippi, and proceed with him to Rome in the custody of the 'ten leopards' (Ign. *Rom.* 5). It is clear that Ignatius—probably by word of mouth—had given to the Philippians the same injunction which he gave to the churches generally (*Philad.* 10, *Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 7), that they should send letters, and (where possible) representatives also, to exhort the Church of Antioch

and to congratulate it on the restoration of peace. Hence the request of the Philippians, seconded by Ignatius himself, that Polycarp would forward their letter to Syria. It is plain likewise, that they had heard, either from Ignatius himself or from those about him, of the epistles which he had addressed to the Churches of Asia Minor, more especially to Smyrna. Hence their further petition that Polycarp would send them such of these letters as were in his possession. The visit of Ignatius had been recent—so recent indeed, that Polycarp, though he assumes that the saint has suffered martyrdom, is yet without any certain knowledge of the fact. He therefore asks the Philippians, who are some stages nearer to Rome than Smyrna, to communicate to him any information which they may have received respecting the saint and his companions (see the notes on § 13 ‘de ipso Ignatio,’ etc.).

Beyond these references to Ignatius there is not much of personal matter in the letter. Polycarp refers, as he could hardly help referring, to S. Paul’s communications with the Philippians, both written and oral (§§ 3, 11). He mentions more especially the fame of the Philippian Church in the primitive days of the Gospel, and he congratulates them on sustaining their early reputation (§§ 1, 11). Incidentally he states that the Philippians were converted to the Gospel before the Smyrnæans (§ 11)—a statement which entirely accords with the notices of the two churches in the New Testament.

The fair fame of the Philippian Church however had been sullied by the sin of one unworthy couple. Valens and his wife—the Ananias and Sapphira of the Philippian community—had been guilty of some act of greed, perhaps of fraud and dishonesty. Valens was one of their presbyters, and thus the church was more directly responsible for his crime. Polycarp expresses himself much grieved at this incident. He trusts that the offenders may repent, but deprecates too great severity in their treatment. Though the incident itself is only mentioned in one passage, it has plainly made a deep impression on Polycarp. The sin of avarice is denounced again and again in the body of the letter (see the note on § 4).

The letter is sent by the hand of one Crescens, who had approved himself by his conduct during his residence at Smyrna. The sister of Crescens also, who purposes visiting Philippi, is commended to them (§ 14).

## 2.

The following is an *Analysis* of the epistle :

‘POLYCARP and his presbyters to the CHURCH OF PHILIPPI, mercy and peace.’

‘I rejoiced to hear how you welcomed and escorted the saints in their fetters. You have fitly sustained your old reputation. Seeing not, ye believe, and are saved by grace (§ 1). Be diligent therefore. Remember that Christ will come in power to judge all mankind. Ye shall then be raised with Him, if ye abstain from all sin, and requite not evil with evil. The kingdom of heaven is promised to the poor and the persecuted (§ 2). I should not have written thus, if ye had not invited me. I cannot tread in the footsteps of the blessed Paul, who taught you both by word of mouth and by letter. His letters will edify you in faith, love, and hope (§ 3).’

‘Love of money is the root of all evil. Walk in righteousness yourselves. Teach your wives to cherish their husbands, to be kindly to all, and to train up their children in piety. Let the widows be sober-minded, remembering that they are God’s altar, and that their offerings are scanned by His all-seeing eye (§ 4). Let the deacons also be blameless and follow Him who was the chief deacon. Let the younger men likewise bridle themselves and restrain their lusts. No profligate person shall inherit the kingdom. Let them also render obedience to the presbyters and deacons (§ 5). The presbyters themselves must be pitiful and tender towards the weak and helpless, not wrathful, but forgiving as they hope to be forgiven. We all shall stand before the judgement seat of Christ. Avoid false and hypocritical brethren (§ 6). To deny Jesus Christ, to reject the testimony of the cross, to pervert God’s oracles—these are the works of Antichrist, of Satan. Let us avoid such and cling to the doctrine once delivered, praying God to keep us from temptation (§ 7). Let us hold fast to Jesus Christ, who is our righteousness and our redemption. Let us take Him for our pattern and imitate His patience amidst suffering (§ 8). You have seen bright examples of such patient endurance in Ignatius, Zosimus, and Rufus, yea in Paul himself and the other Apostles. They have received their reward, for they loved not the present world (§ 9). Be steadfast in the faith, and kindly one to another. Give no occasion to the heathen to blaspheme (§ 10).’

‘I am much grieved about your presbyter Valens. Beware of avarice, which is idolatry. The covetous man therefore is judged as a heathen. I cannot suppose you guilty of such sin—you whom the blessed Paul commendeth. May God grant repentance to Valens and his wife; and do ye deal gently with them, treating them as erring members (§ 11). The Scriptures warn us against excess of wrath and severity. Remember this.’

‘May God the Father, and the eternal High Priest, Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and gentleness and patience and purity; and may He give you your lot and portion among the saints—you and all who believe in His resurrection. Pray for all men. Pray for kings and rulers. Pray for your persecutors (§ 12).’

‘I will do as I was requested by you and by Ignatius. I will see that your letter is conveyed to Syria. I send you herewith the letters addressed by Ignatius to us, with others, as ye requested me. Read them for your edification. Send me the latest news of Ignatius and his companions (§ 13).’

‘I send this letter by the hand of Crescens, who will approve himself to you, as he has to us, by his conduct. I commend to you his sister also, who will pay you a visit. Farewell in Christ (§ 14).’

## 3.

The authorities for the text are as follows.

## (i) GREEK MANUSCRIPTS (G).

Where there is no variation in the MSS, the existing form of the Greek text is given as G. Where variations occur, the several MSS are designated by the letters attached to them in the following list.

1. *Vaticanus* 859 (v).
2. *Ottobonianus* 348 (o).
3. *Florentinus Laur.* vii. 21 (f).
4. *Parisiensis Graec.* 937 (p).
5. *Casanatensis* G. v. 14 (c).
6. *Theatinus* (t).
7. *Neapolitanus Mus. Nat.* II. A. 17 (n).
8. *Salmasianus* (s).
9. *Andrius* (a).



All these nine MSS belong to the same family, as appears from the fact that the Epistle of Polycarp runs on continuously into the Epistle of Barnabas without any break, ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τὸν λαὸν τὸν κενὸν (καινὸν) κ.τ.λ.; the mutilated ending of Polycarp § 9 ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ being followed by the mutilated beginning of Barnabas § 5 τὸν λαὸν τὸν καινὸν κ.τ.λ. Within this family however the MSS fall into two subdivisions: (1) *vopf*, all MSS in which the Epistle of Polycarp is attached to the pseudo-Ignatian letters; and (2) *ctna* (to which we may probably add *s*), where it stands alone. In the first subdivision, *opf* have no independent authority, being derived directly or indirectly from *v*, and their readings are only given for the sake of exhibiting the connexion. Of the two subdivisions the former is slightly superior to the latter.

## (ii) LATIN VERSION (L).

The character of this version has been considered already. In the earlier part of the epistle it is sometimes useful for correcting the text of the extant Greek MSS; for, though very loose and paraphrastic, it was made from an older form of the Greek than these. But the two are closely allied, as appears from the fact that this version is always found in connexion with the Latin of the pseudo-Ignatian letters and seems to have been translated from the same volume which contained them. For the latter part of the epistle, from § 10 onward, it is the sole authority; with the exception of portions of § 12, which are preserved in Syriac in passages of Timotheus and Severus or elsewhere, and nearly the whole of § 13, which is given by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*. On this account a reference to individual MSS of the Latin Version is sometimes necessary. The MSS of which collations have been made for this part either by myself or by others are:

1. *Reginensis* 81 (r).
2. *Trecensis* 412 (t).
3. *Parisiensis* 1639, formerly *Colbertinus* 1039 (c).
4. *Bruxellensis* 5510 (b).
5. *Oxon. Balliolensis* 229 (o).
6. *Palatinus* 150 (p).
7. *Florentinus Laur.* xxiii. 20 (f).
8. *Vindobonensis* 1068 (v).
9. *Oxon. Magdalenensis* 78 (m).

The collations of *rp* are taken from Dressel; the other MSS, *tcbofum*, I collated myself for this portion. Mere variations of spelling and

obvious clerical errors are not recorded. It did not seem necessary to give the readings of the other two Brussels mss, which I collated for this part, as they so closely resemble *Bruxellensis* 5510. One reading however of *Bruxellensis* 703 is mentioned in § 13, on account of its interest, though of no authoritative value.

It will have been seen that, so far as regards the Greek and Latin mss, the Epistle of Polycarp is closely connected with the Long Recension of the Ignatian Epistles. This fact, if it had stood by itself, would have thrown some discredit on the integrity of the text. It might have been suspected that the same hand which interpolated the Ignatian Epistles had tampered with this also. From the point of view of internal evidence, I have already disposed of this suspicion in the general introduction, when discussing the genuineness of the Epistle of Polycarp. As regards external evidence, the quotations of Eusebius, Timotheus, and Severus, with the other Syriac fragments, are a highly important testimony. They show that, wherever we have opportunity of testing the text of the Greek and Latin copies, its general integrity is vindicated.

## 4.

The earliest *printed text* of the Epistle of Polycarp was the Latin Version, included by J. Faber Stapulensis with his edition of the Ignatian Letters according to the Long Recension (A.D. 1498). This was reprinted several times. The Latin Version was also included in the *Micropresbyticon* (Basil. 1550) and elsewhere. It is not known what ms or mss Faber Stapulensis used.

The Greek text was first published by P. Halloix in his *Illustrium Ecclesiae Orientalis Scriptorum...Primo Christi Saeculo...Vitae et Documenta* 1. p. 525 sq (Duaci 1633). Before this however Fr. Turrianus 'longe prolixiorem [Polycarpi epistolam] illa [i. e. Latina], quae habetur typis excusa, apud se Graece esse scriptam, cum viveret, testatus est,' as we learn from Baronius (*Martyrol. Roman.* Jan. 26). The copy of Turrianus, like all the known Greek mss, contained the Epistles of Polycarp and Barnabas attached together; and hence he fell into the error of supposing that he possessed this epistle in a much longer form than the Latin.

The sources of the text of Halloix were twofold, as he himself states; (1) 'Ex ipsius jam laudati Turriani apographo eam [epistolam] ante plurimos annos Romae descripsit noster Jacobus Sirmondus, atque

illud ipsum exemplar tunc a se descriptum nuper ad me misit; (2) ego cum altero exemplari Andreae Schotti collatum jam nunc in lucem emitto.' Halloix mentions at the same time on the authority of a letter from Louis Crésol that there were two other mss at Rome resembling these; one in the Vatican Library, the other then in the possession of the Duke Altemps, but formerly of Card. Colonna; but he did not make any use of them. These are identified with *Vatic.* 859 (v) and *Ottob.* 348 (o) respectively. Halloix was not misled like Turrianus, but saw where the Epistle of Polycarp ended, and printed it accordingly.

A few years later (A.D. 1644) Ussher also printed the Greek text of this epistle in the same volume with his Ignatius. His own words will best explain whence he derived his text; 'Duas hasce imperfectas Polycarpi et Barnabae epistolas, ex Andreae Schotti apographo sua manu descriptas, vir clarissimus Claudius Salmasius...Isaaco Vossio...tradidit' (Ussher's *Judic. de Barnaba*, reprinted in Cotelier *Patr. Apost.* i. p. 12, ed. Cleric. 1724; see also Voss *Epist. Ignat.* p. 309, Amstel. 1646). This transcript, he informs us (*Polyc. et Ignat. Epist.* p. 1, Oxon. 1644), he used for his text of Polycarp, comparing it with the edition of Halloix. Thus the only Greek authority accessible to him was one of those already employed by his predecessor. He made use however of three Latin mss, *Balliol.* 229, *Magdal.* 78, and *Petav.*

There is every reason to think that these two Greek copies—that of Turrianus, and that of Andrew Schott (the latter transcribed by Saumaise and thus transmitted through I. Voss to Ussher)—were closely allied to each other, and probably derived from the same ms. They evidently belonged, as Zahn has pointed out, to the same family with *ten.* Gebhardt (*Patr. Apost.* i. ii. p. xxii) goes a step farther and without hesitation identifies the common source of these transcripts with our *Casana-tensis*. If this be so, the transcripts must have been carelessly made; e.g. § 5 *πρὸς πάντα προνοοῦντες* for *πρὸ παντὸς προνοοῦντες*. Moreover Young in Ussher (p. 4) gives as readings of the ms (apparently meaning Ussher's *Salmasianus*) § 3 *προσεπηλακίσατε* and § 5 *δίλογοι*, whereas *c* has *προεπηλακίσασθε* and *δίγλωσσοι*. Ussher seems to have transcribed the text of Halloix, but he corrects the readings of his predecessor in his notes.

After Ussher's edition nothing was done for the text of Polycarp until quite recent times. The Epistle to the Philippians appeared in the editions of the *Patres Apostolici*, by Cotelier, Leclerc, Russel, and others; but no new authorities were collated. It was also published in Lemoyne's *Varia Sacra* i. p. 1 sq (ed. 1, 1685) and in Routh's *Script. Eccles. Opusc.* i. p. 1 sq (ed. 1, 1832). But Lemoyne, though he had

in his possession a transcript of the Florentine ms (f), appears to have made no use whatever of it, but to have copied the text of Halloix; and Routh satisfied himself with culling a reading or two from the Latin ms (*Magdal.* 78) which was at hand in his own College Library.

With the present generation a new epoch began. First Jacobson for his *Patres Apostolici* (ed. 1, 1838) collated the Greek mss *Laur.* vii. 21 (f) and *Paris.* 937 (p) and the Latin ms *Laur.* xxiii. 20 (f). Then Dressel added still more largely to the materials for a text, collating the four Greek mss *Vatic.* 859 (v), *Ottob.* 348 (o), *Casan.* G. v. 14 (c), *Barber.* 7 (b), and the two Latin mss *Palat.* 150 (p) and *Reg.* 81 (r), all six at Rome, besides recollating in the more important passages, either himself or through his friends, the Florentine Greek ms *Laur.* vii. 21 (f). These aids he used for his own edition (ed. 1, 1857). The materials thus collected were employed with greater effect by Zahn (1876), who produced a better text of this epistle than any existing heretofore. After Zahn's text was in type, Gebhardt communicated to him a collation of *Neapol.* II. A. 17 (n), which he had procured; and Zahn accordingly gives the most important of these readings in his preface (p. 270), but they were not received in time to be available for his text and critical apparatus. The subsequent text of Funk (*Patr. Apost.* 1878) follows on the same lines with Zahn. There is not indeed much scope for improvement, or even for variation, where the materials belong so exclusively to the same family. Of the collations and recollations which I have made for the present edition, mention has been made already in the general introduction.

The portions extant only in the Latin Version were retranslated into Greek by Zahn for his edition. Funk adopted Zahn's Greek with a few emendations (p. 277). Some years before Zahn's edition appeared, I had myself retranslated these portions into Greek, and this retranslation I now publish. It is entirely independent of Zahn's; and for this reason the very general agreement of the two may perhaps be accepted as a presumption that they fairly represent the original of Polycarp.

Since the appearance of my first edition, this epistle has been twice edited, by Volkmar (*Epistula Polycarpi Smyrnaei Genuina*, Zürich, 1885) and by Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschr. f. Wissen. Theol.* xxix. p. 180 sq, 1886). Neither editor has used any new materials for the text<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hilgenfeld remarks on the great differences in the various readings as given by Funk and by myself. If we may judge by his collation, this remark applies al-

most solely to the Latin ms f. He has not observed that Funk's f (see *Echtheit* etc. p. 150) is my c (*Paris. Colbertinus* 1039) and that my f is a wholly different ms.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΣΙΟΥΣ.

ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικουσίᾳ Φιλίππους· ἔλεος

ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΣΙΟΥΣ] τοῦ ἁγίου πολυκάρπου ἐπισκόπου σμύρνης καὶ ιερομάρτυρος πρὸς φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολή G; *incipit epistola beati polycarpi smirnaeorum ecclesiae episcopi ad philippenses confirmantis fidem eorum* L (with variations). 2 Φιλίππους] v; φιλιπποις ο (?) fp\* (but -πους p\*\*) ctua; dub. L.

‘POLYCARP and the elders who are with him, to the CHURCH OF PHILIPPI, mercy and peace from God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.’

1. οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.] Polycarp evidently writes here as a bishop (ἐπίσκοπος) in the later and fuller sense of the title, surrounded by his council of presbyters; and he is so styled in Ign. *Magn.* 15, *Smyrn.* 12, *Polyc.* inscr. Similarly Arsenius, writing to Athanasius, commences Ἀρσένιος ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ποτε ὑπὸ Μελίτιον τῆς Ὑψηλιῶν πόλεως ἅμα πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις, Athan. *Apol. c. Arian.* 69 (*Op.* i. p. 146). To this mode of address Theodore of Mopsuestia on Phil. i. 1 alludes, τὸ σὺν ἐπισκόποις λέγει, οὐχ ὡς τινες ἐνόμισαν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς σὺν πρεσβυτέροις γράφειν εἰώθαμεν (Cramer's *Catena* p. 232); for the context seems to require σὺν πρεσβυτέροις (see *Philippians* p. 96 sq), though Swete (*Theod. Mops. Comm.* i. p. 200) prefers to retain *συμπρεσβυτέροις*.

The opening of this epistle is taken, with minor changes, from the

beginning of the letter of Clement of Rome, from which also Polycarp borrows freely in other parts.

2. παροικουσία Φιλίππους] ‘so-journing in Philippi’; comp. Clem. Rom. 1 Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικουσα Ῥώμην τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικουσίᾳ Κόρινθον. For the idea of the expression, as denoting that the Christians are aliens in this world, see the note there. The verb has the accusative, as here, in Clem. Rom. *l. c.*, *Mart. Polyc.* 1, Dionys. Cor. in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23 (comp. Isocr. *Paneg.* p. 74 D Ἐλλήνες τὴν Ἀσίαν παροικοῦσιν). Another possible construction would be παροικεῖν ἐν, as in *Mart. Polyc.* 1, *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* 1 (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1). But the simple dative Φιλίππους, though adopted by some editors, is out of place here, since παροικεῖν τιμὴ signifies ‘to dwell by the side of’, ‘to be neighbour to’, ‘to border upon’, as in Thucyd. i. 71, iii. 93, Plut. *Mor.* p. 4 A.

ἔλεος κ.τ.λ.] For this form of salutation see the note on Ign. *Smyrn.* 12.

ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ Θεοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πληθυνθείη.

I. Συνεχάρην ὑμῖν μεγάλως ἐν Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, δεξαμένοις τὰ μιμήματα τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης καὶ προπέμψασιν, ὡς ἐπέβαλεν ὑμῖν, τοὺς ἐνειλημένους τοῖς ἀγιοπρεπέσιν δεσμοῖς, ἅτινά ἐστιν διαδήματα τῶν ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐκλελεγμένων καὶ ὅτι ἡ βεβαία τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν ρίζα, ἐξ ἀρχαίων

1 ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν c. Ἰησοῦ] txt vofp L; præf. κυρίου cstna. 3 Κυρίῳ] ctna; τῷ κυρίῳ vofp. 4 δεξαμένοις] G; suscipiens (δεξάμενος) [L]. 5 ἐπέβαλεν] frcstn; ἐπέβαλεν voa; decuit L. ἐνειλημένους] pc; implicati sunt L; ἐνειλημμένους vofna; ἐνειλημμένοις t. 6 ἀγιοπρεπέσιν] vo; ἀγιοπρεπέσι tfrna. ἐστιν] vo; ἐστι fRNA. 8 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν p. ἀρχαίων] ἀρχέ-

I. 'I rejoiced to hear that ye received and escorted on their way the saintly followers of Christ, whose fetters are their diadems; and that the root of your faith, famous from the beginning, still bears fruit unto Jesus Christ, who died and was raised again for us; in whom, though ye never saw Him, ye believe with joy unspeakable, being saved by grace and not by works.'

3. Συνεχάρην] Comp. Phil. iv. 10 ἐχάρην δὲ ἐν Κυρίῳ μεγάλως ὅτι κ.τ.λ. with Phil. ii. 17 χαίρω καὶ συχαίρω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν. The reminiscences of S. Paul's Epistle addressed to the same church are numerous, besides one direct reference to it (§ 3). See the analogous cases of Clement writing to the Corinthians and of Ignatius to the Ephesians.

4. δεξαμένοις κ.τ.λ.] 'since ye welcomed those copies of the true Love'. The reference is doubtless to Ignatius and his companions, to whom the Philippians showed attention when halting there on their way to Rome; see below §§ 9, 13. Comp. *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 5.

τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης] They were

imitators of Christ who is the true Love. This mode of expression seems to have been characteristic of the Asiatic school of S. John: e.g. Papias in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39 ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας. This type of phraseology would be suggested by S. John himself; e.g. John xiv. 6, 1 Joh. iv. 8, 16.

5. προπέμψασιν] 'escorted them in their journey'; comp. Acts xv. 3 προπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, and so frequently in the New Testament. It was a common act of brotherly courtesy in the early Church.

ἐπέβαλεν] 'it pertained to you', 'it was your part', as e.g. Luke xv. 12 τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας.

ἐνειλημένους] 'entwined,' as e.g. Plut. *Vit. Brut.* 45 ἐνειλουμένον...τοῖς ὄπλοις, Philostr. *Her.* p. 314 ἐνειληθῆναι τῷ λεοντῇ, Artemid. *Oneir.* i. 54 ἐν τῇ χλαμύδι τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνειλημένην ἔχει, Dion. Chrys. *Or.* xxiii. (p. 513) σπαργάνοις ἐνειλούντας. It is strange therefore that the editors generally should have read ἐνειλημμένους, and still more strange that Ussher should have substituted ἐνειλημμένους for ἐνειλημένους in his table of *corri-*

καταγγελλομένη χρόνων, μέχρι νῦν διαμένει καὶ καρπο-  
 10 φορεῖ εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ὃς ὑπέ-  
 μεινεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἕως θανάτου κατανα-  
 τῆσαι, ὃν ἤγειρεν ὁ Θεὸς λύσας τὰς ὠδίνους τοῦ  
 ᾄδου· εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε χαρᾷ ἀνεκλα-  
 λήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ εἰς ἣν πολλοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν  
 15 εἰσελθεῖν, εἰδότες ὅτι χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι, οὐκ  
 ἐξ ἔργων, ἀλλὰ θελήματι Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ων p. 13 ᾄδου] θανάτου p alone (with Acts ii. 24). [ιδόντες] εἰδότες a.  
 πιστεύετε] txt G; add. πιστεύοντες δὲ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε edd. (not Zahn) after Halloix,  
 from 1 Pet. i. 8. So also add. *credentes auiem gaudebitis* (ἀγαλλιάσασθε) L.  
 ἀνεκλαλήτῳ] ἀνεκλαλείτω (-τῳ) vo. 14 πολλοὶ] πολλὰ c.

*genita*; for ἔλλαμβάνεσθαι is a some-  
 what rare word and unsuitable here.  
 Zahn unnecessarily substitutes ἐνει-  
 λιγμένους.

6. ἀγιοπρεπέσω] See the note on  
 Clem. Rom. 13, where the word oc-  
 curs.

διαδήματα] *'the diadems'*, the sym-  
 bols of royalty, since εἰ ὑπομένομεν,  
 καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ (2 Tim. ii.  
 12, quoted below, § 5); comp. *Clem.*  
*Hom.* xiii. 20 ἀλήθειαν εὖρες, τὸ διά-  
 δημα τῆς αἰδίου βασιλείας. See also  
 Ign. *Ephes.* 11 τὰ δεσμὰ περιφέρω,  
 τοὺς πνευματικοὺς μαργαρίτας, with the  
 note.

8. καὶ ὅτι] A somewhat awk-  
 ward construction which recurs  
 several times in this epistle §§ 2, [4],  
 5, [9].

ἐξ ἀρχαίων κ.τ.λ.] *'from primitive  
 times'*. The ἀρχαῖοι χρόνοι are the  
 earliest days of the Gospel; comp.  
 Acts xv. 7 ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων, xxi. 16  
 ἀρχαίῳ μαθητῇ. Such a good report  
 of the Philippians we have in Phil.  
 iv. 15 ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου κ.τ.λ.  
 For the expression comp. Rom. i. 8  
 ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν καταγγέλλεται ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ  
 κόσμῳ.

9. καρποφορεῖ] See Col. i. 6, which

passage Polycarp perhaps had in his  
 mind.

12. ὃν ἤγειρεν κ.τ.λ.] An inexact  
 quotation from Acts ii. 24 ὃν ὁ Θεὸς  
 ἀνέστησεν λύσας τὰς ὠδίνους τοῦ θανάτου,  
 where the expression ὠδίνους θανάτου  
 is derived from the LXX, 2 Sam.  
 xxii. 6, Ps. xviii (xvii). 5, cxvi (cxiv).  
 3, ὠδίνους being a mistranslation of  
 the ambiguous Hebrew יָרַבַּח, which  
 differently vocalized means 'pains' or  
 'fettlers'. It is especially appropriate  
 however in this case, where death is  
 the portal of life; see Ign. *Rom.* 6.  
 The expression ὠδίνους ᾄδου also oc-  
 curs, Ps. xviii (xvii). 6.

13. εἰς ὃν κ.τ.λ.] A loose quota-  
 tion from 1 Pet. i. 8 ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες  
 ἀγαπᾶτε, εἰς ὃν ἄρτι μὴ ὀρώντες, πισ-  
 τεύοντες δέ, ἀγαλλιᾶσθε χαρᾷ ἀνεκ-  
 λαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ.

14. εἰς ἣν πολλοὶ κ.τ.λ.] Probably  
 an adaptation of the words in the  
 immediate context of the passage  
 just quoted, 1 Pet. i. 12 εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυ-  
 μοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι. It would  
 be suggested by Matt. xiii. 17, Luke  
 x. 24.

15. εἰδότες ὅτι] *'knowing, being  
 assured, that'*. Polycarp seems to  
 use this as a form of quotation. In

II. ΔΙΟ ΑΝΑΖΩΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΑΣ ΟΣΦΥΑΣ ΔΟΥΛΕΥ-  
 CΑΤΕ Τῷ ΘΕῷ ΕΝ ΦΟΒῶ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ, ΑΠΟΛΙΠΟΝΤΕΣ  
 ΤΗΝ ΚΕΝΗΝ ΜΑΤΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΤῶΝ ΠΟΛΛῶΝ ΠΛΑΝΗΝ,  
 ΠΙΣΤΕΥCΑΝΤΕC ΕΙC ΤΟΝ ΕΓΕΙΡΑΝΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΝ ΗΜῶΝ  
 ἸΗΣΟΥΝ ΧΡΙCΤΟΝ ΕΚ ΝΕΚΡῶΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΝΤΑ ΑΥΤῷ ΔΟΞΑΝ 5  
 ΚΑΙ ΘΡΟΝΟΝ ΕΚ ΔΕΞΙῶΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ᾧ ὑΠΕΤΑΓΗ ΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ  
 ΕΠΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΓΕΙΑ, ᾧ ΠΑCΑ ΠΝΟΗ ΛΑΤΡΕΥΕΙ, ὅC  
 ἔΡΧΕΤΑΙ ΚΡΙΤΗC ΖΩΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΚΡῶΝ, Οὔ Τὸ ΑἶΜΑ  
 ΕΚΖΗΤΗΣΕΙ Ὁ ΘεὸC ἀΠὸ τῶν ἀπειθούντων αὐτῷ. Ὁ δέ

1 τὰς ὀσφύας] txt tcna; add. ὑμῶν vofp; add. *vestros* L. 2 ἀπολι-  
 πόντες] ἀπολείποντες vofp (all paroxytone, as an aorist, so that it is a mere ita-  
 cism). 5 δόξαν, καὶ θρόνον] θρόνον καὶ δόξαν fp alone. 6 ὑπε-  
 τάγη] ὑπετελή t (Dressel, but the contraction of ὑπετάγη would closely resemble  
 ὑπετελή). 7 λατρεύει] v; *servit* (v. l. *deservit*) L; λατρεύσει oftca;

§ 4 it introduces words from 1 Tim. vi. 7; in § 5, from Gal. vi. 7. In the fourth and only remaining passage in which it occurs, § 6 εἰδότες ὅτι πάντες ὀφείλεται ἐσμεν ἁμαρτίας, the words thus introduced do not occur in any Canonical book, but may have been taken from some writing of the Apostles or their immediate successors no longer extant. In point of expression they rise above the ordinary level of Polycarp's own language.

χάριτι κ.τ.λ.] A broken quotation from Ephes. ii. 5, 8, 9.

II. 'Therefore be strenuous. Serve God and forsake all vain and erroneous teaching. Believe on Him who raised Jesus Christ to be the judge of quick and dead, subjecting all things to Him. He will raise us also, if we obey His commandments and remember the warnings of Christ who bade us do as we would be done by and promised the kingdom of heaven to those who follow after righteousness.'

I. Διὸ ἀναζωσάμενοι κ.τ.λ.] From

1 Pet. i. 13; comp. Ephes. vi. 14, Is. xi. 5. See the note on Clem. Rom. 57 κάμψαντες κ.τ.λ.

δουλεύσατε κ.τ.λ.] The words δουλεύσατε... ἐν φόβῳ are taken from Ps. ii. 11. The expression ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ occurs in Clem. Rom. 19.

3. ματαιολογίαν] The word occurs in 1 Tim. i. 6, and the corresponding adjective ματαιολόγος in Tit. i. 10. It is not improbable that Polycarp is here quoting Clem. Rom. 9 ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιοπονίαν κ.τ.λ. (see the note there). If so we should perhaps read ματαιοπονίαν here.

τῶν πολλῶν] See the note on the parallel passage § 7 ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν πολλῶν.

4. πιστεύσαντες κ.τ.λ.] 1 Pet. i. 21 τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς [v. l. πιστευόντας] εἰς Θεὸν τὸν ἐγειράντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα (comp. Ephes. i. 20). The addition καὶ θρόνον is perhaps suggested by Clem. Rom. 59 (65) δόξα...θρόνος αἰώνιος. So just above (see the note on δουλεύσατε κ.τ.λ.) an expression from Clement is appended to a scriptural



10 ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγερεῖ, εἰάν ποι-  
 ὠμεν αὐτοῦ τὸ θέλημα καὶ πορευόμεθα ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν ἃ ἠγάπησεν, ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης  
 ἀδικίας, πλεονεξίας, φιλαργυρίας, καταλαλιᾶς, ψευδο-  
 μαρτυρίας· μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἢ  
 15 λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας ἢ γρόνθον ἀντὶ γρόνθου ἢ  
 κατάραν ἀντὶ κατάρας, μνημονεύοντες δὲ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ  
 Κύριος διδάσκων· μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· ἀφί-  
 ετε, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν· ἐλεᾶτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε·

λατρεση p. 11 πορευόμεθα] vo (as I read o) fa; πορευόμεθα pctn. 15 λοι-  
 δορίαν] λοιδορίαν vo. λοιδορίας] λοιδορίας vo. 16 μνημονεύοντες] G. The  
 older edd. have μνημονεύσαντες after Halloix, but there is no authority for it.  
 ὧν] dn ca. 17 διδάσκων] διδάσκων (sic) t. 18 ἐλεᾶτε] vofpntn; ἐλεεῖτε a.  
 In cs the words ἐλεᾶτε...ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν are omitted by homœoteleuton.

quotation.

6.  $\bar{\omega}$  ὑπετάγη κ.τ.λ.] A combi-  
 nation of 1 Cor. xv. 28 ὅταν δὲ ὑποταγῇ  
 αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, or Phil. iii. 21 ὑποτάξαι  
 αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, with Phil. ii. 10 πᾶν  
 γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ  
 καταχθονίων.

7. πᾶσα πνοή] 'every living  
 thing', as in 1 Kings xv. 29, Ps. cl.  
 6, Is. lvii. 16.

8. κριτῆς κ.τ.λ.] Acts x. 42. See  
 the note on [Clem. Rom.] ii. 1.

τὸ αἶμα ἐκζητήσει] A not uncom-  
 mon biblical phrase; Gen. xlii. 22,  
 2 Sam. iv. 11, Ezek. iii. 18, 20, xxxiii.  
 6, 8, Luke xi. 50, 51.

9. ὁ δὲ ἐγείρας κ.τ.λ.] A loose  
 quotation from 2 Cor. iv. 14 ὁ ἐγείρας  
 τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σὺν Ἰησοῦ  
 ἐγερεῖ; comp. 1 Cor. vi. 14, Rom.  
 viii. 11.

14. μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κ.τ.λ.] From  
 1 Pet. iii. 9.

15. γρόνθον κ.τ.λ.] 'blow for blow',  
 properly 'fist for fist'; a word found  
 chiefly in grammarians and scholiasts,  
 who give it as an equivalent to πνυγμή,  
 κόνδυλος; see the note of Hemster-

huis on Lucian. *Contempl.* 2 (I. p.  
 491). So Moeris p. 208 (Bekker)  
 πύξ Ἀττικοί, γρόνθος Ἕλληνες. In  
 Judges iii. 16, Aquila and Symma-  
 chus have γρόνθου παλαιστιαίου, where  
 the LXX render σπιθαμῆς.

16. μνημονεύοντες δὲ κ.τ.λ.] Comp.  
 Acts xx. 35 μνημονεῖν τῶν λόγων τοῦ  
 Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅτι εἶπεν κ.τ.λ. Clement  
 (I. c.) introduces the same sayings,  
 which are here quoted by Polycarp,  
 in a similar way, μάλιστα μεμνημένοι  
 τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οὐς ἐλά-  
 λησεν.

17. μὴ κρίνετε κ.τ.λ.] The first  
 and fourth sentences, μὴ κρίνετε κ.τ.λ.  
 and  $\bar{\omega}$  μέτρω κ.τ.λ., occur in the  
 canonical Gospels, Matt. viii. 1, 2,  
 Luke vi. 36—38. The second and  
 third, ἀφίετε κ.τ.λ. and ἐλεᾶτε κ.τ.λ.,  
 do not occur there, but are found in  
 Clem. Rom. 13, whence probably  
 Polycarp derived them: see the note  
 there.

18. ἐλεᾶτε] This form occurs in  
 the best MSS in Rom. ix. 16, and  
 appears as a various reading in Rom.  
 ix. 18, Jude 22. These are the only

ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν· καὶ ὅτι μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι ἀγτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ.

III. Ταῦτα, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἔμαυτῷ ἐπιτρέψας  
 γραῖφω ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς προ- 5  
 επεκαλέσασθέ με. οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ οὔτε ἄλλος ὅμοιος  
 ἐμοὶ δύναται κατακολουθῆσαι τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου  
 καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου, ὃς γενόμενος ἐν ὑμῖν κατὰ πρόσω-

1 ᾧ] G; *qua enim* L. The older edd. have ἐν ᾧ (as in Matt. vii. 2). ἀντι-  
 μετρηθήσεται] ἀντιμετρηθήσεται tn. 2 πτωχοὶ] G; add. *spiritu* L from  
 Matt. v. 3. 3 τοῦ Θεοῦ] G; *caelorum* L. In ο τῶν οὐράνων is written  
 first and corrected to τοῦ θεοῦ. 5 προεπεκαλέσασθέ με] Halloix; *provocastis*

passages in the N. T. which afford an opportunity of weighing the respective authorities for the forms ἐλεεῖν and ἐλεᾶν.

2. μακάριοι] From Matt. v. 3, 10; but in omitting τῷ πνεύματι Polycarp follows Luke vi. 20, as also in substituting τοῦ Θεοῦ for τῶν οὐράνων: comp. Clem. Hom. xv. 5 ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν πιστοὺς πένητας ἐμακάρισεν. In selecting these two beatitudes Polycarp is guided by the fact that to these two alone the promise of the kingdom of heaven is attached.

III. 'I write these things, not of my own motion, but in answer to your invitation. I am not equal to the blessed Paul who taught you both in person and by letter. From his letters you may learn to build yourself up in faith, hope, and love. Faith is the mother of us all; Love leads the way, and Hope follows. Observing these ye will fulfil the commandment. Whosoever has love is far from sin.'

4. οὐκ ἔμαυτῷ ἐπιτρέψας] 'not giving way to myself', 'not following my own inclination', according to the ordinary sense which attaches

to ἐπιτρέπειν τι.

5. προεπεκαλέσασθε] See the introduction, p. 315. The conjectural reading of Zahn, *προεπελακτίσασθε*, 'ye spurred me on', is ingenious; but as neither *προεπιλακτίσειν* nor even *ἐπιλακτίσειν* occurs elsewhere, and as the middle voice is out of place in this verb, we are obliged to fall back on the simpler and better supported reading *προεπεκαλέσασθε*.

7. κατακολουθῆσαι] 'to follow close upon', 'to tread in the footsteps of', as in Luke xxiii. 55, Acts xvi. 17.

τῇ σοφίᾳ] So 2 Pet. iii. 15 Παῦλος κατὰ τὴν δοθείσαν αὐτῷ σοφίαν κ.τ.λ.

τοῦ μακαρίου] So again § 11, and in Clem. Rom. 47 this epithet is applied to S. Paul. It is however in no way peculiar to him, being used of Ignatius and others (§ 9) and of Polycarp himself (*Mart. Polyc.* I, 19, 21, 22, *Iren. Ep. ad Florin.* in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20). See the note on Clem. Rom. I. c.

8. κατὰ πρόσωπον] 'in presence of', opposed to ἀπὸν in the next sentence; comp. 2 Cor. x. 1 ὃς κατὰ πρόσωπον μὲν ταπεινὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀπὸν δὲ θαρρῶ εἰς ὑμᾶς.

πον τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐδίδαξεν ἀκριβῶς καὶ βεβαίως  
 10 τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον, ὃς καὶ ἀπὼν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν  
 ἐπιστολάς, εἰς ἃς ἐὰν ἐγκύπτητε, δυναθήσεσθε οἰκοδο-  
 μείσθαι εἰς τὴν δοθείσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν· ἥτις ἐστὶν  
 μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν, ἐπακολουθούσης τῆς ἐλπίδος,  
 προαγούσης τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς εἰς Θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ  
 15 εἰς τὸν πλησίον. ἐὰν γάρ τις τούτων ἐντὸς ἧ, πεπλή-

L; πρὸ ἐπελακισασθέ με v; προεπελακισασθέ με o; προεπηλακισασθέ με tfrca; προσεπηλακισασθέ με s. 6 γὰρ] twice in c. 7 σοφία] σοσοφία t.

11 δυναθήσεσθε] δυναθήσεσθαι p. 12 δοθείσαν] δοθήσαν vo. ἐστίν] ἐστί t.

13 ἡμῶν] νοφτca L; ὑμῶν ns (but ?), and so some edd. 14 εἰς Θεὸν] πρὸς θεὸν p alone.

II. ἐπιστολάς] For the plural used to designate a single letter see the passages collected in *Philippians* p. 138 sq. So for instance it is used by Maximus, speaking of Polycarp's own epistle; Dion. Areop. *Or.* II. p. 93 (ed. Corder.) ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολάς ὁ αὐτὸς θεῖος Πολύκαρπος πρὸς Φιλιππίους. On the whole therefore it seems most probable that Polycarp refers solely to the extant canonical Epistle to the Philippians. He may however have assumed that the Philippians were still in possession of other letters written by the Apostle; for it is not probable that any such were actually extant when he wrote. Otherwise they would probably have been preserved. The interpretation which supposes him to include the Epistles to the Thessalonians does not commend itself. See the note on ἐπιστολάς as used below, § 13.

ἐγκύπτητε] See the note on Clem. Rom. 40.

12. εἰς] This preposition is used after οἰκοδομείσθαι in I Cor. viii. 10.

πίστιν κ.τ.λ.] We have here S. Paul's triad of Christian graces (I Cor. xiii. 13).

ἥτις κ.τ.λ.] From Gal. iv. 26 ἥτις

ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν, in which passage the insertion of πάντων in some texts may have been due to the influence of Polycarp's quotation here. Comp. *Mart. Justin. et Soc.* 4 ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἡμῶν πατὴρ ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ μήτηρ ἡ εἰς αὐτὸν πίστις, quoted by Jacobson and others.

14. προαγούσης] 'going before', in reference to ἐλπίς, not to πίστις, for πίστις precedes ἀγάπη; Ign. *Ephes.* 14 ἀρχὴ μὲν πίστις, τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη (comp. ib. § 9). The proper sequence is 'faith, love, hope', as in I Thess. i. 4, Col. i. 4, 5 (comp. Ign. *Polyc.* 6), though this order is sometimes disturbed for a special reason, as in I Cor. xiii. 13.

15. τούτων ἐντὸς ἧ] i.e. 'is occupied in these'; comp. Plut. *Vit. Hom.* 6 φανείται πάσης λογικῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ τέχνης ἐντὸς γενόμενος, Damoxenus in Athen. iii. p. 102 E πᾶς ὁ φύσεως ἐντὸς 'every student of nature', on which passage Meineke (*Fragm. Com.* IV. p. 534) quotes Sext. Empir. *Adv. Mathem.* i. 155 καὶ ἰδιῶται καὶ οἱ παιδείας ἐντός.

πεπλήρωκεν κ.τ.λ.] A reminiscence of Rom. xiii. 8, 10; comp. Gal. v. 14.

ρωκεν ἐντολὴν δικαιοσύνης· ὁ γὰρ ἔχων ἀγάπην μακρὰν ἐστὶν πάσης ἀμαρτίας.

IV. Ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων χαλεπῶν φιλαργυρία. εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰσνηέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι ἔχομεν, ὀπλισώμεθα τοῖς 5 ὀπλοῖς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ διδάξωμεν ἑαυτοὺς πρῶτον πορεύεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐντολῇ τοῦ Κυρίου· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ δοθείσῃ αὐταῖς πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ

3 χαλεπῶν] G; *malorum* (κακῶν) L from 1 Tim. vi. 10. 5 οὐδὲ] οὐδ' fp. ἔχομεν] ἔχομεν (but corrected to ἔχομεν) t; *δυνάμεθα* (but ἔχομεν is written above) a. ὀπλισώμεθα] ὀπλησώμεθα vo\* (but corr. o\*\*). 6 διδάξωμεν] νοῖς; διδάξωμεθα ctna. 8 δοθείσῃ] δοθήσει vo. 14 διαβολῆς] vo\*ctna; *διαβολικῆς* o\*\*fp; *diabolicis* (*detractioibus*) L. Here, as elsewhere, the

IV. 'Above all things avoid covetousness. We brought nothing into the world and can carry nothing out. Let us therefore put on the armour of righteousness. Teach your wives to live in faith and love and purity, cherishing their husbands, and showing kindness to all men, and to train their children in godliness. Let the widows pray without ceasing and avoid all malice and covetousness, remembering that they are God's altar and that the offerings there made are scanned by His all-seeing eye, which the most secret thoughts cannot escape.'

3. Ἀρχὴ δὲ κ.τ.λ.] Taken from 1 Tim. vi. 10 *ρίζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶν ἡ φιλαργυρία.*

φιλαργυρία] The mention of covetousness seems very abrupt; but its introduction is explained by the sin of Valens mentioned below, § 11. Hence the repeated warnings against *φιλαργυρία*, not only here and just below, but also §§ 2, 6.

4. οὐδὲν εἰσνηέγκαμεν κ.τ.λ.] This quotation is from the context of the last; 1 Tim. vi. 7 *οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰσνηέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον [δηλον] ὅτι οὐδὲ*

*ἐξενεγκεῖν τι δυνάμεθα.* It has a parallel in Seneca *Ep. Mor.* cii. 25 'non licet plus efferre quam intuleris'.

5. ὀπλισώμεθα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Ephes. vi. 13 sq. Rom. xiii. 12. The expression ὅπλα δικαιοσύνης occurs in Rom. vi. 13.

7. τὰς γυναῖκας] sc. διδάξωμεν (or rather διδάξατε) πορεύεσθαι ἐν τῇ κ.τ.λ.

8. ὑμῶν] If the reading be correct, we may with Zahn and others infer from the occurrence of ὑμῶν, where we should expect ἡμῶν, that Polycarp was unmarried.

9. στεργούσας] Clem. Rom. 1 *στεργούσας καθηκόντως τοὺς ἄνδρας ἑαυτῶν.* The word is changed into *ἀγαπώσας* in the next clause, because the relations are less intimate in the latter case; comp. Dion. Cass. xlv. 48 *ἐφιλήσατε αὐτὸν ὡς πατέρα καὶ ἠγαπήσατε ὡς εὐεργέτην*, Xen. *Mem.* ii. 7. 12 *αἱ μὲν ὡς κηδεμόνα ἐφιλοῦν, ὁ δὲ ὡς ὠφελίμους ἠγάπα*, passages quoted in Trench's *New Testament Synonyms* § xii (p. 40).

10. ἀληθεία] '*fidelity, constancy*'; comp. Ign. *Polyc.* 7 *εἰδὸς ὑμῶν τὸ σύντονον τῆς ἀληθείας*, with the note.

πάντας ἐξ ἴσου κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Clem.

καὶ ἀγνεΐα, στεργούσας τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας ἐν πάσῃ  
 10 ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ἀγαπώσας πάντας ἐξ ἴσου ἐν πάσῃ ἐγκρα-  
 τεΐᾳ, καὶ τὰ τέκνα παιδεύειν τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου  
 τοῦ Θεοῦ· τὰς χήρας σωφρονούσας περὶ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου  
 πίστιν, ἐντυγχανούσας ἀδιαλείπτως περὶ πάντων, μα-  
 κρὰν οὖσας πάσης διαβολῆς, καταλαλιᾶς, ψευδομαρ-  
 15 τυρίας, φιλαργυρίας, καὶ παντὸς κακοῦ· γινωσκούσας  
 ὅτι εἰσὶ θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πάντα μωμοσκο-

corrector of o has had L before him, and fp have followed o. 16 θυσιαστήριον] θυσιαστήρια c alone, and so the earlier edd. ἔτι sec.] ὁ a. πάντα μωμοσκοπεῖται] vsa; πανταμῶμω (sic) σκοπεῖται c; πάντα μωμοσκοπεῖται (sic) n; πάντα μῶμω σκοπεῖται f (with μῶμος in the marg.) o (μῶμος o\*\* in marg.) t; πάντα μῶμος σκοπεῖται p.

Rom. 21 [αἱ γυναῖκες] τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτῶν μὴ κατὰ προσκλίσεις ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸν Θεὸν ὁσίως ἴσῃν παρεχέτωσαν· τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ παιδείας μεταλαμβάνέτωσαν.

11. τὴν παιδείαν κ.τ.λ.] Clem. Rom. 21 τοὺς νέους παιδεύσωμεν τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου τοῦ Θεοῦ: comp. Ecclus. i. 27 σοφία καὶ παιδεία φόβος Κυρίου.

12. τὰς χήρας] It seems clear that Polycarp is here referring to the office or order of widows, both from the expressions used (περὶ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου πίστιν, ἐντυγχανούσας ἀδιαλείπτως, θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ) and from the position which they occupy immediately before the deacons and priests. See the notes on Ign. Smyrn. 13.

σωφρονούσας κ.τ.λ.] Their religion must not be a frenzy of fanaticism, but a calm confidence. It would appear from this expression that they were entrusted with some functions of teaching.

13. ἐντυγχανούσας κ.τ.λ.] 1 Tim. v. 5 ἡ δὲ ὄντως χήρα...προσμένει ταῖς δεήσεσιν καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας.

14. διαβολῆς] So 1 Tim. iii. 11

γυναῖκας [διακόνους] ὡσαύτως σεμνάς, μὴ διαβόλους; comp. Tit. ii. 3.

16. θυσιαστήριον] Comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 26 αἱ τε χῆραι καὶ [οἱ] ὄρφανοὶ ὑμῶν εἰς τύπον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λελογισθῶσαν ὑμῖν, αἱ τε παρθένοι εἰς τύπον τοῦ θυμιατηρίου τετιμῆσθῶσαν καὶ τοῦ θυμιάματος, iv. 3 θυσιαστήριον γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ λελογισμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τιμηθήσεται, ἀόκως ὑπὲρ τῶν διδόντων αὐτῷ διηνεκῶς προσευχόμενος (of the orphans, the aged, etc., who are supported by the alms of the Church), Tertull. *ad Ux.* i. 7 'cum viduam adlegi in ordinem, nisi univiram, non concedat; aram enim Dei mundam proponi oportet,' Method. *Symph.* v. 6 sq (p. 27 sq, Jahn) θυσιαστήριον ἀναίμακτον εἶναι παρεδόθη Θεοῦ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἀγνῶν· οὕτω μέγα τι χρῆμα καὶ ἔνδοξον ἢ παρθενία φαίνεται (accordingly he proceeds to give a spiritual meaning to all the directions respecting the altar in Exod. xxx. 1 sq, as applying to virginity), Ps-Ign. *Tars.* 9 τὰς ἐν σεμνότητι χήρας ὡς θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ. See also more or less analogous figurative meanings of θυσιαστήριον in Ign. *Ephes.* 5, *Magn.* 7, *Trall.* 7, *Rom.* 2,

πεῖται, καὶ λέληθεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε λογισμῶν οὔτε ἐννοιῶν, οὔτε τι τῶν κρυπτῶν τῆς καρδίας.

V. Εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι Θεὸς οὐ μκκτηρίζεται, ὀφείλομεν ἀξίως τῆς ἐντολῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δόξης περιπατεῖν. ὁμοίως διάκονοι ἄμεμπτοι κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὡς Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διάκονοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων· μὴ διάβολοι, μὴ δίλογοι, ἀφιλάργυροι, ἐγκρατεῖς 5 περὶ πάντα, εὐσπλαγχοι, ἐπιμελεῖς, πορευόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Κυρίου, ὃς ἐγένετο ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ. ᾧ ἂν εὐαρεστήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, ἀποληψόμεθα 10

1 λέληθεν] λελυθεν tn. 2 οὔτε τι] οὐτέτι vc; οὐ τέ τι ofrs; οὐτετι n; *neque alicuod* L. 3 μκκτηρίζεται] μοικτειρίζεται νο\*fr. 6 καὶ Χριστοῦ] G (but om. καὶ a) L Sev (Cureton C. I. p. 214); ἐν Χριστῷ Halloix, followed by many subsequent edd. 7 δίλογοι] vofpñ; δὲγλωσσοι tca; *detractores* L. 8 εὐσπλαγχοι] εὐσπλαγχοι f. 10 ἀποληψόμεθα] ἀπολειψόμεθα νο\*, but corr. ο\*\*, and hence fr have it correctly. 13 συμβασιλεύσωμεν] fr (comp. 2 Tim. ii. 12);

*Philad.* 4, with the notes, especially on the first passage (p. 44).

They themselves are the altar; their thoughts, words, and deeds, more especially their prayers, are the sacrifices offered. Every such sacrifice is inspected by God Himself. He detects the blemishes, and rejects the faulty offerings. For the image of the sacrifice see the notes on Phil. ii. 17, iv. 18, Clem. Rom. 41, 44.

μωμοσκοπεῖται] 'are examined with a view to detecting blemishes'; comp. Clem. Rom. 41 προσφέρεται...ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον μωμοσκοπηθέν τὸ προσφερόμενον, with the note.

1. καὶ λέληθεν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Clem. Rom. 21 οὐδὲν λέληθεν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐννοιῶν ἡμῶν οὐδὲ τῶν διαλογισμῶν ὧν ποιούμεθα, with the notes on the context there.

2. τῶν κρυπτῶν κ.τ.λ.] 1 Cor. xiv. 25; comp. 1 Cor. iv. 5.

V. 'Let us remember that God is not mocked, and let us walk holily. The deacons must be blameless, not tale-bearers nor covetous, but sober, compassionate, diligent, after the pattern of Christ, who was the chief of deacons. We must please God in the present life, that He may bestow upon us the future life. They that are true citizens of Christ's kingdom now shall themselves be kings with Him hereafter. The younger men also must be chaste and restrain their passions. Lust warreth against the spirit. No profligate person shall inherit the kingdom of God. Let them also be subject to the presbyters and deacons. The virgins too must keep their conscience blameless and pure.'

3. Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.] From Gal. vi. 7.

5. ὁμοίως διάκονοι] The instructions here given are suggested by 1 Tim. iii. 1—13 διακόνοις ὡσαύτως κ.τ.λ., from which passage also the

καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα, καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγεῖραι ἡμᾶς  
 ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν πολιτευσώμεθα ἀξίως αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ, εἶγε πιστεύομεν. ὁ-  
 μοίως καὶ νεώτεροι ἀμεμπτοὶ ἐν πᾶσιν, πρὸ παντὸς  
 15 προνοοῦντες ἀγνείας καὶ χαλιναγωγοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ  
 παντὸς κακοῦ. καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀνακόπτεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι πᾶσα ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ  
 πνεύματος στρατεύεται, καὶ οὔτε πόρνοι οὔτε μα-  
 λακοὶ οὔτε ἀρσενοκοῖται βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρο-  
 20 νομήσουσιν, οὔτε οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἄτοπα. διὸ δέον

*regnabimus* L; συμβασιλεύσομεν *votcna*.

14 πᾶσιν] *vo*; πᾶσι *frtca*. πρὸ

παντὸς προνοοῦντες] πρὸς πάντα προνοοῦντες *s*.

15 ἀγνείας] *ignorantiam*

(ἀγνοίας) L.

16 ἀνακόπτεσθαι] G; *abscindi* L. Halloix has ἀνακούπτεσθαι,

and is followed by some later edd.

17 ἐν] τῶν ἐν v (Dressel) alone.

19 ἀρσενοκοῖται] ἀρσενοκείται *tc*.

κληρονομήσουσιν] κληρονομίσουσιν *p*.

words are in part borrowed.

6. ὡς Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Ign. *Smyrn.* 10 ὡς διακόνους [Χριστοῦ] Θεοῦ, with the note. See also the note on *Magn.* 6 (p. 120).

7. διλογοὶ] Perhaps 'tale-bearers,' rather than 'double-tongued' (διγλωσσοί), as it is generally taken. So too in 1 Tim. iii. 8.

8. εὐσπλαγχοὶ] 'tender-hearted,' as below § 6; comp. Ephes. iv. 32, 1 Pet. iii. 8. The classical meaning of εὐσπλαγχνία is 'courage,' Eur. *Rhes.* 192.

9. διάκονος πάντων] Matt. xx. 28 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι. The expression itself is taken from Mark ix. 35, πάντων διάκονος, where however it is not directly applied to our Lord.

12. ἐὰν κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'If we perform our duties as simple citizens of His kingdom, we shall be promoted to a share of His sovereignty.'

πολιτευσώμεθα κ.τ.λ.] Clem. Rom. 21 ἐὰν μὴ ἀξίως αὐτοῦ πολιτευόμενοι

τὰ κατὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ποιῶμεν, a passage which Polycarp evidently has in his mind; comp. Phil. i. 27.

13. καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν] From 2 Tim. ii. 12, where S. Paul seems to be quoting from some Christian hymn or formula.

15. χαλιναγωγοῦντες] See James i. 26, iii. 2, Hermas *Mand.* xii.

16. ἀνακόπτεσθαι] 'to be checked, held back.' This is doubtless the right reading; see the note on Gal. v. 7.

τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν] 1 Pet. ii. 11 ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, αἵτινες στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, Gal. v. 17 ἡ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος.

18. οὔτε πόρνοι κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

20. τὰ ἄτοπα] 'perverse things, iniquities.' For ἄτοπα (ἄτοπον) ποιεῖν (πράττειν) see Job xxvii. 6, xxxiv. 12, Prov. xxx. 20 (xxiv. 55), 2 Macc. xiv. 23, Luke xxiii. 41.

ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων, ὑποτασσομένους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις ὡς Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ· τὰς παρθένοὺς ἐν ἀμώμῳ καὶ ἀγνῇ συνειδήσει περιπατεῖν.

VI. Καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ εὐσπλαγχοι, εἰς πάντας ἐλεήμονες, ἐπιστρέφοντες τὰ ἀποπεπλανημένα, ἐπισκεπτόμενοι πάντας ἀσθενεῖς, μὴ ἀμελοῦντες χήρας ἢ ὀρφανοῦ ἢ πένητος, ἀλλὰ προνοοῦντες δεῖ τοῦ καλοῦ ἐνώπιον Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης ὀργῆς, προσωποληψίας, κρίσεως ἀδίκου, μακρὰν

5 ἀποπεπλανημένα] ἀποπλανημένα νο. ληψίας νο.

11 ὀφειλέται] ὀφιλέται t; ὀφιλέταις c (but s erased).

9 προσωποληψίας] προσωποληψίας 14 τῶν

2. ὡς Θεῷ κ.τ.λ.] See the note on Ign. *Magn.* 6. The contrast to the language of Ignatius is not less significant than the resemblance. It is the 'bishops,' not the presbyters, who stand in God's place in Ignatius. Either therefore there was no bishop at Philippi when Polycarp wrote, or Polycarp did not think fit to separate his claims to allegiance from those of the presbyters.

VI. 'The presbyters also must be tender and pitiful, bringing home the strayed sheep, watching over the sickly, taking care of the widow and orphan and the poor man. Let them have regard to what is good in the sight of God and men, shunning all unrighteousness and malice, abstaining from covetousness, not credulous or harsh in their judgments of others, as conscious of their own infirmities. We must forgive, if we would be forgiven; for all alike will stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. So then let us serve Him in all godliness according to the teaching of the Apostles and the Prophets, holding aloof from all false brethren and hypocrites and deceivers.'

5. τὰ ἀποπεπλανημένα] sc. πρό-

βατα 'the strayed sheep'; Ezek. xxxiv. 3, 4 τὰ πρόβατά μου οὐ βόσκετε, τὸ ἡσθητικὸς οὐκ ἐνισχύσατε...καὶ τὸ πλανώμενον οὐκ ἐπεστρέψατε (v. 1. ἀπεστρέψατε), 1 Pet. ii. 25 ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενα, ἀλλ' ἐπεστράφητε νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ποιμένα κ.τ.λ., comp. *Ecclus.* xviii. 13 διδασκῶν καὶ ἐπιστρέφῶν ὡς ποιμῆν τὸ ποιμνιον αὐτοῦ. The word πρόβατα therefore would naturally be supplied by the readers of the letter. So too Iren. i. 8. 4; αὐτὸν ἐηλυθέναι ἐπὶ τὸ πεπλανημένον, *Apost. Const.* ii. 20 κατευθύνων τὸ πεπλανημένον, ἐπιστρέφῶν τὸ ἀφεστός, and again ζητῆσαι καὶ σῶσαι τὸ πεπλανημένον. The strayed and lost sheep of the parable (*Matt.* xviii. 12 sq, *Luke* xv. 4 sq) had an important place in some Gnostic systems (Iren. i. 8. 4, i. 16. 1; Hippol. *Haer.* vii. 52, p. 218); and Simon Magus more especially brought it into prominence by identifying it with his Helena (Hippol. *Haer.* vi. 19, p. 174).

ἐπισκεπτόμενοι] Ezek. xxxiv. 11 ἐκζητήσω τὰ πρόβατά μου καὶ ἐπισκέψομαι αὐτά; comp. *Zech.* x. 3. It has therefore a *pastoral* significance.



10 ὄντες πάσης φιλαργυρίας, μὴ ταχέως πιστεύοντες κατὰ  
 τινος, μὴ ἀπότομοι ἐν κρίσει, εἰδότες ὅτι πάντες ὀφει-  
 λεται ἐσμεν ἀμαρτίας. εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα τοῦ Κυρίου ἵνα  
 ἡμῖν ἀφῆ, ὀφείλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφιέναι· ἀπέναντι γὰρ  
 τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἐσμεν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ πάντας  
 15 δεῖ παραστῆναι τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἕκαστον  
 ἵπερ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δοῦναι. οὕτως οὖν δουλεύσωμεν  
 αὐτῷ μετὰ φόβου καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας, καθὼς αὐτὸς  
 ἐνετείλατο καὶ οἱ εὐαγγελιστάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἀπόστολοι καὶ  
 οἱ προφήται οἱ προκηρύξαντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ Κυρίου

om. a. πάντας] πάντες a (Pleziotes, but ?). 15 δεῖ] δὴ v. 16 ἑαυτοῦ]  
 tcn; αὐτοῦ νοῖρ. 18 ἡμᾶς] tcns L; ὑμᾶς νοῖρα. 19 οἱ προφῆται] προφῆται  
 (om. ol) fr.

6. χήρας ἢ ὀρφανῶν] See the note on Ign. *Smyrn.* 6.

7. προνοοῦντες κ.τ.λ.] 2 Cor. viii. 21 προνοοῦμεν γὰρ καλὰ οὐ μόνον ἐνώπιον Κυρίου ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνώπιον ἀνθρώπων; comp. Rom. xiii. 17. For the genitive after προνοεῖν comp. 1 Tim. v. 8, and above § 5.

11. ἀπότομοι] 'sharp,' 'hasty.' So κρίσις ἀπότομος Wisd. vi. 6, in which book the word occurs several times.

ὀφειλέται κ.τ.λ.] 'Retro spectanti dicere licet quod prospicienti negandum est Rom. viii. 12', Zahn. The meaning seems to be, 'We have put ourselves under the power of sin (comp. Rom. iii. 9), we have contracted obligations to sin.' On the probability that Polycarp is here quoting from some previous writer, see the note on εἰδότες ὅτι in § 1.

12. εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα κ.τ.λ.] An obvious reference to the Lord's prayer, Matt. vi. 12, 14, 15; comp. Matt xviii. 35.

14. πάντας κ.τ.λ.] Rom. xiv. 10 πάντες γὰρ παραστησόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ (v. 1. τοῦ Χριστοῦ), 2 Cor. v. 10 τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθήναι

δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἵνα κομισθῆται ἕκαστος κ.τ.λ. We have here a combination of both passages.

16. λόγον δοῦναι] A carrying out of the metaphor of ὀφειλέτης; comp. Rom. xiv. 12 ἄρα [οὖν] ἕκαστος ἡμῶν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον [ἀπο]δῶσει τῷ Θεῷ.

δουλεύσωμεν] See Ps. ii. 11, quoted above § 2; comp. Heb. xii. 28 λατρεύωμεν εὐαρέστως τῷ Θεῷ μετὰ εὐλαβείας καὶ δέους (the correct reading).

18. εὐαγγελιστάμενοι ἡμᾶς] So Polycarp's pupil Irenæus speaks of him, *Haer.* iii. 3. 4 οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς καὶ συνασπαστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐωρακόσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἄσιαν κ.τ.λ., and lower down ταῦτα διδάξας ἀεὶ ἂ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔμαθεν κ.τ.λ.; again in the *Letter to Florinus* Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20 τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννου συνασπαστροφὴν ὡς ἀπήγγελλε καὶ τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἐωρακότων τὸν Κύριον.

19. προκηρύξαντες κ.τ.λ.] Acts vii. 52 τοὺς προκαταγγειλάντας περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δικαίου; comp. Ign. *Philad.* 5, 9.

ἡμῶν, ζηλωταὶ περὶ τὸ καλόν, ἀπεχόμενοι [τῶν] σκανδάλων καὶ τῶν ψευδαδέλφων καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑποκρίσει φερόντων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου, οἵτινες ἀποπλανῶσι κενοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

VII. Πᾶς γάρ, ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογήῃ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν. καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογήῃ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν· καὶ ὃς ἂν μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ λέγει μήτε

1 τῶν σκανδάλων] νοσφ; σκανδάλων (om. τῶν) ctna. 2 ἐν] om. a. 5 μὴ] om. a, which also substitutes ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ for ἀντίχριστος. ὁμολογή] oftna; ὁμολογεῖ vr; ὁμολογήν (altered into ὁμολογεῖν) c. Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν...μὴ ὁμολογή] om. fr. 6 ἐστίν] ἐστι t; and so in l. 8. 7 μαρτύριον] GS (Zingerle *Mon. Syr.* i. p. 1) L (but some MSS *mysterium* for *martyrium*; comp. the v.l. in 1 Cor. ii. 1).

1. ζηλωταὶ κ.τ.λ.] 1 Pet. iii. 13 τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ζηλωταὶ (the correct reading), Tit. ii. 14.

2. τῶν ἐν ὑποκρίσει κ.τ.λ.] Ign. *Ephes.* 7 ἐν δόλῳ πονηρῶ τὸ ὄνομα περιφέρειν, 1 Tim. iv. 2 ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων.

VII. 'He who disallows the incarnation is Antichrist; he who rejects the testimony of the Cross is of the devil; he who denies the resurrection and the judgment, is of Satan. Flee from all false teaching; be instant in fasting and prayer; entreat God to deliver you from temptation. The spirit may be willing, but the flesh is weak.'

5. Πᾶς γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] Polycarp is echoing the words of his apostolic teacher, 1 Joh. iv. 2—4, where however the words Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι in ver. 3 are probably interpolated from ver. 2; comp. also 2 Joh. 7. The reference is to the errors of Docetism, which is so constantly attacked in the contemporary Epistles of Ignatius.

7. τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ] What is the testimony of the cross? Is the

genitive subjective or objective—the witness borne by, or the witness borne to, the Cross? Probably the former. Perhaps it refers especially to the piercing of the side and the issue of blood and water (Joh. xix. 34), as a proof of the reality of Christ's crucified body. Polycarp's master, S. John, when he relates it, lays special stress on the fact as a *testimony*, ὁ ἑωρακὸς μεμαρτύρηκεν καὶ ἀληθινὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία; comp. 1 Joh. v. 6—8. At all events Polycarp seems to be adducing the Cross, as a witness against the Docetics; comp. Ign. *Ephes.* 18, *Trall.* 11, *Philad.* 8, *Smyrn.* 1, with the notes.

ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν] 1 Joh. iii. 8; comp. Joh. viii. 44 ἡμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστέ.

8. μεθοδεύῃ] 'tamper with,' 'pervert'; comp. Philo *Vit. Moys.* iii. 27 (p. 167) ὅπερ μεθοδεύουσιν οἱ λογοθηραὶ καὶ σοφισταί, and for the construction with πρὸς, Polyb. xxxviii. 4. 10 πολλὰ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐμπορευῶν καὶ μεθοδεύομενος. So μεθοδεῖα, Ephes. iv. 14, vi. 11; and μέθοδος, Plut. *Mor.* 176 A ἐθαύμαζε τὴν

10 ἀνάστασιν μήτε κρίσιν, οὗτος πρωτότοκός ἐστι τοῦ  
 Κατανᾶ. διὸ ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν πολ-  
 λῶν καὶ τὰς ψευδοδιδασκαλίας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν  
 παραδοθέντα λόγον ἐπιστρέψωμεν, νήφοντες πρὸς  
 τὰς εὔχας καὶ προσκαρτεροῦντες νηστείαις, δεήσεσιν  
 15 αἰτούμενοι τὸν παντεπόπτην Θεὸν μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν  
 ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· τὸ μὲν  
 πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ σαρξ ἄσθενής.

8 μεθοδεύη] μεθοδεύει νο.

τοῦ Κυρίου] GL; *dei* S.

9 λέγει] νοφρ; λέγη

tns; *dixerit* L. The words καὶ λέγη are omitted in a.

10 κρίσιν] txt G;

*judicium esse* L; *quod...est iudicium* S; κρίσιν εἶναι edd.

11 ἀπολιπόντες] ctna;

ἀπολειπόντες (sic) νοφρ (an itacism); see above § 2.

12 τὸν] τῶν f.

13 ἐπι-

στρέψωμεν] ἐπιστρέψομεν p.

14 προσκαρτεροῦντες] προσκαρτες v (the missing

letters being filled in later). In o a space has been left after προσκαρ- and the letters inserted apparently afterwards.

δεήσεσιν αἰτούμενοι] GL; *et*

*petitione et rogantes* S.

15 παντεπόπτην] GL; *dominium omnium* S.

μέθοδον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου] The work of Papias bore the title *Λογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως* (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39; see *Contemporary Review*, August, 1875, p. 399); comp. Clem. Alex. *Quis Div. Salv.* 3, p. 936. It was natural that Polycarp, who had conversed with Apostles and personal disciples of Christ, and was in the habit of appealing to these conversations, should, like Papias, refer to our Lord's discourses as λόγια, which might include oral traditions, rather than as ἀπομνημονεύματα with Justin, or εὐαγγέλια with later writers. The word μεθοδεύη refers to perverse interpretations; comp. Iren. i. præf. 1 ῥαδιουργοῦντες τὰ λόγια Κυρίου, ἐξηγητῆται κακοὶ τῶν καλῶς εἰρημένων γινόμενοι, quoted by Zahn.

9. λέγει] For the change to the indicative in the adversative clause comp. Ps-Ign. *Philad.* 6.

μήτε ἀνάστασιν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 2 Tim. ii. 18, and see the note on [Clem. Rom.] ii. 9. Though not necessarily Docetic, this error was akin

to Docetism and arose from the same religious temper.

10. πρωτότοκος κ.τ.λ.] This is the same expression which Irenæus (*Hæer.* iii. 3, 4; comp. Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 14) reports Polycarp as using of Marcion at a later date.

11. τῶν πολλῶν] So above, § 2 ἀπολιπόντες τὴν κενὴν ματαιολογίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πλάνην. The same expression is used by Papias in a similar connexion, Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39 οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί; comp. Matt. xxiv. 12, 2 Cor. ii. 17.

12. τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κ.τ.λ.] Jude 3 τῇ ἅπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις πίστει.

13. νήφοντες κ.τ.λ.] 1 Pet. iv. 7 νήψατε εἰς προσευχάς.

15. παντεπόπτην] A word borrowed from Clement of Rome, §§ 55, 58 (64); see the note on § 55.

μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν κ.τ.λ.] Another reference (see above, § 6) to the Lord's prayer (Matt. vi. 13, Luke xi. 4).

16. τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ.] Word for word from Matt. xxvi. 44 (Mark xiv.

VIII. Ἀδιαλείπτως οὖν προσκατερώμεν τῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ ἀρραβῶνι τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡμῶν, ὅς ἐστι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὃς ἀνήνεγκεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδέ ἐγρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι 5  
 ἀγτοῦ· ἀλλὰ δι' ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ζήσωμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, πάντα ὑπέμεινεν. μιμηταὶ οὖν γενώμεθα τῆς ὑπομονῆς [αὐτοῦ]· καὶ εἰς πάσχωμεν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, δοξάζωμεν

7 ὑπέμεινεν] ὑπέμεινε τα. αὐτοῦ] csta; om. vofp. In n it is omitted in the text but added with an ἴσως in the marg. 8 πάσχωμεν] πάσχομεν v, and so app. o\*, but corr. πάσχωμεν o\*\*. δοξάζωμεν] ctnsao\*\*f L; δοξάζομεν vo\*p. 11 τῷ λόγῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης] GL; om. Eus. H. E. iii. 36. 12 ὑπομονῆν] ὑπομέ-

38), where it is introduced by the words γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς πειρασμόν. Polycarp evidently has this context in view here.

VIII. 'Let us cleave steadfastly to Jesus Christ our hope. He bore His cross patiently; He was without sin and without guile; He suffered all things for our sakes. Let us therefore follow Him and suffer gladly for His name, if need be, for He has given us an example.'

1. τῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν] See the note on Ign. *Magn.* 11.

2. τῷ ἀρραβῶνι] 'the pledge'; i.e. Christ's life and death are the earnest and assurance of our righteousness, our justification, which is begun in Him now and will be completed hereafter. Thus ἀρραβῶν is used in its proper sense, as in 2 Cor. i. 22, v. 5, Ephes. i. 14.

ὅς] See the note on Ign. *Magn.* 7.

3. ὃς ἀνήνεγκεν κ.τ.λ.] Quoted with slight variations from 1 Pet. ii. 24.

4. ὃς ἁμαρτίαν κ.τ.λ.] Word for word from 1 Pet. ii. 22.

6. δι' ἡμᾶς κ.τ.λ.] 1 Pet. ii. 21,

24, Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν... ἵνα ζήσωμεν, 1 Joh. iv. 6 ἵνα ζήσωμεν δι' αὐτοῦ, Ign. *Polyc.* 3 τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα.

7. μιμηταὶ οὖν κ.τ.λ.] The rest of this paragraph is suggested by the context of the same passage in S. Peter, where the Apostle enforces the duty of ὑπομονή, using the same word ὑπογραμμός (ver. 21), and contrasts the suffering in a good cause with the suffering for faults committed. To another part of the context (ver. 25) Polycarp has already alluded in the beginning of § 6.

8. καὶ εἰς κ.τ.λ.] 1 Pet. iv. 16 εἰ δὲ ὡς Χριστιανός (πάσχει), μὴ ἀισχυνέσθω, δοξάζετω δὲ τὸν Θεόν. The reading δοξάζωμεν therefore is to be preferred to δοξάζομεν, though either would make sense.

9. ὑπογραμμόν] See the note on Clem. Rom. 5.

IX. 'Therefore be obedient and practise patient endurance such as ye saw in Ignatius and Rufus and others from among yourselves, yea in Paul himself and in the other Apostles. All these have won the prize. They have gone to their own place: for they loved not the pre-

αὐτόν. τοῦτον γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἔθηκε δι'  
 10 ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο ἐπιστεύσαμεν.

IX. Παρακαλῶ οὖν πάντας ὑμᾶς πειθαρχεῖν τῷ  
 λόγῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀσκεῖν πᾶσαν ὑπομονήν, ἣν  
 καὶ εἶδατε κατ' ὀφθαλμοῦς οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς μακαρίοις  
 Ἰγνατίῳ καὶ Ζωσίμῳ καὶ Ρούφῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις  
 15 τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς  
 ἀποστόλοις· πεπεισμένους ὅτι οὗτοι πάντες οὐκ εἰς

νειν νο. ἦν καὶ] ἦν (om. καὶ) Eus. 13 εἶδατε] ἴδατε νο\*; εἶδετε tcnao\*\* fp Eus  
 (edd.). 14 Ζωσίμῳ καὶ Ρούφῳ] GL; Ρούφῳ καὶ Ζωσίμῳ Eus. 15 ὑμῶν] vofp<sup>tn</sup>  
 Eus; ἡμῶν ca; nobis L. ἐν αὐτῷ] vofp<sup>L</sup> Eus; αὐτῷ (om. ἐν) ct<sup>na</sup>. λοιποῖς]  
 ἄλλοις νο\* (but corr. ο\*\*) alone. 16 πεπεισμένους] vofp<sup>tan</sup> (but resembling  
 -νους) Eus; πεπεισμένων c.

sent world, but Him who died and rose for us.'

11. τῷ λόγῳ κ.τ.λ.] Heb. v. 13 λόγου δικαιοσύνης.

13. μακαρίοις] See the note on § 3.

14. Ζωσίμῳ] Zosimus and Rufus have a place in the *Martyrol. Roman.* p. 844 (Colon. 1610) under Dec. 18, 'Philippis in Macedonia natalis sanctorum martyrum Rufi et Zosimi, qui ex eo numero discipulorum fuerunt, per quos primitiva ecclesia in Judaeis et Graecis fundata est; de quorum etiam felici agone scribit S. Polycarpus in Epistola ad Philippenses,' following earlier Latin Martyrologies. From the connexion of names however it may fairly be inferred that they did not suffer at Philippi itself, but belonged to that company of martyrs (mentioned in § 1) whom the Philippians received in passing and escorted on their way to Rome. Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 292 sq) suggests that they may have been Bithynian Christians who joined the saint at Philippi or Neapolis and were carried with him to Rome, having been sent thither by Pliny; Plin. *Epist.* 97 'Fue-

runt alii similis amentiae; quos, quia cives Romani erant, adnotavi in urbem remittendos.' The Latin Martyrologies obviously know of them only from this notice in Polycarp, which they interpret in their own way. Both names, Zosimus and Rufus, are fairly common. They both appear in the same inscriptions in Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 192, 244, 1969, 3664. In no. 1969, at Thessalonica, the name Valens also found in Polycarp's Epistle (§ 11) occurs. So also we meet with the three names on different tablets of the same Latin inscription, *C.I.L.* III. 633, at Philippi itself. The Rufus of Polycarp is possibly the same who is mentioned in Rom. xvi. 13, and this latter again may with some degree of probability be identified with the son of Simon the Cyrenian and brother of Alexander (Mark xv. 21); but the name is not rare.

15. τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν] Philippi was a persecuted church even in the time of S. Paul: Phil. i. 7, 28—30, comp. 2 Cor. viii. 2.

16. οὐκ εἰς κενὸν κ.τ.λ.] From Phil. ii. 16; comp. Gal. ii. 2.

ΚΕΝὸν ἔδραμον, ἀλλ' ἐν πίστει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ ὅτι εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον εἰσὶ παρὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ, ᾧ καὶ συνέπαθον. οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἠγάπησαν δῖῶνα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναστάντα.

5

[X. Ἐν τούτοις οὖν στήκετε, τῷ ὑποδείγματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἀκολουθοῦντες, ἐδραῖοι τῇ πίστει καὶ ἀμετακίνητοι, τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους

X. In his ergo state et Domini exemplar sequimini, *firmi in fide et immutabiles, fraternitatis amatores diligentes invicem*, in 10

2 τῷ Κυρίῳ] G; κυρίῳ Eus; τῷ θεῷ a (but κυρίῳ is written above). 3 νῦν] νοῦν c (but corr. in marg.). 4 δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ] Here the mss of G fail us, running into the Epistle of Barnabas § 5 τὸν λαὸν κ.τ.λ. The remaining three words of the sentence are from Eus l. c. The editor of a speaks as if this MS had these three words, but this is probably inadvertence. 8 immutabiles] *inimitabiles* t; *immutabiles* v. 10 invicem] om. m alone. 11 mansuetudine] *mansuetudinem*, all the mss apparently. Yet I have altered without scruple, such errors

2. εἰς] For this preposition after εἶναι see the note on Ign. Rom. 1 εἰς τέλος εἶναι.

τὸν ὀφειλόμενον κ.τ.λ.] An expression derived from Clem. Rom. 5, where it is used of S. Peter.

παρὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ] See the note on Phil. i. 23.

3. συνέπαθον] Rom. viii. 17 εἶπερ συνπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν.

τὸν νῦν κ.τ.λ.] The expression is from 2 Tim. iv. 10.

4. τὸν ὑπὲρ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 2 Cor. v. 15, 1 Thess. v. 10; and especially Ign. Rom. 6 ἐκείνον ζητῶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα, ἐκείνον θέλω τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀναστάντα.

X. 'Follow the example of Christ. Be firm in the faith; be kindly, affectionate, and helpful one to another; despise no man. Do good, while you can. Submit one to another. So live, that your good works may be manifest to the Gentiles, and that Christ's name may not be blasphemed through you. Teach all men

to be sober, even as ye yourselves walk.'

8. firmi in fide etc] 1 Cor. xv. 58 ἐδραῖοι γίνεσθε, ἀμετακίνητοι, Col. i. 23 τῇ πίστει τεθεμελιωμένοι καὶ ἐδραῖοι καὶ μὴ μετακινούμενοι κ.τ.λ., Ign. Ephes. 10 ὑμεῖς ἐδραῖοι τῇ πίστει (comp. Polyc. 3).

9. fraternitatis amatores] 1 Pet. ii. 17 τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπᾶτε (comp. iii. 8); see however the note on 'alterutri praestolantes' below.

10. in veritate] It may be a question whether these words should not be connected with the preceding clause, as in 2 Joh. 1, 3 Joh. 1, ἀγαπῶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ. In this case 'mansuetudine Domini' would be attached to 'sociati.'

11. mansuetudine Domini] 2 Cor. x. 1 τῆς πραύτητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ; comp. Ign. Philad. 1 ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιεικείᾳ Θεοῦ, Ephes. 10 ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν εὐρεθῶμεν τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ, μιμηταὶ δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου κ.τ.λ. See for a similar expression § 5 κατὰ τὴν ἀλή-

veritate sociati, mansuetudine Domini alterutri *praestolantes*, nullum despicientes. *Cum potestis bene*  
 15 *facere*, nolite differre, quia *Eleemosyna de morte liberat*. *Omnes vobis invicem sub-*  
*jecti estote, conversationem*  
*vestram irreprehensibilem*

φιλόστοργοι, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ κοινωνοῦντες, τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀλλήλοισ προηγοῦμενοι, μηδενὸς καταφρονοῦντες. δυνατοὶ ὄντες εἶποιεῖν, μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθε, ὅτι ἐλεημοσύνη ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται. πάντες ἀλλήλοισ ὑποτάγητε, τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἀνεπίλημπτον ἔχοντες ἐν

being very common: e.g. in the Vulg. of Rom. xii. 10 (quoted in the lower notes) the two oldest MSS, Am Fuld, have *caritatem*, and Fuld has also *honorem*. 12 Domini] om. m alone. alterutri] *alterutrum* u. *praestolantes*] rovbc; *praestantes* (*praestantes*) mf, and app. p (see Dressel). 14 potestis] ovbct; *possitis* rpmf. 19 irreprehensibilem habentes] rpsmf; *considerantes irreprehensibilem* (*inreprehensibilem*) ovbct.

θεῖαν τοῦ Κυρίου.

12. alterutri *praestolantes*] ‘being beforehand with one another,’ ‘forestalling one another.’ In Lam. iii. 26 this verb *praestolari* corresponds to *ὑπομένειν*, in Job vii. 2 to *ἀναμένειν*, in Judges xvi. 2 to *ἐνεδρεύειν*, in the LXX, while the substantive *praestolatio* takes the place of *ἐλπίς* in several passages; comp. Rösch *Itala u. Vulgata* pp. 76, 301. It denotes properly ‘to be beforehand at a place and waiting for another,’ and so ‘to anticipate,’ ‘to forestall.’ For the derivation see Peile’s *Greek and Latin Etymology* p. 43. I have rendered it by *προηγούμενοι*, from Rom. xii. 10 τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι, τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι (*caritate fraternitatis invicem diligentes, honore invicem praevenientes* Vulg.), where *προηγούμενοι* signifies ‘being beforehand with,’ as Chrysostom says, μὴ μένε φιλεῖσθαι παρ’ ἐτέρου ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἐπιπῆδα τούτῳ καὶ κατάρχου. If I am right in this conjecture as to the source of the ex-

pression, the context of Polycarp, ‘fraternitatis amatores diligentes invicem,’ will probably be a rendering of τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι. Zahn reproduces the Greek, ἐπιείκειαν Κυρίου ἀλλήλοισ ἐπιχορηγοῦντες; but assuming *praestolantes* (not *praestantes*) to be the correct reading in the Latin, as he rightly does, it is difficult to get this sense out of the words.

14. *Cum potestis* etc] Prov. iii. 28 μὴ ἐπῆς, Ἐπανελθὼν ἐπάνηκε, αὐριο δώσω, δυνατοῦ σου ὄντος εὖ ποιεῖν.

16. *Eleemosyna* etc] A quotation from Tobit iv. 11, xii. 9.

17. *invicem subiecti*] Ephes. v. 21 ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοισ ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ, 1 Pet. v. 5 πάντες δὲ ἀλλήλοισ [ὑποτάγητε], Ign. *Magn.* 13 ὑποτάγητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀλλήλοισ.

18. *conversationem* etc] From 1 Pet. ii. 12 τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλὴν, ἵνα, ἐν ᾧ καταλαοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν, ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες κ.τ.λ.

τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἵνα ἐκ τῶν κα-  
λῶν ἔργων ὑμῶν καὶ ὑμεῖς  
ἔπαινον λάβητε καὶ ὁ Κύριος  
μὴ βλασφημηῖται ἐν ὑμῖν.  
οὐδαὶ δὲ δι' οὗ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ  
Κυρίου βλασφημεῖται. σω-  
φροσύνην οὖν πάντα διδάσ-  
κετε, ἐν ἣ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀναστρέ-  
φεσθε.]

*habentes in gentibus, ut ex  
bonis operibus vestris et vos  
laudem accipiatis et Domi-  
nus in vobis non blasphe-  
metur. Vae autem per quem* 5  
*nomen Domini blasphema-  
tur. Sobrietatem ergo do-  
cete omnes, in qua et vos  
conversamini.*

2 bonis] *omnibus* f alone. 5 autem] txt rpmf; add. *illi* vobct. 11 pres-  
byter factus est] *factus est presbyter* p alone. 13 ignoret is] *ignoretis*, all the  
MSS apparently. 15 vos ut absteineatis vos] o (?); *ut absteineatis vos* rpf; *vos*

5. Vae autem etc] See the note on Ign. *Trall.* 8 οὐαὶ γὰρ δι' οὗ ἐπὶ ματαιότητι τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται.

8. in qua et vos etc] 1 Thess. iv. 1 καθὼς καὶ περιπατεῖτε. The word here may have been either ἀναστρέφεσθε or πολιτεύεσθε (§ 5).

XI. 'I grieve exceedingly over your presbyter Valens, that he should so forget his office. Avoid covetousness. Abstain from all evil. How can a man teach others, when he is unable to govern himself? Covetousness is idolatry. The covetous man shall be judged as a Gentile; whereas the saints shall themselves judge the world, as Paul teacheth. Not that I am aware of any such fault in you, among whom Paul laboured and of whom he boasted in all the churches at a time when we Smyrnæans were not yet converted to Christ. I grieve greatly for Valens and his wife. God grant them true repentance. Treat ye them with moderation, and restore them as erring members, that your whole body may be made whole. So doing, ye shall edify yourselves.'

11. Valente] The name *Valens* seems to have been common at Phi-

lippi. It is found not less than four times on the tablets of one Latin inscription at this place, *C.I.L.* III. 633, L. Nutrius Valens Jun., M. Publicius Valens, M. Plotius Valens, Sediui Valens, besides occurring in other inscriptions in the same neighbourhood, *ib.* 640, 690: comp. the note on *Ζωσίμω* § 9. See also *Philippians* p. 64.

14. locum] i.e. τόπον 'the office'; see the note on Ign. *Polyc.* 1.

qui datus etc] § 3 τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν; comp. § 4.

15. absteineatis etc] 'Abstinerere se a' is the common rendering of ἀπέχεσθαι, §§ 2, 6 (bis).

16. avaritia] The original was probably *φιλαργυρίας*, as *φιλαργυρία* is always rendered by *avaritia* (§§ 2, 4, 6) and *ἀφιλάργυροι* by *avarari* (§ 5). On the other hand *πλεονεξία*, in the only passage where it occurs, is translated by *concupiscentia* § 2. Some indeed suppose the original here to have been *πλεονεξίας*, to which they give the meaning 'sensuality, uncleanness.' But whether we adopt *πλεονεξίας* or not, the vice here denounced is clearly avarice: for (1) From the repeated denunciations of *φιλαργυρία*



10 XI. Nimis contristatus  
sum pro Valente, qui pres-  
byter factus est aliquando  
apud vos, quod sic ignoret  
is locum qui datus est ei.  
15 Moneo itaque vos, ut absti-  
neatis vos ab avaritia et si-  
tis casti veraces. Abstinete  
vos ab omni malo. Qui  
autem non potest se in his

[XI. Ἄγαν ὑπερελυπήθην  
ὑπὲρ Οὐάλεντος τοῦ ποτε πρεσ-  
βυτέρου γενομένου παρ' ὑμῖν,  
ὅτι οὕτως ἀγνοεῖ τὸν δοθέντα  
αὐτῷ τόπον. νουθετῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς  
ἵνα ἀπέχησθε φιλαργυρίας καὶ  
ἀγνοί ἦτε καὶ ἀληθεῖς. ἀπέ-  
χεσθε παντὸς κακοῦ. ὁ δὲ μὴ  
δυνάμενος ἑαυτὸν ἐν τούτοις

ut abstineatis mvsbcsts.  
potest se in his] p; in his non potest se bcstsvs; non potest in his se rmf; non  
potest se (om. in his) o.

17 veraces] rpmvbcft; et veraces os.

19 non

elsewhere in this epistle (see the note on § 4), it is clear that Polycarp had some notable example of this sin fresh in his memory; (2) The wife of Valens was implicated in the crime, and this points rather to some sordid and dishonest money transaction, as in the case of Ananias and Sapphira; (3) In the context allusion is made to Col. iii. 5 καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἣτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρεία, or to Ephes. v. 5 πλεονέκτης, ὃ ἐστὶν εἰδωλολάτρης, which point plainly to the worship of mammon; (4) In all the instances where πλεονέκτης, πλεονεκτεῖν, πλεονεξία, are supposed to refer to sins of sensuality, the words either have been misinterpreted or derive this meaning from something in the context: see the note on Col. iii. 5.

17. casti] Assuming this word to stand for ἀγνοί, it has been supposed to point to some sin of unchastity on the part of Valens. We may indeed allow that the original was more probably ἀγνοί than καθαροί, both because the former is the more natural equivalent, and because ἀγνός, ἀγνεία, are elsewhere in this epistle rendered by castus, castitas, §§ 4, 5: but ἀγνοί

might still apply to the absence of sordid and dishonest motives, as e.g. in Phil. i. 17 Χριστὸν καταγγέλλουσιν οὐχ ἀγνῶς: see Pind. *Olymp.* iii. 21 ἀγνὰ κρίσις. Here it would be altogether appropriate, because avarice is denounced as idolatry, and ἀγνεία denotes purity of worship as opposed to the cultus of idols (1 Macc. xiv. 36). This idea is carried out in the words 'ab idololatria coinquinabitur' below. The other epithet *veraces* again points to dishonesty, rather than unchastity, as the vice which is here condemned. It is worth observing however that there is no authority for the conjunction *et* in the Latin text, and perhaps the two adjectives 'casti veraces' are alternative renderings of one word εἰλικρινεῖς, which by an accident have both retained a place in the text.

Abstinete vos etc] 1 Thess. v. 22 ἀπὸ παντὸς εἴδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε.

18. Qui autem etc] Comp. 1 Tim. iii. 5 εἰ δὲ τις τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου προστήναι οὐκ οἶδεν, πῶς ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ἐπιμελήσεται;

19. in his] i.e. 'in matters relat-

κυβερνᾶν, πῶς ἐτέρῳ τουτο καταγγέλλει; ὃς ἐὰν μὴ ἀπέχεται φιλαργυρίας, ὑπὸ εἰδωλολατρείας μιανθήσεται καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν κριθήσεται, οἷτινες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν κρίσιν Κυρίου. ἢ οὐκ οἶδαμεν ὅτι οἱ ἄγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρινούσιν; ὡς Παῦλος διδάσκει. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο ἔγνω ἐν ὑμῖν οὐδὲ ἤκουσα, ἐν οἷς ἐκοπίασεν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος, τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ.

gubernare, quomodo alii pronuntiat hoc? Si quis non se abstinuerit ab avaritia, ab idololatria coinquinabitur, et tanquam inter gentes judicabitur, qui ignorant *judicium Domini*. Aut nescimus, quia sancti mundum judicabunt? sicut Paulus docet. Ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis vel audivi, in quibus laboravit beatus Paulus, qui estis in principio *epistolae* ejus: de

1 alii pronuntiat hoc] c; alio pronuntiat (-ciat) hoc ovbt; alii hoc pronuntiat rs; hoc alio pronuntiabit m; hoc aliud pronuntiat (-ciatur) fp. 3 non se abstinuerit] rpf; se non abstinuerit m; non abstinuerit se osvbcsts. 6 qui] rpvbct; quae mf; qui autem os. 8 Aut] rpm; aut ut f; an osvbcsts. 11 vel]

ing to gain,' and accordingly 'hoc' is 'the duty of abstaining from avarice.'

4. ab idololatria etc] See the passages, Col. iii. 5, Ephes. v. 5, quoted above, with the note on the former. The Latin 'coinquino' is a rendering of *μυιῶ* in 1 Macc. i. 63, Tit. i. 15, Herm. *Mand.* iii. 1, iv. 1.

5. tanquam etc] The nations (*ἔθνη*) shall appear at the bar; the chosen *λαὸς* shall sit in judgment: comp. Is. xlii. 1 *ἔδωκα τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν, κρίσω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐξοίσει* (quoted in Matt. xii. 18), Dan. vii. 22 (LXX) *τὸ κρίμα ἔδωκεν ἁγίοις ὑψίστου*, Wisd. iii. 8 *κρινούσιν ἔθνη*. For the expression 'tanquam inter gentes' comp. Matt. xviii. 17 *ὥσπερ ὁ ἔθνικός*.

6. qui ignorant etc] Jer. v. 4 *οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ὁδὸν Κυρίου καὶ κρίσιν Θεοῦ*.

8. Aut nescimus etc] A reference to 1 Cor. vi. 2 *ἢ οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι οἱ ἄγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρινούσιν*;

10. Ego autem etc] Ign. *Trall.* 8 *Οὐκ ἐπεὶ ἔγνω τοιοῦτόν τι ἐν ὑμῖν*: comp. *Magn.* 11.

13. qui estis etc] 'ye who in the beginning (of the Gospel) were his letters (of commendation).' For 'in principio' comp. Phil. iv. 15 *ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, and see above § 1 *ἐξ ἀρχαίων καταγγελλομένη χρόνων*; and for 'epistolae ejus,' 2 Cor. iii. 2 *ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡμῶν ὑμεῖς ἐστε*. This interpretation was, I believe, first suggested by Nolte (see Hefele, ed. iv) and is adopted by Hofmann *Heilige Schrift Neuen Testaments* iv. 3. p. 101, v. p. 29. Supposing it to be correct, the present tense 'estis' is probably a mistranslation of the ambiguous participial form; see the parallel instance in § 13 'de his qui

15 vobis etenim *gloriatur in*  
omnibus *ecclesiis*, quae so-  
lae tunc Dominum cogno-  
verant; nos autem nondum  
cogoveramus. Valde ergo,  
20 fratres, contristor pro illo  
et pro conjuge ejus, quibus  
det Dominus poenitentiam  
veram. Sobrii ergo estote  
et vos in hoc; *et non sicut*  
25 *inimicos tales existimetis*,  
sed sicut passibilia membra  
et errantia eos revokeate, ut  
omnium vestrum corpus

περὶ ὑμῶν γὰρ καυχᾶται ἐν  
πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, αἵτινες  
μόναι τότε τὸν Κύριον ἐγνώ-  
σαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐπω ἐγνώκειμεν.  
λίαν οὖν ὑπερλυπούμαι, ἀδελ-  
φοί, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς  
γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ· οἷς δὴ ὁ Κύ-  
ριος μετάνοιαν ἀληθινήν. σω-  
φρονήσατε οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν  
τούτῳ, καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐχθροῦς  
ἠγεῖσθε τοὺς τοιούτους, ἀλλ'  
ὡς μέλη παθητὰ καὶ πλανώ-  
μενα ἐπιστρέψατε, ἵνα πάντων  
ὑμῶν τὸ σωματεῖον σώζῃται·

om. m alone. 15 etenim] rsovsvsb; *et enim* t; *enim* pmf. 16 solae tunc  
Dominum] pmf; *deum solae tunc* rsovsbcs. 19 cogoveramus] rpm;  
*noveramus* osvbcfs. 21 et pro] psmsosbcs; *et* (om. *prò*) rvt. 23 veram]  
*vestram* r. 25 existimetis] *aestimetis* f. 27 eos] om. m alone.

cum eo *sunt*' with the note. If this interpretation be rejected, the only alternative is to suppose with Smith that 'laudati' or some similar word has fallen out, and that 'in principio epistolae ejus' refers to the Apostle's commendation of the Philippians in Phil. i. 3—9; but the phenomena of the MSS lend no support to this conjecture.

14. de vobis etc] 2 Thess. i. 4 ὥστε ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐγκανχᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ.

18. nos autem] i.e. 'we Smyrnaeans.' Nothing is heard of Christianity at Smyrna at the time when the Philippian Church was founded. A few years later however (Rev. ii. 8) there was an important Church there. Probably the conversion of Smyrna, as of Colossæ, was an indirect con-

sequence of S. Paul's long sojourn at Ephesus; comp. Acts xix. 10, 26 (πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν Ἀσίαν, σχεδὸν πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας).

21. quibus det etc] 2 Tim. ii. 25 μήποτε δὴ αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς μετάνοιαν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας.

23. Sobrii...estote] σωφρονήσατε, i.e. 'be moderate in your punishment of the offender.'

24. non sicut etc] 2 Thess. iii. 15 καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἠγεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ νοθετεῖτε ὡς ἀδελφόν.

26. passibilia] i.e. 'frail.' For this sense of παθητὸς comp. Plut. *Vit. Pelop.* 16 τὸ θνητὸν καὶ παθητὸν ἀποβαλόντας. The word occurs, though in a somewhat different sense, Acts xxvi. 23, Ign. *Ephes.* 7, *Polyc.* 3.

28. omnium vestrum corpus] For σωματεῖον see Ign. *Smyrn.* 11, where

τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶντες, ἑαυτοὺς οἰκοδομεῖτε.]

[XII. πέπεισμαι γὰρ ὅτι εὖ γεγυμνασμένοι ἐστέ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς καὶ οὐθὲν ὑμᾶς λέληθεν· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτέτραπται. μόνον, ὡς ταῖς γραφαῖς ταύταις εἴρηται, ὀργίζεσθε καὶ μὴ ἀμαρτάνετε, καὶ ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδύετω ἐπὶ παροργισμῶ ἡμῶν. μακάριος ὁ μνημονεύων· ὅπερ ἐγὼ πέποιθα εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν. ὁ δὲ

salvetis. Hoc enim agentes, vos ipsos aedificatis.

XII. Confido enim vos bene exercitatos esse in sacris literis, et nihil vos latet; mihi autem non est concessum. Modo, ut his scripturis dictum est, *Ira scimini et nolite peccare*, et *Sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram*. Beatus, qui meminerit; quod ego credo esse in vobis. Deus

7 ut] rsovbct; *uti* pmf.  
12 meminerit] *crediderit* m alone.  
p. 212]; *ipse autem deus* Sev (Cureton C. I. p. 214).  
Tim Sev; *ipse* (om. *et*) ovbct.  
(but add. *ejus* rpfm); *deus* Tim Sev.  
18 veritate] L; *in veritate* [Sev].

8 dictum est] txt rsovbct; add. *enim* pmf.  
13 Deus autem] L Tim (Cureton C. I.  
15 et ipse] txt rspfsm  
16 pontifex] om. r alone. Dei filius] L  
17 Jesus] om. r. aedificet] *deficiet* f.  
in omni] rsovsbcts Tim [Sev]; *omni*

also it is translated by 'corpus' in this version. For the sentiment see I Cor. xii. 26 εἰ πάσχει ἐν μέλος, συνασχει πάντα τὰ μέλη.

2. vos ipsos aedificatis] For οἰκοδομεῖν (ἐποικοδομεῖν) ἑαυτὸν comp. I Cor. xiv. 4, Jude 20.

XII. 'You are versed in the Scriptures far beyond myself. Remember therefore how these Scriptures warn you not to give way to anger. Blessed are ye, if ye remember this. May God the Father and the Eternal High-Priest, Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and truth and gentleness and patience and chastity, and grant to you and to us our portion among the saints, with all those who shall believe on our Lord Jesus Christ. Pray for all saints. Pray

for kings and rulers, for your persecutors, for the enemies of the Cross, that your fruit may be seen and ye may be perfect in Christ.'

5. nihil vos latet] See above § 4 λέληθεν αὐτὸν οὐδέν, which is translated by a present 'nihil eum latet'; comp. also Ign. *Ephes.* 14 οὐδὲν λαμβάνει ὑμᾶς.

6. non est concessum] 'This degree of knowledge has not been granted to me.' For the Greek comp. Hermas *Vis.* ii. 4 ἐκείνη γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται.

7. Modo] To be attached to what follows. For this use of μόνον see Ign. *Ephes.* 11, *Rom.* 5, *Smyrn.* 4. The reading *uti* (wrongly taken as the infin. from *utor*) led to the attachment of these words with the

autem et pater Domini nos-  
 15 tri Jesu Christi et ipse sem-  
 piternus pontifex, Dei filius  
 Jesus Christus, aedificet vos  
 in fide et veritate et in  
 omni mansuetudine et sine  
 20 iracundia et in patientia et  
 in longanimitate et tole-  
 rantia et castitate; et det  
 vobis sortem et partem in-  
 ter sanctos suos, et nobis  
 25 vobiscum, et omnibus qui

Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου  
 ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ αὐ-  
 τὸς ὁ αἰώνιος ἀρχιερεὺς, Θεὸς  
 Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἐποικοδομοῖ  
 ὑμᾶς ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ  
 καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ ἐν  
 πάσῃ ἀοργησίᾳ καὶ ἀνοχῇ καὶ  
 μακροθυμίᾳ καὶ ἐν ὑπομονῇ καὶ  
 ἐν ἀγνείᾳ, καὶ δῶῃ ὑμῖν κλῆρον  
 καὶ μερίδα ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις αὐ-  
 τοῦ, καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ σὺν ὑμῖν, καὶ

(om. *in*) pmf. 19 sine iracundia] L; *in omni non-iracundia* Sev. 20 et  
 in patientia] rsmvsbctsr; *et patientia* Sev; *in patientia* (om. *et*) pf. The words  
*patientia* et are omitted in o. 21 in longanimitate] rpvbt; *longanimitate*  
 (om. *in*) mfsoscs Sev. et tolerantia et castitate] L; *et in tolerantia et in*  
*castitate* Sev. 24 nobis] *in nobis* obct\* (but corr. t\*\*). 25 omnibus] *in*  
*omnibus* ovbct\* (but corr. t\*\*).

preceding sentence and the conse-  
 quent insertion of 'enim' after 'dic-  
 tum est.'

8. Irascimini etc] Word for  
 word from Ps. iv. 4 (LXX), which is  
 also quoted in Eph. iv. 26; comp.  
*Apost. Const.* ii. 53.

10. Sol non occidat etc] S. Paul's  
 comment in Eph. *l. c.* on the passage  
 which has been previously quoted  
 from the Psalms. It was a rule also  
 of the Pythagoreans, Plut. *Mor.* 488 B  
*εἴποτε προαχθεῖεν εἰς λοιδορίας ὑπ' ὀρ-  
 γῆς, πρὶν ἢ τὸν ἥλιον δύναι τὰς δεξιὰς*  
*ἐμβάλλοντες καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι διελύοντο.*

12. quod] i.e. τὸ μνημονεύειν. For  
 the expression comp. 2 Tim. i. 5  
*πέπεισμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐν σοί.*

16. pontifex] See the note on  
*ἀρχιερεὺς*, Clem. Rom. 36; and com-  
 pare Polycarp's own prayer in *Mart.*  
*Polyc.* 14 for this expression.

Dei filius] In the attempt to re-

produce the original Greek, I have  
 followed the quotations in Timotheus  
 and Severus, as being much more  
 ancient than our other authorities,  
 and have given Θεός in place of Θεοῦ  
 υἱός.

19. sine iracundia] The word  
 was doubtless ἀοργησία (see the trea-  
 tise *περὶ ἀοργησίας* in Plut. *Mor.*  
 p. 453), as the Syriac of Severus'  
 quotation shows; comp. ἀοργητος  
 Clem. Rom. 19 (with the note), τὸ  
 ἀοργητον Ign. *Philad.* 1.

23. sortem et partem] Acts viii.  
 21 οὐκ ἔστιν σοι μερίς οὐδὲ κλῆρος,  
 Deut. xii. 12, xiv. 26, 28; comp. Col.  
 i. 12 *εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου τῶν*  
*ἀγίων.*

25. qui sunt sub caelo] Col. i. 23  
*ἐν πάσῃ κτίσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν,*  
 Acts ii. 5 *ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ*  
*τὸν οὐρανόν.*

πάσιν τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν,  
οἷτινες μέλλουσι πιστεῦειν εἰς  
τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν  
Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν  
πατέρα αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐγείραντα  
αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. ὑπὲρ πάν-  
των τῶν ἀγίων προσεύχεσθε.  
προσεύχεσθε καὶ ὑπὲρ βασι-  
λέων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ ἀρ-

sunt sub caelo, qui credituri  
sunt in Dominum nostrum  
et Deum Jesum Christum  
et in ipsius partem qui re-  
suscitavit eum a mortuis. 5  
*Pro omnibus sanctis orate.*  
Orate etiam *pro regibus et*  
potestatibus et principibus

1 sunt] om. 1 alone. 2 Dominum] *et dominum* r. nostrum] rposvsfst; om. bc. 3 et Deum] rpf; om. osvsvscst. 7 Orate etiam pro] L; *et pro* Fragn-Syr. (Zingerle *Mon. Syr.* p. 1), thus omitting the second προσεύχεσθε. 8 et] msosvsbcst; *atque* pf. principibus] L; *pro principibus* Fragn-Syr. 9 *atque*] rsovsbcst; et mpf. persequentibus et odientibus vos] L (but om. *persequentibus et m*); *odientibus nos et persequentibus nos* Fragn-

1. qui credituri sunt] 1 Tim. i. 16 τῶν μελλόντων πιστεῦειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

4. qui resuscitavit etc] The expression occurs Gal. i. 1, Col. ii. 12, 1 Pet. i. 21, besides similar language elsewhere.

6. Pro omnibus sanctis] Eph. vi. 18 προσευχόμενοι...περὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων κ.τ.λ.

7. pro regibus etc] 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2 ποιῆσθαι δεήσεις, προσευχάς...ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων κ.τ.λ. For the objection against the genuineness of this epistle on the ground of the plural 'regibus,' see the general introduction.

9. pro persequentibus etc] Matt. v. 44 ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς (comp. Luke vi. 27, 28), where the received text among other interpolated words introduces καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, but the balance of authority is against them. The passage is variously quoted or alluded to in Justin *Apol.* i. 15 (p. 62), *Dial.*

133 (p. 363), Athenag. *Leg.* 11, Theoph. *ad Autol.* iii. 14, *Clem. Hom.* iii. 19, xi. 32, xii. 32, *Apost. Const.* i. 2, vii. 1; but in none of these passages is the combination of words exactly the same as here. The nearest approach is *Apost. Const.* i. 2 καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.

10. inimicis crucis] Phil. iii. 18 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. In S. Paul the expression probably refers to Antinomian excesses (see the note there). Here however it seems to refer to Docetism: see the note on § 7 τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ. There is a similar transference in the application of the σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ in Ign. *Ephes.* 18 (see the note there).

11. ut fructus vester etc] John xv. 16 ἵνα...ὁ καρπὸς ὑμῶν μένη, 1 Tim. iv. 15 ἵνα σου ἡ προκοπὴ φανερὰ ᾖ [ἐν] πάσιν.

13. sitis in illo etc] Col. ii. 10 καὶ ἐστε ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι, James i. 4

atque *pro persequentibus* et  
 10 *odientibus vos* et *pro ini-*  
*micis crucis*, ut fructus ves-  
*ter manifestus sit in om-*  
*nibus*, ut sitis in illo per-  
 facti.

χόντων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν διω-  
 κόντων καὶ μισούντων ἡμᾶς,  
 καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ  
 σταυροῦ, ἵνα ὁ καρπὸς ὑμῶν  
 φανερὸς ᾖ ἐν πάσιν, ἵνα ᾗτε  
 ἐν αὐτῷ τέλειοι.]

15 XIII. Ἐγράψατέ μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰγνάτιος ἵνα,  
 εἰάν τις ἀπέρχηται εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπο-

Syr. 11 crucis] txt L; add. *christi* Fragm-Syr. (with Phil. iii. 18). 15 Ἐγρά-  
 ψατε κ.τ.λ.] Where L generally agrees with Eusebius, I have not thought it  
 necessary to record variations in individual MSS of this version. 16 καὶ τὰ  
 παρ' ὑμῶν...γράμματα ὅπερ ποιήσω] *litteras meas quas fecero ad vos* L (as if it had  
 read ἡμῶν and ἔπερ). There is a v.l. ἡμῶν also in Eus, but it is inadequately  
 supported and does not deserve consideration: see the lower note.

ἵνα ᾗτε τέλειοι.

XIII. 'I have been asked by you  
 and by Ignatius to allow our mes-  
 senger to carry your letter to Syria.  
 I will do this—either myself or the  
 delegate whom I shall send on your  
 behalf as well as on ours. I have  
 also attended to your other request,  
 and sent you such letters of Ignatius  
 as I had in my possession. They  
 are attached to this letter. You will  
 find them highly profitable, for they  
 teach faith and patient endurance  
 and are in all ways edifying. In  
 return do ye communicate to me the  
 latest news of Ignatius and his com-  
 panions.'

15. καὶ Ἰγνάτιος] There is no direct  
 charge in the letter of Ignatius to  
 Polycarp, that the Smyrnæan mes-  
 senger should carry the letter of the  
 Philippians to Syria. If therefore  
 Polycarp has used a rigidly accurate  
 expression here, it will be necessary  
 to suppose that Ignatius had written  
 other instructions (no longer extant)  
 to Polycarp—probably a few lines by  
 way of postscript to the letter of the  
 Philippians. We may observe how-

ever; (1) That Polycarp does not  
 separate the instructions of the Phil-  
 ippians from those of Ignatius, but  
 masses them together; and (2) That  
 Ignatius, writing to Polycarp, does  
 charge him generally to place in the  
 hands of the Smyrnæan delegate the  
 letters of divers churches which  
 were not able to send messengers of  
 their own (*Polyc. 8 οἱ δὲ ἐπιστολὰς*  
*διὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σου πεμπομένων*). Poly-  
 carp therefore, writing loosely, might  
 very naturally infuse the instructions  
 of Ignatius into the request of the  
 Philippians, as applying indirectly to  
 them, though not immediately refer-  
 ring to them.

16. καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν] 'The letter  
 from you Philippians as well as that  
 from us Smyrnæans.' Ignatius had  
 given directions to the churches  
 generally (*Philad. 10, Smyrn. 11,*  
*Polyc. 7, 8*) to send letters, and  
 (where it was possible) delegates  
 bearing these letters to the Ant-  
 iochene Church. The Philippian  
 Church was too far distant to send  
 a delegate (see *Polyc. 7*), and hence  
 they entrusted their letter to the

κομίση γράμματα· ὅπερ ποιήσω, ἐὰν λάβω καιρὸν εὐθετον, εἴτε ἐγὼ εἴτε ὃν πέμψω πρεσβεύοντα καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν. τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἰγνατίου τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄλλας ὅσας εἶχομεν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν, καθὼς ἐνετείλασθε· αἴτινες ὑποτεταγμένοι 5 εἰσὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ· ἐξ ὧν μεγάλα ὠφελήθηται δυνήσεσθε. περιέχουσι γὰρ πίστιν καὶ ὑπομονὴν καὶ πᾶσαν οἰκοδομὴν τὴν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἀνήκουσαν.

1 ἐὰν λάβω] *si habuerimus* L.  
*legatus quem misero pro vobis* L.

2 ὃν πέμψω πρεσβεύοντα καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν]  
 3 τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ] *quae trans-*

Smyrnæan messenger. The reading ὑμῶν is required by the presence of καί. The Latin translator, reading ἡμῶν and not being familiar with the circumstances, has gone altogether wrong.

ἀποκομίση] 'carry to its destination' i.e. to Antioch; comp. e.g. Polyb. xxviii. 10. 7 κατέστησαν πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς Ἀτταλον τοὺς περὶ Τηλέκριτον, ἀποκομίζοντας τὸ δόγμα. The force of the preposition is the same as in ἀπολαμβάνειν, ἀποδιδόναι, ἀπέχειν; see the note on Gal. iv. 5.

1. ἐὰν λάβω κ.τ.λ.] Diod. Sic. v. 57 καιρὸν εὐθετον λαβόντες. For καιρὸς εὐθετος see also Ps. xxxi (xxxii). 6 (LXX), Alex. Polyhist. in Eus. *Praef. Ev.* ix. 27 (p. 432).

2. εἴτε ἐγὼ] Ignatius had only asked that Polycarp and the Smyrnæans should send some one whom they held ἀγαπητὸν λίαν καὶ ἄοκνον (*Polyc.* 7; comp. *Smyrn.* 11). It appears from this passage that Polycarp contemplated going himself, as a possibility, as churches less distant from Syria had sent their bishops (*Philad.* 10 αἱ ἐγγιστα ἐκκλησία ἐπέμψαν ἐπισκόπους). Obviously however this did not enter into the mind of Ignatius himself, for he prays for a blessing on this unknown delegate of

the Smyrnæans and on 'Polycarp who sendeth him' (*Polyc.* 8).

καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν] 'for you Philippians, as well as for us Smyrnæans.'

3. τὰς ἐπιστολὰς] It has been shown elsewhere (see the note on § 3 ἐπιστολὰς) that the plural does not necessarily imply more than a single letter. Nor is the following ἄλλας any obstacle; comp. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43 ἦλθον δ' οὖν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστολαὶ Κορηθίου Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας Φάβιον...καὶ ἄλλαι πάλιν Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ συντεταγμένοι Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄμ' αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ., Justin *Hist.* xi. 12 'Dareus...per epistulas Alexandrum precatur...Interjecto tempore aliae epistulae Darei Alexandro redduntur...Scribit itaque et tertias epistulas,' in both which passages a single letter is denoted by the plural. The reference here therefore would be satisfied by the single Epistle to Polycarp, and critics are not justified in assuming that the Epistle to the Smyrnæans is also included. The expression however more naturally suggests more than one letter; and, so far, it favours the genuineness of the short Greek Epistles.

5. αἴτινες κ.τ.λ.] On the epistles of Ignatius which were probably in



Et de ipso Ignatio et de  
 10 his qui cum eo sunt, quod  
 certius agnoveritis, signi-  
 ficate.

XIV. Haec vobis scripsi  
 per Crescentem, quem in  
 15 praesenti commendavi vo-

[καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰγνατίου  
 καὶ περὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, εἶπι  
 ἀσφαλέστερον ἐπεγνώκατε,  
 δηλώσατέ.]

[XIV. Ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἔγραψα  
 διὰ Κρήσκεντος, ὃν ἄρτι συνέ-  
 στησα ὑμῖν καὶ νῦν συνιστάνω

*missae sunt vobis ab eo* L (but most MSS have *habeo* or *abeo* for *ab eo*). 6 μεγάλη  
 ὠφελήθηται δυνήσεσθε] *magnus vobis erit profectus* L. 10 his] pmsfstz  
*ἰψῆς rovbc.* 14 in praesenti] prmovbcf; *praesentem t\** (but corr. *praesenti t\*\**).

Polycarp's hands and attached by him to this letter, and on the bearing of this notice generally on the preservation of the Ignatian letters, see the general introduction to Ignatius.

8. ἀνήκουσαν] See the notes on Clem. Rom. 45, and Ign. *Philad.* 1.

10. qui cum eo sunt] The Latin translator thus makes Polycarp speak as though Ignatius were still living, but this is inconsistent with § 9. The expression in the original was doubtless neutral as regards time, probably τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ 'his companions,' as in the opening of this epistle where τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ is translated in the same way 'qui cum eo sunt,' and thus has been wrongly rendered by a present. There is a similar error in § 9, where τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν is rendered 'qui ex vobis sunt,' though the persons were no longer living. The companions alluded to here may have been Zosimus and Rufus, mentioned by name in § 9. Other associates of Ignatius are mentioned in his own epistles, such as Philo and Rhaius Agathopus (*Philad.* 11, *Smyrn.* 10), who were with him at Troas and would probably accompany him further on his route. This letter of Polycarp must have been written shortly after the death of Ignatius,

and before the particulars of his martyrdom had reached Smyrna. On the difficulties, which this expression 'qui cum eo sunt' has suggested, see the chapter in the general introduction on the genuineness of this letter.

XIV. 'This letter will reach you through Crescens. I commend him to you now, as I have done heretofore. His conduct with us was blameless, as doubtless it will be with you. Welcome his sister also, when she meets you. Farewell all of you in Christ. Amen.'

14. per Crescentem] Crescens appears from the context to have been the bearer of the letter, and may have been the amanuensis also. See the note on Ign. *Rom.* 10 δι' Ἐφεσιῶν. The name Crescens is common. It occurs in 2 Tim. iv. 10, and is found also in a Philippian inscription (*C. I. L.* III. 633).

in praesenti] Looking at the authorities, there can be no doubt that this should be adopted as the reading of the Latin Version. But as it makes no sense it must be a mistranslation. Now in *praesenti* is a very natural rendering of ἄρτι, though altogether unsuited to this passage, where ἄρτι signifies 'recently,' 'not

ἀνεστράφη γὰρ σὺν ἡμῖν ἀμέμ-  
πτως, πιστεύω δὲ ὅτι καὶ σὺν  
ὑμῖν ὡσαύτως. τὴν δὲ ἀδελ-  
φὴν αὐτοῦ ἔξετε συνιστανο-  
μένην ὅταν ἔλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς.  
Ἐρρωσθε ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ  
Χριστῷ ἐν χάριτι μετὰ πάν-  
των τῶν ὑμετέρων. ἀμήν.]

bis et nunc commendo:  
conversatus est enim no-  
biscum inculpabiliter, credo  
autem quia et vobiscum  
similiter. Sororem autem 5  
ejus habebitis commenda-  
tam, cum venerit ad vos.  
Incolumes estote in Do-  
mino Jesu Christo in gra-  
tia cum omnibus vestris. 10  
Amen.

2 est] om. m.    enim] psrsmsofs; om. vbct.    4 et] om. v alone.    vobis-  
cum] vobis r alone.    9 in gratia] pmovbctfs; gratia ipsius r.    10 vestris]  
povbctfs; nostris m; vobis rs.    11 Amen] rsvovbc; om. mft.

long ago; like our 'just now'; comp. e.g. Jos. *Antiq.* i. 6. 1 Καππαδόκαι μὲν ἄρτι κέκληνται. The word might be used equally well of the recent past and of the actual present, and was sometimes used even of the near future: but purists, while recognizing the two former usages, objected to this last; Phryn. *Ecl.* p. 18 ἄρτι ἤξω μηδέποτε εἴπησ ἐπὶ μέλλοντος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος καὶ παρωχημένου, ἄρτι ἤκω καὶ ἄρτι ἀφικόμην (see Lobeck's note). When used of the past, it is sometimes contrasted with νῦν, as e.g. in Plato *Alcib. Pr.* 130 D ὁ ἄρτι οὕτω πως ἐρρήθη... νῦν δὲ κ.τ.λ. (comp. *ib.* 127 C οὐκ ἄρτι γε, νῦν δὲ κ.τ.λ.), *Meno* 89 C μὴ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἄρτι μόνον δὲ ἀπὸ δοκεῖν καλῶς λέγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν

τῷ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔπειτα. This seems to have been the case here. Zahn renders *in praesenti* by εἰς τὸ παρὸν, which has the advantage of simplicity; but εἰς τὸ παρὸν could hardly stand for μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος, which is the meaning intended.

3. credo autem etc.] For the form of the sentence comp. 2 Tim. i. 5 πέπεισμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐν σοί.  
9. in gratia.] Comp. Ign. *Smyrn.* 13 ἔρρωσθε ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ.

10. omnibus vestris] 'all your people'; comp. *Mart. Polyc.* 9 τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ παρόντες. *Iren.* i. 13. 5 τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῶν ἡμετέρων, *ib.* v. 28. 4, Ign. *Smyrn.* 11 πέμψαι τινὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων.

LETTER OF THE SMYRNÆANS

ON THE

MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP.



# MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP.

## 1.

THIS document is in the form of a letter addressed by the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium. At the same time the address is so worded as to imply that it was intended for much wider circulation, and at the close (§ 20) directions are given to secure its being so circulated. On the other hand it is not, properly speaking, an encyclical letter, of which copies would be forwarded to a certain number of specified communities—each copy being addressed accordingly.

The letter seems to have been written shortly after the martyrdom itself, which happened A.D. 155 or 156. Questions relating to its date, authenticity, etc., are fully discussed in the first volume of this work.

## 2.

The following is a brief *analysis* of its contents :

‘THE CHURCH OF SMYRNA TO THE CHURCH OF PHILOMELIUM and to all the brotherhoods of the Catholic Church.’

‘We send you an account of the martyrdom of Polycarp and his companions. Nearly all the incidents followed the precedent of the Gospel. Thus they are an example to us (§ 1). Mangled and exposed to the most excruciating tortures, the sufferers endured without a groan or a murmur. These temporal torments were as nothing to them compared with the eternal torments. Their eyes were set on the glories of eternity. In vain did the devil attempt to seduce them (§ 2). The brave youth Germanicus more especially fought courageously to the end, refusing to take quarter. Then there was a cry, ‘Search for Polycarp’ (§ 3). On the other hand Quintus a Phrygian, who had officiously courted martyrdom, yielded when the crisis came, and was found a renegade (§ 4).’

‘Meanwhile Polycarp had been persuaded to retire to a farm not far from the city. There he saw in a vision his pillow in flames, and prophesied that he should die by fire (§ 5). At length he was detected, being betrayed by a lad of his household; and Herod, the captain of police, sent a mounted force to apprehend him (§ 6). They found him in an upper chamber. He refused to flee. He ordered meat and drink to be given to his pursuers, and betook himself to prayer (§ 7), interceding after his wont for all, high and low. Then seated on an ass, he was led to the city, where he was met by Herod and Herod’s father Nicetes, who transferred him to their own carriage. They intreated him to sacrifice, but he staunchly refused. So he was taken into the stadium amidst a general uproar (§ 8). As he entered, a voice was heard from heaven, bidding him quit himself as a man. Again and again the proconsul urged him to yield and to revile Christ. He refused to be faithless to the good Master whom he had served eighty-six years (§ 9). The importunities of the proconsul were continued. Polycarp declined at his instance to appeal to the people (§ 10). The proconsul’s entreaties were exchanged for menaces. He threatened Polycarp with wild-beasts and with fire. It was all in vain (§ 11). Polycarp joyfully declared himself a Christian. The people cried out against him, and asked the Asiarch Philip to let a lion loose upon him. This he refused to do, as the *venationes* were over. Then they cried out for fire. This was so ordained, that his vision of the burning pillow might be fulfilled (§ 12). Accordingly a huge pyre of logs and faggots was heaped up, the Jews being the most active at this work. He took off his clothes and his sandals. On their attempting to nail him to the stake, he asked to be left free (§ 13). They were satisfied with binding him, and there he stood like a ram ready for sacrifice. Then he poured forth prayer and thanksgiving, glorifying God that He had accepted him as a sacrificial victim (§ 14). The fire was lighted; but the flame refused to touch him, arching itself into a vault round him; while a sweet odour rose, as of incense (§ 15). At length, as the fire refused to do its work, an executioner was ordered to stab him. From the wound issued [a dove and] a quantity of blood, so as to quench the flames to the marvel of all. Thus died this saint, whose every prophecy was fulfilled (§ 16).’

‘Then the devil prompted Nicetes at the instigation of the Jews to intercede with the magistrate not to give up the body; lest we should worship it. They do not know that it is impossible for us to abandon the Saviour and adore any human being in His stead (§ 17). The centurion therefore had the body burnt, and we gathered up the bones,

more precious to us than any jewel, and hid them in a place where, by the Lord's favour, we purpose celebrating his birthday year by year (§ 18).'

'Thus died Polycarp, along with eleven others from Philadelphia; but he stands out pre-eminent, as a teacher and an example, who having overcome the enemy and won the immortal crown, in company with Apostles and righteous men exults and glorifies God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ (§ 19).'

'We send you this letter by the hand of Marcianus. Circulate it among the brethren beyond. Praise and glory be to God. Salute all the saints. All here, including the writer Euaestus, salute you (§ 20).'

Date of the martyrdom (§ 21).

['We bid you farewell in Christ Jesus, with whom be glory to God the Father and the Holy Spirit (§ 22).'

'Transcribed by Gaius from the papers of Irenæus. [This Irenæus records how Polycarp confronted and denounced Marcion in Rome. The martyrdom of Polycarp in Smyrna was announced to him in Rome by a divine voice at the time of its occurrence.]'

'I Socrates transcribed it in Corinth from the copy of Gaius.'

'I Pionius transcribed it from the last-mentioned copy, which was revealed to me by Polycarp himself. I gathered up the record worn with time, as I hope myself to be gathered up into heaven (§ 23).'

### 3.

The *authorities* for the text are threefold: (i) The Greek manuscripts; (ii) The extracts in Eusebius; (iii) The Latin version.

#### (i) GREEK MANUSCRIPTS [G].

The manuscripts of the original Greek are now five in number.

(1) *Mosquensis* 160 (now 159) [m], in the Library of the Holy Synod at Moscow, rightly ascribed (says Gebhardt) by Matthäi (*Cod. Graec. MSS Bibl. Mosq. S. Synod. Not.* 1. p. 89, Lips. 1805) to the thirteenth century. This volume contains legends and encomia of saints. The martyrdom of Polycarp is on fol. 96—99 a. A full account and collation of it was given by Gebhardt in *Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol.* XLV (XXXIX). p. 355 sq (1875). Zahn (1876) was thus the earliest editor who was able to make use of it for his text. This MS omits the first paragraph of § 22, containing the final salutation Ἐρρωσθαί... εὐρεθῆναι ἡμᾶς, and amplifies the remaining part of this same chapter, more especially the portion relating to the connexion between Polycarp and

Irenæus. This is the most important of the Greek manuscripts, as is shown by the coincidence of its readings with those of Eusebius.

(2) *Baroccianus* 238 [b], in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, stated in Coxe's *Catalogue* to belong to the eleventh century and looking quite as old. The ms is a thin folio, containing 54 (numbered 1—3, 6—56) leaves of vellum. It is mutilated at the beginning and end, and has lost two leaves (4 and 5), since it was last numbered apparently in the seventeenth century. The earlier paging shows that the ms is only a fragment of a much larger volume, having lost 200 leaves at the beginning and an indefinite number at the end. It is well written, in double columns, in the ordinary cursive hand of the period, with some small uncials intermixed. It has accents and breathings, both rather carelessly noted, but not iota subscript or adscript. Itacisms are numerous: e.g.  $\omicron$  and  $\omega$  are frequently confused, and so (though less frequently)  $\epsilon$  and  $\iota$ ,  $\eta$  and  $\iota$ ,  $\eta$  and  $\epsilon$ . Polycarp's martyrdom follows the martyrdom of Papias, Diodorus, and Claudius, and is succeeded by a discussion of the manner in which the head of John the Baptist came to Emesa. It begins on fol. 14 b,  $\mu\eta\gamma\iota\ \tau\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\ \overline{\kappa\Gamma}$ :—*μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου πολυκάρπου ἐπισκόπου σμύρνης τῆς ἀσίας. πρὸ ἑπτὰ (sic) καλάνδων φευρουαρίων.* The month intended is February, as appears plainly from the other contents of the volume (e.g. fol. 25  $\mu\eta\eta\iota\ \phi\epsilon\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\alpha\rho\iota\omega\ \overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ ); so that *φευρουαρίων* is an error for *μαρτίων*. This indeed is apparent from the number  $\kappa\Gamma$ , which corresponds to vii Kal. only in the month of February.

From this ms Ussher derived his text of the Martyrdom of Polycarp (*Ign. et Polyc. Mart.* p. iv, Lond. 1647). More recently it was collated throughout by Dr Jacobson, who also gives a facsimile. I am indebted for a thorough and accurate re-collation to the kindness of the Rev. J. Wordsworth, of Brasenose College, now Bishop of Salisbury, to whom also I owe the account of the ms which is given here. He confirms the substantial accuracy of Jacobson's collation.

(3) *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Graec.* 1452 [p], called by Halloix *Mediceus*; see *Catal. Cod. MSS Bibl. Reg.* II. p. 322 (1740). It is also described in Duchesne *Vita S. Polycarpi Auctore Pionio* p. 6. A parchment ms in double columns in handwriting of the tenth century, with accents often wrong and iota frequently adscript, often omitted, but never subscript. It contains lives, martyrdoms, and eulogies of saints for the month of February. The Martyrdom of Polycarp is on fol. 192 b—196 b. It is preceded by the Life of Polycarp by Pionius, wrongly entered in the Catalogue as *Martyrium Polycarpi*, and is



followed by *Narratio de invento S. Joannis capite*. A copy of this MS, procured by Rosweid, was used by Halloix for his life of Polycarp (see Zahn p. lii), and Bolland translated it for his *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. II. p. 695 sq. A facsimile is given by Jacobson, who collated the Letter of the Smyrnæans for his edition. I have myself made a fresh collation for the present work.

(4) *Vindob. Hist. Graec. Eccl.* iii (formerly xi) [v]; a parchment MS of very large size, consisting of 390 leaves, written in a cursive hand, and belonging to the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, except fol. 137—152 which are in a fourteenth century hand. A facsimile is given by Jacobson. The iota adscript is almost always omitted. The title of the MS given on the first leaf is *βίοι καὶ μαρτύρια τῶν ἁγίων*. It contains a menology for the month of February. The Martyrdom of Polycarp begins on fol. 200 b, col. 2. It omits considerable portions of §§ 10, 17, alters freely throughout, and leaves out §§ 20—23, substituting a much shorter ending of its own which is chiefly made up of the omitted portion of § 17. Altogether the MS betrays all the marks of an arbitrary literary revision. T. Smith gave a few various readings from this MS, taking them from Lambecius *Comm. de Bibl. Caesar. Vindob.* VIII. p. 88, where the beginning and end of these Acts are given. Jacobson collated it throughout. I am indebted to the kindness of Dr H. Schenke, of Vienna, for a new collation.

(5) *S. Sep. Hierosol.* 1 fol. 136 [s] at Jerusalem; discovered by Prof. J. Rendel Harris (while these sheets were passing through the press for my second edition) in the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre, if I rightly interpret my correspondent's brief account. To Prof. Rendel Harris' extreme kindness and promptitude I owe a very careful collation of this document. It is described as belonging to the tenth century, and is of the family *bpy*, but possesses little or no distinctive peculiarity. It is however valuable as being probably the earliest MS of that group.

(ii) EUSEBIUS [E].

The extracts of Eusebius are found in *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 15. The historian speaks of Polycarp's death as *ἐγγράφως ἔτι φερόμενον*, 'still circulated in a written record.' He describes this record as follows; *ἔστι δὲ ἡ γραφή ἐκ προσώπου ἧς αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας ἠγείτο ταῖς κατὰ Πόντον παροικίαις τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀποσημαίνουσα*. The strange statement *κατὰ Πόντον* is considered in the note on *κατὰ πάντα τόπον*.

He then quotes the opening words, *Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ...κατέπαυσε τὸν διωγμὸν* (§ 1). Next after this (*τούτοις ἐξῆς*) he gives an abridged

account of the sufferings of the other martyrs (§ 2), and speaks more at length of Germanicus and Quintus (§§ 3, 4). He then gives a summary of the earlier stages of the persecution of Polycarp himself, adopting more or less the words of the document itself (§§ 5, 6, 7). For the apprehension and martyrdom itself he quotes directly from the document, § 8 Ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε κ.τ.λ...§ 19 ἐν παντὶ τόπω λαλεῖσθαι. Thus he preserves the greater part of the work. He introduces this long extract however with the words, ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφή κατὰ λέξιν ὠδέ πως τὰ ἐξῆς τῆς ἱστορίας ἔχει, where the expression ὠδέ πως seems to qualify the promise of exact verbal quotation held out in κατὰ λέξιν. As a matter of fact however a comparison shows that the extract is generally given word for word. At the same time he seems to have made slight alterations here and there for the sake of clearness (e.g. substituting ὄχημα for καροῦχα in two places § 8); and possibly (though this is doubtful) the omission of περιστερά καὶ (§ 16) may have been an arbitrary alteration of his own. No stress however can be laid on the expression ὠδέ πως, which he uses elsewhere to introduce *verbatim* quotations (see above, I. p. 59). As the extract ends in the middle of § 19, we are unable to say whether or not the copy of Eusebius contained the supplementary paragraphs (§§ 21, 22, 23), which give the date of the martyrdom and the history of the transmission. This question is discussed in the general introduction.

As Eusebius is much the earliest authority for the text of this document, so he is the most valuable; and, wherever he is confirmed by any one other authority, we can (as a rule) have little doubt about accepting his reading. I have not thought it necessary to give the various readings in the MSS and versions of Eusebius himself, except where these correspond to various readings in the other authorities for this Martyrdom. In other cases that reading in Eusebius may be assumed to be correct which is confirmed by the reading of the independent authorities for this document.

### (iii) LATIN VERSION [L].

The different forms in which the *Passio S. Polycarpi* appears in the Latin language are investigated by A. Harnack, who examined several Paris MSS and gives the results in an appendix to *Die Zeit des Ignatius* p. 77 sq. His account is much fuller and more accurate than can be found elsewhere. These forms are threefold.

(1) The Letter of the Smyrnæans is given as it appears in Rufinus' translation of Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 25). A typical example is *Paris*.

*Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 5568 (tenth cent.). In this form it is commonly accompanied, as in the MS just mentioned, by a collection of the notices of Polycarp gathered from Irenæus, as they appear in the same translation of Rufinus. The manner in which these extracts are combined is described by Harnack (p. 81 sq); but we are not concerned with this matter here.

(2) It appears in an independent Latin translation, either complete, or mutilated, or abridged at the end.

(3) In some MSS both forms are given. This is the case in *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 17003 (formerly *Feuillantinus*), *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 5291 (formerly *Colbertinus*), and *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 5341 (formerly *Colbertinus*).

With the Rufinian form (1) we have no concern, and may therefore confine our attention to those MSS which contain the independent version, i.e. to those which belong to heads (2) and (3). These again fall into three classes:

(a) The letter is given complete, as in *Sarisburyensis*, used by Ussher. I am informed that this MS is no longer in the Cathedral Library at Salisbury.

*Brit. Mus. Cotton.* Nero E. i. 27, also used by Ussher.

*Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 9741, to be identified with the *Cod. S.*

*Maximini Trevirensis*, used by Bolland. A collation is given in Harnack, l. c. p. 78 sq.

*Audomarensis* (S. Omer), likewise used by Bolland.

(b) The letter ends with the actual martyrdom, stopping at § 19 'martyrium in Smyrna videtur implese' (ἐν Σμύρνῃ μαρτυρήσας), and omitting the subsequent matter. This is only a few words before the point at which Eusebius (and therefore Rufinus) breaks off; but, as it forms a natural termination, the coincidence is probably accidental;

*Chiffletianus*, from which Bolland gives readings, describing them as 'quae ex alio Burgundico MS nobis communicavit Petrus Franciscus Chiffletius noster.' I do not know that this MS has been identified.

(c) The letter is mutilated and ends at 'cupiebant' in § 13;

*Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 17003.

*Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 5291.

*Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 5341.

(d) The same mutilation, but the missing end is supplied by an excerpt from Rufinus;

*Paris. Bibl. de l' Arsenal* 996 (formerly *Carmelit. Discalceat.*), a MS known to and cited by Ruinart.

*Pratellensis*, also a MS used by Ruinart.

All these MSS give one and the same version. Ruinart indeed mentions 'aliam versionem,' which was contained in a MS 'Carmelitarum Discalceatorum'; and this expression raised great hopes (see Zahn p. liv, Funk p. xcviij). But these hopes were quenched by the investigations of Harnack, who has identified this MS of the Carmelites with *Paris. Bibl. de l' Arsenal* 996 (see p. 86). Thus the peculiarities of this and the allied MS *Pratellensis* (e.g. the omission of 'the dove' in § 16), which seemed to betoken a different version, are due to the fact that the latter part is taken from Rufinus.

This version is very loose and paraphrastic, and betrays great ignorance on the part of the translator, who moreover adds and omits freely of his own caprice. As regards the date it is impossible to form any opinion. Gregory of Tours (†594: for the dates of his works see Teuffel *Gesch. d. Röm. Lit.* § 454) speaks of the history of Polycarp's passion being read in the Church of Ricomagus on his festival (*Mirac.* i. 86); and elsewhere (*Hist. Franc.* i. 26) he writes 'In Asia autem orta persecutione beatissimus Polycarpus Joannis apostoli et evangelistae discipulus octogesimo [sexto] aetatis suae anno, velut holocaustum purissimum, per ignem Domino consecratur,' where 'sexto' is omitted probably by accident. This latter passage is evidently taken from the Letter of the Smyrnæans. Hence Ussher (*Ign. et Polyc. Mart.* praef.) infers that our Latin version must have been already in existence. So too Ruinart (p. 74). They did not notice however that, while Gregory might have derived the 86 years either from Rufinus or from the independent Latin version, he could have got the 'holocaustum' only from Rufinus, for the Latin version here (§ 14) substitutes something wholly different. It is probable therefore that the history of Polycarp's passion, which was read in the Churches of Gaul, was taken from Rufinus.

It will have been seen from the account given that this version is quite valueless for interpretation; and, as the various readings of the Latin MSS do not affect the Greek text, I have not thought fit to reprint it. It is carefully edited by Zahn, so far as was possible with the materials accessible to him.

Zahn (prol. liv) speaks of a *Syriac Version* 'quae in Museo Britannico (MS 14641) editorem exspectat,' and adds 'haec a Pionii recensione derivata est.' Elsewhere again (p. 157) he describes it as belonging to the Pionian recension and states on the authority of

Lagarde that it is not free from 'vicio vetusto', i.e. the erroneous reading of Pionius (as he conceives it) *περιστέρα καί*. This is a mistake. The Martyrdom of Polycarp contained in *Brit. Mus. Add.* 14641 (fol. 146 a) is correctly described by Wright (*Catalogue of Syriac MSS* p. 1045) as 'an extract from the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, lib. iv, comprising the last sentence of cap. 14 [*Ἀντωνῖνον μὲν δὴ κ.τ.λ.*] and the whole of cap. 15.' Accordingly it omits *περιστέρα καί* with the text of Eusebius.

There is likewise a *Coptic Version* in the Memphitic dialect in the Vatican ms *Copt.* 58, fol. 79 sq; but this again, like the Syriac, is made not from the document itself, but from the account in Eusebius. This account however is somewhat manipulated, especially at the beginning and end, so as to read continuously. A transcript of this Coptic version was made for me by the kindness of Professor Guidi; but as it furnishes no independent evidence, I have not reprinted it. It commences

Φμαρττρολογιον ἡφνεθοταδ ἡεπισκοπος οτορ ἡμαρττρος  
 ἡτεπχς αββα πολικαρπος φμαθητης ἡπαποστολος εταχουκς  
 εβολ ἡσοτ κθ ἡπιαβοτ μεχιρ δεπ οτριρηνη ἡτεφτ ἀμνη.

'The martyrology of the holy bishop and martyr of Christ, Abba Polycarp, the disciple of the Apostles, which he accomplished on the 29th of the month Mechir, in the peace of God. Amen.'

## 4.

In the following history of the *printed text* only those editors are mentioned who have made some direct use of original authorities.

Halloix first of all gave in full the contents of this document for his Latin Life of Polycarp (*Illustr. Eccl. Orient. Script. Vet.* 1. p. 542 sq, Duaci 1623), but did not print it *totidem verbis*. Of his materials he writes; 'Haec [i.e. the doings of Polycarp] hactenus non edita, sed tantum in manuscriptis codicibus conservata sunt; quorum exemplar unum atque alterum nactus cum Menaeo Graecorum contuli.' Elsewhere however he speaks only of one ms, and there is no evidence that for these Acts he used more than one. Twenty years later Bolland (*Act. Sanct.* Jan. 26, 11. p. 692 sq, Antwerp 1643) gave a translation of this document, which he made from a Greek ms belonging to the library 'Regis Christianissimi.' At the same time he published the old Latin version from three Latin mss, S. Maximini Trevirensis, Audoma-

rensis, and Chiffletianus, all described above. He speaks of Halloix as deriving his matter 'ex hoc ms nostro alioque,' meaning by 'nostro' the ms in the King's Library at Paris, as already mentioned. This must be identified with *Paris. Graec. 1452 (Mediceus)*. The reasons which have been urged against this identification will be considered hereafter in the introduction to the Life of Polycarp by Pionius. A few years later Ussher (*Ignat. et Polyc. Martyr. 1647*) published both the Greek and the Latin. The former, which appeared now for the first time, was taken from the Oxford ms, *Barocc. 238*. He likewise mentions in his preface 'Mediceus Regis Gallorum,' i.e. the ms used by Halloix, but he does not appear to have made any use of it. For the Latin version he used *Sarisburiensis* and *Cottonianus*. He betrays no knowledge of Bolland's work. Ruinart (*Act. Mart. Sinc.*, ed. 2, 1713) also gave the Greek and the Latin, being entirely dependent upon Ussher, except that for the Latin version he made use likewise of two other MSS, *Colbertinus* and *Pratellensis*. In his notes, as already mentioned (p. 360), he also refers to a MS or MSS of the Carmelites. The Colbertine ms used by Ruinart should probably be identified with *Paris. Graec. 5291* or *Paris. Graec. 5341*, though Harnack (p. 81) gives an inconclusive reason for supposing that it may have been some other unknown ms. T. Smith, as already mentioned (p. 357), in his edition (1709) added in his foot-notes a few various readings of the Greek text of the Vienna ms. Jacobson (ed. 1, 1838) collated the three Greek MSS, b p v, for his edition. Lastly Zahn (A.D. 1876), besides making full use of all the existing materials, added to them Gebhardt's collation of m, and published a thoroughly revised text of both the Greek original and the Latin version.

Besides the new MS s now used for the first time in the present edition of the Greek text, I have also procured fresh collations of b p v. The principles which must guide an editor in the construction of the text are simple and obvious. A reading found in Eusebius and any one other authority must, as a rule, be accepted. Where Eusebius fails us, the coincidence of the Latin version with any one Greek MS should commonly be regarded as decisive. Of the Greek MSS themselves the general order in point of authority is m b p s v; but in individual cases the peculiarities of the several MSS may require to be considered in estimating their relative value.

## ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΥ.

Ἡ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ἐμύρναν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικοῦσῃ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ καὶ

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΥ] μαρτύριον τοῦ ἀγίου πολυκάρπου mb (add. τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μαρτυρίσαντος ἐν σμύρνῃ πρὸ ζ καλανδῶν μαρτίων m; add. ἐπισκόπου σμύρνης τῆς ἀσίας πρὸ ἑπτὰ (sic) καλανδῶν φευρουαρίων b; add. ἐπισκόπου γεναμένου (sic) ἐν σμύρνῃ τῆς ἀσίας τῇ πρὸ ἑπτὰ (sic) καλάνδων...eras. s); μαρτύριον τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου ἱερομάρτυρος πολυκάρπου ἐπισκόπου σμύρνης τῆς ἀσίας v; ἄθλησις τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν πολυκάρπου γενομένου σμύρνης νης (sic) τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀσίαν κειμένης p.

1 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ] mbpsE; *ecclesiis dei* L; om. v. 2 Φιλομηλίῳ] mn (φιλομλίω s) LE; φιλαδέλφια br.

1. ἡ παροικοῦσα] For the meaning of this word *παροικεῖν*, and for its several constructions, see the notes on Clem. Rom. 1, Polyc. *Phil.* inscr.

2. ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ] Philomelium was a town in Phrygia Paroreios, not far in actual distance from Pisidian Antioch. The two however were separated by a mountain range or chine (ὄρεινὴ ῥάχης), which ran from East to West and gave its name to the district; Philomelium lying in the plain on the north side, and Antioch on a hill on the south side of this range (Strabo xii. p. 577). Strabo elsewhere also assigns it to Phrygia (xiv. p. 663). By Ptolemy (v. 2. 25) it is given to Phrygia Magna; by Pliny to Lycaonia (Plin. *N. H.* v. 25); by Hierocles (*Synecd.* p. 25, ed. Parthey), and by the *Notitiae* generally (*ib.* p. 158, 177, 194, 713), to Pisidia; while Eusebius (*H. E.*

iv. 15) is supposed to place it in Pontus (see below). It stood on the great high road to Cappadocia, between Synnada and Iconium, and was a place of some importance (Cic. *Ep. ad Div.* iii. 8, xv. 4). It was wrongly identified by Leake (*Asia Minor* p. 58 sq) with Ilgun. Its true site has since been discovered to be the modern Ak-Shehr (Hamilton's *Asia Minor* i. p. 472, II. pp. 181, 184 sq). No mention is made elsewhere of Philomelium in the earliest records of Christianity. A bishop of this place appears for the first time at the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381). It must therefore have been owing to some accidental circumstance that on this particular occasion the Philomelians come prominently forward. There is nothing in its situation or history which explains the fact.

The other reading ἐν Φιλαδέλφια

πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἀγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις, ἔλεος καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ [τουῦ] Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη.

I. Ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς μαρτυρήσαντας καὶ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, ὅστις ὡσπερ ἐπισφραγίσας διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτοῦ κατέπαυσε τὸν διωγμὸν. σχεδὸν γὰρ πάντα τὰ προάγοντα ἐγένετο, ἵνα ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνωθεν ἐπιδείξῃ τὸ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μαρτύριον. περιέμενεν γὰρ ἵνα παραδοθῆ, ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος, ἵνα μιμηταὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ γενώμεθα,

1 ἀγίας καὶ] mbps; ἀγίας vE; al. L. 2 καὶ εἰρήνη] mL; εἰρήνη (om. καὶ) bpsvE. 3 Θεοῦ] mL E; ἀπὸ Θεοῦ bpsv. 4 τοῦ] mbrv; om. sE. 5 ἀδελφοί] add. ἀγαπητοί m alone. 6 ὅστις] ὡς m. 7 ὡσπερ] ὡς m alone. 8 ἐπισφραγίσας] ἐπισφραγίσας s. 9 διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας] mE; τῆ μαρτυρίᾳ bpsv; om. L. 10 πάντα] ἅπαντα m alone. 11 τὸ εὐαγγέλιον] τοῦ εὐαγγελίου m alone. 12 ἵνα παραδοθῆ] παραδοθῆναι v alone. 13 ὡς] καθὼς v alone. 14 καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἵνα] ὁ κύριος καὶ ἵνα m alone. 15 μιμηταὶ] μιμηταὶ b. 16 γενώμεθα]

is doubtless a later substitution, suggested partly by the greater prominence of Philadelphia both in itself and in ecclesiastical history, and partly by the fact that it is mentioned in a later chapter of this epistle (§ 19). This mention however is of such a kind as to show that the epistle could not possibly have been addressed to the Philadelphians themselves.

I. κατὰ πάντα τόπον] Though Eusebius quotes these words of the letter correctly, yet he introduces them with the remark that the letter is addressed ταῖς κατὰ Πόντον ἐκκλησίαις. Of this there is no trace in the letter itself, for Philomelium was certainly not in Pontus. Perhaps therefore we ought to adopt the conjecture of Valois and substitute πάντα τόπον for Πόντον, though Rufinus and the Syriac version both

read Πόντον, and so it appears in all the extant Greek MSS.

There is no ground for supposing that any other name besides Philomelium appeared in any of the copies of this letter which were circulated at the time. It was directly addressed to the Philomelians in answer to a question which they had asked, and the additional words καὶ πάσαις κ.τ.λ. are added to give it a wider circulation; comp. 1 Cor. i. 2 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ...τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ...σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις κ.τ.λ....ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ.

καθολικῆς] See §§ 8, 16, 19, below, and the note on Ign. *Smyrn.* 8. Compare also the general introduction.

2. παροικίαις] See the note on Clem. Rom. inscr.

ἔλεος κ.τ.λ.] Jude 1 ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη. For πληθυνθείη see also 1 Pet. i. 2, 2 Pet.



μη̄ μόνον σκοποῦντες τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ  
κατὰ τοὺς πέλας· ἀγάπης γὰρ ἀληθοῦς καὶ βεβαίας  
ἐστὶν μη̄ μόνον ἑαυτὸν θέλειν σῶζεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ  
15 πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς.

II. Μακάρια μὲν οὖν καὶ γενναῖα τὰ μαρτύρια  
πάντα [τὰ] κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγονότα· δεῖ  
γὰρ εὐλαβεστέρους ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχοντας τῷ Θεῷ τὴν  
κατὰ πάντων ἐξουσίαν ἀνατιθέναι. τὸ γὰρ γενναῖον  
20 αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπομονητικὸν καὶ φιλοδέσποτον τίς οὐκ ἂν  
θαυμάσειεν; οἱ μᾶστιξι μὲν καταξανθέντες, ὥστε μέχρι

γενόμεθα b; γενώμοιθα s. 12 τὸ pri] τὰ m alone. τὸ sec] om. ms. 13 τοὺς  
πέλας] Ussher; τοὺς παιδας (παιδαC for πελαC) vs; τοῦ (sic) πέλας m; τοῦ πέλας b;  
τοὺς πλείονας p; al. L. 16 τὰ μαρτύρια] μαρτύρια (om. τὰ) m alone.  
17 δεῖ] mv; καὶ bp; ei s; al. L. 18 ἡμᾶς] bvsL; ὑμᾶς mp. 19 ἐξουσίαν]  
add. αὐτῷ p alone. ἀνατιθέναι] pn; ἀνατεθηκέναι m; ἀνατεθῆναι b.  
20 αὐτῶν] mb; αὐτοῦ p; om. vs; al. L. ὑπομονητικὸν] ὑπομονιτικὸν s. 21 θαυ-  
μάσειεν] θαυμάσιεν bs. καταξανθέντες] add. τοσοῦτον v alone.

i. 2, Clem. Rom. inscr., Polyc. *Phil.* inscr.

5. Ἐγράψαμεν] ‘*We write.*’ For this epistolary aorist see the notes on Gal. vi. 11, Philem. 19.

6. μακάριον] Not necessarily used of the dead at this date; see the notes on Clem. Rom. 47, Polyc. *Phil.* 3.

7. ἐπισφραγίσας] Comp. Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* II, ὕστατος τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας μαρτύρων τοὺς ἄθλους ἐπεσφραγίσαστο, *ib.* 13 ὡς ἂν ὕστατον γένοιτο παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ Παλαιστίνην ἀγῶνος ἐπισφράγισμα. So too Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xv. 7 (I. p. 293) ὁ πρῶτος ἔσται τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁδός, καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος σφραγὶς ἀθλήσεως. This is not the only instance in which the phraseology of this epistle—perhaps the earliest genuine martyrology—has set the fashion for after times.

9. ἀνωθεν] ‘*afresh*’, ‘*anew*’, as e.g. in Gal. iv. 9, and probably John iii. 3, 7.

κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον] i.e. in accord-

ance with the Gospel history of His own passion. So again § 19 οὗ τὸ μαρτύριον πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν μιμεῖσθαι, κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ γενόμενον. On the tendency of these Acts to find parallels to our Lord’s history in the final scenes of Polycarp’s life, see the general introduction.

11. καὶ ἡμεῖς] ‘*we* as well as Polycarp.’

12. μη̄ μόνον κ.τ.λ.] *Phil.* ii. 4 μη̄ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι σκοποῦντες ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐτέρων ἕκαστοι.

19. γενναῖον] A favourite epithet as applied to martyrs; e.g. § 3, Clem. Rom. 5, *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 2, 7, *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* in Euseb. *H.E.* v. 1 (several times). See Zahn’s note.

20. φιλοδέσποτον] A not uncommon epithet of faithful slaves in classical writers; comp. Philo *de Spec. Leg.* 7 (II. p. 340).

21. μᾶστιξι μὲν κ.τ.λ.] It would seem as if the antithetic clause had

τῶν ἔσω φλεβῶν καὶ ἀρτηριῶν τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς οἰκονομίαν θεωρεῖσθαι, ὑπέμειναν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς περιεστῶτας ἐλεεῖν καὶ οὐδύρεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον γενναιότητος ἐλθεῖν ὥστε μήτε γρύξαι μήτε στενάξαι τινὰ αὐτῶν, ἐπίδεικνυμένους ἅπασιν ἡμῖν ὅτι ἐκείνη τῇ ὥρᾳ 5 βασανιζόμενοι τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπεδήμουν οἱ μάρτυρες τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅτι παρεστῶς ὁ Κύριος ὠμίλει αὐτοῖς. καὶ προσέχοντες τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι τῶν κοσμικῶν κατεφρόνουν βασάνων, διὰ μιᾶς ὥρας τὴν αἰώνιον κόλασιν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι. καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἦν αὐτοῖς 10

1 ἀρτηριῶν] ἀρτηριῶν s. 2 θεωρεῖσθαι] τῆρεῖσθαι (sic) m. 3 οὐδύρεσθαι] add. αὐτοῦς v alone. τοὺς δὲ] τοῦ δὲ b. καὶ εἰς] εἰς (om. καὶ) m alone. 4 μήτε pri] μὴ δὲ m alone. γρύξαι] mvs; βρύξαι bp (Jacobson). μήτε στενάξαι] om. m alone. 5 αὐτῶν] vs; ἑαυτῶν bp (Jacobson); om. m. ἐκείνη] ἐν ἐκείνη v alone. 6 οἱ] txt bv; add. γενναιότατοι (-ώτατοι ms) mps. μάρτυρες τοῦ Χριστοῦ] vp; μάρτυρες χριστοῦ bs; τοῦ χριστοῦ μάρτυρες m. 7 ὁ Κύριος] bvms [L]; χριστός p. ὠμίλει] mp; ὀμίλι b; ὀμίλει vs. 8 τοῦ Χριστοῦ] bvs; χριστοῦ m; τοῦ κυρίου p; al. L. χάριτι] χάρητι m. τῶν] καὶ τῶν p alone. 9 κατεφρόνουν βασάνων] βασάνων κατεφρόνουν m alone. 10 κόλασιν] ζῶην m alone. 11 ψυχρὸν] ψυχρῶν b. τὸ] om. p alone. ἀπανθρώπων] ἀπανων m; ἀπηρῶν v; ἀπειρῶν bp; ἀπειρῆν s. 12 τὸ] τῷ b. 13 σβεννύμενον] txt bps; add. πῦρ mv.

been intended to run ἐλεθθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν περιεστῶτων...εἰς τοσοῦτον γενναιότητος ἦλθον κ.τ.λ., but the form of the sentence is altered by the dependent clause ὡς καὶ τοὺς περιεστῶτας κ.τ.λ., and the words which ought to have formed the antithesis to μάστιγι μὲν are changed and made antithetical to this dependent clause, τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον κ.τ.λ. Eusebius however in his abridgment gives a different antithesis, τότε μὲν μάστιξι...καταξαινομένους, τότε δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάττης κήρυκας ὑποστρωνυμένους.

1. οἰκονομίαν] 'the internal structure and mechanism,' as e.g. in Plut. *Mor.* 595 D, 496 A, where likewise it is used of the natural processes of 'the house we live in.' Eusebius paraphrases the expression here, τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀπόρρητα τοῦ σώμα-

τος σπλάγχνα τε αὐτῶν καὶ μέλη.

4. ὥστε μήτε γρύξαι κ.τ.λ.] *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* 51 (Eus. *H. E.* v. 1) τοῦ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου μήτε στενάξαντος μήτε γρύξαντός τι ὄλως ἀλλὰ κατὰ καρδίαν ὀμιλοῦντος τῷ Θεῷ (comp. *ib.* § 56), *Act. Perp. et Felic.* 4 'et ego quae sciebam me fabulari cum Domino' etc.; passages quoted by Zahn.

6. τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπεδήμουν] Probably suggested by 2 Cor. v. 6 εἰδότες ὅτι ἐνδημούμετες ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐκδημούμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου.

11. πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* 26 (Eus. *H. E.* v. 1) ὑπομησθεῖσα διὰ τῆς προσκαίρου τιμωρίας τὴν αἰώνιον ἐν γένῃ κολασιν, quoted by Zahn. Imitated in *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 5 τὸ καυστικὸν τοῦ πυρός σου εἰς ὑπόμησίν με ἄγει τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἀσβέστου πυρός, καίπερ πρόσκαιρον

ψυχρὸν τὸ τᾶν ἀπανθρώπων βασανιστῶν· πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ εἶχον φυγεῖν τὸ αἰώνιον καὶ μηδέποτε σβεννύμενον, καὶ τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀνέβλεπον τὰ τηρούμενα τοῖς ὑπομείνασιν ἀγαθὰ, ἃ οὔτε οὔτ

15 ἤκουσεν οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν, οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη, ἐκείνοις δὲ ὑπεδείκνυτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, οἵπερ μηκέτι ἄνθρωποι ἀλλ' ἤδη ἄγγελοι ἦσαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ εἰς τὰ θηρία κριθέντες ὑπέμειναν δεινὰς κολάσεις, κήρυκας μὲν ὑποστρωννύμενοι καὶ ἄλλαις ποι-

ἀνέβλεπον] ἐνέβλεπον m alone.

14 ὑπομείνασιν] ὑπομένουσιν p alone; ἀπομείνασιν s. οὔτε οὐδ...εἶδεν] bvs; the clauses transposed in mp (after 1 Cor. ii. 9).

15 εἶδεν] m; ἶδεν b pvs.

16 ἀνέβη] insert οὐκ before ἀνέβη s. ἐκείνοις δέ] add. καὶ v alone.

17 οἵπερ] b; εἵπερ pvs; οἵτινες m.

μηκέτι] bvs; λοιπὸν οὐκέτι m; μὴ p.

18 δέ] om. p. alone.

οἱ] m alone. Eusebius seems not to have had it (though Zahn thinks otherwise).

κριθέντες] κατακριθέντες m alone. ὑπέμειναν] By some freak b substitutes χρόνον.

19 κήρυκας μὲν] b;

κήρυκας (om. μὲν) m; ξίφη μὲν p; ξίφη τε v; ξίφει τε s. E has the word κήρυκας.

ὑποστρωννύμενοι] p v (comp. E); ὑποστρωννύμενοι b; ὑπεστρωμένοι m.

ποικίλων

βασάνων ιδέαις] m (but written εἰδέαις), comp. E (as quoted in the next note);

ποικίλαις βασάνοις b pvs.

ὕν. See also below, § 11 πῦρ ἀπειλείς κ.τ.λ.

14. τὰ τηρούμενα κ.τ.λ.] *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 6 τὰ ἡγιομασμένα τοῖς εὐσεβέσις ἀγαθὰ.

τοῖς ὑπομείνασιν κ.τ.λ.] For this mixed quotation (*Is.* lxiv. 4, *1 Cor.* ii. 9), see the note on *Clem. Rom.* 34.

17. μηκέτι κ.τ.λ.] *Clem. Recogn.* iii. 30 Futurum tempus...in quo ex hominibus angeli fient, qui in spiritu mentis Deum videbunt, *Tertull. de Res. Carn.* 26, 62.

19. κήρυκας] 'heralds' or 'trumpeters,' the Greek name for a certain mollusc of the whelk family (*buccinidae*); see *Aristot. Hist. An.* v. pp. 544, 546, 547, *Par. An.* iv. pp. 679, 683, and elsewhere. *Pliny N.H.* ix. 36 explains the reason of the Latin name, 'Bucinum...concha ad similitudinem ejus bucinii quo sonus editur, unde et causa nomini.' There

is a play on the word in a saying of Stratonicus related by Machon in *Athen.* viii. p. 349 μή ποτ' ἐπιβάς κήρυκι τὸν πόδ' ἀναπαρῶ, which is explained in the context. Owing to this ambiguity Eusebius goes out of his way to paraphrase the passage by τοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάττης κήρυκας καὶ τινὰς ὀξεῖς ὀβελίσκους. Commentators seem disposed here to explain the word as designating some manufactured implement of torture, just as the Latin *murices* is several times used of iron spikes. But there is no reason for this interpretation. Sea-shells, potsherds, and the like, appear not unfrequently as instruments of torture in the accounts of martyrdoms: *Act. S. Vincent.* 7 (*Ruinart* p. 403, *Ratisb.* 1859, comp. p. 408); *Act. Tarach. Prob. etc.* 3 (*ib.* p. 457); *B. Felicis Conf. Vit.* in *Bedaes Op.* v. 790, ed. Migne.

κίλων βασάνων ιδέαις κολαφιζόμενοι, ἵνα, εἰ δυνηθείη, διὰ τῆς ἐπιμόνου κολάσεως εἰς ἄρνησιν αὐτοὺς τρέψη· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐμηχανᾶτο κατ' αὐτῶν ὁ διάβολος.

III. Ἄλλὰ χάρις τῷ Θεῷ· κατὰ πάντων γὰρ οὖν ἴσχυσεν. ὁ γὰρ γενναιότατος Γερμανικὸς ἐπερρῶν- 5 νεν αὐτῶν τὴν δειλίαν διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπομονῆς· ὃς καὶ ἐπισήμως ἐθηριομάχησεν. βουλομένου γὰρ τοῦ ἀνθ- υπάτου πείθειν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγοντος τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐ- τοῦ κατοικτεῖραι, ἑαυτῷ ἐπεσπάσατο τὸ θηρίον προσ-

1 κολαφιζόμενοι] bhrs; κολαζόμενοι m. Zahn quotes E, διὰ παντὸς εἶδους κολάσεων καὶ βασάνων, for κολαζόμενοι, but this seems to be derived from the preceding δειλὰς κολάσεις. εἰ] ἡ bs. 2 διὰ] txt m; praef. ὁ τύραννος bhrs. τρέψη] στρέψη p. 3 ἐμηχανᾶτο κατ' αὐτῶν] κατ' αὐτῶν ἐμίχανάτο (sic) m alone. In b the word is written ἐμηχανάτω. 4 κατὰ πάντων γὰρ] by; κατὰ πάντων μὲν m; ὅτι κατὰ πάντων p. οὖν] οὐκ G; but L omits the negative, *gratia domino nostro jesu christo qui* (l. *quia?*) *contra omnes fidus servorum suorum defensor adassistit.* 5 γενναιότατος] γεν- ναιώτατος s. ἐπερρῶννεν...δειλίαν] om. m alone. E paraphrases as if he had

1. εἰ δυνηθείη κ.τ.λ.] The nomi- native ὁ τύραννος, which is supplied in the common texts, is not very appropriate, as applied to the pro- consul, and savours of a later age. As it is absent from the Moscow MS, which generally gives the best text, and does not appear either in Eusebius or in the Latin version, I have omitted it. With this omis- sion we are obliged to connect the sentence πολλὰ...ὁ διάβολος with the preceding words, in order to obtain a subject for *δυνηθείη* and *τρέψη*. It is commonly made the beginning of the next chapter. The late post- ponement of this nominative *διάβολος* has given occasion to a scribe to in- sert *τύραννος*.

4. οὖν ἴσχυσεν] So I venture to correct the text. The ordinary read- ing οὐκ ἴσχυσεν must mean one of two things; either (1) 'He (i.e. the devil) did not prevail against all

of them,' but against the great majority, which statement the writers cannot have intended to make; or (2) 'He did not prevail against any of them' (for this sense of *πᾶς οὐκ*, equivalent to *οὐδεὶς*, see Winer, *Gramm.* § xxvi. p. 214 sq), which is untrue, for Quintus is mentioned immediately afterwards (§ 4) as being overcome. With the reading which I have substituted, the meaning will be *κατὰ πάντων (τῶν μηχανημάτων) ἴσ- χυσεν (ὁ Θεός)*.

5. Γερμανικός] The day of Germani- cus in the Latin Martyrologies is Jan. 19, though they place the martyrdom of the companions of S. Polycarp, whom they make ten or eleven in number, on the same day with his, Jan. 26. The Greek Calendar con- tains no mention of Germanicus (see Tillemont *Mémoires* II. p. 314).

7. τοῦ ἀνθ υπάτου] L. Statius Quad- ratus; see the note on § 21. He was

10 βιασάμενος, τάχιον τοῦ ἀδίκου καὶ ἀνόμου βίου αὐτῶι ἀπαλλαγῆναι βουλόμενος. ἐκ τούτου οὖν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, θαυμάσαν τὴν γενναιότητα τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς καὶ θεοσεβοῦς γένους τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἐπεβόησεν· Αἶρε τοῦ ἀθέου, ζητείσθω Πολύκαρπος.

15 IV. Εἰς δὲ ὀνόματι Κόιντος, Φρῦξ προσφάτω ἐληλυθὼς ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας, ἰδὼν τὰ θηρία ἐδειλίασεν. οὗτος δὲ ἦν ὁ παραβιασάμενος ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τινα

read ἑαυτοῦ (αὐτοῦ) for αὐτῶν. ἐπερρώννεν] ἐπερῶννεν s. 6 ὑπομονῆς praef. γενναίας m alone. 7 ἐπισήμως] ἐπισίμως ps. ἔθρημομάχησεν] ἔθη ριωμαχῆσεν b. γάρ] bpsv; γέ τοι [E]; om. m. 8 πείθειν] πείθην m λέγοντος] p; λέγειν mbvs. 9 κατοικτεῖραι] κατοικτῆραι b. 10 τάχιον b; τάχειον vs; καὶ τάχιον m (but written τάχειον) p. ἀδίκου καὶ ἀνόμου] ἀνόμο καὶ ἀδίκου m alone. αὐτῶν] bpE (but some MSS om.); αὐτὸν mv. 12 θαυμάσαν] θαυμάσας b alone. τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς καὶ θεοσεβοῦς] τοῦ θεοσεβοῦς κα θεοφιλοῦς s. 13 Αἶρε] αἶραι b. 15 δὲ] bpsv; οὖν m; tunc L. Κόιντος κυστός v; κυπτός s. Φρῦξ] txt mbpsL; add. τῷ γένει v (so φρύγα τινὰ τ γένος E). προσφάτως] προσφάτος (sic) b. 16 ἐδειλίασεν] ἐδηλί ασεν bs. 17 τινας] add. ἄλλους b alone, but E says σὺν ἑτέροις.

a rhetorician and a friend of the rhetorician Aristides (Aristid. *Op.* I. pp. 451, 521, ed. Dindorf) and should probably be identified with 'the consul Quadratus' mentioned by Philostratus (*Vit. Sophist.* ii. p. 250) as the master of Varus. His name occurs in a Magnesian inscription *C. I. G.* 3410. He is to be distinguished from Quadratus the great builder and restorer of the city of Pergamum (Aristid. *Op.* I. p. 116), whose name, as Mommsen informs me, was not Statius, but Julius. The name Statius Quadratus is also found elsewhere in inscriptions in other parts of the world (*C. I. G.* 337, 5996). For the date of this proconsulship, see above, I. pp. 634 sq, 650 sq.

9. ἑαυτῷ ἐπεσπάσατο κ.τ.λ.] See the note on Ign. *Rom.* 5 προσβιάσομαι.

12. θεοσεβοῦς γένους κ.τ.λ.] So Melito in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26 calls

the Christians τὸ τῶν θεοσεβῶν γένος, a passage quoted by Jacobson comp. *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 2 τὸ τῶ Χριστιανῶν θεοσεβές γένος. For this use of θεοσεβεῖς, θεοσεβεία, see Heini chen's note on Euseb. *H. E.* vii 32. See also below, § 14 τοῦ γένου τῶν δικαίων.

13. Αἶρε] 'Away with,' i.e. to execution, as below, § 9; comp. Luke xxiii. 18, Acts xxi. 36 (comp. xxii 22).

τοῦς ἀθέου] See the note on Ign *Trall.* 3.

15. Φρῦξ] Thus illustrating the proverbial cowardice of the Phrygians; comp. Tertull. *de Anim.* 2, 'Comici Phrygas timidus illudunt and see *Colossians etc.* p. 312 (378), note 2. Another Phrygian however acted in a very different way in the persecutions in Gaul; *Ep. Lugd. e Vienn.* 49 sq (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1).

προσελθεῖν ἐκόντας. τοῦτον ὁ ἀνθύπατος πολλὰ ἐκλιπαρήσας ἔπεισεν ὁμόσαι καὶ ἐπιθῦσαι. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς προδιδόντας ἑαυτοὺς, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

V. Ὁ δὲ θαυμασιώτατος Πολύκαρπος τὸ μὲν 5  
πρῶτον ἀκούσας οὐκ ἐταράχθη, ἀλλ' ἐβούλετο κατὰ  
πόλιν μένειν· οἱ δὲ πλείους ἔπειθον αὐτὸν ὑπεξελθεῖν.  
καὶ ὑπεξεῆλθεν εἰς ἀγρίδιον οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς  
πόλεως, καὶ διέτριβε μετ' ὀλίγων, νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν  
οὐδὲν ἕτερον ποιῶν ἢ προσευχόμενος περὶ πάντων καὶ 10  
τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν· ὅπερ ἦν σύνηθες

1 προσελθεῖν] ἐλθεῖν p alone. τοῦτον...ἔπεισεν] bps; τοῦτον ἐκλιπαρήσας πολλὰ ὁ ἀνθύπατος ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν v (Jacobson); τοῦτον ὁ ἀνθύπατος πολλὰ ἐξελεειπάρησεν m. ἐκλιπαρήσας] ἐκλειπαρήσας b. 2 ὁμόσαι] ὁμῶσαι mbvs (but corr.). 3 προδιδόντας ἑαυτοὺς] s; προδιδόντας ἑαυτοῖς v; προσίοντας ἑαυτοὺς m; προσίοντας ἑαυτοῖς bp (but ἑαυτοῖς without accent in p); *qui se ultro offerunt* L. 5 θαυμασιώτατος] mbs (comp. E); θαυμάσιος p; τίμιος καὶ θαύμασιώτατος v. 7 πόλιν] mbps; τὴν πόλιν v. The MSS of E vary. ὑπεξελεθῆν] ὑπεξίναται m alone. 8 καὶ ὑπεξεῆλθεν] bps; ὑπεξεῆλθεν οὖν m; καὶ πεισθεὶς ὑπεξεῆλθεν v. ἀγρίδιον] bms; ἀγρήδιον p; τὸ ἀγρίδιον v (Jacobson). ἀπέχον] ἀπέχων mbs. ἀπὸ] om. m alone. 9 διέτριβε] mps (comp. E); ἔτριβε[v] bv. μετ' ὀλίγων] pm (μετὰ), and so E, σὺν ὀλίγοις; μετ' ὀλίγων ἀδελφῶν v; μετ' ὀλίγων bs. νύκτα] νύκταν s. ἡμέραν] ἡμέρα m. 10 οὐδὲν] bps (comp. E οὐτε); μηδὲν mn. καὶ] om. p alone. 11 τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην] τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης (sic) s.

4. οὐχ οὕτως κ.τ.λ.] See Matt. x. 23, John vii. 1, viii. 59, x. 39, etc. 'A communi priscae ecclesiae sententia,' writes Zahn, 'Tertullianus recessit, cum *fugendum in persecutione non esse studeret demonstrare (de Fuga 4 sq.)*'

6. κατὰ πόλιν] If we adopt this reading, it must be 'in town' (as opposed to κατὰ χώραν 'in the country'), and this is quite a possible meaning in itself. As a matter of fact however κατὰ πόλιν commonly means 'from city to city,' e.g. Luke viii. 1, 4, xv. 21, xx. 23, Tit. i. 5.

11. σύνηθες αὐτῷ] This accords with his own injunctions, Polyc.

*Philipp.* 12; comp. *Mar. Ign. Ant.* 6.

15. Δεῖ με κ.τ.λ.] See the note on § 12, where this presentiment is fulfilled.

17. ἐπιμενόντων] 'persisting in their search,' as again below §§ 8, 10; see Plato *Laches* 194 A ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ζητήσει ἐπιμεινωμέν τε καὶ καρτερήσωμεν. It is paraphrased by Eusebius ἐπικειμένων σὺν πάσῃ σπουδῇ.

22. οἰκίῳ ὑπήρχον] Matt. x. 36 ἐχθροὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οἱ οἰκιακοὶ αὐτοῦ. Here again the martyrdom of Polycarp was κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (see above § 8), for Christ likewise was betrayed by one of His own house-

αὐτῷ. καὶ προσευχόμενος ἐν ὄπτασίᾳ γέγονεν πρὶ  
 τριῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ συλληφθῆναι αὐτόν, καὶ εἶδεν τὸ  
 προσκεφάλαιον αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ πυρὸς κατακαίόμενον· κα  
 15 στραφεῖς εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, Δεῖ με ζῶντα  
 καῆναι.

VI. Καὶ ἐπιμενόντων τῶν ζητούντων αὐτόν, μετ  
 ἔβη εἰς ἕτερον ἀγρίδιον· καὶ εὐθέως ἐπέστησαν ο  
 ζητούντες αὐτόν. καὶ μὴ εὐρόντες συνελάβοντο παι  
 20 δάρια δύο, ὧν τὸ ἕτερον βασανιζόμενον ὠμολόγησεν  
 ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἀδύνατον λαθεῖν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ προδι  
 δόντες αὐτόν οἰκέιοι ὑπῆρχον. καὶ ὁ εἰρήναρχος,

ἦν] ἦ s. 12 γέγονεν] or γέγομε, bpsv; om. m (comp. E). 13 τριῶν] mpv  
 LE; τῶν b. καὶ εἶδεν] καὶ ἶδεν mpbs; ἶδεν γὰρ v. τὸ] mpvs; om. l  
 15 σὺν] m (comp. E τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν); συνόντας bpsv; dub. L (qui cum  
 erant). αὐτῷ] txt mL; add. προφητικῶς bpsv (comp. E μονουχὶ τὸ μέλλει  
 προθεσπίσαντα). Δεῖ] praef. ἀδελφοὶ καὶ τέκνα v alone. 16 καῆνα  
 κάηναι (sic) m; καυθῆναι bpsv. Ussher read κατακαυθῆναι and was followed by some  
 later edd. 17 ἐπιμενόντων] ἐπιμαυόντων s. 18 ἀγρίδιον] ἀγρήδιον l  
 εὐθέως] ἅμα τοῦ ἐπαναχωρῆσαι v. 20 ὧν...ὠμολόγησεν] ἃ καὶ βασανιζόμεν  
 ὠμολόγησαν v; βασανιζομένον δὲ τῶν παιδίων ὠμολόγησαν (sic) s. ἕτερον] ἕτερο  
 b; στερεὸν p. 21 ἐπεὶ] ἐπειδὴ v alone. προδιδόντες] προδιδοῦντες n  
 22 αὐτόν] om p. alone. οἰκέιοι] οἰκίοι s. ὑπῆρχον] v omits all after th  
 to the end of the chapter.

hold (John xiii. 18). It does not appear whether this ἀγρίδιον was Polycarp's own or not. The most natural explanation however is that these were his own slaves (see *Colossians* p. 329); and this supposition at all events agrees with the old story that he possessed considerable property.

εἰρήναρχος] 'the captain of the police,' though in some respects 'the high-sheriff' would be a nearer equivalent. This officer (εἰρήναρχος, εἰρηνάρχης, εἰρηναρχεῖν) is mentioned not unfrequently in the inscriptions in connexion with cities of Asia Minor; *C. I. G.* 2768 (Aphrodisias), 2882 (Miletus), 2929, 2930 b (Tralles), 3496 (Thyatira), 3831 a<sup>4</sup>

(Aezani), 4020 (Ancyra), 4085 (Pessinus), *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vii. p. 27 (Nysa), *Papers of the American School at Athens* i. pp. 99, 100 (Tralles). At Attalia (*C. I. G.* 434 f) such a person is described in hexameter verse as εἰρήνης ἄρξων owing to the necessities of the metre and at Smyrna itself (*C. I. G.* 315) we have mention of a στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, who is doubtless the same officer. See also Pallad. *Hell. Lausiaca*. c. 116 ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, translated 'irenarcha' in the Latin. He was a λειτουργία and seems to have been regarded as an honourable office. The rhetorician Aristides, himself a native of Smyrna, thus describes the way in which these irenarchs were a

κεκληρωμένος τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα, Ἡρώδης ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἔσπευδεν εἰς τὸ στάδιον αὐτὸν εἰσαγαγεῖν, ἵνα ἐκείνος μὲν τὸν ἴδιον κλῆρον ἀπαρτίσῃ, Χριστοῦ κοινωνὸς γενόμενος, οἱ δὲ προδόντες αὐτὸν τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰούδα ὑπόσχοιεν τιμωρίαν.

5

VII. Ἐχοντες οὖν τὸ παιδάριον, τῇ παρασκευῇ περὶ δείπνου ὥραν ἐξῆλθον διωγμίται καὶ ἱππεῖς μετὰ τῶν συνήθων αὐτοῖς ὅπλων, ὡς ἐπὶ ληστὴν τρέχοντες. καὶ ὀψὲ τῆς ὥρας συνεπελθόντες, ἐκείνον μὲν εὖρον ἐν τινι δωματίῳ κατακείμενον ἐν ὑπερώῳ· κάκειθεν δὲ 10

1 κεκληρωμένος] mp; κεκληρομένος s; καὶ κληρονόμος (sic) b. ἐπιλεγόμενος] bps; λεγόμενος m. 2 ἔσπευδεν] bps; ἔσπευσεν m. αὐτὸν] mbrn; om. s. 3 ἀπαρτίσῃ] ἀπαρτήσῃ bs; ἀπαρτήσῃ m. γενόμενος] γενόμενος s. 4 τὴν αὐτοῦ] bps; τῆς αὐτῆς m. τοῦ] τῷ ss. 5 ὑπόσχοιεν τιμωρίαν] b (ὑπόσχευεν) ps; τύχῳσιν τιμωρίας m (comp. L *roenam accipiant*). 6 τὸ παιδάριον] τὰ παιδάρια v alone. 7 περὶ] m; om. pbsv. ὥραν] mb; ὥρα pvs (comp. L). διωγμίται] διωγμίται bvs. 8 ληστὴν] λῆστῆ v. τρέχοντες] bpsv; ἀπερχόμενοι m. 9 συνεπελθόντες] s; συναπελθόντες bv; ἐπελθόντας E; ἀπελθόντες m; καταλαβόντες p. 10 δωματίῳ] δοματίῳ bv. κατακείμενον] here, bpsv; after ὑπερώῳ, mE (who however omits ἐν τινι δωματίῳ). ἐν sec] vsE; om. mbr. ὑπερώῳ] ὑπερώῳ s. δὲ] mpvs; om. b. 11 ἡβουλήθη] mpvs; ἐβουλήθη b. 12 Θεοῦ] pvsLE; (but with v. l. κυρίου);

pointed; *Or. Sacr.* iv (*Op.* I. p. 523, Dindorf) ἐπέμπετο τοῖς ἡγεμόσι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἀφ' ἐκάστης πόλεως ἐκάστου ἔτους ὀνόματα δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων· ταῦτα ἔδει σκεψάμενον τὸν ἡγεμόνα ὃν προκρίνειεν ἐξ ἀπάντων καθίσταται φύλακα τῆς εἰρήνης. On the 'irenarchae' see Gothofred on *Cod. Theodos.* Lib. xii. Tit. xiv (IV. p. 647), and Valois on Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 15; and on εἰρήναρχος generally Waddington's note *Asie Mineure* Inscr. III. 57 (p. 27), *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* XI. p. 99 (1887), and Mommsen *Röm. Gesch.* V. p. 324.

ὁ κεκληρωμένος] 'who had had assigned to him' by a providential fitness; as in Epiphan. *Haer.* lxxvi. 10 (p. 923) σὺ ἀνόμιος γέγονας, κληρωθεὶς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα. The reading

ὁ καὶ κληρονόμος is obviously corrupt.

1. τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα] 'the same name' with the persecuting tyrant in the Gospel. The meaning is explained by the following words, Ἡρώδης ἐπιλεγόμενος. Zahn emends the text by reading Ἡρώδη for Ἡρώδης, and omitting [ἐπι]λεγόμενος. Having dealt thus violently with the text, he explains his reading, 'Herodis nomen quod Smyrnaeorum irenarcha sortitus est, revocavit Herodem tetrarcham.'

6. παρασκευῇ] On the meaning of this word here see the general introduction.

7. διωγμίται] 'gens d'armes,' literally 'pursuers'; Amm. Marc. xxvi. 9 'adhibitis semiarmibus paucis



ἠδύνατο εἰς ἕτερον χωρίον ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠβουλήθη εἰπῶν· Τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ γενέσθω. ἀκούσας οὐ [αὐτοὺς] παρόντας, καταβάς διελέχθη αὐτοῖς, θαυμαζόντων τῶν παρόντων τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐ  
 15 σταθές, [καὶ] εἰ τοσαύτη σπουδὴ ἦν τοῦ συλληφθῆνα τοιοῦτον πρεσβύτην ἄνδρα. εὐθέως οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσε παρατεθῆναι φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, ὅσο ἂν βούλωνται· ἐξητήσατο δὲ αὐτοὺς, ἵνα δῶσιν αὐτῷ ὥραν πρὸς τὸ προσεύξασθαι ἀδεῶς. τῶν δὲ ἐπιτρε  
 20 ψάντων, σταθεῖς προσηύξατο πλήρης ὢν τῆς χάριτο

κυρίου bm (with Acts xxi. 14). γενέσθω] G; γινέσθω E. οὐν] mpsL; δ ἂν.  
 13 αὐτοὺς παρόντας] pvs; τοὺς παρόντας b; παρόντας αὐτοὺς m παρόντας [E]. καταβάς] p [E] (comp. L); καὶ καταβάς bvs; om. (altogether) π διελέχθη] διηλέχθη p. θαυμαζόντων] pv; θαυμαζόντων s; add. δὲ b; prae καὶ m.  
 15 καὶ εἰ] [E]; εἰ m; καὶ ὅτι p; τινὲς ἔλεγον ἡ b; ἡ alone v; τοσαύτη σπουδὴ ἦν] vs; τοσαύτη σπουδὴ ἦ b (adding ἦν after ἄνδρα); τοσαύτη σπουδὴ (sic) εἰ (sic) m; τοσαύτη γένοιτο σπουδὴ E; τοσαύτη σπουδὴ ἐχρήσαντο p. 1 τοιοῦτον] add. θεοφιλεῖ m alone. αὐτοῖς] here, bs; after ἐκέλευσεν, m; ἀφ᾽ ἐπιτεθῆναι, v; αὐτοὺς here, p. 18 βούλωνται] βούλωνται ps. αὐτοῖς] mbs; αὐτοῖς pv. δῶσιν] bp; δώσωσιν mvs. αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν m alone 19 πρὸς τὸ προσεύξασθαι] mvs; πρὸς τὸ εὐξασθαι p; προσεύξασθαι b; ὡς ἂν προσεῖξιτο [E]. 20 σταθεῖς] add. πρὸς ἀνατολὰς m alone.

quos diocmitas appellant,' Jul. Capitol. *Vit. M. Anton.* 21 'armavit et diocmitas,' *Cod. Justin.* x. 30. 4 τῶν διαγωγικῶν, *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3831 a<sup>8</sup> παρασχόντα τῷ κυρίῳ Καίσαρι σύμμαχον διαγμείτην παρ' ἑαυτοῦ (at Aezani). With this last passage comp. Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* c. 116 ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης...πρὸς τὸν ἐχόμενον σύμμαχον εἶπεν, whence it appears that these διαγμῖται were under the command of the irenarch. See also Waddington on *Inscr.* III. 992 (p. 225)=*C. I. G.* 3831 a<sup>8</sup> above.

μετὰ τῶν...ὄπλων] John xviii. 3 λαβὼν τὴν σπεῖραν...ἔρχεται ἐκεῖ μετὰ...ὄπλων.

8. ὡς ἐπὶ ληστήν] Matt. xxvi. 55 ὡς ἐπὶ ληστήν ἐξήλαθε; comp. Mark xiv. 48, Luke xxii. 52.

11. χωρίον] 'farm', 'estate'; see the note on *Ign. Rom. inscr.*

12. Τὸ θέλημα κ.τ.λ.] Acts xxi. 1 τοῦ Κυρίου τὸ θέλημα (v. l. τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου) γινέσθω (v. l. γενέσθω) see also Matt. vi. 10, xxvi. 42 (comp. Luke xxii. 42).

14. τὸ εὐσταθές] 'his firmness' 'constancy'; see the note on *Ign. Polyc.* 4.

15. εἰ...ἦν] This is the reading to which the variations in the authorities point. For the construction θαί μάζω εἰ, followed by an indicative see Kühner's *Gramm.* II. p. 887 sq.

18. δῶσιν] If the other reading δώσωσιν be correct, see for this future conjunctive Winer *Gramm.* § xiii. p. 89, § xv. p. 102.

20. σταθεῖς] For this attitude i

τοῦ Θεοῦ οὕτως, ὡς ἐπὶ δύο ὥρας μὴ δύνασθαι σιγῆσαι, καὶ ἐκπλήττεσθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας, πολλοὺς τε μετανοεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐληλυθέναι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον θεοπρεπῆ πρεσβύτην.

VIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε κατέπαυσε τὴν προσευχὴν, 5 μνημονεύσας ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν πρόποτε συμβεβληκῶτων αὐτῷ, μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων, ἐνδόξων τε καὶ ἀδόξων,

1 ὡς] m [E]; ὥστε brys. ἐπὶ δύο ὥρας] mbrvE; om. s. σιγῆσαι] mv; σιωπῆσαι bps. 2 καὶ] ἀλλ' v alone. ἐκπλήττεσθαι] πλήττεσθαι s. πολλοὺς τε] bpsE; πολλοὺς δὲ m; καὶ (om. πολλοὺς τε) v. 3 ἐπὶ τῷ] sE; ἐπὶ τῷ m; καὶ p. θεοπρεπῆ] p [E]; θεοπρεπεῖ bvs; θεοφιλῆ m. 5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε] mE; ὡς δὲ brys. From this point onward Eusebius quotes directly from the document. 6 ἀπάντων] πάντων m; ἀπάντων (sic) s. καὶ τῶν πρόποτε] p v sE; καὶ τῶν ποτε] b; τῶν καὶ ποτε (sic) m. συμβεβληκῶτων] sE (best MSS, Ruf); συμβαλόντων m; συμβεβηκῶτων brys. 8 πάσης] mE; ἀπάσης brys. 9 ὄνφ] mvsE; ἐν ὄνφ bp. καθίσαντες] καθήσαντες s. 10 ἡγάγον] mE (best

prayer see e.g. Matt. vi. 5, Luke xviii. 11, 13.

9. ὄνφ] Evidently regarded by the writers as a parallel to the incident in the Gospels; Matt. xxi. 2 sq, John xii. 14 sq.

10. σαββάτου μεγάλου] 'a high sabbath'; see the general introduction.

12. Νικήτης] The name occurs more than once in the inscriptions at Smyrna and in the immediate neighbourhood; *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3148, 3359. As it is not a common name until a later date, this fact is not without its value. It was borne by a great sophist, a citizen of Smyrna, who lived in the time of Nerva and was highly esteemed by his fellow-townsmen (*Philostr. Vit. Soph.* i. 19, p. 511 sq; i. 21, pp. 516, 518; ii. 16, p. 596). He is styled 'Sacerdos' (*Plin. Ep.* vi. 6, [*Tacit. Dial.* 15], which appears to be an official title, not a proper name. It is apparently this Smyrnæan, whose oratory is described by Automedon in *Anthol.* II. p. 210. Fabricius

(*Bibl. Graec.* VII. p. 755, ed. Harles) would identify him with our Nicetes, but chronological considerations make this hardly possible. The rhetorician of this name mentioned by the elder Seneca (*Suas.* 3, *Controu.* i. 5, 7, 8, iv. 25, 29, v. 31, 33, 34) seems to have been a different person from the Smyrnæan, for it is hardly possible that the same man who lived under or before Tiberius (*Senec. Suas.* 3) can have been flourishing still under Nerva (*Philostr. Vit. Soph.* i. 20, p. 512). Possibly however Philostratus has misnamed the emperor in question. In the Clementine fiction Nicetes and Aquila are the brothers of Clement (*Clem. Hom.* ii. 1, etc., esp. xiii. 6, 7). They are made bishops τῶν κατὰ Ἀσίαν παροικίων, *Apost. Const.* vii. 46. An account of all the writers bearing the name Nicetas or Nicetes is given in Fabricius *Bibl. Graec.* VII. p. 745 sq.

καροῦχαν] As in *Is.* lxvi. 20 (*Symm.*), *Edict. Diocl.* 15. 9 (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* III. p. 835). It is the

καὶ πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ὥρας ἐλθούσης τοῦ ἐξιέναι, ὄνῳ καθίσαντε  
 10 αὐτὸν ἤγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὄντος σαββάτου μεγάλου  
 καὶ ὑπὴντα αὐτῷ ὁ εἰρήναρχος Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ πατήρ  
 αὐτοῦ Νικήτης, οἱ καὶ μεταθέντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν καροῦ  
 χαν ἔπειθον παρακαθεζόμενοι καὶ λέγοντες· Τί γὰρ  
 κακὸν ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, Κύριος Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἐπιθῦσαι, καὶ τὶ

MSS, but v. 1. ἤγον); ἦγον b<sup>pvs</sup>. ὄντος] ὄντως s. μεγάλου] mbvsLE; om. 1  
 11 ὑπὴντα] bmE; ὑπάντα (sic) ps; ὑπαντᾶ v. αὐτῷ] mpE; αὐτὸν bsv\* (bu  
 corr. v\*\* marg): Ἡρώδης] praef. ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς v alone. 12 Νικήτης  
 bmvsE; Νικήτας p. Praef. ὄνματι v alone. Add. ἐπὶ τὸ ὄχημα (ᾠχημα v) b<sup>pvs</sup>  
 om. msE. It is obviously a gloss on ἐπὶ τὴν καροῦχαν just below, and has crept int  
 the text at the wrong place. οἱ] om. m alone. ἐπὶ τὴν καροῦχαν] b<sup>pvs</sup>  
 ἐπὶ καροῦχαν m; εἰς τὸ ὄχημα E. 14 Κύριος] G; Κύριε E (comp. L,  
 ἐπιθῦσαι] G; θῦσαι E. καὶ τὰ τούτους ἀκόλουθα] mbvs (comp. L); τὰ τούτο.  
 ἀκόλουθα (om. καὶ) p; om. (altogether) E.

Latin word *carruca*, somewhat transformed for the sake of a common Greek termination (-ουχα from ἔχω). In *Edict. Diocl.* l. c., where it is written *καροῦχον*, it is distinguished from the *rheda*, the *dormitorium*, etc. It was a stately, covered carriage, used by high functionaries or by ladies. See Ducange *Gloss. Med. Lat.* s.v. 'carruca.'

14. Κύριος Καῖσαρ] 'Caesar is Lord.' This, combined with the further demand § 9 *λοιδορήσον τὸν Χριστόν*, was a defiance of 1 Cor. xii. 3 οὐδεὶς ἐν πνεύματι Θεοῦ λαλῶν λέγει Ἐνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς, καὶ οὐδεὶς δύναται εἰπεῖν Κύριος Ἰησοῦς εἰ μὴ ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ (the correct text). In a certain sense Κύριος Καῖσαρ might have been said innocently; but, as intended, it was a direct negation of Κύριος Ἰησοῦς and a virtual deification of the emperor: see Tertull. *Apol.* 34 'Dicam plane imperatorem dominum, sed more communi, sed quando non cogor ut Dominum Dei vice dicam,' quoted by the commentators. The reading of the Greek

MSS is Κύριος Καῖσαρ, for which the vocative Κύριε Καῖσαρ of Eusebiu is a very natural but less expressiv substitute.

On the title 'Dominus' see Marquardt *Röm. Alterth.* II. 3, p. 304 note 1353 (ed. 1), and esp. Mommsen *Römisches Staatsrecht* II. p. 737 sq Augustus and Tiberius had declined to be so called; but at a later date emperors entertained no scruple on this point. On coins and documents of Antoninus Pius for instance under whom Polycarp was martyred it occurs; Eckhel *Num.* VIII. p. 365 Orelli *Inscr.* 4370 (this last belonging to the year 155, and therefore nearly synchronous with Polycarp's martyrdom), passages quoted by Mommsen. The title Κύριος is applied to the emperor in more than one extant Smyrnæan inscription; Boeckl *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3295, 3384 Though it occurs in the connexion 'dominus et deus' as early as Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 13; comp. Martial v. 8), it was not in itself connected with the deification of the

τούτοις ἀκόλουθα, καὶ διασώζεσθαι; ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν  
 πρῶτα οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς, ἐπιμενόντων δὲ αὐτῶν  
 ἔφη· Οὐ μέλλω ποιεῖν ὃ συμβουλεύετε μοι. οἱ δέ,  
 ἀποτυχόντες τοῦ πείσαι αὐτόν, δεινὰ ῥήματα ἔλεγον  
 καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς καθήρουν αὐτόν, ὡς κατιόντα ἀπὸ τῆς 5  
 καρούχας ἀποσύραι τὸ ἀντικνήμιον. καὶ μὴ ἐπιστρα-  
 φείς, ὡς οὐδὲν πεπονθώς, προθύμως μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐπο-  
 ρεύετο, ἀγόμενος εἰς τὸ στάδιον, θορύβου τηλικούτου  
 ὄντος ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ὡς μηδὲ ἀκουσθῆναί τινα δύνασθαι.

1 ὁ δὲ] add. ἅγιος πολύκαρπος v.

2 αὐτοῖς] bpsv; αὐτοὺς m; om.

E. 3 μέλλω] μέλω b. ποιεῖν] G; πράττειν E. συμβουλεύετε]

συμβουλεύεται mps. 4 αὐτόν] add. διὰ πειθανολογίας v. ἔλεγον] mE;

add. αὐτῷ bpsvs. 5 σπουδῆς] praef. πολλῆς v alone. καθήρουν] καθή-

ρον vs; καθήρον (sic) p; καθήρον b. αὐτόν] G; om. E. Add. ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀχί-

ματος bpsv; om. mE. It is obviously a gloss on ἀπὸ τῆς καρούχας just below. ὡς]

txt mpE; add. καὶ bvs. ἀπὸ τῆς καρούχας] G; ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀχίματος E.

6 ἀποσύραι] (ἀποσύραι m) mE; ἀποσυρῆναι bpsv. In L the sentence runs, *ut suas*

*aliqua ex parte quassaret.* ἀντικνήμιον] ἀντικνίμιον s. καὶ] G; ἀλλὰ γὰρ E.

μὴ] μηδὲ v alone. 7 ὡς] G; ὅσα E. προθύμως] mbvs; πρόθυμος pE

(but v. l. προθύμως). 8 ἀγόμενος...στάδιον] εἰς τὸ στάδιον ἀγόμενος m alone.

θορύβου—εἰς τὸ στάδιον (c. 9)] om. s. by homeoteleuton. θορύβου] txt mbpv; add.

δὲ E, omitting it in τῷ (δὲ) Πολυκάρπῳ, just below, so as to begin the new sen-

tence here. 9 μηδὲ] txt mbpv; add. πολλοῖς E. ἀκουσθῆναί τινα δύνασθαι]

mbpv; πολλοῖς ἀκουσθῆναι E. For ἀκουσθῆναι m has ἀκουτισθῆναι. τινα] mbpv;

om. [E]. 10 Τῷ δὲ] add. μακαρίῳ v alone. For τῷ δὲ...εἰσιόντι m alone has τοῦ

emperor, as Tertullian seems to think (*Apol.* 34 ‘Augustus...ne dominum quidem se dici volebat, et hoc enim Dei est cognomen’), but rather implied that his subjects were his slaves (Plin. *Paneg.* 2 ‘non enim de tyranno sed de cive, non de domino sed de parente loquimur’). The Christians, having their own Κύριος, imported a corresponding meaning into it when applied to the emperor, and so regarded it as blasphemous.

ἐπιθύσαι] ‘to offer incense’. This compound is used especially, though not solely, in the sense ‘thus impo-  
 nere’, ‘thurificare’; see esp. Porphy.  
*ac Abst.* ii. 58 αὐτὸ τὸ θύειν τοῦ θυ-

μιᾶν εἶχετο (‘was allied to’) καὶ τοῦ  
 νῦν παρ’ ἡμῖν λεγομένου ἐπιθύειν·  
 ὁ γὰρ ἡμεῖς νῦν θύειν λέγομεν, ἔρδειν  
 ἔλεγον κ.τ.λ. Comp. Joseph. *Bell.*  
*Jud.* vii. 3. 3 τεκμήριον ἐμπαρέχειν  
 οἴόμενος τὸ ἐπιθύειν, ὥσπερ νόμος ἐστὶ  
 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν κ.τ.λ. (of Antiochus  
 Epiphanes), Diod. Sic. xviii. 60  
 ἐπέθνον ἐκ κιβωτίου χρυσοῦ πάντες  
 οἱ ἡγεμόνες τὸν τε λιβανωτὸν καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων εὐωδῶν τὰ πολυτελέστατα καὶ  
 προσεκύνουν ὡς θεὸν τὸν Ἀλέξαν-  
 δρον (a good illustration of our text).  
 See Wesseling’s note on Diod. Sic.  
 xii. 11, from which these references  
 are taken. For the offering of incense  
 to the emperors see Tertull. *Apol.*  
 30, Arnob. *ad Nat.* vii. 36, Euseb.

10 IX. Τῷ δὲ Πολυκάρπῳ εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸ στάδιον  
 φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐγένετο· Ἰσχυε Πολύκαρπε καὶ  
 ἀνδρίζου. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα οὐδεὶς εἶδεν, τὴν δὲ  
 φωνὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ παρόντες ἤκουσαν. καὶ λοιπὸν  
 15 ὅτι Πολύκαρπος συνείληπται. προσαχθέντα οὖν αὐτὸν  
 ἀνηρώτα ὁ ἀνθύπατος, εἰ αὐτὸς εἶη· τοῦ δὲ ὁμολο-  
 γοῦντος, ἔπειθεν ἀρνεῖσθαι λέγων, Αἰδέσθητί σου τὴν  
 ἡλικίαν, καὶ ἕτερα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς

δὲ πολυκάρπου εἰσιόντος. 11 ἐγένετο] G; γέγονεν E. Add. λέγουσα v (Jacobson) alone. Πολύκαρπε] here, mE; after ἀνδρίζου, b pvs. After πολύκαρπε add. μετὰ σοῦ γὰρ εἰμι v (from Acts xviii. 9, 10). 12 εἶδεν] bE; οἶδεν pvs; ἴδεν m. 13 τῶν ἡμετέρων] τῶν οἱ μετέρων b; om. s. οἱ παρόντες] G (comp. L, *quī in arena erant*); πολλοὶ E. καὶ λοιπὸν προσαχθέντος] G; προσαχθέντος οὖν E. 15 Πολύκαρπος] ὁ πολύκαρπος m alone; πολύκαρπον v. συνείληπται] mpE; συνήληπται b; συνελήφθη vs. προσαχθέντα οὖν] m; προσαχθέντα δὲ p; λοιπὸν προσαχθέντα bs; λοιπὸν οὖν προσελθόντα E; τοῦ δὲ προσαχθέντος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος v. αὐτὸν] here, mbps; after ἀνηρώτα, v alone. 16 εἶη] m; εἰ πολύκαρπος p; εἶη πολύκαρπος bsE; εἶη πολύκαρπος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος v. τοῦ δὲ ὁμολογοῦντος] G; καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος E. 17 ἔπειθεν] add. ὡς ἐνόμιζεν v. 18 ἡλικίαν] add. ὡ καλὲ πολύκαρπε καὶ φίλε ἡμῶν καὶ θύσον τοῖς θεοῖς ἵνα καὶ τιμῶν μεγίστων καὶ δωρεῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀξιώθῃς v. ἕτερα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα] ἔλεγεν ἀκόλουθα m alone. ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς] bvs; ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἔθος p; ὡν ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς m; ἀ σὺνηθες αὐτοῖς E.

H. E. vii. 15, and esp. Plin. *Ep.* x. 97 'Qui negant esse se Christianos aut fuisse, quum praeunte me deos appellarent et imagini tuae, quam propter hoc iusseram cum simulacris numinum adferri, ture ac vino *supplicarent*, praeterea maledicerent Christo, quorum nihil posse cogi dicuntur, qui sunt revera Christiani, dimittendos esse putavi.'

καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα] sc. λέγοντες, 'and the like'. This clause appears not to be given as forming part of the words of the magistrates; comp. § 9 καὶ ἕτερα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα. These words καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα are omitted by Eusebius and therefore by Rufinus. It is a mistake of Cotelier to say that they are repre-

sented in his '*de caetero*'; for '*de caetero vivere securum*' is an attempt to give the full force of the compound διασώζεσθαι.

2. ἐπιμενόντων δὲ] See the note on § 6.

11. φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κ.τ.λ.] This is apparently related as a parallel to the incident in the Gospel, John xii. 28 ἦλθεν οὖν φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κ.τ.λ. The actual words however, Ἰσχυε καὶ ἀνδρίζου, are taken from Josh. i. 6, 7, 9 (comp. Deut. xxxi. 7, 23); see Ps-Ign. *Hero* 8.

12. τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Acts ix. 7.

16. εἰ αὐτὸς εἶη] 'if it were the man himself', αὐτὸς being the predicate, not the subject.

λέγειν· "Ομοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, μετανόησον, εἶπον, Λίρε τοὺς ἀθέους. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος ἐμβριθεῖ τῷ προσώπῳ εἰς πάντα τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἀνόμων ἐθνῶν ἐμβλέψας καὶ ἐπισείσας αὐτοῖς τὴν

1 λέγειν] mpvs; λέγειν ἐστίν E (but v. 1. ἐστι λέγειν); λέγων b. "Ομοσον] ὁμωσον b; ὡμοσον s. τύχην] τύχειν b. 2 εἶπον] mE; εἰπέ bpvs. τοὺς] om. v alone. ἀθέους] θεοὺς b. ὁ δὲ] add. τίμιος καὶ μακάριος v. ἐμβριθεῖ] pBE; ἐμβριθεῖς m; ἐμβριθῆ vs. 3 τῷ προσώπῳ] add. καὶ στιβαρῶ v. τὸν sec] mv[E]; τῶν bps. 4 ἀνόμων ἐθνῶν] G (comp. L); om. E. καὶ...ἀναβλέψας]

1. τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην] This is called in Latin either 'genius' or 'fortuna' or 'numen Caesaris'—most commonly the first. This oath was invented under Julius Cæsar, and caused some scandal at the time; Dion Cass. xlv. 6 τὴν τε τύχην αὐτοῦ δμνῆναι (comp. c. 50). Under Augustus days were set apart for the worship of the genius of the emperor (see Marquardt *Röm. Alterth.* II. 3, p. 270). During the same emperor's reign we have the notice, Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 10. 8 Συλλαίου τὴν σὴν τύχην ἐπομόσαντος. This oath however was repudiated at first by Tiberius (Dion Cass. lvii. 8 οὐτ' ὀμνῆναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην συνεχώρει), though afterwards we hear that the name of Sejanus was associated with his own in it (*ib.* lviii. 2 τὴν τε τύχην αὐτῶν ὀμνυσαν). At a subsequent date it became very common. The emperor Gaius even punished persons because they had never pronounced it; Suet. *Calig.* 27 'quod numquam per genium suum dejerassent.' In a form of this oath found in two Baetican inscriptions of the time of Domitian (*C.I.L.* II. 1963, 1964, pp. 253, 255, 257), the genius of the living emperor is mentioned after the names of the deceased and deified emperors; 'Per Jovem et divom Augustum et divom Claudium et divom Vespasianum

Augustum et divom Titum Augustum et genium imperatoris [Caesaris] Domitiani Augusti deosque Penates.' Sometimes it runs 'per salutem et genium'; e.g. Dion Cass. xlv. 50 οὐ τὴν τε ὑγίειαν τὴν τε τύχην ὀμνυσαν. Hence the oath of the mad emperor Gaius, who glorifying a certain horse τὴν τε σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τύχην ὀμνυε (Dion Cass. lix. 14). The Christians were prepared to accept the first, *per salutem*, but repudiated the second, on the ground that the 'genius' or 'fortune' was a demon, a false god, which they could only adjure for the purpose of exorcising; Tertull. *Apol.* 32 'sed et juramus, sicut non per genios Caesarum, ita per salutem eorum, quae est augustior omnibus geniis: nescitis genios daemonas dici...ceterum daemonas, id est genios, adjurare consuevimus, ut illos de hominibus exigamus, non dejerare, ut eis honorem conferamus', Minuc. Fel. 29 'sic eorum numen vocant, ad imagines supplicant, genium, id est, daemone[m] ejus, implorant', Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 65 τύχην μέντοι βασιλέως οὐκ ὀμνυμεν...εἶτε γάρ, ὡς ὠνόμασάν τινας, ἐκφορὰ μόνον ἐστίν...οὐκ ὀμνυμεν τὸ μηδαμῶς ὄν ὡς θεόν...εἶτε καὶ...δαίμων ἐστίν ἢ τύχη τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανητόν ἐστὶ μάλλον ἤμιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ὀμόσαι κ.τ.λ., *Exhort. ad*

5 χεῖρα, στενάξας τε καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, εἶπεν· Λῖρε τοὺς ἀθέους. ἐγκειμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου καὶ λέγοντος· Ὁμοσον, καὶ ἀπολύω σε· λαιδύρησον τὸν Χριστόν· ἔφη ὁ Πολύκαρπος· Ὁγδοήκοντα καὶ ἔξ

omitted in s by homoeoteleuton. καὶ] G; om. E. 6 ἀθέους] add. ἀπὸ προσω-  
 ώπου τῆς γῆς v (comp. Acts xxii. 22). ἐγκειμένου] ἐνκειμένου b. ἀνθυπάτου]  
 G; ἡγουμένου E; *praeseptor* L. 7 Ὁμοσον] ὁμοσον (sic) b; ὤμοσον s. ἀπο-  
 λύω σε] ἀπολύω σε b. λαιδύρησον] λυδώρησον bs. 8 ἔφη ὁ Πολύκαρπος] mE;  
*tuus ait polycarpus* L; ὁ (add. μακάριος v) πολύκαρπος ἔφη brys. Ὁγδοήκοντα]  
 ἐγδοήκοντα b.

*Martyr.* 7 πηλίκον ἀμάρτημα εἶναι νομιστέον τὸ ὀμνῆσαι τύχην τινός (*Op.* I. p. 278, ed. Delarue). Pliny (*Paneg.* 52) makes it a merit of Trajan that 'non apud genium tuum bonitati tuae gratias agi, sed apud numen Iovis Optimi Maximi patetis'; and yet he himself punished the Bithynian Christians for repudiating the cultus of this emperor (*Ep.* x. 97, quoted above on § 8 ἐπιθύσαι). This worship of the emperor's genius was a natural outcome of Roman polytheism, for we meet in the inscriptions with 'genius oppidi, municipi, cohortis, legionis, populi Romani, etc.', and even private individuals had their 'genii.' But it outran all bounds, and this was held the most terrible of all oaths; Tertull. *Apol.* 28 'Citius denique apud vos per omnes deos quam per unum genium Caesaris pejeratur', Minuc. Fel. l. c. 'et est eis tutius per Jovis genium pejerare quam regis'; see also Melito *ad Antonin.* 4 (p. 425, Otto) with Otto's notes, p. 464 sq. Tiberius indeed, when Rubrius was accused of violating the 'numen Augusti' by perjury, deprecated his punishment on the ground that 'perinde aestimandum quam si Jovem fefellisset; deorum injurias diis curae' (*Tac. Ann.* i. 73); but this was not an insult offered to a living emperor.

4. ἀνόμων] An epithet of the Gentiles, Acts ii. 23, I Cor. ix. 21. See also the antithesis of Ἰουδαῖοι and παράνομοι in a passage from an early writer in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 16 quoted below, p. 383.

7. λαιδύρησον κ.τ.λ.] This was the test applied by Pliny in the Bithynian persecution; *Ep.* x. 97 'praeterea maledicerent Christo...ii et Christo maledixerunt.'

8. Ὁγδοήκοντα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Polycrates in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24 ἐγὼ οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἔτη ἔχω ἐν Κυρίῳ κ.τ.λ. It is doubtful whether Polycarp means that he was a Christian from his birth and was now 86 years old, or that it was 86 years since he became a Christian. With the reading ἔχω δουλεύων (for δουλεύω) the former interpretation seems more natural, as it is also more probable in itself. In favour of the latter Halloix (I. p. 588), followed by others, quotes the dying words of Hilarion, 'Egredere, anima mea; quid dubitas? septuaginta prope annis servisti Christo, et mortem times?' (*Hieron. Vit. Hilar.* 45, *Op.* II. p. 39), spoken when he was in his 80th year (*ib.* 44). But even if we take the reading δουλεύω, this parallel only shows that Polycarp might have meant the 86 years to reckon from his conversion, not that he did actually mean it.

ἔτη [έχω] δουλεύω[ν] αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδέν με ἠδίκησεν· καὶ πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου, τὸν σῶσαντά με;

X. Ἐπιμένοντος δὲ πάλιν αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντος, Ὅμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, ἀπεκρίνατο· Εἰ κενοδο- 5  
ξεῖς ἵνα ὁμόσω τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, ὡς σὺ λέγεις, προσποιεῖ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν με τίς εἰμι, μετὰ παρρησίας ἄκουε, Χριστιανός εἰμι. εἰ δὲ θέλεις τὸν τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ μαθεῖν λόγον, δὸς ἡμέραν καὶ ἄκουσον. ἔφη ὁ ἀνθύπατος· Πείσον τὸν δῆμον. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος εἶπεν· 10

I έχω δουλεύων] hrvs (δουλεύον s) (comp. L, *octogesimum jam et sextum annum aetatis ingredior, nominis ejus probatus et serviens senior*); δουλεύω mE [*Chron-Pasch.*]. αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν v. οὐδέν με ἠδίκησεν] bprvsE [*Chron-Pasch.*] (but add. ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον διεφύλαξέν με ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ v); *numquam ab eo laesus, semperque servatus* L; ἐφύλαξέν με m. 2 βασιλέα μου] κύριόν μου καὶ βασιλέα v alone, but L expands in another way. σῶσαντά με] add. ἀπὸ πολλῶν θλίψεων καὶ ἀναγκῶν v. 3 με] μαι b. 4 πάλιν] om. m alone. αὐτοῦ] τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου v alone. 5 Ὅμοσον] ὁμοσον s. τύχην] τύχειν b (and so below). Add. καὶ ἀπολύω σε v. ἀπεκρίνατο...τύχην] om. s by homœoteleuton. ἀπεκρίνατο] mbpr (but add. ὁ μακάριος v); αἶτ L; ὁ πολύκαρπος E (adding φησὶν after κενοδοξεῖς). Εἰ κενοδοξεῖς] E; ἐκέينو δόξης m; ἐκέينو δόξειν hv; μή μοι γένοιτο p; *quid... cogis* L. 6 σὺ] G; om. E. 7 προσποιεῖ δὲ] G (but προσποιεῖ p, προσποιεῖς m); προσποιούμενος E. με τίς] G; ὅστις E. 8 εἰμι] εἰμη s. θέλεις...λόγον] E; θέλεις τὸν χριστιανισμοῦ μαθεῖν λόγον m; μαθεῖν θέλεις τὸν τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ λόγον hv; θέλεις μαθεῖν τὸν τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ λόγον s. 9 ἔφη ὁ ἀνθύπατος] mE; ὁ ἀνθύπατος ἔφη hrvs. 10 δῆμον] add. καὶ ἀκούω σου v. ὁ δὲ] mbps; ὁ ἅγιος v; om. E. εἶπεν] G;

5. κενοδοξεῖς] 'vainly imaginest', 'vainly expectest'. For the two senses of κενόδοξος -ξεῖν, -ξία, (1) 'vain-glory', (2) 'vain opinion,' see the note on Ign. *Magn.* 11.

6. ἵνα ὁμόσω] 'that I would swear'. For examples of similar uses of ἵνα see Winer *Gramm.* § xlv. p. 422 sq, liii. p. 577. As κενοδοξεῖν involves a latent *desire*, the expression here has a parallel in θέλειν ἵνα, which is not uncommon. It would appear that ὁμόσω is the conjunctive.

7. μετὰ παρρησίας] 'plainly', lit. 'with unreservedness of speech on

my part', as in *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 10 ἄκουε γοῦν μετὰ παρρησίας. The phrase is generally used with λαλεῖν, εἰπεῖν, etc.: Acts ii. 29, iv. 29, 31, xxviii. 31, Demosth. *Phil.* ii. p. 73. In *Clem. Rom.* 34, as in Lev. xxvi. 13, 1 Macc. iv. 18, it signifies 'with boldness, with confidence', all reference to speech being lost.

8. Χριστιανός εἰμι] See *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* 10, 19, 20, etc., in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1; *Act. Justin. et Soc.* 2, 3, 4 (*Ruinart*, p. 106 sq, Ratisb. 1859); *Act. Perp. et Felic.* 3, 6; and comp. *Plin. Ep.* x. 97.



Κὲ μὲν κὰν λόγου ἠξίωσα· δεδιδάγμεθα γὰρ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναις τιμὴν κατὰ τὸ προσήκον τὴν μὴ βλάπτουσαν ἡμᾶς ἀπονέμειν· ἐκείνους δὲ οὐκ ἀξίους ἠγοῦμαι τοῦ ἀπολογεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς.

- 15 XI. Ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν· Θηρία ἔχω, τούτοις σε παραβαλῶ, εἰ μὴ μετανοήσης. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Κάλει· ἀμετάθετος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω μετάνοια· καλὸν δὲ μετατίθεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν χαλεπῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δίκαια. ὁ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτόν·  
20 Πυρί σε ποιῶ δαπανηθῆναι, εἰ τῶν θηρίων καταφρονεῖς,

ἔφη E. 11 Σὲ μὲν] add. ὦ ἀνθύπατε v. κὰν] mpvs; καὶ p (Jacobson) E. ἠξίωσα] bprvsE; ἠξίωκα m. 12 Θεοῦ] mE; τοῦ θεοῦ bprvs. τιμὴν...ἀπονέμειν] mbvs; ὑποτάσσεσθαι κατὰ τὸ προσήκον καὶ τιμὴν ἀπονέμειν τὴν μὴ βλάπτουσαν ἡμᾶς p. 13 ἀπονέμειν] ἀπονέμην s. 14 οὐκ ἀξίους ἠγοῦμαι] E; οὐχ ἠγοῦμαι ἀξίους bprvs; οὐκ ἠγοῦμαι ἀξίους εἶναι m (where the οὐκ points to the order in E). αὐτοῖς] αὐτοὺς m alone. 15 Ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν] mE (but with v. 1. ἔφη); ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος πρὸς αὐτόν εἶπεν bps; ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ ἀνθύπατος v. 16 παραβαλῶ] printed παραβαλῶ by an error in Jacobson; παραδώσω s. μετανοήσης] μετανοήσεις bs. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν] bpsE (comp. L); ὁ δὲ πολύκαρπος εἶπεν m; ἀπεκρίθη ὁ ἅγιος πολύκαρπος v. Κάλει] add. αὐτὰ ἐν τάχει v. 17 ἀμετάθετος] ἀπαράδεκτος p alone. ἡμῖν ἢ] εἰμὶ m alone. 18 καλὸν] καλῶν b. μετατίθεσθαι] μεταθέσθαι b alone. Add. με bprvs; om. mE. 19 χαλεπῶν] χαλαιπῶν b. ὁ δὲ] add. ἀνθύπατος v. 20 ποιῶ] bprvs; ποιήσω mE. δαπανηθῆναι] G; δαμασθῆναι E (translated however *consumi* by Ruf). εἰ...καταφρονεῖς] here, mbps; before πυρί σε κ.τ.λ., v. For εἰ...καταφρονεῖς E has εἰ...καταφρονῆς.

10. Πείσον τὸν δῆμον] It is not clear with what motive the proconsul says this; whether (1) like Pilate, with a sincere desire to release the prisoner, or (2) as an excuse for his execution, knowing such an appeal to be useless.

11. δεδιδάγμεθα γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] See *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 6 ὑποτασσομένους ἄρχουσιν, ἐν οἷς ἀκίνδυνος ἡ ὑποταγή κ.τ.λ., with the notes (comp. *ib.* 2 χάριτας...τὰς μὴ βλαπτούσας ψυχὴν). The reference in δεδιδάγμεθα is especially to Rom. xiii. 1 sq, 1 Pet. ii. 13 sq.

17. ἀμετάθετος γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Again imitated in *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 9 καλόν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἢ ἐκ κακῶν μετάνοια κ.τ.λ.

18. καλὸν δὲ κ.τ.λ.] From the choice of the words here, τὰ χαλεπὰ and τὰ δίκαια, it appears that this clause is intended to refer to the proconsul himself; 'It is you, not I, who have need to repent and to practise justice instead of cruelty'. The insertion of με therefore in some texts arises from a misunderstanding.

20. δαπανηθῆναι] Comp. § 16.

ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσης. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος· Πῦρ ἀπει-  
 λεῖς τὸ πρὸς ὥραν καιόμενον καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον σβεν-  
 νύμενον· ἀγνοεῖς γὰρ τὸ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως καὶ  
 αἰωνίου κολάσεως τοῖς ἀσεβέσι τηρούμενον πῦρ. ἀλλὰ  
 τί βραδύνεις; φέρε ὃ βούλει. 5

XII. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα λέγων, θάρσους  
 καὶ χαρᾶς ἐνεπίμπλατο, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ χάρι-  
 τος ἐπληροῦτο, ὥστε οὐ μόνον μὴ συμπεσεῖν ταραχ-  
 θέντος ὑπὸ τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τούναν-  
 τίον τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐκστῆναι πέμψαι τε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ 10

1 ὁ δὲ] mbs; ὁ δὲ ἅγιος p; ὁ ἅγιος v; om. (altogether) E. Πολύκαρπος] bp;  
 add. λέγει v; add. εἶπεν msE; add. *respondit* [L]. Πῦρ] add. μοι m alone. ἀπει-  
 λεῖς] p v E; ἀπειλῆς b; ἀπληγῆς s; μοι ἀπολεῖς m. 2 τὸ] om. E alone. 3 ἀγνοεῖς]  
 ἀγνοῆς s. κρίσεως...κολάσεως] κολάσεως...κρίσεως (transp.) p alone. 4 ἀλλὰ]  
 καὶ ἄλλα m alone. 5 τί βραδύνεις] mbpE; μὴ βραδύνῃς v; βραδύνῃς (om. μὴ) s.  
 δ] mps; ᾧ vE (but with v. l. δ); ᾧ b. βούλει] mbp; βούλη s; add. ἐν τάχει v.  
 6 δὲ] τοίνυν v alone. ἕτερα] mE; ἄλλα bpvs. πλείονα] bs (πλείονα bs) p v;  
 πλείω E (with v. l. πλείονα); om. m. λέγων] εἰπών v alone. 7 ἐνεπίμπλατο  
 ...χάριτος] om. s by homœoteleuton. ἐνεπίμπλατο] pE; ἐνεπήμπλάτω b; ἐνεπι-  
 πλάτω m; ἀνεπιμπλάτω v. χάριτος] add. θεῖας v. 8 ἐπληροῦτο] praef. ὡς s.  
 ὥστε] ὥσπερ vs. οὐ] G; μὴ E. μὴ] bpvsE (but some MSS omit); om. m.  
 συμπεσεῖν] συμπεσῖν s. ταραχθέντος] pvs; ταραχθέντα mbE. 9 ἀλλὰ

1. Πῦρ ἀπειλεῖς κ.τ.λ.] See the note on § 2 πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.

8. μὴ συμπεσεῖν κ.τ.λ.] If ταραχθέντος be read, the subject of συμπεσεῖν will be τὸ πρόσωπον; if ταραχθέντα, the subject must be Polycarp himself, and the construction will be μὴ συμπεσεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ προσώπῳ. Both constructions are illustrated by the LXX of Gen. iv. 5, 6, Κάιν...συνέπεσε τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Κάιν...ἵνα τί συνέπεσε τὸ πρόσωπόν σου;

13. Ἰουδαίων] See also § 17. There is ample independent evidence of the presence of Jews at Smyrna. In Rev. ii. 8 reference is made in Smyrna to τὴν βλασφημίαν τῶν λεγόντων Ἰουδαίους εἶναι ἑαυτούς, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ συναγωγὴ τοῦ Σατανᾶ.

In Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 9897 is a Greek sepulchral inscription of Smyrna mentioning two Jewish elders, father and son, and concluding with the Hebrew דָּוִד. In another Smyrnæan inscription (*ib.* 3148), belonging to Hadrian's reign, mention is made of οἱ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι—apparently renegades who had conformed to heathenism—as making large contributions to certain public works. The presence of a Judaic Docetism in Smyrna, as shown in *Ign. Smyrn.* 2, 5, etc., is also a significant fact. The Jews appear likewise at the martyrdom of Pionius and his companions, who also suffered at Smyrna in the Decian persecution; *Act. Pion.* 3 'Innumerae quoque aderant feminarum catervae, quia

κήρυκα, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ σταδίῳ κηρύξαι τρίς· Πολύκαρπος ὠμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν Χριστιανὸν εἶναι. τούτου λεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος, ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἐθνῶν τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων τῶν τὴν Ἐμύρναν κατοικούντων ἀκατασχέτω

15 θυμῷ καὶ μεγάλῃ φωνῇ ἐπεβόα· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὁ τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν καθαιρέτης, ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκων μὴ θύειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν. ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπεβόων καὶ ἡρώτων τὸν Ἀσιάρχην Φίλιππον, ἵνα ἐπαφῇ τῷ Πολυ-

τουναντίον τὸν] om. s alone. ἄλλὰ] add. καὶ p alone. τουναντίον] τουναντίων b. 10 ἐκστήναι] bE; ἐκστήναι (sic) m (transposing the words, ἐκστήναι τὸν ἀνθύπατον); ἐκστήσαι s; μᾶλλον ἐκστήσαι v; ἐκπλήξαι p. πέμψαι τε] πέμψεται b; καὶ πέμψαι v; πέμψαι (om. τε) s. ἑαυτοῦ] G; om. E. 11 ἐν μέσῳ] ἐμμέσῳ bs. τῷ σταδίῳ] bE; τοῦ σταδίου mrvs. κηρύξαι] mbE; καὶ κηρύξαι pvs. τρίς] mE; τρίτον brvs. 12 ὠμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν] pvsE; ὠμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν b; ἑαυτὸν ὠμολόγησεν m alone. τούτου] add. δὲ m alone. 13 ἐθνῶν] G; τῶν ἐθνῶν E (but some MSS om. τῶν). 14 τῶν] τὸν s. Ἐμύρναν] σμύρνην p alone. κατοικούντων] οἰκούντων p alone. ἀκατασχέτω] ἀκατασχέτο s. 15 φωνῇ] praef. τῇ s alone. ἐπεβόα] mbvs; ἐβόα pE. 16 Ἀσίας] mEL; ἀσεβείας brvs. ὁ τῶν] καὶ τῶν v alone. 18 προσκυνεῖν] txt mE; add. τοῖς θεοῖς brvs. ἐπεβόων] bvsE; ἐπεβόου m; ἐβόου p. 19 ἡρώτων] brvE; ἡρώτων m; ἡρώτα s.

erat dies sabbati et Judaeorum feminas ab opere diei festivitas relaxabat' (comp. § 4). This explains the large concourse of Jews at Polycarp's martyrdom, which occurred also at a festival time. As in the Apostolic times, so also in subsequent ages, the Jews took an active part in instigating the persecutions of the Christians; Tertull. *Scorp.* 10 'synagogas Judaeorum, fontes persecutionum', comp. Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 31 (p. 72), with Otto's note for other references in Justin. Their activity in this respect in Proconsular Asia appears from an anonymous writer in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 16, where twitting the Montanists he says, ἔστι τις τῶν ἀπὸ Μοντανοῦ... ὅστις ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἐδιώχθη ἢ ὑπὸ παρανόμων ἀπεκράνθη; οὐδεὶς... οὐδὲ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐν συναγωγαῖς Ἰουδαίων τῶν

γυναικῶν τις ἐμαστιγώθη ποτὲ ἢ ἐλιθοβολήθη; οὐδαμῶσε οὐδαμῶς.

14. ἀκατασχέτω] 'ungovernable', as in the v. l. in James iii. 8, where however the correct reading is ἀκατάστατον.

15. Οὗτός ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.] See *Passio Cypriani* 17 (Ruinart's *Act. Sinc. Mart.* p. 17) 'Sectae signifer et inimicus deorum.'

19. Ἀσιάρχην] The Asiarch was the head of the *Commune Asiae*, the confederation of the principal cities of the Roman province of Asia. As such he was the 'chief-priest' of Asia (§ 21) and president of the games. For more see the excursus on the Asiarchs at the end of this Letter (p. 403 sq).

Φίλιππον] This Philip is mentioned as a Trallian below § 21, and Strabo tells us that owing to the

κάρπῳ λέοντα. ὁ δὲ ἔφη μὴ εἶναι ἐξὸν αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ πεπληρώκει τὰ κυνηγέσια. τότε ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπιβοῆσαι, ὥστε τὸν Πολύκαρπον ζῶντα κατακαῦσαι. ἔδει γὰρ τὸ τῆς φανερωθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκεφαλαίου ὀπτασίας πληρωθῆναι, ὅτε ἰδὼν αὐτὸ καιόμενον<sup>5</sup> προσευχόμενος εἶπεν ἐπιστραφεὶς τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ πιστοῖς προφητικῶς· Δεῖ με ζῶντα καῆναι.

1 ὁ δὲ] mE (comp. L); add. φιλίππος bpvs. ἐξὸν] ἐξων s alone. αὐτῷ] pE; αὐτὸ (but transp. αὐτὸ ἐξὸν) m; αὐτὸν b; αὐτῶν vs. 2 πεπληρώκει] πεπληρώκη s. αὐτοῖς] αὐτοὺς m alone. 3 ζῶντα] om. b alone, which reads πολύκαρπον ἐπιβοῆσαι κατακαυθῆναι. E places ζῶντα after ὥστε. κατακαῦσαι] E (not κατακαῆναι, as stated in Jacobson); καῦσαι (sic) m (some letters being omitted by homœoteleuton ζῶν[τα κατακαῦσαι]; κατακαυθῆναι bpvs (derived from the passage just below); ut vivunt polycarpum ignis exureret L. 4 ἔδει] εἶδη b. φανερωθείσης] bpvs (φανερωθήσης s); add. αὐτῷ mE. 5 αὐτὸ] αὐτῷ bps. καιόμενον] om. p alone. 6 σὺν αὐτῷ] G; μετ' αὐτοῦ E. 7 Δεῖ]

wealth of Tralles its citizens were constantly appointed Asiarchs, xiv. p. 649 καὶ αἱ τινας ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰσὶν οἱ πρωτεύοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὓς Ἀσιάρχας καλοῦσιν. The name Philip occurs in connexion with Tralles in Galen *Op.* XIII. p. 105 (ed. Kühn) ἐδόθη ὑπὸ Φιλίππου Τραλλιανοῖς, and on no less than eight Trallian inscriptions (given above, I. p. 629 sq), where there is mention of three generations of persons bearing the name Γ. Ἰούλιος Φίλιππος, the grandfather being entitled ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας, the father ἐπίτροπος τῶν Σεβαστῶν and ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρασιοῦ, and the son Ἰούλιος Φίλιππος συγκλητικὸς στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων, the father, if not the grandfather also, being mentioned as ἀγωνοθέτης. Boeckh (see his note on no. 2790 at Aphrodisias, where the father is again mentioned) conjectures that this person derived his name from the emperor Julius Philippus; but an inscription since discovered at Olympia clearly shows that he is wrong. This inscription, published by Dittenberger in the *Archäologische*

*Zeitung* xxxviii (1880), Hft. I, and commented on by R. A. Lipsius in *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1881, p. 575, runs thus; Ἡ Ὀλυμπι[κῆ] βουλὴ Γ[άϊου] Ἰούλιο[ν] Φίλιππον Τραλλιανὸν τὸν Ἀσιάρχην ἡθῶν ἔνεκα, Ὀλυμπιάδι σλβ' (given above I. p. 629). The proximity of date (Olymp. 232=A.D. 149) points to the same person who presided over the martyrdom of Polycarp. He is evidently the same whose name appears in the Trallian inscriptions as ἐπίτροπος τῶν Σεβαστῶν. Perhaps also this is the person mentioned in the Anthology (II. p. 450), where there is an epigram by Theodoretus the grammarian (see Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* VI. p. 320) εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα Φιλίππου ἀρχοντος ἐν Σμύρῃ, from which it appears that the Philadelphians sent offerings in recognition of his justice. A much later Philip is commemorated on coins as Recorder (γραμματεὺς) of Tralles in the age of the Gordians; Mionnet IV. p. 192 (no. 1119), *ib. Suppl.* VII. p. 465 (no. 683).

Since the publication of my first

XIII. Ταῦτα οὖν μετὰ τοσοῦτου τάχους ἐγένετο, θᾶπτον ἢ ἐλέγετο, τῶν ὄχλων παραχρῆμα συναγόντων  
 10 ἕκ τε τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ βαλανείων ξύλα καὶ φρύ-  
 γανα, μάλιστα Ἰουδαίων προθύμως, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, εἰς  
 ταῦτα ὑπουργούντων. ὅτε δὲ ἡ πυρκαϊὰ ἠτοιμάσθη,  
 ἀποθέμενος ἑαυτῷ πάντα τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ λύσας τὴν  
 ζώνην, ἐπειράτο καὶ ὑπολύειν ἑαυτόν, μὴ πρότερον  
 15 τοῦτο ποιῶν διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ ἕκαστον τῶν πιστῶν σπου-

δοτι δεῖ ν alone. με] μαι ps. καῆναι] mE (but some MSS κατακαῆναι); κατα-  
 καυθῆναι bps; καυθῆναι v. 8 ἐγένετο] mbvsE; ἐγένετο p. 9 ἢ ἐλέγετο] mE;  
 τοῦ λεχθῆναι bpsv. τῶν] καὶ τῶν m alone. συναγόντων] mpE (but v. l. συνα-  
 γαγόντων); συναγαγόντων bvs. 10 τε] G; om. E. καὶ βαλανείων] om. m  
 alone. βαλανείων] βαλανίων bs. καὶ φρύγανα] om. m alone. 12 ὑπουρ-  
 γούντων] ὑπουργόντων s; ὑπουργεῖν v. πυρκαϊὰ] bpsv; πυρὰ mE. 13 ἑαυτῷ]  
 bsE; ἑαυτοῦ pv; αὐτοῦ m. πάντα] om. m alone. 14 ζώνην] E; add. ἑαυτου  
 ps; add. αὐτοῦ mbv. ὑπολύειν ἑαυτόν] ἑαυτόν ὑπολύειν v. 15 αἰεὶ] om. m alone.

edition, Dr Sterrett (*An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor*, 1888, pp. 325 sq) has published the important Trallian inscription (no. 379 = no. 4 on I. p. 630 above) which mentions three distinct persons of the name Julius Philippus; but by mistake he has assigned (p. 326) to the youngest of the three the title of *ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρασιοῦ* which belongs to his father.

2. *πεπληρώκει*] For the omission of the augment see Winer *Gramm.* § xii. p. 85.

τὰ *κυνηγέσια*] representing the Latin 'venationes', as e.g. in Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 2511 *φамиλία μονομάχων καὶ ὑπόμνημα κυνηγεσιῶν Νεμερίου Καστρικίου Δευκίου Πακωνιανοῦ Ἀσιάρχου καὶ Ἀρηλίας Σαπφοῦς Πλάτωνος Δικωνιανῆς ἀρχιερείας γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ*, where, as here, it stands in connexion with an Asiarch; comp. also no. 3650, a similar inscription but mutilated. Thus *κυνηγέσια* would comprise all fights with wild beasts in the circus, whether dogs were

employed or not. On the 'venatio' see Friedländer *Sittengeschichte Roms* II. p. 218 sq, Marquardt *Röm. Staatsverw.* III. pp. 507, 542 sq.

4. *ἔδει γὰρ κ.τ.λ.*] Comp. John xviii. 32 *ἵνα ὁ λόγος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πληρωθῇ, ὃν εἶπεν σημαίνων ποίῳ θανάτῳ ἤμελλον ἀποθνήσκειν*. It seems that this unexpected fulfilment of Polycarp's presentiment is regarded by the writer or writers of this epistle, after their wont, as a parallel to the unexpected fulfilment of Christ's prediction: see above, § 1, and I. p. 610 sq.

6. *εἶπεν κ.τ.λ.*] See above, § 5.

7. *καῆναι*] For this form see Winer *Gramm.* § xv. p. 106, Veitch *Irregular Verbs* s.v. *καίω*.

10. *ξύλα καὶ φρύγανα*] 'wood and fuel', the former from the workshops etc., and the latter from the baths; comp. Cic. *in Verr.* II. i. 69 '*ligna et sarmenta circumdare, ignemque subicere coeperunt*,' quoted by Usher, who also refers to Tertull. *Apol.* 50 '*Licet nunc sarmenticios et semaxios appelletis, quia ad stipitem*

δάξειν ὅστις τάχιον τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτοῦ ἄψηται·  
 [ἐν] παντὶ γὰρ ἀγαθῆς ἔνεκεν πολιτείας καὶ πρὸ τῆς  
 πολιᾶς ἐκεκόσμητο. εὐθέως οὖν αὐτῷ περιετίθετο τὰ  
 πρὸς τὴν πυρὰν ἡρμοσμένα ὄργανα. μελλόντων δὲ  
 αὐτῶν καὶ προσηλοῦν εἶπεν· Ἄφετέ με οὕτως· ὁ 5  
 γὰρ δοὺς ὑπομῆναι τὸ πῦρ δώσει καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ὑμε-  
 τέρας ἐκ τῶν ἡλῶν ἀσφαλείας ἀσκυλτον ἐπιμῆναι τῇ  
 πυρᾷ.

XIV. Οἱ δὲ οὐ καθήλωσαν μὲν, προσέδησαν δὲ

1 ὅστις] bpsE; τίς mν. τάχιον] E; τάχειον mpvs; ταχίαν b (Jacobson).  
 χρωτὸς] χροτὸς s. ἄψηται] G; ἐφάψηται E. 2 ἐν παντὶ γὰρ] E (comp.  
 L); παντὶ γὰρ καλῶ b; πράξεις γὰρ καλὰς pvs; πάσης γὰρ m. ἀγαθῆς ἔνεκεν  
 πολιτείας] m (but ἔνεκα for ἔνεκεν m) bvsE; καὶ ἀγαθὰς καὶ θεωμιμητον πολιτείαν p.  
 3 πολιᾶς] E; μαρτυρίας bpsvL. All the words καὶ πρὸ τῆς μαρτυρίας (or πολιᾶς)  
 are omitted in m; and this is best accounted for by supposing that the scribe had  
 πολιᾶς in his copy and after writing πολιτείας his eye passed on inadvertently to it,  
 so as to omit the intervening words. ἐκεκόσμητο] ἐκεκόσμητο b; ἐκέκτητο p  
 alone. οὖν] δὲ m alone. αὐτῷ] ἐαυτῷ p. περιετίθετο] προετίθετο p alone.  
 5 αὐτῶν καὶ] αὐτῶν (om. καὶ) m alone. προσηλοῦν] txt bpsv; add. αὐτὸν E; add.  
 ἐν τῷ ἔξω v. εἶπεν] add. ὁ ἄγιος v. 6 δοὺς] G; διδοὺς E. Add. μοι bL;  
 om. mpvsE. ὑμετέρας] ὑμῶν p alone. 7 ἐκ τῶν ἡλῶν] om. m alone.  
 ἀσφαλείας] ἀσφαλίας s. ἀσκυλτον] m; ἀσκύλτως E; ἀσάλευτον bpsv. 9 μὲν]

dimidii axis revincti sarmentorum  
 ambitu exuremur.'

2. ἀγαθῆς κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Vit.*  
*Polyc.* 6 ἐν πολλῇ προκοπῇ τῆς ἐν  
 Χριστῷ πίστεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν  
 ἀγαθὴν πολιτείαν ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἐγί-  
 νετο, comp. *ib.* § 20.

καὶ πρὸ τῆς πολιᾶς] i.e. 'even before  
 his advanced years called for this  
 assistance.' This reading which is  
 found in Eusebius seems to be cor-  
 rect. The omission of the whole  
 clause in the Moscow MS, which is  
 the best and which most commonly  
 agrees with Eusebius, may be ex-  
 plained in the manner suggested in  
 the upper note. Comp. the lan-  
 guage of Macar. Magn. *Apocr.* iii.  
 24 (p. 109) καὶ δὴ πρὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς  
 ...καλῶς ἔσχεν ἅπαντα, speaking of

Polycarp.

7. ἀσκυλτον] Comp. *Acta Thomae*  
 12.

11. ὡς περ κριὸς κ.τ.λ.] Imitated in  
*Mart. Ign. Ant.* 2 ὡς περ κριὸς ἐπί-  
 σημος, ἀγγέλης καλῆς ἡγούμενος, said of  
 Ignatius under similar circumstances.  
 For προσδεθεὶς ὡς περ κριὸς comp.  
 Melito *Fragm.* 9 (p. 416, ed. Otto)  
 ὡς γὰρ κριὸς ἐδέθη, where he dwells on  
 the κριὸς in the sacrifice of Isaac, as  
 a type of Christ.

12. ὀλοκαύτωμα] The adoption of  
 the other reading would not alter the  
 sense. In the LXX ὀλοκάρπωμα, ὀ-  
 λοκάρπωσις, are synonyms for ὀλο-  
 καύτωμα, ὀλοκαύτωσις, all the four  
 words being renderings of *הָבַע*. In  
 Lev. xvi. 24 we have ὀλοκαύτωμα  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀλοκάρπωμα τοῦ λαοῦ, where

10 αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω τὰς χεῖρας ποιήσας καὶ προσδεθείς, ὡς περ κριὸς ἐπίσημος ἐκ μεγάλου ποιμνίου εἰς προσφορὰν, ὀλοκαύτωμα δεκτὸν τῷ Θεῷ ἠτοιμασμένον, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδός σου  
15 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατῆρ, δι' οὗ τὴν περὶ σοῦ ἐπίγνωσιν εἰλήφαμεν, ὁ Θεὸς [ὁ] ἀγγέλων καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ πάσης κτίσεως παντός τε τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων οἱ ζῶσιν ἐνώπιόν σου· εὐλογῶ σε, ὅτι κατηξίωσάς με τῆς ἡμέρας

om. E alone. προσέδησαν] mE; ἔδησαν pvs; ἔδεισαν b. 10 ὁ δὲ] add. ἅγιος πολὺκαρπος v. 11 ἐπίσημος] ἐπίσημος ps. Add. ἀναφερθεῖς E; om. G. 12 ὀλοκαύτωμα] mvsE; ὀλοκάρωμα bp. τῷ Θεῷ] G; θεῷ παντοκράτορι E. ἠτοιμασμένον...οὐρανὸν] G (comp. L); om. E. ἠτοιμασμένον] add. εἰ (sic) s alone. 13 Κύριε...παντοκράτωρ] GL; om. E. 14 καὶ εὐλογητοῦ] om. vs by homæoteleuton. σου] here, bvsE; after ἀγαπητοῦ, p (Jacobson). For παιδός σου m has σου υἱοῦ. 15 δι' οὗ] om. p alone. σοῦ] G; σὲ E. 16 ὁ ἀγγέλων] bv; ἀγγέλων (om. ὁ) mspse. δυνάμεων] δυναμῶν s. 17 κτίσεως] mvsE (but with v. l. τῆς κτίσεως); τῆς κτίσεως p; τῆς κτήσεως b. Add. δημιουργός v alone. παντός τε] mE; καὶ παντός bpvs. δικαίων] bpvsLE; ἀνθρώπων m. 18 κατηξίωσας] mE; ἡξίωσας bpvs. ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ταύτης] bpsE; ὥρας ταύτης καὶ ἡμέρας v; ἡμέρας ταύτης m; hac passione L.

the same word ἡγυ stands in both places in the original.

14. παιδός σου] 'Thy son,' rather than 'Thy servant'; see the note on Clem. Rom. 59.

17. τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων] So again, § 17. Comp. Hermas Sim. ix. 17 quoted by Zahn. See also the note on § 3.

18. τῆς ἡμέρας κ.τ.λ.] 'This day of persecution and this hour of death.' As the ἡμέρα denotes the period of suffering, so the ὥρα denotes the climax of that period. There is no reference to the day of the month, or the hour of the day, as some have thought. In such a connexion any chronometrical reference would be altogether out of place. The significance of the words is in fact explained by the following clause

τοῦ λαβεῖν με μέρος κ.τ.λ. When in John xii. 27 our Lord says σῶσόν με ἐκ τῆς ὥρας ταύτης (quoted by Steitz and others after him), the last idea which any one would think of importing into the text would be a reference to the exact hour of the day or night; and the case before us is a parallel. See also above § 2 ἐκεῖνη τῇ ὥρᾳ βασανιζόμενοι, § 7 φαγεῖν καὶ πίνειν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, and comp. Acta Joannis p. 6 (ed. Zahn) ἡμαρτον, πάτερ Πέτρε, ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ κ.τ.λ. The meaning is best explained by Vita Cypriani 16 (Cypr. Op. III. p. cvii, Hartel) 'Inluxit denique dies alius, ille signatus, ille promissus, ille divinus, quem si tyrannus ipse differre voluisset, numquam prorsus valeret,' and below § 18 is the expression 'clarificationis hora matura.'

καὶ ὥρας ταύτης, τοῦ λαβεῖν με μέρος ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν μαρτύρων ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ [σου] εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος ἐν ἀφθαρσία πνεύματος ἁγίου· ἐν οἷς προσδεχθῆν ἐνώπιόν σου σημερον ἐν θυσίᾳ πίονι καὶ προσδεκτῇ, καθὼς προητοίμασας 5 καὶ προεφανέρωσας καὶ ἐπλήρωσας, ὁ ἀψευδὴς καὶ ἀληθινὸς Θεός. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ πάντων σὲ αἰνῶ, σὲ εὐλογῶ, σὲ δοξάζω διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἐπουρανίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός, δι' οὗ σοι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ [ἡ] δόξα καὶ νῦν [καὶ 10 αἰεῖ] καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

1 λαβεῖν] λαβεῖ b. με] bvs; om. mpE. μέρος] add. καὶ κλῆρον v. 2 μαρτύρων] txt mE; add. σου bpsv. σου] msbvs; om. pE. 4 προσδεχθῆν] mE; *accipiam* L; προσδεχθείη b; προσδεχθείμεν pn; προσδεχθήμεν s. 5 ἐν θυσίᾳ] θυσία m alone. πίονι] πίονι s. 6 καὶ προεφανέρωσας] G; προφανέρωσας E. καὶ ἐπλήρωσας] bpsv; καὶ πληρώσας E; om. m. ὁ] om. p alone, inserting ὦν after θεός. 7 Θεός] here, bmpsE; after ἀψευδῆς, v. τοῦτο] τοῦτω s. σὲ αἰνῶ...δοξάζω] mE; αἰνῶ σε (add. καὶ p) εὐλογῶ σε δοξάζω σε bpsv. 8 διὰ τοῦ...παιδός] m, and so generally E (but om. καὶ ἐπουρανίου and ins. τοῦ before ἀγαπητοῦ); *per aeternum pontificem omnipotentem jesum christum* L; σὺν τῷ αἰωνίῳ (αἰῶνι v) καὶ ἐπουρανίῳ (ἐπ' οὐρανίῳ v) Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἀγαπητῷ σου παιδί bpsv. 9 δι' οὗ] mE; *per quem* L; μεθ' οὗ bpn; μεθού (sic) s. 10 σὺν αὐτῷ] mE; *et cum ipso* L; om. bpsv. ἡ] bpsv; om. mE. δόξα] add. κράτος m alone. καὶ sec.] bpsE; om. mv[L]. καὶ αἰεῖ] m (comp. L which has *et in futurum in saecula*

For the false inferences which have been drawn from these words, see the general introduction, where also the seeming parallel in S. E. Assem. *Act. Mart. Orient.* i. p. 31 is considered.

2. τῷ ποτηρίῳ] 'the cup,' which is mentioned Matt. xx. 22, 23, Mark x. 38, 39; Matt. xxvi. 39, 42, Mark xiv. 36, Luke xxii. 42; John xviii. 11: see *Galatians* p. 274.

εἰς ἀνάστασιν [ζῶης] These words occur John v. 29.

4. προσδεχθείην] passive. Comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 58, viii. 31.

5. ἐν θυσίᾳ] 'as a sacrifice.' For

a similar use of the preposition comp. *Acts* vii. 14 ἐν ψυχαῖς ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε.

7. σὲ αἰνῶ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii. 47 αἰνοῦμέν σε, ὑμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σε, δοξολογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε, διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως κ.τ.λ., from the *Gloria in excelsis*.

8. αἰωνίου...ἀρχιερέως] The same expression which is used in Polycarp's own epistle, *Phil.* 12; see the note there.

12. Ἀναπέμφαντος] Used of the offering up of prayer and speeding it to the throne of grace; as e.g. Justin



XV. Ἀναπέμφαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμὴν καὶ πλη-  
 ρώσαντος τὴν εὐχήν, οἱ τοῦ πυρὸς ἄνθρωποι ἐξῆψαν  
 τὸ πῦρ. μεγάλης δὲ ἐκλαμψάσης φλογός, θαῦμα  
 15 εἶδομεν, οἷς ἰδεῖν ἐδόθη· οἱ καὶ ἐτηρήθημεν εἰς τὸ ἀναγ-  
 γεῖλαι τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰ γενόμενα. τὸ γὰρ πῦρ καμά-  
 ρας εἶδος ποιῆσαν, ὡσπερ ὀθόνη πλοίου ὑπὸ πνεύ-  
 ματος πληρουμένη, κύκλω περιετείχισεν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ  
 μάρτυρος· καὶ ἦν μέσον, οὐχ ὡς σὰρξ καιομένη, ἀλλ'  
 20 ὡς ἄρτος ὀπτώμενος, ἢ ὡς χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν  
 καμίνῳ πυρούμενος. καὶ γὰρ εὐωδίας τοσαύτης ἀντε-

*saeculorum*); om. bpsvE. 11 μέλλοντας αἰώνας] bvsE; αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων mp;  
*saecula saeculorum* L (see the last note). 12 Ἀναπέμφαντος...ἀμὴν]  
 om. vs (by homœoteleuton). πληρώσαντος] add. αὐτοῦ v alone. 13 εὐ-  
 χήν] G; προσευχήν E. ἄνθρωποι] bpE; ἐργάται καὶ ἄνθρωποι v; ὑπουργοὶ m;  
 ἀνδρὲς s. 14 θαῦμα] txt mE; add. μέγα pvs; add. μέγαν b. 15 εἶδομεν]  
 E; ἴδομεν bpn; ἴδωμεν ms. ἐδόθη] ἐδώθη s. ἐτηρήθημεν] G; ἐτηρήθησαν E  
 (comp. L). 17 ποιῆσαν] ποιισαν s. ὀθόνη...πληρουμένη] mbpn; ὀθόνη...  
 πληρουμένη s; ὀθόνης...πληρουμένης E. πλοίου] πλοίοι b. πνεύματος]  
 ἀνέμου v alone. 18 κύκλω περιετείχισεν] περιετείχισεν κύκλω v alone.  
 περιετείχισεν] περιετίχισεν b. 19 μάρτυρος] ἀρχιερέως m alone. μέσον]  
 G; εἰς μέσον E. Add. τοῦ πυρὸς v alone. 20 ὡς ἄρτος...ἦ] G (comp. L);  
 om. E. ὀπτώμενος] ὀπτόμενος pn. ἢ ὡς...πυρούμενος] om. m. 21 γὰρ]  
 om. v alone. εὐωδίας] εὐοδίας s. τοσαύτης] G; τοιαύτης E (but with a v. l.).  
 ἀντελαβόμεθα] ἀντελαβόμεθα s.

Mart. *Apol.* i. 65 (p. 97) αἶνον καὶ  
 δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ...ἀναπέμπει καὶ εὐ-  
 χαριστίαν, *ib.* 67 (p. 98) ὁ προεστὼς  
 εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας...ἀνα-  
 πέμπει, Clem. Alex. *Paed.* iii. 12  
 (p. 311) αἶνον ἀναπέμψαι Κυρίῳ, *Strom.*  
 vii. 6 (p. 848) ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν (τῆς  
 εὐχῆς)...ἀναπέμπομεν, Euseb. *H. E.* x.  
 4, 5, etc. So it is used not unfre-  
 quently in the Greek Liturgies.

τὸ ἀμὴν] With the definite article,  
 as in I Cor. xiv. 16; see Otto's note  
 on Justin *Apol.* i. 65 (p. 97). Comp.  
 also Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 9 συνεπιφθεγ-  
 ξάμενον τὸ ἀμὴν.

16. τὸ γὰρ πῦρ κ.τ.λ.] For parallels  
 to this strange phenomenon, see  
 above, I. p. 614 sq.

20. ὡς ἄρτος κ.τ.λ.] This first com-  
 parison may have been omitted by  
 Eusebius from homœoteleuton, or  
 not improbably, because the homely  
 image offended his literary taste.  
 Ignatius adapts the image of 'bread'  
 to his own martyrdom in a different  
 way, *Rom.* 4.

ὡς χρυσὸς κ.τ.λ.] Euseb. *Mart. Pal.*  
 10 διὰ πυρὸς οἷα χρυσὸς ἀκραιφέστα-  
 τος...τὴν δοκιμὴν ἀποδέδωκε. The idea  
 of the testing and refining power of  
 fine or precious metals was doubt-  
 less present here also to the writers'  
 mind, though not definitely express-  
 ed.

21. εὐωδίας κ.τ.λ.] On this sup-  
 posed miracle see above, I. p. 615.

λαβόμεθα, ὡς λιβανωτοῦ πνέοντος ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τιμίων ἀρωμάτων.

XVI. Πέρας γοῦν ἰδόντες οἱ ἄνομοι μὴ δυνάμενοι

1 πνέοντος] om. m alone.  
 ὄν m; ὄν bps; itaque L.  
 4 αὐτοῦ] G; om. E.

ἄλλου] om. m alone.  
 ἰδόντες] εἰδόντες m.  
 ἐκέλευσαν] ἐκέλευσε p alone.

3 γοῦν] vE; δ'  
 μῆ] mE; οὐ bpsv.  
 5 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸ b.

3. Πέρας γοῦν] 'at last,' 'finally.'  
 So πέρας γοῦν in Clem. Hom. i. 8, iii. 62, xv. 5, xvii. 14, 16, 17, 18, xix. 24; and πέρας γέ τοι in Barnab. *Epist.* 5, 10, 12, 15, 16.

μὴ δυνάμενοι] At S. Stefano on the Cœlian, the text Ecclus. li. 4 'In medio ignis non sum aestuatus' is written under Polycarp. See Usher's note.

5. κομφέκτορα] Sueton. *Octav.* 43 'Confectores ferarum, et nonnuncquam ex nobilissima juventute, produxit,' *Nero* 12 'Confectores quoque ferarum et varia arenae ministeria,' Quintil. *Decl.* ix. 7 'Exspectabam cruentum illum confectorem,' *Act. S. Meletii* 39 (quoted by Gersdorf in Heinichen Euseb. *H. E.* i. p. xxxix) τελεσάντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν εὐχὴν προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ὁ κομφέκτορ. It was the business of these 'confectores', as their name implies, to give the 'happy despatch' to wild beasts which had been hunted in the arena, and sometimes to human beings also, as here and in *Act. Perp. et Felic.* 21 'Perpetua...errantem dexteram tirunculi gladiatoris ipsa in jugulum suum posuit,' *Act. Prob. Tarach.* etc. 10 ἐκέλευσεν μαχαιοφόρους (i. μαχαιοφόρους) τῶν λουδαρίων εἰσελθεῖν καὶ ἀποσφάττειν αὐτοὺς. In the present instance the *venationes* had only just ceased, and therefore a 'confecter' was at hand. Otherwise he was not a functionary connected with the death by fire. The 'confecter' has been wrongly confused with the 'bestiarius.' The work of the

'confecter' began where that of the 'bestiarius' ceased.

παραβῦσαι ξιφίδιον] The incident doubtless presents itself to the mind of the writers as a parallel to John xix. 34 εἰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἔνυξεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εὐθὺς αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ. In both cases the act of piercing with the spear or sword was an exceptional act, which could not have been foreseen from the mode of execution.

6. περιστερὰ] Whether this word formed part of the original text or not, it must be explained by the belief that the human soul departed from the body at death in the form of a bird. In the case of a pure Christian soul, this bird would be a dove. So we are told of the martyrdom of Eulalia, Prudent. *Peristeph. Hymn.* iii. 33 sq,

Emitat inde columba repens,  
 Martyris os nive candidior  
 Visa relinquere, et astra sequi;  
 Spiritus hic erat Eulaliae,  
 Lacteolus, celer, innocuus...  
 Vidit et ipse satelles avem  
 Feminae ob ore meare palam,

which is an exact parallel to the incident before us. Again we read in the Latin Martyrologies (see Bedae *Op.* v. p. 1087, ed. Migne) under Nov. 1, concerning S. Benignus of Dijon, a reputed disciple of Polycarp, that at his martyrdom 'columba nivea de carcere Christianis aspicientibus ad caelos ascendit, et odor suavissimus quasi paradisi secutus est'. On

αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς δαπανηθῆναι, ἐκέλευσαν  
 5 προσελθόντα αὐτῷ κομφέκτορα παραβῦσαι ξιφίδιον.  
 καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος, ἐξῆλθε [περιστερὰ καί] πλήθος

κομφέκτορα] κομφάλκτορα v; κονφέκτορα m. παραβῦσαι] παραβῦσαι (sic) s.  
 ξιφίδιον] G (ξίφη· διὸν b); *gladiunculum* L; τὸ ξίφος E. 6 ποιήσαντος]  
 ποιήσαντες p alone. περιστερὰ καί] G (comp. L); om. E.

the other hand in reference to the soul of a rapacious and unscrupulous impostor, Lucian (*de Morte Peregr.* 39), ridiculing this belief, invents the fiction how, when Peregrinus threw himself on the pyre and was burnt to death, a vulture rose out of the flames (see above, I. p. 140). It was perhaps to humour this superstition, or to emphasize the symbolism which it involved (*Artemid. Oneir.* ii. 20 ἔθος γάρ τι παλαιὸν τοὺς ἀποθανόντας τοὺς γε τοιοῦτους πλάσσειν τε καὶ γράφειν ἐπ' αἰετῶν ὀχομένους, speaking of kings and great men), that from the funeral pyre of the Roman emperors an eagle was let fly as a token of their deification, Herodian iv. 2 αἰετὸς ἀφίεται σὺν τῷ πυρὶ ἀνελευσόμενος ἐς τὸν αἰθέρα, ὃς φέρειν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς οὐρανὸν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ψυχὴν πιστεύεται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. This passage has reference more especially to the funeral of Severus. We have accounts also of the same ceremonial at the exequies of Augustus (Dion Cass. lvi. 42) and of Pertinax (Dion Cass. lxxiv. 4); comp. Justin *Apol.* i. 21 (p. 67).

Of all birds the dove most readily suggested itself as the emblem of a Christian soul. The image of the Psalmist (lv. 6), 'O that I had wings like a dove, etc.', had led the way. The proverbial innocence of this bird likewise recommended it (Matt. x. 16; comp. Tertull. *Scorp.* 15 'simplices animae et solummodo columbae'). It was a common belief also that there was no gall in the dove

(*Horapollo* i. 57), though this view was not taken by more learned naturalists (Aristot. *Hist. An.* ii. 15, p. 506, Plin. *N. H.* xi. 37, 74); and this point was seized upon by Christian writers (Tertull. *de Baptism.* 8 'quod etiam corporaliter ipso felle careat columba'; comp. Cyprian *de Unit. Eccl.* 9). Hence in the catacombs we find pictures of doves with the legends 'Anima innocens', 'Anima simplex', etc., and the designation 'Palumbulus sine felle' is there given to the souls of little children. For these and similar representations in the catacombs, see Kraus *Roma Sotterranea* p. 237 sq. The caged bird represents the soul imprisoned in the body; while the bird set free suggests the soul soaring heavenward. For the symbolism of the dove generally see Pitra *Spicil. Solesm.* II. p. 484 sq, Martigny *Dict. Antiq. Chrét.* p. 162 sq (s. v. 'Colombe'). It is not confined to Christian writers. Rabbinical commentators on Cant. i. 15, iv. 1, v. 2, 12, vi. 9, so interpreted the dove; see Leyrer in Herzog *Real-Encykl.* s. v. 'Tauben in Palestina', Bochart *Hieroz.* II. pp. 11, 17. In the spurious *Life of Polycarp*, ascribed to Pionius, it is related (§ 21) that at the time of his consecration one of the brethren εἶδεν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Πολυκάρπου περιστερὰν λευκὴν περὶ ἣν κύκλος ἦν φῶτός.

But did this mention of the dove form part of the original text or not? Eusebius says nothing of it, but writes ἐξῆλθε πλήθος αἵματος. The

αἵματος, ὥστε κατασβέσαι τὸ πῦρ καὶ θαυμάσαι πάντα τὸν ὄχλον, εἰ τοσαύτη τις διαφορὰ μεταξὺ τῶν τε ἀπίστων καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν· ὧν εἷς καὶ οὗτος γηγόνει ὁ θαυμασιώτατος [Πολύκαρπος], ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς γινόμενος, 5 ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνη ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας· πᾶν γὰρ

I πάντα] om. m alone. 2 εἰ κ.τ.λ. ...] For these words to the end of the chapter v substitutes, τῆς τοσαύτης διαφορᾶς τῶν τε πιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπίστων· καὶ οὕτως ἐτελειώθη ὁ ἅγιος ἱεράρχης καὶ ἔνδοξος μάρτυς τοῦ χριστοῦ πολὺκαρπος τῇ εἰκάδι τρίτῃ τοῦ φευρουαρίου μηνός. εἰ] eis s alone. τοσαύτη τις διαφορὰ] τὸ σαύτη τῆς διαφορᾶ b. τις] om. s alone. τε] m[v]E; om. bps. 3 ἐκλεκτῶν] txt mbE; add. εἴη ps. ὧν] ὄν s. οὗτος] οὕτως (sic) b. γηγόνει] γηγόνει b; ἐγγόνει p; γηγόνειν s; γέγονεν E; om. m. 4 θαυμασιώτατος] E; μακάριος καὶ θαυμασιώτατος m; θαυμασιώτατος μάρτυς b; θαυμάσιος μάρτυς ps. Πο-

words *περιστερὰ καὶ* are wanting not only in all the extant Greek MSS, in the Latin of Rufinus, and in the Syriac Version, but also in writers like Nicephorus who borrowed from Eusebius. On the other hand they were certainly found in the archetypal MS which was the progenitor of all other existing MSS (both Greek and Latin) of the Letter itself; for the absence of the words in two Latin MSS means nothing, since these merely translate from Rufinus in this part (see above, III. p. 360). Our choice therefore lies between the authority of Eusebius and the authority of the extant form of the Acts of Martyrdom. In favour of the omission it may be urged: (1) As a question of internal evidence; that the dove seems out of place. The blood does its work by extinguishing the fire; but nothing more is heard of the dove. Unlike the doves of Eulalia and Benignus, it does not fly up heavenward, as we should expect; (2) As a question of external evidence; that Eusebius is in all probability an older authority than the extant form of the *Acts* themselves;

that as he in this part generally gives the words of the document *verbatim*, he may be assumed to have done so here; that there is no reason to suppose the dove would have been an offence to him, since elsewhere (*H.E.* vi. 29) he relates a somewhat similar portent, when Fabianus was designated Bishop of Rome, *ἐκ μετεώρου περιστερὰν καταπτᾶσαν ἐπικαθεσθῆναι τῇ αὐτοῦ κεφαλῇ...μίμημα ἐνδεικνυμένη τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν σωτήρα τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς καθόδου*; and lastly that the insertion may be explained by the superstition of a later age, as shown in the Acts of Eulalia and of Benignus. On the other hand, in favour of its retention it may be maintained that the text of the Acts is generally a safer guide than Eusebius, who does not profess to give the document word for word, who omits clauses and expressions here and there, and whose taste might have been offended by this bald materialism, just as he omits the image of the ἄρτος ὀπτώμενος in § 15. On the whole the arguments against its genuineness seem to predominate.

But if it be not genuine, the alter-

ῥῆμα, ὃ ἀφήκεν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, ἐτελειώθη καὶ τελειωθήσεται.

XVII. Ὁ δὲ ἀντίζηλος καὶ βάσκανος καὶ πονηρός, ἰο ὁ ἀντικείμενος τῷ γένει τῶν δικαίων, ἰδὼν τό τε μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνεπίληπτον

λύκαρπος] G; om. E. 5 γενόμενος] γενόμενος s. 6 ἐπίσκοπος] txt msE; add. τε br. 7 ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας] m[L]; καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας bsE; ἐκκλησίας τῆς καθολικῆς p. 7 ἀφήκεν] mE; ἐξαφηκεν bps. ἐκ τοῦ στόματος] διὰ στόματος s. ἐτελειώθη] mE; om. ps; καὶ ἐτελειώθη b with some MSS of E. 9 ἀντίζηλος] bvsE; ἀντίδικος p; ἀντικείμενος m. καὶ πονηρός] πονηρός (om. καὶ) b appy. 10 ὁ] bpsE; δαίμων ὁ πάντοτε v; ὁ καὶ m. ἀντικείμενος] add. καὶ βδελυττόμενος v alone. τε] G; om. E. 11 ἀνεπίληπτον πολιτείαν] sE; ἀνεπίληπτων (sic) πολιτείαν b; ἀνεπίληπτον αὐτοῦ πολιτείαν p; πολιτείαν ἀνεπίληπτον m; καθαρὰν καὶ ἀνεπίληπτον πολιτείαν v; *irreprehensibilem omnem vitam L.*

native remains, that the words *περιστέρα καὶ* were not a deliberate insertion but an unintentional corruption. On this hypothesis various conjectures have been offered; ἐξήλθεν *περὶ στερὰ πλήθος* Ruchat, ἐξήλθ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ *πλήθος* Le Moynes, and such like. The only emendation however deserving consideration is Wordsworth's ἐξήλθε *περὶ στύρακα πλήθος* 'about the sword-haft' (*Hippolytus* p. 318, ed. 2), which is excellent of its kind and has been adopted by Lagarde (*Rel. Jur. Eccl. Gr.* p. 84), by Zahn, and by Funk. In this case the words *περὶ στύρακα* may have become blurred in a very early copy; and this illegibility would explain both the omission by Eusebius and the substitution of *περιστέρα καὶ* in the extant form of the Acts. This solution however is open to the serious objection that *στύραξ* elsewhere seems always to mean the spike of a spear and never the haft of a sword or dagger. Reasons are given in the chapter on this Letter in the general introduction (see above, i. pp. 606 sq, 643 sq) for suspecting that the words *περιστέρα καὶ* were de-

liberately added by the spurious Pionius whose name occurs below, § 22.

1. ὥστε κατασβέσαι] Cyprian *Ep.* x (p. 491 Hartel) 'Fluebat sanguis qui incendium persecutionis extingueret, qui flammas et ignes gehennae glorioso cruore sopiret,' quoted by Jacobson.

6. ἀγίας] If the reading *καθολικῆς* be adopted, we have here the earliest example of this technical sense of the 'Catholic' Church, as opposed to heretical and schismatical bodies; see the note on Ign. *Smymn.* 8, and the remarks i. p. 414 sq. As a question of external authority, it would be difficult to decide between the two readings; but, as there would be a tendency to substitute *καθολικῆς*, I have without hesitation given the preference to *ἀγίας*; see above, i. p. 621 sq.

9. ἀντίζηλος] A LXX word (Lev. xviii. 18, Ecclus. xxvi. 7, xxxvii. 11), but there always applied to a woman, and so also *Test. Duod. Patr.* Jos. 7.

10. ὁ ἀντικείμενος κ.τ.λ.] For ὁ ἀντικείμενος see the note on Clem. Rom. 51; for τῷ γένει τῶν δικαίων see above, § 14.

πολιτείαν, ἐστεφανωμένον τε τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον καὶ βραβεῖον ἀναντίρρητον ἀπεινηγεμένον, ἐπέτηδεν ὡς μηδὲ τὸ σωματίον αὐτοῦ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ληφθῆναι, καίπερ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμούντων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ σαρκίῳ. ὑπέβαλεν γοῦν 5 Νικήτην τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου πατέρα, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἄλκης, ἐντυχεῖν τῷ ἄρχοντι ὥστε μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα,

1 ἐστεφανωμένον τε] pvsE; ἐστεφανωμένονται b; ἐστεφανωμένον δὲ m. τῆς ἀφθαρσίας] add. καὶ δικαιοσύνης v alone. 2 ἀναντίρρητον] ἀναντίρρητον b; ἀναντίρρητον v; ἀναντήριτον (sic) s. 3 ὡς μηδὲ] bvsE; ὥστε μηδὲ m; ὡς καὶ p (inserting μὴ before ὑφ' ἡμῶν). σωματίον αὐτοῦ] mE; *corpus eius* L; λείψανον αὐτοῦ bps; τίμιον αὐτοῦ λείψανον v. ληφθῆναι] mbv; ληφθείη E; λειφθῆναι ps. 4 ἐπιθυμούντων] ἐνθυμούντων v alone. 5 αὐτοῦ σαρκίῳ] σαρκίῳ αὐτοῦ p alone. ὑπέβαλεν γοῦν] b; ὑπέβαλον γοῦν *times* E; ὑπέβαλεν γὰρ p; ὑπέβαλον γοῦν ὡς πονηρὸς s; *summissit namque* L; ὑπέλαβεν (so Gebhardt, but ? ὑπέβαλεν) m; ὅθεν ὑπέβαλεν ὡς δευρὸς καὶ μισάγιος ὁ πονηρὸς v. 6 Νικήτην] Νικήταν p alone. Ἄλκης] bvs; ἀλκῆς p; ἄλκις s; *alces* L; ἔλκεις m; δάλκης E (mss, with some vv. ll.). 7 ἐντυχεῖν] εὐτυχεῖν b. ἄρχοντι] bps; *rectorem* L; ἡγεμόνι E; ἀνθυπάτῳ m. αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῖς p alone. σῶμα]

2. βραβεῖον] See the note on Clem. Rom. 5. For ἀποφέρεσθαι βραβεῖον, comp. such phrases as ἀποφέρεσθαι νίκην, ἀθλον, πρωτεία, etc.

3. ὡς μηδὲ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Eph. Vienn. et Lugd.* § 62 ὅπως μηδὲ λείψανον αὐτῶν φαίνεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔτι. The reason however which is there given for the wish of the persecutors to obliterate the reliques is not, as here, to prevent the worship of the martyrs, but to crush out all hope of a resurrection. Again the motive of Ignatius in entertaining this wish for himself (*Rom.* 4 μηθὲν καταλίπωσιν τῶν τοῦ σώματός μου) is quite different from either, ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθεῖς βαρὺς τι γένομαι.

σωματίον] With a tinge of commiseration, as in *Eph. Vienn. et Lugd.* (Eus. *H. E.* v. 1) § 23 τὸ δὲ σωματίον... ὄλον τραῦμα καὶ μῶλαψ: comp. §§ 24, 52 (v. 1.); and see especially the index to Epictetus, and Mayor's

note on *Ψυ.* x. 173.

5. κοινωνῆσαι] i.e. by gathering together about his grave for the purpose of common worship.

σαρκίῳ] The diminutive is used in pity or tenderness, like σωματίον just above. These diminutives were especially favourites of the Stoics, who employed them to express their philosophical contempt of the body, M. Anton. ii. 2 ὁ τί ποτε τοῦτο εἶμι, σαρκία ἐστὶ καὶ πνευμάτιον... ἀλλ' ὡς ἦδη ἀποθνήσκων τῶν σαρκίων... καταφρόνησον. Thus also Epictetus uses the double diminutive, i. 3. 5 sq τί γὰρ εἶμι; ταλαίπωρον ἀνθρωπάριον· καὶ τὰ δύστηνά μου σαρκίδια κ.τ.λ., and elsewhere. So too the Latin 'caruncula,' e.g. in Arnob. *adv. Nat.* ii. 76 'nobis.....in carunculae hujus folliculo constitutus'.

6. Ἄλκης] A Christian of Smyrna; for she is doubtless to be identified with the Alce mentioned Ign. *Smyrn.*

μή, φησίν, ἀφέντες τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, τοῦτον ἄρξωνται σέβεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα [εἶπον] ὑποβαλλόντων καὶ  
 10 ἐνισχυόντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οἳ καὶ ἐτήρησαν, μελλόντων ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι οὔτε τὸν Χριστὸν ποτε καταλιπεῖν δυνησόμεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σωζομένων σωτηρίας παθόντα, ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν, οὔτε ἕτερόν τινα

add. ταφή b alone. 8 μή] μήποτε v alone. ἀρξωνται] ἀρξονται  
 b pvs. 9 καὶ pri.] om. m alone. εἶπον] E; εἰπὼν pv; εἰπῶν bs; om. m  
 [L]. ὑποβαλλόντων] G; ὑποβαλλόντων E. 10 ἐνισχυόντων] G; ἐνισχυσάντων  
 E. τῶν] pvs; om. mb. In E the MSS vary. ἐτήρησαν] ἐτήρισαν s;  
 ἐτήρουν v. μελλόντων ἡμῶν] here, mbvs (μελόντων ἡμῶν s) E; before λαμβά-  
 νειν, p. 11 αὐτὸν] pE; αὐτὸ ms; τοῦτο v; om. b. λαμβάνειν] In v the  
 remainder of the chapter is omitted. 12 οὔτε] om. m. ποτε καταλιπεῖν]  
 mE; ποτε καταλείπειν (sic) b; καταλιπεῖν πώποτε ps. δυνησόμεθα] δυνησώ-  
 μαθα (sic) s. 13 παντὸς] om. m alone. τῶν σωζομένων] bpsE; om. m. 14  
 παθόντα] ἀποθανόντα m alone. ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν] G; om. E. In L the  
 whole sentence runs *qui pro peccatis nostris pati tanta dignatus est. ἁμαρτωλῶν]*  
 ἁμαρτωλῶν s.

13, *Polyc.* 8. See the note on the former passage, and also I. p. 366 sq.

8. ἀρξωνται σέβεσθαι] See Lactant. *Inst. Div.* v. 11 'Nemo hujus tantae belluae immanitatem pro merito describere...non tantum artus hominum dissipat, sed et ossa ipsa comminuit et in cineres furit, ne quis extet sepulturae locus, quasi vero id affectent qui Deum confitentur, ut ad eorum sepulcra veniatur, ac non ut ipsi ad Deum perveniant.' See also Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 6, where he relates that the bones of the Nicomedian martyrs were dug up and thrown into the sea, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἐν μνήμασιν ἀποκειμένους προσκυνοῖεν τινας, θεοὺς δὴ αὐτούς, ὡς γε ᾄοντο, λογιζόμενοι: *Act. Fruct. Augur.* etc. 2 (p. 265 Ruinart) 'Aemilianus praeses Eulogio diacono dixit, Numquid et ne Fructuosum colis? Eulogius dixit, Ego Fructuosum non colo; sed ipsum colo, quem et Fructuosus,' on which saying Augustine, *Serm.* cclxxiii. 2 (*Op.*

v. 1106), comments in the same spirit as our martyrologists here. See also August. *c. Faust.* xx. 21 (*Op.* VIII. 347) 'Populus autem Christianus memorias martyrum religiosa sollemnitate concelebrat...ita tamen ut nulli martyrum, sed ipsi Deo martyrum, quamvis in memoriis martyrum, constituamus altaria'; comp. *de Civ. Dei* viii. 26, 27, xxii. 10 (*Op.* VII. 215 sq, 673 sq), where this father is especially careful to contrast the honour paid to the martyrs by the Christians with the worship offered to dead men by the pagans.

9. εἶπον] i.e. 'Nicetes and those who acted with him,' if the reading be correct; but a probable inference from the authorities is that εἶπον should be omitted, in which case καὶ ταῦτα κ.τ.λ. will mean 'this too at the instigation of the Jews', with a reference to the active part they had taken at a previous stage of the martyrdom, §§ 12, 13.

σέβεσθαι. τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ υἷον ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ προσκυνουῦμεν, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως ἕνεκεν εὐνοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα καὶ διδάσκαλον· ὧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς συγκοινωνοὺς τε καὶ συμμαθητὰς γενέσθαι. 5

XVIII. Ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ κεντυρίων τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων γενομένην φιλονεικίαν, θεὸς αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, ἔκαυσε. οὕτως τε ἡμεῖς ὕστερον ἀνελόμενοι τὰ τιμιώτερα λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερα ὑπὲρ χρυσίου ὅσῳ αὐτοῦ, ἀπεθέμεθα ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον 10

1 σέβεσθαι.] G; σέβειν E. 2 μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς] μιμητὰς καὶ μαθητὰς s. τοῦ Κυρίου] bpsE; αὐτοῦ m (comp. L). 3 ἕνεκεν] m; ἕνεκα bps. The MSS of E vary. εὐνοίας] ἐννοίας s alone. 4 ὧν] bpsE; ἰψοριου L; ᾗ m. 5 συγκοινωνοῦς] pE; κοινωνοῦς mbs. συμμαθητὰς] GL; μαθητὰς E. 6 οὖν] om. v. κεντυρίων] mvs (κεντυρίων s); comp. Chron-Pasch. p. 481; ἑκατοντάρχης E; ἑκατοντάρχος κεντυρίων bp. τὴν] mvpsE (comp. Chron-Pasch.); om. b. Ἰουδαίων γενομένην] bps; *judaeorum* L; λεγομένων Ἰουδαίων m v(?) (comp. Rev. ii. 9, iii. 9). 7 φιλονεικίαν] φιλονικίαν s. αὐτὸν] mbpsE (comp. Chron-Pasch.); *corpus* L; τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀγίου μάρτυρος v. ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς] msE; τοῦ πυρὸς bp v(?); om. [L] (comp. Chron-Pasch.). 8 ἔκαυσε. οὕτως τε] mbs (οὕτω for οὕτως bs) pE; κατέκαυσε αὐτὸ τότε v. ἀνελόμενοι] ἀνελώμενοι s. 9 δοκιμώτερα] δοκιμωτέρων p; δοκιμώτερα lv; δοκημώτερον s. 10 χρυσίου] χρυσιῶν b. ἀπεθέμεθα] ἀποθέμεθα b. Add. *eis* ὃν εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς τόπον v alone. καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν]

9. τιμιώτερα...ὑπὲρ] For this construction see Winer *Gramm.* xxxv. p. 301.

10. ἀπεθέμεθα] The grave of Polycarp is mentioned as being at Smyrna by one who lived in a neighbouring city and had already grown up to manhood when the martyrdom took place, Polycrates of Ephesus writing soon after A.D. 190, Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Πολύκαρπος ἐν Σμύρνῃ [κεκοίμηται] καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς. For these *martyria* or *memoriae* of the martyrs, see Bingham *Christ. Ant.* viii. I. 9, xx. 7. 3.

ἀκόλουθον ἦν] 'it was consequent,' and so 'conformable,' 'convenient.' The place is not mentioned, lest it should be divulged to their enemies.

13. γυνέθλιον] For the commemoration of these 'birth-days' of the saints and martyrs, on which they were born into a higher life, see Bingham *Christ. Antiq.* xiii. 9. 5, xx. 7. 2. Comp. Tertull. *de Coron.* 3 'Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus,' and see Ducange *Gloss.* s. v. 'Natalis.' For the idea comp. Ign. *Rom.* 6 ὁ τοκετός μοι ἐπικείται...μὴ ἐμποδιστέ μοι ζῆσαι (with the note), Tertull. *Scorp.* 15 'Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanae consequitur nativitatem, cum illic martyrii renascitur generositate.'

17. σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφίας] For the connexion between Philadelphia and Smyrna see above II. p. 240 sq. This notice has given rise



ἦν. ἔνθα ὡς δυνατὸν ἡμῖν συναγομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ παρέξει ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἰς τε τὴν τῶν προηθληκῶτων μνήμην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἄσκησιν τε  
15 καὶ ἐτοιμασίαν.

XIX. Τοιαῦτα τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, ὃς σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφίας δωδέκατος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἡμερῶν μαρτυρήσας μόνος ὑπὸ πάντων [μᾶλλον] μνημονεύεται, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ λαλεῖσθαι, οὐ  
20 μόνον διδάσκαλος γενόμενος ἐπίσημος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάρτυς ἕξοχος, οὗ τὸ μαρτύριον πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν μιμεῖσθαι,

prvsE; καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν ἦν b; ἀκολούθως m. 11 ἔνθα] om. m alone. συναγομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ] συναγαλλόμενοις (sic) καὶ συναγομένοις ἐν s alone. 13 μαρτυρίου] μάρτυρος m alone. ἡμέραν γενέθλιον] mbsE; ἡμέραν γενέσθαι p; γενέθλιον ἡμέραν v. τὴν] bvs; om. mp. The MSS of E vary. τῶν προηθληκῶτων] mpE; τῶν ἠλθηκῶτων (sic) b; αὐτοῦ vs. 14 μνήμην] ἡμῶν p. ἄσκησιν] ἄσκησιν s. 17 ὅς] here, G; before μόνος, E. δωδέκατος...μαρτυρήσας] G; δώδεκα τοῦ...μαρτυρήσαντος E (the MSS). 18 μᾶλλον] E (comp. L *culturæ meruit principatum*); om. G. 19 ὥστε] G; ὡς E. λαλεῖσθαι] The quotation of E ends here. 20 μόνον] μόνος b alone. Add. γὰρ v alone. διδάσκαλος] mbvs; add. ἐθνῶν p (comp. L *magister adhuc vocatur a forulo*). ἐπίσημος] ἐπίσημος s. 21 ἕξοχος] bpm; ἕξοχάτος s; τίμιος καὶ ἕξοχάτος v. μιμεῖσθαι] μιμήσασθαι m alone.

to the false reading ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ for ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ in the address of the letter (see above, p. 363); but, if the letter had been addressed to the Philadelphians the mention of their own martyrs would certainly not have been made in this casual way. For the idiomatic δωδέκατος, 'with eleven others,' see Kühner *Gramm.* § 468, II. p. 562. The most natural interpretation here is that all the eleven were Philadelphians (as taken above, II. p. 243); but σὺν τοῖς κ.τ.λ. may perhaps mean 'with eleven others including those from Philadelphia.' Of these eleven others one only, Germanicus, is mentioned in this letter by name (see above,

§ 3). It is not impossible however, that we have the names of others in the list in the ancient Syrian Martyrology (published by Wright) under Feb. 23, 'In Asia of the number of the ancient confessors Polycarp the bishop, Arutus (?), Cosconius, Melanippus, and Zeno'; comp. also *Martyrol. Hieron.* vii. Kal. Mart. (Op. XI. ii. p. 555), where the same names and others are given as martyred either 'Smyrnae' or 'in Asia,' with the usual confusion of this Latin Martyrology.

18. μόνος κ.τ.λ.] 'is singled out by all rather (than the others) to be remembered.'

κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ γενόμενον. διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καταγωνισάμενος τὸν ἄδικον ἄρχοντα καὶ οὕτως τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον ἀπολαβών, σὺν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ πᾶσιν δίκαιοις ἀγαλλιώμενος δοξάζει τὸν Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ εὐλογεῖ [τὸν] 5 Κύριον [ἡμῶν] Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν σωτήρα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν καὶ κυβερνήτην τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν καὶ ποιμένα τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.

XX. Ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἠξιώσατε διὰ πλειόνων δηλωθῆναι ὑμῖν τὰ γενόμενα· ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ὡς ἐν 10

1 διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς] txt pv; add. γὰρ msb; καὶ διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ὑπομονῆς s. 2 καταγωνισάμενος] καταγωνισάμενος s. ἄδικον ἄρχοντα] ἄρχοντα ἄδικον s. 4 ἀποστόλοις] txt mbpsL; add. καὶ μάρτυσι v. πᾶσιν] bv; πᾶσι mspss. ἀγαλλιώμενος] ἀγαλιώμενος b. 5 τὸν Θεὸν καὶ] θεὸν m alone. παντοκράτορα] mL; om. bpvs by homeoteleuton. τὸν] m(?) bvs; om. p. 6 ἡμῶν] bpvsL; om. m. Ἰησοῦν...ψυχῶν ἡμῶν] om. b by homeoteleuton. σωτήρα] præf. κηδέμονα καὶ v alone. 7 ἡμῶν pri.] pvs (comp. L); om. m; def. b (but the omission by homeoteleuton shows that the scribe had it in his copy). κυβερνήτην] κυβερνήτην s. 8 τὴν] om. m alone. καθολικῆς] bpvsL; ἁγίας m. ἐκκλησίας] mbps; add. *et spiritum sanctum per quem cuncta cognoscimus* L; add. καὶ τὸ πανάγιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν πνεῦμα, ἔθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες τὸν μὲν χριστὸν προσκυνούμεν ὡς υἱὸν ἀληθινὸν ὄντα τοῦ θεοῦ, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μιμητὰς καὶ μαθητὰς τοῦ κυρίου ἀγαπώμεν ἀξίως· ὧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς πάντας συνκοινωνοὺς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν σὺν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν

3. ἀπολαβών] 'receiving as his due'; see the note on Gal. iv. 5, and comp. [Clem. Rom.] ii. 8.

II. διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ] For the possible meanings of the preposition see the note on Ign. Rom. 10. It cannot here denote the scribe, for his name Euarestus is given below; nor can it very well denote the bearer, for the word *μεμηνύκαμεν* seems to exclude this. It must therefore designate the composer of the letter, as in Dionys. Cor. quoted by Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23 τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφείσαν.

Μαρκιανοῦ] This is probably the correct reading. The change into

Μαρκίανος in one MS is explained by the fact that Marcion's name appears in the context of that same MS. The alteration into the more familiar name Μάρκον in other authorities is natural enough. On the variations here, and on similar confusions elsewhere, see Gebhardt in the *Zeitsch. f. Hist. Theol.* 1875, p. 370 sq; who however adopts the reading Μαρκίανος. A Marcianus is mentioned by Eusebius *H. E.* v. 26 as a person to whom Irenæus dedicated one of his treatises; and this is not improbably the same man. The name however is not uncommon at this time. A contemporary of our

κεφαλαίῳ μεμηνύκαμεν διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν Μαρκιανοῦ. μαθόντες οὖν ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἐπέκεινα ἀδελφοῖς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διαπέμψασθε, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δοξάσωσι τὸν Κύριον τὸν ἐκλογὰς ποιούμενον τῶν ἰδίων δούλων.

15 Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰσαγαγεῖν [ἐν] τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι καὶ δωρεᾷ εἰς τὴν ἐπουράνιον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν, διὰ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δόξα, τιμὴ, κράτος, μεγαλωσύνη, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. προσ-  
αγορεύετε πάντας τοὺς ἀγίους. ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν  
20 προσαγορεύουσιν καὶ Εὐάρεστος ὁ γράψας πανοικί.

αἰώνων. ἀμήν v (and so this MS ends). 9 πλειόνων] πλειῶνων s. 10 γενόμενα] mbs; γινόμενα p. ὡς ἐν] m; ἐπι bps (ἐπικεφαλαίῳ s); al. L. 11 μεμηνύκαμεν] μὲν ἠλώσαμεν s. Μαρκιανοῦ] *marcianum* L; μαρκίανος m; μάρκου bps. 13 διαπέμψασθε] διαπέμψασθαι s; διὰ πέμψασθαι b. δοξάσωσι] mps; δοξάσωσιν b. 14 ποιούμενον] m; ποιούντα ἀπὸ bps. L has *honorum electione servorum*. 15 Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ] mbr (om. δὲ br); τὸν δὲ δυνάμενον s. ἐν] bps; om. m. 16 ἐπουράνιον] m; αἰώνιον bps. 17 παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς] b; τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς ps; τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ παιδὸς m. 18 δόξα] m; præf. ᾧ ἢ bp; ᾧ ἡ s. τοὺς] ms; om. bp. αἰῶνας] m; add. ἀμήν bpsL. προσαγορεύετε] προσαγορεύεται bs. 19 ὑμᾶς] bp; om. s; καὶ γὰρ ὑμᾶς m; omnes L. ἡμῖν] txt bvL; add. ἀδελφοὶ m. 20 Εὐάρεστος] αὐτὸς εὐάρεστος m alone. γράψας] txt bpsL; add. τὴν ἐπιστολὴν m (comp. Rom. xvi. 22). πανοικί] here, bps (πανοικί s) L; after εὐάρεστος, m.

Marcianus, a lawyer, is mentioned by Fronto *Epist.* p. 43 (ed. Naber).

12. τοῖς ἐπέκεινα] 'who are farther away'; comp. Ign. *Ephes.* 9 παροδύσαντάς τινας ἐκεῖθεν.

15. Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Rom. xvi. 25, Eph. iii. 20, Jude 24. On account of the parallel passages in S. Paul, Zahn would connect διὰ παιδὸς κ.τ.λ. with what follows: but the order rather suggests their connexion with the preceding words.

20. Εὐάρεστος] The name occurs three times in Smyrnæan inscriptions (Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* 3148, 3152, 3162), and not elsewhere in the collection, except in two Pisi-

dian inscriptions (4380 m, n). See also *Mittheilungen d. Deutsch. Archæol. Instit. in Athen* VIII (1883), p. 325 sq. It is found also on coins of Miletus, Pergamum, and Tralles. It appears likewise in a notice of Aristides (*Op.* i. p. 508, ed. Dindorf), relating to these same regions and this same time, though the person in question is described as a Cretan. The early bishop of Rome bearing this name is said to have been a Palestinian Jew, but the tradition has no value.

ὁ γράψας] As in Rom. xvi. 22, where in like manner the scribe sends a greeting.

XXI. *Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος μηνὸς Ζανθικοῦ δευτέρα ἰσταμένου, πρὸ ἑπτὰ καλανδῶν Μαρτίων, σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ; ὥρα ὀγδόη· συνελήφθη ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Φιλίππου Τραλλιανοῦ, ἀνθυπατεύοντος Στατίου Κοδράτου, βασιλεύοντος δὲ εἰς τοὺς 5 αἰῶνας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα, τιμὴ, μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος, ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν. ἀμήν.*

XXII. 1. [*Ἐρωῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχόμεθα, ἀδελφοί, στοιχοῦντας τῷ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον λόγῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· μεθ' οὗ δόξα τῷ Θεῷ ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῇ τῶν ἀγίων ἐκλεκ- 10 τῶν· καθὼς ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος, οὗ γένοιτο ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἴχνη εὐρεθῆναι ἡμᾶς.*]

1 *Μαρτυρεῖ*] bps; *ἐμαρτύρησεν* m. δέ] mbp; add. *καὶ* s. μηνός] μῖνός m. Præf. *κατὰ μὲν Ἀσιανοῦς* m alone. 2 *Ζανθικοῦ*] *ἐξανθηκοῦ* b. *ἰσταμένου*] bs; *εἰσταμένου* p; om. m. πρὸ] præf. *κατὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίους* m alone. *Μαρτίων*] m (and so also in the heading; see p. 363); *μαίων* bpL; *μαίων* s; *Ἀπριλίω* Chron-Pasch. 3 *ὀγδόη*] bpsL (comp. Chron-Pasch.); *ἐνάτη* m. *συνελήφθη*] txt bsL; add. *δὲ* p; præf. *ἡ* (sic) *καὶ* m. 4 *ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως*] bps; *ροντίσφις* L (but it translates *ἀνθυπατεύοντος* by *proconsule*); *ἀρχιεραρχούτος* (sic) *μὲν* m. *Φιλίππου*] add. *τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς* (sic) m alone. *Τραλλιανοῦ*] bp; *στραλιανοῦ* s; *τραϊανοῦ* mL. *ἀνθυπατεύοντος*] m (add. *δὲ* m) bp; *ἀνθυπάτου ὄντος* s; dub. L. 5 *Στατίου*] L; *στρατίου* bs; *τατίου* Chron-Pasch.; om. m. Both words *στατίου* *κοδράτου* are omitted in p, so that Philippus is made proconsul as well as chief priest. *Κοδράτου*] *κοράτου* s; *κοράτο*. . b; for p see

1. *Μαρτυρεῖ δέ*] On these supplementary paragraphs generally, and more especially on the dates given in the first, see the chapters on the Letter of the Smyrnæans and on the Date of the Martyrdom in the general introduction.

3. *σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ*] So also in the body of the document, § 8 *ὄντος σαββάτου μεγάλου*.

*συνελήφθη*] Connected by Zahn with the preceding words. But there would be no special reason for describing the exact hour of his apprehension, as distinct from his

martyrdom; and moreover it is clear from the narrative that he cannot have been apprehended at the eighth hour, whether 8 A.M. according to the Roman reckoning, or 2 P.M. according to the Eastern.

4. *ἀρχιερέως*] In the body of the letter (§ 12) he is styled 'Asiarch'. On the identity of the two offices see the excursus, On the Asiarchate (p. 404 sq).

*ἀνθυπατεύοντος*] The proconsul is mentioned several times in the body of the document (§§ 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12), but his name is not given there. The year of the proconsulship of

2. Ταῦτα μετεγράψατο μὲν Γάϊος ἐκ τῶν Εἰρη-  
15 ναίου μαθητοῦ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου, ὃς καὶ συνεπολιτεύσατο  
τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ.

3. Ἐγὼ δὲ Ἐρωκράτης ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἐκ τῶν Γαίου  
ἀντιγράφων ἔγραψα. ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων.

4. Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν Πιόνιος ἐκ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου  
20 ἔγραψα ἀναζητήσας αὐτά, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν φανερώ-  
σαντός μοι τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου, καθὼς δηλώσω  
ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς, συναγαγὼν αὐτὰ ἤδη σχεδὸν ἐκ τοῦ  
χρόνου κεκμηκότα, ἵνα καμὲ συναγάγῃ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς  
Χριστὸς μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐπουράνιον  
25 βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα σὺν πατρὶ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύ-  
ματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

the last note. 6 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] txt bps; praef. τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν m[L]. φ...  
ἀμήν] bsL; om. mp. φ] ὦ s. μεγαλωσύνη] με...λοσυνη b. 8 Ἐρρωσθαι]  
ἔρρωσθε p. The whole of this paragraph ἔρρωσθαι...εὐρεθῆναι ἡμᾶς is omitted  
in mL. εὐχόμεθα] εὐχόμεναι s alone. 9 τφ] τὸ bps. Χριστοῦ] χῶ b.  
10 δόξα] bs; πᾶσα δόξα p. Θεφ] txt p; add. καὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι bs.  
σωτηρίᾳ] bs; σωτηρίῳ p. 11 ἐμαρτύρησεν] ἐμαρτύρισεν s. μακάριος] bs;  
ἅγιος p. οὔ] b; ὃν ps. 14—26 Ταῦτα...ἀμήν] bpsL. For these  
words m substitutes the more extended paragraphs which are given in brackets  
Ταῦτα...ἀμήν. Εἰρηναίου] εἰρηνεοῦ b. 15 τοῦ] add. ἀγίου p alone. 18  
ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων] bps (but add. ἡμῶν p); om. L. 22 ἦδη] ἴδη s. 23  
συναγάγῃ] συναγάγει bs. Κύριος] add. ἡμῶν p. 24 ἐπουράνιον] p (comp.  
m); οὐράνιον bs. 25 βασιλείαν] βασιλίαν s. φ] bp; ὦ s. πατρὶ] bp;  
praef. τφ s. ἀγίῳ] bp; praef. τφ s.

Status Quadratus is fully discussed in the general introduction. See also above, p. 368 sq.

5. βασιλεύοντος δὲ κ.τ.λ.] On the objection that this mode of expression indicates a much later age see the chapter on this Letter in the general introduction (esp. I. p. 635 sq).

6. φ ἡ δόξα κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Clem. Rom. 65 δι' οὗ αὐτῷ δόξα, τιμὴ, κράτος καὶ μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος, ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων κ.τ.λ. See above, I.

p. 626.

9. τφ...λόγῳ] For this dative of the rule or standard with στοιχείν see Rom. iv. 12, Phil. iii. 16, Gal. v. 25, vi. 16 (with the notes).

11. οὗ γένοιτο κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Ign. *Ephes.* 12 οὗ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη εὐρεθῆναι.

14. Ταῦτα κ.τ.λ.] For a discussion of the questions relating to the three paragraphs, which follow, see the general introduction (I. p. 626 sq).

[The three preceding paragraphs as read in the Moscow MS.]

2. [Ταῦτα μετεγράψατο μὲν Γάϊος ἐκ τῶν Εἰρηναίου συγγραμμάτων ὃς καὶ συνεπολιτεύσατο τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ, μαθητῇ γεγονότι τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυκάρπου. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Πολυκάρπου γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ, πολλοὺς ἐδίδαξεν· οὗ 5 καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοῦ συγγράμματα κάλλιστα καὶ ὀρθότατα φέρεται· ἐν οἷς μέμνηται Πολυκάρπου, ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔμαθεν· ἱκανῶς τε πᾶσαν αἴρεσιν ἤλεγξεν, καὶ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα καὶ καθολικόν, ὡς παρέλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ παρέδωκεν. λέγει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι 10 συναντήσαντός ποτε τῷ ἁγίῳ Πολυκάρπῳ Μαρκίωνος, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ λεγόμενοι Μαρκιωνισταί, καὶ εἰπόντος, Ἐπιγίνωσκε ἡμᾶς, Πολύκαρπε, εἶπεν αὐτὸς τῷ Μαρκίῳνι, Ἐπιγινώσκω, ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Καταναῆ. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ φέρεται ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Εἰρηναίου συγγράμ- 15 μασι, ὅτι ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ὥρα ἐν Σμύρῃ ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ Πολύκαρπος, ἤκουσεν φωνὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει

6 ὀρθότατα] ὀρθώτατα m.

11 Μαρκίωνος] μάρκιων m.

13 εἶπεν] εἰπεῖν m.

1. Ταῦτα κ.τ.λ.] Though the Moscow MS generally preserves the older and better readings, the form which these three paragraphs assume in it is evidently due to a later hand. This is clear (besides other indications) from the omission of the words *καθὼς δηλώσω ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς*, which seemed out of place when this Letter of the Smyrnæans was detached from the Pionian Life of Polycarp in which it had been incorporated; see the general introduction.

5. οὗ] If both οὗ and αὐτοῦ be retained, the former should perhaps be translated 'where' (i.e. in Rome).

A redundant αὐτοῦ however, following upon οὗ, would not be without many parallels; see Winer *Gramm.* § xxii. p. 184 sq.

7. ἐν οἷς κ.τ.λ.] In three writings of Irenæus, extant whole or in part, we have mention of Polycarp; (1) *Haer.* iii. 3. 4; (2) *Epistle to Florinus* quoted in *Eus. H. E.* v. 20; (3) *Epistle to Victor* quoted in *Eus. H. E.* v. 24. In the two former passages he speaks of his own connexion with Polycarp. The story of his encounter with Marcion is in the first passage.

ὑπάρχων ὁ Εἰρηναῖος, ὡς σάλπιγγος λεγούσης, Πολύ-  
καρπος ἐμαρτύρησεν.

20 3. Ἐκ τούτων οὖν, ὡς προλέλεκται, τῶν τοῦ Εἰρη-  
ναίου συγγραμμάτων Γάϊος μετεγράψατο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν  
Γαίου ἀντιγράφων Ἴσοκράτης ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

4. Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν Πιόνιος ἐκ τῶν Ἴσοκράτους ἀντι-  
γράφων ἔγραψα, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυ-  
25 κάρπου ζητήσας αὐτά, συναγαγὼν αὐτὰ ἤδη σχεδὸν ἐκ  
τοῦ χρόνου κεκμηκότα ἵνα καμὲ συναγάγη ὁ Κύριος  
Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐπου-  
ράνιον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν· ᾧ ἡ δόξα σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ  
υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.  
30 ἀμήν.]

17 πόλει] πόλι m.

Εἰρηναίου] εἰρηναῖος m.

19 ἐμαρτύρησεν] ἐμαρτύρῃσεν m.

20 τούτων] τούτου m.

## On the Asiarchate.

As regards the literature of this subject, it will be sufficient to mention here Eckhel *Doctr. Num. Vet.* iv. p. 207 sq; Gothofred *Cod. Theod.* vi. 3, xii. 1. 103, 112, xv. 5. 1, xv. 9. 2, xvi. 10 paratitl.; Krause *Neocoros* p. 71 sq (Lips. 1844); Waddington in Lebas *Voyage Archéologique* Inscr. III. no. 885; Babington *On an unpublished coin of Laodicea bearing the name of an Asiarch* (*Numismatic Society of London*, 1866); Marquardt *De Provinciarum Romanarum Conciliis et Sacerdotibus in Ephemeris Epigraphica* I. p. 200 sq (1872), and again *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I. p. 374 sq (1873). Further particulars relating to the literature will be found in Eckhel, Babington, and Marquardt.

Under the Roman Government the principal cities of the several provinces were united together in confederations for certain religious and civil purposes, called *Commune Bithyniae, Ciliciae, Galatiae, Pamphyliae*, etc. The presiding officers of these unions bore the titles, Bithyniarch, Cilicarch, Galatarch, Pamphyliarch, etc., respectively. In some instances, as for example in Lycia<sup>1</sup>, these organizations appear to have existed before the establishment of the Roman supremacy, in which case they were merely adapted by the Romans. Of these confederations the most famous was the *Commune Asiae*, τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας, as belonging to the earliest and prerogative province; and accordingly we hear much more of the Asiarchs than of the others. The earliest Asiarch recorded is Pythodorus, the friend of Pompeius (Strabo xiv. 1. 42, p. 649); the latest mention of the office as still existing is in a rescript of Honorius and Theodosius A.D. 409 (*Cod. Theod.* xv. 9. 2, v. p. 438, ed. Gothofred). When we find Justinian speaking of the Phœnicarchs and Syriarchs as obsolete offices (*Novell.* lxxxix. 15), it is a tolerably safe inference that the Asiarchate likewise had been abolished or fallen

<sup>1</sup> This follows from the language of Strabo when describing the *Commune Lyciæ* with the Lyciarch at its head; xiv. 3. 3 (p. 665) καὶ περὶ πολέμου δὲ καὶ εἰρή-

νης καὶ συμμαχίας ἐβουλευόντο πρότερον, νῦν δ' οὐκ εἰκόσ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ταύτ' ἀνάγκη κείσθαι.



into disuse. In the tenth century the character of the office was so little remembered that Constantine Porphyrogenitus identifies the Asiarch with the proconsul (*de Themat.* i. 3 ὁ ταύτης [i.e. Ἀσίας μικρᾶς] κρατῶν ἀνθύπατος Ἀσιάρχης ἐλέγετο, *Patrol. Graec.* cxiii. p. 80, ed. Migne)<sup>1</sup>.

It was the object of these confederations, while a certain amount of local self-government was thus given to the provinces, to connect them more closely with the empire. To secure this end more effectually a religious bond was necessary. Hence the establishment of the worship of the emperor, often connected with that of Rome and sometimes with that of the senate. The assumption of the title Augustus was a preliminary step (*Veget.* ii. 5 'imperator cum Augusti nomen accepit, tamquam praesenti et corporali deo fidelis est praestanda devotio'); and the idea was further strengthened by the Greek rendering Σεβαστός (*Dion Cass.* liii. 16 Αὐγουστος, ὡς καὶ πλείον τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὦν, ἐπεκλήθη... ἐξ οὐπερ καὶ Σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλληνίζοντές πως, ὥσπερ τιὰ σεπτόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεβάζεσθαι προσεῖπον). The next stage was the erection of temples (σεβαστεῖα) and the establishment of priesthoods for the maintenance of this worship. A city which established such worship bore the title νεωκόρος or 'temple warden'. Proconsular Asia was one of the earliest provinces to adopt these rites (B.C. 19); and here they flourished with exceptional vigour. In six at least of the cities comprised in the *Commune Asiae* (Smyrna, Ephesus, Pergamum, Sardes, Philadelphia, and Cyzicus) periodic festivals and games were held under the auspices of the confederation, κοινὸν (or κοινὰ) Ἀσίας ἐν Σμύρνῃ, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, ἐν Περγάμῳ, κ.τ.λ.; see Marquardt *Ephemeris Epigraphica* i. p. 209, Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* Index p. 43. Each of these had likewise its temple or temples dedicated to the worship of the emperors. The local chief-priest of each city was designated accordingly, ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν [or ναοῦ τοῦ] ἐν Σμύρνῃ, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, ἐν Κυζίκῳ, etc. (see below, p. 409), or more fully ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας (*C. I. G.* 3858 e). The provincial chief-priest, who had the control of the whole, was styled ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας or ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας. He is also to be identified with the Ἀσιάρχης, as will be shown presently. His chief functions were the general direction of the cultus of the emperor throughout the province and the superintendence and presidency of the festivals and games. Hence Rufinus in the account of Polycarp's

<sup>1</sup> The passage indeed is a tissue of blunders. Constantine speaks of S. Luke as μεμνημένος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τότε πρωτεύοντος τῶν Ἐφεσίων, Ἀσιάρχην αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶν. Alexander (*Acts* xix. 33) is quite distinct from the Asiarchs.

martyrdom (*H. E.* iv. 15) translates Ἀσιάρχης by *munerarius*. Hence also the language in *Cod. Theod.* xv. 9. 2 'Asiarchis et ceteris, quorum nomen festivitatis solennitas dedicavit' (A.D. 409). The expenses of these exhibitions fell to a considerable extent upon him, so that only men of substance could properly fulfil the requirements of the office (*Cod. Theod.* vi. 2. 3, xii. 1. 103, xii. 1. 148, xv. 5. 1, xv. 9. 2, with Gothofred's notes). Hence the statement of Strabo (see above p. 383 sq), that the Asiarchs were frequently chosen from the citizens of Tralles on account of their wealth. But besides these more directly religious and ceremonial duties, the confederation superintended the erection of monuments and other public works, the imposition and collection of taxes for the maintenance of the temples, and the like. It was also the medium of communication with the emperor and the senate. As involving the presidency of this confederation, the Asiarchate was an office of great dignity and influence. After the proconsul, the Asiarch was probably the most important person in the province; and his name, like that of the proconsul, was frequently used for marking the epoch on coins and in documents. An account of the steps taken for the purpose of electing an Asiarch by the confederation is given by Aristides (*Or.* 1. p. 531 sq)<sup>1</sup>. There are grounds for thinking, as I have shown in the first volume (on the Date of the Martyrdom), that this was the very occasion on which Philip the Trallian, who presided at Polycarp's martyrdom, was elected (see especially 1. pp. 628 sq, 665 sq).

Without entering more fully into the duties of the Asiarch, I purpose discussing three points, relating to this office, which present some difficulty, while at the same time they affect the notices in early Christian writings.

<sup>1</sup> In the first public assembly at Smyrna in the beginning of the year (ισταμένον τοῦ ἔτους καὶ γιγνομένης ἐκκλησίας τῆς πρώτης) the name of Aristides was put forward for the chief-priesthood of Asia (τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὴν κοινὴν τῆς Ἀσίας), though he himself deprecated it. He continues, καὶ συμβαίνει μετὰ τοῦτο συνέδρους μὲν ἐξίεναι Συμυρναίων εἰς Φρυγίαν ἄνω καὶ μέλλειν φέρειν τοῦμὸν ὄνομα ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῷ κοινῷ.....καὶ γίγνομαι τρίτος ἢ τέταρτος τῇ χειροτονίᾳ. It is inferred by Marquardt (*R. S.* p. 370 sq) and others from these last words, that three or four names were submitted by the confederation to the proconsul, who selected the

Asiarch from among them. But it seems more natural to take them as meaning that his desire had been fulfilled and he had not been elected.

Of the corresponding election of the Lyciarch Strabo (xiv. 3. 3, p. 664 sq) tells us that the representatives of the cities which have votes meet together in general session (εἰς κοινὸν συνέδριον) at a city which they have selected and approved (ἢν ἂν δοκιμάσωσι πόλιν ἐλόμενοι); that some cities have three votes, some two, some one; and that in the session (ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ) the Lyciarch is first chosen, then the other officers (ἀρχαί) of the union (τοῦ συστήματος).

I. *Identity of the Asiarch and High-priest.*

The identity of the two has been disputed by Waddington (*Lebas Voyage Archéologique*, Inscr. III. 885), by Babington (*On an unpublished coin of Laodicea* p. 12 sq), and by Perrot (*De Galatia Provincia* p. 150 sq)<sup>1</sup>: but Eckhel (*Doctr. Num. Vet.* IV. p. 208 sq) can hardly be claimed on this side, since he says explicitly (p. 209) 'Verisimile est, cum quis generatim dicitur ἀρχιεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας...tum intelligendum Asiarcham' (see also p. 205), thus conceding everything for which the advocates of the identity contend. Notwithstanding the authority of such names, the facts and arguments recently adduced, more especially by Marquardt (*Ephem. Epigr.* I. p. 210 sq, *Röm. Staatsv.* I. p. 374 sq, 1873), not to mention the valuable investigations of an older critic Gothofred (*Cod. Theod.* VI. 3. I, XII. I. 112, XV. 9. 2, XVI. 10 paratitlon), seem to place the identity beyond a doubt. It is not possible to add much to Marquardt's arguments, but his position has been strengthened by one or two lately discovered inscriptions, and some other considerations which he has overlooked seem to favour his view.

(i) The Asiarchate, Bithyniarchate, etc., are spoken of as the priesthoods or chief-priesthoods of the several provinces; e.g. by Modestinus [c. A.D. 230] in the *Digest.* XXVII. I. 6, § 14 (p. 354, ed. Mommsen) ἔθνους ἱεραρχία [v. l. ἱερωσύνη], οἶον Ἀσιαρχία, Βιθυνιαρχία, Καππαδοκαρχία, παρέχει ἀλειτουρησίαν ἀπὸ ἐπιτροπῶν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἕως ἀν ἄρχῃ. This same language is used respecting the ἀρχιεὺς. Thus we read of Chrysanthius that he received τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους (Eunap. *Vit. Soph.* p. 111, quoted by Marquardt *R. S.* p. 374), while we have been told before of this same Chrysanthius that Julian ἀρχιερέα [ἀπέδειξε] τὸν τε ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τῆς Λυδίας. Again, in a law of Constantine (*Cod. Just.* V. 27. 1) we find the words 'quos in civitatibus duumviralitas vel sacerdotii, id est Phoenicarchiae vel Syriarchiae, ornamenta condecorant'. Nor can there be any doubt that the Asiarchate is intended in the following passage from Papi-nianus in *Digest.* I. 5. 8 'sed in Asia sacerdotium provinciae suscipere non coguntur numero liberorum quinque subnixi; quod optimus maximusque princeps noster Severus Augustus decrevit ac postea in ceteris provinciis servandum esse constituit'. So in like manner there can

<sup>1</sup> I am pleased to find that the identity of the two offices is held by Mommsen in his new volume (1885), *Röm. Gesch.* V. p. 319 sq, note 1. He considers how-

ever that in the case of the smaller provinces, like Galatia and Lycia, the High-priest was distinct from the Galatarch, Lyciarch, etc.

be little question that the office which Aristides (*Or.* i. p. 531) calls *τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὴν κοινὴν τῆς Ἀσίας* was the Asiarchate. This is the more evident when we compare the election which he describes with the account of the election of the Lyciarch given by Strabo xiv. 3. 3, p. 664 sq. Even in strictly Christian times we meet with a sacerdotium or *ἀρχιερωσύνη*; and the character of the office may be inferred from the language of Innocent I, *Epist.* 23 'Neque de curialibus aliquem ad ecclesiasticum ordinem venire posse, qui post baptismum coronati fuerint vel sacerdotium (quod dicitur) *sustinuerint et editiones publicas celebraverint*' (Labb. *Conc.* III. p. 37, ed. Coleti), where the celebration of the games, which was the main function of the Asiarchate, etc., is especially singled out as the chief duty of the 'so-called priesthood'. The religious character of the office disappeared with the downfall of heathendom and the establishment of Christianity; but the title 'high-priest' was still continued, though the bearer of it was now little more than president of the games. See the references already given to Gothofred, especially *Cod. Theod.* vi. 3. 1, xvi. 10 paratitl., where the relation of the 'priesthood' to the games is exemplified from the law books. This connexion may be amply illustrated likewise from the inscriptions; e.g. *C. I. G.* 3422 *ἀρχιερασάμενον ἐνδόξως μετὰ μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων καὶ δόντα κοντροκνηγέσιον κ.τ.λ.*, 2719 *ἀρχιερατεύσαντος μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἐν ᾗ ἀρχιερωσύνη καὶ μονομαχίας καὶ κνηγεσίας ἐπετέλεσεν κ.τ.λ.*, 2766 *ἀρχιερατεύσαντα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα καὶ δις ἐστιάσαντα τὸν δῆμον καὶ πάντα ποιήσαντα μεγαλοπρεπῶς λαμπρότατα καὶ πολυτελέστατα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων*: comp. 2934, 3489, etc. Perhaps however the two following inscriptions, placed side by side, will exhibit the parallelism more effectively:

*C. I. G.* 2759 b

φαμίλια Ζήνων[ος] τοῦ Ὑψικλέους  
τοῦ Ὑψικλέους τοῦ φύσει Ζήωνος  
Ὑψικλέους ἀρχιερέως μονομάχων καὶ  
καταδίκων καὶ ταυροκαθαπτῶν (comp.  
2194 b).

*C. I. G.* 2511

φαμίλια μονομάχων καὶ ὑπόμνημα  
κνηγεσίων Νεμερίου Καστρικίου  
Λευκίου Πακωνιανοῦ Ἀσιάρχου καὶ  
Ἀθηλίας Σαπφοῦς Πλάτωνος Λικιν-  
ιανῆς ἀρχιερείας γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ (see  
also no. 3213, 3677).

The passages quoted show that the two names appear in the same connexions; that their functions are identical; that the exemptions and immunities are the same in both cases; and that generally they are convertible. There is indeed nothing left for the high-priest to do which is not already exhausted in the office of the Asiarch, and conversely. The one is in all respects the double of the other.

(ii) Another fact also indicates the identity of the two offices. The wives of the chief priests (ἀρχιερείς) were styled 'chief-priestesses' (e. g. Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3092, 3489, 3495, etc.), just as we have seen (p. 407) in the case of Chrysanthius that his wife shared the high-priestly office. In like manner the Asiarch's wife takes the title of her husband, *C. I. G.* 3324 M. Ἀνρ. Ζήνων. καὶ M. Κλ. Ἰουλιανῆ Ἀσιάρχαι δῖς. Accordingly a law of Constantine (*Cod. Justin.* v. 27. 1; see above, p. 407) forbids a 'sacerdos provinciae', i. e. a Phoenicarch, Syriarch, etc., to marry a slave. In the light of these facts we must interpret another inscription which gives the one title to the husband and the other to the wife, *C. I. G.* 3677 Πλω[τ]. Ἀνρ. Γράτου Ἀσιάρχου καὶ Ἰουλίας Ἀνρ. Ἀσκληπιοδώρας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερείας, as showing that the titles are interchangeable. So again *C. I. G.* 2511 quoted above (p. 408); and also Lebas and Waddington 244 Ἀντωνίου Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀσιάρχου καὶ Κ[λ]. Β[η]ρείνης Ἡ[ρ]α[κ]λεαίνης (?) ἀρχιερείας.

(iii) But again; just as there was a high-priest and high-priestess of the province of Asia, so there were high-priests and high-priestesses of the temples in each several city belonging to the confederation; *C. I. G.* 2965 φιλοσεβάστου καὶ ἀρχιερέως τῆς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (under Hadrian), *C. I. G.* 2987 b ἀρχιερέα Ἀσ[ί]ας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (under Antoninus Pius), *C. I. G.* 3858 e ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας, σεβαστοφάντην καὶ ἀγνωθῆτην διὰ βίου, *C. I. G.* 3831 a<sup>13</sup> ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας ναῶν ἐν Σμύρῃ, *C. I. G.* 3508 ἀρχιέρειαν τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Σμύρῃ (comp. 3211), *C. I. G.* 3415 ἀρχιέρειαν Ἀσίας τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, etc. In the same way, while there is an 'Asiarch' *par excellence*, we meet likewise with 'Asiarchs' of the temples in particular cities, or at least in Ephesus; *C. I. L.* III. 296, 297 'Asiarch[a] templ[orum] splendid[issimae] civit[atis] Ephes[iorum]', *C. I. G.* 2464 φιλοσεβάστου Ἀσιάρχην ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, Lebas and Waddington 158 a Ἀσιάρχης τῆ[ς] πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσ[ί]ας καὶ β' νεωκόρων τῶν Σεβαστῶν Ἐφεσίων πόλε[ως]. In *C. I. G.* 2741 we have the record of a person who is elected at the same time to the high-priesthood of the province and to that of a particular city (the latter for the second time), ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ἀποδεδειγμένο[ς] ναῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Σμύρῃ τὸ β'. A similar combination appears in a Macedonian inscription, *C. I. G.* 2007 ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀγνωθῆτην τοῦ κοινοῦ Μακεδόνων, ἀρχιερέα δὲ καὶ ἀγνωθῆτην καὶ τῆς Ἀμφιπολιτῶν πόλεως.

And not only so, but the same person is designated by each title separately in two inscriptions found in the Great Theatre at Ephesus; Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus*, Inscr. vi. pp. 62, 68:

p. 62.

ἀγωνοθετοῦντος δι' αἰῶνος  
 Τιβ. Ἰουλ. Ῥηγείνου  
 ἀρχιερέως β' ναῶν τῶν  
 ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.

p. 68.

ἀγωνοθετοῦντος δι' αἰῶνος  
 Τιβ. Ἰουλ. Ῥηγείνου  
 Ἀσιάρχου β' ναῶν τῶν  
 ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.

Now it is inconceivable that the high-priest of a particular city in Asia should be called the Asiarch of that city, unless the high-priest of the province of Asia already bore the name of Asiarch. The narrower application of the title is only explicable, as an analogy derived from the wider.

(iv) I have left to the last the very conclusive evidence of the identity of the two offices derived from the document before us, the Letter of the Smyrnæans itself. In the body of this document (§ 12) Philip of Tralles is called Asiarch, and as such he presides over the games; but in the appended chronological notice (§ 21) he is styled High-priest (ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Φιλίππου). By some critics, who deny the identity of the office implied in the two titles, this fact has been taken to discredit the genuineness either of the body of the document or of the chronological postscript, as if the two statements were inconsistent, or at least divergent. This position can hardly be justified in any case; for on any showing both parts of the document were written while the Asiarchate was still an existing office, and therefore the forger of either or both would be acquainted with the facts relating to the office. Indeed, reasons have been given in the first volume for believing that the postscript proceeded from the same hand as the body of the document (i. p. 626 sq). Moreover, an inscription recently discovered at Olympia, and quoted above (p. 384; comp. i. p. 629), shows that Phillip of Tralles was Asiarch about this time; and in consequence Lipsius (*Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1881, p. 575) has retracted the objection previously urged against the genuineness of the Letter on this ground, and he now admits the identity of the two functions so called respectively. In four Trallian inscriptions again (see above, i. p. 629 sq), belonging to the age of Antoninus Pius, this same Philippus is designated ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας. Thus in the inscriptions, as in the Acts of Martyrdom, the two titles are brought into connexion. But the exact year of the Trallian inscriptions is not ascertained beyond a doubt. The point is discussed in the chapter on the Date of the Martyrdom in the general introduction.

Against this identification only one argument has been adduced which deserves consideration. In *C. I. G.* 4016, 4017, there is mention

of one T. Fl. Gaïanus as ἀρχιερέα τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν, Γαλατάρχην, σεβαστοφάντην καὶ κτίστην τῆς μητροπόλεως Ἀγκύρας, and in *C. I. G.* 4031 of one Aelius Macedon as ἀρχιερασάμενον τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν, Γαλατάρχην, σεβαστοφάντην διὰ βίου τῶν θεῶν Σεβαστῶν. It is argued that as both titles, Galatarch and Chief-priest of the Galatian confederacy, are mentioned, they cannot designate the same office. Marquardt (p. 375) in answer to this objection explains ἀρχιερέα τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν as referring to the municipal priesthood of the confederation in Ancyra, not to the provincial high-priesthood. But this explanation will hardly stand; for we should then expect some limiting words, such as τῶν ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ. But is there any force at all in the objection? It is the commonest thing in the world to accumulate titles referring to the same office, especially in honorific inscriptions such as these. Thus we say, 'Her Majesty the Queen', 'His Holiness the Pope', though the one title is practically a mere repetition of the other; and the Romans themselves spoke of 'Imperator...Augustus' (Ἀυτοκράτωρ...Σεβαστός), though the two terms are coextensive, and neither adds anything to the other.

In the West the *flamines provinciarum* seem to have borne no designation corresponding to Asiarch, Galatarch, etc.; and the assumption of such titles in Asia Minor and the East illustrates the reproach of Dion Chrysostom (*Orat.* 38, II. p. 148), who speaking to the Nicomedians says that, in their childish fondness for empty decorations, the Greeks would condone any insult or injury for the sake of titles (ὀνόματα) and, he adds, 'If they only call you or write you down *chiefs* (εἰ εἶπον ὑμᾶς πρώτους ἢ ἔγραψαν), from that day forward they can with impunity treat you with the greatest indignity'. These things, he continues, are despised by all sensible men, and excite ridicule in the Romans more especially<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In another passage this same rhetorician (*Orat.* 35, II. p. 66), addressing the people of Celaenae in Phrygia, has language which (if we could be sure of the interpretation) points definitely to the identification of the two offices; καθάπερ τοὺς ἱερέας τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν τοὺς μακαρίους λέγω, τοὺς ἀπάντων ἄρχοντας τῶν ἱερέων, τοὺς ἐπωνύμους τῶν δύο ἡπείρων τῆς ἐσπέ-

ρας ἑλης. Perhaps the simplest explanation of the last words is 'who bear the names of (territories in) the two continents throughout the West,' e.g. Helladarchs, Asiarchs, etc. But whatever sense be given to ἐπωνύμους τῶν δύο ἡπείρων, the Asiarchs would seem to be included.

2. *Duration of tenure.*

It is generally, though not universally, assumed that the Asiarchate was an annual office; and this view is adopted by Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* i. p. 368 sq. The reasons however given for this opinion seem inadequate to sustain it.

Marquardt starts from the assumption that, as the office was not for life, therefore it must have been annual. We are not however limited to this alternative. In some cases these provincial chief priests were certainly elected for a period of years, as will be seen presently. Again he alleges the example of the Tuscan and Umbrian priests who were elected annually (Henzen-Orelli, no. 5580). But this is not a sufficiently close analogy, and far truer parallels can be produced on the other side. Still less to the point is the case of the priest of the Ubii mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 57), where moreover it is doubtful whether an annual office is intended. Nor is it correct to say that the Asiarch is the eponym for the *year*. Coins indeed are very frequently inscribed as struck during a particular person's Asiarchate, e.g. ἐπι·τερτιου·ασιαρχου (Mionnet III. p. 250); but such language is equally consistent with a tenure for a long period or even for life, as with an annual office; e.g. Wood's *Ephesus* Inscr. viii. 3 (p. 22), Boeckh *C. I. G.* 3211. Indeed such expressions as Mark ii. 26 ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθου ἀρχιερέως, Luke iii. 2 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα, Acts xi. 28 ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου, are a caution against any rigorous inferences from the particular expression. In the case before us the Asiarchs are probably mentioned not for the sake of precision in dating, but as the chief magistrates of the confederation to which the cities striking the coins belonged. Again Marquardt urges that in order to transact its business the confederation must have met every year, and that therefore the president's office must have been annual (*Eph. Epigr.* p. 213 sq). Here we may accept his premiss, while we reject his conclusion.

On the other hand there are very good reasons for supposing that the term of office was longer than a year. The chief and characteristic function of the Asiarch was the presidency of the general festival of the confederation, called κοινὰ Ἀσίας *par excellence*. This must be distinguished from the minor festivals celebrated in the several cities of the confederation, κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Σμύρνῃ, κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Περγάμῳ, etc. Now it stands to reason that such a general festival must have been celebrated once at least during each Asiarchate. If therefore it should appear that this general festival recurred at longer intervals than a year,



the Asiarchate cannot have been an annual office. But there are good grounds for believing that it was a *πενταετηρίς*, like the Olympia and Pythia (Pind. *Ol.* iii. 38, x. 70, *Nem.* xi. 33), or in other words that there was an interval of four years between each recurrence. These grounds are as follows :

(i) Evidence seems to show that these festivals were generally though not universally quinquennial. Suetonius (*Octav.* 59) speaking of the beginning of this cult of the emperor says, 'Provinciarum pleraeque super templa et aras ludos quoque quinquennales paene oppidatim constituerunt'. Accordingly we find this to have been the case in several places of which notices are preserved. The festival of the *Commune Cretae* is one of these ; Boeckh *C. I. G.* 2583 ἱεροῦ ἀγῶνος πενταετηρικοῦ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Κρητῶν. Again, the *Ludi Augustales* at Neapolis (Naples), which were strictly analogous, were quinquennial, as appears from *C. I. G.* 5805 νικήσαντι Ἰταλικά Ῥωμαῖα Σεβαστὰ ἰσολύμπια τῆς μῆ Ἰταλίδος κ.τ.λ. (see Boeckh's comments, III. p. 732).

An inscription copied by Sir C. Wilson in Attalia, and published by Prof. W. M. Ramsay in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1883, VII. p. 263, is important enough in its bearing on this subject to deserve a place here. The words are as follows ;

Καλούρμιον Κοδράτου υἱὸν Διδώρων, υἱὸν Βουλή[ς] δήμου γερουσίας, φιλοκαίσα[ρα] καὶ φιλόπατριν, ἱερέα διὰ βίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἀρχηγέτου καὶ θεοῦ μεγάλου Διονύσου καὶ θεοῦ Ἄρεως καὶ θεᾶς Ἄρτ[ε]μίδος Ἐλαφη[β]όλου πρῶτον καὶ ἱερέα διὰ βίου θεᾶς Λητο[ῦς] τῆς Περγαίων πόλεως ἀρχι[ε]ρα-σάμενον τετραετίαν καὶ ἐπιτελέσαντα κνηγεσία[ς] καὶ μονομαχίας μεγαλο-πρ[ε]πῶς καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τοὺς μεγάλους πενταετηρικοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τοὺς λο[ί]πους πάντας ἐν τῇ τετραετίᾳ.

The high-priesthood here mentioned is, as Prof. Ramsay says, that of the cultus of the emperors ; but I cannot agree with him that 'the pentaeteric games were probably those named on a coin struck under Saloninus, ἱερὸς Ὀλύμπιος οἰκουμενικὸς [ἀγών]'. They would naturally be the κοινὰ Παμφυλίας, the festival of the *Commune Pamphyliae*, of which he held the high-priesthood ; unless indeed the 'Olympian sacred oecumenical festival' may be identified with this. This Calpurnius then would be the Pamphyliarch—an officer who is mentioned likewise in *C. I. G.* 4340 b, Add.

If I am right in assuming (and this is Prof. Ramsay's view also) that this person was the chief-priest of the whole province of Pamphylia, and not of the particular city of Attalia, the inscription shows that the Pamphyliarch held office for four years, thus celebrating the great pentaeteric games of his *Commune* once during his term of office. It is

reasonable to suppose (in the absence of any evidence to the contrary) that the same would be the case with the Asiarchs.

(ii) The local festivals of the *κοινὸν Ἀσίας* in the several cities of the confederation were quinquennial. So *C. I. G.* 3674 *νεικήσας κοινὸν Ἀσίας ἐν Κυζίκῳ παίδων παγκράτιον πενταετηρίδι ζ*.

(iii) Lastly, the festival in question is itself directly co-ordinated with quinquennial festivals in such a way as to leave no escape from the conclusion that it was one. The passages seem to have escaped notice, or otherwise perhaps the common opinion would have been different. They are found in Boeckh *C. I. G.* 1420 *νεκήσαντα τραγῳδοὺς Οὐράνια μεγάλα γ' καὶ Πύθια καὶ Ἄκτια καὶ κοινὰ Ἀσίας...καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀγῶνας πενταετηρικοὺς τε καὶ τριετηρικοὺς* (where there is a lacuna for the number of victories), *ib.* 1421 [*τὴν ἐξ Ἄργους ἀσ*] *πίδα, Ἰσθμια, κοινούς Ἀσίας, καὶ ἄλλους πενταετηρικοὺς πλείστους ἀγῶνας.*

Connected with the length of tenure is the fact that we read of persons holding the office more than once. Thus there are records of those who have been Asiarchs twice (*C. I. G.* 3190, 3324 Lebas and Waddington 158 a, Mionnet *Suppl.* VII. pp. 359, 619)<sup>1</sup>, and in one case at least thrice (Babington *l. c.* pp. 1, 27, 35, Mionnet IV. p. 328). This last case is L. Æl. Pigres on Laodicean coins, and it seems to stand alone; for the other instance is a retouched piece (Mionnet VII. p. 358, see Babington p. 30), and appears to be incorrect. The legend *ΑΣΙΑΡΧ. Δ* on another coin (Mionnet IV. p. 128) is probably read incorrectly.

### 3. *Plurality of Asiarchs.*

In Acts xix. 31 it is stated that 'certain of the Asiarchs' (*τινὲς δὲ τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν*), being friendly to S. Paul, tried to dissuade him from entering the theatre. Similarly we read in Aristides (*Or.* I. p. 518) 'an Asiarch, methinks, was present likewise (*καὶ Ἀσιάρχης, οἶμαι, προσῆν*).' Such language implies that more than a single person held the title at the same time. The same inference likewise has been drawn from Strabo xiv. p. 649, *καὶ αἰεὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰσιν οἱ πρωτεύοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὓς Ἀσιάρχας καλοῦσιν.* Here however the inference is not certain, for *αἰεὶ* would signify 'from time to time'; but still the plural *τινες* would

<sup>1</sup> Another instance is furnished in a Trallian inscription discovered and published by Sterrett (*Mittheil. d. Deutsch. Archäol. Inst. in Athen* VIII. p. 330 sq, 1883) *ἐπὶ ἱερῶς διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ*

*Λαρχ[α]σίου Φλαουίου Κλειτοσθένους τοῦ κρατίστου, δις Ἀσιάρχου, πρώτο[υ] Ἀσίας, πατὴρ ὑπατικοῦ κα[ὶ] πάππου συνακκλητικῶν, τῆς ἐνάτης αὐτοῦ πενταετηρίδος.*

not naturally be used, if only one person bore the title at any given time. This is explicable in two ways.

(1) The Asiarchs, after laying down their office, still retained their title and formed a sort of order. There are some grounds for this belief. In the West this was certainly the case. The Spanish inscriptions speak of certain persons as *flamines* (*C. I. L.* II. 983 'viro flamine provinciae Baeticae', *ib.* 4248 'statuam inter flamines viros positam'), where the 'flamen provinciae' corresponds to the ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας, and therefore to the Asiarch. In like manner in Africa we read of the *sacerdotes* of the province (*C. I. L.* VIII. 1827, 2343, 4252, 5338); and the *sacerdotes* are frequently mentioned in the law books in reference to this district (*Cod. Theod.* xii. 1. 145, 176; xii. 5. 2; xvi. 10. 20, etc.), though it is not always clear that these had been *flamines*. In Asia Minor itself too an extant inscription describes a person as Λυκιαρχικός (Lebas and Waddington 1224). It is not unlikely therefore that, after their term of office was ended, they continued to be called 'Asiarchs' by courtesy; and this would account for the fact that we find the holders of other offices in so many cases designated Asiarchs; e.g. Wood's *Ephesus* Inscr. ii. 13 (p. 14) Ἀριστοβούλου Ἀσιά[ρχου] γραμματέως τοῦ [δήμου], *ib.* vi. 3 (p. 46) γραμματείουτος Ποπλίου Οὐηδίου Ἀντωνίου Ἀσιάρχου, *C. I. G.* 6541 Δ. Ἀντωνίου Ἰακίνθου, Λαοδικεῖ τῆς Ἀσίας, στρατηγῶ, Ἀσιάρχῃ. Accordingly we find persons commemorating their descent from holders of this office in a way which seems to indicate a permanent title; e.g. Lebas and Waddington 158 a...Διονύσιον τὸν ἱεροκήρυκα καὶ β' Ἀσιάρχου ἔ[κ]γ[ον], i.e. his father and grandfather before him were Asiarchs (comp. *C. I. G.* 2463 c, 3420, 3495, 3665 Lebas and Waddington 158 a, 244). These facts however are not absolutely conclusive.

(2) It has been shown already that the chief-priest of the imperial worship at Ephesus was likewise called 'Asiarch' of the Ephesian temples (see above, p. 409). Though no direct evidence is forthcoming that the chief-priests of this worship in the other cities belonging to the confederation were similarly styled, yet as their titles in other respects corresponded, there is at least a presumption that they would be correspondingly designated here also.

The fact that more persons than one are called Asiarchs at the same time may be explained from either or both of these causes.



APPENDIX  
POLYCARPIANA.

1. *POLYCARPIAN FRAGMENTS.*
2. *LIFE OF POLYCARP.*

## POLYCARPIAN FRAGMENTS.

FEUARDENTIUS in his notes on a passage of Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 3. 4), where this father mentions several other letters of Polycarp besides the extant Epistle to the Philippians, published as fragments of these lost writings certain extracts which he had discovered, introducing them with the following words;

‘Harum [epistolarum] porro quinque non aspernanda fragmenta a me superioris quadragesimæ tempore Virduni in quadam vetustissimis characteribus manu descripta super quatuor evangelistas Catena inventa, ut a Victore episcopo Capuano ante mille et centum annos ibidem laudantur, hoc loco inserere operæ pretium visum est. Haec itaque ibidem leguntur; *Victor episcopus Capuae ex responsione capitulorum sancti Polycarpi Smyrnensis episcopi, discipuli Joannis evangelistae.*’

The fragments are then given as I have printed them below, but with the heading, ‘Divi Polycarpi Smyrnensis episcopi et martyris b. Joannis evangelistae quondam discipuli responsonum fragmenta. *Matthæus* Dominum dixisse testatur etc.’ (see below, p. 421).

After the close Feuardentius adds;

‘Haec Victor Capuanus vir Graece et Latine doctus circa annum Dom. 480 ex Graeco Responsonum capitulorum b. Polycarpi, quem nactus erat, codice a se Latina facta recensuit; et in supra nominata Catena manuscripta, quam penes me habeo et, quum per typographos licebit, studiosis communicabo, citantur.’

The Catena however was never printed, and the manuscript is lost.

The fragments were reprinted from Feuardentius by Halloix (*Illustr. Eccl. Orient. Script.* i. p. 532 sq, Duaci 1633) and by Ussher (*Ign. et Polyc. Mart.* p. 31 sq), and have frequently been reproduced by later writers. Ussher (*ib.* pp. 31, 72 sq; comp. *Polyc. et Ign. Epist.* p. iv) speaks as if the Catena itself were the work of Victor of Capua, and this has been the language of later writers generally before

Zahn. This inference however is not justified by the statement of Feuarentius himself.

Pitra (*Spicil. Solesm.* i. p. 266 sq, Paris 1852) added two other fragments also as 'ex libro *Responsorum* inscripto' by Polycarp. He found them in an *Expositio in Heptateuchum* by Joannes Diaconus, contained in the Paris MS 838 (*Sangerm.* 60). This John the Deacon is the same who wrote a biography of Gregory the Great and lived in the 9th century (see i. p. 4). On investigation however we do not find any authority for ascribing these two fragments to Polycarp. The first, a comment on Gen. ii. 7, is introduced with the words 'Victor episcopus Capuae in libro suo *Responsorum* capitulo [MS capitula] vigesimo primo' etc. Here Pitra boldly omits 'suo' and on the strength of the fragments given by Feuarentius assigns them to this supposed work of Polycarp, the *Responsions*<sup>1</sup>. But, if 'suo' be retained, the *Responsions* are distinctly attributed to Victor of Capua; and a correction must be made accordingly, as Zahn (*Prol.* p. xlvi sq) has pointed out, in the heading of the Feuarentian fragments, which should be read 'Victor episcopus Capuae ex *Responsorum* capitulo [ ]', where the -rum of 'capitulorum,' whether contracted or not, is a corruption of some numeral; and the words which follow, 'Sancti Polycarpi Smyrnenis episcopi, discipuli Joannis evangelistae', are the heading of Victor's extract from his supposed Polycarp. It would indeed have been strange, that nothing should have been heard elsewhere of an elaborate work by Polycarp consisting of more than twenty-one chapters.

The *Responsions* therefore were the work of Victor, and the Catena was compiled by some still later writer. Pitra himself (pp. liii, lviii) suspects that the compiler was Joannes Diaconus, and this seems probable. In this Catena the *Responsions* of Victor were quoted; and these quotations contained extracts ascribed by Victor to Polycarp.

Victor's work is roughly assigned, as we have seen, by Feuarentius to A.D. 480; and various other dates have been ascribed to this writer by different critics. But it appears from his epitaph, which is preserved (Ughelli *Italia Sacra* vi. p. 306, Venet. 1720; comp. *Spicil. Solesm.* i. p. 1, De Rossi *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* (1881) p. 150), that he died A.D. 554, having held the see thirteen years.

For the reasons given, Pitra's fragments must be rejected at once, as having nothing to do with Polycarp. Nor are those published by Feuarentius certified on authority which is beyond question. A Catena is a highly precarious voucher for the authorship of an extract, the dis-

<sup>1</sup> He adheres to this view also in his *Solesm.* II. pp. xxiv sq, 201, though Zahn recently published volume (1884), *Anal.* had meanwhile pointed out the error.



placement of names being frequent in such cases. Moreover in this instance Polycarp's name is only given in a quotation of a quotation. It is much to be regretted likewise that owing to the loss of the MS we cannot verify the form in which the Polycarpian extracts were quoted. Altogether it is extremely improbable that writings of Polycarp, which were unknown to Irenæus and Eusebius, should have been accessible to Victor. Though Irenæus, in his *Letter to Florinus*, speaks of letters which Polycarp wrote to individuals and churches (Euseb. *H.E.* v. 20), yet we may infer from his language elsewhere (*Haer.* iii. 3. 4), that the Epistle to the Philippians alone was in his hands.

And when we turn to internal evidence, our suspicions are confirmed. The words 'Legitur et in dolio etc.' at the end of *Fragm. 2* obviously cannot have been written by Polycarp, and were condemned even by Halloix (p. 597) as an addition by a strange hand. Again the contents of *Fragm. 3* seem to point to a later date, though remembering the language of Irenæus on this same subject, the characteristics of the four evangelists (*Haer.* iii. 11. 8), we ought not to speak with too great confidence on this point.

### FRAGMENTA POLYCARPIANA.

#### I.

Matthæus Dominum dixisse testatur, quod Moyses scribit Adam locutum fuisse hoc modo: *Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro ex carne mea, propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem etc.* [Matt. xix. 5]. Sed non concordant Domini verba cum Moysis sermonibus. Quia enim Adam præbens officium inspiratione divina prophetavit, ipse a Moyse hoc dixisse refertur; Deus vero, qui per inspirationem divinam in corde Adam ista verba formavit, ipse pater a Domino recte locutus fuisse refertur. Nam et Adam hanc prophetiam protulit et pater, qui eam inspiravit, recte dicitur protulisse.

#### 2.

Idem ad hæc verba Christi: *Calicem meum bibetis etc.* [Matt. xx. 23].

Per huiusmodi potum significat passionem, et Jacobum quidem novissimum martyrio consummandum, fratrem vero eius Joannem transiturum absque martyrio, quamvis et afflictiones plurimas et exsilia tolerarit, sed præparatam martyrio mentem Christus martyrem iudicavit. Nam apostolus Paulus *Quotidie*, inquit, *mori*; cum impossibile sit quotidie mori hominem ea morte qua semel vita hæc finitur. Sed quoniam pro evangelio ad mortem iugiter erat præparatus, se mori quotidie sub ea

significatione testatus est. Legitur et in dolio ferventis olei pro nomine Christi beatus Joannes fuisse demersus.

## 3.

Idem de initio evangelii secundum Marcum.

Rationabiliter evangelistae principiis diversis utuntur, quamvis una eademque evangelizandi probetur intentio. Matthaeus, ut Hebraeis scribens, genealogiae Christi ordinem texuit, ut ostenderet ab ea Christum descendisse progenie, de qua eum nasciturum universi prophetae cecinerant; Joannes autem ad Ephesum constitutus, qui legem tamquam ex gentibus ignorabant, a causa nostrae redemptionis evangelii sumpsit exordium; quae causa ex eo apparet, quod filium suum Deus pro nostra salute voluit incarnari. Lucas vero a Zachariae sacerdotio incipit, ut eius filii miraculo nativitatis et tanti praedicatoris officio divinitatem Christi gentibus declararet. Unde et Marcus antiqua prophetici mysterii competentia adventui Christi declarat, ut non nova sed antiquitus prolata eius praedicatio probaretur vel per hoc. Evangelistis curae fuit eo uti prooemio, quod unusquisque iudicabat auditoribus expedire. Nihil ergo contrarium reperitur, ubi licet diversis scriptis ad eandem tamen patriam pervenitur.

## 4.

Idem in illud: *Noli vocare amicos tuos sed pauperes et debiles* etc. [Luke xiv. 12 sq].

Praecipit non amicos, sed infirmos quosque vocandos ad prandium. Quodsi claudus aut quilibet eorum sit amicus, sine dubio talis pro amicitia minime est rogandus, unde ipsa quasi videntur se impugnare mandata. Nam si non amici, sed claudi et caeci sunt invitandi, ipsosque quoque amicos esse contingat, nequaquam rogare debemus. Sed amicos arbitror intelligi hoc loco debere illos, quos mundi huius terrena consideratione diligimus, non pro divinae contemplationis intuitu. Hi sunt igitur amici relinquendi. Denique ideo debiliū exempla proposuit, quos pro nullius possumus appetere necessitate, nisi tantum pro fructu retributionis aeternae.

## 5.

Idem in illud: *Opus consummavi, quod dedisti mihi, ut faciam* [John xvii. 4].

Quomodo opus salutis humanae adimplesse commemorat, cum necdum crucis vexillum conscenderat? Sed definitione voluntatis, de qua cuncta venerandae passionis insignia adire decreverat, iure se opus perfecisse significat etc.

## LIFE OF POLYCARP.

THIS document was first published by the Abbé L. Duchesne under the title *Vita Sancti Polycarpi Smyrnaeorum Episcopi, Auctore Pionio* (Paris. 1881). The ms used was *Paris. Bibl. Nation.* 1452, of the 10th century. I have already had occasion to mention this ms (see p. 356 sq). It contains lives, martyrdoms, and eulogies of various saints for the month of February. The Life of Polycarp, which is assigned to Feb. 23, occupies fol. 182 a—192 b. On this last-mentioned page it ceases, and is followed immediately by the *Letter of the Smyrnaeans* containing the account of the martyrdom, Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἣ παροικοῦσα κ.τ.λ. Some of the leaves are displaced so that they run in this order, 182, 185, 183, 184, 187, 188, 186, 189—192. In the Catalogue (*Catal. Codd. MSS Bibl. Reg.* II. p. 322, Paris 1740), it is wrongly entered 'Martyrium S. Polycarpi', followed by a correct entry 'Eccles. Smyrn. de S. Polycarpi Martyrio Epistola' (see above, p. 356). Doubtless owing to this false entry it has so long eluded observation. Besides the editio princeps, it has been printed likewise in Funk's *Patres Apostolici* II. p. 315 sq (1881). Funk made use of the yet unpublished sheets of Duchesne's edition, before they had received the editor's last revision (see p. lvii sq); and he was thus enabled to bring it out shortly after that edition had appeared.

But, though the first publication of the Greek text is so recent, use had been made of the work at a much earlier date. As early as 1633, Halloix (*Ill. Eccl. Orient. Script. Vit.* I. p. 471 sq, Duaci) in his Latin life of Polycarp gave at length the substance of this document, quoting from time to time in his notes short passages from the original. Of his authorities he says;

'Latine nemo adhuc integre edidit; sed aliqui martyrium duntaxat, alii pauca quaedam ex Eusebio desumpta adjunxerunt; sed primam ejus [Polycarpi] aetatem, progressum ad ordines, virtutes miraculorum nequaquam attigerunt. Quae Pionius homo Graecus admonitu divino perquisivit et perscripsit. Haec autem hactenus non

edita; sed tantum in manuscriptis codicibus conservata sunt. Quorum exemplar unum atque alterum nactus cum Menaeo Graecorum contuli, et quidquid utrobique ad praesentem vitam facere comperi, Latine reddidi atque concinnavi'.

In his notes he speaks of 'Graecum manuscriptum', 'Manuscriptum Pionii', etc., in the singular. He also treats the account of the martyrdom (the Letter of the Smyrnæans) as part of the same document, quoting from this as 'the manuscript of Pionius', the 'manuscript Life' and so forth (pp. 584, 588, 591, 592, 593). Thus the notice of the date, *μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ κ.τ.λ.* (§ 21), is quoted by him as occurring 'in extrema vita Graeca MS' (p. 593). Speaking of this Letter of the Smyrnæans, he designates it 'epistola scripta codicis Medicaei quae extat in bibliotheca Regis Franciae' (p. 582); and again he writes 'in exemplari Medicaeo'. The manuscript therefore which Halloix used was the same with ours. The extracts indeed which he gives present many variations from the readings of the MS, but he is obviously very loose and careless in his quotations.

Again, a few years later (A.D. 1643) in the *Acta Sanctorum* Jan. 26 II. p. 695 sq. Bolland gave a Latin translation of the document, 'Vita Auctore Pionio, e veteri Graeco MS primum edita'. The text used is thus described;

'Eandem epistolam [Smyrnaeorum] Graecam et pleniorē e MS Bibliothecae Regis Christianissimi nactus erat idem Rosweydy, simulque vitae ejusdem Polycarpi historiam hactenus Latinis penitus ignotam. Primum ex hoc MS nostro alioque Latinis litteris integram tradidit Petrus Halloix noster etc.

The Greek copy therefore, from which Bolland translated, was a transcript made by Rosweyd from this same Medicean MS. It is true that Bolland adds, 'In Graeco codice priore loco caedis Polycarpi narratio, tum vita reliqua erat descripta', whereas in *Paris*. 1452 the Life comes first and the Martyrdom afterwards. But probably Rosweyd had transcribed them separately, so that the order in the MS was not indicated, and may even have been reversed; and Bolland's language is a false inference from the opening words of the Life, 'Ἐπανελθὼν ἀνωτέρω, which he supposed to refer to a foregoing document. On this point I shall have to speak presently.

The Life, as given in the extant manuscript, is evidently imperfect. In § 3 the author promises a list of the earliest bishops of Smyrna. This never appears. Again in § 12 he states his intention of inserting the Epistle to the Philippians; but we hear nothing more of it. Again in § 20 he defers his account of Polycarp's scriptural expositions till a later point, but we find nothing more about them or at least nothing which satisfies this pledge. These omissions are explained by the fact that

the document is obviously mutilated at the end. Likewise in the middle of the extant portion there is a wide lacuna (between §§ 28, 29). Elsewhere also one or more words have dropped out, e.g. § 5. l. 16, 26, § 6. l. 47, § 10. l. 15, § 13. l. 22, § 15. l. 4, § 20. l. 27, § 21. l. 11, § 25. l. 23, 29; while in other cases parts of words (e.g. § 9. l. 51, § 17. l. 11, § 27. l. 37, § 30. l. 16, 23) have disappeared. Perhaps also this mutilation may furnish the true key to the emendation of the text in other passages also (e.g. § 2. l. 7, § 10. l. 42, § 11. l. 19, § 31. l. 4), where it has been corrected in some other way or left uncorrected.

From these notices, relating to the intended insertion of documents, we may infer that the writer's design was to comprise in his work all the information which he could obtain or invent respecting Polycarp, and thus to form a complete *Corpus Polycarpianum*. The principal documents thus incorporated would be the Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians and the Letter of the Smyrnæans giving the account of the martyrdom. Each of these documents would stand in its proper chronological place. The Epistle of Polycarp would naturally be prefaced by some notice of Ignatius. Not improbably the Epistle of Ignatius himself to Polycarp would be quoted. At all events the writer of the Life appears to have been acquainted with this epistle, as the coincidences of language show. Compare for instance § 23 συναθλησαί μοι...εἰς τὸν προκειμένον μοι ἀγῶνα εἰδόμενος ὅτι δεῖ πάντας συντρέχειν κ.τ.λ. with Ign. *Polyc.* 6 συναθλεῖτε, συντρέχετε; and § 24 νῦν παρακαλῶ πάντας... ἐν διακονίᾳ τῇ πρεσβυτέρων ὧν τοσαύτην... εἰσενεγκάμην ἐπιμέλειαν, νῦν μᾶλλον... συμβέβηκεν ἐνίους τῶν καθισταμένων εἰς τόπους ὅτε δεῖ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἐπιτείνειν τὸν δρόμον, τότε ὑπεκλίσθαι... ὅσῳ τις πλείω τιμηθῆσθαι δοκεῖ, πλείονα καὶ... ὀφείλει εἰσφέρεισθαι εὐνοίαν... γρηγορεῖτε, with Ign. *Polyc.* 1 παρακαλῶ σε... προσθεῖναι τῷ δρόμῳ σου καὶ πάντα παρακαλεῖν... ἐκδίκει σου τὸν τόπον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ... γρηγόρει... ὅπου πλείων κόπος, πολὺ κέρδος. The letter of the Smyrnæans would follow in due course. There is little doubt that the form of the Letter which we possess is the same which was inserted in the Life. In the chapter on this document it is shown that the concluding paragraphs, both in style and in contents, betray the same hand which wrote the Life (see above, I. p. 643 sq). It is sufficient here to observe that in the concluding paragraph (§ 22) the transcriber, who calls himself Pionius, promises to relate 'in the sequel' (ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς) how Polycarp himself appeared to him and revealed the whereabouts of the time-worn manuscript from which he copied this Letter. Obviously therefore something must have followed upon the Letter itself. This subsequent matter would naturally deal with any miraculous incidents occurring

after Polycarp's death but connected with him. It would also probably refer to the testimony of Irenæus respecting Polycarp, with which he may have been acquainted through Eusebius. The writer of the Life at all events shows himself elsewhere acquainted with this testimony; for his language relating to Polycarp's Epistle (§ 12 *ἐν οἷς καὶ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἰκανωτάτη ἦν*) is copied from Irenæus (*Hæer.* iii. 3. 4 *ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ Πολυκάρπου πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἰκανωτάτη*). The scribe of the Moscow MS (see above, p. 403) has struck out the words *καθὼς δηλώσω ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς*, so as to make the document complete in itself. At the same time he adds a few sentences of his own relating to Polycarp, which as we may infer from the similarity in the modes of expression were taken from the lost end of the Life. Zahn in his valuable article on the Life (*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 8 März 1882, p. 298) calls attention to the probable identity of authorship, comparing *ἰκανῶς τε πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἤλεγξεν καὶ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα καὶ καθολικόν, ὡς παρέλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ ἀγίου, καὶ παρέδωκεν*, in § 22 of the Moscow MS, with *καὶ τοὺς αἵρετικοὺς ἤλεγχε...ἐδόθη οὖν ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διδασκαλίας ὀρθῆς ἐκκλησιαστικὸς καθολικὸς κανὼν* in § 12 of the Life. Moreover the main incident in these supplementary sentences of the Moscow MS is a preternatural intimation of Polycarp's death to Irenæus in Rome at the moment of its occurrence—an incident which, whether true or false, accords well with the love of the marvellous which the author of the Life constantly displays. Among the subjects which would appear in the last part of the Life (after the Letter of the Smyrnæans was disposed of) would be the deposition of the reliques, the observance of the festival, and the like. The author would also here redeem his promise of giving further information respecting the occupants of the see of Smyrna.

Who then was the writer? The manuscript itself gives no name. Yet Halloix unhesitatingly speaks of it as the work of Pionius. He is followed likewise by Bolland (p. 692), who interprets the opening words *Ἐπανελθὼν ἀνωτέρω* 'altius rediens, priora repetens', and accordingly explains them as referring to the narrative of the Martyrdom, which (as we have seen) he assumes to *precede* the Life in the MS; 'I will return to an earlier point in Polycarp's history.' If these premisses were admitted, the conclusion could hardly be questioned. But on the one hand the interpretation seems to be incorrect and the words are more naturally explained as referring to the account which immediately follows, where the writer traces the history of Christianity in Smyrna *farther back* than Polycarp's time<sup>1</sup>; and on the other hand the assump-

<sup>1</sup> Zahn (*G. G. A.* l. c. p. 291) insists that the word *ἐπανερχεσθαι* requires that the writer himself shall be *retracing his own steps*. But these compounds (*ἐπάν-*

tion that the Martyrdom preceded the Life in the MS is altogether mistaken. Zahn (*Patr. Apost.* II. pp. I, lii, 166 sq, 169) is misled by Bolland and accepts both his false positions. To these views he still adheres (*G. G. A.* p. 290), notwithstanding the publication of the Greek text and the now ascertained fact that in the only known MS the Life precedes the Martyrdom. On the other hand Duchesne (p. 37) gives the right explanation, and he is followed by Funk (*Patr. Apost.* II. p. lvi sq). The last-mentioned writer however doubts whether the work ought to be attributed to Pionius, but says, somewhat inconsistently with this hesitation, 'statuendum est auctorem alium locum Vitae dedisse quam quem in codice obtinet.' The only solid ground for supposing that the Life ever came after the Martyrdom was the interpretation of Ἐπανελθῶν ἀνωτέρω which he has abandoned.

But though the particular reason which led Bolland and others to ascribe the Life to Pionius thus disappears, I believe nevertheless that it was rightly so ascribed. We have lost indeed one link of connexion by restoring the correct interpretation of Ἐπανελθῶν ἀνωτέρω at the beginning of the Life, but we have found another by apprehending the true significance of ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς at the end of the Martyrdom. If my account of the structure of the work, when unmutilated, be substantially correct, the Acts of Martyrdom did not stand originally either before or after the Life, but were embedded in it; and 'the sequel' (τὸ καθεξῆς) refers to the part which followed upon the Acts. If so, the occurrence of the name of Pionius in the first person (Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν Πιόνιος) in this same sentence points distinctly to the authorship of the Life. Moreover it is shown in the discussion headed 'The true and the false Pionius,' in the chapter on the Smyrnæan Letter in the general introduction in my first volume (see I. p. 638 sq), that strong points of resemblance exist between the Life and this Pionian postscript to the Martyrdom, indicating the handiwork of the same person.

But who is this Pionius? Certainly not the martyr in the Decian persecution. The phenomena seem altogether inconsistent with so early a date for the work as A.D. 250. Our alternative therefore is

εἰμι, ἐπανερχομαι) are not unfrequently used, where the writer has not himself already travelled downward on the same road; e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* i. 2. 15 Ἴνα δὲ σαφέστερον δηλωθῆ ἅσα ἢ Περσῶν πολιτεία, μικρὸν ἐπάνειμι, Plato *Symph.* 211 c ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν καλῶν ἐκείνου

ἔνεκα τοῦ καλοῦ ἀεὶ ἐπανιέναι, ὥσπερ ἐπαναβαθοῖς χρώμενον. Thus it may signify simply 'to mount up,' not only metaphorically, but literally; e.g. Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 35 ἐπανελθῶν εἰς τὰ ὄρη, Plato *Timæus* 22 c τὸ δ' ἐναντίον κάτωθεν ἐπανιέναι [τὸ ὕδωρ] πέφυκεν.

either a genuine writer bearing the same name but living at least a century later, or a fictitious person wearing the mask of the martyr Pionius and thus recommending his fiction under cover of a famous name. The martyr was known to have been a man of some literary tastes and had taken a very lively interest in matters relating to Polycarp. Reasons are given in the discussion on 'The true and the false Pionius' for adopting the latter view, as more consonant with the character of the work, and thus regarding Pionius as a pseudonym. Duchesne also (p. 9) is disposed to regard the name as a mask.

Against this supposition however it is alleged that the writer uses language which he would have avoided if he had intended to assume this character. He says (§ 22) that he had found the Letter of the Smyrnæans in a copy 'nearly worn out' (*σχεδὸν κεκημηκότα*) by time; that the copy had been made by one Socrates or Isocrates from a transcript by Gaius; and that this transcript of Gaius was copied from the papers of Irenæus. It is urged that the period which elapsed between the death of Polycarp and the death of Pionius, having been five years less than a century, was not sufficient for this genealogy of documents (Zahn, *G. G. A.* p. 293 sq). This argument does not seem to me to have much force. The copy of Irenæus might have been nearly coeval with the martyrdom; the copies of Gaius and Socrates might have been made at short intervals; and thus ample time—half a century at least—would be left for the ravages of time on the last-mentioned copy. Moreover, forgers are apt to be blunderers. Hence it is quite credible that our false Pionius overlooked the date of his genuine namesake, when he invented this genealogy. In the same way the false Ignatius (*Philipp.* 8), in a moment of forgetfulness, writes as from Syria or Palestine (see above, p. 195 sq), though the martyr whose mask he wears is represented at the time of writing to be in Italy. This genealogy of manuscripts therefore is no solid objection where there are two strong arguments on the other side; *first*, the suspicious fact that the writer bears the name of one known to have taken an exceptional interest in Polycarp's martyrdom, and *secondly* the circumstance that he shows himself wholly unscrupulous in inventing imaginary documents, as well as fictitious history, whenever it suits his purpose. Zahn indeed (p. 294) lays stress on the fact that the author nowhere represents himself as a distinguished person. But the ms breaks off abruptly just where he was beginning to speak of himself. When he came to describe how he discovered the old copy of the Smyrnæan Letter by a revelation from Polycarp himself, and to speak of the commemoration



of the martyr in later ages, then he would find his proper opportunity. History recorded that the true Pionius was engaged in celebrating the 'genuinum natale' of Polycarp when he was apprehended, carried off to prison, and finally put to death. Would not his false impersonator connect this incident with the recovery of the Acts of Martyrdom, which would be represented as leading to the revival of the commemoration?

But when did this false Pionius live? He interests himself in the Quartodeciman controversy, and he represents S. Paul (§ 2) as teaching two things respecting the celebrating of Easter: (1) that it must be kept during the feast of unleavened bread and not outside this season, as is done by 'the heretics, especially the Phrygians'; and (2) that it need not of necessity be held on the fourteenth day. The second point is a protest against the Quartodecimans. As Polycarp himself was well known to have been a Quartodeciman, this statement could hardly have been made till the earlier history of the Quartodeciman controversy had passed out of memory. The first injunction has reference to certain Montanists and others in the 4th and 5th centuries, who like the former disregarded the day of the week, but unlike them put aside the Jewish lunar reckoning and adopted the Roman Calendar instead, celebrating the Passion on a fixed day in March or April, which they supposed to have been the actual day of the crucifixion, though differing among themselves in their calculations (Epiph. *Haer.* l. 1, Sozom. *H. E.* vii. 18, Anon. *Serm. in Pasch.* 7 in Chrysost. *Op.* viii. 2. p. 276: see Duchesne p. 10)<sup>1</sup>. This points to a time not earlier than the middle of the fourth century: and no notice in the work suggests a prior date.

<sup>1</sup> Epiphanius ascribes this practice to 'certain others' of the Quartodecimans, and names viii Kal. April. (i.e. March 25) as the day, saying that they derive it from the Acts of Pilate, but adding that he himself has found copies of these Acts in which it is read xv Kal. April. (i.e. March 18), and mentioning other points of difference among themselves. Our extant copies of the Acts of Pilate give viii Kal. April. (see Tischendorf *Act. Apocr.* p. 205). According to Sozomen 'the Montanists who are called Pepuzites and Phrygians' adopted this principle of regulating their Paschal festival by the sun rather than the moon; but he represents them as beginning the year with ix Kal. April.

(March 24) and thus arriving at viii Id. April. (April 6) as their Paschal Festival, and he states the astronomical principles on which they made their calculations.

Hilgenfeld (*Paschastreit* p. 348 sq, *Nov. Test. extra Can. Rec.* p. 80, ed. 2) considers that the Trecentius, against whom the strictures of Peter bishop of Alexandria (A.D. 300-311), as quoted in the introduction to the *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 4 sq (ed. Bonn.), are directed, held this same principle of a fixed day in the Solar Calendar; and this is the view adopted likewise by Schürer *die Passaustreitigkeiten etc.* p. 250 sq in *Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol.* 1870. But the reasons alleged are not satisfactory.

It may seem strange perhaps that an author, writing after the great Christological disputes of the fourth and succeeding centuries had begun, should not indicate his views on the points of dispute. But they had no reference to the subject before him, and apparently he took no special interest in them. The author's wide departure from authentic history, wherever we are able to test his account of Polycarp by this standard, forbids us to place the work any earlier, and indeed would suggest a much later date, if it were possible. From this however we are precluded by the fact that about the year 400 the *Life* was known and accepted; for Macarius Magnes (*Apocr.* iii. 24) cites as authentic history two of the most stupendous miracles which it records, the parching drought relieved suddenly by a downpour of copious rain (§§ 29—31), and the instantaneous replenishment of the widow's empty store-houses (§ 4).

Of the locality of the writer we cannot speak with so much confidence. Yet there are notices in the narrative which suggest that he lived in the neighbourhood where Polycarp's memory was especially revered. At all events he shows some local knowledge. Thus he speaks (§ 3) of the 'Ephesian' gate of the city, omitting however the word *πόλη* and thus indicating an acquaintance with the familiar language of the Smyrnæans. Again (§ 20) he mentions this same gate in another passage, where also he calls it 'Royal' (*βασιλείας*); and he is acquainted with the myrtle tree growing over the grave of the martyr Thraseas hard by. He possesses information likewise (whether correct or not, we are unable to say) respecting the succession of the early bishops of Smyrna both before and after Polycarp (§§ 3, 27). He is likewise aware of the warm baths at the neighbouring city of Teos (§ 25); but the name Lebadian (*Λεβάδια*) which he gives to them is not easily explained and may perhaps betray some confusion. On the whole I should infer that he was not himself a native of or resident in Smyrna, though probably he had a casual knowledge of the place and may have belonged to Proconsular Asia. The *Acts of Pionius*, evidently emanating from Smyrna itself, show a knowledge of topographical details which is much more striking.

Another feature in this *Life*, difficult to understand under any circumstances, is less inexplicable in a stranger than in a Smyrnæan. The earliest authentic tradition relating to Polycarp is altogether ignored by our biographer. Irenæus, the scholar of Polycarp, connects his master directly with the Apostle S. John, and relates more than one incident connected with their intercourse. He moreover states that Polycarp was appointed bishop by Apostles. The general tenour of early tradition

accords with the statements of Irenæus. But of this connexion with the Apostles, and especially with S. John, our biographer in the extant portion of the story says not a word. On the contrary he gives an account which is irreconcilable with it. He represents Polycarp as ordained deacon and priest by Bucolus his predecessor in the see, and consecrated bishop by the bishops of the neighbouring towns. As he shows some knowledge (direct or indirect) of the language of Irenæus elsewhere (see above, p. 426), it is quite possible that he introduced the testimonies from Irenæus, as cited by Eusebius, in the lost end of the work. But, if so, it is difficult to conceive how he can have reconciled them with his previous narrative.

Thus the biography is altogether valueless as a contribution to our knowledge of Polycarp. It does not, so far as we know, rest on any tradition early or late, and may probably be regarded as a fiction of the author's own brain. It has no other value than as representing the opinions and practices of the latter half of the fourth century. From this point of view, the detailed account of Polycarp's election and consecration to the bishopric has the highest interest.

In the critical notes the MS is designated by p, while the letters D, F, H, stand for Duchesne, Funk, and Halloix respectively. Where I have hazarded a conjectural emendation of my own, it is marked conj.



## ΒΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΥ.

I. Ἐπανελθὼν ἀνωτέρω καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου παρουσίας εἰς Σμύρναν, καθὼς εὔρον ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις, ποιήσομαι καθεξῆς τὸν λόγον, οὕτως καταστήσας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου διήγησιν.

5 II. Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἀζύμων ὁ Παῦλος ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας κατιὼν κατήνησεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, τοῦ πολλοῦ κόπου ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν πιστοῖς ἠγούμενος μεγάλην ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἐν Σμύρνη, μέλλων λοιπὸν ἀπιέναι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἦλθεν οὖν ἐν τῇ Σμύρνη πρὸς  
10 Στραταίαν, ὅστις ἀκουστῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ, υἱὸν ὄντα Εὐνείκης θυγατρὸς Λωΐδος· αὐταὶ δέ εἰσι περὶ ὧν γράφων Τιμοθέω μέμνηται λέγων· τῆς ἔν σοι ἀνηποκρίτου πίστεως, ἥτις ἐνώκησε πρῶτον ἐν τῇ μάμμῃ σοῦ Λωΐδι καὶ

Βίος πολυκαρπου] βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ μακαρίου μάρτυρος πολυκάρπου ἐπισκόπου γενομένου σμύρνης τῆς ἀσίας p. 3 οὕτως] οὗτος p. 8 ἐν Σμύρνη] D; εἰς σμύρνη p; εἰς σμύρνην F, but it should be σμύρναν.

I. Ἐπανελθὼν ἀνωτέρω] *‘Tracing my steps back to an earlier point.’* On the mistaken interpretation of these words and on the erroneous inferences drawn therefrom see above, p. 426 sq.

5. Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις κ.τ.λ.] Apparently intended for the same journey which is recorded in Acts xviii. 23, 24, xix. 1; see above, I. p. 463.

7. τὴν ἐν πιστοῖς] sc. ἀνάπαυσιν, to be understood from the preceding ἀνάπαυσιν of the predicate.

8. τὴν ἐν Σμύρνη] No visit of S. Paul to Smyrna is recorded in the Acts. On the evangelization of Smyrna, see above, I. p. 462, and III. p. 343.

10. Στραταίαν] He is mentioned *Apost. Const.* vii. 46 Σμύρνης δὲ Ἀρίστων πρῶτος [ἐπίσκοπος], μεθ’ ὃν Στραταίας ὁ Λωΐδος καὶ τρίτος Ἀρίστων, from which passage our author may possibly have derived his information. The name Στράτειος (Στράτιος) occurs occasionally, but not Στραταίας (Στρατέας) so far as I have observed. See above, I. p. 463.

ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ] The abode of Timothy is placed by S. Luke not in Pamphylia, but in Lycaonia; Acts xvi. 1. For the Apostle’s visits to Pamphylia, see Acts xiii. 13 sq, xiv. 24 sq.

12. γράφων Τιμοθέω] See 2 Tim. i. 5.

τῆ μητρὶ σοῦ Εἰνεΐκῃ· ὡς ἐκ τούτου εὐρίσκεισθαι τὸν Στρα-  
ταΐαν ἀδελφὸν Τιμοθέου. παρ' ᾧ εἰσελθὼν ὁ Παῦλος καὶ  
συναγαγὼν τοὺς ὄντας πιστοὺς λελάληκεν αὐτοῖς περὶ τε  
τοῦ πάσχα καὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, ὑπομνήσας αὐτοὺς περὶ  
καινῆς διαθήκης ἄρτου καὶ ποτηρίου προσφορᾶς· ὅτι δεῖ 5  
πάντως ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἀζύμων ἐπιτελεῖν, κρατεῖν δὲ  
τὸ καινὸν μυστήριον πάθους καὶ ἀναστάσεως· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ  
φαίνεται ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκων ὅτι οὔτε παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν  
τῶν ἀζύμων δεῖ ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ αἰρετικοὶ ποιοῦσι, μάλιστα  
οἱ Φρύγες, οὔτε μὴν πάλιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ· 10  
οὐδὲν γὰρ περὶ τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ὠνόμασεν, ἀλλὰ  
ἀζύμων, πάσχα, πεντηκοστῆς, κυρῶν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

III. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἄφιξιν διεδέξατο ὁ  
Στραταΐας τὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ τινες τῶν μετ' αὐτόν, ὧν τὰ  
μὲν ὀνόματα, πρὸς ὃ δυνατὸν εὐρίσκειν, οἷτινες καὶ ὅποιοι 15  
ἐγένοντο, ἀναγράψομαι· τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον σπεύσωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν  
Πολύκαρπον.

Ὅντος τινὸς ἐν Σμύρῃ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐπι-  
σκόπου ᾧ ὄνομα Βουκόλος, γυνή τις ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις  
ἦν εὐλαβῆς καὶ φοβουμένη τὸν Θεόν, ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς 20  
ἀναστρεφόμενη, ἣ ὄνομα Καλλιστώ· ταύτῃ ἀποσταλεῖς ἄγ-  
γελος παρὰ Κυρίου παραστὰς ἐν ὀράματι νυκτός φησι·  
Καλλιστώ, ἀναστᾶσα πορεύθητι ἐπὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ἐφε-  
σιακὴν, καὶ ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν προελθούσῃ σοι ὑπαντή-

10 τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ] τεσσαρισκαιδεκάτῃ p, and so below τεσσαρισκαιδεκάτης.  
24 προελθούσῃ] προελθούσης p. 26 αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῖς p. 28 τοῦτο τῷ

8. διδάσκων ὅτι κ.τ.λ.] On this passage see above, p. 429.

12. ἀζύμων, πάσχα, κ.τ.λ.] This punctuation will, I think, commend itself. It had struck me independently, before I saw it suggested by Zahn.

14. τῶν μετ' αὐτόν] *'his successors.'* The words are translated by Bolland (p. 696) *'alii quidam cum ipso'*, as if τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ, and Zahn (*Patr. Apost.* II. p. 169) has founded some

speculations on the expression so rendered. On the succession of the early bishops of Smyrna, see above, I. p. 463 sq.

23. Ἐφεσιακὴν] sc. πύλην, the word being understood as e.g. in John v. 2. This Ephesian gate is mentioned again below (§ 20), where it is also called *'Royal.'* See also Aristid. *Or.* I. p. 450 τοῦ βαλανείου τοῦ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ταῖς εἰς Ἐφεσον φερούσαις. Is

25 σουσιν ἄνδρες δύο, ἔχοντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν παιδάριον ᾧ ὄνομα  
 Πολύκαρπος. ἐπερώτησον αὐτοὺς εἰ πράσιμόν ἐστιν· τῶν  
 δὲ εἰπόντων ὅτι Ναί, δὸς ἦν ἀξιόσουσι τιμὴν, καὶ παραλα-  
 βούσα ἔχε μετὰ σεαυτῇ· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τῷ γένει ἀπὸ  
 ἀνατολῆς. ἡ δέ, ἔτι τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῇ ἐνηχούσης καὶ τῆς  
 30 καρδίας αὐτῆς φόβῳ καὶ χαρᾷ πηδύσης, ἀνεκάθισέν τε καὶ  
 μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ μὴ μελλήσασα τὸ προσταχθὲν  
 ἐποίει· ροίζῳ δὲ καὶ δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὴν προειρημένην πύλην  
 ἦλθεν· καὶ εὗρεν καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος, παραλαβοῦσά  
 τε ἦγαγεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον, καὶ ἠγαλλίασατο ἀνατρέφουσα  
 35 κοσμίως καὶ παιδεύουσα τὴν ἐν Κυρίῳ παιδείαν, ὁρώσά τε  
 τὸ νουνεχὲς αὐτοῦ καὶ κόσμιον καὶ τὸ πρὸς θεοσέβειαν  
 ἐπιτήδειον ἐξεπλήσσετο. ἦν δὲ αὐτῇ τῇ μὲν στοργῇ υἱός,  
 τῇ δὲ ὑπεροχῇ τῶν οἰκετῶν, ὅσῳπερ δὴ προέκοπτεν τῇ  
 ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ διοικητῆς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐγένετο. καὶ δὴ καὶ  
 40 τὰς κλείς τῶν ἀποθηκῶν ἐδεδώκει ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ.

IV. Ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε ἐγένετο αὐτὴν χρόνον τινὰ ἀποδη-  
 μῆσαι, κατέλειπεν τῆς οἰκίας φύλακα τὸν Πολύκαρπον.  
 εἰσιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ μετρέειν τοῖς οἰκείοις τροφὰς ἠκολούθουν  
 χῆραί τε καὶ ὀρφανοὶ καὶ πλείστοι ἐκ γειτόνων, ὅσοι τῶν  
 45 πιστῶν ἦσαν πτωχοί, καὶ ἠξίουσαν λαμβάνειν, ὁ μὲν σῖτον,  
 οἱ δὲ οἶνον, ἄλλοι ἔλαιον, καὶ εἴ τι ἔχρηζεν ἕκαστος. ὁ δὲ  
 ἐκ παιδὸς ἔχων τὸ τῆς εὐποιίας μάθημα, καὶ τὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ  
 ἐντολὰς ἐν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς πίνακι καὶ τῇ τῆς καρδίας πλακί  
 δακτύλῳ Θεοῦ πνεύματι ἀγίῳ ἀναγεγραμμένας ἔχων, τὸ τῷ

γένει] τούτῳ τὸ γένος H.  
 DF; κατέλειπεν p.

30 ἀνεκάθισέν] ἀνεκάθισέν p.  
 44 χῆραι] χῆρες p.

42 κατέλειπεν]

this the same place which is men-  
 tioned in the Smyrnaean inscription  
*C. I. G.* 3148 (II. p. 712 sq) *στρώσειν*  
*τὴν βασιλικὴν...τὴν βασιλικὴν στρώσειν*  
*τὴν πρὸς τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ χαλκᾶς*  
*τὰς θύρας ποιήσειν?* If the 'pavement'  
 suggests a road, the 'doors' imply a  
 gate. Perhaps there was both a  
*βασιλικὴ ὁδός* and a *βασιλικὴ πύλη* at

this place.

35. *παιδεύουσα* κ.τ.λ.] See the note  
 on *Polyc. Phil.* 4.

44. *ἐκ γειτόνων*] 'from the neighbour-  
 hood', used like *ἐν γειτόνων*, *ἐς γειτό-*  
*νων*; see G. Dindorf in *Steph. Thes.*  
*s. v. γείτων.*

49. *τῷ αἰτοῦντι* κ.τ.λ.] From *Matth.*  
*v. 42, Luke vi. 30.*

αἰτοῦντί σε δίδοι, ἐποίει δὴ, καὶ οὕτως πάσας ἀποθήκας ἐκένωσεν, ἀφθόνως τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπιδιδούς.

V. Ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε ἦκεν ἡ Καλλιστώ διὰ χρόνου, εἰς τις τῶν οἰκετῶν προσδραμῶν αὐτῇ ἔφη· Σὺ μὲν, ὦ κυρία, πάντας τοὺς οἰκογενεῖς σου οὐδὲν ἡγησαμένη, τῷ παιδαρίῳ τούτῳ ἐξ 5 ἀνατολῆς ἦκουτι πάντα ἐνεχείρισας· ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὴν σὴν ἀποδημίαν, ἐκφορήσας πάντα ὅσα ἦν, οὐδὲν ὑπελείπετο. ἡ δὲ τῇ χαλεπῇ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ φωνῇ διαταραχθεῖσα (ἱκανῇ γὰρ διαβολῇ καὶ ἡρεμοῦσαν ψυχὴν ἀνακινεῖν, μάλισθ' ὅταν φαντασίαν τῆς ἀπὸ χρημάτων βλάβης ἐμφαίνει) διώδησέν 10 τε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ θυμοῦ ἐνεπίπλατο, καὶ μάλιστα μεγίστην ἡγουμένη συμφορὰν εἰ ὁ θεοφιλῆς καὶ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ αὐτῇ δοθεὶς ἀσώτως κατηνάλωσε πάντα· οὐπω γὰρ ἠπίστατο εἰς τί αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος ἐχρήσατο· διὸ καὶ πολυσχιδεῖς αὐτῇ ἀνεφύοντο λογισμοί. εὐθὺς οὖν ὀνόματι ἐκάλει Πολύκαρπον λέ- 15 γουσα· [Πολύκαρπε·] τῷ δὲ ὑπακούσαντί φησιν· Κόμιζε τὰς κλεῖς τῶν ἀποθηκῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ κομίσας ἦνοιξεν, εἰσελθοῦσα ἐπεσκόπει, καὶ τι θαυμαστὸν τῆς μεγαλουργίας τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγένετο· ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιῶν ἐστέναξέν τε καὶ προσηύξατο εἰπών· Θεὲ Κύριε ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου 20 παιδός, ὁ ἐν παρουσίᾳ τοῦ προφήτου σου Ἡλιοῦ πληρώσας τὰ ἀγγεῖα τῆς Σαραφθινῆς χήρας, ἐπάκουσόν μου, ἵνα ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐρέθῃ πάντα πεπληρωμένα. καὶ οὕτως εὐρέθη πάντα πεπληρωμένα, ὡς νομίσασαν αὐτὴν καταψεύ-

I οὕτως] οὗτος p.  
διοίδησέν p.  
σχεδεῖς pDF.  
ἀραφθινῆς p.

4 προσδραμῶν] προδραμῶν p.  
14 ἐκεῖνος] F; ἐκείνοισ pD.  
16 Πολύκαρπε] DF; om. p.  
26 δέρευν] conj.; om. pDF. The sense requires this or

10 διώδησέν]  
πολυσχιδεῖς] πολυ-  
22 Σαραφθινῆς]

26. ἠπλωσεν ἑαυτὸν] 'he acted frankly, with simplicity,' comp. M. Antonin. iv. 26 ἄπλωσον σεαυτὸν. But the expression is sometimes used in a literal sense, 'to stretch oneself out,' e. g. Joann. Malal. *Chron.* xviii. p. 472 (ed. Bonn.).

30. ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ κ.τ.λ.] An imitation of Polycarp's own language

in *Mart. Polyc.* 14.

38. Καλλιστοῦς] Previous editors have acquiesced in Καλλιστώ, but I know no authority for this form of the genitive.

40. τῆς ἀνατολικῆς κ.τ.λ.] The construction is doubtful, but the sense suggests that *ρίζης* is a loose genitive after *ἄνθος*, while *καρποῦ* seems to be



25 σασθαι τὸν δούλον χαλεπαίνειν καὶ τισι τῶν οἰκετῶν παρα-  
 κελεύεσθαι [δέρειν]. φθάσας δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἤπλωσεν  
 ἑαυτὸν λέγων· Μὴ δῆτα δι' ἐμὲ ὑβρίσης ἕτερον, ἐμοὶ δὲ  
 μᾶλλον ἐμφόρει τὰς τούτου πληγὰς· οὐ γὰρ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ  
 30 μὴ κακῶς ἐδαπάνησα ἀλλ' εἰς πτωχοῦς, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατήρ  
 τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοὺς πεινῶντας ἐνέπλησεν  
 καὶ πέμψας τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ σοὶ τὰ σὰ ἀπεκατέστησεν,  
 ἵνα καὶ σὺ σχοίης κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ὁ ποιεῖς ἐπιδιδόναί πτωχοῖς.  
 ταῦτα ἀκούσασα καὶ ἰδοῦσα ἔμβοβος ἢ Καλλιστῶ ἐγένετο,  
 35 ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον προσθεμένη τῇ πίστει καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς  
 ἔργοις, ὥστε γενέσθαι αὐτῇ Πολύκαρπον εἰς υἱόν, καὶ ἀνα-  
 λύσασαν ἐν πίστει καταλιπεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῆς.

VI. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς Καλλιστοῦς ἐν πολλῇ  
 προκοπῇ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πίστεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀγαθὴν  
 40 πολιτείαν ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἐγένετο. καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ρίζης,  
 κατὰ τὸ ἄοκνον τῆς φιλοπονίας, δεῖγμα ἔφερεν ἄνθος, ὡς ἂν  
 εἴποι τις, μέλλοντος ἀγαθοῦ καρποῦ. φιλομαθεῖς γάρ, εἰ  
 καὶ τινες ἄλλοι, καὶ προσφυεῖς ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς οἱ τὴν  
 ἀνατολὴν οἰκοῦντες ἄνθρωποι. εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀχθεῖς καὶ  
 45 ἐν τῇ Σμύρῃ κατὰ Θεοῦ θέλημα ἐλθόν, καταμαθῶν τε τοὺς  
 τῶν ἐγχωρίων τρόπους καὶ τούτων πολλὴ διαστήσας ἑαυτόν,  
 ἔγνω ὡς ἄρα παντὶ δούλῳ Θεοῦ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος [πόλις], πατρὶς  
 δὲ ἡ ἐπουράνιος Ἱερουσαλήμ· ἐνταῦθα δὲ παροικεῖν, ἀλλ'

some similar word.

29 ἀξίος] p; ἀξίος ἐστιν DF.

36 αὐτῇ]

αὐτὴν p.

38 Καλλιστοῦς] conj.; Καλλιστῶ pDF.

39 καὶ] txt D;

add. τῇ p; add. ἐκ F.

43 προσφυεῖς] προσφυεῖς p.

47 πόλις]

conj. (see § 29); om. p. D suggests φνγῆ or οἰκῆσιμος, which latter F adopts.

governed by δεῖγμα.

42. φιλομαθεῖς γάρ κ.τ.λ.] Duchesne suggests that our biographer may have had in his mind the biblical studies of the Antiochene school, Lucian, Dorotheus, and others.

47. πόλις] This insertion is justified by § 30 ἐπακούσατέ μου τοῦ παροίκου καὶ παρεπιδήμου, ᾧ πᾶσα πόλις ξένη διὰ

τὴν ἐπουράνιον πολιτείαν καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος πόλις διὰ τὴν τοῦ κτίσαντος τὰ πάντα Θεοῦ δωρεάν. See *Epist. ad Diogn.* 5 πατριδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίαις ἀλλ' ὡς πάροικοι μετέχουσι πάντων ὡς πολῖται, καὶ πάνθ' ὑπομένουσιν ὡς ξένοι· πᾶσα ξένη πατρὶς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσα πατρὶς ξένη.

48. παροικεῖν κ.τ.λ.] For the distinc-

οὐ κατοικεῖν, ὡς ξένοι καὶ παρεπίδημοι τετάγμεθα. καὶ δὴ ταῦτα διασκοπούμενος ἐπ' εὐφροσύνη θεία νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἑαυτὸν ὄλον δι' ὄλον, ὥσπερ καθωσιωμένον ὀλοκαύτωμα, προσενήνοχε Θεῷ, τοῖς μὲν ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς γυμναζόμενος λογίοις, ταῖς δὲ διὰ προσευχῶν ἐνδελε- 5 χέσι λειτουργίαις καὶ τῇ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς χρήζοντας ἢ σπουδῆς ἢ ἐπιδόσεως κηδεμονία καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν δίαιταν αὐταρκείᾳ. σιτίοις τε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν παροῦσι λιτοῖς τε καὶ ἀπεριέργοις ἐχρήτο, ἐσθῆτι δέ, ὡς αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ χρειῶδες ἀπῆτει, θάλπους ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα σώφρονος 10 εὐκοσμίας ἀμφιέννυσθαι.

VII. Τὰ δὲ πλείστα ἦν ὑπαναχωρῶν, οὐκ ἐν δημοσίοις οὔτε ἐπιφανέσι τόποις, οὔδ' ὅθεν ἦν τὸν ἐκ τῶν ὀρώντων ἔπαινον καρποῦσθαι. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ διατριβαί, οἴκοι μὲν αἱ πλείσται, αἱ δὲ ἐν προαστείοις ἐν οἷς ἂν ἦν μάλιστα 15 ἀμελοῦντα τὸν πολυδημῶδη τάραχον ἐκφεύγειν, ἐπισταμένῳ ὡς ἄρα χρήζει ἡ ψυχὴ σταθερᾶς καὶ ἀνεπιμίκτου κακῶν ὄψεως τε καὶ ἀκοῆς. κακ τούτων ἦν ἐσταλμένος τῷ τε κατὰ τὸν νοῦν φρονήματι καὶ τῷ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα σχήματι· βάδισμα γὰρ πρεσβυτικὸν ἦν ἐν νεαζούσῃ ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ τὸ βλέμμα 20 ἀνδρείον, ἀπηλλαγμένον τῆς πρὸς τὰ ὀρώμενα κατὰ τὸν βίον προσπαθείας. εἰ δέ τινες τῶν συναντώντων αὐτῷ κατενόουν τὸ πρόσωπον, ἐρυθήματος ἐνεπίμπλατο καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ αἰδοῦς αἰδέσιμον ἑαυτὸν κατεσκεύαζεν. τῷ γὰρ ἐρυθρῷ χρώματι διὰ τοῦ σώματος, ὥσπερ δι' ἐσόπτρου, αἱ τῶν σοφῶν 25 διορῶνται ψυχαί. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ τῶν προσφοιτῶντων καὶ

16 ἀμελοῦντα] DF; ἀτελοῦντα p. Perhaps we should read ἀτημελοῦντα. 23

ἐν αὐτῷ] psD; ἐν αὐτῷ F. 26 τῶν] om. H. καὶ καθομιλεῖν] D; καὶ

ὀμιλεῖν F; καὶ θ' ὀμιλεῖν p. 38 ἦν] DF; om. p. 43 ἀπρακτα] pDF; ἀπρατα

conj. Mayor; see below, p. 466. 48 ἐπεπόθει] conj.; ἐπεποθεῖ psDF. Evidently

tion of *παροικεῖν*, *κατοικεῖν*, and for the conception of the Christian's position as a *παροικία*, see the note on Clem. Rom. I. The combination *ξένοι* καὶ *παραπίδημοι* is taken from Heb. xi. 13. On the other hand in the paral-

lel passage § 30, *παροίκου* καὶ *παραπίδημου*, our author has followed 1 Pet. ii. 11, which is founded on the LXX of Gen. xxiii. 4, Ps. xxxviii (xxxix). 13.

4. ὀλοκαύτωμα] The application to

καθομιλεῖν ἐσπουδακότων τοὺς μὲν ἀδολέσχας καὶ ληρώδεις, εἰ οἶόν τε αὐτῷ, ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ φεύγειν προφάσει τοῦ τεταῖσθαι ἐπὶ τι σπουδαῖον καὶ μὴ προσεσχηκῆναι τῷ συννα-  
 30 τήσαντι· εἰ δὲ συνέβη περιπεσεῖν, μόνον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δόξαι ὑπεροπτικὸν εἶναι ὀλίγα τινα ἀποκρινόμενος ἐπαύετο. τοιοῦτος ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἦν ὠφεληθῆναι. τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς καθάπερ κύνας λυσσωῶντας ἢ θήρας ἀγρίους ἢ ἔρπετὰ ἰοβόλα περιύστατο· ἐμέμνητο γὰρ τῆς λεγούσης γραφῆς· μετὰ ἀν-  
 35 δρὸς ἀθώου ἀθώου ἔσῃ καὶ μετὰ ἐκλεκτοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ καὶ μετὰ στρεβλοῦ διαστρέψεις. τοῖς δὲ ὠφελεῖν δυναμένοις ἐπὶ πλείστον συνῆν, καὶ μάλιστα ὧν μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἦν ὠφέλειαν καρποῦσθαι.

VIII. Ἐπανιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν προαστείων εἰς τὴν  
 40 πόλιν, εἴ ποτε συντετύγχανον ξυλοφόροι καὶ μάλιστα πρεσβῦται, συνέπασχέν τε τῆς ἀχθοφορίας ἔνεκα, καὶ συμπορευόμενος ἀνηρώτα εἰ ἅμα τῷ εἰσελθεῖν πιπράσκει τὸ φορτίον· τοῦ δὲ ἀποκρινομένου ὅτι ἐνίοτε ἤδη ἐσπέρας ἄπρακτα εἶη, ἐπιδούς αὐτῷ τὴν τιμὴν ἤγεεν παρὰ τὰς ἄγχι τῇ πύλῃ  
 45 οἰκούσας χήρας· καὶ ταύταις μὲν τὴν χρήσιν τῶν ξύλων, τῷ δὲ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῆς τροφῆς τῆς ὥρας ἐχαρίζετο.

IX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὥραν, ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεπόθει τὴν θεοσέβειαν· διέγνω δὲ ὡς ἄρα οἰκεῖον  
 50 ἀσκήσει ἐλευθερία, ἣτις περιγίνεται ὀλίγοις μὲν, μάλιστα τοῖς ἀδούλωτον καὶ ἀπαρεμπόδιστον τῆς ψυχῆς εἰληφόσι παρὰ Θεοῦ κεκτῆσθαι πτερόν· ὃς τὴν ὑπέργειον μᾶλλον καὶ εὐπετῇ ἠξιῶται πολιτείαν, μὴ κατασπώμενος ἐπὶ γῆς τῷ τοῦ

this cannot stand, and I have restored what seems to be the right reading. 49

ἀσκήσει] part of the κ and the whole of the η are obliterated in p. 50 ἀπαρεμπόδιστον] ἀπαρამπόδιστον psD. 51 κεκτῆσθαι] σθαι in a later hand in p.

52 ἠξιῶται] A word like λαβεῖν seems to have fallen out.

Polycarp is from *Mart. Polyc.* 14.

9. ἐσθῆτι δέ] sc. ἐχρήτο (ὥστε) ἀμφιένυσθαι. This seems the most probable construction, if indeed the text is not mutilated.

22. προσπαθείας] 'propensity'; for

προσπάθεια is the opposite to ἀντιπάθεια, e.g. Isid. Pelus. *Epist.* i. 310 προσπάθεια μὲν οὐκ ὀξυδορκεῖ, ἀντιπάθεια δὲ ὄλως οὐχ ὀρᾷ.

34. μετὰ ἀνδρὸς ἀθώου κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. xvii (xviii). 26, 27.

γάμου δεσμῶ. ἀπροσδεῖς γὰρ ἡμῶν τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲ εἷς, προσδεέστεροι δὲ μᾶλλον οἷς ἢ πολυδάπανος καὶ φιλόκοσμος οἴκαδε ἐγκαθάρμηνται γυνή· τὰς τε ἐκ ταύτης περιστάσεις καὶ ἀηδίας ἐλογίζετο, ὡς οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἐπίπαν εἰρηναῖον καὶ εὐδιον ἐκτελέσαι βίον. εἰ 5 μὲν γὰρ ἄσωτος εἶη, ὡς φησι Σολομών, μεστός ζήλου θυμὸς ἀνδρός· εἰ δὲ σωφρονεῖ, κεκομπῆσθαι τε καὶ τὸ φρόνημα διεγηγέρθαι· ὡς κρεῖττον μᾶλλον ἐν ἐρημίᾳ οἰκεῖν, ἢ μετα' γυναικὸς μαχίμου καὶ γλωσσώδους. ὅλως δὲ οὐδεὶς βίου ὠραϊσμός ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπουρανίων κατώκειλεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν· 10 εἰώθει δὲ λέγειν ὡς ἄρα εἶη αὐτῷ ὠραία τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ῥήματα καὶ προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων· ὠραῖος κάλλει παρὰ τοὺς γίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐξεχύθη ἡ χάρις ἐν χεῖλεσί σου· καί· ὡς ὠραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν ἐγγελλιζομένων ἀγαθὰ παιδοτροφίας τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἔγγονα ἐπιμελείας καὶ 15 τῆς ἀκολουθούσης οἴκαδε θεραπείας διελάμβανεν, ὅσων μὲν δεήσει χρῆζειν τὸν τούτοις συμπλεκόμενον, ὅσας δὲ περιστάσεις καὶ ἀσχολίας ἔχειν, φροντίδας τε τῆς τούτων ἀναστροφῆς, καὶ οἷα νοσηλενομένων παίδων τοῖς γεννήτορσιν ἄχθη καὶ ἀποβιωσάντων πένθη γίνεται, οἳ τε ἄλλοι περὶ τὴν 20 ἀγωγὴν παντὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ βίου κίνδυνοι. κατὰ πᾶσαν γὰρ

1 τῶν] τὸν p.

7 σωφρονεῖ] σώφρων εἰ p.

κεκομπῆσθαι] DF;

ἐκεκομπῆσθαι p. Perhaps we should read ἐκκεκομπῆσθαι; see the lower note.

10 ἐπουρανίων] pF; ὑπουρανίων D.

11 αὐτῷ] F; αὐτῷ psD.

18 ἀνα-

6. μεστός [ζήλου κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. vi. 34.

7. κεκομπῆσθαι] Perhaps (considering the reading of the MS) we should substitute ἐκκεκομπῆσθαι. But I have not found another instance of the perfect passive used in this sense in the case of either verb.

10. κατώκειλεν κ.τ.λ.] 'run his soul aground.' This compound does not seem yet to have found a place in the lexicons.

12. ὠραῖος κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. xlv (xlv).

3. The passage which follows is taken

from Rom. x. 15, which again is a quotation from Is. lii. 7, though not following the LXX.

24. ἀνακρινόμενον] I have substituted this for ἀνακρυνόμενον, the reading of previous editors, both as making better sense and as being nearer to the traces of the MS.

25. ἀφηνιάων καὶ ἀπαυχενίζων] Words used of restive horses which decline the reins and the yoke; comp. Philo de Abrah. 37 (Op. II. p. 31 M.) τὸτὲ δὲ ἀφηνιάζων καὶ ἀπαυχενίζων. Probably the metaphorical use of these

μετάβασιν ἡλικίας μετακίνησις τοῖς νέοις καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος γίνεται, ἀναζέοντος ὡσπερ οἴνου νέου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὄραν ἐμφύτου θερμοῦ, ἀνακιρναμένου τε καὶ ἔλκοντος ἐπὶ τὸ καθα-  
 25 ρώτερον τὴν ὕλην, καθάπερ ὑποζυγίου ἀφηνιᾶν καὶ ἀπαυ-  
 χενίζειν ἐπιχειροῦντος, μέχρις ἂν ὁ ἐπιστάτης καὶ ἐπίσκοπος  
 νοῦς, καθάπερ χαλινῶ, λόγῳ καὶ λογισμῶ ἀναχαιτίσει τε καὶ  
 ἀνακόψει καὶ παύσει τὸν χρεμετισμόν, εἰς τάξιν ἀγαγὼν τὴν  
 30 ἄτακτον καὶ ἄλογον ὄρμην. τότε δὲ ὁ νοῦς ἐργάζεται ταῦτα  
 καὶ κατισχύει, ὅταν αὐτὸν θεία τις ἐπιφροσύνη καὶ παρουσία  
 πνεύματος ἁγίου †περισπαρῆ†. διὸ δὴ καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος Δαυεὶδ  
 ἠτήσατο λέγων· Πνεῦμα εὔθεός ἐγκαίνισον ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτοις  
 μοῦ· πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῶ στήριζόν με, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά σοῦ  
 τὸ ἄριστον μὴ ἀντανέλῃς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολός φησιν·  
 35 Πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε, καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελεί-  
 σθε.

Χ. Ἀκόλουθον οὖν ἔστιν ἡμῖν λοιπὸν καὶ τὸν τῆς  
 ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτοῦ καταλέξαι δρόμον, καὶ ὡς ἐπολιτεύσατο,  
 καὶ ὡς εἰς τοῦτον ἦλθεν· ἵνα καὶ διὰ τούτων μάθωμεν μιμηταὶ  
 40 τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκλεγομένων λειτουργῶν γίνεσθαι. ὁ μὲν  
 οὖν Βουκόλος, ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐπίσκοπος, ἡγάπα τε αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ  
 πολλοῦ ἐκ παιδὸς ἐποιεῖτο· καὶ εὐθυμος ὢν εὐέλπιστος ἐπ'

στροφῆς] We should probably read ἀνατροφῆς.

ἀνακιρναμένου p; ἀνακρνωμένου DE. See the lower note.

This word is unsatisfactory, but I have nothing to suggest.

conj.; εὐελπίς τε pDF.

24 ἀνακιρναμένου] conj.;

31 περισπαρῆ]

42 εὐέλπιστος]

and similar words, such as ἀναχαιτί-  
 ζειν just below, though very common  
 in these later times, should be traced  
 back to the myth in Plato's Phædrus,  
 as the original. The previous meta-  
 phor of the wing (περὸν) of the soul  
 in this chapter is derived from the  
 same source.

32. Πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ.] Ps. I (li). 12, 14,  
 13. The next quotation is from Gal.  
 v. 16.

40. ὁ μὲν οὖν Βουκόλος κ.τ.λ.] Bucolus  
 is commemorated in the Menæa on

Feb. 6 Σμύρνης ὁ ποιμὴν Βουκόλος θυ-  
 πόλος κ.τ.λ., where also his relation to  
 Ignatius is recorded, the source of  
 information doubtless being this Life  
 by Pionius. Bucolus himself is stated  
 in the Menæa to have been ordain-  
 ed bishop by S. John and to have re-  
 futed and 'ostracised' (ἐξωστράκισ-  
 ται) Marcion. This last statement is  
 hardly consistent with chronology.  
 See also the note on § 20.

42. εὐέλπιστος] I have thus emended  
 the text, being unable to make any-

αὐτῷ ἦν· ὡς περ οἱ τῶν χρηστῶν υἱῶν πατέρες ἀγάλλονται ἐπὶ τῷ ἔχειν διαδόχους σῶφρονας. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἤμειβε τὸν Βουκόλον, ὡς ἂν γεννήτορα ἀγαπῶν, οὐκ ἐπιπλάστῳ μέντοι λόγῳ, ἀλλ' ἡσυχῇ μὲν καὶ μὴ παράπαν διόλου αὐτῷ γνώμενος· ὑπεξαναχωρῶν δὲ τοὺς ἀεὶ ὄντας ἦδει καιρούς, ὡς μηδὲ 5 προσκορῇ μήτε ἀτημελῇ δοκεῖν εἶναι. δῶρον μὲν γὰρ ἡ δόμα οὐτ' αὐτῷ δυναμένῳ ἐπαρκεῖν ἐσπούδαζεν διδόναι οὔτε μὴν ὁ Βουκόλος λαβεῖν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἴδιον κέρδος ἡγάετο τοῦ νέου τὴν εἰς τοὺς δεομένους προθυμίαν, ὁ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἐντολὴν προσηκόμτως ἐπλήρου, διδούς τοῖς οὐ δυνα- 10 μένοις ἀνταποδοῦναι, ἐνίων θηρωμένων διὰ τῆς τέχνης τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ἐφιεμένων ἐτέρας μείζονος τιμῆς. ὡς οὖν ὁ μὲν Πολύκαρπος, καθάπερ ὁ Ἰακώβ, ἀπλοῦς καὶ ἄπλαστος ὢν, πάντα ἀτύφως καὶ ἀπεριβλέπτως εἰργάζετο, σωματικῆς τε ὑπηρεσίας αὐτουργῶν τροφῆς τε καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς [διαίτης] 15 εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἐπαρκῶν, αὐτοῖς ἔργοις λαμπρὸς ἦν· ὁ δὲ Βουκόλος ταῦτα οὐ παρὰ τοῦ ποιούντος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν πασχόντων ἐμάνθανεν. ὡς γὰρ τοῖς σπουδαίοις τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν ἀννυέρθητον, οὕτως δὴ καὶ τοῖς εὐλογίστοις ἐκ τοῦ καλῶς παθεῖν τὸ εὐχαριστεῖν ἀπαράλειπτον. ἔτι τε καὶ πολλῶν 20 διὰ τῆς δοθείσης αὐτῷ παρὰ Θεοῦ χάριτος ἀσθενούντων τε καὶ δαιμονίωντων εἰς ὀλοκληρίαν ἀποκαθισταμένων, καὶ τοῦ

2 τῷ] conj.; τὸ pDF.  
 8 ἦδη F. μηδὲ] pF; μήτε D.  
 15 διαίτης] conj.; om. pDF.

5 ἀεὶ ὄντας ἦδει] D; λέγοντας ἦδη p; λεγομέ-  
 6 ἀτημελῇ] conj.; ἀεὶ μέλλειν pDF.  
 19 εὐλογίστοις] DF; εὐλογίστως p.

thing of εὐελπίς τε which has satisfied the previous editors.

6. ἀτημελῇ] So I would restore the text. The reading of the MS cannot stand.

δῶρον μὲν γὰρ ἡ δόμα] The distinction of δῶρον, δόμα, is explained by Philo *Leg. Alleg.* iii. 70 (I. p. 126 M.). δῶρα δομάτων διαφέρουσι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔμφασιν μεγέθους τελείων ἀγαθῶν δηλοῦσιν, ἃ τοῖς τελείοις χαρίζεται ὁ Θεός, τὰ δὲ εἰς βραχύτατον ἑσταται, ὧν

μετέχουσιν οἱ εὐφνεῖς ἀσκηταὶ οἱ προκόπτοντες, *De Cherub.* 25 (I. p. 154 M.) τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν χάριτος μέσης ἡξίωται, ἡ καλεῖται δόσις, τὰ δὲ ἀμείνονος, ἡς ὄνομα οἰκείου δωρεά. Hence the distinction of δόσις ἀγαθῆ, δῶρημα τέλειον, in James i. 17.

9. τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου κ.τ.λ.] The reference is more especially to Luke xiv. 14.

13. ἄπλαστος] This is the epithet used of Jacob in the LXX Gen. xxv. 27.

Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξαζομένου, ἔχαιρεν. πολλά τε περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' ὄραμάτων ἔβλεπεν.

25 XI. Ἔγνω οὖν ὡς ἄξιός εἰη· καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν διὰ τὸ νέον τῆς ἡλικίας τῷ τῶν διακόνων βαθμῷ συνηρίθμησεν, πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιμαρτυρούσης. μακάριος κἀκείνος ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀξιωθεὶς χειρὶ σκεπάσαι τοιαύτην κεφαλὴν καὶ διὰ φωνῆς εὐλογῆσαι τηλικαύτην ψυχὴν· ἢ γὰρ τῶν καθισ-  
30 ταμένων εἰς τόπον λειτουργίας διὰ πίστεως τῆς εἰς τὸν Θεὸν προκοπῆ δόκιμος καὶ κεκριμένη τῶν ἐκλεξαμένων καλῶς, ἀνεπίληπτος μὲν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀνυπαίτιος δὲ συνειδήσει, παρρησία καὶ χαρὰ γίνεται.

XII. Διάκονος οὖν ἐν τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν δόκιμος, ὁποῖος  
35 ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους Στέφανος· καὶ γὰρ λόγῳ κευρηγημένος καὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς κεκοσμημένος μετὰ παρρησίας Ἑλληνὰς τε καὶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ τοὺς αἰρετικούς ἤλεγχε. πολλάκις δ' αὐτὸν προτρέψας καὶ παρακαλέσας ὁ Βουκόλος μόλις ἔπεισε πρὸς τὸ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Κυρίου παιδευθῆναι καὶ  
40 ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν τῆς κατηχήσεως ποιήσασθαι λόγον. ἐδόθη οὖν ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διδασκαλίας ὀρθῆς ἐκκλησιαστικὸς καθολικὸς κανὼν· ἐρμηνεῦσαί τε ἱκανὸς μυστήρια, ἃ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἦν ἀπόκρυφα, οὕτω φανερώς αὐτὰ ἐξετίθετο, ὥστε τοὺς ἀκούοντας μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἀκούουσιν  
45 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀρώσω αὐτά. πολλά δὲ καὶ συγγράμματα καὶ

20 ἔτι] ἔστι H.

22 ἀποκαθισταμένων] ἀποκαθιστάμενον H.

23 πολλά]

πολλὰς p.

25 καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν] κατὰ τὸ παρὸν καὶ H.

42 ἱκανὸς]

conj.; ἱκανῶς psDF.

14. ἀπεριβλέπτως] i.e. without looking round to see what others think of it.

σωματικῆς τε κ.τ.λ.] In this sentence ὑπηρεσίας seems to be governed by ἐπαρκῶν, as ἐπαρκεῖν sometimes takes a genitive of the thing supplied; e.g. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* ix. 2 τροφῆς μὲν γονεῦσι δεῖν μάλιστα ἐπαρκεῖν. I have inserted διαίτης (see above, p. 425), as the sentence seemed to require some such word; but, if it be omitted, λοι-

πῆς will agree with ὑπηρεσίας, while τροφῆς will be the genitive governed by ὑπηρεσίας.

19. τοῖς εὐλογίστοις] Or perhaps we should read τοῖς εὐλογίστως ἔχουσιν.

41. ἐκκλησιαστικὸς κ.τ.λ.] See above, pp. 402, 426.

42. ἱκανὸς] The grammar of the sentence seems to require the substitution of ἱκανὸς for ἱκανῶς, which the previous editors have retained.

45. πολλά δὲ καὶ κ.τ.λ.] This state-

ὁμιλίας καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ ἦσαν αὐτῷ, ἅτινα ἐν διωγμῷ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένῳ, ὅτε καὶ ἐμαρτύρησεν, διήρπασάν τινες τῶν ἀνόμων· φανερά δὲ ὅποια ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἐφευρισκομένων, ἐν οἷς καὶ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἰκανωτάτη ἦν· καὶ αὐτὴν ἐντάξομεν ἐν τῷ δέοντι τόπῳ. 5

XIII. Ἐν δὲ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ αὐτοῦ πρὸ πάντων ἦν τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας εἰδέναι περὶ Θεοῦ παντοκράτορος, ἀοράτου, ἀναλλοιώτου, ἀμετρήτου, καὶ ὅτι οὗτος εὐδόκησεν τὸν ἴδιον λόγον υἱὸν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καταπέμψαι, ἵνα φορέσας τὸν ἀνθρώπον καὶ ἀληθῶς ὁ λόγος σαρκωθεὶς σώσῃ τὸ ἴδιον πλάσμα· ὃς κατὰ τὴν λεχθεῖσαν προφητείαν ἐξ ἀχράντου καὶ ἀμώμου παρθένου καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου τὸ τῆς γεννήσεως τοῖς πολλοῖς δυσκατάληπτον μυστήριον ἐπλήρωσε· καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας ὑπέστη, καθὼς διὰ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὁ 15 πατὴρ ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ προεκήρυξεν· ὃν καὶ ἀνέστησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ εἶδον οἱ μαθηταὶ τοιοῦτον ἐν σώματι, οἷος ἦν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ παθεῖν· καὶ ἀναλαμβάνόμενον ἐν νεφέλῃ φωτὸς εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐθεάσαντο ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σώματι οἷον πρὸ παραβάσεως ἔπλασε τὸν Ἀδὰμ. περὶ δὲ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ 20 δωρεᾶς παρακλήτου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν χαρισμάτων ἀπεδείκνυεν ὅτι μὴ ἐνδέχεται [ἔχειν] ἔξω τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ μέλος ἀποκοπὲν σώματος ἔχει τινὰ δύναμιν, συμβιβάζων

1 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ] conj. (so too Zahn); ὑπ' αὐτοῦ pDF. Perhaps read ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

4 ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἰκανωτάτη ἦν] pDF. Should we not read ἦν ἐπιστολὴ ἰκανωτάτη?

6 πρὸ] πρὸς p.

8 οὗτος] DF; οὕτως p.

10 ὁ λόγος] p; ὡν λόγος DF.

ment is apparently founded on the language of Irenæus *Epist. ad Florin.* (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20); see I. p. 445, where this father speaks of letters written by Polycarp to churches and to individuals. The description of the extant letter to the Philippians as *ικανωτάτη*, which follows, is taken from Iren. *Haer.* iii. 3. 4, likewise quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 14). See above, I. p. 473, III. p. 424.

1. ὁμιλίας] Ign. *Polyc.* 5 μάλλον δὲ

περὶ τούτων ὁμιλίαν ποιῶ. This passage may possibly have suggested the insertion of the word, as our biographer elsewhere shows a knowledge of Ignatius' epistle; see above, p. 425.

2. τῶν ἀνόμων] An imitation of the language in *Mart. Polyc.* 9, 16; comp. § 3.

24. καὶ ἡ βασιλεία κ.τ.λ.] Dan. ii. 44, from the version of Theodotion. The following quotation, ἡ Μαρία



ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν γραφῶν ὡς τὸ διὰ τοῦ Δανιήλ, καὶ ἡ Βασιλεία  
 25 αὐτοῦ λαῶ ἑτέρῳ οὔχ ἵπολειφθήσεται· καὶ ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ,  
 ἡ Μαρία τὴν ἀγαθὴν μερίδα ἐξελέξατο, ἥτις οὔκ ἀφαιρεθῆ-  
 σεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς· καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα παραπλήσια τούτοις.

XIV. Εὐνουχίας τε καὶ παρθενίας ἕνεκα μέλον ἦν αὐτῷ  
 ποιῆσθαι λόγον προτρεπτικόν, καὶ ἦν ἀξιῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης  
 30 ἢ ἐπιταγῆς ἐτέρων, καὶ γονεῖς ἢ δεσπότης ὦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς  
 ἐκάστου προαιρέσεως καὶ προθυμίας τὸ ἐκούσιον ἄθλον ἐπι-  
 τελῆσθαι. ἔλεγεν δὲ τὴν ἀγνεῖαν πρόδρομον εἶναι τῆς μελ-  
 λούσης ἀφθάρτου βασιλείας, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῆς εὐνουχίας  
 35 εὐθεν εἰληφέναι ἐκ τοῦ εὐνοῖαν ἔχειν πολλὴν πρὸς τὸν  
 δεσπότην· παρθενίαν δέ, ὅτι παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ τὸ νοούμενον  
 τῆς τοιαύτης σωφροσύνης ἐστί· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πῦρ τὸ τῆς  
 σαρκὸς θανατοῦσιν οἱ τοιαύτην πολιτείαν ἀσκοῦντες. καὶ  
 τὴν μονογαμίαν δὲ ἐκ τῆς πλάσεως ἐδείκνυεν, ὡς μία ἐνὶ  
 ἐπλάσθη· διὸ καὶ ἡ ἀγομένη πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα παρθένος  
 40 ἐμφερὲς τὸ ὄνομα φέρει· τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ὅτι παρὰ Θεοῦ· τὸ  
 δὲ τέλος τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐνός φησι, τουτέστιν ἄνδρός· καὶ  
 ὅτι πρῶτος Λάμεχ, ὧν ἐκ τοῦ Κάϊν, ἔλαβεν ἑαγτῷ ἀγο  
 γυναϊκας· τὸ δὲ ἑαγτῷ λαβεῖν ἐστί τὸ μὴ κατὰ θέλημα  
 Θεοῦ. τὴν πολυγαμίαν οὖν ἔλεγεν γάμου μὲν ἔχειν ὄνομα,  
 45 εἶναι δὲ φιλευπρόσωπον πορνείαν.

19 πρὸ] πρὸς p.

22 ἔχειν] conj.; εἶναι D; om. pF. The repetition of the

same letters explains the omission.

28 μέλον] μέλλων p.

29 καί]

pF; ὡς D.

ἀξιῶν] conj.; ἀξίον pDF.

34 ἔχειν] after δεσπότην H.

35 τὸ] om. H.

36 ἐστί] add. τὸ νοούμενον p, thus repeating the word.

37 θανατοῦσιν] F; θανατοῦν pD.

38 δέ] om. H.

κ.τ.λ., is from Luke x. 42.

28. Εὐνουχίας] 'celibacy,' as frequently in patristic writers; e.g. Polycrates in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24, Athenag. *Synchl.* 33, 34, Clem. Alex. *Paed.* iii. 4, p. 269, *Strom.* iii. 1, p. 509 sq.

29. ἦν ἀξιῶν] 'he demanded.' I have substituted this for the reading of the MS, ἦν ἀξίον, which does not give a good sense.

35. παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ] A similar derivation is attributed to Methodius in Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 237 (p. 311 A) ὅτι παρθεία ἢ παρθενία κατὰ μίαν ἀπαλλαγὴν καλεῖται στοιχείου, ὡς δὴ μόνη τὸν ἔχοντα αὐτῆς τὰς ἀφθόρους τελετὰς Θεῷ ἀπεικάζουσα, οὐ μείζον ἀγαθὸν ἀδύνατον εὐρεῖν.

42. ἔλαβεν κ.τ.λ.] From Gen. iv. 19.

45. φιλευπρόσωπον πορνείαν] Athenag. *Synchl.* 33 ὁ γὰρ δεῦτερος [γάμος]

XV. Τινῶν δὲ λεγόντων Ἑλλήνων αὐτῷ ὡς ἄρα δυσ-  
 χερὲς εἶη καὶ φορτικὸν παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς τὸ δύνασθαι τῶν  
 ὀρέξεων περικρατεῖν, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι Εὐθής ἐστὶν ὑπολαμ-  
 βάνειν ὅσαπερ ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατα [φαίνεται, ὄντως εἶναι  
 ἀδύνατα], ἀλλ' ὅτι πάντα τε κατεργάζεται Κύριος καὶ 5  
 ὑπάγει ταῖς μεγάλαις αὐτοῦ ἡνίαις ὁ τῶν ὄλων δεσπότης,  
 μάθετε. τρεῖς γὰρ τρόπους εἰσηγησάμενος ἀγνείας πιστοῖς,  
 ἐφυγάδευσε μὲν καὶ ἐξώρισεν πορνείαν, ἄρχουσαν δὲ καὶ  
 βασιλεύουσαν ἀπέδειξεν ἀγνείαν· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων  
 ἀστάτους καὶ ἀορίστους καὶ ἀκρίτους ὁρμὰς ἐχόντων καί, 10  
 καθάπερ ἵπποι, ΘΗΛΥΜΑΝΟΥΝΤΩΝ καὶ ΧΡΕΜΕΤΙΖΟΝΤΩΝ ἐπὶ  
 τὰς τῶν ΠΛΗΣΙΟΝ ΓΑΜΕΤΑΣ, μόνοι οἱ τὸν ἐπουράνιον νό-  
 μον καὶ λόγον Θεοῦ ἔκδικον καὶ προασπιστὴν πάντων  
 φόβῳ προσδεχόμενοι κριτὴν ἐνὶ τῷ διὰ τεκνογονίας ἀρ-  
 κοῦνται γάμῳ· γυναῖκες ὡσαύτως πρὸς μόνον ἀποβλέπειν 15  
 διδάσκονται τὸν παρθένιον ἄνδρα. [XVI.] Ὁ δὲ δεύτερος  
 τρόπος τῆς ἀγνείας ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς χηρείας ἐπαναβεβηκῶς  
 τὸν προειρημένον· οὗτος γὰρ ἐδόκει δυσχερὴς εἶναι τὸ  
 πρῶτον, μέχρις παρήλθεν ὁ κατὰ τὸ συγκεχωρημένον ποτὲ  
 παύσασθαι δυνάμενος. ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῆς πανάθλου ἀγνείας 20  
 ἀσκητικὸς τρόπος τίνας οὐκ ἔχει ὑπερβολάς; ποίαν δὲ ἀξι-  
 ἔραστον καὶ ἀξιέπαινον ὁ τῆς εὐνουχίας καὶ παρθενίας· οὐ  
 κέκτηται τιμὴν, ἀπαγκωνισάμενος μὲν καί, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις,  
 ἀπορρύψας πάντας τοὺς βιωτικὸς δεσμούς, ἄλματι δὲ κούφῳ

1 Τινῶν] DF; τινὲς p.  
 D to fill the lacuna in p.  
 of it as 'locus corruptus'.

4 φαίνεται...ἀδύνατα] The suggestion of  
 18 οὗτος] conj.; οὕτω pDF, though D speaks  
 δυσχερὴς] conj.; δυσχερὲς pDF. 25 εὐπετεῖ]

εὐπρεπὴς ἐστὶ μοιχεία, where the con-  
 text has other points of resemblance  
 with the language of our biographer;  
 Tertull. *de Pudic.* 1 'nec secundas  
 quidem post fidem nuptias permittitur  
 nosse, nuptialibus et dotalibus,  
 si forte, tabulis a moechiae et forni-  
 cationis opere diversas'; *Auctor Op.*  
*Imperf. in Matth.* Hom. 32 (Chry-  
 sost. *Op.* VI. p. cxxxiv) 'dum per-

mittente Deo publice et licenter  
 committitur, fit honesta fornicatio,'  
*Apost. Const.* iii. 2 τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τὴν  
 τριγαμίαν προφανὴς πορνεία καὶ ἀσέλ-  
 γεια ἀναμφίβολος: see also Cotelier's  
 note on *Hermas Mand.* iv. 4.

11. καθάπερ ἵπποι κ.τ.λ.] Jer. v. 8  
 ἵπποι θηλυμανεῖς ἐγενήθησαν, ἕκαστος  
 ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἔχε-  
 μετιζον.

25 καὶ εὐπετεῖ διαβήματι τοὺς προειρημένους ὑπερδραμῶν καὶ ὑπερπηδήσας ἄθλους; τοῦ γὰρ ἢ ἐνὶ ἀρκεῖσθαι ἢ τοῦ γενομένου πεπαῦσθαι μείζονα μὲν τοῦ ἐλομένου τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀπέδειξεν, ὑπερβάλλουσιν δὲ τοῦ δωρησαμένου Θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ὠμολόγησεν. ὅτι γὰρ ἐκούσιον τοῦ προθεμένου καὶ  
30 Θεοῦ δῶρον τοῦ δυναμένου, εἶπεν ὁ Σωτὴρ εὔνογχίαι ἐάγτοϋς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ μὴ πάντας χωρεῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον.

XVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ λοιπὸν ὀσημέραι καὶ ἡλικία προέκοπτεν, ἢ τε πρόδρομος τοῦ γήρους ἐπήνθει πολὺ καὶ λευκὴ  
35 τις ὑπὲρ κροτάφων θριξὶ ἤρχετο μειδιᾶν, τῆς ἀνθρώπων φύσεως οὐκ ἀργῶς ἀλλὰ θεία προνοία μεγαλαυχούσης καὶ τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ ἕκαστα προβαλλομένης εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τῷ γένει, καὶ πολλῇ χάριτι τῆς σοφίας ἔργοις τε καὶ λόγοις τὸν ἀνθρωπον εἰς τὸ τέλειον καλούσης· ὥσπερ ὅταν λέγη· ἕως  
40 τίνας, ὧ ὀκνηρέ, κατάκεισαι; πότε δὲ ἐξ ἕπνογυ ἐγερθήσῃ; ἢ πάλιν· ἐτοίμαζε εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον τὰ ἔργα σου· οὕτω δὲ καὶ διὰ τούτων ὑπομιμνήσκειν ἡμῶν ἕκαστον οἶμαι τοῦ τέλους πρὸ τοῦ παρεῖναι, ἵνα ὁσῶ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου λευκαίνεται τὴν κεφαλὴν, τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου λαμπρύνεται  
45 τὴν ψυχὴν. ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ Βουκόλος ὡς ἱκανὴ μὲν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ ἢ ἡλικία, ἱκανωτέρα δὲ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἐτῶν ἢ κατὰ πάντα τὸν βίον εὐταξία, ἔγνω ὡς ἄρα γένοιτο αὐτῷ σύμβουλος τε ἄριστος τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λόγων καὶ

εὐπετῆ p.

34 πρόδρομος] πρόδρομον p.

40 ἐγερθήσῃ]

ἐγερθείη p.

42 ἡμῶν] ὑμῶν p.

43 παρεῖναι] παρήναι p.

44 λαμπρύνεται] λαμπρύνεται p.

18. οὐτος] i.e. ὁ προειρημένος, ὁ τῆς μονογαμίας. The reading of the MS οὐτω yields no sense, and I have therefore substituted οὐτος.

23. ἀπαγκωνισάμενος] 'divesting himself.' The word is very rare, but occurs Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* i. 11 (p. 242) ἀπηγκωνισμένη τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ γυμνῇ διετείνετο λέγων, *Vit. Apoll.* vi. 11 (p. 111) θρασεῖα δ' ἦν καὶ φιλο-

λοῖδορος καὶ ἀπηγκωνισμένη πάντα (of Cynic philosophy). Is not the idea of the word rather 'baring the elbows,' than 'thrusting away with the elbows,' as generally taken?

30. εἶπεν ὁ Σωτὴρ κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xix. 12 and Matt. xix. 11.

39. ὅταν λέγη] The first quotation is from Prov. vi. 9, the second from Prov. xxiv. 27.

συλλειτουργγὸς κατὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἐπεσφράγισε δὲ καὶ ἐκύρωσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν βουλήν ὁ Κύριος δι' ὀράματος αὐτῷ κελεύσας· καὶ οὕτως κατέστησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πρεσβυτέριον, πάσης ὁμοθυμαδὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν χαρᾷ μεγάλη ὑποδεξασμένης, καίπερ ἐκείνου τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπεγχείρημα δειλιῶντος. 5 ἔλεγεν γὰρ αὐταρκες εἶναι ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς τόπου καὶ μιᾶς λειτουργίας διδόναι λόγον, καὶ μὴ πλείονων. προσετίθει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι Ἐὰν μὲν τις ἀνάξιος ᾖν τῆς τοιαύτης τιμῆς τολμήσῃ κρατῆσαι, κρίμα ἔχει, ἐὰν δὲ ἄξιός ᾖ, ἀπέχει τῶν πρώτων ἔργων τὸν μισθόν, ἀπολαβὼν ὥσπερ μισθόν τινα 10 τὴν τοῦ ἱερέως τάξιν. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ἀντειπεῖν πρὸς τε τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βουλήν καὶ παράκλησιν, δέχεται τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου τάξιν, ὥστε καὶ ὄραμα ἰδεῖν καὶ πολλὴν παράκλησιν δέξασθαι.

XVIII. Ἐκ τότε οὖν πολλῆς προσθήκης δι' αὐτοῦ ἐν 15 τῷ λόγῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας γενομένης, πάντες ἐδόξαζον τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. πολυμερῶς γὰρ ἐπὶ πλείστον ὅσον ἐποιεῖτο τὸν λόγον, ἐξ αὐτῆς τε τῆς ἀναγνωσκομένης γραφῆς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἐποιεῖτο μετὰ πάσης ἀποδείξεως καὶ πληροφορίας, ὥστε τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὀφθαλμοφα- 20 νῶς περιίτασθαι τὰ λεγόμενα. ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὅτι δεῖ τὸν λέγοντα πρώτου πεπιστευκένοι οἷς λέγει· ἐκ τούτου γὰρ γίνεται τὸ μὴ ὡς ἀλλότρια διηγήματα, ἀλλὰ ἴδια κατορθώματα· ἦν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ φωνὴ μετὰ τε τοῦ †αὐτοῦ† βλέμματος καὶ τοῦ σχήματος ἐμβριθῆς καὶ ἀνδρεία, ἔχουσα τὸ ἡδὺν καὶ 25 ἐμμελὲς καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ πλήρες. καὶ ποτέ τις αὐτῷ...ἐπέι-

8 τοῦτο] τοῦτον p.

11 ἦν] add. δυνατὸν p (a gloss on οἷον τε) DF.

ἀντειπεῖν] Zahn: εἰπεῖν pDF, but D says 'videtur deesse aliquid'.

18 ἐξ

αὐτῆς τε] conj.; ἐξ αὐτῆς pF; καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς D.

24 αὐτοῦ] pDF. It should

probably be omitted.

26 πλήρες] πλήρες (sic) D. Is the reading of

25. ἐμβριθῆς] The idea and the word are apparently suggested by *Mart. Polyc.* 9 ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος ἐμβριθεῖ τῷ προσώπῳ κ.τ.λ.

28. τῶν κάτω] sc. τινάς; see Winer

*Gramm.* lxiv, p. 737.

31. ὅτι γέγραπται] The first evangelical quotation is from Mark iii. 5, the second from Matt. xvii. 17 (Luke ix. 41).

περ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἕλληνας καὶ τὰς αἰρέσεις τὸν λόγον  
 ποιούμενος μετὰ βοήσεως ἐλάλει, ὥστε τῶν κάτω ἐστηκότων  
 ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ· προσετίθει δὲ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν περὶ τῶν ὀφει-  
 30 λόντων μετ' εὐνοίας, οὐκ ἐκκαύσεως, λέγεσθαι· Τοιαῦτα πῶς  
 οἴεσθε εἰρηκέναι τὸν Κύριον τῷ ἔχοντι τὴν χεῖρα ξηράν; ὅτι  
 γέγραπται· Καὶ περιβλεψάμενος αὐτοῦς ἐν ὀργῇ ἔφη·  
 Ἐκτεινον τὴν χεῖρά σου· ἢ ἐκεῖνο; Ὡ γενεὰ ἀπιστος καὶ  
 διεστραμμένη, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα· ἢ τὸν ἀπόστολον Πέτρον;  
 35 Ἴνα τί συνεφωνήθη ὑμῖν πειράσαι τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου;  
 ἢ Παῦλον; Ὁφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες  
 ὑμᾶς. παρακαλῶν δὲ λέξει μὲν ὁ Κύριος ἠπία καὶ φιλαν-  
 θρώπῳ φωνῇ· Δεῖτε πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτι-  
 μένοι· συμπαθήσει δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Ἱερουσαλὴμ λέγων·  
 40 Ποσάκις ἠθέλησα συναγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα σου, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα  
 τοιαῦτα· Πέτρος δὲ σὺν Ἰωάννῃ ἐπὶ τῇ ὥραία πύλῃ παρα-  
 λυτικὸν ἐλεήσει, καὶ Παῦλος Γαλάταις τέκνα δὲ πάλιν ὠδίνω  
 ἐρεῖ, ὅταν ὁ καιρὸς τῆς παρακλήσεως ἀπαιτῇ.

XIX. Οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν γραφῶν ἐν  
 45 ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτὸς ἀναγινώσκων ἐκ παιδὸς ἕως γήρους ἐποιεῖτο,  
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπετίθετο, λέγων τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν νόμου τε καὶ  
 προφητῶν πρόδρομον τῆς χάριτος, προκαταρτίζουσαν εὔθειας  
 τὰς ὁδοὺς Κυρίου, τουτέστιν τὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων καρδίας  
 εὐοικίας πινακίσιν, ἐν αἷς ἂ πρὸ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως ἦν γεγραμ-  
 50 μένα δόγματα καὶ φρονήματα χαλεπά τινα διὰ τῆς ἐπιμονῆς  
 τῆς τε παλαιᾶς διαθήκης καὶ τῆς ἐκ ταύτης γενομένης  
 ὀρθῆς ἐρμηνείας λειοῦται τὸ πρότερον καὶ ἐξομαλίζεται, ἵν'

the ms πλήρης?

12); om. p.

D suggests δικην for νόμον.

pF; οὐκ ὀρθῆς D.

37 ἠπία] ἠπεία p.

46 νόμου τε καὶ] conj. (so too Zahn); νόμον εἶναι pDF, but

49 α] Zahn; τὰ pDF.

42 α] DF (comp. Gal. v.

52 ὀρθῆς]

34. Πέτρον κ.τ.λ.] The five quotations which follow are from Acts v. 9, Gal. v. 12, Matt. xi. 28, Matt. xxiii. 37 (Luke xiii. 34), Gal. iv. 19.

47. προκαταρτίζουσαν κ.τ.λ.] A refer-

ence to Is. xl. 3, but the exact words do not accord either with the LXX of the prophet or with the Gospel quotations.

ἐλθόντος, ὡσπερ γραφείου, τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἢ χάρις καὶ  
 χαρὰ τῆς εὐαγγελίου φωνῆς ἀθανάτου τε καὶ ἐπουρανίου  
 Χριστοῦ διδαχῆς ἐγγραφῆναι δυνατῆ· καὶ τὴν διὰ λουτροῦ  
 σφραγίδα μὴ ἂν ἄλλως δύνασθαι ἐναπομάξασθαι καὶ ἐνχα-  
 ράξαι καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ μόρφωσιν, ἐπιδείξαι, μὴ πρότερον τοῦ 5  
 κηροῦ ὑπέικοντος καὶ πρὸς τὰς βαθυτήτας προσπίπτοντος·  
 οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀκουόντων ἡξίου ὑπέικειν καὶ  
 ἐνδιδόναι πρὸς τὴν ἐμβολὴν τοῦ λόγου. διωθῆσθαι γὰρ  
 καὶ διανοίγειν ἔφασκεν, ὡσπερ θύρας κεκλεισμένας, τὰς τῶν  
 προσφάτως εἰσιόντων διανοίας· οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸν προφήτην 10  
 κελεύεσθαι ὑπὸ Θεοῦ· Ἀναβόησον ἐν ἰσχύϊ καὶ μὴ φείσῃ,  
 ὡς κάλιππιγα ἔψωσον τὴν φωνήν σου. τί δεῖ λέγειν ὅταν  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πρᾶος παρὰ πάντας παρακαλῶν οὕτω καλεῖ ἐν  
 τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας; γέγραπται γάρ· Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ  
 ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς εἰστήκει ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἔκραζε 15  
 λέγων· Ἐάν τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω. Naί·  
 διδάσκων μὲν γὰρ βοήσεται, ἐμπτυόμενος δὲ καὶ ἀνακρινό-  
 μενος καὶ πειραζόμενος πάσχων τε σιωπήσεται, ὅταν ὡς  
 πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἄγεται καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ  
 κείραντος ἀφωσός· ἐγὼ γάρ, φησιν, ὡσεὶ κωφός οὐκ 20  
 ἤκογον, καὶ ἐγενόμην ὡσεὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀκούων καὶ  
 οὐκ ἔχων ἐν τῷ στόματι λόγον ἑλεγκτός.

XX. Τὸ πλούσιον τῆς δοθείσης ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ χάριτος  
 Πολυκάρπῳ προήγαγεν ἡμᾶς, ποιουμένους ὑπόμνησιν τῆς  
 πολιτείας αὐτοῦ, ἐν μέρει καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς διδασκαλίας διη- 25  
 γήσασθαι. πῶς μὲν ἐρμήνευεν τὰς γραφὰς εἰσαυθὶς ἀναθέ-

6 ὑπέικοντος] ὑπήκοντος p.      προσπίπτοντος] προσπίπτοντας p.      10  
 τὸν προφήτην] DF; τῶν προφητῶν p.      13 παρακαλῶν] conj.; καὶ καλῶν pDF,  
 which cannot stand.      37 ἀπερείσαι] ἐπαφέσθαι (sic) H.      39 συνιούση]

11. Ἀναβόησον κ.τ.λ.] From Is. lviii.  
 1. The next quotations are from  
 John vii. 37 (ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ κ.τ.λ.), Is.  
 liii. 7 (ὡς πρόβατον κ.τ.λ., quoted like-  
 wise Acts viii. 32), Ps. xxxvii (xxviii).  
 14, 15 (ἐγὼ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.).

27. καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς] Some words  
 seem to have fallen out from the con-  
 text, such as ἐπιδείξαντες πῶς δεῖ.

49. τῆς Ἐφεσιακῆς βασιλείας] sc.  
 πύλης: see the note on § 3, above.

μενοι διηγησόμεθα, κάκεῖνα τάξαντες καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς  
 διακουήσασθαι τὴν τῶν ἀγίων καὶ θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν  
 ὀρθὴν διδασκαλίαν· τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον ἐπὶ τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ  
 30 ἐπισκοπὴν ἐλευσόμεθα, ὅσα τε καὶ ἐν τούτῳ γενόμενος  
 ἔπραξε, διαρκῶς τὸν τῆς θεοσεβείας δρόμον δραμών. ὁ μὲν  
 οὖν Βουκόλος, ἅτε δὴ προγνωρίσαντος αὐτῷ πολλάκις δι'  
 ὀράματος τοῦ Κυρίου ὅτι σχοίη τοιοῦτον διάδοχον, χαίρων  
 καὶ γεγηθὼς ὡς ἐπὶ σῶφρονι κληρονόμῳ, ἀναπανόμενος ἐκοι-  
 35 μήθη οὕτως ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὥραν τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπιλα-  
 βέσθαι τῆς Πολυκάρπου χειρός, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 ἑαυτοῦ στηῆθος ἀπερεῖσαι, ἔπειτα τῷ προσώπῳ, ἐνδεικνύμενον  
 ὅτι ὅσα χαρίσματα ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς αἰσθητηρίοις διακονεῖται  
 (καρδιά μὲν συνιούσῃ ὀφθαλμοῖς δὲ ὀρώσι καὶ ὡσὶν ἀκού-  
 40 οῦσι καὶ ῥινὴ Χριστὸν ἀναπνεούσῃ καὶ στόματι διὰ λόγου  
 Θεὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν κηρύσσοντι)  
 πάντα ἔσται ἐγχειρισθέντα ἐν αὐτῷ. ὁ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ποιή-  
 σας καὶ εἰπὼν, Δόξα σοι, Κύριε, ἐκοιμήθη· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν  
 τούτων πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἐλογίζετο· αἰεὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν μελλόν-  
 45 των ἐλπίς καὶ ἐπιθυμία ἦν· οἱ δὲ παρόντες καὶ περιεστῶτες  
 πιστοὶ, ταῦτα ὀρῶντες, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατ' ἰδίαν ἀντέ-  
 βαλλον, εὐέλπιδες ὄντες τοιοῦτου ποιμένος ἐπιτυχεῖν. ἀγα-  
 γόντες δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μακαρίου Βουκόλου εἰς Σμύρναν εἰς  
 τὸ πρὸ τῆς Ἐφεσιακῆς βασιλείας κοιμητήριον, καὶ καταθέ-  
 50 μενοι ἔνθα νῦν μυρσίνη ἀνεβλάστησεν μετὰ τὴν ἀπόθεσιν  
 τοῦ σώματος Θρασέου τοῦ μάρτυρος, πληρώσαντες πάντα,

H; συνιούσι pDF. ὀρώσι] ὠρώσι H. 40 ῥινὴ] ῥισὴ H. ἀναπνεούσῃ] ἀνα-  
 πνεούσῃ p; ἀναπνεύουσι HDF. λόγου] λόγον H. 41 κηρύσσοντι] pH;  
 κηρύσσουσι DF. 42 ἔσται] ἐστὶν H. 48 τοῦ] om. H. 49 πρὸ] πρὸς p.

50. μυρσίνη ἀνεβλάστησεν] See *Me-  
 naza* Feb. 6 (the festival of Bucolus)  
 καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν τοῦ τιμίου σώματος τεθέντος  
 φυτὸν ἀνατεῖλαι ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησε, παρέ-  
 χον ἰάσεις μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. This is  
 probably taken from our biography,  
 though here the miracle would seem  
 to be wrought in honour of Thraseas

rather than of Bucolus.

51. Θρασέου] He is mentioned by  
 Polycrates who wrote in the last  
 decade of the second century (Eu-  
 seb. *H. E.* v. 24 Θρασείας ἐπίσκοπος  
 καὶ μάρτυς ἀπὸ Εὐμενείας ὃς ἐν Σμύρῃ  
 κεκοίμηται). If we may judge by the  
 sequence of names he would seem to

προσέφερον ἄρτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βουκόλου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. μία δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο ὥστε Πολύκαρπον προσενεγκεῖν· τοῦ δὲ αἰεὶ τε εὐλαβῶς ἔχοντας καὶ τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν ἀπονέμειν βουλομένους, ἔφθασαν μὴ ἂν ἄλλως γενέσθαι· καὶ οὕτως πεισθεῖς ἐπλήρωσε τὴν λειτουργίαν. 5

XXI. Καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν ποιησάμενοι, οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συγκαλεσάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πέριξ πόλεων ἐπισκόπους, ἐτοιμασάμενοί τε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν τῶν παραγινομένων, εἰς τὸ καταστήσαι διάδοχον τὸν προστησόμενον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπρονοήσαντο. οἷς παραγενομένοις ὄχλοι 10 πλείστοι τῶν πόλεων καὶ κωμῶν καὶ ἀγρῶν [συνήχθησαν], οἱ μὲν εἰδότες, οἱ δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐκ τοῦ ἀκούειν περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν Πολύκαρπον θεάσασθαι. συνελθόντων οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ πληρωθέντος τοῦ κυριακοῦ, δόξα φωτὸς οὐρανοῦ περιήστραψε πάντας, καὶ τινες ἀδελφοὶ ὀπτασίας θαύματα ἔβλεπον. ὁ 15 μὲν γὰρ εἶδεν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Πολυκάρπου περιστερὰν λευκὴν, περὶ ἣν κύκλος ἦν φωτός· ὁ δὲ πρὶν καθίσει αὐτὸν ἐθεώρει ὡς ἤδη καθεζόμενον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ· ὁ δὲ στρατιώτου σχῆμα ἔχοντα καὶ ἱμάτια πυρρὸν ἐζωσμένον· ἄλλος δὲ πορφύραν αὐτῷ περικειμένην καὶ τι φῶς τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ 20 περιλάμπον· ἄλλη δὲ πιστὴ παρθένος καὶ σεμνὴ εἶδεν τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ διπλοῦν ὑπὲρ ὃ ἦν, καὶ ἱμάτια κοκκινοβαφῆ

3 πρὸ] πρὸς p.

τιμὴν] τιμὴ p.

ἀπονέμειν] ἀπονεμείν p5DF.

11 συνήχθησαν] conj.; om. pDF, but D points out the omission of a word.

18 τόπῳ] θρόνῳ H.

19 πυρρὸν] H; πυρρὸν p; πυρρὸς DF.

21 περι-

have been martyred soon after Polycarp; see I. p. 510. There would therefore seem to be an anachronism in the *νῦν* 'in our own day,' since the word *ἀπόθεσις* merely signifies 'deposition,' and does not in itself imply 'translation.'

1. προσέφερον ἄρτον] 'they were about offering (the eucharistic) bread.' For the early practice of oblations for the dead see Bingham *Christ. Antiq.* v. p. 261 sq, VII. p. 340 sq. It is found as early as Tertullian *de*

*Cor. Mil.* 3 'Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annua die facimus.'

14. τοῦ κυριακοῦ] For the term *κυριακὸν* see Bingham *Christ. Ant.* II. p. 77. It appears in a Greek translation of a letter of the emperor Maximin, Euseb. *H. E.* ix. 10.

16. περιστερὰν] On the significance of this notice see above, p. 390 sq, and the discussion on the Letter of the Smyrnæans in the first volume (I. p. 644).

43. χριστῶν] It seems probable that



κατὰ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον αὐτοῦ, τὸν δὲ τράχηλον αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ὡς χιόνα καὶ σφραγίδα ἐπάνω.

- 25 XXII. Δεήσεως δὲ τῷ σαββάτῳ καὶ γοιυκλισίας ἐπὶ πολὺ γινομένης, ὡς ἔθος ἦν αὐτῷ, ἀνέστη ἀναγνῶναι· καὶ πάντες ἐνητένιζον αὐτῷ. ἡ δὲ ἀνάγνωσις ἦν ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου πρὸς Τιμόθεον καὶ Τίτον, ἐν αἷς λέγει ὁποῖον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἦν ἡρμοσμένος τῷ τόπῳ, ὡς  
30 πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὅτι μηδὲν ἐνδέοι αὐτῷ ὦν ὁ Παῦλος ἀξιῶ ἔχειν τὸν ἐκκλησίας ἐπιμελούμενον. ὡς οὖν μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων διδαχὴν καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ὁμιλίαν ἐπέμφθησαν εἰς τὸ λαϊκὸν διάκονοι, ὥστε πυθέσθαι τίνα βούλονται, οἱ δὲ ὁμοθυμαδὸν εἶπον·  
35 Πολύκαρπος ἔστω ἡμῶν ποιμὴν καὶ διδάσκαλος. συνεπινεύσαντος οὖν καὶ τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ παντός, ἀνέστησαν αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἰκετεύοντα καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι θέλοντα.

- XXIII. Οἱ οὖν διάκονοι προσήγαγον πρὸς τὴν διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἐπισκόπων κατὰ τὸ ἔθος γινομένην χειρο-  
40 θεσίαν. καθεσθεὶς δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, πρώτοις δάκρυσιν εὐλαβείας καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης ἔβρεξε καὶ ἤλειψε τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τῷ πνεύματι ἔβλεπεν πόδας ἐστῶτας τοῦ Χριστοῦ συμπαρόντος αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τῆς ἱερατείας χρίσιν. ὅπου γὰρ οἱ λειτουργοί, ἱερεῖς τε καὶ λεῦϊται, ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ὁ τὸν μέγαν  
45 ποδῆρη περικείμενος ἀρχιερεύς. καὶ δὴ προέτρεπον αὐτὸν

λάμπων] περιλάμπων p. 22 κοκκινοβαφῆ] κογχυλιοβαφῆ H. 30 αὐτῷ]  
αὐτὸν p. 39 χειρῶν] χριῶν p. 40 καθεσθεὶς] κατασταθεὶς H.  
43 χρίσιν] χρίσιν H; χρήσιν pDF. 44 μέγαν] μέγα pDF.

we should treat *χρήσιν*, the reading of the MS, as an itacism and substitute *χρίσιν*. Unction however was not a part of the consecration of bishops in the East (see Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Ant.* I. p. 222 s.v. Bishop); and the word, if adopted, should probably be interpreted of a spiritual anointing. This interpretation would accord with the figurative character of the context. For the consecration

of the high-priest by anointing, see Exod. xxix. 7, Levit. vii. 25, viii. 12. On the accent of *χρίσις* see Lipsius *Grammatische Untersuchungen* p. 40.

44. ὁ τὸν μέγαν ποδῆρη περικείμενος] i.e. the Great High-priest; comp. especially Rev. i. 13 ὁμοιον υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου ἐνδεδυμένον ποδῆρη. For the ποδῆρης as the high-priest's robe see Exod. xxviii. 4, 27, xxix. 5.

οἱ συμπαρόντες, ἐπεὶ οὕτως ἔθος, προσλαλήσαι· τὸ μέρος γὰρ πλείστον τῆς κοινωνίας καὶ τοῦτο ἔφασαν τὸ ἔργον τῆς διδασκαλίας. ἀνοίξας οὖν τὸ στόμα ἀπεφθέγγετο, τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ σημαίνουσης τὸν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ φόβον, καὶ φησιν·

5

Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἀρχιερέως καὶ ποιμένος καὶ διδασκάλου καὶ βασιλέως αἰωνίου Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ὁ ἐν πάσιν ἡμᾶς δοκιμάζων καὶ διὰ πάντων ἐτάζων τὰς καρδίας, καθὰ καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἁγίων, οἷς προσέτασσε 10 προστάγματα καὶ δικαιώματα ὑπὲρ τοῦ γνωρίσαι τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς πίστιν τοῖς λοιποῖς· ὡς καὶ νῦν τὴν σμικρότητα τὴν ἐμὴν διὰ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ λειτουργίας, ἣν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο καλῶς ἄνθρωπος ἐπιτελεῖν μὴ πρότερον λαβὼν παρὰ Κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὡς καὶ ὁ μακάριος 15 ἀπόστολος Παῦλος διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν δεδήλωκεν, καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ ῥήματι τὴν πᾶσαν πολιτείαν τοῦ καθισταμένου δηλώσας ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν ἀνεπίληπτον· ὅπερ οἶμαι μηδενὸς τὰς ἀκοὰς παραδεδραμηκένας, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὴν εἴσω ὄλην δι' ὅλης ἐνεστηρίχθαι τὴν ψυχὴν. διὸ δέον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, ἀγαπητοί, τὴν ὑπὲρ 20 ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ποιήσασθαι δέησιν, ἵνα αὐτὸς παράσχη εὐαρέστως ὑπηρετῆσαι τῇ ἀμώμῳ νύμφῃ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς συνδούλοις μου καὶ λειτουργοῖς, οἷς καὶ παράκλησιν ἀναγκαῖον ποιήσασθαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν, ὥστε συναθλιθσαί μοι καὶ ὑπουργῆσαι ἐκ 25 πάσης προθυμίας καὶ ἀγάπης ἀνυποκρίτου εἰς τὸν προκείμενόν μοι ἀγῶνα, εἰδότας ὅτι δεῖ πάντας συντρέχειν, ἵνα

10 προσέτασσε] conj.; προσέτασε p; προσέταξε DF.  
ἀνεπίληπτον p. 24 ἀναγκαῖον] F; ἀναγκαῖαν pD.

18 ἀνεπίληπτον]  
38 ἐπανήεσαν]

6. ἀρχιερέως...αἰωνίου] A favourite expression of Polycarp's, Polyc. Phil. 12, Mart. Polyc. 14: see the note above, p. 345.

9. ἐτάζων τὰς καρδίας] From Ps. vii. 10.

18. ἀνεπίληπτον] A reference to I Tim. iii. 2; comp. Tit. i. 6, 7, ἀνέγκλητος, ἀνέγκλητον.

25. συναθλιθσαι κ.τ.λ.] For the resemblance in the passage which follows to the injunctions given to

πάντες βραβεῖον λάβωμεν, καθ' ὅτι πᾶσιν ἴσος πρόκειται ὁ  
 τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανος, ἀπροσωπολήπτως στεφανοῦντος  
 30 τὸν καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενον καὶ νικήσαντα χάριτι τοῦ παντο-  
 κράτορος Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ τῷ  
 ἀοράτῳ καὶ ἀμετρήτῳ μόνῳ ἀθανάτῳ πατρὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ καὶ  
 παρακλήτῳ πνεύματι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ κράτος καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔστι  
 καὶ ἔσται εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

35 Τότε δὴ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς δεούσας παρακλήσεις καὶ  
 παραμυθίας ἐν τε τῷ σαββάτῳ καὶ τῇ κυριακῇ ποιησάμενοι,  
 προσφοράς τε καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ἀγαλλιασάμενοι καὶ μετα-  
 λαβόντες τροφῆς ἐπανήεσαν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ,  
 μεγάλην χαρὰν δοξάζοντες ἐπὶ τῷ κεκοινηθέναι Πολυκάρπῳ  
 40 Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν Κύριον, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

XXIV. Τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ σαββάτῳ ἔλεγεν· Ἀκούσατέ  
 μου τῆς παρακλήσεως, ἀγαπητὰ τέκνα Θεοῦ. ἐγὼ καὶ τῶν  
 ἐπισκόπων παρόντων διεμαρτυράμην καὶ νῦν παρακαλῶ  
 πάντας κοσμίως καὶ ἀξίως περιπατεῖν τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ Κυρίου,  
 45 εἰδότας ὅτι ἐν διακονίᾳ τῇ πρεσβυτέρων ὧν τοσαύτην κατὰ  
 τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν εἰσενεγκάμην ἐπιμέλειαν, νῦν μᾶλλον ὅτε  
 πλεῖστος ἐπικεῖται μοι ἀμελήσαντι κίνδυνος. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν  
 ἐκ τῆς κρίσεως φόβον, αἰσχροὺς ἂν εἶη καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους  
 καθεῖλαι τι καὶ καταλύσαι καὶ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον προσοικοδο-  
 50 μῆσαι τὴν φθάνουσαν εἰς τοῦτο προθυμίαν. ὑμέτερον οὖν  
 ἔστι τὸ στέλλεσθαι ἀπὸ πάσης ἀταξίας ἀνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖ-  
 κας, ἵνα μὴ τις δόξῃ με μὴ κατ' εὐλάβειαν ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν  
 ἀνθρωπίνην ὑπερηφανίαν κατὰ τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων ποιεῖσθαι  
 ἐκδικίαν. καὶ γὰρ συμβέβηκεν ἐνίοις τῶν καθισταμένων εἰς

ἐπανελεσαν pDF.

41 ἐχομένῳ] Zahn; ἐρχομένῳ pDF.

50 ὑμέτερον]

D; ἡμέτερον pF.

Polycarp by Ignatius, see above, p. 425.

26. ἀγάπης ἀνυποκρίτου] An expression taken from 2 Cor. vi. 6.

37. προσφοράς] See the note on § 26 προσφορὰν ἐποίησεν.

49. καθεῖλαι] For the aorist εἶλα,

εἰλάμην, see Veitch *Greek Verbs* s. v. αἰρέω, Winer *Gramm.* § xiii. p. 86 sq.

51. στέλλεσθαι κ.τ.λ.] 2 Thess. iii. 6 στέλλεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος.

τόπους, ὅτε δεῖ μάλλον, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἐπιτείνειν τὸν δρόμον, τότε ὑπεκλύεσθαι ἐπιλαθομένους ὅτι, ὅσῳ τις πλείω τετιμηθῆσθαι δοκεῖ, πλείονα καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ὀφείλει εἰσφέρεισθαι εὐνοίαν, μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων Κυρίου ὅτι αὐτός εἶπεν· ὦ τὸ πλεῖον παρεθέμην, περισσότερον ἀπαι- 5 τήσωσιν αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν τῶν πιστευθέντων τὰ τάλαντα παραβολὴν, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ γρηγοροῦντος δούλου μακαρισμόν, καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἀμελησάντων ἔλθειν εἰς τοὺς γάμους μέμψιν, καὶ τὴν καταδίκην τοῦ μὴ ἔχοντος ἐπάξιον τὸ ἔνδυμα τῆς χαρᾶς τοῖς γάμοις, καὶ τὴν τῶν φρονίμων παρθένων 10 εἴσοδον, τὸ γρηγορεῖτε, τὸ ἔτοιμοι γίνεσθε, μὴ βαρηθῶσιν αἱ καρδίαι ὑμῶν, τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀγάπης καινὴν ἐντολήν, τὴν κατάδηλον ἐξαπίνης ὡς ἀστραπῆς ἀθρόου αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν, τὴν μεγάλην διὰ πυρὸς κρίσιν, τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν, τὴν ἀφθαρτον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν. καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα θεοδίδακτοι 15 ὄντες οἶδατε ἐρευνῶντες τὰς θεοπνεύστους γραφάς, τῇ γραφίδι τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἐγγράφετε εἰς τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, ἵνα μένωσιν ἐν ὑμῖν ἀνεξάλειπτοι αἱ ἐντολαί.

XXV. Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ αἰεὶ λέγων, ἐπιμένων τε τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, ὠκοδόμει τε καὶ ἔσωζεν ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς 20 ἀκούοντας αὐτοῦ. ὅσα δὲ τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ γενομένων μεγα-

1 δεῖ] δὴ p. 2 ἐπιλαθομένους] ἐπιλαθομένοις p. 5 παρεθέμην] pF; παρέθεντο D (comp. Luke xii. 48). 11 τὸ πρῖ.] τοῦ p. 23 τοῖς

4. μνημονεύειν τε κ.τ.λ.] Acts xx. 35; see the note on Polyc. *Phil.* 2 (see above, p. 325).

5. ὦ τὸ πλεῖον κ.τ.λ.] Luke xii. 48 ὦ παρέθεντο πολύ, περισσώτερον αἰτήσωσιν αὐτόν.

11. γρηγορεῖτε κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xxv. 13, xxiv. 44. The following quotation μὴ βαρηθῶσιν is from Luke xxi. 34

15. θεοδίδακτοι ὄντες] 1 Thess. iv. 9 αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς θεοδίδακτοὶ ἐστε: comp. John vi. 45, Is. liv. 13.

20. ἔσωζεν ἑαυτόν κ.τ.λ.] 1 Tim. iv. 16; comp. [Clem. Rom.] ii. § 15 ἑαυτὸν σώσει κάμει τὸν συμβουλευσάντα,

ιβ. 19 ἑαυτοὺς σώσητε καὶ τὸν ἀναγνώσκοντα ἐν ὑμῖν: comp. *ιβ.* 10.

23. εἰς τὴν Τέω κ.τ.λ.] It is difficult to explain this reference. Teos and Lebedus are distant 120 stades (Strabo xiv. 1. 29, p. 643, Τέως δὲ Λεβέδου διέχει ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι) or 15 miles (Chandler *Travels in Asia Minor* p. 104). There were famous hot springs at both places (Pausan. vii. 5, 5 Λεβεδίοις δὲ τὰ λουτρά ἐν τῇ γῇ θαῦμα ἀνθρώποις ὁμοῦ καὶ ὠφέλεια γίνεται· ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τηῖος ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ λουτρά τῇ Μακρίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ κλύδωνι ἐν πέτρᾳ χηραμῶ τὰ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν

λείων ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς, νῦν ἐπιμνησθήσομαι. ἦκέν ποτε Πολύκαρπος εἰς τὴν Γέω τὴν πρὸς τοῖς θερμοῖς [τοῖς παρὰ] πᾶσι καλουμένοις Λεβαδίοις πρὸς Δάφνον τινὰ ἐπίσκοπον, 25 ὃς μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι διηγείτο αὐτῷ τὴν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἔνδειαν καὶ ὅτι ὀλίγας γεώργηκε τροφάς. ὁ δέ, ἐπιδεικνυμένου αὐτοῦ τὰ πιθάρια σχεδὸν κενά, ἐπιθεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας εἶπεν· Ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, χρῶ. ὥστε ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας τοσοῦτον πλήθος πληθυνθῆναι [ὡς] μετὰ τὸ κατα- 30 σπείραι τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀδεῶς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον θρέψαι καὶ ἑτέροις δυνηθῆναι παρασχεῖν.

XXVI. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τινὰ ἦλθε πάλιν πρὸς τὸν Δάφνον· ὁ δὲ εὐχαριστῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ χάριτι παρόντος αὐτοῦ προσφορὰν ἐποίησεν εἰς πλήθος ἀδελφῶν. ἔθηκεν δὲ 35 μέσον πιθάριον ἔχον οἶνον. τοῦ δὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις λέγοντος ὥστε ἐπιβάλλειν κομίσαντας ἔνδοθεν οἶνον, εἰπεῖν τὸν Πολύκαρπον· Ἄφες οὕτως, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκλείψει. ἀντλούντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πινόντων τὸν οἶνον καὶ τοῦ οἴνου μᾶλλον πληθυνομένου, ἐπιστᾶσα οἰκέτις παιδίσκη, οὐκ ἐν φόβῳ ἀλλ' ἐν 40 παιδιᾷ καὶ γελῶτι, ἀνεβόησε λέγουσα· Ὁ πιθάριον ἀνεξάντλητον· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἀποστάντος τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ σημεῖον τῆς δυνάμεως ἀγγέλου, συνέβη καὶ τὸν ὑπάρχοντα οἶνον

παρὰ] conj.; om. pDF. 29 ὡς] DF; om. p. 35 ἔχον] ἔχων p. 40 παιδιᾷ] παιδεία p.

πλούτου πεποιημένα). For those of Lebedos, which were the more famous, see also Pausan. vii. 3. 2 λουτρὰ... θερμὰ πλείστα τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἡδιστα, Aristid. *Or.* I. p. 490. The springs at Teos may have been called Lebadian, because they possessed the same qualities as those of Lebedos or from some local connexion. The name of this city however seems to be always written Λέβεδος, not Λέβαδος; and perhaps the solution is to be sought in the meaning of the word λέβεδος or λέβαδος 'meadows with springs' (see Benseler-Pape *Wörterbuch* s.v.), unless indeed it is

a sheer blunder of our biographer. There was a Λεβάδεια in Bœotia.

24. Δάφνον] In *Smyrna*. 13 Ignatius salutes among the leading Christians at Smyrna Δάφνον τὸν ἀσύγκριτον. This is not improbably the person meant here. See above, I. p. 368, II. p. 326.

34. προσφορὰν ἐποίησεν] See above, § 23 προσφορὰς τε καὶ εὐχαριστίας, and below, § 27 χρῆσασθαι αὐτῷ εἰς προσφορὰν. Not only the eucharistic elements, but gifts for the maintenance of the clergy, contributions to an agape, alms and food for the relief of the poor, etc., were regarded as

ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι, ὡς εἰπεῖν τὸν Πολύκαρπον· Καλὸν γὰρ τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ Δαυεῖδ· Δογλεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρώμῳ.

XXVII. Κατέστησε δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος καὶ ἄλλους μὲν διακόνους, ἓνα δὲ ᾧ ὄνομα Καμέριος, ὃς καὶ τρίτος ἀπ' 5 αὐτοῦ μετὰ Παπίριον ἐπίσκοπος γεγένηται· τοῦτον παραλαβὼν ἀπήλθεν εἰς ἀγρόν. μέλον γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς κώμας ἐκκλησιῶν φροντίδα ποιεῖσθαι. ἐπανιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν πόλιν προσδραμοῦσα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἕκτινος ἀγροῦ χήρα αὐτῷ ἐν δοκιμῇ πολλῇ προσήνεγκεν ὀρνί- 10 θιον ἔτι μικρόν· τοῦ δὲ μὴ βουλομένου λαβεῖν, ἔπειθεν λέγουσα χρήσασθαι αὐτῷ εἰς προσφοράν. ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτουργῶ ἐχρήτη τὰ πλεῖστα ὁδοιπορία, κεκοπιακῶς διέγνω μετὰ τοῦ Καμερίου κατανηῆσαι εἰς τι πανδοχείου, ἐπεὶ ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος ἔτι τῆς χάριτος ἀνευαγ- 15 γέλιστος ἦν. ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀναπαυσαμένῳ αὐτῷ ταχέως εἰς ὕπνον τρέπεσθαι· αἱ γὰρ ἐκούσιοι βάσανοι τοῦ σώματος ἀνάπαυσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐρημίαις παρασκευάζουσι. καὶ δι' τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμισυ προκοπτούσης παραστὰς αὐτῷ ἄγγελος Κυρίου καὶ πατάξας τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ φησι· 20 Πολύκαρπε. ὁ δέ· Τί ἐστίν; καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος· Ἀναστὰς ἔξελθε τοῦ πανδοχείου· μέλλει γὰρ πίπτειν. ὁ δὲ ἀνεγρήγορέν τε καὶ τὸν Καμέριον ἐκάλει. ὁ δὲ ὕπνῳ ἅμα καὶ καμάτῳ βαρούμενος μόλις μὲν ἀλλ' ὁμως ὑπήκουσεν· καὶ

4 Κατέστησε] κατάστησε II.

6 Παπίριον] Παπύριον H.

7 μέλον] μέλλον p.

9 προσδραμοῦσα] προδραμοῦσα pDF.

14 κατανηῆσαι] conj.; καταρτίσαι pDF.

16 ἀναπαυσαμένῳ] ἀναπαυσμένῳ p.

35 ἀνεπήδησεν] conj.; ἀπεπήδησεν pDF.

'offerings'; *Apost. Const.* ii. 25, 27, 34, etc. Here an agape given at the expense of Daphnus seems to be meant; and again in § 27 the little bird seems intended as a contribution to such an entertainment.

2. Δουλεύσατε κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. ii. II.

5. ἓνα δὲ ᾧ ὄνομα κ.τ.λ.] Camerius

is here represented as standing in the same relation to Polycarp at Smyrna, in which his contemporary Eleutherus stood to Anicetus at Rome. He was in fact his archdeacon. And just as Eleutherus is raised to the Roman episcopate next but one in succession, so in like manner is Camerius to the Smyrnan. See

25 διηγησάμενος αὐτῷ ἔπειθεν ἀναστῆναι. ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν·  
 Πρῶτος ὕπνος οὐπω παρήλθεν, μακάριε πάπα, καὶ ποῦ  
 ὑπάγομεν; σὺ αἰεὶ τὰς γραφὰς μελετῶν ἀγρυπνεῖς διὰ  
 τοῦτο, καὶ οὐ κοιμᾶσαι. κάκεῖνος ἐποίει ἀγρυπνεῖν· ὁ δὲ  
 30 αὐτὸ εἶπεν, πάλιν ἐγείρεσθαι τῷ Καμερίῳ παρεκελεύετο. τοῦ  
 δὲ εἰπόντος πάλιν· Πιστεύω τῷ Θεῷ ὅτι σοῦ ἐνθάδε ὄντος  
 ὁ τοίχος οὐ μὴ πέσῃ, εἶπεν ὁ Πολύκαρπος· Καὶ γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ  
 πιστεύω, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοίχῳ οὐ πιστεύω. τρίτον δὲ κατέδραθεν,  
 καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου ἐλέχθη λόγος. ὁ δὲ μὴ μελλήσας  
 35 πρῶτος ἀνέστη, κάκεῖνος δὲ λοιπὸν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνεπή-  
 δησεν. ἐξελθόντες δὲ καὶ μικρὸν προελθόντες ἀνεμνήσθησαν  
 ὅτι τὸ ὀρνίθιον κατέλιπον ἐν τῷ πανδοχείῳ. [ἀπόν]των οὖν  
 αὐτῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ διάστημα ὡσεὶ λίθου βολήν, Μὴ ὀκνή-  
 40 σης, φησί, ἐπεὶ ἡ μακαρία χήρα εἰς προσφορὰν αὐτὸ ἐπωνό-  
 μασεν. καὶ ὑποστρέψας ἔλαβεν αὐτό· καὶ ὡς ἐξῆλθεν  
 ὅσον ὀλίγον, τὸ πανδοχεῖον πᾶν σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς θεμελίους  
 εἰς ἔδαφος ἦλθεν κάτω, ὥστε μηδένα σωθῆναι τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ.  
 σταθεῖς δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν  
 εἶπεν· Θεὲ δέσποτα καὶ Κύριε παντοκράτορ, ὁ τοῦ εὐ-  
 45 λογημένου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παιδὸς ἀγίου σου πατήρ, ὁ  
 τὴν Νινευϊτῶν καταστροφὴν διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου προφήτου  
 προσημάνας Ἰωνᾶ καὶ δούς ἐκφυγεῖν τῶν κινδύνων, ἀληθῶς  
 εὐλογῶ σε ὅτι ἐρρύσω ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κινδύνου τούτου διὰ

36 προελθόντες] D; προσελθόντες pF.

38 βολήν] conj.; βολή pDF.

37 ἀπόντων] conj.; τῶν p; ὄντων DF.

44 παντοκράτορ] F; παντοκράτωρ pD.

Hegesippus in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22  
 Ἀνικήτου, οὗ διάκονος ἦν Ἐλεύθερος· καὶ  
 παρὰ Ἀνικήτου διαδέχεται Σωτήρ, μεθ'  
 ὃν Ἐλεύθερος.

6. μετὰ Παπίριον] On this person  
 see above, I. p. 464.

10. ἐν δοκιμῇ πολλῇ] Does this  
 mean 'in a great trial of affliction,' as  
 in 2 Cor. viii. 2 ἐν πολλῇ δοκιμῇ θλί-  
 ψεως ἢ περισσειᾶ κ.τ.λ., where, as here,

there is reference to a liberal gift un-  
 der straitened circumstances?

14. κατανηῆσαι] It is difficult to  
 give any adequate sense to κατα-  
 νῆσαι, and I have therefore made a  
 slight alteration.

33. κατέδραθεν] For the use of this  
 poetic form in later prose writers see  
 Veitch *Greek Verbs* s.v. *δαρθάνω*.

χειρὸς ἀγγέλου, δι' οὗ ἐγνώρισάς μοι τὸ μέλλον ἀποβή-  
σεσθαι.

XXVIII. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἕτερον μεγαλεῖον δι' αὐτοῦ  
τοιούτου. ἤδη τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰς ὕπνον  
τραπέντων καὶ σχεδὸν μεσοῦσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τῶν ἀρτο- 5  
κόπων σιτοποιουμένων, συνέβη πῦρ ἐμπεσόν εἰς τὰ σύνεγ-  
γυς φρύγανα ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ ἐργαστήριον, καὶ ἐκ τούτου  
ἐπινεμηθὲν πλείστον μέρος καταλαβεῖν τῆς πόλεως. τοῦ δὲ  
πλήθους παντὸς συνδραμόντος καὶ κραυγῆς καὶ ταραχου  
πολλοῦ ὄντος, ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευσεν τὰ πρὸς τοῦτο ὄργανα 10  
ἠτοιμασμένα κομίζεσθαι. ἐφέροντο οὖν οἱ σίφωνες καὶ ὕδωρ  
καὶ πᾶσα τέχνης ἐπίνοια, κατήεσαν δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι προφάσει  
τοῦ δύνασθαι κατασβεννύναι, αἰεὶ ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐπιδι-  
δόντες ἐκουσίως· φάσκουσι γὰρ μὴ ἂν ἄλλως δύνασθαι  
ἐμπρησμοὺς παύεσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἐπισταῖεν· τέχνη δ' αὐτοῖς 15  
τοῦ διαρπάζειν τὰ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις. κινδυνευούσης οὖν τῆς  
πόλεως, ἔφη ὁ στρατηγός· ὦ ἄνδρες οἱ συμπαρόντες ἡμῖν  
εἰς τὴν ὄραν τῆς πικρᾶς θεᾶς ταύτης, ὁρᾶτε ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστιν  
τὸ ὄφελος διὰ τὸ τὸν ἄνεμον εἶναι ἐναντίον· μίας δὲ οὔσης  
ἐλπίδος τὸ παρεῖναι Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης ἡστοχῆ- 20  
σαμεν. τί οὖν ἐστὶν ὃ λέγω; ἀκούσατε. πρώην ἐν τῷ  
στρατηγίῳ νύκτωρ ἀναστάντι ἐμῷ οἰκέτῃ περιέπεσέν τι  
δαιμόνιον, ἐκεκράγει τε καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤψαμεν  
φῶτα, εὗρομεν αὐτὸν ἐνθουσιῶντα καὶ κατεσθίουντα πάντα.  
ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἦλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπάδειν αὐτῷ θέ- 25  
λοντες· ὁ δὲ πλείστους αὐτοὺς ὄντας εἰς ἓν μικροῦ δεῖν  
παίων ἀπέκτεινεν, περιρρήξας τε αὐτῶν τὰς ἐσθῆτας γυμ-  
νοὺς καὶ πλήρεις αἱμάτων ἀπέπεμψεν. εἰς οὖν τις ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ  
μου ὢν Χριστιανὸς ἔφη· Εἰ κελεύεις, καλέσω τὸν δυνάμενον

1 ἀποβήσεσθαι F; ἀποβλήσεσθαι psD.

6 ἐμπεσόν] ἐμπεσῶν p.

10. ὁ στρατηγός] The chief magistrates of a colony, the *duumviri*, were called in Greek *στρατηγοί*; e.g. Acts xvi. 20, 22, 36 (see *Philippians* p. 51), and this may be the magis-

tracy intended. Possibly the officer here meant may be the *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης* (e.g. in a Smyrnæan inscription, *C. I. G.* 3151), who should probably be identified with the iren-



30 περιγενέσθαι αὐτοῦ. ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐπιτρέψαντος, ἦλθεν ὁ τῶν Χριστιανῶν διδάσκαλος ὃν λέγουσι Πολύκαρπον. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ μακρὰν πολὺ ἀπέχοντος, ἔκεκράγει ὁ νεανίας μέγα· Ἔρχεται μοι Πολύκαρπος, καὶ μέλλω φεύγειν· ἐπιστάντος δὲ τοῦ.....

35 XXIX. ....τὰ εἰθισμένα ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας μηδὲν ἀνύοντες ἐπαύσαντο τότε· καὶ μόλις τῶν τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἐχόντων τιμὴν συνηγμένων, καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φάσκοντος μήτε ἔχειν σῆτον μηδ' ὅθεν πρίαίτο εὐρίσκειν, ἐτοιμῶς ἔχοντα ἀργύριον ἀριθμεῖν, ἀναστάς τις ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν  
40 ἤδη πρέσβυς εἶπεν· Ἄνδρες ὅσοι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον συμπαρόντες ἦτε ὅτε νυκτὸς μεσοῦσης ἐμπρησμοῦ γενομένου ἢ πόλις ἐκινδύνευσεν, διαμέμνησθε ὡς μήτε ἡμῶν μήτε Ἰουδαίων ἰσχυσάντων κατασβέσαι τὸ πῦρ κληθεῖς τις ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀνὴρ ταῖς ἀληθείαις θεοπρεπῆς, ὁ τῶν λεγομένων  
45 Χριστιανῶν ἱερεὺς, στας ἐμπροσθε πάντων ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν τινά ποτε ῥήματα, καὶ παραχρῆμα σφαιρωθεῖσα ἢ φλόξ, καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τὴν ἐκείνου ἐντραπέῖσα φωνήν, αὐτὴ συνέπεσεν εἰς ἑαυτήν· καὶ με πολλάκις ὑπεισιῆλθεν ὡς ἄρα τις θεὸς ἐστίν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκείνος. ἴστε  
50 δὲ ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ ἡμῶν καὶ συγγραφεῖς φασιν οὐρανὸς καταπέμπεσθαι θεοὺς ὁμοιομένους ἀνθρώποις, τιμωρίας τε ἕνεκεν τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων ἐκδικίας τε αὐτὰ πάλιν τῶν ἀδικουμένων. XXX. Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐβῶν ἐκκλησίαν πάνδημον ἀξιοῦντες γενέσθαι. καὶ μὴ μελλήσαντες πάντες  
55 ἀθρόοι ἀπήεσαν εἰς τὸ θέατρον· λιμῶ γὰρ πιεζόμενοι τὴν παρὰ πόδας ἀνάγκην ἔβλεπον, ὅτε καὶ ἓνα Θεὸν εἶναι διὰ μόνης κραυγῆς ἐκφωνεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο. ἀποστειλάντων οὖν πρὸς τὸν Πολύκαρπον καὶ ἀξιωσάντων, ἤχθη εὐρεθείς. καὶ

12 κατήεσαν] κατέεσαν pDF.  
leaf is here wanting in p.

20 παρείναι] παρήναι p.

34 τοῦ] A

arch or captain of the police (see above, III. p. 371); but the functions assigned to him seem to be too comprehensive for this.

30. ὁ τῶν Χριστιανῶν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Mart. Polyc.* 12 ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν.

εἰσήχθη, καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐβόα, οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι τῆς πόλεως εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν· Πολύκαρπε, ὄρῳς ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐν στενοῖς ἐστίν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ σὺ κατοικεῖς, καὶ αὐτὸς συμμετέχων ἡμῶν καὶ συναπολαύων, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔθων, ἀλλὰ γε ἐνδείας τῆς νῦν διὰ τὴν ἀβροχίαν ὑπαρχούσης. ἀξιούσιν 5 οὖν οἱ Σμυρναῖοι αἰτῆσαι σε παρὰ Θεοῦ σου ἕτόν, ἵνα λαβοῦσα ἡ γῆ ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτῇ σπέρματα ἀποδῶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς. τοῦ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ἠρρυθαίετο, πᾶν δὲ τὸ σῶμα κρουνηδὸν ἰδρώτος πλήθει ἐστάζετο, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτοῦ τοῖς παλμοῖς πηδῶσα δι' εὐχῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν 10 ἤλατο. καὶ δὴ βραδέως μὲν ἀλλ' ὅμως κεκριμένως ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων· Ἄνδρες οἱ τῆσδε τῆς περικαλλοῦς πόλεως κάτοικοι, ἐπακούσατέ μου τοῦ παροίκου καὶ παρεπιδήμου, ᾧ πᾶσα πόλις ξένη διὰ τὴν ἐπουράνιον πολιτείαν καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος πόλις διὰ τὴν τοῦ κτίσαντος τὰ πάντα Θεοῦ δωρεάν. 15 οὐ γάρ, ὡς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε, τοσοῦτον ἑμαυτὸν δεδόκηκα ὡς δύνασθαι ἔθλους ὄλου διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐνδίκως παιδευομένου πληγὰς ἀποδύεσθαι· ἀλλ' ὅσον δυνατὸν ὑποδείξω. εἰσὶ γὰρ συναγόμενοι σὺν ἐμοὶ πρεσβῦται θεοπρεπεῖς, οἷς κἀγώ, ἐπειδὴν δεοίμην αἰτῆσαι παρὰ Θεοῦ, προσαναφέρω, 20 πρέσβεις αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ γενέσθαι· τούτοις οὖν προσανοίσω, ὅπως αὐτοὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πρεσβεύσωσι πρὸς

4 ἡμετέρων] ὑμετέρων p. 6 Σμυρναῖοι αἰτῆσαι σε] conj.; Σμυρναῖοι αἰτῆσαι pDF; Σμυρναῖοι· αἰτῆσαι Zahn. My conjecture which is simply a repetition of the last syllable (σαι=σε) seems simpler and less awkward. 13 ᾧ] ὡς p.

16 δεδόκηκα] conj.; δέδωκα pDF, but this can hardly stand. Possibly it should be δεδήλωκα. 23 αὐτόν] conj.; τὸν pDF, but DF suppose a lacuna after

12. τῆς περικαλλοῦς πόλεως] The Smyrnæans were proud of the beauty of their city; *C. I. G.* 3204 ἡ πρώτη τῆς Ἀσίας κάλλι καὶ μεγέθει καὶ λαμπροτάτη...καὶ κόσμος τῆς Ἰωνίας Σμυρναίων πόλις. So again *ib.* 3191, 3202, 3205, 3206, where the same titles are given to it. Similarly Strabo xiv. 1. 37 (p. 646) εἶτα ἀνήγειρεν αὐτὴν [τὴν Σμύρναν] Ἀντίγονος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Λυσίμαχος, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ καλλίστη τῶν

πασῶν. So too Aristides *Or.* xli (*Or.* I. pp. 762, 763) Σμύρνα τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἄγαλμα ἢ πρὸς θεῶν ὠραιωτάτη πόλεων καὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἐπώνυμος. See also this orator's description, *Or.* I. p. 374 sq, p. 424 sq, p. 429 sq, p. 439 sq, and esp. p. 375 κάλλεσιν αὐτοφνέσι καὶ χειροποιήτοις ἀμιλλωμένοις, p. 425 προσιόντι μὲν εὐθύς ἀστραπὴ κάλλους, p. 427 κάλλι καὶ μούσας ἀπάσας πόλεις ἀποκρύπτουσα ('eclipsing'), p. 435 πό-

αὐτὸν διὰ προσευχῆς· ὑμῖν δὲ παραινῶ εὐθύμους γενέσθαι,  
καὶ παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ παρακελεύεσθαι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μὲν  
25 τῆσδε τῆς συντριβῆς, τὰ δὲ κρείττω ἐλπίζειν· μακρόθυμος  
γὰρ ὢν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιδίδωσιν εἰς μετάνοιαν χρόνους τῷ τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων γένει. τότε ὁ στρατηγὸς ἔλαβεν θάρσος ἔκ τε  
τῶν αὐτοῦ Πολυκάρπου προγεγονότων σημείων καὶ ἔκ τῶν  
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεχθέντων, καὶ φησιν· Ἴστε δὴ πάντες ἀστικοί  
30 τε καὶ ξένοι, ὡς ἡμεῖς μὲν ἰδίους ἔθεσί τε καὶ νόμοις τὸ  
θεῖον ἐκμειλισσόμεθα, ἱερουργίας τε καὶ θυσίας καὶ βωμῶν  
ἀνάψεις καὶ λιβανωτῶν καύσεις ποιούμενοι· οὗτος δέ, καὶ  
οὓς φησιν ἔχειν σὺν αὐτῷ συνιερεῖς τε καὶ συνθερά-  
ποντας, ἐξαναχωροῦντες ἴδια σχολαιότερον ποιοῦνται τὰς  
35 πρὸς τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν εὐχὰς. ἀπολυώμεθα οὖν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ  
ἡμεῖς, καὶ τοῦτον ἐκπέμπωμεν ἄδειαν αὐτῷ δόντες ὅπως,  
μεθεῖς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θορύβου γεγονὸς αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν  
δεῖμα, ἀταράχῳ τῷ νῷ καὶ εὐσταθεῖ τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰς ὑπὲρ  
ἡμῶν ἱερουργίας ἐπιτελῆ. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσε τὸν  
40 δῆμον.

XXXI. Ὁ δὲ μηδὲν μελλήσας ἔδραμεν εἰς τὸν κυρια-  
κὸν οἶκον, ἔνθα συνάγεσθαι ἔθος ἦν τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις ἐκέλευσε παραγγέλλειν πάν-  
τας σπουδῇ πάλιν χρῆσασθαι πρὸς τὸ μίαν ἔκ πολλῶν

προσευχῆς. 24 ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι] ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι p. 25 συντριβῆς]  
conj.; συγγραφῆς pDF. 34 ἐξαναχωροῦντες] ἐξαναχωροῦντας p. 35 ἀπο-  
λυώμεθα] ἀπολυόμεθα p. 37 μεθεῖς] DF; μεθ' ἧς p. 39 ἡμῶν]  
ἡμῶν p.

λεως παράδειγμα κάλλους, p. 443 καὶ δὴ  
τῇ τε Ἰωνία καλῶς ὁ στέφανος σέσω-  
σται ἢ τε Ἀσία τὸ πρόσχημα κεκόμισται.  
Again Lucian *Imag.* 2 τοιαῦτα μέντοι,  
ἔφη, τὰ Σμυρναϊκά κάλλη κ.τ.λ.

13. κάτοικοι κ.τ.λ.] On the distinc-  
tion of κάτοικοι, πάροικοι, and on the  
language of the following sentence  
generally, see the note on § 6, above.

25. συντριβῆς] 'calamity, afflic-  
tion.' Zahn (*G.G.A.* p. 299) has seen

that συγγραφῆς cannot stand, and that  
some such word as συνοχή is needed.  
The emendation which I have sug-  
gested involves a slighter deviation  
from the MS. Duchesne justifies the  
reading of the MS, saying 'si codicem  
integrum haberemus [referring to the  
lacuna between §§ 28, 29], in eo  
mentionem aliquam inveniremus de  
συγγραφῇ illa ad quam paulo infra  
alludit Polycarpus.'

ἀνευχεθῆναι δέησιν. οἱ δὲ προητοιμακότες αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἑωθινῆς διὰ τὸ εἰσηῆχθαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, καὶ ὅτι παρασκευὴ ἦν (ἔδεδίεσαν γὰρ μὴ τι πάθῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου), ἀκούσαντες οὖν συνέδραμον. ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπεν· Μνημονεύσωμεν, ἀδελφοί, τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν 5 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὃς εἶπεν· Αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν. ἔάν γάρ συμφωνήσωσι λόγο ἐξ ὑμῶν περὶ παντός πράγματος οἷ ἔάν αἰτήσωνται, γενήσεται ὑποῖσι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. πιστεύοντες οὖν αἰτήσωμεν καὶ μὴ διακρινόμενοι ταῖς διανοίαις· τοῦ γὰρ 10 αἰτούντος ἢ προσευχῆ τρόπον τινὰ ζυγοστατεῖται ὡς ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος καὶ ταλαντεύεται ὁ νοῦς ὅποι κλίνει. δῆλον δὲ ἡμῖν τοῦτό γε ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιβῆναι τὸν Πέτρον τοῖς κύμασι· πιστεύων μὲν γὰρ περιεπάτει, φοβηθεὶς δὲ τὸ σφοδρὸν τοῦ ἀνέμου κατεποντίζετο, εἰς ἡμέτερον ὑπόδειγμα, 15 ἵνα γνῶμεν τὴν ἐφ' ἑκάτερον ῥοπὴν. τοιαύτην πεποιθήσιν ἔχων ὁ θεράπων τοῦ Θεοῦ Μωϋσῆς ἀποδειλιῶντι τῷ λαῷ ἔλεγεν· ΣΤῆτε καὶ ὄψεσθε τὴν δύζαν τοῦ Κυρίου. στήναι γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς δεῖ ἐδραίους ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν, ἵνα ἀκλινεῖς ὄντες ἀπερίτρεπτοι καὶ ἄπτωτοι διὰ πίστεως τῆς εἰς 20 τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν μείνωμεν· ὅστις καὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ προφήτῃ Ἡλίᾳ ἔδωκεν αἰτήσαντι ὑετόν, ὅτε ἐκλείσθη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. XXXII. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, πρῶτος κλίνας τὰ γόνατα σὺν πᾶσιν, ἐπὶ πλείστον προσηύξατο οὕτως·

25

Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν· ᾧ λειτουργοῦσιν ἀρχάγγελοι, δόξαι καὶ

24 σὺν πᾶσιν] συμπᾶσιν p.

6. Αἰτεῖτε κ.τ.λ.] Matt. vii. 7 αἰτεῖτε κ.τ.λ., and Matt. xviii. 19 ἔάν δύο συμφωνήσωσιν κ.τ.λ.

18. Στήτε κ.τ.λ.] Exod. xiv. 13 στήτε καὶ ὀράτε τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

19. ἐδραίους κ.τ.λ.] Ign. Polyc. 1 ἡδρασμένην ὡς ἐπὶ πέτραν, ib. 2 στήθι ἐδραῖος.

28. ἀρχάγγελοι κ.τ.λ.] See the notes on Col. i. 16 for the gradations of angels.

δυνάμεις ἐπουράνιοι, θρόνοι, κυριότητες, σεραφίμ, χερουβίμ·  
 30 ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν  
 καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αἰτοῖς, ὁ πλάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα  
 καὶ ὁμοίωσιν, δι' ὃν καὶ εὐδόκησας πέμψαι τὸν λόγον σου  
 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἵνα σαρκωθείς ἐκ παρθένου καὶ πνεύματος  
 35 ἁγίου σῶσῃ καὶ ἀναστήσῃ διὰ πάθους τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν  
 ἁμαρτίαν πεπτωκότα ἄνθρωπον· εἰσάκουσον, Κύριε, εἰσβλε-  
 ψον, ἅγιε, ἐνώτισαι τὰς προσευχὰς τῆς ἁγίας σου καθο-  
 λικῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ δὸς ὑετὸν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς  
 καὶ σπέρματα τῷ σπείροντι καὶ ἄρτον εἰς βρώσιν· διότι  
 ἐν ἡμέραις ἀνάγκης γνόντα τὰ ἔθνη, ὅτι ἐσμέν δοῦλοί  
 40 σου, ζητοῦσι παρ' ἡμῶν δικαιοσύνην. καὶ νῦν, Κύριε,  
 γνώτωσαν πάντες οἱ ἀντικείμενοι ἡμῖν.

Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εὐξαμένου ὁ οὐρανὸς ἔδωκεν ὑετόν, καὶ  
 πάντες τὸν Θεὸν ἐδόξαζον τὸν ποιοῦντα θαυμάσια διὰ τῶν  
 αὐτοῦ θεραπόντων· ᾧ ἢ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος καὶ νῦν καὶ  
 45 εἰς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ  
 ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ἀμήν.

38 σπέρματα] σπέρματι p.

σπείροντι] F; σπείραντι psD.

30. ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν κ.τ.λ.] Exod.  
 xx. 11; comp. Ps. cxlv (cxlvi). 6,  
 Acts xiv. 15.

31. ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα κ.τ.λ.] From  
 Gen. i. 26.

*Supplementary Notes by Professor J. E. B. Mayor.*

P. 435, l. 32. *ροί[φ]* Schäfer on Dionys. de comp. p. 156.

P. 435, l. 44. *ἐκ γειτόνων*] Lucian Icaromen. 8. 16. bis acc. 9 f. 31 f. Alciphron 2 2. Aristaen. 1 5 and 19. Schäfer on Bos ellips. 296—297.

P. 436, l. 14. *πολυσχιδεί[s]*] Nonnus Dionys. xxx 78. XLV 337. paraphr. Σ 24.

P. 436, l. 18. *μεγαλουργίας*] Ioseph. ant. xv 11 5. On *μεγαλούργημα* see Cotel. patr. apost. 1 814 12 and 13.

P. 437, l. 40. *καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ρίζης*] The order requires the construction 'and he bore, as a sample of his eastern root, a flower, so to speak, of good fruit to come.'

P. 437, l. 47. *πᾶς ὁ κόσμος κ.τ.λ.*] See J. B. Mayor's note on Cic. n.d. II § 154 ad fin. p. 282. Not unlike Perikles' saying *ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος*.

P. 438, l. 3. *ὄλον δι' ὄλου*] cf. p. 454, l. 19. See two exx. of this combination in HSt. s. v. *ὄλος* col. 1910 pr. ed. Didot.; and comp. vita Polycarpi 6 (II 1020 3) and 23 (1036 19). cf. Chrys. hom. 1 in Tit. 1 1—4 (XI 731<sup>b</sup>) *καὶ ὄλη δι' ὄλης ἢ ἐπιστολῇ αὐτῆ μάλιστα τοιαύτη τυγχάνει*.

P. 438, l. 22. *προσπαθείας*] Also in Porphyry. ad Marcell. 32.

P. 439, l. 34. *περιύστατο*] So Lucian soloec. 5. Galen III 837 K.

P. 439, l. 43. *ἄπρακτα*] Here (unless indeed *ἀπρακτῖα* be thought to come nearer the *ductus litterarum*) it is plain that we must read *ἀπρακτα* for *ἀπρακτᾶ*. In Wytttenbach's index to Plutarch, among many examples of *ἄπρακτος*, two (I 1060<sup>d</sup>. II 107<sup>b</sup>) have the note 'f <orte> ἄπρατος.' The latter passage seems to have been misplaced, for under *ἄπρατος* we read only 'f. leg. I 1060<sup>a</sup>.'

This reference is to the life of Galba 17 § 3, where Plutarch says of Tigellinus:

*ὁ δὲ καὶ ποιήσας ἄξιον θανάτου Νέρωνα καὶ γενόμενον τοιοῦτον ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ προδοῦς περιήν, μέγα δίδαγμα τοῦ μηδὲν ἄπρακτον [read, with Wytt., ἄπρατον] εἶναι παρὰ Οὐνίῳ μηδὲ ἀνέλπιστον τοῖς διδούσιν.*

The words *τοῖς διδούσι* (compared with § 1, also of Tigellinus: *ἐφθάκει δὲ ὁ γενναῖος προειληφὼς ἀρραβῶσι μεγάλοις τὸν Οὐνίον*) establish Wytttenbach's emendation beyond all question.

Suid. s. u. *Ζήνων* (I 728 1 ed. Bernhardy = Malchus in script. hist. Byz. XIII 8 ed. Bonn): *καπηλεύων ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἅπαντα καὶ μηδὲν ἄπρατον ἐὼν ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ αὐτῆ διαπράττεσθαι.*

The following examples of *ἄπρατος* are taken from an interleaved copy of Scapula (Lugd. 1663 fol.), which bears on the title the autograph, singularly clear and neat, 'Christoph. Noltenius. 1739. Brem.' He was, I suppose, of

the same family as Johann Friedrich Nolten (1694—1754), a meritorious Latin lexicographer. The quotations are most exact, by page, or section, or line.

Ael. h. a. II 44 ἤδη δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀλιεῖς ἡμιβρώτῳ καρίδι περιτυχόντες, καὶ ἀξιώσαντες τὸ θήραμα ἄπρατον<sup>1</sup> ὄν, εἰ ἀπογεύσασαυτο αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ πενίας, κλονοῦνται τὴν γαστέρα καὶ στρέφονται.

Luc. uit. auct. 12 fin. ἄπρατος ἔοικεν ᾧ Ζεῦ οὗτος ἡμῖν μένειν. ib. 14 fin. ἄπρατοι καὶ οὗτοι μένουσιν.

Achill. Tat. V 18 § 4 διὰ σὲ πέπραμαι...καὶ ἐμαστιγώθην... § 5 σὺ δὲ ἄπρατος<sup>2</sup>, ἀμαστίγωτος γαμείς.

Nolten also cites 'Heliod.' without adding a reference. I have searched through the Aethiopica in vain.

I think that fuller inquiry will prove that ἄπρατος is a very rare, ἄπρακτος a common, word; and that the latter must give place to the former, whatever the testimony of MSS may be, where the context suggests the correction.

P. 439, l. 50. ἀδούλωτον] Basil. ep. 223. Hierocl. in aur. carm. pp. 148. 158.

P. 440, l. 18. ἀναστροφῆς] 'behaviour,' 'conversation' makes good sense.

P. 441, l. 25. ἀφημιᾶν] [Ignat.] Philip. II fin. cf. Wernsdorf on Himer. p. 719.

P. 441, l. 27. ἀναχαιτίσει] For ἀναχαιτίσω comp. Maussac on Harpocr. p. 97 ed. Lips. Dio LX II 3. LXIII 26 2. Euthym. Zyg. on Io. euang. II 33. Bekker anecd. 393 20.

P. 441, l. 28. ἀνακόψει] Ios. bell. Iud. II 16 § 4 τῶν Δακῶν ὀρμάς. Luc. hist. conscr. 49 τὴν ἀνάβασιν.

P. 441, l. 31. περισπαρῆ] ? περισπάση see HSt.

P. 442, l. 5. ὑπεξαναχωρῶν] Not in lexx.

P. 442, l. 19. τοῖς εὐλογίστοις] εὐλογίστους is a less alteration.

P. 443, l. 42. ἱκανὸς] ἱκανῶς will do, if you have a colon after ἀπόκρυφα. ἐδόθη...κανῶν, ἐρμηνεύσαι τε ἱκανῶς.

<sup>1</sup> Jacobs vol. II 'ἄπρατον in *m* ex corr. ἄπρακτον fuisse uidetur. ...eadem est uarietas supra p. 41 31.' The reference is to h. a. II 26 fin. where he says the eagle which can gaze at the sun τοῖς γνησίοις ἐγγέγραπται, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ πῦρ τὸ οὐράνιον ἢ τοῦ γένους ἀδέκαστος τε καὶ ἄπρατος ἀληθῶς ἐστὶν ἐγγραφή. On this Jacobs (vol. II p. 76 l. 1) notes: 'ante Gronov. ἄπρατος. ἄπρατος quod dedi ex coniectura Pauwii ad Phil. c. I v. 16 firmavit Toup [em. Suid. tom. τ p. 357] e loco Suidae Κορνοῦτος, ubi est ὁ χρόνος δὲ ὁ ἄπρατος τε καὶ ἀδέκαστος, quem Aeliani esse suspicatur. [vid. fragm. p.

351 ed. C. G. Kühn (=n. 83 p. 227 Hercher)]. SCHNEIDER. ἄπρατος h. l. emendare voluisse T. Hemsterhusium, apparet ex eius anecdotis I p. 55. ἄπρατος et ἄπρακτος confusae apud Polluc. IV 34.' See the commentators there (p. 365), where Jungermann refers to IV 37 and VII 10, passages in which ἄπρατος is read without v. l.

<sup>2</sup> Jacobs ad loc. (vol. II p. 803): 'ἄπρατος. ἄπρακτος Mon. Thuan. quem librarii errorem Bodenius adoptavit, et inepte explicat. ap. Aeschin. de fals. leg. p. 209 s. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἄπρατον ἔχων μέρος τοῦ σώματος. ante H. Wolfium legebatur ἄπρακτον.'

P. 444, l. 8. ἀναλλοιώτου] For ἀναλλοίωτος comp. (-ως Dionys. Areop. diu. n. 2 10. cael. hier. III 3 11 and 13). -ος id. diu. n. II 3.

P. 445, l. 28. Εὐνουχίας] Renan (l'Église chrét. 436 n. 6) cites some of these passages.

P. 445, l. 29. ἀξίων] ἄξιον may stand.

P. 445, l. 45. φιλενπρόσωπον] only this ex. (after Halloix) and one from Bas. given in HSt. ed. Didot.

P. 446, l. 18. οὐτος] οὐπω seems quite right and δυσχερές (cf. c. 15 pr.).

'The second form of chastity is that of widowhood, surpassing the former. For the first (monogamy) did not yet seem hard, until there came forward (widow and widower) who could cease in regard to what had once been allowed (could forego after the consort's death an enjoyment once allowed).' οὐπω seems to me to be required by μέχρις. Monogamy seemed easy, until there arose those who construed it strictly, as forbidding second marriage.

P. 446, l. 23. ἀπαγκωνισάμενος] παραγκωνίζομαι will shew that this word ἀπαγκ. must mean 'submoueo.'

P. 447, l. 25. διαβήματι] a LXX word.

P. 447, l. 26. τοῦ γὰρ ἢ ἐνὶ κ.τ.λ.] lines 26—30 are involved. I take it: It (virginity) proved that while the purpose of its votaries (τοῦ ἐλ.) was greater than either monogamy (being contented with one) or widowhood (ceasing from what it had enjoyed), yet the power of God that bestowed it exceeded all; for what is voluntary is of the man that proposed and a gift of God who has the power.

P. 447, l. 34. γήρους] So p. 449, l. 45.

P. 448, l. 6. αὐταρκες] ? -άρκης.

P. 448, l. 24. τοῦ αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ τοῦ would be less change.

P. 451, l. 29. τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον] cf. p. 434, l. 16. acts 24 25. Kypke obs. II 124. Hermann on Viger p. 9. 888. Liddell & Scott and Rost & Palm know nothing of it.

P. 452, l. 22. κοκκινωβαφῆ] The v. l. κογχυλιοβαφῆς is not in lexx.

P. 453, l. 44. λευῖται] 'deacons.' So in Latin conc. Rom. (386) c. 9. conc. Carth. 387 (? 390) c. 2. conc. Turon. (461) c. 1 and 2. conc. Agath. (506) c. 16. Hier. ep. 108 28 fin. (ib. 14. Leuiticus). Ambr. off. I §§ 246. 249. Paulin. v. Ambr. 41. Greg. Tur. glor. mart. I 25 fin. 34 p. 759<sup>c</sup>. 760<sup>de</sup>. 90 pr. Coripp. Iustin. III 42. Baron. 636 14 fin. 676 4. Leuiticus Greg. Tur. glor. mart. I 105. Boniface (ed. Jaffé) p. 99 f. 189. 224. 464. Leuitissa 'a deaconess' Thomae thesaurus p. 306.

P. 458, l. 7. μέλον ἦν] cf. p. 445, l. 28.

P. 458, l. 15. ἀνευαγγέλιστος] Not in lexx.

P. 460, l. 23. οὐκ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἦν] cf. Xen. anab. I 5 17 ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο. So ἐντός, ἔξω, ἐκτός ἑαυτοῦ.

P. 461, l. 55. θέατρον] See my note on Iuv. x 128 moderantem frena theatri.

P. 463, l. 25. συντριβῆς] Would συναγωγῆς do?



TRANSLATIONS.

1. *EPISTLE OF POLYCARP.*
2. *LETTER OF THE SMYRNÆANS.*
3. *LIFE OF POLYCARP.*

## EPISTLE OF POLYCARP.

POLYCARP and the presbyters that are with him unto the Church of God which sojourneth at Philippi; mercy unto you and peace from God Almighty and Jesus Christ our Saviour be multiplied.

1. I rejoiced with you greatly in our Lord Jesus Christ, for that ye received the followers of the true Love and escorted them on their way, as befitted you—those men encircled in saintly bonds which are the diadems of them that be truly chosen of God and our Lord; and that the stedfast root of your faith which was famed from primitive times abideth until now and beareth fruit unto our Lord Jesus Christ, who endured to face even death for our sins, *whom God raised, having loosed the pangs of Hades; on whom, though ye saw Him not, ye believe with joy unutterable and full of glory;* unto which joy many desire to enter in; forasmuch as ye know that it is *by grace ye are saved, not of works,* but by the will of God through Jesus Christ.

2. *Wherefore gird up your loins and serve God in fear and truth, forsaking the vain and empty talking and the error of the many, for that ye have believed on Him that raised our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead and gave unto Him glory and a throne on His right hand; unto whom all things were made*

subject that are in heaven and that are on the earth ; to whom every creature that hath breath doeth service ; who cometh as *judge of quick and dead* ; whose blood God will require of them that are disobedient unto Him. Now *He that raised Him* from the dead *will raise us also* ; if we do His will and walk in His commandments and love the things which He loved, abstaining from all unrighteousness, covetousness, love of money, evil speaking, false witness ; *not rendering evil for evil or railing for railing* or blow for blow or cursing for cursing ; but remembering the words which the Lord spake, as He taught ; *Judge not that ye be not judged. Forgive, and it shall be forgiven to you. Have mercy that ye may receive mercy. With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again ; and again, Blessed are the poor and they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God.*

3. These things, brethren, I write unto you concerning righteousness, not because I laid this charge upon myself, but because ye invited me. For neither am I, nor is any other like unto me, able to follow the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul, who when he came among you taught face to face with the men of that day the word which concerneth truth carefully and surely ; who also, when he was absent, wrote a letter unto you, into the which if ye look diligently, ye shall be able to be builded up unto the faith given to you, *which is the mother of us all*, while hope followeth after and love goeth before—love toward God and Christ and toward our neighbour. For if any man be occupied with these, he hath fulfilled the commandment of righteousness ; for he that hath love is far from all sin.

4. *But the love of money is the beginning of all troubles.* Knowing therefore that *we brought nothing into the world neither can we carry anything out*, let us arm ourselves with the armour of righteousness, and let us teach ourselves first to walk in the commandment of the Lord ; and then your wives also, to walk in the faith that hath been given unto them and in love and purity, cherishing their own husbands in all truth and loving all men equally in all chastity, and to train their children in the

training of the fear of God. Our widows must be sober-minded as touching the faith of the Lord, making intercession without ceasing for all men, abstaining from all calumny, evil speaking, false witness, love of money, and every evil thing, knowing that they are God's altar, and that all sacrifices are carefully inspected, and nothing escapeth Him either of their thoughts or intents or any of *the secret things of the heart*.

5. Knowing then that *God is not mocked*, we ought to walk worthily of His commandment and His glory. In like manner deacons should be blameless in the presence of His righteousness, as deacons of God and Christ and not of men; not calumniators, not double-tongued, not lovers of money, temperate in all things, compassionate, diligent, walking according to the truth of the Lord who became a *minister (deacon) of all*. For if we be well pleasing unto Him in this present world, we shall receive the future world also, according as He promised us to raise us from the dead, and that if we conduct ourselves worthily of Him *we shall also reign with Him*, if indeed we have faith. In like manner also the younger men must be blameless in all things, caring for purity before everything and curbing themselves from every evil. For it is a good thing to refrain from lusts in the world, for every *lust warreth against the Spirit*, and *neither whoremongers nor effeminate persons nor defilers of themselves with men shall inherit the kingdom of God*, neither they that do untoward things. Wherefore it is right to abstain from all these things, submitting yourselves to the presbyters and deacons as to God and Christ. The virgins must walk in a blameless and pure conscience.

6. And the presbyters also must be compassionate, merciful towards all men, turning back the sheep that are gone astray, visiting all the infirm, not neglecting a widow or an orphan or a poor man: but *providing always for that which is honorable in the sight of God and of men*, abstaining from all anger, respect of persons, unrighteous judgment, being far from all love of money, not quick to believe anything against any man, not hasty in judgment, knowing that we all are debtors of sin. If then we

entreat the Lord that He would forgive us, we also ought to forgive: for we are before the eyes of our Lord and God, and we must *all stand at the judgment-seat of Christ*, and *each man must give an account of himself*. Let us therefore so serve Him with fear and all reverence, as He himself gave commandment and the Apostles who preached the Gospel to us and the prophets who proclaimed beforehand the coming of our Lord; being zealous as touching that which is good, abstaining from offences and from the false brethren and from them that bear the name of the Lord in hypocrisy, who lead foolish men astray.

7. For every one *who shall not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is antichrist*: and whosoever shall not confess the testimony of the Cross, is of the devil; and whosoever shall pervert the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts and say that there is neither resurrection nor judgment, that man is the first-born of Satan. Wherefore let us forsake the vain doing of the many and their false teachings, and turn unto the word which was delivered unto us from the beginning, *being sober unto prayer* and constant in fastings, entreating the all-seeing God with supplications that He *bring us not into temptation*, according as the Lord said, *The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak*.

8. Let us therefore without ceasing hold fast by our hope and by the earnest of our righteousness, which is Jesus Christ *who took up our sins in His own body upon the tree, who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth*, but for our sakes He endured all things, that we might live in Him. Let us therefore become imitators of His endurance; and if we should suffer for His name's sake, let us glorify Him. For He gave this example to us in His own person, and we believed this.

9. I exhort you all therefore to be obedient unto the word of righteousness and to practise all endurance, which also ye saw with your own eyes in the blessed Ignatius and Zosimus and Rufus, yea and in others also who came from among yourselves, as well as in Paul himself and the rest of the Apostles; being persuaded that all these *ran not in vain* but in

faith and righteousness, and that they are in their due place in the presence of the Lord, with whom also they suffered. For they *loved not the present world*, but Him that died for our sakes and was raised by God for us.

10. Stand fast therefore in these things and follow the example of the Lord, being firm in the faith and immovable, *in love of the brotherhood kindly affectioned one to another*, partners with the truth, *forestalling one another* in the gentleness of the Lord, despising no man. *When ye are able to do good*, defer it not, for *Pitifulness delivereth from death*. *Be ye all subject one to another, having your conversation unblameable among the Gentiles, that from your good works both ye may receive praise and the Lord may not be blasphemed in you. But woe to him through whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed.* Therefore teach all men soberness, in which ye yourselves also walk.

11. I was exceedingly grieved for Valens, who aforetime was a presbyter among you, because he is so ignorant of the office which was given unto him. I warn you therefore that ye refrain from covetousness, and that ye be pure and truthful. Refrain from all evil.<sup>a</sup> But he who cannot govern himself in these things, how doth he enjoy this upon another? If a man refrain not from covetousness, he shall be defiled by idolatry, and shall be judged as one of the Gentiles who *know not the judgment of the Lord*. *Nay, know we not, that the saints shall judge the world*, as Paul teacheth? But I have not found any such thing in you, neither have heard thereof, among whom the blessed Paul laboured, who were his *letters* in the beginning. For *he boasteth of you* in all those *churches* which alone at that time knew the Lord; for we knew Him not as yet. Therefore, brethren, I am exceedingly grieved for him and for his wife, unto whom may the Lord grant true repentance. Be ye therefore yourselves also sober herein, *and hold not such as enemies*, but restore them as frail and erring members, that ye may save the whole body of you. For so doing, ye do edify one another.

12. For I am persuaded that ye are well trained in the sacred writings, and nothing is hidden from you. But to myself

this is not granted. Only, as it is said in these scriptures, *Be ye angry and sin not*, and *Let not the sun set on your wrath*. Blessed is he that remembereth this; and I trust that this is in you. Now may the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the eternal High priest Himself, the [Son of] God Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and truth, and in all gentleness and in all avoidance of wrath and in forbearance and long suffering and in patient endurance and in purity; and may He grant unto you a lot and portion among His saints, and to us with you, and to all that are under heaven, who shall believe on our Lord and God Jesus Christ and on His Father *that raised Him from the dead*. *Pray for all the saints*. Pray also for kings and powers and princes, and for them that persecute and hate you, and for the enemies of the cross, that your fruit may be manifest among all men, that ye may be perfect in Him.

13. Ye wrote to me, both ye yourselves and Ignatius, asking that if any one should go to Syria he might carry thither the letters from you. And this I will do, if I get a fit opportunity, either I myself, or he whom I shall send to be ambassador on your behalf also. The letters of Ignatius which were sent to us by him, and others as many as we had by us, we send unto you, according as ye gave charge; the which are subjoined to this letter; from which ye will be able to gain great advantage. For they comprise faith and endurance and every kind of edification, which pertaineth unto our Lord. Moreover concerning Ignatius himself and those that were with him, if ye have any sure tidings, certify us.

14. I write these things to you by Crescens, whom I commended to you recently and now commend unto you: for he hath walked blamelessly with us; and I believe also with you in like manner. But ye shall have his sister commended, when she shall come to you. Fare ye well in the Lord Jesus Christ in grace, ye and all yours. Amen.



## LETTER OF THE SMYRNÆANS.

THE CHURCH OF GOD which sojourneth at Smyrna to the Church of God which sojourneth in Philomelium and to all the brotherhoods of the holy and universal Church sojourning in every place; mercy and peace and love from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied.

1. We write unto you, brethren, an account of what befel those that suffered martyrdom and especially the blessed Polycarp, who stayed the persecution, having as it were set his seal upon it by his martyrdom. For nearly all the foregoing events came to pass that the Lord might show us once more an example of martyrdom which is conformable to the Gospel. For he lingered that he might be delivered up, even as the Lord did, to the end that we too might be imitators of him, not looking only to that which concerneth ourselves, but also to that which concerneth our neighbours. For it is the office of true and stedfast love, not only to desire that oneself be saved, but all the brethren also.

2. Blessed therefore and noble are all the martyrdoms which have taken place according to the will of God (for it becometh us to be very scrupulous and to assign to God the power over all things). For who could fail to admire their nobleness and patient endurance and loyalty to the Master? seeing that

when they were so torn by lashes that the mechanism of their flesh was visible even as far as the inward veins and arteries, they endured patiently, so that the very bystanders had pity and wept; while they themselves reached such a pitch of bravery that none of them uttered a cry or a groan, thus showing to us all that at that hour the martyrs of Christ being tortured were absent from the flesh, or rather that the Lord was standing by and conversing with them. And giving heed unto the grace of Christ they despised the tortures of this world, purchasing at the cost of one hour a release from eternal punishment. And they found the fire of their inhuman torturers cold: for they set before their eyes the escape from the eternal fire which is never quenched; while with the eyes of their heart they gazed upon the good things which are reserved for those that endure patiently, things *which neither ear hath heard nor eye hath seen, neither have they entered into the heart of man*, but were shown by the Lord to them, for they were no longer men but angels already. And in like manner also those that were condemned to the wild beasts endured fearful punishments, being made to lie on sharp shells and buffeted with other forms of manifold tortures, that the devil might, if possible, by the persistence of the punishment bring them to a denial; for he tried many wiles against them.

3. But thanks be to God; for He verily prevailed against all. For the right noble Germanicus encouraged their timorousness through the constancy which was in him; and he fought with the wild beasts in a signal way. For when the proconsul wished to prevail upon him and bade him have pity on his youth, he used violence and dragged the wild beast towards him, desiring the more speedily to obtain a release from their unrighteous and lawless life. So after this all the multitude, marvelling at the bravery of the God-beloved and God-fearing people of the Christians, raised a cry, 'Away with the atheists; let search be made for Polycarp.'

4. But one man, Quintus by name, a Phrygian newly arrived from Phrygia, when he saw the wild beasts, turned

coward. He it was who had forced himself and some others to come forward of their own free will. This man the proconsul by much entreaty persuaded to swear the oath and to offer incense. For this cause therefore, brethren, we praise not those who deliver themselves up, since the Gospel doth not so teach us.

5. Now the glorious Polycarp at the first, when he heard it, so far from being dismayed, was desirous of remaining in town; but the greater part persuaded him to withdraw. So he withdrew to a farm not far distant from the city; and there he stayed with a few companions, doing nothing else night and day but praying for all men and for the churches throughout the world; for this was his constant habit. And while praying he falleth into a trance three days before his apprehension; and he saw his pillow burning with fire. And he turned and said unto those that were with him: 'It must needs be that I shall be burned alive.'

6. And as those that were in search of him persisted, he departed to another farm; and forthwith they that were in search of him came up; and not finding him, they seized two slave lads, one of whom confessed under torture; for it was impossible for him to lie concealed, seeing that the very persons who betrayed him were people of his own household. And the captain of the police, who chanced to have the very name, being called Herod, was eager to bring him into the stadium, that he himself might fulfil his appointed lot, being made a partaker with Christ, while they—his betrayers—underwent the punishment of Judas himself.

7. So taking the lad with them, on the Friday about the supper hour, the gendarmes and horsemen went forth with their accustomed arms, hastening *as against a robber*. And coming up in a body late in the evening, they found the man himself in bed in an upper chamber in a certain cottage; and though he might have departed thence to another place, he would not, saying, *The will of God be done*. So when he heard that they were come, he went down and conversed with them, the bystanders marvelling at his age and his constancy, and wondering

how there should be so much eagerness for the apprehension of an old man like him. Thereupon forthwith he gave orders that a table should be spread for them to eat and drink at that hour, as much as they desired. And he persuaded them to grant him an hour that he might pray unmolested; and on their consenting, he stood up and prayed, being so full of the grace of God, that for two hours he could not hold his peace, and those that heard were amazed, and many repented that they had come against such a venerable old man.

8. But when at length he brought his prayer to an end, after remembering all who at any time had come in his way, small and great, high and low, and all the universal Church throughout the world, the hour of departure being come, they seated him on an ass and brought him into the city, it being a high sabbath. And he was met by Herod the captain of police and his father Nicetes, who also removed him to their carriage and tried to prevail upon him, seating themselves by his side and saying, 'Why what harm is there in saying, Cæsar is Lord, and offering incense', with more to this effect, 'and saving thyself?' But he at first gave them no answer. When however they persisted, he said, 'I am not going to do what ye counsel me.' Then they, failing to persuade him, uttered threatening words and made him dismount with speed, so that he bruised his shin, as he got down from the carriage. And without even turning round, he went on his way promptly and with speed, as if nothing had happened to him, being taken to the stadium; there being such a tumult in the stadium that no man's voice could be so much as heard.

9. But as Polycarp entered into the stadium, a voice came to him from heaven; 'Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man.' And no one saw the speaker, but those of our people who were present heard the voice. And at length, when he was brought up, there was a great tumult, for they heard that Polycarp had been apprehended. When then he was brought before him, the proconsul enquired whether he were the man. And on his confessing that he was, he tried to persuade him to a denial,

saying, 'Have respect to thine age,' and other things in accordance therewith, as it is their wont to say; 'Swear by the genius of Cæsar; repent and say, Away with the atheists.' Then Polycarp with solemn countenance looked upon the whole multitude of lawless heathen that were in the stadium, and waved his hand to them; and groaning and looking up to heaven he said, 'Away with the atheists.' But when the magistrate pressed him hard and said, 'Swear the oath, and I will release thee; revile the Christ,' Polycarp said, 'Fourscore and six years have I been His servant, and He hath done me no wrong. How then can I blaspheme my King who saved me?'

10. But on his persisting again and saying, 'Swear by the genius of Cæsar,' he answered, 'If thou supposest vainly that I will swear by the genius of Cæsar, as thou sayest, and feignest that thou art ignorant who I am, hear thou plainly, I am a Christian. But if thou wouldest learn the doctrine of Christianity, assign a day and give me a hearing.' The proconsul said, 'Prevail upon the people.' But Polycarp said, 'As for thyself, I should have held thee worthy of discourse; for we have been taught to render, as is meet, to princes and authorities appointed by God such honour as does us no harm; but as for these, I do not hold them worthy, that I should defend myself before them.'

11. Whereupon the proconsul said, 'I have wild beasts here and I will throw thee to them, except thou repent.' But he said, 'Call for them: for the repentance from better to worse is a change not permitted to us; but it is a noble thing to change from untowardness to righteousness.' Then he said to him again, 'I will cause thee to be consumed by fire, if thou despisest the wild beasts, unless thou repent.' But Polycarp said; 'Thou threatenest that fire which burneth for a season and after a little while is quenched: for thou art ignorant of the fire of the future judgment and eternal punishment, which is reserved for the ungodly. But why delayest thou? Come, do what thou wilt.'

12. Saying these things and more besides, he was inspired with courage and joy, and his countenance was filled with grace, so that not only did it not drop in dismay at the things which were said to him, but on the contrary the proconsul was astounded and sent his own herald to proclaim three times in the midst of the stadium, 'Polycarp hath confessed himself to be a Christian.' When this was proclaimed by the herald, the whole multitude both of Gentiles and of Jews who dwelt in Smyrna cried out with ungovernable wrath and with a loud shout, 'This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the puller down of our gods, who teacheth numbers not to sacrifice nor worship.' Saying these things, they shouted aloud and asked the Asiarch Philip to let a lion loose upon Polycarp. But he said that it was not lawful for him, since he had brought the sports to a close. Then they thought fit to shout out with one accord that Polycarp should be burned alive. For it must needs be that the matter of the vision should be fulfilled, which was shown him concerning his pillow, when he saw it on fire while praying, and turning round said prophetically to the faithful who were with him, 'I must needs be burned alive.'

13. These things then happened with so great speed, quicker than words could tell, the crowds forthwith collecting from the workshops and baths timber and faggots, and the Jews more especially assisting in this with zeal, as is their wont. But when the pile was made ready, divesting himself of all his upper garments and loosing his girdle, he endeavoured also to take off his shoes, though not in the habit of doing this before, because all the faithful at all times vied eagerly who should soonest touch his flesh. For he had been treated with all honour for his holy life even before his gray hairs came. Forthwith then the instruments that were prepared for the pile were placed about him; and as they were going likewise to nail him to the stake, he said, 'Leave me as I am; for He that hath granted me to endure the fire will grant me also to remain at the pile unmoved, even without the security which ye seek from the nails.'

14. So they did not nail him, but tied him. Then he, placing his hands behind him and being bound to the stake, like a noble ram out of a great flock for an offering, a burnt sacrifice made ready and acceptable to God, looking up to heaven said ; 'O Lord God Almighty, the Father of Thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, through whom we have received the knowledge of Thee, the God of angels and powers and of all creation and of the whole race of the righteous, who live in Thy presence; I bless thee for that Thou hast granted me this day and hour, that I might receive a portion amongst the number of martyrs in the cup of [Thy] Christ unto resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and of body, in the incorruptibility of the Holy Spirit. May I be received among these in Thy presence this day, as a rich and acceptable sacrifice, as Thou didst prepare and reveal it beforehand, and hast accomplished it, Thou that art the faithful and true God. For this cause, yea and for all things, I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, through the eternal and heavenly High-priest Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, through whom with Him and the Holy Spirit be glory to Thee both now [and ever] and for the ages to come. Amen.'

15. When he had offered up the Amen and finished his prayer, the firemen lighted the fire. And, a mighty flame flashing forth, we to whom it was given to see, saw a marvel, yea and we were preserved that we might relate what happened to the rest. The fire, making the appearance of a vault, like the sail of a vessel filled by the wind, made a wall round about the body of the martyr; and it was there in the midst, not like flesh burning, but like [a loaf in the oven or like] gold and silver refined in a furnace. For we perceived such a fragrant smell, as if it were the wafted odour of frankincense or some other precious spice.

16. So at length the lawless men, seeing that his body could not be consumed by the fire, ordered an executioner to go up to him and stab him with a dagger. And when he had done this, there came forth [a dove and] a quantity of blood, so that it extinguished the fire; and all the multitude marvelled that

there should be so great a difference between the unbelievers and the elect. In the number of these was this man, the glorious martyr Polycarp, who was found an apostolic and prophetic teacher in our own time, a bishop of the holy Church which is in Smyrna. For every word which he uttered from his mouth was accomplished and will be accomplished.

17. But the jealous and envious Evil One, the adversary of the family of the righteous, having seen the greatness of his martyrdom and his blameless life from the beginning, and how he was crowned with the crown of immortality and had won a reward which none could gainsay, managed that not even his poor body should be taken away by us, although many desired to do this and to touch his holy flesh. So he put forward Nicetes the father of Herod and brother of Alce to plead with the magistrate not to give up his body, 'lest', so it was said, 'they should abandon the crucified one and begin to worship this man'—this being done at the instigation and urgent entreaty of the Jews, who also watched when we were about to take it from the fire, not knowing that it will be impossible for us either to forsake at any time the Christ who suffered for the salvation of the whole world of those that are saved—suffered though faultless for sinners—nor to worship any other. For Him, being the Son of God, we adore, but the martyrs as disciples and imitators of the Lord we cherish as they deserve for their matchless affection towards their own King and teacher. May it be our lot also to be found partakers and fellow-disciples with them.

18. The centurion therefore, seeing the opposition raised on the part of the Jews, set him in the midst and burnt him after their custom. And so we afterwards took up his bones which are more valuable than precious stones and finer than refined gold and laid them in a suitable place; where the Lord will permit us to gather ourselves together, as we are able, in gladness and joy, and to celebrate the birth-day of his martyrdom for the commemoration of those that have already fought in the contest



and for the training and preparation of those that shall do so hereafter.

19. So it befel the blessed Polycarp, who having with those from Philadelphia suffered martyrdom in Smyrna—twelve in all—is especially remembered more than the others by all men, so that he is talked of even by the heathen in every place: for he showed himself not only a notable teacher, but also a distinguished martyr, whose martyrdom all desire to imitate, seeing that it was after the pattern of the Gospel. Having by his endurance overcome the unrighteous ruler in the conflict and so received the crown of immortality, he rejoiceth in company with the Apostles and all righteous men, and glorifieth the Almighty God and Father, and blesseth our Lord Jesus Christ, the saviour of our souls and helmsman of our bodies and shepherd of the universal Church which is throughout the world.

20. Ye indeed required that the things which happened should be shown unto you at greater length: but we for the present have certified you as it were in a summary through our brother Marcianus. When then ye have informed yourselves of these things, send the letter about likewise to the brethren which are farther off, that they also may glorify the Lord, who maketh election from His own servants. Now unto Him that is able to bring us all by His grace and bounty unto His eternal kingdom, through His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, be glory, honour, power, and greatness for ever. Salute all the saints. They that are with us salute you, and Euarestus, who wrote the letter, with his whole house.

21. Now the blessed Polycarp was martyred on the second day of the first part of the month Xanthicus, on the seventh before the kalends of March, on a great sabbath, at the eighth hour. He was apprehended by Herodes, when Philip of Tralles was high-priest, in the proconsulship of Statius Quadratus, but in the reign of the Eternal King Jesus Christ. To whom be the glory, honour, greatness, and eternal throne, from generation to generation. Amen.

22. (1) We bid you God speed, brethren, while ye walk by the word of Jesus Christ according to the Gospel; with whom be glory to God for the salvation of His holy elect; even as the blessed Polycarp suffered martyrdom, in whose footsteps may it be our lot to be found in the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

(2) This account Gaius copied from the papers of Irenæus, a disciple of Polycarp. The same also lived with Irenæus.

(3) And I Socrates wrote it down in Corinth from the copy of Gaius. Grace be with all men.

(4) And I Pionius again wrote it down from the aforementioned copy, having searched it out (for the blessed Polycarp showed me in a revelation, as I will declare in the sequel), gathering it together when it was now well nigh worn out by age, that the Lord Jesus Christ may gather me also with His elect into His heavenly kingdom; to whom be the glory with the Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

*The three preceding paragraphs as read in the Moscow MS.*

(2) This account Gaius copied from the papers of Irenæus. The same lived with Irenæus who had been a disciple of the holy Polycarp. For this Irenæus, being in Rome at the time of the martyrdom of the bishop Polycarp, instructed many; and many most excellent and orthodox treatises by him are in circulation. In these he makes mention of Polycarp, saying that he was taught by him. And he ably refuted every heresy, and handed down the catholic rule of the Church just as he had received it from the saint. He mentions this fact also, that when Marcion, after whom the Marcionites are called, met the holy Polycarp on one occasion, and said, 'Recognize us, Polycarp,' he said in reply to Marcion, 'Yes indeed, I recognize the first-born of Satan.' The following statement also is made in the writings of Irenæus; that on the very day and hour when Polycarp was martyred in Smyrna, Irenæus being in the city of

the Romans heard a voice as of a trumpet saying, 'Polycarp is martyred.'

(3) From these papers of Irenæus then, as has been stated already, Gaius made a copy, and from the copy of Gaius Isocrates made another in Corinth.

(4) And I Pionius again wrote it down from the copy of Isocrates, having searched for it in obedience to a revelation of the holy Polycarp, gathering it together, when it was well nigh worn out by age, that the Lord Jesus Christ may gather me also with His elect into His heavenly kingdom; to whom be the glory with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

## LIFE OF POLYCARP.

1. **T**RACING my steps farther back and beginning with the visit of the blessed Paul to Smyrna, as I have found it in ancient copies, I will give the narration in order, thus coming down to the history of the blessed Polycarp.

2. In the days of unleavened bread Paul, coming down from Galatia, arrived in Asia, considering the repose among the faithful in Smyrna to be a great refreshment in Christ Jesus after his severe toil, and intending afterwards to depart to Jerusalem. So in Smyrna he went to visit Stratæas, who had been his hearer in Pamphylia, being a son of Eunice the daughter of Lois. These are they of whom he makes mention when writing to Timothy, saying ; *Of the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois and in thy mother Eunice* ; whence we find that Stratæas was a brother of Timothy. Paul then, entering his house and gathering together the faithful there, speaks to them concerning the Passover and the Pentecost, reminding them of the New Covenant of the offering of bread and the cup ; how that they ought most assuredly to celebrate it during the days of unleavened bread, but to hold fast the new mystery of the Passion and Resurrection. For here the Apostle plainly teaches that we ought neither to keep it outside the season of unleavened bread, as the heretics do, especially the Phrygians, nor yet on the other hand of necessity on the fourteenth day : for he said nothing about the fourteenth day, but named the days of unleavened bread, the Passover, and the Pentecost, thus ratifying the Gospel.

3. But after the departure of the Apostle, Stratæas succeeded to his teaching, and certain of those after him, whose names, so far as it is

possible to discover who and what manner of men they were, I will set down. But for the present let us proceed at once to Polycarp.

One whose name was Bucolus being bishop in Smyrna at that time, there was in those days a certain lady, devout and fearing God, conversant in good works, whose name was Callisto. An angel sent from the Lord stood by her and said to her in a vision of the night; 'Callisto, rise up and go to the gate called the Ephesian, and when thou hast gone forward a little in front of it, two men shall meet thee, having with them a little lad named Polycarp. Ask them, if he is for sale; and when they say "Yes," give them the price that they shall demand, and take and keep him with thee. This child is a native of the East.' Then she, the voice still ringing in her ears and her heart bounding with fear and joy, sat up and arose with haste, and without delay did as she was ordered. And with hurry and flurry she came to the aforesaid gate, and found as the angel told her, and she took him and brought him to her house and delighted in rearing him decently and nurturing him in the nurture of the Lord. And she was amazed, when she saw his intelligence and seemly behaviour and his aptitude for piety. And in point of affection she treated him as a son, while as regards promotion over the servants, gradually as he advanced in age he was made manager of her property. And further she gave into his hand the keys of the storehouses.

4. But when at length it befel that she went away from home for a time, she left Polycarp keeper of her house. And as he went in to measure out rations of food for the servants, he would be followed by widows and orphans and by many of the neighbourhood—all the destitute poor among the faithful—and they would ask to have given them, one corn, and others wine, others oil, and whatsoever each desired. But he, having from a child learnt the lesson of well-doing and having the commandments of God inscribed on the tablet of his soul and on the pages of his heart by the finger of God, even the Holy Spirit, fulfilled the precept, *Give to him that asketh thee*; and so he emptied all the store-rooms, bestowing lavishly on all that were in need.

5. But when at length Callisto returned after a long time, one of the domestics ran to her and said; 'You, my lady, setting at nought all your servants born in the house, placed everything in the hands of this young lad though he came from the East; and he during your absence from home plundered everything that there was and left nothing.' Then she, being disturbed by the harsh words of the accuser (for the charge was enough to ruffle even a tranquil soul, especially when it conjures up a semblance of pecuniary loss), swelled with indignation in her heart and overflowed with wrath, especially because she held it a very great

disaster that one befriended by God and given to her by Him should have squandered everything recklessly; for she did not yet know for what purpose he had employed these goods. Wherefore also very divided thoughts sprang up in her mind. So forthwith she called Polycarp by name, saying, 'Polycarp'; and on his obeying her summons she said, 'Bring me the keys of the closets.' And when he brought them and opened the doors, she went in and began to look round; and a miracle of the mighty working of the Lord Jesus Christ was wrought. For he, when he went in, groaned and prayed saying; 'O Lord God, the Father of Thy beloved Son, that in the presence of Thy prophet Elijah didst fill the vessels of the widow of Zarephath, give ear unto me, that in the name of Christ they all may be found filled.' Accordingly they were all found filled, so that she, thinking the slave had lied, was angry and ordered certain of the domestics [to beat him]. But Polycarp came forward and set himself straight, saying; 'Nay do not ill-treat another for my sake; but rather lay on me the blows intended for him; for he told no lie, but deserveth praise for his affection towards his mistress. But as for me, seeing that I did not spend with an evil intent but on the poor, the God and Father of the blessed Jesus Christ hath both filled the hungry and hath sent His angel to restore to thee thine own, that thou also mayest have to give still to the poor according to the custom which thou followest.' Having heard and seen these things, Callisto was filled with fear, advancing still more in faith and in good works, so that Polycarp became as a son to her; and departing this life in faith she left him her substance.

6. Now after the death of Callisto Polycarp advanced greatly in the faith that is in Christ and that pursues a virtuous life. And in his untiring diligence, he from his Eastern stock bore (if one may so say) blossom as a token of good fruit hereafter to come. For the men who dwell in the East are distinguished before all others for their love of learning and their attachment to the divine Scriptures. So having been brought to Asia and having come by the will of God to live in Smyrna, after making himself fully acquainted with the ways of the people of the country and distinguishing himself far beyond them, he discerned that for every servant of God, while the whole world is [his city], the heavenly Jerusalem is his true father-land; and that here on earth we are bidden to sojourn for a while and not to settle; for we are *strangers and visitors*. Thus reflecting on this with a godly delight he offered himself day and night wholly and entirely as a consecrated sacrifice to God, exercising himself in the oracles contained in the divine Scriptures and in continual services of prayer and in devotion to all those who

needed either attention or relief and in contentment of living. For he ate such food as came to hand, meagre and simple though it was, and he wore such clothing only as absolute necessity required, for the sake of warmth and of the modest and seemly covering of the body.

7. And for the most part he withdrew into retirement, not appearing in public or conspicuous places, nor where he might reap praise from the spectators. But he spent his time chiefly at home, though sometimes in the suburbs, where he could most easily disregard and escape the turmoil of a great crowd; for he knew that the soul needs tranquillity of sight and hearing free from contamination with evil things. And in consequence of this he was staid alike in his mental thoughts and in his bodily gestures; for even in youth he had the gait of an elderly man, and his look was manly and unembarrassed by any passion directed towards objects of sight in outward life. But if any of those who met him looked into his face, he would be suffused with a blush, and through his innate respect he made himself respected by others. For the souls of the wise are discerned through the body, as through a mirror, by their blushes. And of those also who came to see him and desired his conversation, he was wont to shun and avoid, if he possibly could, the garrulous and foolish talkers, on the plea that he was intent on some important business and had not noticed the person who met him; but if he happened to get entangled with him, he would answer him briefly just not to seem to be haughty, and then would keep silence. Such was his behaviour towards those from whom no benefit could be got. But bad men he avoided as mad dogs or wild beasts or venomous serpents; for he remembered the Scripture which says, *With the innocent thou shalt be innocent, and with the elect thou shalt be elect, and with the perverse thou shalt use perverseness.* With those however from whom he could derive benefit he associated very freely, especially in cases where he could reap benefit not only from their words but also from their actions.

8. And as he returned from the suburbs to the city, if at any time he fell in with wood-carriers, especially when they were old men, he had compassion on them for their heavy burden and would attach himself to them and enquire of them if they sold their load as soon as they entered the city; and on their answering that sometimes evening came and they had not succeeded in doing so, he would give them the price and would carry the wood to the widows living near the gate. Thus he gratified the widows with the benefit of the wood, and the woodmen with the enjoyment of their meal at its proper time.

9. Now when he came to man's estate he was more enamoured

than ever of godliness ; and he discerned that freedom was the proper reward of self-discipline, but that it is attained by few and chiefly by those who have received from God the power of keeping the plumage of their soul unenslaved and unencumbered—men who are privileged to enjoy the free supermundane life through not being dragged down upon the earth by the fetters of marriage. For not one of us can dispense with the necessaries of life ; but those persons can least of all dispense with them who harbour in their house an expensive wife that is fond of dress. And he would recount the distractions and annoyances that come from such a wife, rendering it altogether impossible to lead a peaceable and quiet life. For should she be profligate, as Solomon says, *the rage of the husband is full of envy* ; but if she is chaste, she is filled with vanity and is elated in her mind ; so that *it is better to live in a desert rather than with a contentious and loquacious woman*. And altogether no charm of life thrust his soul away from heavenly things ; and he was wont to say that the words of Christ and of the prophets and apostles were beautiful to him : *Thou art beautiful in thy loveliness beyond the sons of men ; grace is shed on thy lips* ; and again, *How beautiful are the feet of those who bring glad tidings of good things*. And for the rearing of children and the care for one's offspring and the arrangements at home consequent thereupon, he used to explain how much a man who entangles himself in these matters must necessarily want, and what distractions and occupations he must have, and what anxieties about their good behaviour, and what burdens fall upon parents when their children sicken and what griefs when they die, and all the other risks which attend the training of their whole life. For at each successive stage of life the young undergo a change of disposition also, the heat natural to their age fermenting like new wine, and seething and purging the material part more and more, like a colt endeavouring to throw off the reins and yoke, until the controlling and superintending mind, by reason and reflexion, as by a bridle, shall pull him back and rein him in and shall put a stop to the neighing, reducing the disorderly and irrational impulse to order. The mind however only then effects this and prevails, when it is penetrated with a certain divine sense and presence of the Holy Spirit. Wherefore also the inspired David supplicated saying, *Renew a right spirit in my inmost parts ; stablish me with a commanding spirit, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me* ; and the Apostle says, *Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh*.

10. Our next business after this is to recount also the career of his episcopate, what was his conduct in it and how he attained to it ; that by these lessons we may also learn to imitate those who are chosen by God



as His ministers. Bucolus then, who was bishop before him, cherished him and set great store by him from his childhood. And being sanguine he entertained great hopes of him, as the fathers of good sons rejoice in having steady successors. And he in turn requited Bucolus, cherishing him as he would a parent, yet not with feigned language but inobtrusively and without forcing himself always upon him ; and acting with reserve he observed the opportunities which occurred from time to time, so as not to appear to be officious nor yet neglectful. For he was not eager to give him a present or gift when he could supply his own wants, nor was Bucolus on his part eager to receive one ; for the latter regarded the young man's alacrity in relieving those in want as his own personal gain, while the former duly fulfilled the command of the Lord Jesus by giving to those who were not able to pay him back ; whereas some persons artfully pursue honour and are ever coveting some other greater honour. While then Polycarp, like Jacob, being a simple and *plain man*, acted in all things without vanity or ostentation, by the labours of his own hands supplying the poor with bodily ministrations as regards food and other necessities of life, he gained renown by his actual deeds ; and Bucolus was informed of this not by the doer, but by the recipients. For as good men regard the conferring of benefits as imperative, so likewise with reasonable men thankfulness on receiving benefits is indispensable. Moreover he rejoiced to see that many persons who were sick and afflicted with devils were restored to sound health through the grace given to him from God, and so the Lord Jesus Christ was glorified. And he beheld many things also concerning him in visions.

11. He perceived therefore that he was worthy ; and for the present, owing to his youthfulness, he enrolled him in the order of deacons with the approval of the whole Church. Blessed indeed was he in being permitted to cover such a head with his hand and to bless so noble a soul with his voice. For the approved and discreet advancement of those who are appointed to an office in the sacred ministry through faith in God is a source of confidence and joy to those who have made the good selection, provoking no blame before men and causing no secret reproaches to the conscience.

12. As a deacon then he approved himself among his own contemporaries, as Stephen did among those of the Apostles ; for being well-equipped in speech and adorned with good deeds, he boldly confuted Greeks and Jews and the heretics. And many a time did Bucolus, by exhortation and encouragement, with difficulty persuade him to allow himself to be disciplined by the Lord and to give catechetical discourses in church. Thus there was given him

by Christ in the first place an ecclesiastical and catholic rule of correct instruction; and being able to interpret mysteries which were hidden from the multitude he expounded them so clearly that the hearers attested that they not only heard but saw the things described. He wrote also many treatises and sermons and letters, but in the persecution which arose on his account, when he was martyred, certain lawless heathen carried them off. Their character however is evident from those still extant, among which the Epistle to the Philippians was the most adequate. This we will include in its proper place.

13. But in his teaching his chief point was that his hearers should know concerning God Almighty, invisible, immutable, immeasurable, and that He was well pleased to send down from heaven His own Word and Son, that the Word, thus taking Man upon Himself and being truly incarnate, might save His own creation; and that He, according to the prophecy which had been uttered, being born of an undefiled and spotless virgin and of the Holy Ghost, accomplished that mystery of generation which is difficult of comprehension to most men. And He consented to suffer for the salvation of men, according as Christ Himself declared beforehand by the law and the prophets concerning Himself, as also the Father respecting the Son; whom also God raised from the dead, and His disciples saw Him in the body such as He had been before His passion; and they beheld Him taken up in a cloud of light into the heavens in the same body in which He created Adam before his transgression. But as concerning the Holy Spirit and the gift of the Paraclete and all the other spiritual graces, he would demonstrate that they could not be possessed outside the Catholic Church, just as a limb cut off from a body has no power, proving this from all the Scriptures; such as the saying by the mouth of Daniel, *And His kingdom shall not be left to another people*, and in the Gospel, *Mary hath chosen the good part, and it shall not be taken away from her*, and other passages similar to these.

14. But in the matter of continence and virginity he was careful to make hortatory discourses, and he would urge that men ought not of compulsion or by commandment of others, even though they might be parents or masters, but by individual choice and desire, to carry it through as a voluntary effort. And he used to say that chastity was the forerunner of the future incorruptible kingdom, and that it received its name of continence (*εὐνοχίαν*) because it had much affection (*εὐνοίαν ἔχειν*) towards the Master, and of virginity (*παρθενίαν*) because the idea of such self-restraint is with God (*παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ*); for those who discipline themselves to such a life deaden the carnal fire. And he would

demonstrate monogamy from the fact of the creation, pointing out that one woman was created for one man ; wherefore also the virgin that is brought to her husband bears her name appropriately : the commencement of the name, he said, signified that she was from God (*παρὰ Θεοῦ*) and the termination describes her as belonging to one (*ἑνός*), that is one husband. And he observed that Lamech, being descended from Cain, was the first to *take to himself two wives* ; and by *taking to himself* is meant doing it not according to the will of God. He said then that, though polygamy was called by the name of marriage, yet it was a specious fornication.

15. And on certain Greeks remarking to him that it was difficult and irksome among the Christians to be able to master the desires, he replied ; ‘ It is foolish to suppose that whatsoever things seem impossible to men are really impossible ; but understand that the Lord bringeth about all things, and the Master of the universe subjecteth them to His mighty chariot-reins.’ For after setting forth three kinds of chastity, he banished and exterminated fornication from the faithful, and established the rule and sovereignty of chastity ; for while the rest of mankind have unbalanced and vague and irregular impulses, and *like horses rage and neigh after their neighbours’ wives*, only those who wait in fear to be judged by the heavenly law and the word of God, which is the avenger and champion of all, are satisfied with a single marriage that exists for the procreation of children. Women in like manner are taught to look only to the husband of their virginity.

16. The second kind of chastity is that of widowhood, transcending the one already mentioned. For the latter seemed to be difficult at first until it was surpassed by that which is able to desist from concessions previously allowed. But the third kind which practises a chastity victorious in every feat—what superiority has it not over the others ! What desirable and laudable honour does not belong to the kind of continence and virginity, which shakes off and (so to speak) casts away all the shackles of the lower life, and with light bound and agile step outruns and overleaps the feats already described ! For it evinces greater determination in the person who adopts it, than the being content with one alone or the desisting after experience, and it proclaims superior power in God who bestowed it. For that it is voluntary on the part of the man who so chooses, and that it is a gift of God whose is the power, our Saviour showed when He said that men *made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven’s sake*, and that *all men could not receive this word*.

17. But as from that time forward he advanced daily in years also,

and the flower of a hoary head, the forerunner of old age, appeared, and here and there a white hair began to smile above his temples—for human nature asserts itself not fortuitously, but by a divine providence, and puts forward each development at the proper season as a reminder to the race, and with much grace of wisdom calls the man to perfection by deeds and words; as for instance when it says, *How long, thou sluggard, dost thou lie down; and when wilt thou arise out of sleep?* or again, *Prepare thy works for thy departure;* so also by these means methinks it reminds every one of us of the end before it arrives, that the whiter a man's head becomes by time, the brighter his soul may grow by the Word. Bucolus therefore, seeing that Polycarp's age was adequate and that the propriety of his conduct throughout all his life was even more adequate than the number of his years, perceived that he was most excellent as a fellow-counsellor to him in questions relating to the Church and as a fellow-minister in teaching; while the Lord set His seal on and ratified his design, giving him commandment in a vision. Accordingly he appointed him to an office in the presbyterate, the whole Church with one accord welcoming him with great joy, although he himself shrunk from such an undertaking. For he said that it was enough in itself to give account of one office and one ministration, let alone of several. And he went on to say; 'If a man being unworthy dareth to lay hold of such an honorable office, he bringeth judgment on himself; but if he be worthy, he has the full reward of his former works, receiving the order of the priesthood as in a manner a reward.' Seeing then that it was impossible to gainsay the counsel and appeal of God, he receives the order of the presbyterate, whereupon he saw a vision and received much comfort.

18. From that time forward therefore, much progress being made in the word of teaching through him, all men glorified our Lord Jesus Christ. For he would extend his discourse to great length on diverse subjects; and from the actual Scripture which was read he would furnish edification with all demonstration and conviction, so that the things spoken were presented to the hearers as if exhibited to the eye. For he was wont to say that the speaker must first believe what he says; seeing that in this way he sets them forth, not as the relation of others, but as achievements of his own. And his voice was grave and manly, with look and gesture corresponding thereto, having sweetness and melody and being pervaded with the fear of God. And on one occasion a person said to him..... for when holding discourse with Jews and Gentiles and with the sects, he would speak loudly, so that some of those standing below could hear him: and for the purpose of

showing what things ought to be said with kindness and not with heat, he would proceed thus; 'How think ye that the Lord spoke such words as these to him that had his hand withered? as the Scripture saith *And looking round upon them He said in anger, Stretch out thine hand*; or that saying? *O faithless and perverse generation*, and other words such as these; or the Apostle Peter? *Why did ye conspire among yourselves to tempt the Spirit of the Lord?* Or Paul? *I would that they would cut themselves off that disturb you.* On the other hand when administering comfort, the Lord spoke in gentle language and loving tones; *Come, all ye that labour and are heavy-laden.* And again with sympathy towards the city of Jerusalem saying, *How often would I have gathered thy children*, and other words of a like kind. Again Peter with John at the Beautiful Gate addressed the paralytic with pity, and Paul writing to the Galatians says, *My children with whom I am in travail again*, when the moment for comforting demands it.

19. So also he pursued the reading of the Scriptures from childhood to old age, himself reading in church; and he recommended it to others, saying that the reading of the law and the prophets was the forerunner of grace, preparing and making *straight the ways of the Lord*, that is the hearts, which are like tablets whereon certain harsh beliefs and conceptions that were written before perfect knowledge came, are through the inculcation of the Old Testament, and the correct interpretation following thereupon, first smoothed and levelled, that, when the Holy Spirit comes as a pen, the grace and joy of the voice of the Gospel and of the doctrine of the immortal and heavenly Christ may be inscribed on them. And he said that they could not otherwise receive the impression of the seal which is given by baptism and engrave and exhibit the form conveyed in it, unless the wax were first softened and filled the deep parts. So also he thought that the hearts of the hearers ought to be softened and yield to the impress of the Word. For he said that it unfolded and opened, like closed doors, the minds of recent comers; and accordingly the prophet was bidden by God, *Cry out mightily and spare not, Raise thy voice as a trumpet.* What must one say, when even He that was gentler than all men so appeals and cries out at the feast of Tabernacles? For it is written; *And on the last day, the great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried saying, If any man thirsteth, let him come to Me and drink.* Yes, for when He is teaching He will cry out, but if He is spitted upon and brought to trial and is tempted and suffers, He will be silent, when *He is led as a sheep to the slaughter and as a lamb before the shearer is dumb.* For I, it is said, *like a deaf man heard not, and I became as a man that heareth not and hath no reproofs in his mouth.*

20. The wealth of the grace given by Christ to Polycarp has led us on, while recording his course of life, to explain in turn the character of his teaching likewise. How he used to interpret the Scriptures, we will defer relating till another time, setting it forth in order and showing our successors also how to minister correct instruction in the holy and inspired Scriptures. But for the present we will proceed to speak of the episcopate conferred upon him, and what great things he did when he found himself in this position, running the race of godliness successfully. Bucolus then, forasmuch as the Lord had often signified to him beforehand in visions that he had a man of this kind for his successor, in joy and gladness at leaving as it were a prudent heir, when he went to his rest fell asleep in this manner. At the season of his departure he took hold of Polycarp's hand, and pressed it first upon his own breast, then on his face, signifying that whatsoever graces are ministered through these organs of sense (the heart that understands and the eyes that see and the ears that hear and the nostril that inhales the odour of Christ and the mouth that by speech preaches God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ) will all be committed to him. He then having done this and said, 'Glory be to thee, O Lord,' fell asleep. But Polycarp for the present took no account of any of these things, for his hope and longing was always set on things future. But the believers who were present and standing round, when they saw this, compared notes one with another privately, being hopeful of getting such a man for their pastor. So having taken the body of the blessed Bucolus to Smyrna to the cemetery in front of the Ephesian Royal gate, and placed it where recently a myrtle tree sprung up after the burial of the body of Thraseas the martyr, when all was over, they offered bread for Bucolus and the rest. Now they were all of one mind that Polycarp should offer it; but as he was always scrupulous and desired to yield honour to his superiors, they prevented its happening otherwise. And so he was persuaded and performed the service.

21. And without any delay, not many days after, gathering together bishops from the cities round about and making preparations for the reception of the visitors, they took measures for the appointment of a successor to preside over the Church. When they arrived, great crowds gathered from the cities and villages and fields, some knowing Polycarp, others desiring from what they had heard of him to behold him. So when they were assembled together and the church was filled, the glory of a heavenly light shone among them all, and certain brethren saw marvellous visions. One saw hovering over Polycarp's head a white dove encircled in light. Another beheld him, before he had sat

down, as if already seated in his chair of office. A third saw him in the guise of a soldier girdled with a crimson belt. To another again he appeared arrayed in purple, and a sort of light shining about his face; while another, a faithful and reverend virgin, saw him twice his proper size, and a scarlet robe on his right shoulder, and his neck glistening like snow, and a seal upon it.

22. And on the sabbath, when prayer had been made long time on bended knee, he, as was his custom, got up to read; and every eye was fixed upon him. Now the lesson was the Epistles of Paul to Timothy and to Titus, in which he says what manner of man a bishop ought to be. And he was so well fitted for the office that the hearers said one to another that he lacked none of those qualities which Paul requires in one who has the care of a church. When then, after the reading and the instruction of the bishops and the discourses of the presbyters, the deacons were sent to the laity to enquire whom they would have, they said with one accord, 'Let Polycarp be our pastor and teacher.' The whole priesthood then having assented, they appointed him notwithstanding his earnest entreaties and his desire to decline.

23. Accordingly the deacons led him up for ordination by the hands of the bishops according to custom. And being placed in his chair by them, he moistened and anointed first with tears of piety and humility the place where in the spirit he saw standing the feet of Christ who was present with him for the anointing to the priestly office. For where the ministers are—the priests and Levites—there in the midst is also the High-priest arrayed in the great flowing robe. Then the company present urged him, since this was the custom, to address them. For they said that this work of teaching was the most important part of the communion. So opening his mouth he spoke out, his voice betraying the fear in his heart, and said;

'Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord, the High-priest and shepherd and teacher and king eternal, even Christ to whom be the glory for ever and ever—the God who proveth us in all things and *searcheth our hearts* by all means, as He did those of our fathers and of His holy prophets to whom He gave commandments and ordinances that they should make known to the rest the faith that was in them; as even now He hath proved my meanness through the greatness of this office which exceeds my powers; for I well know that no man could fulfil it well, except he hath first received it from the Lord from heaven, as the blessed Apostle Paul hath shown in his epistles, showing in a single word the whole life of one who is appointed to office, when he speaks of it as *blameless*. This I think cannot have escaped the ears

of any one, but must have been impressed upon his inmost soul wholly and completely. Wherefore it is necessary for you, my beloved, to make supplication on my behalf to the Lord, that He will himself grant me to minister acceptably to His spotless bride, the Church. The same also is the duty of all my fellow-servants and ministers, to whom it is needful to make exhortation in the presence of God and of you, that they labour with me and assist with all readiness and with *love unfeigned* in the struggle that lies before me, knowing that all must run together so that we all may receive the prize, forasmuch as the crown of immortality is offered to all alike, the Omnipotent God and our Lord Jesus Christ crowning without respect of persons him that has fought well and conquered by grace; through whom to the Invisible and Immeasurable, the one only Immortal Father in the Holy Spirit the Paraclete, glory, honour, and power both was and is and shall be for ever. Amen.'

After this the others also, having made the proper exhortations and appeals on the Sabbath and on the Lord's Day, and offerings and eucharists, rejoicing and partaking of food, returned each to his own home rejoicing greatly at having communicated with Polycarp, and glorifying Christ Jesus the Lord for it, to whom is the glory for ever. Amen.

24. And on the following sabbath he said; 'Hear ye my exhortation, beloved children of God. I adjured you when the bishops were present, and now again I exhort you all to walk decorously and worthily in the way of the Lord, knowing that, when I was in the ministry of the presbyters, I applied so great diligence according to my power, and shall do this the more now when the greatest peril awaits me if I am negligent. For after the fear of the judgment, it were shameful to abate and relax anything having regard to men, and not rather to build up higher the zeal which has reached thus far. It pertaineth to you therefore to hold back from all unruliness, both men and women; and let no one imagine that I exact punishment from offenders not from conscientiousness but from human pride. For it has happened that some of those who were put into offices, when they ought all the more, as one might say, to strain every nerve in the race, just then relax their efforts, forgetting that, the greater honour a man appeareth to receive, the greater the loyalty which he ought to pay towards the Master, and to *remember the words of the Lord* how He himself said, *On whom I conferred the more, from him let them demand the more abundantly in return*; and the parable of those who had the talents committed to them, and the blessing pronounced upon the servant that watches, and



the reproof of those who refused to come to the marriage feast, and the condemnation of him whose garment was not befitting the marriage festivity, and the entering in of the wise virgins, the saying *Watch ye*, and again *Be ye ready, Let not your hearts be weighed down*, the new commandment concerning love one towards another, His advent suddenly manifest as of rapid lightning, the great judgment by fire, the eternal life, His immortal kingdom. And all things whatsoever being taught of God ye know, when ye search the inspired Scriptures, engrave with the pen of the Holy Spirit on your hearts, that the commandments may abide in you indelible.'

25. Thus speaking in this way from time to time, and being persistent in his teaching, he edified and *saved both himself and his hearers*.

But I will now record such of the miracles wrought by his hands as have been handed down to us. Once upon a time Polycarp went to Teos, which is near the warm baths commonly called Lebadia, to visit a certain bishop Daphnus by name, who after supper informed him of the scantiness of his means of subsistence, telling him how meagre a supply of food he had reaped from his husbandry. But he, when Daphnus showed him the barrels nearly empty, laid his hands on them and said; 'In the name of Jesus Christ use them freely.' Whence from that hour such abundance was multiplied that, after sowing the land, and providing without stint for his own household, he was able to give to others also.

26. Now after a lapse of time he came again to visit Daphnus; and Daphnus in thanksgiving for this great favour made an offering in his presence to a number of brethren. Accordingly he set a little cask full of wine in the midst of them. But when he told the servants to bring wine from the house and pour it in, Polycarp said; 'Let it be as it is, for it will not fail.' And as they drew and drank the wine, while yet the wine only abounded the more, a servant girl standing by shouted out not in fear, but in merriment and laughter, saying 'Inexhaustible little cask.' At this the angel who was appointed over the miracle of power retired, and the result was that even the wine that was there vanished, whereupon Polycarp said: 'Ay, well was it said by the mouth of David, *Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice before Him in trembling*.'

27. Now among others whom Polycarp appointed deacons was one named Camerius, who also became bishop the third in succession from him and next after Papirius. This man Polycarp took with him and went into the country, for he was careful to superintend the

churches scattered through the villages also. And as he was returning to the city, a widow from a certain field ran up to him in the road and being in great straits brought him a little bird still young; and on his declining to take it, she prevailed upon him, telling him to treat it as an offering. But when evening came, as he generally travelled on his own legs, being tired he decided to put up at a certain inn with Camerius, since the place in question had not yet received the Gospel of grace. Well, it came to pass after supper that when he retired to rest he fell asleep quickly; for voluntary distresses of the body induce rest in solitary places. And when night was nearly half past, an angel of the Lord stood by him and smote his side and said, 'Polycarp.' And he said, 'What is it?' The angel replied, 'Rise and go out of the inn: for it is on the point of falling.' So he woke up and called Camerius. But he, being weighed down with sleep and fatigue together, answered him but not without difficulty: and explaining to him, he tried to induce him to rise. But Camerius replied to him, 'The first sleep is not yet passed, blessed father, and where are we going? Thou art always studying the Scriptures and wakeful. So thou fallest not asleep.' And Polycarp tried to awake him; but he lay still. And when the angel stood by him a second time and said the same thing, again he told Camerius to get up. And on his saying in reply, 'I have trust in God that, while thou art here, the wall will never fall,' Polycarp said, 'I too have trust in God, but I have no trust in the wall.' So he fell asleep the third time, and the same word was spoken by the angel. Then he without delay rose first, and Camerius afterwards leapt up hastily. But when they had gone out and had made a little progress on their way, they remembered that they had left the little bird in the inn. When they were distant about a stone's throw, 'Hesitate not,' said he, 'for the blessed widow designated it for an offering.' And he returned and took it: and when he had gone forward a little distance the inn fell entirely to the ground, foundations and all, so that not one of the inmates was saved. Then Polycarp standing and looking up to heaven said; 'O God our Master and Lord Omnipotent, the Father of Thy blessed and holy Son Jesus Christ, who didst foretell the overthrow of the Ninevites by Thy great prophet Jonah, and didst grant him to escape from the dangers, verily I bless Thee that Thou didst rescue us from this danger by the hand of an angel, through whom Thou didst make known unto me that which was about to happen.'

28. And another miracle also was wrought by his hands as fol-

lows. When all the men in the city had gone to sleep and it was near midnight, and the bakers were making bread, it happened that fire falling on the faggots near at hand set the shop in flames, and spreading thence got hold of a very considerable part of the city. But when the people had run together and there was much shouting and confusion, the mayor ordered the engines which were prepared for this purpose to be brought up. So the hose and water and every contrivance of art was brought. The Jews also came down under pretence of being able to extinguish it, since they always present themselves uninvited at a fire: for they assert that conflagrations cannot possibly be stopped in any other way but by their presence. This is an artifice of theirs to plunder the property in the houses. As the city then was in danger, the mayor said; ‘Sirs, ye who are here with us at the season of this dire spectacle, you see that it is of no use, because the wind is contrary: and when our only hope was in the presence of the Jews, we have failed even in this. What then do I advise? Listen to me. The other day in the mayor’s lodging a strange seizure overtook a servant of mine getting up at night, and he cried out and lost his senses. And when we kindled lights, we found him in a phrenzy devouring everything. Now at break of day the Jews came, wanting to cure him by charms: but he, single handed, struck them and was within an ace of killing them, numerous as they were; and tearing off their clothes, he drove them away naked and covered with blood. Then a certain person in my house, who was a Christian, said; “If you bid me, I will summon one who is able to master him.” I gave permission, and the teacher of the Christians, whom they call Polycarp, came. But while he was still a very long way off the young man cried out loudly, “Polycarp is coming to me, and I shall fly.” And as he approached...’

29. ....as was wont, making no progress for several days, they stopped at length. And when after some trouble those who held the office of councillors were brought together, and the mayor stated that he neither had corn nor could discover whence to buy it, though ready to pay down the money, a certain person, a man advanced in years, rose up from the midst of them and said; ‘Sirs, all of you who were present at that season, when the city was endangered from a conflagration which broke out at midnight, remember distinctly how, when neither we nor the Jews were able to extinguish the fire, a man divinely gifted in the lessons of truth, the priest of those who are called Christians, being invited by you, standing before us all and looking up to heaven said some words or other, and forthwith the flame gathering

into a ball and paying respect, I know not how, to his voice sunk down into itself; and the thought has often crossed my mind that that man is some god or other. Now you know that our poets and historians say that the heavens send down their gods in the likeness of men, both to punish wrong-doers and likewise also to avenge those who suffer wrong.'

30. But they, when they heard him, shouted out and demanded that a general assembly should be called. So, without delay, they all went off in a body to the theatre; for being distressed by famine they looked to their immediate necessity, since they were compelled to declare, if only by their shout, that there was one God. When therefore they sent for Polycarp and urged him to come, he was found and brought. Then he was conducted to them; and, while the people shouted aloud, the chief men of the city said to him: 'Polycarp, thou seest that the city of which thou also art an inhabitant is in straits, and thou thyself sharest with us and dost participate, if not in our customs, at all events in the scarcity which now exists owing to the drought. The Smyrnæans therefore urge thee to ask rain of thy God, that the earth receiving water from heaven may return to the husbandmen the seed committed to it.' But his face was covered with blushes, and his whole body dripped like a fountain with profuse sweat, while his heart leaping and throbbing bounded to heaven in prayer. Then slowly, but yet decidedly, he answered saying; 'Sirs, ye who inhabit this most beautiful city, give ear to me a sojourner and a stranger, to whom every city is foreign by reason of my heavenly citizenship and all the world is a city by reason of the gift of God who created all things. For I have not, as ye suppose, so high an opinion of myself that I am able, when a whole nation is justly chastised for its sins, to divest it of its scourges; but how much is possible, I will explain. Gathered together with me are certain venerable old men with whom I myself confer, when I want to ask a thing of God, urging them to be ambassadors on my behalf. With these then I will confer, that they may also be ambassadors on your behalf with Him through prayer; but to you my advice is, that ye be of good courage and order all the people to throw off this distress and to hope for better things. For God, being long-suffering, giveth times for repentance to the race of men.' Then the mayor took courage, as well from the miracles previously wrought by Polycarp himself, as from the words spoken by him, and said; 'Assuredly ye know all of you, citizens and strangers, that while we strive to propitiate the divine being with our own customs and institutions, performing sacred rites and sacrifices and kindlings of altars and burnings of incense, this man and those whom he says he has with

him as fellow priests and fellow ministers, retire apart and offer their prayers to their God more leisurely. Let us then separate—we and they—and let us send this man away, offering him security, that dismissing the fear for his life which has overtaken him from this tumult, he may perform his sacred rites on our behalf with his mind undisturbed and his thoughts calmed.’ And with these words he dismissed the people.

31. Then he without delay ran to the Lord’s house, where it was customary for the Church of Christ to assemble ; and he ordered the deacons to charge them all to take care again that one prayer might be offered up by many. But they, having already prepared themselves from day-break, because of his being taken into the theatre, and because it was Friday (for they were apprehensive lest he should suffer some harm from the people), when they heard it gathered quickly together. Then said he to them ; ‘ Let us remember, brethren, the promises of our Lord Jesus Christ who said, *Ask, and it shall be given to you ; for if two of you shall agree concerning any thing whatsoever that ye may ask, it shall be done unto them of My Father which is in heaven.* Let us therefore ask in faith and without wavering in our minds, for the prayer of the suppliant is in a manner weighed as in a balance, and is swayed on whichever side the mind inclines. This indeed is evident from Peter’s walking on the waves : for so long as he had faith he walked, but when he was alarmed at the violence of the wind, he sunk into the deep, as an example to us, that we may understand the inclination on either side. Possessed with such confidence, Moses the servant of God said to the people, when they failed from fear ; *Stand, and ye shall see the glory of the Lord.* For of a very truth we need to stand firm upon the rock, that nothing wavering we may continue unmoved and unscared through faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ ; who also gave rain to the blessed prophet Elijah in answer to his prayer, when the heaven was shut three years and six months.’

32. And with these words, kneeling down first with them all, he prayed at great length as follows ;

‘ O God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, O God Omnipotent, that art blessed for ever and ever, Amen ; unto whom archangels, glories, and heavenly powers, thrones, dominations, seraphim, and cherubim, do service ; Thou God who *madest the heaven and the earth and sea and all things that are therein*, that fashionedst man after Thine image and likeness, for whom also Thou wast well pleased to send Thy Word upon earth, that being incarnate of a Virgin and the Holy Ghost,

He might save and raise up through His passion man who had fallen under the dominion of sin ; Give ear, O Lord, look upon us, Thou Holy One, listen to the prayers of Thy holy Catholic Church, and give rain upon the face of the earth, and seed for the sower and bread for food. For in the days of necessity the heathen, perceiving that we are Thy servants, seek righteousness from us. And now, Lord, let all our adversaries perceive it.'

When he had offered this prayer, the heaven gave rain, and all glorified God that worketh marvellous things through His servants ; to whom be the glory and the power both now and to endless ages with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

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## II.

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