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**THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS**

**II**



# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
KIRSOPP LAKE

IN TWO VOLUMES

II

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS  
THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP  
THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS

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THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS  
THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

## THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

The Shepherd of Hennis is in form an apocalypse. It consists of a series of revelations made to Hermas by the Church, who appears in the form of a woman, first old, and afterwards younger; by the shepherd, or angel of repentance; and by the great angel, who is in charge of Christians. Each revelation is accompanied by an explanation, and from these 'it can be seen that though the form of the book is apocalyptic and visionary, its object is practical and ethical. The main problem, which constantly recurs, is that of sin after baptism. In the circle to which Hermas belonged the belief obtained that Christians after baptism were capable of leading sinless lives, and that if they fell they could not again obtain forgiveness. Experience, however, had shown that in this case few indeed would be saved, and the message of Hennis was that for sin after baptism there was still the possibility of forgiveness for those who repented, though this repentance would not avail more than once. A great part of the book is taken up in developing the details of this doctrine of repentance, which is entrusted to an angel called the Shepherd, who gives his name to the book, and it is obvious that



## THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

we have here the beginning of the Catholic doctrine of penance.

The Shepherd is divided into Visions (in the last of which the Shepherd appears), Commandments or Mandates, as they are more usually called, and Parables or Similitudes. It may roughly be said that in the Visions the necessity for repentance is enforced, in the Mandates the life required from the penitent is explained, and in the Similitudes the working and theological doctrine of repentance is developed.

The date and provenance of the Shepherd is fixed by the list of canonical books in the Muratorian canon, which rejects the Shepherd of Hermas, though some accepted it as a canonical apocalypse, on the ground that it was written "quite recently, in our own time in the city of Rome, by Hermas, while his brother Pius was sitting on the throne of the church of the city of Rome." Pius was Pope about 148 a.d., so that the Shepherd must have been written in Rome at about that time. Many critics, however, think that it may have been written at intervals during the twenty or thirty years preceding this date, and that traces can be seen of varying dates in the three divisions of the book. This question, which can probably never be decided satisfactorily, and in any case depends on the consideration of a mass of details which cannot be discussed shortly, may best be studied in Hamack's *Chronologie* and in Zahn's *Her Hirt des Hermas*.

The authorities for the text of the Shepherd are as follows:—

N, Codex Sinaiticus, containing Vis. I. i. 1. to Mandate IV. iii. 6. written in the fourth century, probably in Alexandria or the neighbourhood.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

A, Codex Athous, a MS of the fifteenth century, originally containing ten leaves, of which six are still in the convent of S. Gregory on Mt. Athos, three are at Leipsic, and otte, the last, has been lost.

The text of this MS was copied on Mt. Athos by the celebrated forger Simonides, who brought back with him the three leaves now at Leipsic, and later on was collated rather hastily by Georgandas, but it is very difficult to read, and both the copy of Simonides and the collation of Georgandas are very inaccurate. A photographic reproduction and transcript of the Athos fragment have recently been published at the Clarendon Press.

H, a small fragment of vellum MS, containing Sim. IV. 6-7 and V. 1-5, now in Hamburg, published in the *Sitzungsberichten d. Berlina' Akademie*, 1909, pp. 1077 ff.

Fragments of the text have also been found in the following papyri quoted as Pam, Pox, etc. :—

Amherst papyri, CXC. containing Vis. I. 1, 2-3, 1 ; III. 12, 3 and 13, 3-4. Mand. XII. 1, 1 and 1, 3. Sim. IX. 2, 1-2 and 4-5. IX. 12, 2-3 and 5 ; IX. 17, 1 and 3 ; IX. 30, 1-2 and 3-4. Published by Grenfell and Hunt in *Amherst Papyri*, ii.

Oxyrh. No. 404, containing Sim. X. 3, 2-5. Published by Grenfell and Hunt in *Oxyrynchus Papyri*, in-

Oxyrh. PaP- 1172, containing Sim. II. 4-10. Published by Hunt in *Oxyrynchus Papyri*, ix.

Berlin Pap- 5513, containing Sim. II. 7-10 and Sim. IV. 2-5. Published in *Berliner Klassiker Texte*, vi.

## THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

Berlin Pap. 6789, containing Sim. VIII. 1, 1-12.

Published in *Berliner Klassiker Texte*, vi.

Besides these Greek MSS and fragments, there are three extant versions.

L., the Vulgate version found in many MSS., published in the *Editio Princeps* of Faber, Paris, 1513.

L2, the Palatine version found in Cod. Vat. Palatin. 150, and published in the *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* of von Gebhardt, Hamack and Zahn.

L, without qualification, is used for the consensus of Lj and L2.

E, an Ethiopic translation found by d'Abbadie and published in the *Abhandl. d. deutschen moreenland. Gesellsch.* Bd. II. Nr. 1.

C, a few fragments of a Sahidic Coptic version have also been found in Papyri now in the Bib. Nat. at Paris and in the library of the Louvre, and have been published in the *Sitzungsberichten d. Berlin Akad.*, 1903, pp. 261 ff., in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 1905, pp. 424 ff., and in the *Z. f. Aeg. Spr. und Aliertumskunde* 1910, pp. 137 ff. Some evidence is also given by the numerous citations in Clement of Alexandria, pseudo-Athanasius, and Antiochus of Palestine, quoted as Clem., Athan., and Ant.

The text of Hermas is probably far from good : the evidence of the papyri shows that neither nor A is completely trustworthy, and it is unfortunate that for so large a part of the book A is the only continuous Greek text. The evidence of LE and the Patristic quotations, though often valuable, is too free to be used with confidence.

## nOIMHN

### I

1. O βρεγγρα< j fie rriirpaKev fie 'PoBp rivi, l eis PwfMfv. fiera rroXXà errj ravrtfv ζverfumpicáfiTiv Kal rip%á/iT]v avrrp> àyairâv tos àðeX{/>i)V. 2. fiera ypovov riva Xovopévrvj etç rov rrorapàv ròv Tiftepiv eiBov k ò i èrréBwKa àirfi rìv %eîpa Kal è^iyayov avrryv ζk rov rrorafiov. ravrijs ovv Îðà)p to kcLWos BieXoyi^óptfv èv rij KapBla fiov Xey®i" Ma/râpioç rffirpt, ei roiavrrpi yvvaÏKa eijfpv Kai "raí KaXXei Kal rat rporra>. fióvov rovro ifiovkovaaptfv, êrepov Sé ovBè ev. 3. fiera j(póvov nvà rropevofiévon fiov eiç Któ/xai 2 Kal So^à^ovro<; Tas KriaeK rov deov, á>s fieyaKai Kal ζKrrperreK Kal Bvvarai eiaiv, rrepirrarìv à<f)vrrv<ù<Ta. Kal rrevfiá fie eXafiev Kal arrrfve^Ke fie 8i àvoBlas rivés, 8i àvdptarros ovk èBvvaro àBevtrar rfv 8è o TOTTOç KpiffivmBrff Kal árreppT)y;ζ; j ζirò rmv

l rpiit ywaKÎ riya ALP omitting the mention of her name 'Ktí/tas K AE, civitatem Ostiorum L, the editors emend to Kou/zas (Cumae). It is probable that Cumae is the meaning of the text, but it is not impossible the spelling K<4pas is original. The alternative is that Tropevofiévon tIs Ktipas means the same as the modern Italian "Villeggiatura" (summer holiday in the country).

# THE SHEPHERD

Vision 1

## I

1. He who brought me up sold me to a certain Rhoda' Rhoda at Rome. After many years I made her acquaintance again, and began to love her as a sister.<sup>1</sup> 2. After some time I saw her bathing in the river Tiber, and gave her my hand and helped her out of the river. When I saw her beauty I reflected in my heart and said: "I should be happy if I had a wife of such beauty and character." This was my only thought, and no other, no, not one. 3. After some time, while I was Hermas going to Cumae, and glorifying the creation of God, for its greatness and splendour and might, as I walked along I became sleepy. And a spirit seized me and took me away through a certain pathless district, through which a man could not walk, but the ground was precipitous and broken up by the

<sup>1</sup> As it stands this is hardly intelligible: presumably the meaning is that Hennis was born a slave, and that his owner sold him to Rhoda. It is implied that he then passed out of her possession, and later on made her acquaintance again. The alternative is that *aveyvapiaipniv* merely means "came to know her properly."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

v8aT0>v. àiafiàf ovv tov rroTapov èKeìnov yX0ov  
 èZç rà ópiaXà /caí t i0i> Ta yóvara Kai yp%áp.yv  
 Trpoaev^eaOai rip KVpitp Kai ègop,oXoyeía0ai' fiov  
 Taf ápapTtaf. 4. Trpoaevyopènov Sé piov yvolyy  
 ò ovpavôf, Kai {j'Kerra/ Tyv yvvauca èKelvyv, yv  
 èrre0vpyaa, àairaÇop.évyv pie èlc tov ovpavov,  
 Xéyovaaav Eppiâ jfaípe. 5. /SKetyaf Sè elf avryv  
 Xéyco airy' Kvπia, ri ali &Se troieif; y 3è àire-  
 Kpl0y piar 'AveXÿp<j>0yv, iva aov Taf àpapTiaf  
 èKéy^m Ttpòf tov Kvπiov. 6. Xéya> avTrp Nw av  
 p,ov eXey^of ei; Ov, <j>yaív, aX,Xà aKóVaov tci  
 pÿpMTa, a aot pieXXa» Xeyeiv. ó Oeòf é èv Toif  
 ovpavoif KaTOiK&v Kai Krlaaf çk tov p,y ovTOf  
 t0, ovTa Kai irkyOvvas Kai av^yaaf êveKev ryf  
 àylaf çKKhytriaf ài>Tov ôpÿlÇeTal aoi, oti ypapTef  
 eif èptë. 7. àiroKpideif aiiTjç Xéyw Eic çrè ypap-  
 tov; Troia/ TOirtpl y ttots croi aia^Xfiòv pyp,a  
 eKaKyaa ; ov tràvTOTE ae à>f Oeàv 2 yyyaàpuv ; ov  
 TrávTOTE ae çveTpairyv ç>f àèeXcfiyv ; ri piov KaTa-  
 ■frevòy, & yvvat, to, irovypà ravra Kai aKÓ0apTa ;  
 8. yeXáaaffà pioi Xéyei' 'Etti Tyv Kapbiav aov  
 àvé/By y ètriOvpùa Tyf Trovypíaf. y ov 8oKei avi  
 àv8pì 8iKala> Trovypòv trpàypia eivai, èàn ávafiy  
 avTov ètri Tyv Kapðiav y Trovypà ètriOvpia; àpapTia  
 ye èariv, Kai p&yaKy, <f>yaív. o yap SiKaiOf àvyp  
 8iKaia /BovXeVeTai. èv t & ovv Sixaia ;3ovlevea0ai  
 avTov KaTop0oÚTai y èó^a avTov èv Toif ovpavoif  
 Kai eiiKaTaXXaKTOV è^ei tov Kvπiov èv iravrì  
 TrpárppaTi avTov' ói 8è trovypà ^ovXevópievoi èv  
 Taif Kapùiaif avTcòv OávaTov Kai ài^jMka/Ttap.òv  
 eavTOif èTTiaTrà/vrai, piiXiara oi tov aliava tovtov

Pe. 2, 4 ;  
128,1 ;

Gen. 1, 28 ;  
8,17 ; 9,1 ;  
28, 8 etc.

l Tjiry X\* Lj, Tr<IT9> XcAL2(E). ' fluyarépa A, dominam E.

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. i. i. 3-8

streams of water. So I crossed that river, and came to the level ground and knelt down and began to pray to the Lord and to confess my sins. 4. Now while I was praying the Heaven was opened, and I saw that woman whom I had desired greeting me out of the Heaven and saying: "Hail, Hennis." 5. And I looked at her, and said to her: "Lady, what are you doing here?" and she answered me: "I was taken up to accuse you of your sins before the Lord." 6. I said to her: "Are you now accusing me?" "No," she said, "but listen to the words which I am going to say to you. 'God who dwells in Heaven' and created that which is out of that which is not, and 'increased and multiplied it' for the sake of his Holy Church, is angry with you because you sinned against me." 7. I answered and said to her: "Did I sin against you? In what place, or when did I speak an evil word to you? Did I not always look on you as a goddess? Did I not always respect you as a sister? Why do you charge me falsely, Lady, with these wicked and impure things?" 8. She laughed and said to me: "The desire of wickedness came up in your heart. Or do you not think that it is an evil deed for a righteous man if an evil desire come up in his heart? Yes, it is a sin," said she, "and a great one. For the righteous man has righteous designs. So long then as his designs are righteous his repute stands fast in Heaven, and he finds the Lord ready to assist him in all his doings. But they who have evil designs in their hearts bring upon themselves death and captivity, especially those who obtain this world for

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*irepwroioyvepoi Kai yavpi&vres èv râ ttXovtç) aïirtòv /cal pp avremopevoi t&v àya0tòv t&v peXXovrtov. 9. peTavorprovtriv ai ^rv)çal avr&v, omveç ovk eypvtriv èXirfâa, àXXà eavTovs àrreyv&-Kaaiv Kai rrjv Çmyv avT&v. àXXà ai) vpoaev^ov*

Deut. so, 3 Trpoç tov 0eov, Kai iàaerai rà ápapTrijpará aov  
cf. Jer. 3, 23 Tofi (jIKOV coy irávTWV T&V àyitüv,

## II

1. Merà rò XaXr/aai avTrp> rà papara ravra çKXeladrjtrav oí ovpavol' Kay& oXoç riprjv vetjtpcK&t; Kai Xvrrovpevo<j. eXeyov ðè èv èpavT&' EZ avTt) poi 3] apapria àvaypó^erai, ttwç èvnpaopat a<o0r/vai; r/ ttwç èÇtXàopai tov 0eov rrepl t&v àpapriwv pov rà>v reXetoiv; irolois prjpaai èptorpaai tov Kvpiov, iva iXarevariral poi;  
2. ravra pov trvpfiauxevopévov Kai SiaKplvovro<; èv Trj Kapbia pov, pXétrto Karévavri pov Kaffétipav XevKÍ]v è£ èpiwv ^tovivatv yeyovniav peyàXt]v Kai rjXfiev yvvrj rrpetr^vTis èv tpariapâ) XMpirpotiÎTip, ê^ovaa fti/ixiov etç ràç ^eîpaç, Kai èKafhaev póvrj Kai àtrTrâÇerai pe Eppâ, ^aîpe. Kayto XvTrovpevos Kai KXaitov êlirov }Évria, xaipe.  
3. Kai eiTrév por Tí trrvyós, 'ILppâ; ô paKpô-Ovpos Kai àaTopâxrtToti, ó rrvorore yeX.âv, ri ovrcó Karrüfrfy; ry idéa Kai ov^ ÍXapós; K0yâ> cütov avrrp "Tiro yvvaiKo<j iiyadarrcl/rr)? Xeyovai)<j, ore rjaprov el<; avrrjv. 4. rj ðe etfnj' M.-riðapü<; étiti tov SovXov tov 0éov to iTpåypa TOVTO. aXX.a TrávTtof évi Kapòia v trov àvé{3p vepl avr^ç.

io



## THE SHEPHERD, vis. i. i. 8-ii. 4

themselves, and glory in their wealth, and do not lay hold of the good things which are to come. 9. Their hearts will repent ; yet have they no hope, but they have abandoned themselves and their life. But do you pray to God, and ‘He shall heal the sins of yourself’ and of all your house and of all the saints.”

### II

1. Aft er she had spoken these words the Heavens The vision were shut, and I was all shuddering and in grief, ancient And I began to say in myself: “If this sin is lady recorded against me, how shall I be saved? Or how shall I propitiate God for my completed sins? Or with what words shall I beseech the Lord to be forgiving unto me?” 2. While I was considering and doubting these things in my heart I saw before me a white chair of great size made of snow-white wool ; and there came a woman, old and clothed in shining garments with a book in her hand, and she sat down alone and greeted me : “Hail, Hernias !” And I, in my grief and weeping, said : “Hail, Lady !” 3. And she said to me : “Why are you gloomy, Hermas? You who are patient and good-tempered, who are always laughing, why are you so downcast in appearance and not merry ?” And I said to her : “Because of a most excellent lady, who says that I sinned against her.” 4. And she said : “By no means let this thing happen to the servant of God ; but for all that the thought did enter your

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*ecrriv piv roû<; SouXot? rov θεov rj roiavrrj /3ovXrj  
ápapρίav èiriýépovaa' rrov^pà yàp /3ovXr) Kai  
eKrrXtpcros eîç rràvcrep.vov rrvevpa Kal ifôr) SeSo-  
Kip.aerpζvov, èàv èmOvp'qerp rrowqôv èpyov, Kal  
paXiara "Eppâ<; ó èyKparrp;, à à-n-e-yôp.evoe; 'jráerrp;  
è'irióvπ,la<i Trovripw; Kal rrXúpr|<; rráarj<; airXowjros  
Kal únatelas pÆyàXrp;.*

### III

1. 'AXX' oî% evetca rovrov ðpyiterai croi ó deos,  
ζXX' "va ròv oucón crov ròv àvop,rjeravra et? ròv  
Kvpiov Kal els vpâ,s roù? yoveîs avrâv eTriarpéi/rj;?.  
ζXXζ efuXóre/cvos ζ)V ovk ènovdéreis erov ròv oikov,  
ζXXζ aefrrpces avròv Karae^dapíjvai,l Szζ rovro  
croi ðpyiterai ò Kvpio<|' ζXXζ lucrerai crov  
rróvra rà rrpoyeyováa rrovppa èv τζ oiKcp crov  
Sià yàp Ταç ζKeívcov àpMpria<; Kal avopapara av  
Kare<p&àpr/<; curò r&v ^icoriKwv rrpà^etov. 2. ζXX  
T) TToXvaTrXayxyia rov Kvpiov yXérjcrév ere Kal ròv  
oikov crov Kal Icr^uporroijjai ere Kal bepeXict>crei  
ere èv rfi oó^p avrov. crii p,ónov p,t) padvp,rjperpe;;  
ζXXζ eùirù%et Kal layvporrolei crov ròv oikov. ζ9  
yàp ó ^aX/ceùç er^vpoKorrSiv rò epyov avrov rrepi-  
ylverai rov rrpàppMroe; ov OéXeî, ovreo Kal o Xoyoç  
ó KaOr/pepivo^ § ZiKaiof rrepiyiverai iràrij<; 'irovr)-  
pla<;. per) èiaXiirrp; ovv vovOeréòv crov rà reKva.  
oída yáp, ori, èàv peravorjcrovcriv? è^ oXrp; Kapòlas;  
avreòv, èvypaejùicrovrai et? τζ? fufiXove; rrj<; ζmiff

1 KaratySaprivai K\* Pam, Karci<f>6apijva,i Òeivws ALE.  
s p.travQ'fiiToúa'iv S, fLlTavtyfarwffw A.

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pera râsv áyítisv. 3. pera to rra^vai aiirrs ra  
 pispara ravra Xéyet por ®éleis ¿coverai pov  
 ¿vayevasaKaiserer; Xéyas K¿yás' <3éXa, Kvria. Xéyei  
 por Fevov ¿Kpoarijs Kai cucove ras Sogas rov  
 deov. rpcovaa peyáXass Kal davpaarâss, ô ovk  
 tayyaa pvrjpoveaar irávra yap ra prepara  
 eKcjspiKra, à ov Svvaral avdpasrros fiaaráaai.  
 ra ovv catara papara épvrjpovevaa' yv yap  
 r/ptv avpejiopa km r/pepa' 4. T8ov, ó déos râsv  
 Svvápeasv, ov ¿yairás,l Svvapei Kparaiâ Kae rfj  
 peyaXy anvéaei avrov Kríaas ròn Koapov Kal rp  
 evSógas ¿3ovXrj Trepidéis rr/v evirpérreiax rfj Knaei  
 avrov Kal ras layyprp pr/pari rrpgas ròn ovpavov  
 Kal depeXiásaas rrjv yr/v èrti vSárasv Kai ry ISia  
 aocjsía Kal irpovoía Kríaas ri]v áyíav eKKXtjaiav  
 avrov, fjv Kal 'qvXóy^aev, ISov, pediarávei rovs  
 ovpavovs, Kal ra opt) Kal rovs /jiovovs Kai ras  
 daXáaaaas, Kal rrávra, ópaka yíverai rots ¿KXeKroís  
 avrov, 'iva ¿TroSas avrols rr)v errayyeXiav, tjv  
 èmyyyeiXaro pera rroXXtjs Sogps Kal ^apàs, èv  
 ryp^aasaiv rà vóptpa rov deov, a rrapeKaftov èv  
 peyáXri tríarei.

Ps. 58, 6;  
 etc.

Ps. 135, 6

### IV

1. "Ore ovv èréXeaev àvayivósaKovaa Kal rjyépdp  
 ¿rro rsjs KadéSpas, rjX0av réaaapes veaviai Kal  
 ripav rijV KadéSpav Kal ¿TrjKdov rrpòs rrp>  
 àvaroXsjv. 2. irpoaKaXetrai Sé pe Kal y^/raro rov

l ir àyarù S, qui invisibili (= bopà-ry) Lj, qui omnia  
 virtute sustentabili L2, "in his pity and in his love" E.  
 The text is clearly corrupt, and cannot be restored with  
 certainty.

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. i. iii. 2-iv. 2

life with the saints.” 3. After she had ceased these words she said to me : “ Would you like to hear me read aloud ? ” and I said : “ I should like it, Lady.” She said to me : “ Listen then, and hear the glory of God.” I heard great and wonderful things which I cannot remember ; for all the words were frightful, such as a man cannot bear. So I remembered the last words, for they were profitable for us and gentle : 4. “ Lo, ‘ the God of the powers,’ whom I love, by his mighty power, and by his great wisdom ‘ created the world,’ and by his glorious counsel surrounded his creation w’ith beauty, and by his mighty word ‘ fixed the Heaven and founded the earth upon the waters,’ and by his own wisdom and forethought created his holy Church, which he also blessed— Lo, he changes the heavens, and the mountains and the hills and the seas, and all things are becoming smooth for his chosen ones, to give them the promise which he made with great glory and joy, if they keep the ordinances of God, which they received with great faith.”

The lady  
Hennas

## IV

1. So, when she had finished reading, and rose from the chair, there came four young men, and took up the chair and went away towards the East.
2. And she called me and touched my breast and said

The close  
vision

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*aryffov? pov Kai Xéyei por 'ílpeaév trot y ávávwwaís pov; Kal Xéya> airry- útvía, ravrá poi rà eff^ara àpécKei, rà Sè irporral XaXeirà Kal tFKXypá. y Sè e<j>y pot Xéyovaa- Tavra rà èa^aTa toís Sucalois, rà Sè irpâyra tocs êOveacv Kal toíς aTroararaK. 3. XaXovays avrrjs per' èpou Svo rtpèç avSpes èçfiàvyaav Kal ypav avTyv rûv àyK<ü>-vcùv Kal àtryXdav, otrov y Ka&éSpa, Trpèç Tyv àvardXÿv- ÌXapà Sè crrryXÛev Kai virâývovaa Xéyei por 'AvSpiÇov, 'Eppâ.*

### "O p a a t s .

#### I

1. *Xiopevopévov pov els Kiíipas? Kara top Kaipón, ov Kal Trépvai., irepurraTlòv ànevnyáōyv tt)ç irepvvaivys ópáaews, Kat iráXtv pe a'ípei irvevpa Kai àiro<l>epei eic top avTov tottov, ottov Kal jrèpvvari. 2. èXOèùv ovv eic tov tottov tiòS> tcl yónaTa Ps. 85,9,12; /cal yp^ápyv rrpocrevyeadaí tō> Kvpiqi Kal ^o^á^etv 66,5; aVTOV TO OVOpU, OTb fjÆ CbÇbOV 'TffqeaTO fCCU éyvtóptcrév pot, ràç ápapTia^ pov Tas irpoTepov. 3. psTct Sè to èyepōyvav pe àirò Tys tt)poaev^ys ^XeíTo) airevavTi pov Tyv vpea-^vTepav, yv Kal Trépvvai> çatpaKetv, irepvrraTovaav Kal àvayivm-<TKovaav /BifòXaptòiov, Kal Xeyet por Avvy Tavra*

1 \*pçTtpa Na A (L prjora). X\* omits, but the next line (where A also reads irpíTípa) suggests that its archetype read *irpâra*.

2 *xúpas* NAE, regionem Cumanorum L, but see the note on Vis. I, 1. 3. # *irtpvaiv* ALp TTpóTtpov N, om. EL<ç.

THE SHEPHERD, vis. i. iv. 2-11. i. 3

to me ; “ Did my reading please you ? ” and I said to her : “ Lady, this last part pleases me, but the first part was hard and difficult.” And she said to me : “ This last part is for the righteous, but the first part was for the heathen and the apostates.”  
3. While she was speaking with me two men appeared, and took her by the arm and they went away towards the East, whither the chair had gone. But she went away cheerfully, and as she went said to me, “ Play the man, Hermas.”

Vision 2

I

1. While I was going to Cumae, at about the same time as the year before, as I walked along I remembered the vision of the previous year, and the spirit again seized me and took me away to the same place, where I had been the previous year. 2. So when I came to the place, I knelt down and began to pray to the Lord and ‘to glorify his name,’ because he had thought me worthy, and had made known to me my former sins. 3. But after I rose from prayer I saw before me the ancient lady, whom I had seen the year before, walking and reading out from a little book. And she said to

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ροίς eKXeKTOis τὸν ἴψοῦ ἀναγγεῖλαι; Χτῶν αἰρί' ἰνπρία, ΤοαανΤα πνρjповεααί ον ἐνναπαί- Σὸς Σέ fiat τὸ /3i/3Xi8iov, "να πεΤαυπά^ροjpai avρὸ. Αάfte, τjρjαίν, Kal ἀτροδτοffeis ποι. 4. eXajSov eya>, Kai, et? Tiva τοττοῦ τὸν ἀγρον ἀνα<οπι> <rai πεΤευρα^r- άρjν τράνΤα Τρpὸς ypappa' ον% yupicKov γὰρ ρὰς avXXa/Σαç. TeXétravroi ονvl ρὰ ypάppara τὸν /3t/3Xi8iov ἐ^ai^VTjs ἰpiraya pov ζK Τrjs ΧέΠ0' τὸ fiijèXtòiov viro τlvos Σὲ οvk eibov.

## II

1. Mera Sé Sézca Kal Trévpe r/pépas vrprTeva-av- τοç pov Kal TToXXà ἐpO)Tl)(TaVTOS τὸν Kvpiov àireKaXv<l>0Tj ποι t) yvwais Τρj; ypaipfp. 7p> Σὲ yeypappeva ravTa' 2. Τὸ aireppa aov, Eppà, ydeTJjaav eiç τὸν δεὸν Kal ἐ(3Xa<T<\$>n)pir)CTav eiç τὸν Kvpiov Kal ΤρpὸέZatKav Τοvf yoveί<; avTÙv ἐν irovρjπia peyaXy Kal ^Kovaav irpoèOTat yovétoν Kal ΤρpοSónTe? οvk ζxftex^ffijaav, àXXa sti TíποiréOrp Kav Tais ἀπαρjais avTWV ρὰς àaéXyeias Kal avpc^vppoùs TTOVTjπias, Kal οντcùs ζTrXrjcrOriaav ai àvopiai avTiδv. 3. ζXXà yvióπiaov TavTa ρὰ ptjpaTa Τοis τ Ἰkvois τὸν iraaiv Kai τj avpftiM aov Ty peXXova-r/2 àèèXcftp' Kal γὰρ avTrj οvk àiréxeTai τjς yXtoaaüs, ἐν τj irovρjpeverar àXXà aKovaaaa Ta p-qpαTa TavTa aifte^eTai Kai êfeis eXeοç. 4. πεΤα τὸ yvtoplaai «re Taira ρὰ prfpaTa avTOis, à èveTeiXaTo ποι ο Se<77rÔTlç iva voi

1 οjv K, οiv /l0v A

2 fiiKXoiiap K, utAKova-y <rov A(L).

3

N.

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. n. i. 3-ii. 4

me: "Can you take this message to God's elect ones?" I said to her: "Lady, I cannot remember The little so much; but give me the little book to copy." book "Take it," she said, "and give it me back." 4. I took it and went away to a certain place in the country, and copied it all, letter by letter, for I could not distinguish the syllables.<sup>1</sup> So when I had finished the letters of the little book it was suddenly taken out of my hand; but I did not see by whom.

## II

1. But after fifteen days, when I had fasted and The prayed greatly to the Lord, the knowledge of the theuttie<sup>0</sup> writing was revealed to me. And these things were book written: 2. Your seed, Hermas, have set God at naught, and have blasphemed the Lord, and have betrayed their parents in great wickedness, and they are called the betrayers of parents, and their betrayal has not profited them, but they have added to their sins wanton deeds and piled up wickedness, and so their crimes have been made complete. 3. But make these words known to all your children and to your wife, who shall in future be to you as a sister. For she also does not refrain her tongue, with which she sins; but when she has heard these words she will refrain it, and will obtain mercy. 4. After you have made known these words to them, which the

<sup>1</sup> Hermas no doubt means that it was written, like most early MSS., in a continuous script with no divisions between the words.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*a7roKaXv(j)0fi, rórel àiplevrat avroîi at apapriât,  
 Traçai, ài irpórepov fjpaprov, Kai -rracriv roti  
 áyíon roîi àpaprrpracriv pēfii ravriji rrji ppepai,  
 èàv è£ o Xtjç rfp KapSiai peravor/aataiv Kai apataiv  
 àirò rrji Kapàlai 2 avriàv ràì àitpv)(i,ai. 5. wpoaev  
 yàp ò èèarrór~r)i Kara t ?}ç avrov è-rrì rovi  
 ÌKXeKrovi avrov- èàv ápiapévpi rrji ypépai  
 ravrrp eri apáprujaii yévprai, pi] e-yeiv avrovi  
 <Ta>rr)piaw p yàp peràvoia roii bucatoli e%ei  
 réXoi- TrerrXi`iptovrai al rjpepai pevavoiaì rràiv  
 roti àylon- Kai rois èè edveaiv peràvoia ècrrtv  
 eioi éa^árrr/i rjipépai. 6. èpetç ovv roti rrpov/  
 yovpévov rrji eKKX-qalai, iva KaropOmatovrai  
 rà<f ç Soví airón èv àiKaioavvp, 'iva árhoXá/Stoa-iv  
 çk rRrtpovi ràì èrrayyeXlai pera, rroXXrji So^rp.  
 Ps. 15,2; 7. èppeivare ovv ot èpya^ópevoi rr/v èiKaioavvrjv  
 Heb. n, ss' Kal pi) in^-v^rjcrrire, iva yévrjrai vpòðìv 1; rràpoèoi  
 pera rà>v ça-fyeXwv rà>v àyia>v. paKapioi vpeüi,  
 ocroi vrropévere rrjv GXi^rtv rìjV èpxopévrvjv rr/v  
 peyaXrvjv Kal oaoi ovk ápvrjaovrai rrjV ^air/v avr&v.  
 8. ç ipoaev yàp Kvpioi Kara rov vloV avrov, rovi  
 àpvpaapevovi ròv Xpiaròv3 avr&v àrreyvoipladai  
 àrho r>ji Çü>ç avrùv, rovi vvv peXXovrai àpvei-  
 adat rati èp^opévan Apipan- roti çè rrpórepov*

\* rçre AL}E, \*çTt K Lj.

2 Tris Kapbias ruv KapSiay A(L).

• Xptffrón N\*, Kvpiov Nc AL2, filium Lp

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. n. ii. 4-8

Master commanded me to reveal to you, all the sins which they have formerly committed shall be forgiven them, and they shall be forgiven to all the saints who have sinned up to this day,<sup>1</sup> if they repent with their whole heart, and put aside double-mindedness from their heart. 5. For the Master has sworn to his elect by his glory that if there be still sin after this day has been fixed, they shall find no salvation; for repentance for the just has an end; the days of repentance have been fulfilled for all the saints, but for the heathen repentance is open until the last day. 6. You shall say, then, to the leaders of the Church, that they reform their ways in righteousness, to receive in full the promises with great glory. 7. You, therefore, 'who work righteousness,' must remain steadfast and be not double-minded, that your passing may be with the holy angels.<sup>2</sup> Blessed are you, as many as endure the great persecution which is coming, and as many as shall not deny their life. 8. For the Lord has sworn by his Son that those who have denied their Christ have been rejected from their life, that is, those who shall now deny him in the days to come.

<sup>1</sup> This is the main point of the "Shepherd." The primitive teaching was that for sin after baptism no repentance is possible (cf. Heb. vi.). Hermas now states that it has been revealed to him that "up to this day," i.e. the time of his revelation, sin will be forgiven to the repentant. But this offer of forgiveness will not be made a second time.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Herm. *Sim.* ix, 25. and Martyr. Polycarp, ii 3 with the note on the latter passage as to the doctrine of a transformation of the just into angels after their death.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*apvijaapevois, Bia rrjv rrokvairXay^viav iXewç èyévero aïtrois.*

### HI

1. Sù 8é, 'Eppci, pijKeri pvqaiKaKrxjaps rois renvois aov pijBè rrjv ζBeX<f>jiv aov éáays, 'iva KaOapiaOmaiv ζTro rmv rrporepwv ápaprimv avrmv. rraiBev0rjaovrai yáp iraiBeía Bucala, èv àij prj pvr)aiKaKJ)aps airrois. pvv)amanía Oávarov narepyciterai. ai) 8é, 'Eppâ, peyáXas ffXíyjrets ea%es IBimrucàs Bià ràç irapafiáaets rov oλkov aov, ori ovK èpéK-qaév aoi Trep avrmv àXXà irapeve( )upr]6ris nal rais rrpapareiais aov avv-ave<j>vpr)s rais Trovi)pais" 2. àXXà amÇei ae ro pi) àrroarr)vai ae àiro deov ^wvros Kai airXortjs aov Kai rj iroXXr) èyKpàreia' ravra aeatoKev ae, èv èppeivrp, tcaï rràvras adirei rovs rà roiavra èpyaÇopévovs /cal rropevopévovs èv cucaicta Kai airXorrjn. ovroi Karia^vaovaivl irarp; Trovrjpias Kai rrapapevovaiv els ^a>i)v aiâviov. 3. paKapioi irávres oí èpyaÇôpevoi ri)v BiKaioavrjv. ov Bia-(j)0aprjaovTai ems alwvos- 4. èpeîs Sè 'ISoû, 0Xîyfris épierai' èv aoi <f>avrj, iraXiv apvi)aat. 'Eyyvs Kvpios rois e7Tiarpe(f>opevois, ms yéypairrai èv rç> 'EX8às Kai MmBâr,2 rois rrpocjyrjrevaav èv rrj èpppw rm \am.

Heb. 8, 15

Ps. 106, 3; 15, 2

Eldad and Modat

1 Kartffxvovffiv frç.

8 'EÀ3à6 Kai Mç?5<ft K, fEXà3 Kai McuSaS A, Helclam et Modal Lu Heldat et Modat L^, Eldad et Mudath A.

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. n. ii. 8-iii. 4

But those who denied him formerly have obtained forgiveness through his great mercy.

### III

1. "But, Hennas, no longer bear a grudge against your children, nor neglect your sister, that they may be cleansed from their former sins. For they will be corrected with righteous correction, if you bear no grudge against them. The bearing of grudges works death. But you, Hermas, had great troubles of your own because of the transgressions of your family, because you did not pay attention to them. But you neglected them and became entangled in their evil deeds. 2. But you are saved by not 'having broken away from the living God,' and by your simplicity and great temperance. These things have saved you, if you remain in them, and they save all whose deeds are such, and who walk in innocence and simplicity. These shall overcome all wickedness and remain steadfast to eternal life. 3. 'Blessed' are all they 'who do righteousness'; they shall not perish for ever. 4. But you shall say to Maximus: 'Behold, persecution is coming, if it seems good to you deny the faith again.' 'The Lord is near those that turn to him,' as it is written in the Book of Eldad and Modat,<sup>1</sup> who prophesied to the people in the wilderness."

<sup>1</sup> This book is mentioned among the Apocrypha of the N.T. in the Athanasian Synopsis and in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, but is not extant. It is thought to be quoted in II Clem. xi. 2. Eldad and Modat are mentioned in Numbers xi. 26.

# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

## IV

1. 'ArreKaXiupdr) Bé pot, ζBéX<[>o; Koiptcpévw viro veavlaKov eveiBearárov Xeyovro? por Tíju irpea^vrépaV, Trap' rçç eXa/Seç rò ftifiXiBiov, riva Bokc íç eivai; èyó> fir/pi- T-rjv 2,i/3vXXav. IIXa-vàaat, <j>T)aiV, ovk ecrtrv. T/ç ovv èariv; (typi. 'H 'EiKKXyaia, <f>rjfriv. el/rrov avrrp- kiarl ovv irpetrfivrepa; "Ore, (jyiprlv, irávriov irparr) ckti-crQ-rp Bià rovro irpea/Svrepá' Kai, Bia ravr-rjv ò Koapos Kar-rjpriadr). 2. perérreira Bè opaaiv eiBov èv rà> oiko> pov. rfxdev rj rrppea^vrépa Kai r/púrijaév pe, el yBr) rò fii/SKtov BéBasKa roi<j Ttpeaftvrépois. rjprvjaap^v BeBmKevai. KaAwç, ^rjaiv, 7r€7roíriKa^' eyrü yap pifiara rrpoadéivat. orav oBv ζTroveXécrtó rá prjp,ara irávra, Bià aov yvcopiaffijtreraí toic; ζkXcktoí^ tráacv. 3. ypá-^rei^ ovvl Bvo /3i/3XapíBia Kal Trép,y(rei^ ev KXijpievTi Kai ev rpaTTTT). trép-^rei ovv KXjy/í.?.? eic; ràç efw TToXets, SKeivip yàp èiririrpaiTrai- Vparrij Be von0errjaei ràç %rjpa<; Kai tovç òp<f>avov<;. ai> Be àvaytócry etç ravrrjv rrjv tróXiv p,erà rtòv 7rpe<r-fivrécùv TÍ3V •rrpoiarapjécùv rrj<; eKKXr)aiá^.

"O p a a i ç y .

## I

1. "Hr elBov, áBeXifioi, rotavrip 2. vijarevaai; v ó WÚkiç Kai Bei0ei<; rov Kvptíov, "va poi ^jave-

l ypápfis oZv t<c ALj, ypdí^eis «ai 7pá^Éts LaF.

IV

1. And a revelation was made to me, brethren, while I slept, by a very beautiful young man who said to me, "Who do you think that the ancient lady was from whom you received the little book?" I said, "The Sibyl." "You are wrong," he said, "she is not." "Who is she, then?" I said. "The Church," he said. I said to him, "Why then is she old?" "Because," he said, "she was created the first of all things. For this reason is she old; and for her sake was the world established." 2. And afterwards I saw a vision in my house. The ancient lady came and asked me if I had already given the book to the elders. I said that I had not given it. "You have done well," she said, "for I have words to add. When, therefore, I have finished all the words they shall be made known by you to all the elect. 3. You shall therefore write two little books and send one to Clement and one to Grapte. Clement then shall send it to the cities abroad, for that is his duty; and Grapte shall exhort the widows and orphans; but in this city you shall read it yourself with the elders who are in charge of the church."

Vision 3.

I

1. The third vision which I saw, brethren, was as follows: 2. I had fasted for a long time, and prayed

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*páurrj rrvj ζTroKaXv^riv, rpv poi eTrryyyeiXaTo Sellai Stà rj|<; irpetrflvTepaf CKelv^f,l avTrj tí| vvk1I poi ornai rj Trperrfiurépa /cal elirév por 'Etteì ovt®ç ζv8erif el Kal arrovSalof elf to yvoivai rrvra, eX0é eif tov àypôv, ottoν xpνèplÇeif, Kai Trepi &pav TrépTTTrjv èp<f>avia0^aopai aoi Kal Selcio coi, a èèi tre lèiv. 3. rjpoi>Tpa avrrjv Xéyτὺν Kvπia, et? itoioν tottoν tov à/ypov; "Ottoν, <jyrj<rlv, OéXeif. è^eXe^àp-qv tottoν KaXòv àva-Keya>prjKÓTa. rrvlv èè XaXfjcrai avrij Kal elirelv tov tottoν, Xéyei por "Hfm2 é/ceì, ottoν OéXeif. 4. èyevóppv ovv, a8eXtf>oi, et? tov àypòv Kal ervveylrp<j>i<ra Taf &paf Kal rfxOov et? tov tottoν, ottoν bieTa^àpt/riv avT-rj eXOelv, Kal lSXeTr® au/t-y/réXiov Keipievov èXecjyàvTrov, Kal èirl tov avp,-y/reXiov é«etTO Kepfiucàpiov Xivovv Kal èTràvto XévTiov è^ptrXwpÀvov Xivovv Kapiràaiov. 5. IZèov TavTa Kelp-eva Kal pvrfiéva ovTa ζv tw tottvp eK0ap,^of èyevóppv, Kal àurei TrópüOf pue eXa^ev Kal ai Tpiyef p,ov òp0ai' Kal àurei <f>plKrj poi irpoirrjXÜev pónov pa>v opto?. èv èpavTW ovv yevópievof Kai pvrj<r0elf Trjf 8ó^rif tov Oeov Kal Xa/3wv 0áp<rof, Oelf Ta yóvara è^topoXoyovpriv t & Kvpiù itoXiv Taf àpapTiaf pov 3 ζ? Kal rrvÓTepov. 6. f) 3è rjX0ev pierà, veavlakiov e£, oi>f Kal Tpore-pov èmpaKeiv, Kai é<TTá0rj4 poi Kal Karr^Kpoaro TTpoaev^opevov Kai è^opoXoyovpévov τδ> Kvpiw Taf àpapriaf pov. Kal à-^rapév/ pov Xeyei-*

1 fKtMts om. X.

2 Om. X\*.

8 àfiaptas iiov—àuaptas p.ov om. per homoiot. NL2.

4 it tì0i A, stetit post me LIÉ, ζirearáSTi is accepted by most editors as an emendation.

## THE SHEPHEBD, vis. in. i. 2-6

the Lord to explain to me the revelation which he had promised to show me through that ancient lady; and in the same night the ancient lady appeared to me and said to me: "Since you are so importunate and zealous to know everything, come into the country, where you are farming, and at the fifth hour I will appear to you, and show you what you must see." 3. I asked her, saying, "Lady, to what part of the field?" "Where you like," she said. I chose a beautiful secluded spot; but before I spoke to her and mentioned the place she said to me, "I will be there, where you wish." 4. I went, therefore, brethren, to the country, and I counted the hours, and I came to the spot where I had arranged for her to come, and I saw a couch of ivory placed there, and on the couch there lay a linen pillow, and over it a covering of fine linen was spread out. 5. When I saw these things lying there, and no one in the place I was greatly amazed, and, as it were, trembling seized me and my hair stood on end. And, as it were, panic came to me because I was alone. When therefore I came to myself, and remembered the glory of God and took courage, I knelt down and confessed my sins again to the Lord, as I had also done before. 6. And she came with six young men, whom I had also seen on the former occasion, and stood by me, and listened to me praying and confessing my sins to the Lord. And



\*VoX  
soxbWjmo aox      nor/ soj.vafno aox      soxbWjmo aox 'g^gy noxn»  
soxdtjimo nox nor/ B  
—> pMf,YY» 'iowwoq Md tuo \*)\$) y •rto^>X,y      -J>4oy>»8 t

vj. aij.j>s amaiay/a oj.noj. »7g .Soxm/orto noj. asnsais  
vidUff 'sqodavjv 'svxv/osri nsj^rxff 'Syi/vxafy 'S»Xj  
-ij.vyri ,aivU<j> 'sao/xy\* .'avn/.3aUjLa 'iriU<[]> '7J, -j

## II

•avxkaaUjLn ioaisi/3 7>> y^aiomn/rsaaJLn  
ivx vkds amaisys vj. ivja.mwLda tins io v o  
ivn a<yj.nv J.ari Uiffvn ivx 'aoaiari 'aox> txítxoyji®  
ÜJ. g Sisasri St' yxx™ ;|li.vij vj/ amj.nv J.sri  
vai 13JL13X yxx0Ji z.so±vr/oaq qoj. vnaais  
amj.aoffVJL ivji mag mj. amj.onUj.vadvqa UqU amj.  
'aiJ.v3 amyyv sojiox U-dsrl yi^aq vj. vis o iydd'^)  
'tijLtv\ r ,ioid 13Á.3X '1W1QVH Udyrf yi^3q vj. sis srf  
avvia 3/qo 7X0 'aoaatiaojiax ano nori Tnoario^  
-i/oOyyiq •mviQVn Udaai yd3J.oidy yj. s<< vai, 'idiaX  
üx lori isnaaas JXX!?' '3r^ ^DVÍ3 ^ri vi^sq vj.  
Sis 1W1QV3/ nori ano sox/toys^ -g •ao.oigyx 'aivU<j>  
'm/^x ,0-° Op '1VO1QVV aoxhodJL Snod3j.nyoadJL  
Snoj. SsejyD 'vidn^ .dj.nv mLsx 'sqm aoviffyy^ ,iori  
idfj3x amj.oaof03k amrib, amaori iva inonviavs a inoj.  
ivoUdmXvav qj. vj.ari ivn "g '3J.j3rlo^onio ivx  
3j.3Lv1tj^ .sioxviavaa iioj. laL^x ivn aoixsj^rfnv qj.  
sqdji. sri is/ov ivn òqdraX skx ari isdiaka^a ivn 'i  
•nov aonio aoj. sis si¿j.nv ^3 u. Sodari iü^y x  
vai 'jiskanooivmq idsjj, yvn vj-mds .amenda  
vj.ayjL noj> amij.dvriy amj. idsji. ivnvnvj 'yrid^i

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. in. i. 6-ii. i

she touched me and said : “ Hermas ! stop asking all these questions about your sins, ask also concerning righteousness, that you may take presently some part of it to your family.” 7. And she raised me up by the hand and took me to the couch and said to the young men : “ Go and build.” 8. And after the young men had gone away and we were alone, she said to me : “ Sit here.” I said to her : “ Lady, let the elders sit first.<sup>1</sup>” She said : “ Do what I tell you, and sit down.” 9. Yet when I wished to sit on the right hand she would not let me, but signed to me with her hand to sit on the left. When therefore I thought about this, and was grieved because she did not let me sit on the right hand, she said to me : “ Are you sorry, Hermas ? The seat on the right is for others, who have already been found well-pleasing to God and have suffered for the Name. But you fall far short of sitting with them. But remain in your simplicity as you are doing, and you shall sit with them, and so shall all who do their deeds and bear what they also bore.”

## II

1. “ What,” I said, “ did they bear ? ” “ Listen,” she said : “ Stripes, imprisonments, great afflictions, crucifixions, wild beasts, for the sake of the Name.”

<sup>1</sup> The meaning is obscure : ‘ the elders ’ is often explained as ‘ the Elders of the Church,’ but it is more probably a mere formula of politeness ‘ seniores priores.’

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

8εfτὰ πέπι) rov àyiàaparos Kai ôç èàn rraOp Slà  
 TO OVOfMT T&V Sè XoWtlàn rà àplarepà πέπι) èarlV.  
 àXXà àpfiorépaiv, Kai rwv ζk SeÇi&v Kai, rà>v  
 àpiareptòv Ka0i)πέva>v, rà avrà Sâpa Kai, ai avrai  
 èrrayyeXiai' pónov eKeívoi ζk Selptòv Ka0i)vrai Kai  
 eXpvcriv Só^av riva. 2. crû Sè KarerriòvpÆÍ^ ko 9-  
 íaai ζk Sefytàn per avrtàn, àXXà rà varepppara  
 aov rroXXa. KadapiaOpap 8è into rwv varepi)puir-  
 rwv <rov Kai navresl oí pi) Siifrv^ovvres KaOap-  
 taOrjaovrai àrro rrâvrwv rwv ápapri)párwv eîç  
 ravripv rijv rjépav. 3. ravra etrraaa rj6eXev  
 àrreXdeîv rreawv 8è avrrjs rrpòs roiis rròèas  
 ypwrijaa aiirrjv Kara rov Kvpiov, iva poi èrriSei^p  
 o èrrr)yyeiXaro opapa. 4. ij Sè rràXiv èrreXà^eró  
 piv r^ç xeipòv Kai eyeípei pe Kai KaOí^ei erri rò  
 avpy^éXiov eviivvpow ζKadéÇero 8è Kai avri]  
 òk òe^icòv. Kai errápaaa pá;3í>ov riva Xaprrpàv  
 Xéyei por BActtsi? lxéya rrpcr/p.a; Xéyio avrjp  
 iivpia, ov8èν pXérroi. Xéyei por Su, Î8ov, ov^  
 ópâf Karévavrt aov rrvpyov péyav oiKoèopovp^ov  
 erri v8ára>v XI0ois rerpavátvoi'; Xapirpois; 5. èν  
 rerpavíovtp Sè wKoSopelro ó rrvpyo<; virò r&v ef2  
 veav'iaKCùv rwv éXrjXvdóra>v pier avrij<;- aXXai Sè  
 pvptáSef àvSpéov rrapé<f>epov λί6owj, oí pèn ex rov  
 ftvOov, oí Sè CK rij<j yf}), Kai èireSlSovv toiç é£2  
 veavíaKOW eKeivoi Sé éXáp^avov Kai toKoSópovv.  
 6. toÛç pèn eK rov /3v0ov Xí0ov<j éXKopévwv}  
 rrâvrat ovrtot ènÔeaav eîç rèjv oiKoSoprpr r)ppoa-  
 pévoi yàp rjaav Kai avve<f>ð)vovv ri) ápoyrj perà  
 rwv èρέpwv Kai ov<o<; eKoXXâvro aXX.ijX.ov,  
 ware rrjv appoypv avrwv pr) <^a;vea&ai, étpáivero  
 1 Trieres N\*, irivrts Sè XeA. 2 Nc ALE, X\*.

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. h. i. ii. 1-6

Therefore is it given to them to be on the right hand of the Holiness, and to everyone who shall suffer for the Name ; but for the rest there is the left side. But both, whether they sit on the right or the left, have the same gifts, and the same promises, only the former sit on the right and have somewhat of glory. 2. And you are desirous of sitting on the right hand with them, but your failings are many. But you shall be cleansed from your failings, and all who are not double-minded shall be cleansed from all sins, up to this day.”

3. When she had said this she wished to go away, but I fell at her feet and besought her by the Lord, to show me the vision which she had promised.

4. And she again took me by the hand and lifted me up, and made me sit on the couch on the left and she herself sat on the right. And she lifted up a certain glittering rod, and she said to me : “ Do you see a great thing ?” I said to her : Lady, I see nothing.” She said to me : “ Behold, do you not see before you a great tower being built on the water with shining square stones?”

5. Now the tower was being built four-square by the six young men who had come with her ; but tens of thousands of other men were bringing stones, some from the deep sea, and some from the land, and were giving them to the six young men, and these kept taking them and building. 6. The stones which had been

dragged from the deep sea, they placed without exception as they were into the building, for they had all been shaped and fitted into the joins with the other stones. And they so fastened one to the other that their joins could not be seen. But the

The vision  
of the town

The stones

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Sè i) *oikoSopr*) *tov irvpyov* wç e£ *evos* *νιδον* ζ*KoSopTjpeVT*). 7. *TOVÇ* 8è *CTepOVS* *ΎΘOVS* *TOVS* *ijtepopévovs* *atro* *ttjs* *itypás* *tovs* *pèv* *cwre/3aWov*, *tovc* 8è *èridovv* *els* *ttjv* *o'iKoSopr)V* *aXXovs* Sè *KaréKoirrov* *Kal* *eppi-rrrovl* *paKpàv* ζ*tto* *tov* *iripyov*. 8. *aXXoi* 8è *Xiôoi* *iroXXol* *kvkXw* *tov* *Trvpyov*2 *eKeivTO*, *Kal* *ovk* *e^p&VT*o *avToîs* è*tri*3 *ttjv* *oiKoSopipr* *Tjtrav* *yáp* *rives* *avrow* è*jr*topiaKÔ*Tes*, è*re*poi 8è *aviapas* *e^ovres*, â*M*soi 8è *KeKo\o/3<opévoi*, *aWoi* *Se* *\evKol* *Kal* *arpoyyvXoi*, *pp* à*ppo*Ç*avres* *eis* *t*)*v* *oiKoSoppv*. 9. *e/BXeirov* Sè è*ré*po*vs* *XiOovs* *pimopé-* *vovs* *paKpàv* à*trà* *tov* *rrvpyov* *Kal* è*pyop*^*vovs* *els* *rpv* ò*Sov* *Kal* *pà*) *piévovTas* è*v* *ti*) *oStp*, à*XXà* *lc*v*Xio-* *fiévovs* *ik* *Tîjs* *ôSov* *eis* *tt/v* à*vo*Stav è*ré*po*vs* Sè è*irl* *Trvp* è*p*Trii*TTovras* *Kal* *Kaiopbévovs'* *eTepovs* Sè *ttLTv* *to*v*Tas* *eyyvs* *vSaTcav* *Kal* *Svva*pévovç *KvXiaôrjvai* *els* *to* *vStop*, *Kaiirep* *ffeXovTtov* *kvKi-* *<rdrjvat* *Kal* è*K*ffè*v* *eis* *to* *vSa>p*.

### ni

1. Aeí^aaá *poi* *ravTa* *rj0eXev* à*iror*pé^*eiv*. *Xeya* à*i*T*p'* *Kvpia*, *ti* *poi* *o<f>eKo<j* *TavTa* èa>*paKOTi* *Kal* *pi*) 'p*vdiaKovTi*, *tI* èa*Tiv* *Ta* *TTparypara*; *airoKpiffelaa* *poi* *Xéyei'* *Tlavovpyos* *eî* *avdptùtros*, *déXtùv* *yivaia-Keiv* *Ta* *irepl* *tov* *irvpyov*. *Nai*, (*j>7*)*pi*, *Kvpia*, *iva* *tois* à*SeXc*fi*ois* à*vayyei*Xw *Kal* *iXaparrepoi* *yévasvTai* *Kal* *ravra*4 *aKovaavres* *yivmaKotai*v *tov*

1 *Ípp*LT*Tov* *ALE*, ζ*Tí*do*VF* *tí*.

2 *rov* *irópyou*—*to*w *itupyov* *om. per* *homoiot.* *bt.*

3 *jirl* *X\**, *tis* *XCA*.

4 *Íap<ζTjpoi* *yéiwrou*, *Kai* *ravra* *AL*, *om.* *HE* which also alter the next sentence to *tfoààij* *Í<f>j*, *ikKovtroyrat* *k.t.K.*

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. tn. ii. 6-iii. r

building of the tower appeared as if it had been built of a single stone. 7. Of the other stones, which were being brought from the dry ground, they cast some away, and some they put into the building and others they broke up and cast far from the tower. 8. And many other stones were lying round the tower, and they did not use them for the building, for some of them were rotten, and others had cracks, and others were too short, and others were white and round and did not fit into the building. 9. And I saw other stones being cast far from the tower, and coming on to the road, and not staying on the road, but rolling from the road into the rough ground. And others were falling into the fire, and were being burnt, and others were falling near the water, and could not be rolled into the water, although men wished them to be rolled on and to come into the water.

### III

1. When she had showed me these things she wished to hasten away. I said to her : Lady, what does it benefit me to have seen these things, if I do not know what they mean ? ” She answered me and said : “ You are a persistent man, wanting to know about the tower.” “ Yes,” I said, “ Lady, in order that I may report to my brethren, and that they may be made more joyful, and when they hear these

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Kypiov èv iroXXíj* 2. »l Sè eiprj- 'ÁKovaovrai  
 pev rroXXoi- aKOvaavres Sé rives é£ avrwv  
*Xaprfaovrai, rivés Se KXavaovrai' aXXa Kat ovroi,*  
*èàn aKovamaiv Kai fieravorjamaiv, Kai avrai*  
*Xaprfaovrai. aKove ovv ras rrapa/SoXas rov rrvp-*  
*rov àrroKaXv-^w yáp aoi rrávra. Kai p.rjKζn fioi*  
*Korrovs rràpexe rrepi àrroKaXv^ems' ai yap arroKa-*  
*Xvxjeiç avrai réXos è^ovaiv rrerrXrjpmfievai yáp*  
*eiaiv. ζXX' oii rravay airovpevos àrroKaXvyjeis'*  
*avails yàp et.* 3. ó fièν rrvpyos, ov /SXérrets  
*oiKoSofiovfievov, èyó> eifii 'FjKKXr/aia, rj o<f>0eíaa*  
*aoi Kai vvv Kai ro rrporepov ô àν ovv OeX^ays,*  
*èrrepwra rrepi rov rrvpyov, Kai arroKaXv>fra> aoi,*  
*'iva xaprjs fierà rûv áyítov.* 4. Xéyeo avrrp Kvpia,  
*èrrei árra% á^iόν fie rjyr)aa> rov rrávra fioi àrro-*  
*KaXvyjrai, arroKaXv^rov. rj Sè Xéyei fior "O èàn*  
*èνSéxrfrai aol àrroKaXv^>0ffvai, arroKaXv^Otfaerai.*  
*fiόνov rj Kapðia aov rrpov ròv ffeòv yra> Kai pi]*  
*^i^v^rjaets, o àν ièps.* 5. èrrrfpàrrfaa avrr/V' Alari  
 ó rrvpyos èrri vSàrtov mKoBófiyrai, KVpia; Eìrrà  
 aoi, ýrfaiv, Kai rò rrpórepon, Kai èK^yreis èm-  
 fieXms' èKfyfrmv ovv evplaKeis rrjv àXifóeíav. Stari  
 ovv erri iSàrcav mKoSofirjrai ò rrvpyos, aKovel ori  
 rj Çtùì] vfíàv Sià vèaros èamOif Kai amOrfaerai.  
 reffefieXímrai Se ó rrvpyos r& prjfiari rov rravro-  
 Kpáropos Kai èνSógov òvófiaros, Kpareírai Sè varò  
 rrpj áopárov Svváptems rov Searrórov.

## IV

1. 'ArroKptOeis Xéyto avrÿ- lívπía, fieyáXms  
 Kai Oavpaarás e^ei to rrpayfia rovro' oí Sé

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. in. iii. i-iv. i

things may know the Lord in great glory.”

2. And she said : “ Many indeed shall hear, hut some of them shall rejoice when they hear, and some shall mourn. But these also, if they hear and repent, even they shall rejoice. Hear then, the parables of the tower, for I will reveal everything to you. And no longer trouble me about revelation, for these revelations are finished, for they have been fulfilled. Yet you will not cease asking for revelations, for you are shameless. 3. The tower which you see being built is myself, the Church, who have appeared to you both now and formerly.

Ask, therefore, what you will about the tower, and I The tower will reveal it to you, that you may rejoice with the saints.”

4. I said to her : “ Lady, since you have once thought me worthy to reveal everything to me, proceed with the revelation.” And she said to me : “ What is permitted to be revealed to you shall be revealed ; only let your heart be turned towards God and do not be double-minded as to what you see.”

5. I asked her : “ Why has the tower been built on the water, Lady? ” “ As I told you before, you are seeking diligently,” said she, “ and so by seeking you are finding out the truth. Hear, then, why the tower has been built upon the water : because your life was saved and shall be saved through water, and the tower has been founded by the utterance of the almighty and glorious Name, and is maintained by the unseen power of the Master.”

## IV

1. I answered and said to her : “ Lady, great and wonderful is this thing. But, Lady, who are the six >JL,ns men Thesis



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

veavíaKOi oi e£l oi oiKoSopovvre;, t/pcç eiaiv, Kvπia; Ovroi eiatv oi áyioi ayyèXoi tov θεov oi TTpÛTOi KTIadévre;, oi; rrapíSwKev o Kvπio; -rrâav ryv KTiaiv avrov av^eiv xai oucoSopeiv Kai SeaTrôÇeiv r^ç Krlaeat; iraay;- Sia tovtiov ovv reXeaffyaetai y oucoSopy tov irvpyov. 2. Oi erepat oi irapatyepovTe; roùç Xiθov; , rteç eiaiv; Kai avToi aytot ayyeXot tov Θεov- ovroi Se oi eg VTrepeypvTes avrov; eietv awreXeaffyaeraí ovv y o'IKoSopy tov irvpyov, Kai Trávre; ðov eixfcpavOy-aOVtat KVK\p TOV rrvpyov Kai SogáaOVaiV TOV deón, on èréXéady y oiKoSopy tov irvpyov. 3. è-rrypànyaa avryv Xèyasv- Kvπia, ydeXov yvwvai T&v XIGarv ryv egoSov Kai ryv Svvaπtv avTWW, iroTaTty ètrTiv. airoKpiOeicra poi Xéyei- Ov^; oti av ¿K TrávTtov à'ió>Tepo<; ei, iva aot aTroKaXvtfffy. aKXoi yáp aov irpoTepoi elatv Kai θεXTiove<; aov, oίç eèet airoKaXvtfidjvai rà ópápaTa raina- aKX' iva SoÇaady to ovopa tov θεov, aoi arreKaXiitfidri Kai arroKaXv^ffyaetai 8là tow Siy/rv^ovç, tov; Sia-XoyiÇopévov; èv raí; KapSíai; avrán, el apa eariv Tavra rj ovk êariv.2 Xéye avTOÍ;, oti ravra irónvra èariv aXyffri Kai ovd'ev è^coffév êariv ιι); àXyOela;, aXXà irónvra laifvpà Kai fienaia Kai redepeXTwpéva èariv,

Ps. 86, ». is

### V

1. "A «ove vvv irepì twv Xidatv ròn> vTrayónTtov tì; Tyv o'ikoSopyv. oí pèv ovv XI601 oí rerpáytiivoi

1 Kc AL, éJ^KoPTa K\*, om. E. (but in the next verse K also reads ?f). l tl tpa . . • obn tanv om. K\*.

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. h. i. iv. i-v. i

young men who are building ?” “ These are the holy angels of God, who were first created, to whom the Lord delivered all his creation to make it increase, and to build it up, and to rule the whole creation. Through them, therefore, the building of the tower shall be completed.” 2. “ But who are the others, who are bringing the stones ? ” “ They also are holy angels of God, but these six are greater than they. Therefore the building of the tower shall be completed, and all shall rejoice together around the tower, and shall glorify God because the building of the tower has been completed.” 3. I asked her saying: “ Lady, I would like to know the end of the stones, and what kind of force they have.” She answered me and said : “ It is not because you are more worthy than all others that a revelation should be made to you, for there were others before you and better than you, to whom these visions ought to have been revealed. But in order that ‘ the name of God might be glorified’ they have been, and shall be, revealed to you because of the double-minded who dispute in their heart whether these things are so or not. Tell them, that all these things are true, and that there is nothing beyond the truth, but that all things are strong and certain and well-founded.

### V

1. “ Listen then concerning the stones which go The stones into the building. The stones which are square and

1 Here almost the equivalent of ‘ meaning.’—‘ What is their meaning in the vision ?’

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Kai XevKoi Kai avpcjxovovvres rats áppoyáis avr&v, ovroi eiaiv ot àrroaroKot Kai èmaKoiroi Kai BiSáaKaXoi Kai StaKOvoi oí rropevðivres Kara ri)v aepvórrjra rov ðeov Kai èmaKoirqaavres Kai 3i8á^avres Kai SiaKovijaavres áyv&s Kai aepv&s τ ο ι ç ε λ τ Χ ε λ τ Ο ι ç rov ðeov, oí pèn KeKoiprjpvot, oí Se èn ovres' Kai rrávrrore eavrols avvecfnóvrjaav Kai èv éavrols elpijrvjv èa-^ov Kai atávffKtov yKovov 8là rovro èv rf) olKoSopij rov rrvpyov avp^f> covavaiv al àppoyal avr&v. 2. Οί Sé ik rov Βuθov eX.Kζpevoi Kai èmnffépevoi ειç rr/v olKOOopr/v Kai avpcj>covovvres rais àppoyáis avr&v pera r&v èρέpcov ΝOwv r&v ifâr) <ζKo8oprjpvcov, rives elaiiv; Ovroi elaiiv oí rradóvres èveKev rov ζvόparos rov Kvpíov.l 3. Τοùç Sè èρέpcovs ΝOovs rovς φepopivouς àrro rijς ^-qpâs ðeKto yv&vai, rives elaiiv, Kvpia. è<f>η Τοùç pèn els ri)v oíKoi>opr)V vrrâyovras Kai pi) Xaropovpévovs, rovrovς à Kvpioς èSoKipaaev, on èrropevQriaav èv rrj evBvrrjri rov Kvpíov Kai KarcopOcôaavro ras èvroKàs avrov. 4. Οί Sè àyôpevoi Kai ridépevoi els rrjv olKoZopr/v, rives elaiiv; Néot elaiiv èv ri) iriarc Kai maroi. vovêevrovvrat Se virò r&v àyyiKcov els rò àyadorroieîv, Stori evpédri)2 èv avroïς rrovrvjpla. 5. Οvç Sè àrriftaXKov Kai èpirrovv, rives elaiiv; Oiroi elaiiv r)paprr)Kt>res Kai OeKovres peravorjaac Stà rovro paKpàv ovk àrrepicl>T)av è^a> rov rrvpyov, on evypTjaroi èaovrai els ri)v oucoZoprpi, èav peravorjacoaiv. oí ovv piWovres peravoeîv, èav peravorjacoaiv, la^ypol eaovrai èv rrj maree, eav vvv peravoyacoaiv, èv & oiKoiopelrai o irvpyos. èav*

1 Kvpiaiv AL, e««v K.

2 evpée-ri o«X evpithl ALJE.

THE SHEPHERD, vis. in. v. 1-5

white and which fit into their joins are the Apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons who walked according to the majesty of God, and served the elect of God in holiness and reverence as bishops and teachers and deacons ; some of them are fallen asleep and some are still alive. And they always agreed among themselves, and had peace among themselves, and listened to one another ; for which cause their joins fit in the building of the tower.”

2. “ But who are they who have been brought out of the deep sea, and added on to the building, and agree in their joins with the other stones which have already been built?” “ These are they who have suffered for the name of the Lord.”

3. “ But I should like to know, Lady, who are the other stones which are being brought from the dry land ? ”

She said : “ Those which go into the building without being hewed are they whom the Lord approved because they walked in the uprightness of the Lord and preserved his commandments.”

4. “ But who are they who are being brought and placed in the building?” “ They are young in the faith and faithful ; but they are being exhorted by the angels to good deeds, because wickedness has been found in them.”

5. “ But who are they whom they were rejecting and throwing away?” “ These are they who have sinned and wish to repent ; for this reason they have not been cast far away from the tower, because they will be valuable for the building if they repent. Those, then, who are going to repent, if they do so, will be strong in the faith if they repent now, while the tower is being built ;

The rejectat  
6tonos

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Sé TeXeaÔfi ij olKodop,-q, ovkIt i ěxpvaaw tottov, ĭXX' ěaovrat ex/BoKot- ptovov Sè toûto ě^outriP, irapà rĭj> irvpytp KeiaOai.

### VI

1. Toó? Sè KaTaKOTTToptévw; Kai paKpàv piirroptévwsl ĭTro toû TTVpyov ðeKet<; yvtòvat; ovtoI elatv ol viol tĭ?? àvoplav ěirlaTevaav Sè ěv virokpl-aet, Kal irâaa Trovrjpla ovk àtréaTt) air avrâv' ðia tovto ovk ě^ovaiv awTr/plav, oti ovk elalv ev^pr/aTot et? olKoùoptiv Stæ rà<j TrovTjpias avTÔtv. Sia TovTo avvcKOTTijaav Kal Troppa) àirepl/priaav ěia ri)v ðpyyv tov Kvplov, oti Trapàtptytaav avTÔv.

2. tov? Sè erepovi, obi étopaKas ttòXXoÛ? Ket-ptévwvi, ptrj v-rrayovTas et? tĭ?p olKoOoprjv, ovtoi oi pt'ev ě-^rapiaKores elalv, ol ěva>KOTE<i t))v aKriOeiv, p,ij ěirip.évonTa'ĭl' Sè ěv ai>Ty.3 3. Ot Sè tæç o-^tcr/xàç ě%ovTeç, Tivet elalv; OvtoI elaiiv ol KaT aWr\<ov ěv Taîç mapolais ě^(pvTe<i Kal p,r; ei,pr)vevovTe<; ěv ěavTois, ĭXXà irpoaa>irov elp^vt)^ ě^ovreç, OTav Sè àir àWrj\av àiro'xeopriaiaiv, al Trovrjpla.L avTÛv ěv TaK Kapðlai<; ěppévoaiv avTai ovv al a^tapul elatv, a<j ěxpvaiv ol Kiûoi.

4. ol Sè KeKoofa)p,évoi, ovtoI elatv TreirtaTev-KOTE<j pèv Kal to Tfkeïov p,épo<; ě-^ovatv4 ěv T-rj ZiKatoavvy, Ttvà Sè pépi) ě^ovatv tt}ç àvopiaf Sià toûto KÔKoftol Kal ovx ĭXoTeXeîç elatv. 5.

1 Kal jĭMKpàv plTTTOfĭjVOVS om, K.

2 ^wi^vovras N, ĭtrip.fĭvavTas A.

3 auTp KLGĒ, aurĭj, jUTjSè koKw^voi tûis aylois. àià, tovtq &Xp7)(rQĭ sclriv ALr 4 Lxov(riv Íxo,Tei

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. in. v. 5-vi. 5

but if the building be finished, they no longer have a place, but will be cast away. But they have only this,—that they lie beside the tower.”

### VI

1. “Do you wish to know who are those which The stones are being broken up and cast far from the tower? brokenup' These are the sons of wickedness; and their faith was hypocrisy, and no wickedness departed from them. For this cause they had no salvation, for because of their wickedness they are not useful for the building. Therefore they were broken up and cast far away, because of the anger of the Lord, for they had provoked his anger. 2. But the others of The stones whom you saw many left lying and not going into side00 °ne the building, of these those which are rotten are they who have known the truth, but are not remaining in it.” 3. “And who are they which have the cracks?” “These are they who bear malice in their hearts against one another, and are not 'at peace among themselves,' but maintain the appearance of peace, yet when they depart from one another their wickednesses remain in their hearts. These are the cracks which the stones have. 4. And those which are too short are they which have believed, and they live for the greater part in righteousness, but have some measure of wickedness. Therefore they are short and not perfect.” 5. “But who, Lady, are the white

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Of èè XevKol Kal arpoyyvXot Kal pt) àppoÇovres eis TTjv olKoSoprjv, r/peç elatv, Kvpla; arroKpidévápm Xéyer "Ecaç rróre pwpos el Kal àavveros, Kal irávra ètrepairâs Kal ovSev voeis; ovroi elaiav èxpures pèv mariv, eyovres Sè Kai, rrXovrov rov al&vos rovrov orav yévqrai dXt'ifris, èia rov ttXovtov l avrâiv Kal Sià t«ç irpaypárelas àrrapvovvrai ròv Kvpiov avr&v. 6. Kal àarroKpidèis avrt) Xéyw Kvpla, •nére ovv evxprprroi èaovrai els rp> olKoSoptjv; "Orav, tjnpriv, rrepiKOTry avriàv ó rrXovros ó ^v^ayaiyaiv avrovs, rore ev^pycroi eaovrai rat de&. aiarrep yap ò Xidos o arpoyyvXos, èàv pt) irepiKOTTj Kal àrro^aXr] è^ avrov ri, ov Svvarai rerpâyivvos yevea Sai, avrai Kal ol rrXovrovvres èv rovrip tç> aiâivi, eav pt) trepiKorrt) avrwv ò rrXovros, ov Svavvrai rS> Kvpltp evxprprroi yeveadai. 7. atro aeavrov irpmrov yvlâdi' ôre ètrXovreis, âxprjaros 7)s, vvv Sè evxptprros el Kal çrfeXipos rij Çtaÿ. evxpt)<rroi ylveade r& 0eâ>- Kal yàp av avros xpâaai eK râiv aiirûv Xídaiv.2

## VII

1. Tovç Se èrépovs Xídovs, o&Ç eiSes paKpàv atro rov irvpyov piirropévovs Kal m-ttrovras els rtjv çSòv Kal KvXiopévovs eK rijs òSov els ràs àvoSlas' ovrol elaiav ol rreiriarevKores pév, atro Se rrjs Sitfrv)çlas avr&v áifíovcriv rt)v oSòv avrâiv rt)v àXtjdivt)v- SoKovvres ovv ;BeXríova oSòv Sv-

1 rov alûvos . . . iiKovtov oni.

2 Kai yàp . . . Kídwv om. N.

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. ni. vi. 5-vii. 1

and round ones which do not fit into the building?" The round She answered and said to me, "How long will you be stupid and foolish, and ask everything and understand nothing? These are they which have faith, but have also the riches of this world. When persecution comes, because of their wealth and because of business they deny their Lord." 6. And I answered and said to her, "Lady, but then when will they be useful for the building?" "When," she said, "their wealth, which leads their souls astray, shall be cut off from them, then they will be useful to God. For just as the round stone cannot become square, unless something be cut off and taken away from it, so too they who have riches in this world cannot be useful to the Lord unless their wealth be cut away from them. 7. Understand it first from your own case; when you were rich, you were useless, but now you are useful and helpful for the Life. Be useful to God, for you yourself are taken from the same stones.†

## VII

1. "But as for the other stones which you saw The átonos being cast far from the tower, and falling on to the aWay from road, and rolling from the road on to the rough th#tower ground; these are they who have believed, but because of their double-mindedness leave their true road. They think that it is possible to find a better

† This appears to be the meaning; but the Greek is obscure and the early translations all paraphrase it so freely that they cannot be used to suggest any emendation.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*vaadai evpeîv, irXav&vrai Kai TaXaiiratpovacv*  
*TrepîiraTovvTes èv Tais àvoèlais- 2. οί Sè 11l-itt-*  
*ovres eiç to irvp Kal Kaiópevoi, ovroi elrriv oc*  
*et'ç TéXoç aTrorrrcivTes tov Oeov tov Ç&vtos, Kal*  
*ovKéTl avròes avé/By ètri Trp Kapèiav tov peTa-*  
*vofiffai ζζà ràç èirtffvpías 11)S àaeXyeias avT&v*  
*Kat' T^v Trovrjpi&v &v elpyáaavTo. 3. touç Sè*  
*ζTepovs tovς TTCTITTOVTas èyyùç t&v vèaTtov Kal*  
*pi) ènvapévovs KvXia-0rjvai eiç to vèa>p OeXeis*  
*yv&vai, Tives elcriv; ovtoç elaiiv oc tov Xoyov*  
*aKovcavres Kal ffeXovTes ^aTrTcadfjvac eZç to*  
*ovopa tov Kvpcov eira oTav avroîs eXdρ els*  
*pvelav rj àyvoTTjs Trjs aXtjdelas, peTavoovacv Kac*  
*iropevovTac iraXiv ζTriaca t&v èiriθvpi&v avr&v*  
*râ>v TrovTjps)v. 4. èTÍXcaev ovv rrjv ζ^rjyyaiiv tov*  
*TTvpyov. 5. àvacZevaàp^vos stc avTrpi eTrrijpw-*  
*rri<Ta, el âpa irávTes οί XíOoc ovtoi οί aTro^e^Xrj-*  
*pcévoc Kal pcij âppâÇovTes els tÿjv olKoèopcijv tov*  
*TTvpyov, el èaTCV avTOcs pieTavoca Kac è^ovacv*  
*tottov els tov Trvpyov tovtov. "Ey^ovcriv, (f>rjaiv,*  
*fteTavocav, aKXà els tovtov tov trvpyov ov 8Ú-*  
*vaVTac appórrai- 6. éréptv ζè tottw àppóaovaiiv*  
*itoXv èkaTTOvi, Kal tovtο OTav ^acravcadwaiiv Kal*  
*eKrrXrj^dxraiaiv t<sub>κς</sub> ppepas t&v ápapTi&v avT&v.*  
*Kal èia tovtο p^TaTedrjaovTai, οti peréXa^ov tov*  
*pjpaTOS tov Sikocov. Kal Tore aiiTOÍs avpfirjaerai*  
*peTaTedpvai eK t&v fBacránwv avr&v, èial Ta*  
*epya à elpyáaavTo Trovrjpá. èàn Sè pi) àva^y ètri*  
*Tÿjv KapSlav avT&v, ov a&^ovTai èia Tyv a-KXrjpo-*  
*Kapèlav ai>T&v.*

*l iti KLç, tàv àvajBp tiri rfy Kapiiav avrwv ALJE.* The text of XLj can scarcely be quite correct, but the other is clearly an emendation.

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. in. vii. 1-6

road, and err and wander miserably in the rough ground. 2. And they who are falling into the fire and are being burnt, these are they who finally 'apostatise from the living God' and it no longer enters into their hearts to repent because of their licentious lusts, and the crimes which they have committed. 3. But do you wish to know who are the others which are falling near the water and cannot be rolled into the water? 'These are they who have heard the Word' and wish to be baptised 'in the name of the Lord.' Then, when the purity of the Truth comes into their recollection they repent and go again 'after their evil lusts.'" 4. So she ended the explanation of the tower. 5. I was still unabashed and asked her whether really all these stones which have been cast away, and do not fit into the building of the tower,—whether repentance is open to them, and they have a place in this tower. "Repentance," she said, "they have, but they cannot fit into this tower. 6. But they will fit into another place much less honourable, and even this only after they have been tormented and fulfilled the days of their sins, and for this reason they will be removed,<sup>1</sup> because they shared in the righteous Word. And then <sup>2</sup> it shall befall them to be removed from their torments, because of the wickedness of the deeds which they committed. But if it come not into their hearts they have no salvation, because of the hardness of their hearts."

<sup>1</sup> Z.e. from their punishment.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the meaning is 'Then, t.e. if they repent,' but the text is obscure, and probably some words have been lost.

# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

## VIII

1. "Ore ovv ζTravaaprvjv épotoTòv avTrjv trepl TfávTtov Tovrtov, Xéyei pov QeXets; âXXo I8eív; KaTetriGvpo^ àv rov ffeaa-aaffac irepi^apyç èye-vópr/v tov lèeív. 2. ζp/tXe^aaá pot virepet,8iaaev Kai Xéyei poi- BXéareçç éirrà yvvaíKaç kvkXm tov Ttvyov; BXgTnu, <f>-r)pi, Kvπia. 'O Trvpyoç ovtoç virò tovtoçv ftaaTciÇeTai **mr'** eTTtrayji' tov Kupiov. 3. aKove vvv ràç èvepyeias avTÚv. y pev TiptúT'r) avT&v, T) Kparovaa t(ζç ^eípaç, Iliatiç «axEíTaf 8ia TavTTIç <rù>Çovrai oí èxXeKTol tov Θεov. 4. ¶ 8è èrepa, r) TrepieÇwcrpevr) Kai àvSpiÇopévvr), 'EyKpareia KaXeíTar avrrj dvyarrjv ζ<t tlv TIIÇ IhaTeeoi. os àv ovv aKoxovffijap avTrj, pMKapioç ytveTai èv Çeoiç avTOv, oti TrávTtov t Úv Trovrjptàv epyatv ζ</>eferóu, -KierTevav oti, èav á^>é^rjTacl Tráffrj<; emdvπia^ irovrjpa^, KXripovo-p-ρjaetI fyarjV alátvtov. 5. Ai δè STepai, Kvπia, nVeç eicriv; ©vyaTepeç ζXXijXœy eltriv KaXovvTat 8è rj p,èν 'AitXÔt i/ç, ¶ 8è 'Ettícttí;/l.??, ¶ 8è 'A/calcia, y SelzfàrT/ç, ¶ 8è 'AyaTTI. OTav ovv Ta epya t i}ç perçpôç avTtov iràvTa Troitfryt:, Svvaai Çfyrai. 6. 'ÍlúeXov, <f>Tip.i, yv&vat, Kvπia, tiç Tiva ðvnap.lv e%ei avT&v. "Akovs, tjnyaiv, t Àç Swapsts, à<; é^ovaiv. 7 KpaTovvrai 8è vit aXXtfxcov ai ðvva-peii avTWv Kal ÚKÔXovffovaiv àXXijXai<;, Ka0<à<; Kai yeyevvTipévat elalv. ζk Trjt nurrewç yev-vá/rai 'EyKpaTeia, ζk ttj<; ,E,yKpaTeia<; 'AirXoT^, ÍK tt}ç 'A7tXÔt 7toç 'A/calcia, ζk 'A<a/ciaç

1 KiffTfúwv càv à<f>tíiTai ALE, Kai tC.

2 Kai KATipOVO/I.iffCI N.

VIII

1. When, therefore, I ceased asking her all these things, she said to me: "Would you like to see something else?" I was anxious to see it, and rejoiced greatly at the prospect. 2. She looked at me and smiled and said to me: "Do you see seven women round the tower?" "Yes," I said; "I see them." "This tower is being supported by them according to the commandment of the Lord. 3. Hear now their qualities. The first of them who is clasping her hands is called Faith. Through her the chosen of God are saved. 4. The second, who is girded and looks like a man, is called Continnence; she is the daughter of Faith. Whosoever then shall follow her becomes blessed in his life, because he will abstain from all evil deeds, believing that if he refrains from every evil lust he will inherit eternal life." 5. "But who are the others, Lady?" "They are daughters one of the other, and their names are Simplicity, Knowledge, Innocence, Reverence, and Love. When therefore you perform all the deeds of their mother, you can live." 6. "I would like, Lady," said I, "to know what are their several powers." "Listen," she said, "to the powers which they have. 7. Their powers are supported one by the other, and they follow one another according to their birth. From Faith is born Continnence, from Continnence Simplicity, from Simplicity Innocence,

1 Here also (cf. Vision TH. iv. 3) 'powers' probably is almost equivalent to 'meaning' or 'signification.'

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

<sup>^</sup>efivoTr/s, <sup>^</sup>κ r<sup>^</sup>ç <sup>^</sup>efivorrfrs 'Eirian/fii/, è/c rijç  
<sup>^</sup>Eiriar<sup>^</sup>fir/s 'AyaTrr/. τ ο υ τ ι ο υ ο υ ν ρ à ε π υ α à ν ν à  
 icai aefivà Kal delà èanv. 8. ο ç à ν ο υ ν Sο v X e v a y  
 ravrais Kal larvar] Kparfjaai rà>ν èpytov avrSiv,  
 èν ρ à> Τ r y π y τ e f e i r r / v K a r ο i K i / a i v f i e r a r ü v  
 à y i a > ν τ ο υ f f e o v . 9. è i r r / p a > T a > ν S è a v r f j v T r e p l r & v  
 KaipSiv, ei τ j & i ? a v v r é X e i à è a n v . r / 8 è à ν e K p a y e  
 < f > a > ν y ; l e y á X y X e y o v a a ' ' A a v v e r e a v d p t o T t e , ο ν %  
 à p a s r o v r r v π y o v e n ο i K o S ο f i o υ f i e v o v ; ζ i s è à ν ο υ ν  
 a v v T e X e a d y ó T T v π y o s ο i K o S ο f i o υ f i e v o s , e y e i r e X o s .  
 à X X à r a y y è T r o i K o S o p / r / Q r / a e r a i . f i i f K e n f i e e v r e -  
 p i ó r a p , T j è é ν a p K e r i ^ a o i f ) i i T r o p v - q m ^ a v r r j ; K a l  
 r o i s a y i o a K a l y a v a K a t , v o > t r i < ; t & v i r v e y a r a i v  
 v / u ò ν . 10. ζ X X ' ο ù a o l p , ó ν < p r a v r a ζ L T r e K a X v t p d r / ,  
 ζ X X ' " v a T r à a t v é r j X ζ j a r ) ^ a v r à , I L f i e r a ρ e c < ;  
 T f f i é p a i ; , v o T f a a i a e y à p S e i i r p t ò r o v . è ν r e W o f i a i é é  
 a o i T r p é ò T o v , l ' E p f i á , ρ à p r j f i a r a r a v r a , a a o i  
 l i é X X ® X é y e i v , X a X f f a a t a v r à i r à ν r a e l i ρ à ζ o r a  
 r é ò ν à y l w v , i v a a K o v a a v r e ; a ù r a K a l i r o i / r j a a v T e < ;  
 K a d a p i a d à a i v ζ i 1 1 0 r é ò ν T r o v i j p i à ν a v r o r v K a l a v  
 S e f i e r ' a v T ò ν .

## IX

1. 'Aacovaaré p,ov, reKva- èyìò vfias è<sup>^</sup>éffpe<sup>^</sup>a  
 èν 110XXij ζ TrxoTifn Kal aKaKia Kal aefivoryn  
 Sia τ ο è X e o ç r o v K y π i o ν τ ο υ ζ e f ^ v / i a s a r à ^ a v r o i  
 11)ν SiKaioavrvfv, iva SiKaitodfjre Kal àyiaaOffrt  
 À τ ò 7 r à a i j < ; T r o v r f p i a s K a l a t r o T r a a t ) ^ a K o X i a r r f T O S '  
 v f i e i s S e ο ν d é A e r e T r a r j v a i à i r ò r f j ^ T r o v e / p i á s v f i & v .

l tvTtXXo/iai 8é τ ο i i r p ũ r o v o m X L P

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. m. viii. 7-ix. 2

from Innocence Reverence, from Reverence Knowledge, from Knowledge Love. Their works therefore are pure and reverent and godly. 8. Whosoever then serves them, and has the strength to lay hold of their works, shall have his dwelling in the tower with the saints of God.” 9. And I began to ask her The end about the times, if the end were yet. But she cried out with a loud voice saying, “Foolish man, do you not see the tower still being built? Whenever therefore the building of the tower has been finished, the end comes. But it will quickly be built up; ask me nothing more. This reminder and the renewal of your spirits is sufficient for you and for the saints. 10. But the revelation was not for you alone, but for you to explain it to them all, 11. after three days, for you must understand it first. But I charge you first, Hennis, with these words, which I am going to say to you, to speak them all into the ears of the saints, that they may hear them and do them and be cleansed from their wickedness, and you with them.

## IX

1. “Listen to me, children; I brought you up in The charge great simplicity and innocence and reverence by the church mercy of God, who instilled righteousness into you that you should be justified and sanctified from all wickedness and all crookedness. But you do not wish to cease from your wickedness. 2. Now, there-

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

i Thess. 5, 2. vvv ovv aKovaare fiov Kai elpr/vevere èv èavrois  
 Kai èrriaKèrrreade dXXijXovs Kai dvriXa/i/3dve<r0e  
 Rom. 15.17  
 cf. Acts 20, 35  
 3. oi /iev yap diro rtòv  
 iroXXùv èèeafiara>v daOeveiav rf/ <rapKl avrà>v  
 èmarrtovrai Kai Xvfiaivovrai rr/v adpKa avréòv'  
 rtòv èè fir) è^óvratv èèéafiara Xvfiaiverai ¶ aàp^  
 aiirtòv èià ro /ir/ è^eiv rò dpKeròv rr/s rpotfrr/s, Kai  
 èiaÿdeiperai rò trcò/ia avrcòv. 4. avrr/ ovv r/  
 davvKpaala pXafìepà vfìv rois e^ovat Kai fir;  
 fieraèièovcriv rois varepovfiévois- 5. [ÍXèrrere  
 rr/v Kplav rr/v èrrep')(op.èvr/v. oi vrrepi^ovres oì>v  
 èK^r/reire rovs rreivwvras, eros ovrtco o rrvpyos  
 èreXètrdr/- fiera yàp rò reXètrdr/vai ròv rrvpyov  
 GeXrfaere dyadorroieiv, Kai ov^ e^ere rorrov.  
 Jam. 5,4 6. pXèrrere oiiv Vfieis oi yavpiótfievotl èv rS> rfXovrip  
 vfidiv, firfirore crrevà^ovaiv oi varepovfiévoi Kai  
 ó arevayfiòs avr&v dva^rfirerai rrpòs ròv Kvptov  
 Kai èKKXe.iadrfoeade fiera ràv dyaOHòv vfi&v e^a>  
 rfjs bópas rov irvpyov. 7. vvv ovv vfìv Xéya>  
 Mt. 23, e rporjyovfiévois rrjs eKtcXifaias Kai rois irpairo-  
 Lc'n'43- KadeèplraiS' fii) yiveaOe Òfiotoi rois <J>ap/iaKois.  
 20,46 oi (ixipfiaKoi /lèv ovv rà <pàp/iaKa éavrcòv eis ras  
 rrv^iòas fiaa-ràÇovaiv, vfieis èè rò iftàpfiaKov vfià>v  
 Kai ròv idv eis rr/v Kapèiav. 8. èveoKipaifiévoi  
 ècrrè Kai ov GeXere Kadapiaat ras Kapèias vfiiòv  
 Kai avvKepdaat vfiSwl rr/v i^povr/aiiv erri ro avrò  
 èv KaOapà Kapèia, 'iva a-^r/re eXeos rrapà rov  
 Ps tf.zetc- jSaoiXéws rov /leyaXov. 9. /;Xèrrere ovv, reKva,

1 yavpiàfitvoi X\*) yavpo^fiévoi Kc, yaupiùvres A.

2 ffwvKtpÁtrai vjiwv om. K\*.

THE SHEPHERD, vis. in. ix. 2-9

fore, listen to me and 'be at peace among yourselves' and regard one another and 'help one another' and do not take a superabundant share of the creatures of God for yourselves, but give also a part to those who lack. 3. For some are contracting illness in the flesh by too much eating, and are injuring their flesh, and the flesh of the others who have nothing to eat is being injured by their not having sufficient food and their body is being destroyed. 4. So this lack of sharing is harmful to you who are rich, and do not share with the poor. 5. Consider the judgment which is coming. Let therefore they who have over-abundance seek out those who are hungry, so long as the tower is not yet finished; for when the tower has been finished you will wish to do good, and will have no opportunity. 6. See to it then, you who rejoice in your wealth, that the destitute may not groan, and their groans go up to the Lord, and you with your goods be shut outside the door of the tower. 7. Therefore I speak now to the leaders of the Church and to those 'who take the chief seats.' Be not like the sorcerers, for sorcerers carry their charms in boxes, but you carry your charms and poison in your hearts. 8. You are hardened, and will not cleanse your hearts, and mix your wisdom together in a pure heart that you may find mercy by 'the great King.' 9. See to it,



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Thea». 3,  
3

*parrare avrai ai 8v)(paraaiail arroareprfaovai  
rrjv Çayrv vp&v. 10. Trtâç u/ietç rraiðeveiv úéXere  
toÛç e/tXe/crouç Kvpiov, avrai prj é%ovteç rrai-  
ðeiv; rraièevere ovv ζXXtjXovç Kai elpr/vevere  
èν avTOtç 'iva Kayco Karevavri rov irarpòs iXapà  
araðeiaa Xóyov àρροδâ> vrrèp vpüv rrávrtov rai  
Kvplcp.2*

### X

1. "Ote ovv èrravaaro pier èpon XaXovaa,  
rfXdov oi ê£ veavlaKoi ai oiKoðopovvres Kai  
árrrjveyKav avrip> rrpòs rov rrvpyov, Kai áXXoi  
réaaapes 7j pav rò avp^éXiov Kai cmrjveyKav  
Kai avrò rrpòs rov rrvpyov. rovrcav rò rrpó-  
a>rrov OVK eìèov, ori àrrearpappévoi rjaav.  
2. vrráyovaav 8èð avrrjv r/p<óra>v, iva poi àρρo-  
KaXv-ÿy rrepi r&v rpiwv pop<f>âv, èν ais poi  
èver^aviaOr). àρρoKpideíaa poi Xéyei- Πe/m rovrcov  
erepov 8eì tre erreptorijaai, iva croi arroKaXv^ffii.  
3. 8é p.0l, a8eX(j)oí, ríj p.èν rrpárrj ápáaei ríj  
rrepvaivfj Xíav rrpea^vrépa Kai èν Kafféepa  
Kadrjpévrj. 4. rrj 8è èrèpa óparrei ryv pév  
oyjriv vewrépav eij(ev, rrjv ζέ aápna Kai ras  
rpi^as irpeafivrépas, Kai éarrjKVlía poi éXáXer  
IXaptorepa 8È rjv rj rò rrpárepov.4 5. ríj 8é rpírp  
ópáaei oXi) vetorépa Kai KaXXei éKrrperreaTárrj,  
pavas 8e ras rpi^as rrpea^vrépas eiyev tXapa 8'e  
eis réXos rjv Kai ètri avpyfreXíov Kaδrjπίeq. 6. rrepi

1 Zixoffrafflai X\* A, Zi^offrairiai vpüv Sc LE.

2 Ty Kvpt(f> LÆE) Kvπίto {juuv X, TÚ Kvπίp AL<.

3 Xe ALty om. K L2.

4 irpórtpw ALE, rb irpóffürttov X.

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. m. ix. 9-x. 6

therefore, children, that these disagreements do not rob you of your life. 10. How will you correct the chosen of the Lord if you yourselves suffer no correction? Correct therefore one another and 'be at peace among yourselves,' that I also may stand joyfully before the Father, and give an account of you all to the Lord."

### X

1. When therefore she ceased speaking with me, The six young men who were building came and took of the ture her away to the tower, and four others took up the couch and bore it away also to the tower. I did not see their faces because they were turned away. 2. But as she was going I asked her to give me a revelation concerning the three forms in which she had appeared to me. She answered me and said, "Concerning these things you must ask some one else to reveal them to you." 3. Now she had appeared to me, brethren, in the first vision in the former year as very old and sitting on a chair. 4. But in the second vision her face was younger, but her body and hair were old and she spoke with me standing; but she was more joyful than the first time. 5. But in the third vision she was quite young and exceeding beautiful and only her hair was old; and she was quite joyful, and sat on a couch. 6. I was very unhappy about this, and

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

rovrcov *trepixvtros* rip-pv *xiav rov yv&vai pie rrjv*  
*àtroKaXv-^iv ravrrjv, Kai jSKérco rrjv irpeaftv-*  
*répav èv opápiari rl/ç vvktoS Xeyovaán poi. Tlaaa*  
*épcórpais rarreivo^>poavvris y^pp^ei, vrjarevaov*  
*ovv, Kai Xypjrp o airéis trapa rov Kvpiov.*  
 7. *évpaveaa oliv píav ppepav, Kai avrp rij vvk ti*  
*poi á<f>brj veavíaKos Kai Xéyei pior Tí ai virò*  
*Xéipa airéis àroKaXvjreis èv Seyaei; fÍXétre,*  
*prjtrote troXXà airovpevos ffXctyrjs aov rrjv*  
*aápKa. 8. àpKovaiv croi ai àtroKaXói/reis avrai.1*  
*prpri Bvvp ia^vporépas ánoKaXínjreis &v é&paKas*  
*IZéiv; 9. iwroKpiOeis avr& Xéyw iúvpie, rovro*  
*pónov airovpaí, *trepí r&v rpi&v popcj>&v t »}ç**  
*TTpεcρfivtepas iva arroKaXv^K oXoreX^ç yèvrprai.*  
*àroKpiQeis fiaí Xéyer Meypi rivos àavveroí èare;*  
*aXX ai èiyIrvxiai v/i&v àtrvvérovS vpûS rroiocriv*  
*Kai ro p,I) ë^eiv ttjv Kapètav iúpiwv trpòS ròv*  
*Kvpiov. 10. cwroKpiOeís avrà> rraXiv èitrov 'AXX'*  
*atro aov, Kvpie, ÒKpi^éarepov avrà yvcoaópxda.*

## XI

1. "A-Kove, cfirjaív, *trep'l r&v jIiop<f>&v2 &v*  
*eirityreís. 2. rp p,év rrp&ry çpáaei ùiarl trpea-*  
*fivrepa &<i>0p aoi Kai ètri KafféSpav Ka0pp,évp; orí*  
*ro rrvεvπia vpi&v rrpεa/3vrepov Kai pStj p,εpapapi-*  
*pievov Kai ptj è^ov Svvapiv atro r&v piáXaKi&v*  
*vp&v Kai Siyjrvi&v 3. &arrep yáp ol rrpεa^v-*  
*repoi, porgeri è^ovres èXtrièa rov ávave&aai, ovèèv*

1 *ápKQyffii/ . . . atirai Otn. K.*

2 *popfSw K\* LE, Tpiwv pwpiptív Kc A.*

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. in. x. 6-xi. 3

wished to understand this revelation, and in a vision of the night I saw the ancient lady saying to me, "Every request needs humility: fast therefore and you shall receive what you ask from the Lord." 7. So I fasted one day and in the same night a young man appeared to me and said to me, "Why do you ask constantly for revelations in your prayer? Take care lest by your many requests you injure your flesh. 8. These revelations are sufficient for you. Can you see mightier revelations than you have seen?" 9. I answered and said to him, "Sir, I only ask you that there may be a complete revelation concerning the three forms of the ancient lady." He answered and said to me, "How long are you foolish? You are made foolish by your double-mindedness and because your heart is not turned to the Lord." 10. I answered and said again to him, "But from you, sir, we shall know them more accurately."

## XI

1. "Listen," he said, "concerning the forms which you are asking about. 2. Why did she appear to you in the first vision as old and seated on a chair? Because your spirit is old and already fading away, and has no power through your weakness and double-mindedness. 3. For just as old people, who have no longer any hope of becoming young again,

1 This 'your' is plural, in contrast to the 'you' in the preceding sentence, which is singular.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Ps. 54,23 ;  
1 Pet- 5i l

*dXXo 7rho<TôoKÔ>aiv el fir) rr/v Kolp/rpriv avrñv, oürtuç nal 0/z.eiç paXaKiaOevTes à-rro r&v ^kotiKlov TTpaypartov TrapeéaiKare èavrov<; eiç ràç âl/cî/Siaç Kal ovk eTrepifrare éavrûv ràç peplpvas ètri tov Kypiov- àXXà edpavadrj vp.S>v ij èiavoia Kal èira-Xaiatd-gre rais Xvrrai<! vp&v. 4. Atari ovv ev Kadé8pa eKad'gro, ifôeXov yvôtvai, Kypie. 'Ori 7ràç àadevps els KatféSpav KafléÇerai Sia rrjv àadéveia avrov, 'iva a-vvKparrffi) rj àaffeveia tov acoparas avrov. e^eiç tov tvttov ríjs TrpaiTTjç òpdaeas.*

## XII

1. Tt) Sè Sevrépa ôpdaei e'Seç avrrjv éarijKvîav Kal rpv dyjriv vewrépav é^ovaav Kal IXapcorépa Trapa to irpórepov, ttjv 8è aápKa Kal ràç rpl^a^ •n-peaftvrépas. chcove, (jjijalv, Kal ravTTjv ttjv TrapafioXr)v 2. orav rrpea^vTepó<; n<j, i)8i) átjyriX-ttikò)ç zavrov 8ta rijv àaffeveia avrov Kal ttjv TrTayxpTTjra, ovSèv erepov irpocrSé^erai el p,rj ttjv éaX,áTTjv rfpépav t^ç Çûji/ç avrov- eira è^al<l>vi)ç i KareXeifói) avrq> KXrj povopÁa, aKovaa<j Sè è^rjyépdr) Kal Trepv)(apì)ç i yevópevos èveSvaaro rr;v laj^vv Kal ovKeri àvaKeirai, aXXà ear-rjKev, Kal àvaveovrai avrov rò rrvvpa to ySi) è<f>0appévon atro rcòv irporéprûv avrov irpagemv, Kal ovkcti KÓffyrari, aXXa àvBpl^eraf ovto)ì Kal vpe<;, aKova-avre<i TTjv àrrokàXvyfriv, r)v vp-iv ó Kypios aTreKaXv^rev,l 3. ori èaTrXayxyiaOT) è<f>' vpÁ<j, Kal àvevemaaro rà Ttvevpara vp&v Kal àiréffeade ràç pahaKíias vpùòv,

l V ••• àw\*KàXvil/Év om. X.

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. in. xi. 3-xii. 3

look for nothing except their last sleep, so also you, who have been weakened by the occupations of this life, have given yourself up to worry, and have not 'cast your cares upon the Lord.' But your mind was broken, and you grew old in your sorrows." 4. "Why, then, I should like to know, did she sit in a chair, sir?" "Because every sick person sits in a chair because of his sickness, that the weakness of the body may find support. Here you have the type of the first vision.

## XII

1. "But in the second vision you saw her standing, and with a more youthful and more cheerful countenance than the former time, but with the body and hair of old age. Listen," he said, "also to this parable. 2. When anyone is old, he already despairs of himself by reason of his weakness and poverty, and expects nothing except the last day of his life. Then an inheritance was suddenly left him, and he heard it, and rose up and was very glad and put on his strength; and he no longer lies down but stands up, and his spirit which was already destroyed by his former deeds is renewed, and he no longer sits still, but takes courage. So also did you, when you heard the revelation, which the Lord revealed to you, 3. that he had mercy upon you, and renewed your spirit; and you put aside your weakness, and strength came to you, and you were made

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Kal rroapXdev vplv la^yporys Kal èveZvnapmByre  
ζv ry rriaret, Kal I8mv ò Kvplors ryv la^ppoirolyaiν  
vpmv e^apy Kat Sia τoντο èbyXmaev vplv Tyv  
olfcoêopyv rov -rrvpyov Kal êrepa SyXmaei, èàν è%  
oXys Kapbias elpyvevere èν èavroîs-*

### XIII

1. Τη 3è rprty ζπάαet eZ8eç avryv vemrépav Kal  
KaXyv Kal IXapàν Kal KaXyv Tyv popÿyv avrys'  
2. ms èàν γὰρ rivi Xvirovpévm eXdy àyyeXla  
ttyaOy rts, eiidvs èrreXaBero rmv rrporepmv Xvrrmv  
Kal ov8èν àXXo rtpoa^é^erai el py ryv àyyeXiaν,  
yv rpcovaev, Kal laypporroteîrat Xoirrov els τo  
àyaBàν Kal àvaveovrai avrov τo rrvevpa 8la ryv  
■)(apàν, yv eXa(3ev ovTms Kal vpels àvavémaiv  
eiXtfyaTe rmv wvevparmv vpSiv I8ôvres ravra rà  
àγadâ. 3. Kal ori ètri avpi^reXiov eîdes KaBy-  
pévyv, la^vpà r) Béais, oti reaaapas iroBas e^et  
τo avpy/réXiov Kal la^vpms earyKev Kal γὰρ o  
Koapos Sià reaaàpmv aroixeimv Kparerrai. 4. ol  
oiv peravoyaavTes oXoreXms veoi eaovrai Kai  
TeBepeXimpévoi, ol è£ oXys Kapèlas peravoyaavres-  
ζTré^etÇ òXoréXy ryv àrrOKaXvyfriv pyKen pyèèν  
alryays irepl àrrOKaXvx/remsl èàν ti 8è 8éy,  
àiroKaXv<[>ByaeTai aoi.

l irepi àirûKaXùif/ews ALjE, oui. K L2.

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. in. xii. 3-xiii. 4

mighty in faith, and the Lord saw that you had been made strong and he rejoiced. And for this reason he showed you the building of the tower, and he will show you other things if you 'remain at peace among yourselves' with all your heart.

### XIII

1. "But in the third vision you saw her young and beautiful and joyful and her appearance was beautiful. 2. For just as if some good news come to one who is in grief, he straightway forgets his former sorrow, and thinks of nothing but the news which he has heard, and for the future is strengthened to do good, and his spirit is renewed because of the joy which he has received; so you also have received the renewal of your spirits by seeing these good things. 3. And in that you saw her sitting on a couch, the position is secure, for a couch has four feet and stands securely, for even the world is controlled by four elements. 4. They, therefore, who have repented shall completely recover their youth and be well founded, because they have repented with all their heart. You have the revelation completed; no longer ask anything about the revelation, but if anything be needed it shall be revealed to you."



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

"O *paa is S'*.

### I

1. \*Hy eiSov, àSeXipoi, perà ζpepas elecoai t ^ε  
 Τρporéπαç opà<T6&)ç tt/ε yevopévrp, els rvrrov tt)ε  
 ^Xiyrewç t ^ε è-jrepxppevris. 2. vrrfyov els àypòv  
 rrj oSp r-rj ccaprravrj. àrrò rf/s ζSov rijs Sypotreas  
 ècrriv ζcreí crráSia Secca- paSíacs Sè ζSeveral o  
 rorros. 3. pavos ovv rrepirrar&v ζξίw ròv ccvpiov,  
 'iva ràs à-rroccaXv-^reis ccaì rà ζpapara, à poi  
 èSei^ev Sia rrjs àylas 'J^ccccX-tprias avrov, reXeiiway,  
 iva pe i<rxypoTroiTjffTj ccaì Sac ryv peróvoiaiv rois  
 : SovXois avrov rols ètrccavSaXitpévois, iva So^acrffij  
 rò ovopa avrov rò péya ccaì evSogov, ori pe à^iov  
 ■fyiicraro rov Sellai poi rà davpatria avrov.  
 4. ccaì So^à^ovrós pov ccaì ev^apiarovvros avrrp,  
 ζS ^%oç <jja>vj<; poi cwreccpidrp Si-fyvrxjreis,  
 'Eippà. èv èpavrip qp^àpipc SiaXoyi^eadaì cedi  
 Xéyeiv E'yà ri è^ac Siyjrvvvvaai, ovrar reGepeXito-  
 pévos viro rov ccvpiov ccaì iomv evSo^a rpaypara;  
 5. ccaì rrpoaé^rvj2 piccpón, àSeXtfcói, ccaì iSov, ^Xerrco  
 Koviopròv ws eis top ovpavòv ccaì r/p^aprjv Xeyeiv  
 èv èpavrw' MrjTrove ccrrjvi] epxpvrài ccaì ccovtoprov  
 èyelpovtriv; ovreo Sè rjv àrr èpov ζS arra crraSiov.  
 6. yivopévon pei^ovos ccaì pei^ovos ccovtoprov  
 vrvévórjaa eivai ri Geiov piccpòv è^eXap^cev o  
 ijXios ccaì iSov, ^Xérrac dppiov peyiarov, wcrei  
 ccijrós ri, ccaì ère rov arζparos avrov accpiSes  
 rrvpivai è^erropeovvro- 7;v 3« rò Grijpiov rcp prjtcèi

99, 3

1 tìs TuTov , . . iirepxovfVrj! ALjE, otti- K (L^)-  
 3 irpoatPrfv K La, Τρποέffrjv ALjE.

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. iv. i. 1-6

### Vision 4

#### I

1. The fourth vision which I saw, brethren, The vision twenty days after the former vision, was a type <sup>n of the</sup> of the persecution which is to come. Leviathan 2. I was going into the country by the Via Campana. The place is about ten furlongs from the public road, and is easily reached. 3. As I walked by myself I besought the Lord to complete the revelations and visions which he had shown me by his holy Church, to make me strong and give repentance to his servants who had been offended, 'to glorify his' great and glorious 'name' because he had thought me worthy to show me his wonders. 4. And while I was glorifying him and giving him thanks an answer came to me as an echo of my voice, "Do not be double-minded, Hermas." I began to reason in myself, and to say, "In what ways can I be double-minded after being given such a foundation by the Lord, and having seen his glorious deeds?" 5. And I approached a little further, brethren, and behold, I saw dust reaching as it were up to heaven, and I began to say to myself, Are cattle coming and raising dust? and it was about a furlong away from me. 6. When the dust grew greater and greater I supposed that it was some portent. The sun shone out a little, and lo! I saw a great beast like some Leviathan, and fiery locusts were going out of his mouth. The beast was in size about a hundred feet

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

wael iroS&v p, ttjv Be Ke<f>aXyv e^Xev ®°et  
Κεράρον. 7. Kai rip^ápyv /cXaleiv Kai, epwra  
top Kvpiov, 'Iva p.e XvTpáiarjai avroîr Kai  
eTravepvtfadriv top pvJ/xaToç ou aKtjKoeiv Mt?  
Bi-^u^iijo-et?, 'Eppâ. 8. èvBuo'à/x.epoç ovv, àèeXÿol,  
TT/uttÍcttíp tou Kvpiov Kai pvTjrrbel<; wv èSiSal-ev  
pe peyaXeiv, Oapapaas els to (h]piov èpavrov  
eSa/Ka. olirai Sè r/p^ero to drjpiov polipo, o/crre  
Svvaüiai avrò iróXiv Xupâvai. 9. epyopai eyyuc  
auToû, Kai to TtjXiKovro kijtoç ècreivei eavro  
ç(apal Kai ovSèv el pèj ttjv yXtoa-aav irpoe/SaXXev  
Kai oX®ç ovK èKivrjôr), pé^i<; ore irapfjXdov avrò-  
10. ei^ev Sè to 3rjpiov èirl tt)ç /ce^iaX^ç ^pa/paTa  
Teacapa' peXav, eira TrvpoiSès Kai aiparûSes,  
eira %pvcrov, eira XevKov.

## II

1. Mit À èè to irapeXffeiv pe to Gijpiov Kai  
trpoeXOeiv àael TróSa<c X', iSov, viravrâ poi -rrap-  
Oévos KeKoapripévp &ç çk vvp<f>wvo<j eKTropevopevr/  
oXv) èv XevKois Kai viroSrjpaatv XevKOÍs, KaraKSKa-  
\vppévrj ea>xi rov peTiSirov, èv pirpa Be ijv t)  
KaTaKaXv-ty-i<; aiiTr^' el^ev Sè rà<; rplypis avTvjc  
XevKas. 2. èvntov èya> èK rà>v irporepa/v opapartov,  
ori r/ 'EKKXrjaia èariv, Kai íXapá>Tepo<; èyevap^v.  
àaTrâÇerai pe Xéyovaa' Xaîpe crv, av0pance. Kai  
èyà) avTTjv avT-rja-iraaapTjv Kupia, ^aîpe. 3. airo-  
KpiOeiaà poi Xéyec- OùSév croi aTryVTrja-ev; Xéyo>  
avTrp TLvpía, rrfXiKOVTO brjpiov, Svvápevon Xaovç  
Sia^>Oeîpar çXXà rp Svvápei rov Kvpiov Kai ttj

62

THE SHEPHERD, vis. iv. i. 6-ii. 3

and its head was like a piece of pottery. 7. And I began to weep and to pray the Lord to rescue me from it, and I remembered the word which I had heard, "Do not be double-minded, Hermas." 8. Thus, brethren, being clothed in the faith of the Lord and remembering the great things which he had taught me, I took courage and faced the beast. And as the beast came on with a rush it was as though it could destroy a city. 9. I came near to it, and the Leviathan for all its size stretched itself out on the ground, and put forth nothing except its tongue, and did not move at all until I had passed it by. 10. And the beast had on its head four colours, black, then the colour of flame- and blood, then golden, then white.

n

1. After I had passed the beast by and had gone The ancient about thirty feet further, lo! a maiden met me, lady 'adorned as if coming forth from the bridal chamber,' all in white and with white sandals, veiled to the forehead, and a turban for a head-dress, but her hair was white. 2. I recognised from the former visions that it was the Church, and I rejoiced the more. She greeted me saying, "Hail, O man," and I greeted her in return, "Hail, Lady." 3. She answered me and said, "Did nothing meet you?" I said to her, "Yes, Lady, such a beast as could destroy nations, but by the power of the Lord, and by his great

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- iro'Kva'TrKay'xyla avrov è^éifivov avrò. 4. KaXwç*
- p«. 55,22 *on ttjv pepipván aov etri tov*
- Pa. 62, 7 *ffe'ov ;Trépidas Kal, rVv KapSiaav aov r^voigas rrpòs*
- Acts 4,12 *tov Kvpiov, rriarevaas, on 8i ovSevos 8vvy a<u-*  
*6rjvai el prj Sia tov peyáXov|k Û èvèò^ov òvóparos-*  
*ito. TovTO ; Kvpios ;TréareiXev tov ayyeXov avrov*  
*tov erri rwv ffrjpioiv ovra, ov to ovopu eanv*
- Dan. 6,22 ; **©επρί,** *Kaì èvè<f>pa^ev to arópa avrov, iva prj*
- 33 Hcb' n' *ae Xvpávy. peyáXrjv OXtyiv ;Kiréifreyvas Sia rrjv*  
*iríanv aov Kaì on ttjKikovto Orjpiov I8j>v ovk*  
*eSi^v^qaas' 5. viraye oì>v Kaì è^yrjaai rois*  
*jkXektiois tov Kvpiov rà peyaKeia avrov Kaì ewrè*  
*avrois, ori rò 3rjpiov rovro tvttos èanv OXiifretos*  
*τῆς peWovarjs rijs peyaKrjs' èav onv rrpoeToi-*  
*páarjaOe Kaì peravoijar/Te oXrp KapSlas vp&v*  
*rpos tov Kvpiov, Sv^aeaOe ;Ktfivyeiv avriyv, eav*  
*rj KapSia vpòiv yévrirai KaOapà Kaì apcopos Kai*  
*ras XovTràs rrjs Ça>rjs rjpépas vp&v SovXevarjre rà>*
- Ps. 55, 22 *Kvpla» àpéprnùs. ;Triptyare ras pepipvas vpwv*  
*erri tov Kvpiov, Kaì aùiròs Karopdáaei avràs.*
6. *iriarevaaTe r^> Kvpiip, oi Siyfrv^oi, on iravra*  
*Svvarai Kaì àrroarpét^ei Tr|v ópyrfv avrov ;</>*  
*vpwv Kaì èÇairoaréKXeì páanyas vpìv rois Sv^rv-*  
*Xpis. ovai τοῖς aKovaaaiv rà ptfpara ravra*
- Mt. 26, 24 ; *Kal rrapaKOvaaaiv alperánepov rjv avrois to prj*
- Mk. 14, 21 *yevvrjdrivai.*

*lfieyálov ALE, àyiov àyyihov K.*

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. iv. ii. 3-6

mercy, I escaped it.” 4. “You did well to escape it,” she said, “because you cast your care upon God, and opened your heart to the Lord, believing that salvation can be found through nothing save through the great and glorious name. Therefore the Lord sent his angel, whose name is Thegri,<sup>1</sup> who is over the beast, ‘and shut his mouth that he should not hurt you.’ You have escaped great tribulation through your faith, and because you were not double-minded when you saw so great a beast. 5. Go then and tell the Lord’s elect ones of his great deeds, and tell them that this beast is a type of the great persecution which is to come. If then you are prepared beforehand, and repent with all your hearts towards the Lord, you will be able to escape it, if your heart be made pure and blameless, and you serve the Lord blamelessly for the rest of the days of your life. ‘Cast your cares upon the Lord’ and he will put them straight. 6. Believe on the Lord, you who are double-minded, that he can do all things, and turns his wrath away from you, and sends scourges on you who are double-minded. Woe to those who hear these words and disobey ; it were better for them not to have been born.”

<sup>1</sup> No other mention of this Angel is found in Jewish or Christian literature, and no suitable meaning has been suggested for Thegri. Dr. Rendel Harris suggests Segri as an emendation, connecting it with the Hebrew word meaning ‘to shut’ (sagar), found in Dan. 6, 22.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

in

1. 'UpdiTijaa avTpv irepi tiouv Teaaapo)v )^po-  
 paTWV av elyev to br/piov et? itjv Ke<j)aXrjv, rj èè  
 àiroKptfiêa-à pot Xéyer IláXtv trepiepyos et Trepe  
 ToiovTtov itpaypórra>v. Nat, <j)T)pi, /copier yvo>-  
 piaón pai, ti ètTiv TdVTa. 2. "Alcove, tjyqaiiv' to  
 pèv peXav goto? & Koapos èanv, ev a) KaTouceìTe'  
 3. to 3è Trvpoeisès Kai aipaTtòSes, oti Sei top  
 Koapov tovtoiv Si aipaTos Kai Tropo? ζTroXXvadav  
 ii Pet. 2, so 4. to Sè y^pvaovv pepos vpeis ètrre oí ζK<j)u-  
 yónTes tov Koapov tovtoiv. oiaTrep yap to  
 I Pet. i, 7; ^pvaiov SoKipâÇeTai Sia tov Tropo? Kai evjyyr)-  
 5. Eccius. fj.TOV ylvTai, ovti os neif vpeis SoKipâ^eade ot  
 Prov. 17, 3; KaToiKovTcs èv avTols.l oi ovv peivavres Kai  
 Job 23,10 TrvpiüdevTes vit avTòiv Kadapiadrjaeade. loairep  
 to xpvcrivov àiro^àWei Trjv aKoipian avTov, ovto>  
 naì vpeis àiro^aXeite Troiaav Xvmjv Kai <rrevo-  
 ywpiav, Kai Kaóapiadrjaea0e Kai ^rjaipoi eaeaffe  
 eis tìjv olKoSopt)V tov TTrvpyov. 5. to Se XevKòv  
 pepos ò alàtv ò èirep^ópevós èmiv, èv a) Karoi-  
 Kijarovaiv oí eKXeKToì tov Geov' oti aairiXoi Kai  
 KaOapoì eaovrai oí énXéXeypevoì otto tov Oeov?  
 eis Çoirjv àimnov. 6. av oSv pr) SiaXiirps XaXàv  
 eis Ta atra to>v áyímv. e%eTe Kai tov ivttov t^?  
 OXÍ-^retos Tfjs èp)(opévqs peyaX-ps. èav Se vpeis  
 OeXr/<rrj)Te, ovSèv ijjerai. pvrjpoveveTe rà Trpo-  
 yeyappèva. 7. TavTa eiiraaa cwri)X0ev, Kai ovk  
 eiSov, Troiaì t Óttio aTri)X0ev3 ye<£o?4 yap èyéveTO'  
 Kayà> eTreaTpa<f>Tjv els Ta ζTriáoi c^offrjdeis, Sokûv  
 oti to òppiov ep^eTai.

1 ζy aurais KL, ζv avrQ AE. 2 frii &<riri)loi . . . Oeov om. K.

3 Kai ovk . . . àirijAtfey om. K. 4 vcsf>os K Lg, ýdipos ALJE.

III

1. I asked her concerning the four colours which the beast had on its head. She answered and said to me, "Are you again curious about such matters?"

The four  
colours on  
the  
Leviathan

"Yes," I said, "Lady, let me know what they are."

2. "Listen," she said, "the black is this world, in which you are living; 3. the colour of fire and blood means that this world must be destroyed by blood and fire. 4. The golden part is you, who have fled from this world, for even as gold is 'tried in the fire' and becomes valuable, so also you who live among them, are being tried. Those then who remain and pass through the flames shall be purified by them. Even as the gold puts away its dross, so also you will put away all sorrow and tribulation, and will be made pure and become useful for the building of the tower.

5. But the white part is the world to come, in which the elect of God shall dwell, for those who have been chosen by God for eternal life will be without spot and pure. 6. Therefore do not cease to speak to the ears of the saints. You have also the type of the great persecution to come, but if you will it shall be nothing. Remember what was written before."

7. When she had said this she went away, and I did not see to what place she departed, for there was a cloud, and I turned backwards in fear, thinking that the beast was coming.

1 The "them" means "fire and blood"; but the construction of the sentence is awkward.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### 'A T T O K Ú X V Ý I S g'.l

1. Upoaev^apevov pov èv râ> o'lkw Kai KaOi-  
 aavros «Ç tt]v kXivt]v elarjXOev ávrip tîç evZogos  
 ríj o^ei, a%ypari ToipeviKtp, irepiKeípevos Zéppa  
 aïyeiov XevKov Kai, irypav e^cvv èrri rS>v &pwv  
 Kai pà/3Zov etç rr/v %elpa. Kai ^airáaaró pe,  
 Kòvyeò àvTT]a"rraa-àpT]v aiirov. 2. Kai evtfvç rtape-  
 Kadiaév poi Kai Xeyei por 'ArrearáX-pv virò tov  
 aepvoràrov àyyéXov, iva pera aov olKi)aa> ràç  
 Xoitt Àç flpépas t]j/ç Çüjijç aov. 3. eZo^a èyó>, on  
 rrápeanv èKireipaÇatv pe, Kai Xeyai avrà' Sv yap  
 ris ei; èyìò yáp, <f>T]pi, yivcoaKw, ç5 rrapeZóffrjv.  
 Xéyei por Ov k èmyivmaKeis pe; Ov, <f>r]pi. 'Eytò,  
 (fyrjaiv, eipi à Troiprjv, <p> TrapeZóflr/s. 4. eri  
 XaXovvros avrov r[XXoiá>0r] fj IZéa avrov, Kai  
 èrréyvtov avrov, on eKeívos ^jv, <p> rrapeZòdi]v, Kai  
 evúiiis avve-)(vdyv Kai (fiófllos pe eXafiev Kai oXos  
 avveKçrrt)v atro rfjs Xvrrqç, ori ovrtos avrà àrreKpi-  
 6t]v rrov]pá>s Kai à<f>póva>s. 5. ó ç;è àrroKpidels poi  
 Xéyer M?) avyxvovov, àXXa la^vporroiov èv rais  
 èvroXaís pov aís aoi peXXw èvreAXeadaí. àrre-  
 aráXtjv yáp, ifirjaiv, iva à eiZes rrpórepov rrávra  
 aoi rráXiv Zeí^ca, avra ra Ket^aXaia ra ovra vpív  
 avpÿopa. irptòrov rrávra>v ras évroXás pov  
 ypáéfrov Kai ras rtapaftoXás' ra Ze erepa, KaOws  
 aoi Zeí^to, ovrais ypáyjreis' Zia rovro, <j>r]jaiv,  
 évréXXopaí aoi rrp&rov ypáyfrai ras évroXás  
 Kai rrapa/BoXás, iva viro "Xelpa ávayivá>aKrjs

1 'AiroitáX.vi]ns í X, 8pa<ris è AE, incipiunt Pastoris mandata  
 duodecim La, visio quinta initium Pastoris Lx.

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. v. i-5

### The Fifth Revelation 1

1. While I was praying at home and sitting on my bed, there entered a man glorious to look on, in the dress of a shepherd, covered with a white goat-skin, with a bag on his shoulders and a staff in his hand. And he greeted me, and I greeted him back. 2. And at once he sat down by me, and said to me, "I have been sent by the most reverend angel to dwell with you the rest of the days of your life." 3. I thought he was come tempting me, and said to him, "Yes, but who are you for?" I said, "I know to whom I was handed over." He said to me, "Do you not recognise me?" "No," I said. "I," said he, "am the shepherd to whom you were handed over." 2 4. While he was still speaking, his appearance changed, and I recognised him, that it was he to whom I was handed over; and at once I was confounded, and fear seized me, and I was quite overcome with sorrow that I had answered him so basely and foolishly. 5. But he answered me and said, "Be not confounded, but be strong in my commandments which I am going to command you. For I was sent," said he, "to show you again all the things which you saw before, for they are the main points which are helpful to you. First of all write my commandments and the parables; but the rest you shall write as I shall show you. This is the reason," said he, "that I command you to write first the commandments and parables, that you may read

1 This section is clearly intended as an introduction to the Mandates, but it is always quoted as the Fifth Vision.

2 There is no mention of this in the preceding Visions.

mo -qny -ipy ('q)3y dpi t

70» T dyL iwaazvizz .Slivaoyv an ll vixvzvzvy llz  
 kUnaazoizz aya 'soj,aaov\lv.Lvx aoz Svizdvrfv sUz  
 IlvaSoXoa amaoyy o qv iyy 'liri sg 73 .sozaaov\lvzv}j  
 aaoyy smsgZi attiri 13Xv\lvzvm iqaqlirfaad aozmdzz -g  
 •amzmdgav amz aUm^ aliz awaoaxyouv aln itvid  
 -Uaazz aUz vzaoyvmaik, Uri vz vizzUa vz Sm Ilva 773»  
 'aoaiL soyvyy iyy aXa vzUzoxiL-y .iori lakay

ti f'“V

*Uxoza^t*

•aUzavz aUxozaa aUz  
 ill^yxatji ays 'mag mz Uvli^ ivy sUaavoivyi^ aiizady  
 avvvzz llvaqaa ivy aozavav ozzv avidliaozz awyzz  
 Sisyv^ozzy ivy 'awv^atji vzavz •iwaazvdyLa  
 3g ôiaffliÿocf) 'aozav izü,QUÿo\$> ivy mzav aao aov  
 -aazvizz -g -am iozUdmXv 3g kooari 'amdriX vzayjz  
 ivy vzavzz vz ivaia oz sia iozao hr! aoz ya SvUiozz  
 iyy svvizovzvy ivy swizy vzavzz vz o 'ioag  
 o 47X03 j>ia no 'aovaazvijz amzayzz zioxroc/jj 'i

fl

'i

'z -oom n

6 's

•y liyoiA^

•j>vioavz3rt j>Uz ioyaXzA» o 'oxTsy  
 -73X343 ahrhoji o ivjf\vdAj smzqo vzavzz ioti vzavz  
 •vizavaa vz aoiday aoz vdvzz agva^êriUxoziv 'amdq  
 iivizdvrfv iivz azUgvodzz ?xs xxy 'azUvUoavzarl  
 Ur! iazawaoyv 3g ava .arria ozvyiaAMizza wo  
 'aoiday aoz ozzv agvaz^riUxozzy 'vi^dvy ydvgyv  
 aa ivzav agvUvyhda ivy azUgaadozz sivzav aa  
 ivy 3iU^vxa<f> j>vzav iazawaoyv aao ava -ç 'lori  
 oxo\73X343 iwgvvy 'jyxoÿvdvzz iyy ivxozaa j>yz aqo  
 vzjivoty '9 -syzav iv^yxatp sügliaa^ ivy syzav

**SHHH1VJ OnOXSOdv SHI**

## THE SHEPHERD, vis. v. j-mand. ii. 2

them out at once, and be able to keep them.” 6. So I wrote the commandments and parables as he commanded me. 7. If then you hear and keep them, and walk in them, and do them with a pure heart, you shall receive from the Lord all that he promised you, but if you hear them and do not repent, but continue to add to your sins, you shall receive the contrary from the Lord. All these things the shepherd commanded me to write thus, for he was the angel of repentance.

### Mandate 1

1. Fir st of all believe that God is one, ‘who made **Belief in** all things and perfected them, and made all things **God** to be out of that which was not,’ and contains all things, and is himself alone uncontained. 2. Believe then in him, and fear him, and in your fear be content. Keep these things, and you shall cast away from yourself all wickedness, and shall put on every virtue of righteousness, and shall live to God, if you keep this commandment.

### Mandate 2

1. He said to me: “Have simplicity and be **simplicity** innocent and you shall be as the children who do not know the wickedness that destroys the life of men. 2. In the first place, speak evil of no one, and do not listen gladly to him who speaks evil. Otherwise you also by listening share in the sin of him who speaks evil, if you believe in the evil-speaking

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

cru aurôç efecç Kara rov àSeXçfoôù crow ovrcóí  
 onv éuo^oç ècry tjjç ápaprías rov KaraXaXovvros.  
 3. irovypa y KaraXaXía- aKarácrrarov ðaipoviov  
 ècrriv, pyðéiروه elpyvevov, àXXà irávروه èv  
 ði%ocrraclai<; KaroiKOlív. arre%ov onv àrr avrov,  
 Kai evOyviav irávروه è^eis<sup>3</sup> pera rràvrtov. 4.  
 evðvcrai ðè ryv aepvóryra, èv y ovðèv irpóaKoppá  
 èariv irovypov, àXXa iràvra opaXa Kai iXapà.  
 èpyàÇov rò àyaffòv Kal è/c r&v Koirarv crow a>v ò  
 deòt ðiða>criv croi rrâcriv varepovpèvoi<; ðiðov  
 ÔttAwç, py SicrrâÇaiv, rivi Sps y rivi py Sâi.  
 rrâcriv ðiðow rrâcriv yáp ó ðeà<; ðiðoaOai déXei  
 èie râv lêiciüv ða>pypàra>v. 5. ol onv Xapftâvovres  
 àiroðó>aov<riv Xoyov rcp ðeà>, ðtari èXaftov Kai  
 eiç ri- ol pèv yàp Xapfiâvovres ffXifiòpevoi  
 ov ðiKacr3y<rovrai, oi ðè èv viro/cpicrei Xap-  
 jSâvovrev riaovcriv ðÍKyv. 6. ó oiiv ðiðovç à3aiòç  
 ècrrw ï>ç yàp eXafiev rrapà rov Kvpiov ryv  
 SiaKOviav reXéaai, arrX&t avryv èréXecrev, pyðèv  
 ðiaKpivo>v, rivi y py ðS>. èyévero onv y ðia-  
 Kovia avry àrrXw reXecrffeícra evðofo<; rrapa rip  
 deS>. ò onv ovraiç àrrXcòç ðiaKovâ>v rai ðeS>  
 ^ÿaerai? 7. fyvXacrcce onv ryv èvroXyv ravryv,  
 wç croi XeXáXyKa, 'iva y peràvoia crow Kai rov  
 oÍkov crow . èv àrrXoryri evpeGy, Kai ÛKaKias  
 Kadapà Kai àpiavro'ì.

Ja.na. i, 27

<sup>1</sup> éJeis KCAL.,E Ath., íxels KLj.

<sup>1</sup> From here to the end of this Mandate K is missing except the end of the last word (-arras).

<sup>3</sup> ànaxla A (probably, but the MS is almost illegible), KapSia edd. the versions are all paraphrastic, but "cor" is found in L,.

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. n. 2-7

which you hear. For by believing you yourself also will have somewhat against your brother; thus therefore, you will share the sin of the speaker of evil. 3. Evil-speaking is wicked; it is a restless Evil-devil, never making peace, but always living in strife. Refrain from it then, and you shall have well-being at all times with all men. 4. And put on reverence, in which is no evil stumbling-block, but all is smooth and joyful. Do good, and of all your toil which God gives you, give in simplicity to all who need, not doubting to whom you shall give and to whom not: give to all, for to all God wishes gifts to be made of his own bounties. 5. Those then who receive shall render an account to God why they received it and for what. For those who accepted through distress shall not be punished, but those who accepted in hypocrisy shall pay the penalty.<sup>1</sup> 6. He therefore who gives is innocent; for as he received from the Lord the fulfilment of this ministry, he fulfilled it in simplicity, not doubting to whom he should give or not give. Therefore this ministry fulfilled in simplicity was honourable before God. He therefore who serves in simplicity shall live to God. 7. Keep therefore this commandment as I have told you, that your repentance and that of your family may be found to be in simplicity, and that your innocence may be "pure and without stain."

<sup>1</sup> This series of precepts is also found in the Didache (i. 5) and is there quoted as being "according to the commandment" (ζῆλον;—the same word as Hermas uses for the commandments or Mandates of the Shepherd).

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

E V t o X i j y .

1. IláXcv poi Xeyer A.Xr]0eiaυ àyâtra teat, traera àXr]0eia, èK rov erróparóι evov èK^ropevéerOw, iva rò trveilpa. ô ó #eôç KarepKierev èv rij crapxi ravrp, ζXr/0èç eúpeOy irapà traeriv àv0πό>iroi<ι, ical ovreoç 8ot; aer0rjcrerai ó Kvpio<ι; ó èv eroi  
 1 Joh. 2, 27 K a r o t K ; υ ; 5 t ( ó K v p i o s à X t ) 0 i v ò < i è v t r a v r l p u p a r i  
 Kal ovSèn Trap' avrai ■^reûSoç. 2, oi oitv yjrevSo-  
 pevoi à0eroveri ròv Kvpiov Kal yivovrail àrro-  
 errepùral rov Kvpiov, prj trapaSiSóvre<ι; avrà rrjv  
 '14 TrapaKaradrjKirjv, f)v eXaφiov. ekaftov yap Trap'  
 avrov trvevpa á-^reverrov. rovro èav itrévδèç àvo-  
 Bóiereoáiv, èpiavav rrjv èvroXtjv rov Kvpiov Kai  
 èyévovro atrocprepíjrai. 3. ravra ovv ζKoveras  
 èyòι eKXavera Xtav- iSèov Sé pe KXalovra Xéyei'  
 TZ KXaifí<;; "Ori, epyi, Kvpie, ovk oíSa, el Svva-  
 pai aatdrjvai. Alari; (fiTjalv. OvSéireo yap,  
 Kvpie, èv ri) èpy ^a>y áXr;δέ<;; eXáX^aa prjPM,  
 àXXà iróvrore 7ravovpyai<;; èXàXrjcrα2 pera iravreov  
 Kal rò ■vjreûBôç pov aXr;0é^ èiréSei^a trapa tràeriv  
 àv0πό>7roK- Kal ovBétroré poi ovSel<;; àvreltrev,  
 ζXX' è7rierrev0i] raí Xóyep pov. trà><;; ovv, efiypi,  
 Kvpte, Svvpai ^íjgerai ravra trpà^a<;; 4. Sù pév,  
 efirjci, KaXtò<;; Kal <ppovei<ι' eSei yap ere ζ<ι  
 Oeov SovXov èv àXi]0eia Tropeve<r0ai, Kal rrovripàv  
 ervvelSrpriv pera rov trvevparoç ni<;; àXi)0ecaç pi)  
 Karouceiv pijSè Xvtrr;v ètràyeiv tç> trvevpari r£  
 erepviò Kal àX-rfleì. OvSétrore, <ι>rjppá, Kvpie,

1 From here to the last words of the Mandate (-tótou aiiaros f^crerai Bff) K is missing.

2 ζAclÁrfffa A, ê(rjaa EL.

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. in. 1-4

### Mandate 3

1. Again he said to me, "Love truth : and let all Tmth truth proceed from your mouth, that the spirit which God has made to dwell in this flesh may be found true by all men, and the Lord who dwells in you shall thus be glorified, for the Lord is true in every word and with him there is no lie.

2. They therefore who lie set the Lord at nought, and become defrauders of the Lord, not restoring to him the deposit which they received. For they received from him a spirit free from lies. If they return this as a lying spirit, they have defiled the commandment of the Lord and have robbed him."

3. When therefore I heard this I wept much, and when he saw me weeping he said, "Why do you weep?" "Because, sir," said I, "I do not know if I can be saved." "Why?" said he. "Because, sir," said I, "I have never yet in my life spoken a true word, but have ever spoken deceitfully with all men, and gave out that my lie was true among all, and no one ever contradicted me but believed my word.

How then, sir," said I, "can I live after having done this?" 4. "Your thought," said he, "is good and true ; for you ought to have walked in truth as God's servant, and an evil conscience ought not to dwell with the spirit of truth, nor ought grief to come on a spirit which is holy and true." "Never, sir," said I, "have I accurately understood! such words."

1 The literal meaning of the Greek is "heard," but the meaning is clearly much more nearly "understood."



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*roiavra p-ppara à/cpi/Bûs ìycovaa. 5. Nûp ovv, bfyryjabv, ÿKovei< ;' tpvkaaae avrà, 'iva Kai rà rrporepov à ékákiaa<; yjrevSrj èv rat? irpayp.aTeiab<; aov, Tovreav evpebévra>v akr;8tvwv, Kcuceiva maTti yeiajTav èvvaTai yàp KaKeiva iriarà yevéadab. èav raina <f>vÁfy<; Kal àirò tov vvv irâaav ak/ifôeïav Xakricrys, 8vvtfarj aeavTÛ Ça>rjv Trepb-rrob^aaaGab' Kal oç àv ciKovap Trjv èvTokryv ravrrjv Kab à/rrè^eTabl tov ttovijpotÛtov y(rev-afiaros ÇpaeTab rçô theâ>.*

'E VT oXrj 8'.

### I

1. *EvTeXkofiab aob, <j>ijabv, (jivkâaaecv Tjv àyveïav, Kal firj avafiabveTW aov èirl tt)v Kap8ïav irepl ywaucos àWoTpia<; rj irepl iropveia^ 2 Tbv<; rj irepl TObOVTCOV Tbvûv op,oba>ficbTa>v irovrijpSiv. tovto yap TTObûv pÆyakiqv âpbapTbav èpyàÇy. t j/ç ôè cri/ç fivTipbovevasv iràvTOTE yvvabKOs ovêeTrove 8bap,apTijcreb<;. 2. èav yàp avTT] f) èvôvpbrjab'i ènl TTjv Kapèlav aov àva/3p, ObapuapT-qaebS, Kal èav crepa ovrwç nrovripà,3 âpbapTbav èpyàÇrp -f) yàp èvôvp.Tpab<; avTrj Oeov 8ovXa> apbapTba p.eya.T] èaTbv èav 8é tîç èpyàarjTab to èpyov to irovrijpov tovto, dâvaTov éavTtS KaTepyàÇeTab. 3. /^Xêrre ovv av*

1 àn-ijerai A, but f? probably read àtrix-riTai as XV can b® read at the place where the word ought to be.

- tropvfias NCLE Ath., iropTjptas ti\*A.

3 «al çâP . . . âpaprlap N, aal fâv trépas wffaéras irorripâv eriu^irp irorr;p<£ A. The versions paraphrase.

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. in. 5-iv. t-3

5. "Now then," said he, "you do understand them. Keep them that your former lies in your business may themselves become trustworthy now that these have been found true. For it is possible for those also to become trustworthy.<sup>1</sup> If you keep these things and from henceforth keep the whole truth, you can obtain life for yourself; and whoever shall hear this commandment, and abstain from the sin of lying shall live to God."

### Mandate 4

#### I

1. "I command you," he said, "to keep purity and Purity let not any thought come into your heart about another man's wife, or about fornication or any such wicked things; for by doing this you do great sin. But if you always remember your own wife you will never sin. 2. For if this desire enter your heart you will sin, and if you do other such-like wicked things you commit sin. For this desire is a great sin for the servant of God. And if any man commit this wicked deed he works death for himself. 3. See to it then, abstain from this' desire, for where holiness

<sup>1</sup> The meaning is obscure, but it appears to be that Hermas having made untrue statements in the course of business must try so to act that his statements will be justified in fact; for instance, if he had made extravagant promises he must fulfil them.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ζΤρέyou ζΓτό      ἐνOvppaeān TavTW    ottoν yap  
 crefivórrjs KaroiKeí, ètceì àvopia    ovk oejieìXeì ava-  
 fialveiv èirl Kapèiav àv8pò<ì OiKaiov. 4. Xéyto  
 avrà' Kvpie, èrrirpe^róv poi ζXíya ζTrepānfjal ere.  
 Aéye, <f>T)áiv. Kvpie, (fippi, el yvvaíKa eyrp t ið tticttiv  
 èv Kvpitp Kal rai/rr/v evpy èv polveta rivi, àpa  
 ápaprávei o àvìjp crwvÇtón per avTfpt; 5. "A^pi  
 rps àyvoias, (ppaiv, oi>x àpapróvei' èav 8è yvS> o  
 àvT)p rpν àpapriav avrrpt Kal prj peravopap p yvvp,  
 ζXX' èiripevy rp rropveia av~rp Kal o'wÇÿ o àvpp  
 per' avrfjs, èvo%o<; yiverai t »}ç àpapnas avrrjs Kal  
 koivwvos tt}ç polvetas avrrp;. 6. Tí ovv, <f>rjpi,  
 Kvpie, TroirpTTj o àvrjp, èàv èTripewy t S> Tràdei  
 rovTTp p yvvp; ATroXvaarM, <j>t)ai,v, avrrjv Kal o  
 àvpp è<(>' eavrà) pevera)' èav àrroXvaa^ ttjv  
 yvvaíKa érepav yappap, Kal avròt poi^àrai. 7.  
 'Eàv ovv, <f>rjpi, Kvpie, perà rò àTTÓXvdr/vai rrjv  
 yvvaíKa peravopap p yvvp Kal ΘεXrjarj ètri tov  
 éavryf avòpa inroo-rpé^rat, ov TrapaSex^V^erai;  
 8. Kal prjv, <j>Tjalv, èàv pi] Trapaàé^rirat avrpv ó  
 àvrjp, apapravet Kal peyaXpv àpapnav èavrà  
 èrriaTràTat, ùXXà Sei Trapaèex&ijvai ròv ppap-  
 TTjKora Kal peTavoovvra, pi] ètri ttioXv Sé' τοίς yàp  
 SovXoif tov Θεov ^leTiivoià èirriv pia, Sia ttjv  
 perávoiaν ovv ovk ocfieìXeì yapeiv ó àvtfp. avTT] rj

Mk. 10, 11 ;  
 Mt. 5, 32 ;  
 19, 9 ;  
 cf. 1 Cor. 7,  
 11

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. iv. i. 3-8

lives, lawlessness ought not to enter the heart of a righteous man.” 4. I said to him, “Sir, allow me to ask you a few questions.” “Say on,” said he. “Sir,” said I, “if a man have a wife faithful in the Lord, and he finds her out in some adultery, does the husband sin if he lives with her?” 5. “So long as he is ignorant,” said he, “he does not sin, but if the husband knows her sin, and the wife does not repent, but remains in her fornication, and the husband go on living with her, he becomes a partaker of her sin, and shares in her adultery.” 6. “What then,” said I, “sir, shall the husband do if the wife remain in this disposition?” “Let him put her away,” he said, “and let the husband remain by himself. But ‘if he put his wife away and marry another he also commits adultery himself.’” 7. “If then,” said I, “sir, after the wife be put away she repent, and wish to return to her own husband, shall she not be received?” 8. “Yes,” said he; “if the husband do not receive her he sins and covers himself with great sin; but it is necessary to receive the sinner who repents, but not often, for the servants of God have but one repentance. Therefore, for the sake of repentance the husband ought not to marry.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This mandate is really explaining the practical problem which arose from the conflict between the Christian precept against divorce (Mt. 10, 11 f.) and the equally early precept against having intercourse with immoral persons. As the inserted clause “except for the cause of fornication” in the Matthaean version of Mk. 10, 11 f. (Mt. 19, 9; cf. Mt. 5, 32 and Lc. 16, 18) shows, the latter precept was regarded as more important, and immoral wives were put away, but Hermas and other writers always maintained that this was

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Trpâ^tç ðtÏ yvvaiKi Kal àvòpl Keîrai. 9. où fhovov, cjrjaiv, paítela èariv, èàv tîç rrv/ aápKa avrov piávrj, ðXXà Kal oç àv rà ópoiwpapa rroirj rots èdveaiv, poi^ârai. ware Kal èv rois roiovrois epyois èàv èppévy tîç Kal prj peravof/, àrrèyrv air' avrov Kal prj avvÇffôî avió- el Sè prj, Kal av péroyps el rrjs àpaprlas avrov. 10. àtà rovro rrpoaerârv] vpîv è^>' èavrois péveiv, eire àvyp eire yvvtp ððvarai yâp èv rois roiovroiç perávoca eivai. 11. èyw ovv, <prjáv, ov ðíðwpi à<f>oppijv, iva avrrj rj Trpâfzç ovrrws avvreXijrai,l àXXà eZç rò pipcéri àpapráveiv ròv rjpaprrriKÓra. rrepl Sè rfjt irporépas àpaprias avrov eariv ó ðvvápevos ðaav ðovvai'2 àuroç yâp èariv ð éyww rtàvrvw rrv)V ègovalav.

## II

Mk. 6, 52

1. 'Hpwrrjaa Sè avròv rraXiv Xéyww 'EttcI ð Kvptof à^tón pe fjrpraro, Iva per èpov rróvrora KaroiKrfi, oXiya pov p-ppara èri àvaa^ov, èirei ov avvito oüSèv Kai tj Kapèia pov rrerrwpwrai àrrò rvw rrporepww pov rrpá^ewv avvénaón pç, ðri ðlav àtjtpwv eipl Kal oXwç ovðèv vow. 2. àrhoKpideis poi Xèyei- '^yw, <j>rialv, èrrl rij<f>peravoiaç eipl Kal irâaiv rois peravoovaiv avveaiv èlðwpi. rj ov

1 ðrvvT^K^rai SCA, (rvyreXga-TjTai t<\*.  
2 ó Zvváxfvos ðafftv ðovvat om. K\*.

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. iv. i. 8-ii. 2

This is the course of action for wife and husband. 9. Not only," said he, "is it adultery if a man defile his flesh, but whosoever acts as do the heathen is also guilty of adultery, so that if anyone continue in such practices, and repent not, depart from him and do not live with him, otherwise you are also a sharer in his sin. 10. For this reason it was enjoined on you to live by yourselves, whether husband or wife, for in such cases repentance is possible. 11. I, therefore," said he, "am not giving an opportunity to laxity that this business be thus concluded, but in order that he who has sinned sin no more,<sup>1</sup> and for his former sin there is one who can give healing, for he it is who has the power over all."

### II

1. And I asked him again, saying : "If the Lord has thought me worthy for you always to live with me, suffer yet a few words of mine, since I have no understanding and my heart has been hardened by my former deeds ; give me understanding, for I am very foolish and have absolutely no understanding." 2. He answered me and said, "I am set over repentance, and I give understanding to all those not strictly divorce, as the innocent party was not free to remarry in order to give the other the opportunity of repenting and of returning.

<sup>1</sup> Hermas is guarding against the imputation that he is lowering the standard of morality. This accusation was actually brought against him later by Tertullian.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Sokcc croi, cpycrly, avrò tovto to pemvorprai avve-  
 cnv eivai; to peravoycrai, <})yaiv, avveaí<i èanv  
 judg. 2,11 ; pxyaXy crvvlet yàp ó ¿/¿apri/craç, l <m TrerroyKev  
 Ið^-is!!'· T° Trovypbv epTrpoadev tov Kvpiov, Kai àvafiaivei  
 Jg8 ^ 'l5l ètti Tyv KapSiav avrov y irpci'is, ffv e-rrpagev, Kai  
 pxravoei Kai ovKen èpyàÇerai to irovypón, ¿XX¿  
 rò àyadbv TroXvTéXàn; èpyàÇerai Kai Tarreivol Tyv  
 éavTov -jrvxyv Kai /3aaavißei, on ypaprev.  
 /SXÉTrets ovv, on y perávoia crvvscr; èanv peyaXy.  
 3. A¿à tovto ovv, cf>ypi, Kvpie, è£aKpi/3àÇopai  
 Trapa aov Travra- irpwTov p¿v,2 on ápaprcoXóf  
 eipi, iva yvô), Troia èpya èpyaÇopevos Çyaopai, on  
 TroXXai pov eialv ai àpapnai Kai TroiKiXai. 4.  
 Zyay, cftyaiiv, èàv ràç eVroXâç pov <f>vXáñi<¿ Kai  
 TTopevdriç èv avTaíf Kai oç àv aKovaas rà<;  
 ei>ToXâç ravraç cjtivXà^y, i^rjaeraí t \$> be&.*

## IH

1. \*Et ì, <l>ypi, Kvpte, Trpoa0yaa> tov eTrepcoyaaí.  
 Aéye, <f>yaiv. 'ii/covaa, <f>ypi, Kvpte, rrapà nvarv  
 ¿iSaaKciXaiv, on érépa peràvoia ovk èanv et py  
 eKeivy, ore eiç vècop Karé^ypev Kai èkâfiopev  
 a<l>eaiv àpapTiww ypGrv t \$>v irporepcov. 2. Xéyei  
 poi- KaXws yKovaas- ovico yàp e^ei. èdei yàp  
 tov3 elXy<j>ÓTa acfreaiv àpapncòv pyKen ápapráveiv,  
 ¿XX' èv áyveía KaroiKeiv. 3. ètrel Sè TràvTa  
 è^aKpi/SàÇy, Kai tovto aoi SyXcóato, py ¿iSovç  
 àcpoppyv toíç péXXovai iriareveiv y toù vvv

1 ò afiapriútras ALE, § à.rii? ¿ áfiapT"fi<ras Jí.

2 From here to Mand. IV. 3, 4 (KapbioyywffTtis) K is missing.  
 s t of Clem., Tira A.

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. iv. ii. 2-iii. 3

who repent. Or do you not think," said he, "that this very repentance is itself understanding? To repent," said he, "is great understanding. For the sinner understands that he 'has done wickedly before the Lord,' and the deed which he wrought comes into his heart, and he repents and no longer does wickedly, but does good abundantly, and humbles his soul and punishes it because he sinned. You see, therefore, that repentance is great understanding." 3. "For this reason then, sir," said I, "I enquire accurately from you as to all things. First, because I am a sinner, that I may know what I must do to live, because my sins are many and manifold." 4. "You shall live," he said, "if you keep my commandments and walk in them, and whosoever shall hear and keep these commandments shall live to God."

### III

1. "I will yet, sir," said I, "continue to ask." **Repentance**  
"Say on," said he. I have heard, sir," said I, "from **baptism '16'**  
some teachers<sup>1</sup> that there is no second repentance beyond the one given when we went down into the water and received remission of our former sins."  
2. He said to me, "You have heard correctly, for that is so. For he who has received remission of sin ought never to sin again, but to live in purity."  
3. But since you ask accurately concerning all things, I will explain this also to you without giving an excuse to those who in the future shall believe or to

<sup>1</sup> Possibly a reference to Heb. 6, 4 ff.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

iriarevaacriv eZç top Kvpiov. oi yap vvv triarev-  
 aavTes rj peXXovTes Tricrreveiv peváoioiav àpapniòv  
 oi)K expvcriv, àcftieiv èè emoveri τὸν irporepaiv  
 àpapTiaiv avTwv. 4. τοῖς οὖν κX^OsÌiti Trpo rov-  
 ra>v τ Sjv 'qp.epSv èOr^Kev ó Kvpios peTavoiaiv Kapbio-  
 yváa-Trp; yàp ζ>v ó Kvpios Kai irávTa irpoyivaurKcav  
 eyveo Trpi áaOéveiaiv τ &v àvθp<i>ira>v Kai 'tt)v  
 TroXvTrXoKiaiv τov éiiaftóXov, oti iroiπrei ti KaKov  
 τois óovXots τov Oeov Kai Trovr/pevaiTai eiç avTovç.  
 5. TToXvcrTrXayxyos οὖν ζ>v ó Kvpios éffTrXayyicrdri  
 èvrì ttjv vroírjaiv avTov Kai èOpceiv tt)v peTiúvoiaiv  
 TavTTjv, Kai èpoi η ègovoia tt}ç peTavoias ravTVjs  
 èèódrj. 6. àXXà èycó croi Xéya>, cftijaí1' p-era ttjv  
 KXfjcriv ζKeivpv tvjv peyaXpv Kai crcpvrjv èav τiç  
 ζKireipaa-ffeii; virò τov Sia^óXov àpapTrjcrp, páav  
 pxTavoiaiv ifyei- èav 3è virò %eipa àpapTiivr) Kai  
 peTavorfart,2 àavpifiopón èaTi τὸ) àvOpiotrcp τ &  
 τoi ovto)' SvcrKoXavf yàp i^r/aeTai. 7. Xeyw avrà'  
 'E^a>OTroiii0r)V ravTa Trapa crov aKOvaac ovucoç  
 ζKpi^w' olèa yàp oti, èàn pr/KiTi Trpoadpaw  
 Tais (tpapTiais fiov, cra>δριαopat. Xtoδ^aT), cpr/aiv,  
 Kai TrávTes, ocroi èàn TavTa Troijjacriv.

### IV

1. 'HptoTTjera avTov iráXiv Xéycov Kvpie, èirei  
 ôwraÇ àvèyrj piv, cti poi Kai τovτο ^ijXcoaov.  
 Aéye, <l>T<rv. Eav yvvij, cjiTjpi, Kvpie, fj TràXiv  
 àvrjρ Tis KOip/qdfi Kai yapperp τiç è% avr&v, prpri

I Cor. 7,  
38-40

1 With the of (privi the extant leaves of X come to an  
 end. 3 fj;Tav<rívni E (L), ov pcTavo^ffri A.

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. iv. iii. 3-iv. 1

those who have already believed on the Lord. For those who have already believed or shall believe in the future, have no repentance of sins, but have remission of their former sin. 4. For those, then, who were called before these days, did the Lord appoint repentance, for the Lord knows the heart, and knowing all things beforehand he knew the weakness of man and the subtlety of the devil, that he will do some evil to the servants of God, and will do them mischief. 5. The Lord, therefore, being merciful, had mercy on his creation, and established this repentance, and to me was the control of this repentance given. 6. But I tell you," said he, "after that great and holy calling, if a man be tempted by the devil and sin, he has one repentance, but if he sin and repent repeatedly it is unprofitable for such a man, for scarcely shall he live." 7. I said to him, "I attained life when I heard these things thus accurately from you, for I know that if I do not again add to my sins I shall be saved." "You shall be saved," said he, "and all who do these things."

### IV

1. I asked him again, saying, "Sir, since you for <sup>second</sup> once endure me explain this also to me." "Say on," marnag<sup>4</sup> said he. "If, sir," said I, "a wife, or on the other hand a husband, die, and the survivor marry, does

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*ápaprâvsi ò yapwv; 2. «/tapTareî, <f>r)áiv èàv Sè è<f> savrtò psívr) t íç, irspiaaorspav savrâ riprvj Kai psyaXrvj SoÇav irspiürotsirai repos rov Kvpiov èàv Sè Kai yapr;arj, ov^ àpaprâvst. 3. rrjpsi ovv rpv àyvslav Kai rpv aspvorpra, Kai Çpay tç3 Osai. ravrà croi oaa XaXcô Kai psWa> XaXsîv, cfivXaaaas àrrò rov vvv, à<f> ijç poi rrapSodps ppépas, Kai «ç ròv oikov aov KaroiKpato. 4. τοίç Sè irporspois aov rraparrcoppaiv âijrsais sarai, èàv ràs èvroXàs pov <j)vXá^ys' Kai rrâai Sè ácj>eais sarai, èàv t<xç èvroXàs pov ravras cftvXá^coai Kai iropsvdâraiv èv ry ayvorrvjri ravrrj.*

'EI/ T O X Tj s'.

### I

1. *M.aKpó0vp,o<j, <j>ijáí, yLvon Kai avvsroç, Kai rràvrwv râ>v rrovrvpâv epyatv KaraKvpsîrsis Kai èpyóari rrâaav SiKaioavvi)v. 2. èàv yàp paKpo-òvpos sarj, ro rrvsvpa rò àyíov râ KaroiKovv èv aoi Kadapov sarai, prj èTriaKorovpevon virò srspov rrovppov TTVSvparot;, ¿XX' èv svpv^wpcp KaroiKovv ayaXXiàasrai Kai ev<j>pav3r/asrai psrà rov aKsvovç, èv a> KaroiKsî, Kail Xsirovpytfaei rcv Ostp èv íXaporr)ri rróXXrvj, sj(pv rr^v sv0rjvíav èv savrâ. 3. èàv Se à^v^oXia t íç irpoasXOri, sv0i><; ro rrvsvpa rò àyiov, rpvipepôv ôv, arsvo-*

| Kai EL Ant., before pira A.

THE SHEPHERD, mand. iv. iv. i-v. i. 3

the one who marries commit sin ?” 2. “ He does not sin,” said he, “ but if he remain single he gains for himself more exceeding honour and great glory with the Lord, but even if he marry he does not sin. 3. Preserve therefore purity and holiness, and you shall live to God. Keep from henceforth, from the day on which you were handed over to me, these things which I tell you and shall tell you, and I will dwell in your house. 4. And for your former transgression there shall be remission if you keep my commandments, and all men shall obtain a remission, if they keep these commandments of mine and walk in this purity.”

Mandate 5

I

1. “ Be,” said he, “ long-suffering<sup>1</sup> and prudent and Long- you shall have power over all evil deeds and shalt sufferng do all righteousness. 2. For if you are courageous the Holy Spirit which dwells in you will be pure, not obscured by another evil spirit, but will dwell at large and rejoice and be glad with the body in which it dwells, and will serve God in great cheerfulness, having well-being in itself. 3. But if any <sup>Against</sup> ill temper enter, at once the Holy Spirit, which is <sup>ill temper</sup> delicate, is oppressed, finding the place impure, and

<sup>1</sup> The translation of *μακροθυπια* and *δελυξ*»Ala is difficult. *Μακροθυπια* is a little more than “ long suffering ” and almost equals courage. *ιϑυχοκια* is a rare word, literally “ quickness to wrath,” but this phrase does not convey in English the bad sense which Hermas obviously implies.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

^mpeÍTat, p.77 e^ov rov tottov KaOapov, Kai typreÍ  
 àiroa-rrivai ¿k tov tottov rrviveTab yap virò rov  
 irovripov TTvevparoi, ^Xpv tottov XebTovpy;jaab  
 tð) Kvpia>, KaOiiis jiovXerai, jMaivop^vov v11o  
 tt|ç ofvyoXiaç. èv yap rp paKpoOvpia, ó Kvpboç;  
 KaTouceí, èv Sé ttj o^v^oXía ó Stù/SoXoç. 4. ¿p-  
 (ffórepa. ovv rá irveópara èrrb to avrò KaToucovvTa,  
 àcrvp<f>opón èaTiv xai irovijpòv t ò) àvOporrip ÈKeivtp,  
 èv <p KaTOiKovcrw. 5. èav yap Xà/3y<; àr^ivòbov  
 yucpov Xiav Kai eiç Kepápiov péXiToç èirb^ép^,; ov^yl  
 oXoi> to péXb àjavbÇeTai, Kai ToaovTov péXb v11o  
 tov èXaypcTTov àrfrivObov àiroKXvrab Kai àiròXXviri  
 TTjv yXvKVTTjTa TOV pbéXbTO<!, Kai OVKEtb TTjv avTTjv  
 XÚpiv è^eb rrapà Tip èetripoty, otí éiriKpáv dri Kai  
 TTjv xprjcriv aiiTov áircóXecrev; èàn Sé etç to pÁXb  
 fi?) p\Tj0rj to à^bvdbov, yXvKv evpiaKSTab to p,éXt  
 Kai eí>XpVaTov ybvstab t¿> SeairoTp avTOV.l\* 6.  
 fiXéirebS OTb ¶ paKpodvpba yXvKVTTarr) ècrriv  
 VTTcp to pÁKi Kai evXpTjaTO'; ècTb Tip Kvpiip, Kai  
 èv avTTj KaTOtKSb. rj Sé ò^v^oXia irucpà Kai  
 àXP'rj<TTÓ<; èffTbv. èàn ovv fuyy rj è^v^oXía ttj  
 paKpoòvpia, piatveTab rj paKpoÓvpia Kai ovKeTb  
 evypriaTos èCTb t§> Qeíp ¶ èvTev^iç avTTjç. 7.  
 "HoeXov, c^Tjpb, Kvpbe, yvâvai ttjv èvepyeivav tt|ç  
 ôÇu^oXiaç, 'iva rpvXá^iopai àir ñÛttJç. Kai pbrjv,

1 The text of this passage is reconstructed thus by the editors from LE Ant. A reads àtpaviQnai, «al írispòv ylyerai sal àiroAXóei ttjm yKvKvTijTa tov jifÁtros Kai ovkÓti rijv adrjv X¿PIV ikoi Trapa ry SrarrclTp jri éiriKpáv07j Kai ri/v xprjtriv áirov àrriàXeær, èàn 8è òri rb àÿivüioy ovbè erri ù» à^ivSiov pi| 3A7)0ji /xeAr oàðè etxpüiTTov yiverai Tip SewÁT-ri avrov. This of course is hopelessly corrupt, but it seems to point to a shorter text.

## **THE SHEPHERD,** mand. v. i. 3-7

seeks to depart out of the place, for it is choked by the evil spirit, having no room to serve the Lord as it will, but is contaminated by the bitterness. For the Lord dwells in long-suffering and the devil dwells in ill temper. 4. If therefore, both spirits dwell in the same place it is unprofitable and evil for that man in whom they dwell. 5. For if you take a little wormwood, and pour into it a jar of honey, is not the whole honey spoilt? And a great quantity of honey is ruined by a very little wormwood, and it spoils the sweetness of the honey, and it has no longer the same favour with the master, because it has been mixed and he has lost its use. But if no wormwood be put into the honey, the honey is found to be sweet, and becomes valuable to the master. 6. You see that long suffering is very sweet, surpassing honey, and is valuable to the Lord and he dwells in it. But ill temper is bitter and useless. If, therefore, ill temper be mixed with courage, the courage is defiled, and its intercession is no longer valuable before God." 7. "I would like, sir," said I, "to know the working of ill temper, that I may be preserved from it." "Indeed," said he, "if you do not keep

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

tftyatv, èàv fit) <f>vXáI,y àtr avrÿ? av Kai o oiko? aov, ¿TFtóXeaá? aov ryv tráaav ektríBa. ¿XXá cf>vXa^ai àtr avry?' èyà> yàp fiera aov eipi. Kai trarre? Bè à<f>é^ovrai àtr avry?, oaoi av peravoy-aataiv éj- oXy? rÿ? KapBía? avr&v- fier avriüv yáp ècopai, Kai avvrypyaa) avrov?' éBiKaiáiOyaav yáp trarre? vtrb rov aepvorárov áyyeXov.

## II

1. "Ajcove vvv, ýyal, ryv évépyeiv ry? o^vy¿o-Xía?, π<¿> trovypa érrrt, Kal trw? rov? BovXov? povl Kara<rrpé<pei. ry èavry? èvepyeta Kai rr&? àrrorrXavâ avrov? atro ríj? BiKaiavrvf?. ovk àtrotrXavâ ðè rov? trXypei? Svra? èv ry tríaret oüBè èvepyycrat Bvvarai el? avrov?, orí y Bvvapi? povl per avr&v èariv àtrotfXavâ Bè rov? àtroKevov? Kai Bitfrv^ov? arra?. 2. ôrav iBy rov? roiovrov? ávffpátrov? evarradovvra?, trapep-(iáXXei eavryv el? ryv KapBíav rov avOpónrov èKeivov, Kai éK rov pyBevo? ó àvyp y y yvvv èv triKpia yíverai eveKev ftiwriKwv irpa^ffiáratv y trepi eBeapárwv y piKpoXoyía? rivo? y trepi (¿Xov rivo?2 y trepi Bóaea>? y Xy^reto? if trepi roioivrtov pa>p&v trpaypárwv ravra yap trávra pa>pá éari Kai kevdt Kdî âÿpova Kai àavp^topa roi? BvXoi? rov Oeov. 3. y Be paKpoOvpia peyoíXy èarl Kai la^ypà Kai Bvvapiv è%ovaa Kai arifiapav Kai evOyvovpévyv èv trXarvap& peyáXro, ¿Xapá,

1 JJ.OV A, TOV Kvplov Lg, (E) TOV 060V Lp

\* T«pl <piŷ)V TIVÓΣ om. A.

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. v. i. 7-ii. 3

from it, both you and your house, you have destroyed all your hope. But keep from it, for I am with you. And all shall refrain from it, who repent with all their heart ; for I will be with them, and will preserve them, for all have been made righteous by the most revered angel.

### II

1. “Hear, then,” said he, “the working of ill temper, and how evil it is and how it destroys the servants of God by its working, and how it leads them astray from righteousness. But it does not lead astray those who are filled with faith, nor can it work evil to them, because my power is with them, but it leads astray those who are vain and are double-minded. 2. And when it sees such men in tranquillity, it forces its way into the heart of that man, and the man or woman is made bitter out of nothing, because of daily business or of food or some trifle, or about some friend, or about giving or receiving, or about some such foolish matters. For all these things are foolish and vain and meaningless, and unprofitable to the servants of God. 3. But long-suffering is great and mighty and has steadfast power and prospers in great breadth, is joyful, glad, without care, ‘glorifying the Lord at every



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Tob. 4, 1» àyaXKuùpévr), ζpept/zvo? ovaα, So^ά^ovaα τoρ  
*Kvpiov* èν rrvrì Kaiplp, pifièν èν éavrfj scoverà  
*irucpón, irapapévovaa Sia iravròs irpaeîa Kai*  
*•fjcrvyζios' avTT)* ovv è) paKpo0vpla Karoucei pera  
 rà>v rrjv Triariv è^ovreov ζXóicXijpov. 4. V 3e oEv-  
 ^oXia irptarov pèν papa èariv, èXα<f>pà re Kai  
 a<j>pa>v. eira Ìk rr/s á<j>póavvrjs ylverai iriKpia, èk  
 rr/s iriKpias Ovpós, ζk Se τov Ovpov òpyrj, eK Se  
 ttjç òpyrjs prp>i<j' eira f) pipis avrrj eK roaovrmv  
 KaKwv crvvKTTapévT) yiverai àpapna peyáXrj Kai  
 aviaros. 5. orav yàp ravra rà irvevpara èν évi ày-  
 yeip KaroiKy, ov Kai rò irvevpa ro àyiov Karoucel,  
 ov %a>peì rò ayyos èKelvo, èMC {nreprrXeovà^ei. 6.  
 τo Trpwftepòn ovv rrvevpa, prj e%ov aw^ffeïav pera  
 TTOvrjgov TTvevparos KaroiKelv pvjSè perà cikXti-  
 pórryros, airoywpei Òtto τov àνòpórrrov τov τοιοv-  
 τov Kai fijTeì Karouceiv pera TrpaórijTOS Kai  
 Tjav)(ías. 1. etra orav ζTroarì) atro τov àνθpó>-  
 TTOV èxeivov, ov KaroiKeì, yiverai o avdpmros  
 èxeivos Kevòs avrò τov irvevparos τov SiKaiov, Kai  
 rò Xoittov TreTXypajpevos rois irvevpaai rots  
 TTOvrjpois ζKaraararei èν iraaip rrpά^ei avrov,  
 irepuHtiipevos &>ðe KaKeíae aíro rúv rrvεvpárwv  
 r&v irovtpj&v, Kai oXα>s àirorv<f>Xovrai aíro rrjs  
 Siavolas rrjs áyaθíς). ovreos ovv arvp/3alvei iráai  
 rois ò^v)(pXois. 8. àiré%pv oiv atro rijs ò^v%o-  
 Xias, rov irovùporàrov irvevparos' èνSvaai 3è  
 ri)v paKpodvplav Kai àvnara ry o^vj^oXia Kai  
 ri) iriKpia, Kai èap evpitTKopevos pera, rrjs aep-  
 vóryros rrjs rjyairrj pévrjs virò rov Kvpiov. fiXéire  
 oàv priore rrapevdvpridfis ri)v èvroXijv ravrrjw  
 èàv yàp ravri)s r^s èvroXrp; Kvpievays, Kai ras

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. v. ii. 3-8

time,' has nothing bitter in itself, but remains ever meek and gentle. Therefore this long-suffering dwells with those who have faith in perfectness. 4. But ill temper is first foolish, frivolous, and silly; then from silliness comes bitterness, from bitterness wrath, from wrath rage, and from rage fury; then fury, being compounded of such great evils, becomes great and inextinguishable sin. 5. For when these spirits dwell in one vessel, where also the Holy Spirit dwells, there is no room in that vessel, but it is overcrowded. 6. Therefore the delicate spirit which is unaccustomed to dwell with an evil spirit, or with hardness, departs from such a man, and seeks to dwell with gentleness and quietness. 7. Then, when it departs from that man where it was dwelling, that man becomes empty of the righteous spirit, and for the future is filled with the evil spirits, and is disorderly in all his actions, being dragged here and there by the evil spirits, and is wholly blinded from goodness of thought. Thus, then, it happens with all who are ill tempered. 8. Abstain then from ill temper, that most evil spirit, but put on long suffering and withstand ill temper, and be found with the holiness which is beloved of the Lord. See then that you forget not this commandment, for if you master this commandment you will also be able to

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

XoiTràç tpToXàç Owpcr-p cpvXá^ai, as croi p.éXXa> èvréXXeadai. ia^vpon èv airaïs Kai èvðvnapov, Kai rràvres èvSvvapiovrôcûa'av, oaoi èàv fféXcocriv èv aurais iropeveadac.

'E v r o X r / r'

1

1. 'EvereiXa/w/v croi, yr/aiv, èv tt; rrpdry èvroXij, iva (fivXà^ps TTjv Triariv Kai ròn cfróftov Kai rifu èyKpàreia. Nai, cjrrj/M, Kvpie. 'AXXa vvv 6eXa> croi, cjrrjaiv, èvjXcôaai Kai ràs ènvàpets airtòv, 'iva voijcrys ris airâv riva òvvapiv é)(.ei Kai evépyeia èiirXai yâp eicriv ai èvépyeiai avrcòv. Keivrai ovv èrti òiKaicp Kai àèlKcP' 2. av ovv rriareve Tw SiKaicp, r& çè àòikcp prj rriarevaps' rò yâp òiKaiov òpGrjv ç8òv eyei, rò èè àòikov arpe[3Xr)v, àXXà crv ri} òptir} òoà rropevov Kai òpiaXy, rrjv èe arpefiXpv eacrov. 3. p yâp crrpe^Xr) òðòs rpiçfiovs ovK e^eí, çXX' àvòðias Kai rrhoaKoppa rroXXà Kai rpa^eîà ècrn Kai çKavdca^rjs- pXa-fiepà ovv ècrn rois èv airi} iropevopévois. 4. oi Sè ri} òpdi} çSai Tropevópevoi ópaXcòs rrepirarovai Kai àirpocrKorrcos' ovre yâp rpayeiiá ècrriv ovre ciKavOto&iS. ^Xérreis ovv, òri crvp^opcôrepòv ècrn ravrrj ri} oðà> rropeveaffai. 5. 'ApecrKei poi, <f>r}pi, Kvpie, ravrr) ri} óòcp rropevecrffai. Tlopevay, cfrycri, vai òs àv il} oXrjç Kapòias èiriarpéifTy irpòs Kvpiov, TTopevaerai èv avrij.

Joei22; jj>

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. v. ii. 8-vi i. 5

keep the other commandments which I am going to give you. Be strong in them and strengthen yourself, and let all strengthen themselves who wish to walk in them.

### Mandate 6

#### I

1. "I COMMANDED you," Said he, "in the first Expansion commandment to keep faith and fear and con- Mandate tineness." "Yes, sir," said I. "But now I wish," said he, "to explain also their qualities that you may understand what is the quality of each and its working, for their working is of two sorts. They relate, then, to the righteous and to the unrighteous : 2. do you therefore believe the righteous, but do not believe the unrighteous. For that which is righteous has a straight path, but that which is unrighteous a crooked path. But do you walk in the straight path, but leave the crooked path alone. 3. For the crooked path has no road, but rough ground and many stumbling-blocks, and is steep and thorny. It is therefore harmful to those who walk in it. 4. But those who go in the straight path walk smoothly and without stumbling, for it is neither rough nor thorny. You see, then, that it is better to walk in this path." 5. "It pleases me, sir," said I, "to walk in this path." "You shall do so," said he, "and whoever 'turns to the Lord with all his heart' shall walk in it.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### II

1. "Alcoue vvv, <frr><ri, rrepl rrj<j tt ç'areto?. Suo elalv àyyeXoi ft,erà rov àvOptórrrov, etç rijç èiKat-oavvofi xal eli riji rrovifpiai. 2. Πωç ovv, (jptfpi, Kvpie, yvó>aopai ràì avrtòv èvepeyeiai, ori afi-ÿ>orepoi àyyeXoi fier èfiiov KaroiKOvaiv; 3. AKove, (jypai, Kal avvieì avrai.l o fiev rrji SiKaioavvrfi àyyéKoi rpvtyepói èan Kal ala^vv-rr/rpòì Kal rrpavi Kal r/av^ioi' orav ovv ovroi ètri rrfv Kapèiav aov àvafîrf, evfféan XaXeì fier aov rrepl èiKaioaiiv'ps, rrepl àyvelai, rrepl aefivórifroi Kal rrepl avrapKeiai Kal rrept rravróì èpyov SiKaiov Kai rrepi rraarfì apersi èvèó^ov. ravra rrávra orav eli rrjv KapSiav aov àvafîrf, ylvataKe, ori o ayyeXoi rrfi Si-Kaioavvrfi fier aov èarl. ravra ovv èari rà epya rov àyyéXov rfji èiKaioavvrfi. rovaio ovv maTCve icav τοις epyois; avrov. 4. opa ovva Kal rov àyyéXov rrfç irovTfpias rà epya. rrp&rov rràvrnv ofv^oXoç èan Kal rriKpò<ì Kal à<f>pa>v,4 Kal rà epya avrov rrovrfpà, Karaarpe^ovra rovi SovXovì rov Oeov- orav oSv ovroi erri rifv Kap&lav aov civafüri, yvSiOi avrov àrrò rS>v epytov avrov. 5. Πωç, ^>7jfü, Kvpie, voTfaat avrov, ovk èmarafiai. vAlcoue, ^>rjaiv. orav ò^v-^oXia aoi n<j rcpoarréa-p rj rrucpia, yivataKe, ori avróì èanv èv aoi- eira èrridyfiia rrpà^ea>v rroXX&v Kal rróXvréXeiai

1 avnìs airris A, aim L, om E.

2 cieims KaXtì . . . àra0i) (with some variations) LE Ath. Ant., om. A. 8 oJv A Ath., vip L(E).

4 riKpiis «ai &<pp<av L Ath. Ant., om. A.

Mt. 7, 16

II

1. "Hear now," said he, "concerning faith. There <sup>Faith</sup> are two angels with man, one of righteousness and one of wickedness." 2. "How then, sir," said I, "shall I know their workings, because both angels dwell with me?" "Listen," said he, "and understand them. The angel of righteousness is delicate and modest and meek and gentle. When, then, he comes into your heart he at once speaks with you of righteousness, of purity, of reverence, of self-control, of every righteous deed, and of all glorious virtue. When all these things come into your heart, know that the angel of righteousness is with you. These things, then, are the deeds of the angel of righteousness. Therefore believe him and his works. 4. Now see also the works of the angel of wickedness. First of all, he is ill tempered, and bitter, and foolish, and his deeds are evil, casting down the servants of God. Whenever therefore he comes into your heart, know him from his works." 5. "I do not understand, sir," said I, "how to perceive him. "Listen," said he. "When ill temper or bitterness come upon you, know that he is in you. Next the desire of many deeds and the luxury of

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

eSecr/zaTWP 110XXwv Kai, p,e0vapára>v Kai Kpai-  
 rraX&v rrbXXiov Kai 110ikiXiov rpoÿtón Kai ov  
 beovraiv Kai èrri0vpiat yvvaiKÛv Kai -rrXeove^iiov  
 Kai V7repr|<f>avia iroXXi| tiç Kai àXaÇoveia Kai baa  
 rovrois rrapaTTXrjaiá èari Kai bpoia- ravra oiiv  
 brav èrr'i rrjv Kapoiav aov àva/3fj, ytwaKe, bri o  
 àyyeXos T17Ç rrovTjpias èariv èv aoí. 6. av ovv  
 èrriyvovs rà epya avrov árróara àrr avrov,  
 pybev l avrà rriáreve, bri rà epya avrov rrovypá  
 elai Kai àavprroifia rois bovXois rov Oeov. é^eis  
 ovv àp^orèpwv rà>v ayyéXtov t Aç èvepyeias- ovvie  
 avràs Kai rriáreve rà> àyyéXtp rrjs biKaioavvys'  
 7. àrro Sè rov àyyéXov t ^ç Trovi|pías àrróarr]0i,  
 bri rj biða^y avrov Tvovrjpa èart rravri èpytp' èàv  
 yap y rif maro<f àvpp Kai rj èv0vp.r]ai<i rov  
 àyyéXov rovrov ava^y èirì rpv Kapbiav avrov, bei  
 rov àvbpa èKeívon rj rì^v yvvaiKa é^apaprpaat ri.  
 8. èàv δè rraXiv irovTjporaró^ rt<; rj àvrjv r) ywì)  
 Kai àvafiri èrri rr/v Kapblav avrov rà epya rov  
 àyyéXov rrp; biKaioavvrp;, è% àvàyKrfi bei avrov  
 àya0ov ri rroiijaai. 9. fiXeiret; ofiv, tfrjraiv, bri  
 KaXón èari rà> àyyéXtp rp? biKaioavvT)^ aKoXov0eívn,  
 tç> Sè àyyéXtp tt)ç itovi|pías àrrorà^aa0ai. 10.  
 ra p.èv rrepi rfjs rriarews avrr] rj èvroXì] brjXoi, 'iva  
 rots epyois rov àyyéXov rfjs biKaioavvrjs rria-  
 revays, Kai epyaaàpevos avrà Írfarj rà> 0eái.  
 rriareve bé, ori rà epya rov àyyéXov rfjs rrovrjpias  
 -^aXerra earr p/r] èpya^ópevos ovv avrà ^r]ay rw  
 0eti>.

1 jUTjè AE, «al liTfiiv Ath., L.

## THE SHEPHERD, mano. vi. ii. 5-10

much eating and drinking, and many feasts, and various and unnecessary foods, and the desire of women, and covetousness and haughtiness, and pride, and whatsoever things are akin and like to these,— when, therefore, these things come into your heart, know that the angel of wickedness is with you. 6. When, therefore, you know his deeds, keep from him, and do not trust him, because his deeds are evil and unprofitable for the servants of God. You have, therefore, the workings of both the angels. Understand them and believe the angel of righteousness, 7. but keep from the angel of wickedness because his teaching is evil in every act. For though a man be faithful, if the thought of that angel rise in his heart, it must be that that man or woman commit some sin. 8. But again, though a man or woman be very evil, if there rise in his heart the deeds of the angel of righteousness, it must needs be that he do some good act. 9. You see, therefore,” said he, « that it is good to follow the angel of righteousness, but to keep away from the angel of wickedness. 10. This commandment makes plain the things of the faith, that you may believe the works of the angel of righteousness, and y oing them live to God. But believe that the works of the angel of wickedness are bad : by not doing them, therefore, you shall live to God.”



# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

## EVT0XT) Ç

1. <sup>^</sup>o<sup>^</sup>r)6i)ri, <i>r)ai, ròv Kvpcov Kai fyvXaaae rat  
 Eccles. 12.13 èpT0xàç avrov. <f>vXáaawv ovv ràs èvroXàç rov  
 Oeov ear) Svvaròì èv rráap rrpá^et, Kai rj Trpâipt;  
 aov àavyKpiro<; earai. <f>o/3ovpevo<; yàp ròv Kvpiov  
 nrávra KaXw<; èpyàarp ovroç Sé èanv ò fyóftos,  
 òv Sei tre <f>o^i)6rjvat,, Kai awdíjvai.1 2. ròv Sè  
 Siá/BoXov pi) <f>of3rj0ps' <po/3ovpevo<; yàp ròv Kvpiov  
 KaraKvpievaets rov StafióXov, ori Svvapiv èv avrw  
 ovk èariv. èv w Sè èvvapi<; ovk eanv,2 ovSè <j>ó@o<;'  
 èv co Sè Svvapiv rj erSofoc, Kai <j>ó/3os èv avrà.  
 irà? yàp ó Svvapiv <f>ó/3ov e%er ò Se pi) e-ywv  
 Svvapiv viro rràvrvw Karaypoveîrai. 3. <^of^ijdrjTi  
 Sè rà èpya rov Sia/3óXou, ori Trovi)pa èarc. <po/3oi-  
 pevov ovv rov Kvpiov 3 ovk èpyàay avrà, ζXX àtpé^p  
 àir avrvw. 4. Siaaoi ovv eiatv oi èav yàp  
 6éXy<; rò Trovi)pòv èpyàaaaOai, (fio/Sov rov Kvpiov,  
 Kai ovk èpyàcry avrò! èav Sè #éX?jç iráXtv rò  
 àyadòv èpyàcraadai, cf>o/3ov ròv Kvpiov, Kai èpyàcrij  
 avrà, ware o (jjó/So; rov Kvpiov la^vpo^ èari Kai  
 péyas Kai èvSo^os. <j)0^i)di)ri ovv ròv Kvpiov, Kai  
 fyrjar) avrip' Kai oaoi av <j)o/3'rj0wai.v avròv Kai  
 rijp^awat, rà<; èvroXàs avrov, ^ijaovrat. rw  
 bew. 5. ktari, rfyripì, Kvpie, eirra<; irepi rvw  
 rrpovrvw rat; èvróXàs avrov- Zijaovrat, rw Oew;  
 "Ori, <l>T)aiiv, rràaa r) Kriait; fyofstelrai ròv Kvpiov  
 ràt; Sè èi/roXàç avrov ov tfjvXáaaet. rvw ovv

1 cruàqí'ai A, aoiHitp L; Ant.

2 iv \$ . . . ítrTix om. (E) La Ath.

3 KÓpiov A, add. rà epva rov Kai Ant.  
 (L.), L, omits the whole clause.

4 Kal Tifp^ausi E Ant., iúv <j>v^aaaζviu>v A.

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. vii. 1-5

### Mandate 7

1. “‘Fear,’” said he, “‘the Lord and keep his Fear commandments.’ By keeping, therefore, the commandments of God you shall be strong in every act, and your conduct shall be beyond compare. For by fearing the Lord you shall do all things well, and this is the fear with which you must fear and be saved. 2. But the devil do not fear, for by fearing the Lord you have power over the devil because there is no might in him. But where there is no might, neither is there fear. But where there is glorious might, there is also fear. For everyone who has might gains fear. But he who has not might is despised by all. 3. But fear the works of the devil, because they are evil. If therefore, you fear the Lord you shall not do them, but depart from them. 4. There are therefore two sorts of fear. For if you wish to do that which is evil, fear the Lord and you shall not do it. But, on the other hand, if you wish to do that which is good, fear the Lord, and you shall do it. So that the fear of the Lord is mighty and great and glorious. Therefore fear the Lord and you shall live in him. And whosoever shall fear him and keep his commandments, shall live to God.” 5. “Wherefore, sir,” said I, “did you say of those who keep his commandments, ‘they shall live to God’?” “Because,” said he, “the whole creation fears the Lord, but it does not keep his commandments. Those, therefore

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*cfroftovpévcov avròv Kai cjiivKaaaovrcov ras èvToXàç avrai), èKelvcov 7) Ça>i) èan Trapa, tw dew- row Sè prj cpvXaaaovrcov ràç eVroXà? avrov, ov8è Çojij èv avrâ.*

### E V T O X Î J T J

1. EtTroy croi, (*jypaív, ori rà Kriapara rov deov ðwrXâ çarc Kai yap rj eyKpareia ði7rX.-rj èanv. èrri rttvcov yàp ðeí èyKpareveadat, èirl tivcov Sè ou Set-* 2. *Vvâtpiaov pot, <f>r)pi, Kypie, èrri rlvatv ðec èyKpareveadai, èrri rivcov Sè ov ðeí. "Akovc, <f>pal. to TTovr)rov èyKparevov Kai p/r) rroiçi avrò' to Sè àyadbv pi) èyKparevov, çXXà nrolei avrò, èav yàp èyKparevay rb àyadbv pi) rroielv, ápapríav peyaX/rjv èpyàÇrpl èav Sè èyKparevap ro trovripov prj Troieív, ðiKaioavvT]v peyaK.'qv èpyà^y. èyKparevaat ovv àrho 7rovrv)piás Trcia-rp èpyal^ðpevos ro àyaOón. 3. UoraTrai, ^**pi**, Kypie, elaiiv al rrovppiai, acj) o)v 77/zâç Set èyKpareveadai; "ÁKOve, <|>TjcrLV árho poiyeias Kai rrovvelas, àrrò peOúia-paTOS àvopiaç, áiro rpvfrrj; irovTqpwí, àrrò èðeapÓTO)v ttOXXüv Kai rroXv -eXelaç; ttXovtov Kai Kavvrjaew Kai v-^rj\o<f>po<núvT]ç; Kai VTrept)(f>aviaç; Kai àiro ^revapaTO'i Kai KardKdkiat; Kai vvroKpicea>ç, pvpaiKaKías Kai TrácrT?? ^Xaai^-ppías- à. ravra rà epya rravratv Trovyporara elaiiv èv rj) rtòv àvffpónrwv. àiro tovtcov ovv tójv epyajv Set èyKpareveatfai rov SouXov rov ðeov- o yàp pi) èyKparevópevos àiro tovtcov ov ðvvarai Çijaai t δ' ðeà>. aKove ovv Kai rà*

*l èav yàp . . . EL, om. A,*

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. v h. 5-v m. 4

who fear him and observe his commandments,—it is they who have life with God. But as for those who do not observe his commandments, neither have they life in him.

### Mandate 8

1. "I told you," said he, "that the creatures of Temperance God are two-fold, and temperance is also two-fold. For from some things we must refrain and from some things not." 2. "Let me know, sir," said I, "from what we must refrain and from what not." "Listen," said he. "Refrain from evil, and do not do it, but do not refrain from good, but do it. For if you refrain from doing good, you do great sin ; but if you refrain from doing evil, you do great righteousness. Refrain therefore from all evil, and do good." 3. "What, sir," said I, "are the wickednesses from which we must refrain ?" "Listen," said he. "From adultery and fornication, from the lawlessness of drunkenness, from evil luxury, from much eating, and extravagance of wealth, and boastfulness and haughtiness and pride, and from lying and evil speaking and hypocrisy, malice and all blasphemy. 4. These deeds are the wickedest of all in the life of men. The servant of God must therefore refrain from these deeds. For he who does not refrain from these cannot live to God. Hear therefore what

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*aKokov0a tovtcùv*, 5. “Et í yáp, cfriijpt, Kvpte, novypà èpya ζari; Kai ye nokka, cft-yatv, êaTiv, à<f> &v Set tov Sovkov tov 0eov èyKpaTevea0at-Kképpa, -vjrevBoç, cwroaTeprjats, tfrevSopapTvpía, •crkeove^ia, èirtOvpta ■trovypá, anarr), KevoSo^ta, àkaÇoveia Kai ôaa tovtois ópotá etatv. 6. ouò SoKet aot Taina irovypa etvat ; Kai ktav irovqpa, ýrjpi,l roíç ζουXoeç tov 0eov. tovtcùv ttÚvtcùv Set eyKparevea0at tov Sovkevovra rû 0e&. èyKpàrev-aat ovv ζTro ttÔvtcùv tovtcùv, ìva ^yay t & 0e& Kai éyypacj>rjarij pteTct t &v èyKpaTevopévcùv aína. a>v pèv ovv Sei ere èyKpaTevea0ai, Taiîà èaTtv. 7. a Sè Sei ae prj èyKpaTevea0at, cpyaiv, àXkà iroteîv, &Kove. to àya0àv prj èyKpaTevov, àkkà troiet avTÔ. 8. Kai tcv iya0à>v pot, cftTjpl, Kvpie, Spkcoaov ttjv Svvaπtv, ìva Tropev0â> èv avToêç Kai Sovkevrtù avToît, ìva èpyacràpevo<; aína Svvp0á> <T(ù0f)vac. "À.Kove, cbpat, Kai t &v àya0&v rà èpya, a ae Set èpυà^ecr0at Kai pp èyKpaTevea0at. 9. irp&Tov TràvTCùv Tréa-rtç, <|>óβo<; Kvptov, àyâtrr), òpónota, pppaTa StKaioavvp^, ákrj0eta, viropovrp tovtcùv àya0ànepov ovSév ècrriv èv rÿ i^cùp t &v àv0pcùTTCùv. Taina èav reç <f>vkáay Kai prj éyicpaTeórprat àir ain&v, paKaptos yiveTat ev ry £<ùy avrov. 10. etra tovtcùv Ta aKζkov0a cucovcrov XTjpat inrypeTeiv, opefravow Kai vanepov-pévovs èTricTKéirTea0at, è^ àvayK&v kvTpovcr0at toÛç Sovkovs tov 0eov, cjiïkô^evov etvat (èv yàp Trj cjiïko^evta evpiaKeTat àya0oTrotrjai<; Trore), pySevi ávTtTζaaea0at, yerv^tov etvat, èvSeéaTepov yive-cr0ai ttÚvtcùv àv0pcùTTCùv, Tpea/3vitas aé/3ea0at,

l <firmil A, <β>ñ<st L» om. E.

## **THE SHEPHERD,** mand. viii. 4-10

follows on these things." 5. "But, sir," said I, "are there still other evil deeds?" "Yes," said he, "there are many from which the servant of God must refrain. Theft, lying, robbery, false witness, covetousness, evil desire, deceit, vain-glory, pride, and whatever is like to these. 6. Do you not think that these are wicked?" "Yes, very wicked," said I, "for the servants of God." "From all these he who is serving God must refrain. Refrain, therefore from all these, that you may live to God and be enrolled with those who refrain from them. These then are the things from which you must refrain. 7. But now hear the things from which you must not refrain but do them," said he. "Do not refrain from that which is good, but do it." 8. "And explain to me, sir," said I, "the power of the things which are good, that I may walk in them and serve them, that by doing them I may be saved." "Listen, then," said he, "to the deeds of goodness, which you must do and not refrain from them. 9. First of all, faith, fear of God, love and harmony, words of righteousness, truth, patience; than these there is nothing better in the life of man. If any man keep these things and do not refrain from them, he becomes blessed in his life. 10. Next hear the things which follow: To minister to widows, to look after orphans and the destitute, to redeem from distress the servants of God, to be hospitable, for in hospitality may be found the practice of good, to resist none, to be gentle, to be poorer than all men, to reverence the aged, to practise justice, to preserve

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SiKaiotrivrjv àa-Keiv, àbéKÿôrriTa crvvrppeiv, vfipiv  
 vrrofyépeiv, pmcpoOvpov eivai, pvpcrriKaKlav prj  
 eyeiv, Kapvovras ríj rrapaKaXeív, éaKavSa-  
 Xiapévovf ζιτο r^ç Triare»? prj arrojBaXXeadai,  
 ζXX' èrriarpéyeiv Kai ev0v;iou? rroielv, apaprá-  
 vovras vovOereív, xpeáxrri'i prj OXífteiv Kal èvSeeís,  
 Kal eí riva τουτοκ οποιά éari. 11. Solceí aoi,  
 ifrpai, ravra ajada eivai; Ti yap, ipvjpi, Kvpté,  
 rovroxv áya0(i>repor; Hopevov ovv, (fyrjtrív, èv avroíç  
 Kal pp èjKparevov àrr avrûv, Kal fyrpr) r<p Oeâr  
 12. (f>vXaaae ovv rijv èvroXpv ravrvp èàv rò  
 àyadòv rroifp Kal pi) èyKparevap àrr avrov, Çpery  
 rio 0e<p, Kal Trarre? Çrprovrai ra> 0eS> oí ovra>  
 rroiouvres. Kal rraXiv èàv ro 7rov)ρòv pr) Troifrp  
 Kal èjKpaTevap air avrov, rà> Oetp, Kai  
 Trarre? Çrjtrovrai rç> deip, oaoi èàv ravrai ràç  
 è'rroXàç <j>vXâ^a>ai Kal rropevdúaiv èv avraî^.

'E V r o X T] 0'.

1. Aéyei poi' 'Apov àrrà aeavrov ri)v êc-^v^iav  
 Kal pèn oXa><; Si-^rv^crp'; àirrpraaOal ri rrapà rov  
 &£°ù, Xéyrov èv aeavrip ori Trai? Zvvpai airr)-  
 aaaOai rrapà rov Kvptov Kal Aafieív, ìpapr^KO);  
 roaavra eì? avróv; 2. prj SidXoyi^ov ravra, aXX  
 è^ ÍÍXrp rrp; Kapcias aov èrriarpe^ov èrrl rov  
 Kvpiov Kal airov Trap' avrov aBiaraKro);, Kai  
 yviócrp ri)v rroXXijv evarrXayxviav avrov, ori ov  
 pi) ere èyKaraXlrry, àXXà rò airr;pa rífe ^Irvx^ aov  
 rfXr)po<^opr;aei. 3. ovk èan yàp ó 0eòt ζί 0l  
 àvdpcorroi pvrjiriKaKovvrei, ζXX' avrò? àpvr)<ríKaKO<;

Jor 24 7-  
 Joci 2/12

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. vhi. io-ix. 3

brotherhood, to submit to insult, to be brave, to bear no malice, to comfort those who are oppressed in spirit, not to cast aside those who are offended in the faith, but to convert them and give them courage, to reprove sinners, not to oppress poor debtors, and whatever is like to these things.

11. Do you not think," said he, "that these things are good?" "Yes, sir," said I, "for what is better than these things?" "Walk then," said he, "in them, and do not refrain from them, and you shall live to God. 12. Keep therefore this commandment. If you do good, and do not refrain from it, you shall live to God, and all who act so shall live to God. And again, if you do not do that which is wicked, and refrain from it, you shall live to God, and all shall live to God who keep these commandments and walk in them."

### Mandate 9

1. And he said to me: "Remove from yourself Against double-mindedness, and be not at all double-minded mfadebness about asking anything from God, saying in yourself, How can I ask anything from the Lord and receive it after having sinned so greatly against him? 2. Do not have these thoughts but 'turn to the Lord with all your heart,' and ask from him without doubting, and you shall know his great mercifulness, that he will not desert you, but will fulfil the petition of your soul. 3. For God is not as men who



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

èari Kai arrXayxytÇerai ζtri ryv rrotyaiv avrov.  
 4. av ovv KaOápiaón cov ryv KapSiaiv àrrò rrávrcov  
 rcòv param)párwv rov alá»vo<; rovrov Kal rcòv  
 rrpoeipypevcov croi pypárcov Kai airov rrapà rov  
 Kvpiov, Kai arroXy»lrr) rrávra Kal ano návrrnv rcòv  
 airypárcov cov àvvarépyros èarj, èàn àSiaaraKrcocç  
 airyayç rrapà rov Kvpiov. 5. èàn Sè Scardai)? èv  
 rrj KapSia aov, oìiSèv ov py Xy^/ry rcòv alrypárcov  
 aov. oì yàp SiarâÇovre? et? ròv deón, ovrot elaiiv  
 oi òtyvyoi Kai ovSèv oXco? èmrvy^àvovai rcòv  
 alrypárcov avrcòv. 6. oi Sè oXoTeXeîç ovre? èv ry  
 riterrei rrávra alrovvrai nenoidóre? èrri rov Kvpiov  
 Kai Xapfiàvovaiv, ori àSiaaraKrcocç? aïrovvrai, pySèv  
 Siyfrvxpvvre?. †Sç yàp ði-ÿfru%o? àvyp, èàn py  
 peravoyay, SvaKÓXa»? acofiyaerai. 7. KaOápiaov  
 ovv ryv KapSiaiv cov àrrò ry? Si^v^ta?, èvSvaai  
 ðè ryv rrlcrriv, ori ia^vpà ècrrì, Kai rricrreve rcò  
 6eS>, ori rrávra rà alrypará cov à alreîf Xyyfry,  
 Kai èàn alrycrápevoc; rrore rrapà rov Kvpiov a'útrypá  
 ri fipaòvrepov Xap^àvy<;, py Sitjrv^ycryç, ori ra^v  
 oìiK eXa/3e<; †ò aïrypa rys ^rv^yç aov rrávrcocç  
 yàp Sià rreipaapón riva y rrapárrrwpá ri, ò av  
 àyvoeic;, fipaòvrepov Xap^àveic; rò aïrypa aov.  
 8. av ovv py è>iaXttry<; aïrovpevoc; rò aïrypa ryç  
 ylv^yc; aov, Kal Xyyjry avrò' èav Se èKKaKyayç Kai  
 Siy/rv^yay; aïrovpevoc, aeavròn alricò Kai py rov  
 SiSóvra aoi. 9. /3Xérre ryv Sv^rv^tav ravryv  
 rrovypà yàp èari Kai àavveroc; Kai rròXXovc;  
 èKpiÇoi àrrò ry<; rrtarew; Kai ye Xlav rriarov; Kai  
 ia'xypovs. Kai yàp avry y Siifrv^ia duyarypl earì

l àHeKp'ii A.

rs. 2,12;  
 ct-  
 et Jac, 1,8

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. ix. 3-9

bear malice, but is himself without malice, and has mercy on that which he made. 4. Therefore purify your heart from all the vanities of this world, and from the words which were spoken to you beforehand, and ask from the Lord, and you shall receive all things, and shall not fail to obtain any of your petitions, if you ask from the Lord without doubting. 5. But if you doubt in your heart, you shall receive none of your petitions. For those who have doubts towards God, these are the double-minded, and they shall not in any wise obtain any of their petitions. 6. But they who are perfect, in faith ask for all things, 'trusting in the Lord,' and they receive them, because they ask without doubting, and are double-minded in nothing. For every double-minded man, unless he repent, shall with difficulty be saved. 7. Therefore purify your heart from double-mindedness, but put on faith, because it is mighty, and believe God, that you shall obtain all your requests which you make. And if ever you make any petition from the Lord, and receive it but slowly, do not be double-minded because you have not received the request of your soul speedily, for in every case it is because of some temptation or some transgression, of which you are ignorant, that you receive your request slowly. 8. Do not therefore cease from making the request of your soul, and you shall receive it. But if you grow weary, and are double-minded in your request, blame yourself and not him who gives to you. 9. Consider this double-mindedness; for it is wicked and foolish, and uproots many from the faith, yes, even those who are very faithful and strong. For this double-minded-

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

rov Oia;3óXov Kal Xiav irovypeveTai eic tov í  
 èovXovç tov ffeov. 10. KaTaippônyaov ovv t)ç  
 êix/ru%iaç Kal KaTaKypievrov axnrp èv Travrl  
 TrpâypaTi, èv8vcràpevo<; Tyv ttlotiv Tyv la^vpàv  
 Kal BvvaTr/v ÿ yap ttictk TrávTa eTrayyeXXeTai,  
 irávTa TcXeioí, ÿ òè Biijrv^ía py KaTaTTirrevovaa  
 éavTrj TrávTcov ¿TroTvy^ávei t &v epya>v avTrjs &v  
 irpácrrei. 11. IjXtTrezç ovv, </>ycrív, oti y ttítik  
 ávtoOév éaTi Trapa tov Kvpiov Kal e%ei èvvaptv  
 peyáXrpr ÿ òè èc^v^la èirlyeiov irvevpá èan Trapa  
 tov ðia/3óXov,' èvvaptv py è^ovaa. 12. <rù ovv  
 oovXeue Ty è^ovay èvnapiv Ty Tríarei. Kal citto ryç  
 èc^frv^caç ¿Tróa^ov t>ç py è^ovay^ èvnapiv, Kal  
 Çyar) rçj 0eá>, Kal TrávTes Çrprovrat, tû) ðeçj oí ravra  
 (/ipovovvTeç.l

E V T o X y t

### I

1. \*À.pov Ôitto aeavTov, (jiyai, Tyv Xvrryv Kai,  
 yàp avTy àðeX<l>ÿ èari, riyç ëijrv)(i,a^ Kal Tys  
 à^vyoXlai;. 2. Πcôç, rjyypi,, Kvpie, àðeX<fiy èari  
 ToiiTav; áXXo yáp pot Soksi eivac o^vyoXía Kai  
 áXXo ðìjrv^ía Kal aXXo Xviry. 'AavveTos el  
 ávdpanre, (jiyai, Kal2 ov voeís, oti y Xviry  
 TrávTtov t &v TTvevpáTiov irovypoTepa èari Kai  
 èeivorary toíí éovXois tov Seov Kal Trapa irávra  
 Ta TTvevpara Kara<f>ðeípei tov ávSpanrov Kal

1 (ppovcymç Lo Ath., typwtitavres ALj(E).

2 Kai om. A.

## THE SHEPHERD, hand. ix. 9-x. i. 2

ness is the daughter of the devil, and commits much wickedness against the servants of God. 10. Despise therefore double-mindedness, and master it in every act, putting on the faith which is strong and powerful. For faith promises all things, perfects all things. But the double-mindedness which has no full faith in itself fails in all deeds which it undertakes. 11. You see, then," said he, "that faith is from above, from the Lord, and has great power; but double-mindedness is an earthly spirit, from the devil, and has no power. Do you, therefore, serve the faith which has power, and refrain from the double-mindedness which has no power, and you shall live to God, and all who have this mind shall live to God.

### Mandate 10

#### I

1. "Put away," said he, "grief from yourself, for Grief this also is a sister of double-mindedness and bitterness." 2. "How, sir," I said, "is she their sister, for it seems to me that bitterness is one thing and double-mindedness is another, and grief another?" "You are foolish, O man," he said, "and do not understand that grief is more evil than all the spirits, and is most terrible to the servants of God, and corrupts man beyond all the spirits, and wears

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*ètrcpifiei to irvevpa to aytoν /cal iraXiv atoÇei ;*  
 3. 'Ey®, <ppi, Kvpie, àavveTÓs eipt «al ov avvito  
*rat irapaftoXàs Tairras- ir&s yàp èvvaTai cKTπί-*  
*/3eiv Kai iraXiv atôÇeiv, oii votò. 4. "AKOve,*  
*tjrrjaív oí pifíëiroTe èpevvpaavTes irepl Trjs ζιXti-*  
*§eiaç prjè èirifyiTrjaavTes irepl Trjs deoTrpros,*  
*TriaievaavTes Sè pôvov, èpirefyvppévoi Sè irpay-*  
*paTétais Kal irXovTto Kai tñiXiais èðviKaís Kal*  
*aXXais iroXXaís ttpayparétais τὸν αἰτᾶνος τὸν τὸν*  
*ὄαιοι οὖν τὸν τὸν irpoaKeiviai, οὖν voovai Tas*  
*irapa^oXàs τijs deóripros" eiriaKOTOvvrai yàp*  
*virò τὸν τὸν Ttov irpá^etov Kal KaTatj>0elpovTai*  
*Kal ylvovTai Keyepcrtopevot. 5. KaÓtos oi àpire-*  
*Xtoves oi KaXol, oiav àpeXeias Tvytoai, ^epaovvTai*  
*ὄττο τ &v èiKavdww Kal ftoTavww iroiKiXtov, ovitos*  
*oi àvdptoiroi oi iriaTevaavTes Kal els TavTas ràç*  
*TTpà^eis ràç TroXXàç epiiiiTTOvTes ràç Ttpoeipr/-*  
*pévas, àirorrXavtòvTai àiro Trjs èiavoias avTtov,*  
*Kal ovBèν oXcos voovai irepl SiKaioavmjs, ζXXà*  
*Kal orav aKovatoai irepl deoTr/TOS Kal àXijffeias,*  
*à vovs avTtàn irepl Tpv irpàÇtv avTtov Kaiaylveiai,*  
*Kal ovSèν oXcos voóiaiv. 6. oi Sè t|>ð/3ov é^ovies*  
*fiεov Kal èpevvòivTes irepl ffeOTTpros Kal aXijdeias*  
*Kal Trjv Kapètav é%ovTes irpòs τὸν Kvpiov, iràvTa*  
*rà Xeyopeva avToίς Ttiyiov voovai Kal avviovai, l*  
*\* otí è^ouat τὸν τῶπον τὸν fcvpLov èν èavroir ὀττον*  
*yàp o Kvpios KaToiKei, è/cei Kal avveais irdXXy.*  
 Eccius. 2, 3 *KoXXrjdr/Ti οὖν T& Kvpítv, Kal iravTa avvijaeis Kal*  
*vorjaeis.*

Ps. ni, io ;  
 Prov. 1. 7 ]  
 etc.

| TtLxiov voovai. Kai avviQvffi Ath (LE), raxvvovffi koí voovai A.

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. x. i. 2-6

out the Holy Spirit—and again saves us.” 3. “ Yes, sir,” said I, “ I am a foolish man, and do not understand these parables, for how it can wear out and again save, I do not understand.” 4. “ Listen,” he said, “ those who have never inquired concerning the truth, nor made search concerning the Godhead, but only have faith, and are mixed up with business and riches, and heathen friendships, and many other occupations of this world,—such as are intent on these, do not understand the parables of the Godhead ; for they are darkened by these deeds, and are corrupted and become sterile. 5. Just as good vineyards when they meet with neglect, are made barren by the thorns and various weeds, so men, who have believed, and fall into these many occupations, which have been mentioned above, are deceived in their understanding, and understand nothing completely about righteousness. But even when they listen concerning the Godhead and truth their mind is taken up with their business, and they understand nothing properly. 6. But they who have the fear of God, and inquire concerning the Godhead and truth, and have their heart towards the Lord, perceive quickly and understand all that is said to them, because they have the fear of the Lord in themselves ; for where the Lord dwells, there also is great understanding. ‘ Cleave therefore to the Lord,’ and you shall understand and perceive all things.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### II

1. "hjcove ovv, (jyrjaiv, dvoijTe, tteÛç t) Xvttj  
çKTplfiet to Tvevpa to ayiov Kai iraXiv <rd>Çei'  
2. orav ó Sm/tv^oç èirifidXriTai Tpd^iv riva Kai  
Tainrp; tiiroripffi èia Tpv Si-^v^iav avTOV, rj  
Xvttj avTTj elfTTTOpeverai eiç rov avBparrrov Kai  
Xvirei to Tvevpa to ayiov Kai eKTpifiei ai>TÓ.  
3. eira TaXiv ¶ ð^v^oXía OTav KoXXpd t &  
àvdpíóTTM irepì irpdpaTÓs tivov, Kai Xiav iriKpav-  
Oíj, TrdXiv ¶ Xinrp elairopeverai els Tpv KapOíav  
tov àvdpMTrov tov ç^v^oXpiravTOS, Kai Xvireítai  
èirì Tj TPrá^ei avTov r/ eirpa^e Kai peTavoèi, oti  
Tovppàv eipydaaTO. 4. avTTj ovv p Xvtt) èoKeí  
aaiTppiav e%eiv, oti to Trovpp'ov trpâ^as p.ere-  
vôyaev. iipupoTepai ovv ai irpa^eis Xvitoíwi to  
TTveíptr ¶; pèn èiyjrv^ia, oti ovk eireTV^e Tíjs  
t pácelos avTíjs, rj Se ð^v^oXía Xweí to  
TTvevpa, oti eirpa^e to Trovrjón. aptfioTepa  
ovv Xvirppá èaTi tw irvevpaTl TÔ> áyiqi, ÿ  
Siyjrv^ia Kai ¶ o^v^pXía. 5. apov o5v dirò aeav-  
Tov tijv Xvtttjv Kai pi) dXífte to iTvevpa to ayiov  
to èv aoi KaToiKovv, prproTe èvTev^pTai tó> Beatl  
Kai aTroaTy diro aov. 6. to yap irvevpa tov  
Beov to èoffèn eis ttjv adpKa TavTijv Xviriyv ov^  
virojépei ov8e aTevo^topiav.

Kph. 4, so

### III

1. "Ei'Sucrai ovv Tpv iXapoTrjTa, ttjv TrdvTOTE  
èxpvaav %dpiv Tapa tç> 0eS> Kai evirpotrèskTOV  
1 rçp EL Ath.2 Ant., Kara trov A, Kara irov tov beov  
Ath.1

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. x. ii. i-iii. r

### II

1. "Hear, now," said he, "foolish man, how grief <sup>Grief</sup> wears out the Holy Spirit, and again brings salvation. <sup>Holy Spirit</sup>  
2. When the double-minded undertakes any work, and fails in it because of his double-mindedness, this grief enters into the man, and grieves the Holy Spirit and wears it out. 3. *Then again*, when for any matter ill temper cleave to a man, and he become exceedingly bitter, again grief enters into the heart of the ill tempered man, and he is grieved at the act which he did, and repents because he did wickedly. 4. Therefore this grief seems to bring salvation, because he repented of having done wickedly. Therefore both deeds grieve the Spirit; double-mindedness, because he did not obtain his purpose, and ill temper grieves the Spirit, because he acted wickedly. Both, therefore, are grievous to the Holy Spirit, double-mindedness and ill temper. 5. Put therefore away from yourself grief, and do not oppress the Holy Spirit which dwells in you, lest it beseech God,<sup>1</sup> and it depart from you. 6. For the Spirit of God which is given to this flesh endures neither grief nor oppression.

### III

1. "Put on, therefore, joyfulness, which always <sup>Joyfulness</sup> has favour with God and is acceptable to him, and

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the meaning is 'beseech God to allow it to depart from the man in whom it is.' This is brought out in the variants of A and Ath.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ovaav airtw, Kal surpaya èv avrÿ. 7ràç yàp iXapo<; àvpp ayada èpyàÇerai Kal àyaOà <j)poveî Kal Karac^poveî t j/ç Xutf^ç. 2. ó Sè XvTrppos àvr)p TràvTore TrovppeveTar TrpSrrov pèv Trovppeverai, oti Xvireî to wvevpa to àytov to òdòèv t S> àvdporrtp iXapov Bevrepov èè Xvttmv to trvevpa to àytov àvoptav èpyà^eTat, prj èvTvy^àva>v ppèè è!;opoXoyovpevos t S> Kvpttp. HàvTOT€ yàp XvTrr/poù avòpòs rj èvTevft<; ovk e%et èvnapiv tov àvafipvat ètri to 0vaiaaT>ίπιον tov Oeov. 3. Aiuti, <jrjπί, ovk ava/Batvet ètri to dvcriacrTripiov rj evTev^vj tov XvTiovpévov; "Oti, <f>rjáv, -il Xvirt) eyKa0r)Tai et< j tt)v KapOtav avTov. peptypévov ovv l7 Xvrtp pteTà t ?)ç èi/Tev^eraç ovk à<püj<rt tt)V èvTev^tv àva/3pvat KaOapàn ètri to 6vaM<TTrjptov. owirep yàp o^oç Kal otvoç peptypeva ètri to avTo tt jv avTrjv i)Sovrjv ovk expvatv, ovt%o Kal rj Xvttt/ pepiypevrj peTá tov àyiov TrvevpaToç tt/v avTr/v èvTev^iv ovk é'xei. 4. Kadáptirov ovv creavTov àirò tt jç; Xvmjs t ^ç irovv)pà<; TavTrj<;, Kal £»7077 tδ) (eâr Kal irávTe< j ÇftrovTat tδ) 0€<p, Óaot àv àtroffaXtoatv à<p' éavrâiv Tt jv Xvttt jv Kal èvêvaavTai irâaav IXapoTTjTa.

### 'E VT oXi] ta'

1. "ESetfé pot ètri crvpj]reXXi.ov Kadripévovç àv9pornovs Kal eTepov àvOpartrov KaOrjpevon ètri KaOéepav, Kal Xéyet pot' BAevrei? tovs ùttI tov crvp'p'éXXtov Kadripévovs; BXeTrw, <f>vpi, Kvpte. OvTot, <f>Tjat, TTtaToi elat, Kal à Kadppevot; ètri Trjv Kaûéèpav -i/reuSoTT/JO^TT?? èaTÍv, ôç ùttÓXXvcti

THE SHEPHERD<sup>^</sup> mand. x. iii. i-xi. i

flourish in it ; for every joyful man does good deeds, and has good thoughts, and despises grief. 2. But the mournful man always does wickedly. First of all he does wickedly because he grieves the Holy Spirit, which is given to man in joyfulness, and secondly he grieves the Holy Spirit by doing wickedly, not praying nor confessing to the Lord. For the intercession of the mournful man has nowhere power to ascend to the altar of God." 3. "Why," said I, "does not the intercession of the mournful man ascend to the altar?" "Because," said he, "grief sits in his heart. Therefore, the grief which is mixed with his intercession does not permit the intercession to ascend in purity to the altar. For just as vinegar mixed with wine has not the same agreeableness, so also grief mixed with the Holy Spirit, has not the same power of intercession. 4. Therefore purify yourself from this wicked grief, and you shall live to God, and all shall live to God who cast away from themselves grief, and put on all joyfulness."

Mandate 11

1. He showed me men sitting on a bench,<sup>1</sup> and another man sitting on a chair, and he said to me :  
 "Do you see the men sitting on the bench?"  
 "Yes, sir," said I; "I see them." "They," said he, "are faithful, and he who is sitting on the chair is a false prophet, who is corrupting the understanding

<sup>1</sup> *avptyiXKiov* cannot be here translated by the same word as in Vis. in. i. 4. Here it is the 'bench' of the learner as opposed to the 'chair' of the teacher.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*rpv diàvoiaiv rwv èovXtov tov deoír rwv brNrv%a>v*  
*èè àrroWvaiv, ov rcòv ttictcòi». 2. ovtoi ovv oi*  
*diijrv^oi &ç èrrl pàvnnv èpypvrai Kal èrrepmi(ðaiiv*  
*avrov, ti àpa èarai avTOIç. KàKelvos i •jirevéa-*  
*rrpo<f>prps, ppðepiav e%a>v èv éavrai ðnvaptv*  
*rrvevparos Oeiov, XaXel per avrwv Kara rà*  
*èrrepar^para avrâv Kal Kara ràç èrelOvpías*  
*rr)S rrovrijpias avrâv Kal rrXppoï tAç -^izyàç*  
*avrww, Kadàs avrai /3ovXavrai. 3. œuròç yàp*  
*Kevos àv Keva Kai. àrroKpiverai Kevois' o yàp èàv*  
*èrreparrjðri, irpos rò Ktwpa rov àvOpárrov*  
*àrroKpiverai. rivà Sé Kal prjpara áXrjffij XaXer*  
*ò yàp Ótáffoxos rrXppol avrov rà> avrov rrvevpMri,*  
*el riva óvvrj<rerai prféai ráv Sucaiwv. 4. ocroi*  
*ovv icryppol eiaiv èv rj rriarei rov Kvpiov, èvðeòv-*  
*pévoi rrjv aXyffeiaiv, roK roiovroi<j rrvevpaaiiv*  
*ov KÓXXiüvrai, àXX' àrrè^pvrai àrr avrtòv oaoi*  
*Sè oñ!rv^oí elai Kal rrvKV&<; peravoovai, pavrev-*  
*ovrai Kal rà èOvrj Kal èavroís peiÇova àpapriav*  
*èrrapépovaiv eia>XoXarpovvre<;' ò yàp èrrepmr&v*  
*-^evòo7rpo<f>pTriv rrepl irpá^eá»; rivos ei8a)XoXárprjS*  
*ècrrl Kal Kevòs àrrò rrjs àXpðeias Kal à<f>pa>v.*  
*5. rràv yàp rrvevpa àrrò Oeov Bodèv ovk èrreparàrai,*  
*àXXà è%ov rpv ðnvapiv rrjs deórpros à(j> éavrov*  
*XaXeì rràvra, òri àviodev ècrriv àrrò rfjs Svvàpetos*  
*rov Oeiov rrvevparos. 6. rò Sè rrvevpa ro èrre-*  
*pcorcópevon Kal XaXovv Karà ras èrriOvpias rSiv*  
*àvðpó>rra>v èrrlyeióv èan Kal èXa<f>rov, ðnvapiv pp*  
*èxpν Kal òXtos ov XaXeì, èàv pp érrreptúr7j]6fj.*  
*7. II<òs ovv, <f>ppi, Kvpie, àvOpairos yváaerai, ris*  
*avrâiv rpo<t;jjrris Kal ris ^evóorpo<f>^rrjs èariv;*  
*"AKove, cjrjiri, rrepl àp<j>orépa>v ràv rropojirâv Kai*  
*i iS*

Ci. Jam.3,15

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. xi. 1-7

of the servants of God. He corrupts the understanding of the double-minded, not of the faithful. 2. Therefore these double-minded men come to him as to a wizard, and ask him concerning their future ; and that false prophet, having no power of the Divine Spirit in himself, speaks with them according to their requests, and according to the desires of their wickedness, and fills their souls, as they themselves wish. 3. For he is empty and makes empty answers to empty men ; for whatever question is put he answers according to the emptiness of the man. But he also speaks some true words, for the devil fills him with his spirit, to see if he can break any of the righteous. 4. Therefore, as many as are strong in the faith of the Lord, and have put on the truth, do not cleave to such spirits, but refrain from them. But as many as are double-minded, and constantly repent, practise soothsaying, like the heathen, and bring greater shame upon themselves by their idolatry. For he who asks a false prophet concerning any act is an idolator, and empty of the truth and foolish. 5. For every spirit which is given from God is not asked questions, but has the power of the Godhead and speaks all things of itself, because it is from above, from the power of the Divine spirit. 6. But the spirit which is questioned and speaks according to the lusts of man is earthly and light, and has no power, and it does not speak at all unless it be questioned." 7. "How, then," said I, "sir, shall a man know which of them is a true prophet and which a false prophet?" "Listen," said he, "concerning both the prophets, and as I shall tell

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*ἵ>ς croi lzeXXtB Xéyeiv, ovrcō SoKipâcreiç rov rrpcōjtif-  
 ttjv Kai tov ylrevèotrpoçf>pTrjv. atro tt/ç f&>j]ç èoKi-  
 paÇe rov avOpcotrov tov eypovra rd trvevpa rd  
 Oeïov. 8. trpcdrov pèv ó ê^cov rd irvevpa rd  
 dvcoffev l irpavs èari Kai rjcrv)(ios Kai Taireivoc^pcov  
 Kai àtre^ópevos Òtto irao-ps trovppías Kai ètri-  
 bvpías paracas tov alwvos tov tov Kai éavrdiv  
 èv&éécTTepon iroièi travrcov t &v àvOpcdra>v Kai  
 ovSevl ovdèv àrroKpiverai èrrepwrciipevos, ovSè Kara-  
 pdvas XaXci, ovèè orav QéXp av9porros XaXeïv,  
 XaXeï rd irvevpa to ayiov, a\Xa rdre XaXeï, orav  
 ffeX^crrl avrdv ô Oeds XaXfjai. 9. orav ouv eX0rj  
 & dv0pa>TOS & exa>v rd trvevpa rd Oeïov eiç crvva-  
 ycoyrjv àvSpûv SiKaïcov râv è^ovrcov tricrrcv ôeïov  
 irvevparos Kai evrev^is yévrjai vpôs tov ôedv rrjs  
 avvaywyijs twv àvSpciiv eKeivwv, toic à dyyeXos  
 rov TrpoçfirjTiKov rrvvevparos2 ó Keipevos irpòs avrov  
 TrX'qpoî rov dvOpanrov, Kai 7rXrjpa>6els o avdpanros  
 t ô> TTvevpari t ô> àycp XaXeï els to TcXydos, KaOcos  
 ò Kvpios ÌiovXerai. 10. ov tîbç ovv cfiavepòn serrai  
 to irvevpa rfjs Oeórrjros. dcrj ovv rrepl rov  
 TivevpaTOS ttjç OeoTrpros rov Kvpiov rj dvvapis  
 avrrj. 11. aKove vvv, <f>Tj|rí, irepl rov 7rvevparo<;  
 rov èiriyelov Kai ksvov Kai Svvapiv pè) e^ovTOs,  
 àXXà ovTOs pcpov. 12. rrp&Tov pèv ó ávOpwiros  
 sksîvos ô Sokôv trvevpa eyeiv ùi/roî éavrâv Kai  
 OéXeï trpcoroKaSeOpiav è^eiv, Kai ev0vs Irapós èan  
 Kai àvai8ijs Kai iroXvXaXos Kai èv rpvÿaîs  
 troXXaîs àvacrrpeçpôpevoç Kai èv èrépais troKXaîs*

1 tū ALj, t ô êflav rb ELç.  
 2 tov irp<j>p7]Tiicoâ irvcvfiaros tov TrpotpTjrov A, DUUûUS  
 sanctus divinitatis (&yy\*λos ayios ôç ôtitos).

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. xi. 7-12

you, so you shall judge the true prophet and the false prophet. Test the man who has the Divine Spirit by his life. 8. In the first place, he who has the spirit which is from above, is meek and gentle, and lowly-minded, and refrains from all wickedness and evil desire of this world, and makes himself poorer than all men, and gives no answers to anyone when he is consulted, nor does he speak by himself (for the Holy Spirit does not speak when a man wishes to speak), but he speaks at that time when God wishes him to speak. 9. Therefore, when the man who has the Divine Spirit comes into a meeting of righteous men who have the faith of the Divine Spirit, and intercession is made to God from the assembly of those men, then the angel of the prophetic spirit rests on him and fills the man, and the man, being filled with the Holy Spirit, speaks to the congregation as the Lord wills. 10. Thus, then, the Spirit of the Godhead will be plain. Such, then, is the power of the Lord concerning the Spirit of the Godhead. 11. Listen, now," said he, "concerning the spirit which is earthly, and empty, and has no power, but is foolish.. 12. In the first place, that man who seems to have a spirit exalts himself and wishes to have the first place, and he is instantly impudent and shameless and talkative, and lives in great luxury and in many other deceits, and accepts

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*airarais Kat, pia0ovs Xap/3ávwn rr/s Trpoc/^Teia?*  
*avroîr èàv Se l/jr; Xá/3r; , ov irpocjyrjrevei. Svvarai ovv*  
*irvevpa Oeiov pia0ov< ; Xapfiáveiv Kai irpo<jyrjreveiv ;*  
*oi>K èvSe%erai rovro iroieív Oeov irpo^yriiv, àXXa*  
*rtón roiovrtv irpo<f>i)râ>v èiriyeiόν eari to irvevpa.*  
 13. *èira oXojç etç avvaywyijv àvSpwv OiKaiatv ovk*  
*èyyiÇei, iXX' àtrot^evyei avrov< " KoXXârai Sè toîç*  
*èn/rù^oiç Kai kevoîs Kai Kara yatviav avroîs*  
*irpotfiTjrevei Kai airara avrov< XaXâv Kara ras*  
*èiriOvpias avr&v irávra Kev&s' Kevoîs yap Kai*  
*àiroKpiverar rð yap Kevov aKevo<s puera r&v Kev&v*  
*avvri0épevon ov Opaverai, àXXa avp<f>a)vovaiv*  
*aXXyXots-* 14. *òrav 3è èX3p eîç avvay<oyip>*  
*irXripri àvSpiðv SiKaiwv è^óvrvav irvevpa Oeón]ros*  
*Kai èvrevl;i<; àir avrSxv yevvrai, Kevovrai ó*  
*àv]pa>iro<; èKeivo<r, Kai rð irvevp,a rð èiriyeiouv àirð*  
*rov (fió^ov cpevyet àir avrov, Kai Kuxpovrai o*  
*àvOpmiro<; eKeivos Kai SXto<; avvOpaverai, p^rjðèv*  
*ðvvàpievo<; XaXÿaaí. 15. èàv yàp eîç iττο^tj/ci/il*  
*art^àayì oivov rj eXaiov Kai èv avroî<; 0fj<;*  
*Kepá/úiov Kevov, Kai iráXiv àirotrri^aaai OeXr;ari^*  
*rì]V áiro0riKr;v, rð Kepártov èKeivo, ò e0T]Kas Kevov,*  
*Kevov Kai evprjcreif ovra> Kai oi irpotfiújrai oi Kevoi*  
*orav èX0toiaiv eîç irvevpiara òiKaiwv, oiroðoi rjX0ov,*  
*roiovroi Kai evpia-Kovrai. 16. e^etç àp,<j>orépmv*  
*râ>v irpo<[>i)Tìov rr;v Ça>pv. èoKip,aÇe ovv àirð r&v*  
*èpywv Kai rr;ç; rðv àv0p<oirov rðv Xéyovra*  
*èavròv irvevparotpópov elvai. 17. tri) Sè iriareve*  
*rip irvevpMri rS> èp\opévcp àirð rov Oeov Kai*  
*e^ovri Svva<iv r& Se irvevpan rip èiriyeim Kai*  
*Kevw pvpSèv iriareve, ori èv avrà Svva<apis ovk*  
*èarìv àirð rov SiajBóXov yàp épierai. 18. aKOV-*

## THE SHEPHERD, mano. xi. 12-18

rewards for his prophecy, and if he does not receive them he does not prophesy. Is it then possible for a Divine Spirit to accept rewards and prophesy? It is not possible for a prophet of God to do this, but the spirit of such prophets is of the earth.

13. Next, on no account does he come near to an assembly of righteous men, but shuns them. But he cleaves to the double-minded and empty, and prophesies to them in a corner, and deceives them by empty speech about everything according to their lusts, for he is also answering the empty. For an empty vessel which is put with others that are empty is not broken, but they match one another.

14. But when he comes into a meeting full of righteous men, who have a spirit of the Godhead, and intercession is made by them, that man is made empty, and the earthly spirit flees from him in fear, and that man is made dumb and is altogether broken up, being able to say nothing.

15. For if you stack wine or oil in a cellar, and put among them an empty jar, and again wish to unstack the cellar, the jar which you put in empty you will find still empty. So also the prophets who are empty, when they come to the spirits of just men, are found out to be such as when they came.

16. You have the life of both the prophets. Test, then, from his life and deeds, the man who says that he is inspired.

17. But believe yourself in the Spirit which comes from God and has power, but have no faith in the spirit which is from the earth and empty, because there is no power in it, for it comes from the devil.

18. Hear, then, the parable which I will tell you.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*aov ovv! rr/v irapa{3oXrjv, rjv péXXw aot Xéyeiv Xáfie XÍ0ov /caí [3áXe èì<! ròv ovpavón, l'8e, et ðvvaaii à-ifraatiai avrov' rj iráXiv Xá/3e aiutava uSaroç Kai ai<f>(í>viaov eiç ròv ovpavov, l'8e, ei Svvaaii rpvrrijaai rbv ovpavón. 19. Ησδς, (f>t]πί, Kypie, ðvvarai ravra yeveadai; àSvvara yàp àp^>órepa ravra ciprias. i1? ravra ovv, <fjra]v, àSvvara ζανv, ovra> Kai ra irvevpara ra èmyeia àðvvarâ ζαν Kai áðpavrj. 20. Xà/Se ovv2 r-pv ðvvar,iv rpv àvmOev ζp^opévpv p -yàXaÇa ζXá-yiarón èerri KOKKapiov, Kai orav ζrrirreay erri Ke^aXpv àvòpcórrrov, tte0ς rrónov Trapéli; p iráXiv Xá/3e arayóva, àrrò rov Kepàpwv rrirrret, j(apai Kai rpvirà ròv Xidov. 21. ^Xérrei<; oiv, ori rà àvatOev eXá^iara rrirrrovra erri rtjv yfjv peyàXrjv ðvvariv e^ei- ovra) Kai rò rrvempa rò Oeìov àva>ðev èp]fppevon ðvvarov èarr rovrtv ovv rà> irvevpari rriareve, àrrò ðè rov érépov àiré^ov.*

'E V r o X y iff.

### I

1. Aéyet por "Apov àrrò aeavrov iràaav èm-Ovniav rrovqpar, èvðvaai ðè rrjv èiudvpian rrp> cvyaOip Kai aepvrjv èvðeðvpévov yàp rfjv èrri-òvpiav ravrrjv pt<rrjaei<; rrjv rrovripàv eiriOvplav Kai j^aXivayioiyjcrei'; avrijv, Kaffm^ flovXci. 2. àypia yap eartv r) èrriOvpia π rrovppà Kai ðvaKÓXa><; àpepovrai. <f>o/3epà yáp ζari Kai Xiav ry àypìò-

1 otv L (ergo) E (now), oui. A.

2 our A, vvv L (E is confused).

## THE SHEPHERD, *mano. xi. i8-xii. i. 2*

Take a stone and throw it up to Heaven and see if you can touch it ; or take a syringel<sup>1</sup> and squirt it towards the sky, and see if you can make a hole in the Heavens." 19. "How, sir," said I, "can these things be ? For both these things which you have spoken of are impossible." " Even," said he, " as these are impossible, so also are the earthly spirits without power and feeble. 20. Take now the power which comes from above. The hail is a very little grain, and when it falls on man's head, how it hurts ! Or, again, take a drop which falls on the ground from the roof, and makes a hole in stone. 21. You see, then, that the smallest things which come from above and fall on the earth have great power ; so also the Divine Spirit which comes from above is powerful. Have faith, then, in this Spirit, but refrain from the other."

### Mandate 12

#### I

1. He said to me, " Put away from yourself every Desire evil desire, but put on the desire which is good and holy ; for by putting on this desire you will hate the wicked desire, and will curb it as you will. 2. For the wicked desire is cruel and hard to tame, for it is fearful, and destroys men greatly in its cruelty, but

<sup>1</sup> The syringe or hand pump used for cleaning and watering the vines in the Italian vineyards.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ryri avrÿs Zarravâ robs àvdpwrrovs' püXiara ôè èàv éprréarÿ els avryv êoi>Aoc deoi' Kai py ÿ avverós, éanavárai vir aiirys êeivais' barrava èè Touç toíoutovç Touç py èxpvras evBvpa rys èmôvpias t ^ç àya^i)ç, ÿXXÿ èpirecfivppévovs rà> aliavi rovrv- rovrvovs ovv rrapaoliaiaiv eis ffàvarov. 3. Tloía, <fy)pcç, Kvpte, epya èarlv ri]? èrrtdvpias rys rrovypàs rà rrapaèièovra roùç àvdpànrov s eZç Oàvarov; yvcópiáón poi, iva àjë-Çaipai àrr avráiv. "ÀKovaov, (jyyalv,l èv Trolois èpyoiç (èavaroiÿ y èrrtdvpia y rrovypà roùç SovXouç tou ôeov.

### II

1. Tlàvrwv Trpoixpwa irriQv pia yvvaiKos ÿXXo-rplas y àv8pà<; Kai TroXuTeXeiaç 11Aov1ov Kai èSecrpartov TroWtàn paralatv Kai peOvapdrutv Kai èréptav rpvtpâiv TroXXâ>v Kai pa>p<àv irâaa yàp Tpv<f>y pa>pà è<7Ti Kai Kevy roîç èovXoti rov Oeov. 2. avrai ovv al èrriOvplat rrovypai elai, davarov-aai tovç SouXouç rov Oeov- avry yàp y èrriôv pia y rruvypà rov èiaftôXov Ovyàryp èarlv. àrréxadai ovv Sei arro rtàn èrriGvpiiàv rvw rrovypû>v, 'iva àrroaxópevoi Çyayre rà> beâ>. 3. oaoi èè àv Kara-Kvpiev6â>aiv vir' avrvw Kai p,y àvriaradâaiv avrai?, àrrodavovvrai els réXos- ffavartóBeis yàp elai v ai èrriOvpiaïl avrai. 4. av 3è evSvaai ryv èrriOvpiav rys è>ucaioavvys, Kai KaðorrXiaâpevos rov <po/3ov rov Kvpión avriarydi avraîs' ó yàp </>o/3oc rov Oeov KaroiKeî èv ry èrriOvpàa rfj àyaffij.

jif-/ph. 6'

1 om. A.

2 èirtevfüal fis TfXos A.

## THE SHEPHERD, mano. mi. i. 2-ii. 4

especially if a servant of God fall into it, and be not prudent, he is terribly destroyed by it. But it destroys such as have not the good desire as a covering, but are mixed with this world; these then it delivers to death.” 3. “What, sir,” said I, “are the deeds of the wicked desire, which deliver men to death? Let me know that I may refrain from them.” “Listen,” said he, “by what deeds the evil desire brings to death the servants of God.

## II

1. “Before all is desire for the wife or husband of Carnal another, and of extravagance of wealth, and much needless food and drink, and many other foolish luxuries. For all luxury is foolish and vain for the servants of God. 2. These desires then are wicked, and bring the servants of God to death, for this desire is the wicked daughter of the devil. It is necessary therefore, to refrain from the wicked desires, that by refraining you may live to God. 3. But as many as are overcome by them, and do not resist them, shall perish finally, for these desires are deadly. 4. But put on the desire of righteousness, and resist them, being armed with the fear of the Lord. For the fear of God dwells in the desire which is good. If the evil desire see you armed

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Jam. 4, 7  
*rj èiri0vp,ia rj irovvrjpa` èàv iSp ae ica0wrrXicTpÀvov  
 TOy 0gov jcal avdeaTriKOTa, aiiTÍj, (ftevl-e-  
 Tai àirò trou pæucpàv Kal ovksti croi ó<j>0y<reTai  
 <f>of3ov/j,évr] rà oirXa cov. 5. crüi ovv viKycras  
 Kall <TTe<fiava0els Kar avTtjs èX0è vrpoc rrvj  
 èiri0vp,iav ri/c ^iKaioavvrjs, Kal irapaðovs avTrj  
 rò vikos, ô êXa/Seç, SovXevaov avrffj, Ka0<os  
 avri) ^ovXerai. èàv èovXevtrrjs rp èiri0vp,ia Tp  
 àya0i} Kal viroTayrjs avrrj, Svvrpcr TÍjs èiri0vp,ias  
 r^ç irovvrj)às KaraKvpcevcrail Kal viroTa^ai aÍrrr/v,  
 Ka0èbs iúoúXeì.*

### III

Ps. 15,2  
 1. vì0èXov, Kvpie, yvaivat, irolis Tpóirois  
 p,e êéi èovXevaai tt) èiri0vp,ia Tp àyaffp. "A/cove,  
 <f>i)aiv èpyaaai SiKaioavvrv Kai àperrfv, áXrj-  
 Oeìav Kai <f>ò/3ov Kvpiov, tticftiv Kai irpaoTtjTa Kai  
 ôaa rovTotç Ôp.oia èariv àyaðà. ravra èpyaÇo-  
 pievos evápeaTo<j ear) SovXo<; tov 0eov Kai jt fay]  
 avTÔ>- Kal iras, os àv BovXevay Ty èiri0vp,ia tí)  
 àya0ÿ, tycrerai rà 0ew. 2. crwereXeo-ev ovv Tas  
 èvToXas Tàs SciSeKa Kal Xéyei fior "E^eiç ràç èv-  
 ToXàs Tavras' iropevon èv avTaís Kai tovs  
 ÚKovovTas irapaKaXeì, 'iva i) piCTavoia avriav  
 Ka0apà yévi]Tai ràç Xoiiràs rjplepas Trjs ^a>í]S  
 avTcôv. 3. tÍ]v SiaKOVíav TavTijv, rjv aoi èièa>p,i,  
 èKTeXeì èirip,eX<às, Kai iróXv èpyàcrp evpr/aeis  
 yàp Xçpiv èv tois péXXovm pxTavoeiù, Kal ireia-

1 vìK^aas xai om A. (The exact words are of course doubtful, but LE both imply some such phrase before *a-TecptmoBeis*. Hollenberg and Funk read *naos Áafiúv* to correspond with rò viKOS ð eAa^es.)

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. xii. ii. 4-iii. 3

with the fear of God, and resisting it, it will flee far from you and will no longer be seen by you, for fear of your weapons. 5. Do you, therefore, conquer it, and come in triumph over it to the desire of righteousness, and giving up to it the victory which you have gained, serve it as it wishes. If you serve the good desire, and submit to it, you will be able to overcome the wicked desire, and subdue it as you wish.”

### HI

1. “I would like, sir,” said I, “to know in what way I must serve the good desire.” “Listen,” said he, “‘work righteousness’ and virtue, and fear of the Lord, faith and meekness, and whatever good things are like to these. For by working these you will be a well-pleasing servant of God, and shall live to him, and whoever shall serve the good desire, shall live to God.” 2. So he finished the twelve commandments, c«iciUsi and said to me: “You have these commandments ; °f MaiWates walk in them, and exhort those who hear that their repentance may be pure for the rest of the days of their life. 3. Fulfil carefully this ministry which *I give you*, and work much in it, for you will find favour with those who are about to repent, and they

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

loi/ii8'

*Oyaovrai* crou rot? *pÿpxiaiv eyai yap pierà* *crov éaopai Kai avayKaaat avroiv; rreia0yvai aoiç,*  
4. *Aéy® avrà)' Kvpie, al èvroXai avrai peyaXai Kai KaXai Kai evSo^oi eiai Kai Svvaðevai evcfipàvai KapSiav àvðpcórron rov Svvaπέvon rypÿaai avrai. ovK oiSa Sé, el Svvaavrai ai èvroXai avrai viro àv0πό>rron <j>vXax0yvai, Scori aKXypai eiai Xiav.*  
5. *àrhoKpìdei<ì Xéyei por 'Èàp av aeavrtp TrpoOfp, ori Svvaavrai <(>vXa^(0yvai, eù/coXwç àitras <j>vXàt;ei<; Kai ovK eaovrai aKXypai' èav Sé erri ryv KapSiav aov ySy àvafirj py Svvaaffai avrai virò àv0πόνrov cftvXa^dyvai, ov </>vXàfetç avrai.* 6. *vuv Sé aoi Xéycó' èav ravrai py <f>vXà^yi, àXXà rrapev0vpy-Oyi, ov% êfetç acorypiav ovre rà réKva aov ovre o oikoi aov. èrrei ySy aeavrói KeKpiKas rov py Svvaaoai ràç èvróKàs ravraç vrrò àvðpócrrov cpvXa^Oyvai.*

### IV

1. *Kai ravrà poi Xiav òpyiKws èXaKyaev, ζjare pe avyxydyvai Kai Xiav avrov <j>o/3y0yvar y pop<f>y yap avrov yXXoicódy, &are py Svvaaffai àvOpayrrov vrreveyKeiv ryv òpyyv avrov.*<sup>2</sup> 2. *iScov Sé pe rerapayπέvon oXov Kai avyKeyypέvon yp^aró poi èrrieiKéarepov Kai iXapcórepov XàXeiv Kai Xéyer "Acppov, àavvere Kai Si^rv^e, ov voeis ryv Só^av rov Θεov, rrtàt peyaXy èari Kai ia^vpà Kai*

1 There are some indications that in some recensions the Similitudes began here. A inserts àpxt before the next paragraph and E inserts *initium similitudinum*.

2 A inserts here <rv avvinKnaas sal ixinpitrai rò trnáros air' aXaijAwr, «^«pfXianrar rrjp ypr, Kai iKvras aapprour iravTa-

THE SHEPHERD, mand. xii. iii. 3-iv. 2

will obey your words, for I will be with you, and will force them to be persuaded by you.” 4. I said to him, “Sir, these commandments are great and beautiful and glorious, and ‘able to make glad the heart of man’ if he be able to keep them. But I do not know if these commandments can be kept by man, because they are very hard.” 5. He answered and said to me, “If you set it before yourself that they can be kept you will easily keep them, and they will not be difficult; but if it already comes into your heart that they cannot be kept by man, you will not keep them. 6. But now I say to you, if you do not keep them, but neglect them, you shall not have salvation, nor your children, nor your house, because you have already judged for yourself that these commandments cannot be kept by man.”

IV

1. And he spoke these things to me very angrily, so that I was confounded, and greatly afraid of him, for his appearance was changed so that a man could not endure his wrath. 2. But when he saw me quite disturbed and confused he began to speak to me more gently and cheerfully, and said: “Foolish one without understanding and double-minded, do you not understand the glory of God, how great and

Sairoós, ἰἸάτοϋ, *íarpaiv ivappdviov Klviyiv, fâa irrepwrð,*  
*r<rpáiroða, cpírerð, tvvSpa, &ypíd re Kal rà rovrois irapatrKijaid-*  
*Çávra, Kai roiiwr avdarav IKriaas Se<nr;T7]y rbv Úvípuírov.*  
Apparently a pious comment inserted in the text by mistake.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Ps. s, 7

*dav/MaTr/, ori eKTiae tov Koap.ov eveKa tov  
 àvδpanrov Kai Ttaav Trjv KTiatiν aiiTov vireTa^e  
 τc3 àνδpónw Kai ττjv ègovaiaν irâaav èèaiKev aiTÔt  
 tov KaTaKvpievecv tmv virò tov ovpanov iravTatv;  
 3. et ovv, <f>i'jcri,v, TtavTtov o avdpariTOS Kvpiós èaTi  
 tmv KTiapMTtov tov deov Kai TràvTwv KaTaKvpievet,  
 ov èvvaTai Kai tovTwv tmv èvToXâv KaTaKvptev-  
 aai; èvvaTat, <p^aL, ttuvtmv Kai iraaMV tmv  
 ζVToXûv tovtmv KaTaKvpievaai ó avdpMTroc à  
 eytuf tov Kvpiov èv Trj Kapoia aiiTov. 4. oí  
 ètri τοῖς κειXeaiν e^ovTef tov Kvpiov, ττjv Sè  
 Kapèlav aiiTMv Tre-rra>pw.érviv Kai paKptiv ovTeç  
 Ûtto tov Kvpiov, ÈKevvois ai èvToXai avTai aKXtjpai  
 eiat Kai úvaftaToi. 5. diade ovv vp,eîs, oi Kevoi  
 Kai èXa<f>poi ovret; èv Ty TrcaTei, tov Kvpiov vp.â>v  
 et'ç τῆjv KapStav, Kai yvâaeade, oti oiièèν èaTtv  
 eiiKOTranepov τ Sív èvTÔXâv tovTwv ovTe yXvKVTepon  
 ovτ εῖ ρj,p,epd>Tepov. 6. èTriaTpà<j)riTe vp,eî<; oi Tal<;  
 èvToXa^v; iropevop.evoi tov Sia/BoXov, Tais SvaKoXoîs  
 Kai TriKpaîs Kal àypiai<; Kai àaëXyeat, Kai p,rj  
 <f>o^iid^Te tov Sià^oXov, oti èv airrtp δvva/M<; ovk  
 èaTtv Kad' vpMv 7. èyà> yap èaopMt p,ed' v/ljmv,  
 ò àyyéXo<; ri/ç pbeTavoías ó KaraKVpievtov aiiTov.  
 o StùySoXoc pAvov 4>ô^ov èj^ei, o Sè </>δ/!oç aiiTov  
 Tovov ovk e%er p,r) <(>o^iidT]Te oî>v avTov, Kai (jiev-  
 ÇeTai à<|> vp,â>v.*

### V

1. Ae7&> avTqr JLvpie, aKovaón p.ov ôXiymv  
 prHJMTfov. AÀye, tjiTiaín, o fiouvKet. 'O p,èν av-  
 dp(ùiro<;, <jyqpi, Kvpte, irpódvp.ós èaTi Ta<: èvToXâv

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. xn. iv. a-v. i

mighty and wonderful it is, because ' he created the world ' for man's sake, and subdued all his creation to man, and gave him all power, to master all things under heaven ? 3. If, then," said he, " man is the lord of all the creatures of God, and masters them, is it not possible to master these commandments also ? The man," said he, "who has the Lord in his heart, is able to master all things and all these commandments. 4. But those who have the Lord on their lips, but their heart is hardened, and they are far from the Lord, for them these commandments are hard, and difficult to walk in. 5. Do you, therefore, who are empty and light in the faith, put the Lord into your heart, and you shall know that nothing is easier or sweeter or more gentle than these commandments. 6. Be converted, you who walk in the commandments of the devil, which are difficult and bitter and cruel and foul, and do not fear the devil, for there is no power in him against you. 7. For I, the angel of repentance who masters him, will be with you. The devil can only cause fear, but fear of him has no force. Therefore do not fear him and he will fly from you."

### V

1. I said to him "Sir, listen to a few words from me." "Say what you will," he said. "Sir," said I, "man desires to keep the. commandments of God,

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*τοῦ Θεοῦ <f>νΧά<T<reiv, Kal οὐσεῖς ἐάνυ ο p,y alrovpevos Trapa τοῦ Κυρίου, 'Iva ἐνSvvaraiM0rj ἐν rat? ἐντοΧαίς avrai) Kal viroTayy airraid' áXX' ο ζ>τὰ/οΧος aKXypóf ζitt i Kal KaTaSvvaraiTevei avràn.*  
 2. Οὐ Svvarai, (ftyai, KaraSwacrrereiv tmv SovXav τοῦ Θεοῦ Ττὸν οXjjç Kapðias eXTriÇovTtov èir avTov. Svvarai ó Στα/βοΧος àvTiiraΧαiaai, Kara-iraΧαiaai ζ6 ον Svvarai. èàn ονν avriaradyre avT&, viKT)0el<; <f>ev^eTai à<f> vpm> KaTya"xyp.p.évo<;. oaoi Sé, <f>yaiv, aTroKevoi eiai, <f>o/8ovvTai τοῦ SiáfioXov to? Svvarai eyovra. 3. orav à avOptoiros Kepária Íkavoirara yepiay οἶνον κοΚον Kal ἐν τοῖς Kepariois èKeivots οΧiya àiroKeva y, épierai èirl Ta .Kepária Kal ον Karavoeî Ta irKypr}' olSe yáp, Ὅτι irXripy elai- KaTavoeî rà àiroKeva, <f>o/3ovpevo<;, p,rjTTOTe m^iaav rayy yap Ta àiroKeva Kepária ôÇlÇovcri., Kal àiroXXvTai y ySovy τοῦ οἶνον. 4. oirá) Kal ó SiâySoΧος spierai ètri TravTaç τοῦ ἔχ êovXouç τοῦ Θεοῦ eKireipa^mv aiirov^.. oaoi ονν TrXypeis elalv ἐν ~jj jrlaTei, avdeaTr/Kacriv avTtp ia")(ypS)<i, KaKelvo^ aTro^copei air avT&v p.y è^cov TOTTOv, TTOv elaéXffy. épierai ονν τοῖς irpos τοῦς aTTOKevovs Kal è^mv τοῖτων elcriropeveTai etç avTOvt, Kal ó σε ^ovkeTai ἐν avroῖς ἐπαÇeTai, Kai yivovTai avTÔ> vitoSovXoi.

## VI

1. E70J 8è vpîv Xéyaj, ó àyyeXos r% pieravolas' j.j.y jö/SyOyTe ròv SiáfioXov. àireaTaXyv yáp, ipycrì, p,e0' vpiov èivai tww pÆTavoovvriov è£ οΧy<j j34

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. xh. v. i-vi. i

and there is none that does not pray to the Lord, that he may be made strong in his commandments, and submit to them. But the devil is hard, and oppresses them.” 2. “He cannot,” said he, “oppress the servants of the Lord who hope in him with all their heart. The devil can wrestle with them, but he cannot throw them down. If then you ‘resist him’ he will be conquered and ‘fly from you’ in shame. But as many,” said he, “as are empty fear the devil as though he had power. 3. When a man fills very many pots with good wine, and among those pots a few are half empty, he comes to the pots, and does not consider those which are full, for he knows that they are full, but he looks at those which are half empty, fearing that they have gone sour, for empty pots quickly go sour, and the flavour of the wine is spoilt. 4. So also the devil comes to all the servants of God, tempting them ; as many therefore as are full of faith withstand him powerfully, and he departs from them, having no room by which to enter. Then, therefore, he comes to those who are half empty and finding room he enters into them, and does what he will in them, and they become his servants.

## VI

1. “But I, the angel of repentance, say to you, Do not fear the devil. For I was sent,” said he, “to be with you who repent with all your heart, and

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*/capolas avrâv Kal itr^vporroirjtrai avrovs èv rrj  
 rrîrret. 2. iriarevaare ovv râ> Oeâ> vpeîs oi Bia  
 t (xç àmprias vpwv àrreyvaiKores rrjv Çarrpi vpuòv  
 Kal rrpoadévres àMpriaîs Kal Karafiapvvovres  
 rrjv Çoitjv vpâv, òri, èav èrriarpac^rire rrpov rov  
 Kvpiov è^ ÓXrjs rijs Kapoias vpâàv Kal èpyàcpaOe  
 rrjv SiKaiotrnyyv, ràç XotTràç yp,épas rf)Ç Çæ'ijç  
 vpiMV Kal BovXevarjre avrà òpdtòs Kara rò OeXrjpM  
 avrov, rroitfcrei iàtriv rois rrporepois vpSrv àMp-  
 rrjpatri Kal ègere Bvvapiv rov KaraKvpievtrat râv  
 èpyaiv rov Bia/3oXov. rèjv 8è àireiXrpi rov Bia-  
 fioKov ÓXtos prj <f>o/3r'i0pre' àrovos yàp ètrriv  
 &arrep veKpov vevpa. 3. ÛKovaare ovv pbov Kal  
 ^o^rjdi^Te ròv rrávra Bvváfievov, còlerai Kal  
 àrroXecai, Kal rrjpeîre ràç èvroXaç ravrat, Kal  
 tyjaecrOe rip Oeç>. 4. Xéya> avrà- Kvpie, vvv  
 èvèèvvapuó0T)v èv rrâai roîf SiKactôjaaai rov  
 Kvpiov, ori av p,er èp,ov er Kal oiBa, òri avy-  
 Kot/reis rt)v Bvvapuv rov BiaftôXov rrâaav Kal  
 ■ppeû avrov KaraKvpievaopÆv Kal Karia")(yaopËv  
 rravraiv râv epyaiv avrov. Kal èXrriÇai, Kvpie,  
 Bvvaaôai /je ràç èi/roXàç raieras, as èvréraXaai,  
 rov Kvpiov èvBvvapioveros (fivXá^ai. 5. <l>uXà-  
 Çeis, <fr>]criv, èàv é) KapBia aov Kadapà yèvrprai  
 rrpov Kvpiov Kal rràvres òè ifivXà^ovaiv, òaoi  
 av KaOapitra)crIV éavrâiv ras Kapðias àrrò r&v  
 paraiaiv èrriffvptâiv rov aiStvos rovrov, Kal  
 trovrai rai Oeâi.*

Jer. 24, 7 ;  
 Joel 2, 12  
 Ps. 15, 2

Jam. 4, 12

## THE SHEPHERD, mand. xii. vi. 1-5

to strengthen you in the faith. 2. Believe, therefore, in God, though you have renounced your life through your sins, and have added to your sins, and have made your life heavy, that if you 'turn to the Lord with all your heart, and do righteousness' for the rest of the days of your life, and serve him in uprightness, according to his will, he will heal your former sins, and you shall have power to master the works of the devil. But do not fear the threat of the devil at all, for he is powerless as the sinews of a dead man. 3. Listen, therefore, to me, and fear him who has all power, 'to save and to destroy,' and keep these commandments, and you shall live to God." 4. I said to him: "Sir, now I have received power in all the ordinances of the Lord, because you are with me, and I know that you will break down all the power of the devil, and we shall master him, and have power against all his deeds. And I hope, sir, that I shall now be able to keep these commandments which you have commanded, the Lord giving me strength." 5. "You shall keep them," said he, "if your heart be pure towards the Lord, and all who ever purify their hearts from the vain desires of this world shall keep them, and shall live to God."

## THE ATOSTOLIC FATHERS

### HAPABOAAI 1 AS EAAAHSE MET' EMOY

1. *Áéyei p,oi' Ol'Sare, typaiν, ori Ètti ;;evps KCfTOüicéTe vpeis oí SovXoi tov Θεov' p yàp TroXtç vpSiv paKpáv èariv ciaro t i/ç ttÔXèùjç TavTps" et oüv oièare, typai, Tpv 110X.iv vporv, èv p peX-Xere KaaoiKeiv, t i à>de ù/xeiç eToipàÿeTe àypovs Kal TrapaTiigeis TroXvreXeifç Kal o'iKodopas Kai otKppaTa pàaaia;* 2. *raûra onv ô eTOipàÇaiv eZç TavTpv Tpv 110X.iv ov Svvaai2 eirava-Kaptyrai eis Tpv Íðiav 110X.iv.* 3. *âtypov Kai Si-tyv^e Kal Taxaiirmpe àvOptoire, ov voèis, oti Tavra TrávTa áX,XçTpiá elai Kal vtt èl;ovaiav eTepov elaiν; èpeí yàp ò Kvptos tt)ç 7roXewç ravTiÿç- Oüi OeXto ae kutoiksw eiç Tpv 110X.lv pov, àXX' eFEX#e €K tt)ç TròXewç TavTpf, ot i toifç vopov; pæv oüi xpciaai.* 4. *crû onv ê^cov aypov<t Kal oiKpaei<; Kal çtc/w viràp!;ei<; TroXXàç, eKfiaX,-Vòpevo<; vir avTOv ti Troipaeif aov tov aypov Kai Tpv o'iKiav Kal X.owrà, oaa i)Toiiaaa^ aeavTÚ; Xéyei yáp aoi biKaicos ó Kvpioç tt)ç; ^typas TavTp^- 'H tow vopoa pov xpôï p çK^á/pei çk Tps Xe0pas pov.* 5. *av onv ti p.éXXets Troieiv, 'çX^v vopov èv Tp ap TToXeï; eveKev tðv àÿpôiv aov Kai Tps XoiTrps ínrap^eats tov vópon aov iràvTcos àtrapvpap Kal TTopevap T<p vop.(p Tps TroXeoas TavTps; /SXeire,*

1 Translated *fjimiUtuilinen* in L, hence the custom of quoting this section of the Shepherd as the "Similitudes."

2 *tivara.l A, cogitat L, vult !. ILE* perhaps represent *irpoaSoKa*).

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. i. 1-5

### THE PARABLES WHICH HE SPOKE WITH ME

1. He said to me, “You know that you, as the chri»ti«»» servants of God, are living in a strange country, l stranger» for your city is far from this city. If then you world know your city, in which you are going to dwell, why do you here prepare lands and costly establishments and buildings and vain dwellings? 2. He therefore, who prepares these things for this city, is not able to return to his own city. 3. O foolish and double-hearted and wretched man, do you not understand that all these things are foreign to you, and are under the power of another? For the Lord of this city will say: ‘I do not wish you to dwell in my city, but go out from this city, because you do not use my law.’ 4. If then you have fields and dwellings, and many other possessions, when you are cast out by him, what will you do with your land and house, and all the other things which you have prepared for yourself? For the lord of this country justly says to you, ‘Either use my law or go out from my country.’ 5. What then are you going to do, seeing that you have a law in your own city? Will you because of your fields and other possessions altogether deny your law, and walk in the law of

1 The idea of the conflict of interests between earthly and heavenly citizenship is common in early Christian literature. Cf. Heb. 13, 14. “For here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come.”



ok I

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## THE SHEPHERD, sim. I. 5-10

this city? Take heed that it be not unprofitable to deny your law, for if you wish to return back to your city, you will not be received, because you have denied the law of your city, and you will be excluded from it. 6. Take heed, then, make no further preparations for yourself beyond a sufficient competence for yourself, as though you were living in a foreign country, and be ready in order that, whenever the master of this city wishes to expel you for resisting his law, you may go out from his city, and depart to your own city, and joyfully follow your own law suffering no harm.<sup>1</sup> 7. Take heed, then, you who serve the Lord and have him in your heart. Do the deeds of God, 'remembering his commandments,' and the promises which he made, and believe him that he will perform them if his commandments be observed. 8. Therefore instead of lands, purchase afflicted souls, as each is able, 'and look after widows and orphans,' and do not despise them, and spend your wealth and all your establishments for such fields and houses as you have received from God. 9. For, for this reason did the Master make you rich, that you should fulfil these ministries for him. It is far better to purchase such lands and houses, as you will find in your own city, when you go to it. 10. This wealth is beautiful and joyful, and has neither grief nor fear, but has joy. Follow therefore not after the wealth of the heathen, for it

<sup>1</sup> ἀνν<sup>^</sup>πλffTtos is either active or passive: it may qualify *iyakKitip-tvos*, "in decorous joy," "joy unmixed with *v&pis*."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*vpîv roîf SovXoiç tov Oeov. 11. rr/v èè ièiav rroXvreXeïav rrpáaaere, èv rj èvvaaffe ^apr/vai, Kai, p,T] rrapa^apáaaere p/rjèè tov áXXorpión aijrpade p/r]èè èrriòvpeiTe avrov- rrov/pòv yáp èanv àXXorpitov èrriòvpeiiv. to Sè aòv èpyov èpyàÇov, Kai aa;ðrjay.*

"A X X t; i r a p a f i o X r j

1. *TiepirrarovvTo; pov et? tov àypov Kai Kara-voovvros rreXéav Kai àprireXov Kai èiaKpivovros rrepi avrSiv Kai râv Kaprrûv avrSsv, <f>avepovrai poi à rroipriv Kai Xéyer Tí ai) èv èavrâ> ;]]reïs' rrepi tt]ç rreXéas Kai tt]ç àpiréXov; XvÇrjrü, <fT]p.í, Kvpie, l orí evrrperreararai eiaiv aXXrjXats-2. Tavra rà Suo oévopa, cftyaiv, eiç rvrrov Keívrat toîç SouXotç rov deov. "iüÓéXov, </y>]pii, yv&vai tov rvrrov t ðiv SéuSpwu tovtcov a>v Xéyeiç. BXé-Tretç, <E??>í, ttjv rreXéav Kai rrjv âp,rreXov; BXgTTúj, cf>r]p,i, Kvpie. 3. 'H ctp/rreXos, <t>i]<riv, avTfj Kaprràv c^épei, rj Sè rreXéa ÇvXov cucapirón èanv- àXX' ñ apiireXos avril èàv pfi) àvafiy èri TT/v rreXéav, ov Svvarai Kapproÿopfjaai rroXv èppippévp y^apai, Kai ov (frépei Kaprov, aea-prrora (j>épei p-T) Kpepapévp èri tt]ç rreXeas, orav ovv èrrippi^r/ rj âp/rreXos èri rrjv rreXéav, Kai rrap' éavTTj<; (fiépei Kaprov Kai irapa tîjç TrreXeaç. 4. fiXéireis ovv, ori Kai T) rreXéa rroXvv Kaprov Sièioaiv, opK èXàaaova rrji àprreXov, pâXXov Sè Kai rrXeïova. Îcôç, <f>vpi, Kvpie,*

l Kvpit LE, 0111, A.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. i. 10-ii. 4

is unprofitable to you, who are the servants of God. 11. Follow your own wealth, in which you can rejoice, and do not counterfeit nor touch that which is another's, nor desire it, for it is wicked to desire that which is another's, but do your own work and you shall be saved."

### Another Parable (II)

1. While I was walking in the country I noticed **Richard** an elm and a vine, and was considering them and their **rtna** and fruits, when the shepherd appeared to me and said : elm  
"What are you considering in yourself about the elm and vine?" "I am considering, sir," said I, "that they are very well suited to one another." 2. "These two trees," said he "are put as a type for the servants of God." "I should like," said I, "to know the type of the trees of which you speak." "You see," said he, "the vine and the elm." "Yes, sir," said I, "I see them." 3. "This vine," said he, "bears fruit, but the elm is a sterile tree. But this vine, if it do not grow upon the elm, cannot bear much fruit, because it is spread on the ground, and the fruit which it bears, it bears rotten, when it is not hanging on the elm. When, therefore, the vine is attached to the elm, it bears fruit from itself and from the elm. 4. You see then that the elm gives much fruit, not less than the vine, but rather more." "How, sir," said I, "does it bear more?" "Be-

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*nXeiova; | "Ot í, <j>T) <rív, ij ápireXos Kpepapévri; ètri ttjv TrreXéav rov Kapirov TtoXvν km koX'ov SÍSaiv, èppippévi) Sè yapal 2 òXiyov Kai crairpov (j>épei. av-rr] ovv rj TrapaftoXp etç rouç SovXovs rov Oeov Keírai, eiç ttTorkov Kai irXovatov. 5. Πως, c/nj/zi, Kvpie, yvwπiaov poi. "Akovs, ^rpaív o pèν irXovaios è^ei "^^pppa/ra, ra oè irpof tov Kvpiov irTiv^evei, 7Tepiair(ópevo<j irepl tov ttXovtov éavTOv, Kai Xiav pucpav è%ei rpv èvTevipv Kai Tpv è^opoXoypaiv upos tov Kvpiov, Kai fjv é^ei, /SXpxpàv Kai piKpav Kai aXXpv3 pp è^pvaav Svvaπiv. OTav ovv èiravairay erri tov TrevpTa o TrXovaiof Kai Xr>ppyap avTtp Ta SéovTa, iriaTevei, oti èav èpyàapTai eiç tov Trévpra SvvpffpcreTai tov ptaòbv evpeiv irapà τ<3 θεά>' oti o Trezn/ç ttXovitios èa-Tiv èν Ti) èvTev^ei Kai èν ttj é^opoXoyrj<rei Kai Svvaπiv peyaKpv e^ei Trapa tδ> θεά> y evTev^ir avTOv. èTriXpppyeí ovv o TrXovato? tδ> irevrjTi iràvTa aSi<TTaKti><;. 6. ó irévT) <; Sè eiri^oppvovpevo^ virèt tov ifXovalov èvTvy^àvei tδ> 9eip ev^apiaT&v avTÔ>, vTrèp tov SiSovtoç avTÔ>- KaKeivoi sti eiri-arrovSàÇei irepl tov TrévrvTos, iva ζiáXeittto<; yé-VTjTai èν TT) Çcoi) avTov' olSe yáp, oti fj tov ttÉvjtoç èvTev^i<; TTpoaSeKTT) èffTi Kai TtXovaia Trpoç Kvpiov. 7. áp<j>ζTepoi ovv to èpyov TeXovaiν o pèν irèvrp èpyà^eTai tt) èvTev^ei, èν y ttXovtcí, t)v èXa^ev irapa tov Kvpiov TavTTjv aTToSísaxri tót KVlip tδ> èiriXppijyovvTi avrà. Kai o TrXovaiο^ a>aavT<i><;*

1 *trots . . . irXflova* LE, om. A.

2 *xa/ial* om. Poxv.

3 conjectured from Poxi (à . . rçy),  $\overline{\text{àvov}}$  (—àvOpótirov) A.

## THE SHEPHERD, *sim. ii. 4-7*

cause," said he, "the vine, when it hangs on the elm, gives much beautiful fruit, but when it is lying on the ground, it bears but little fruit and rotten. This parable, therefore, applies to the servants of God, to the poor and the rich." 5. "How, sir?" said I, "let me know." "Listen," said he. "The rich man has much wealth, but he is poor as touching the Lord, being busied about his riches, and his intercession and confession towards the Lord is very small, and that which he has is weak and small, and has no other power. But when the rich man rests upon the poor, and gives him what he needs, he believes that what he does to the poor man can find a reward with God, because the poor is rich in intercession and confession, and his intercession has great power with God. The rich man, therefore, helps the poor in all things without doubting. 6. But the poor man, being helped by the rich, makes intercession to God, giving him thanks, for him who gave to him, and the rich man is still zealous for the poor man, that he fail not in his life, for he knows that the intercession of the poor is acceptable and rich toward the Lord. 7. Therefore the two together complete the work, for the poor works in the intercession in which he is rich, which he received from the Lord: this he pays to the Lord who helps him.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*to ttXoûtoç, o eXa[3ev Trapa, tov Kvpiov, àδία-  
 t Ôxtwç Trape^erai rS> rrevpri. Kal rovro epyov  
 péya èarl Kal Bêktoit Trapa rà> δεά>, on awrfKev  
 ètri rat irXovrto avrov Kal eipyaaaro eiç ròn  
 TrévTjra çk rûv du>pr)parci>v rov Kvpiov Kal  
 èréXeae ryv 8taK0viav op0S>s. 8. trapa to Îç  
 onv àvOptOTTOis tj rrréXea 8oksÎ Kapprrov prj ýépeiv,  
 Kal ovK oi8aaiv ov8è voovaiv, on, orav à^po^la  
 yévrjrai, rj rrréXea eypvaa v8a>p rpérjiei rpv  
 àpiréXov Kal p aprreXos àSiàXerrrov ë^ovaa  
 to v8<op 8iifXovv rov Kaprtrov àrho8l8a>ai, Kal  
 vrrèp èavrr/s Kal virep rrp; irreXéas. olinos Kal  
 ol Tr&VTiret; vrrep rà>v trXovaiMV èvrvvyàvovres  
 Trpòs rov Kvpiov TrXypoi^opovai rò ttXoûtoç  
 avrcòv, Kal rrakiv oi tfKovaiοi ýopriyouvres rois  
 irévTjcri rà Séovra irX-ppocfiopovai ras eù^açl  
 avráiv. 9. yivovrai oim> àpu^órepoi κοινωοl rov  
 épyov rov SiKalov. ravra onv ó itoiwv ovk  
 èyKardKei<^6pcrerai virò rov 0eov, àXX' sarai  
 yeypappévos eiç ras ^l^Xovs rà>v Çtovrajv.  
 10. paKapioi ol e'xpvrres Kal avviévres, òri rrapà  
 rov Kvpiov rrKovn^ovrai, o yap avvlcov rovro  
 òuvrjaerai Kal SiaKovr/aal ri àyaOòv.*

"AXXi; Tt a p a / 3 o X y

1. "Èaèifé poi oevèpa rroXXà pfj eyovra cpvXXa,  
 çXX çasi ;;tipa èSÔKei poi eivai- opoia yàp tjv  
 rrávra. Kal Xéyei por BXstsis rà 8év8pa ravra;

l <l>xçs is a conjecture ; <lux<ir ALj, LjE paraphrase and  
 clearly could not understand the Greek.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. h. 7-111. i

And the rich man likewise provides the poor, without hesitating, with the wealth which he received from the Lord ; and this work is great and acceptable with God, because he has understanding in his wealth, and has wrought for the poor man from the gifts of the Lord, and fulfilled his ministry rightly. 8. Among men, therefore, the elm appears as if it bore no fruit, and they do not know nor understand that if there is drought the elm which has water nourishes the vine, and the vine, having water continuously, gives double fruit, both for itself and for the elm. So also the poor, interceding with the Lord for the rich, complement their wealth, and again, the rich helping the poor with their necessities complement their prayers. 9. Both, therefore, share in the righteous work. Therefore he who does these things shall not be deserted by God, but shall be inscribed in the books of the living. 10. Blessed are they who are wealthy and understand that their riches are from the Lord, for he who understands this will also be able to do some good service.

### Another Parable (HI)

1. He showed me many trees, without leaves, which appeared to me to be as if dry, for they were all alike. And he said to me : “ Do you see these

! The idea in is that of filling up that which is lacking,—a *úartpripa*.

U?



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

BX;7rw, <l>r]pá, Kvpie, Spaia ovra Kai ^i)pá. àiro KpideK pot Xéyet- Tavra rà SévBpa, à ffXéirei<:, 0l KaroiKovvrës elaiiv èv rà> alüvi rovrtv. 2. baari oiv; á>T]pí, Kvpte, còael ^ppá elai Kai Spaia; Orí, <f>r]aív, ovre oi SiKaioi ijialvovrai ovre oí apap- rtoXoi èv rS> alüvi rovrip, ¿XX opoioi eiaiv o yap alàtv ovroç rois òiKaiots ■yeipiàn èari, Kai ov ýaivovrai perà rwv àpaprwXidv KaroiKovvres- 3. atairep yàp èv ra> \eip5>vi rà BévBpa àiro^e- fiXi)KÓra rà ipvXXa opoiá eiai Kai ov (fiaivovrat rà ^rjpa iroιά elaiiv ra piðvra, ovreas ev rS> aitavi rovroi ov tpalvovrai ovre oi SiKaioi ovre oi àpap- roiXoi, àXXà iràvres opoioi elaiiv.

“A X X »? 11 a p a (3 oXrj

1. "ESeifé /xot iráXiv SévSpa iroXXá, a pev fiXaa- Twvra, a Sé frçpa, Kai Xéyei poi- BXeTreiß, tfijjai, ra óévSpa ravra ; BXeTrco, ij>T]pí, Kvpie, rà pèv /3Xaa- riovra rà Sè Çypá. 2. Taûra, i^ai, ra BévBpa rà ftXaarSrvra oí Sixaioi elaiiv oi peWovres Karoucelv eîç ròv aitava ròv èp^ópevon ó yàp aliav o èp-%0- pevov depela èarl rois SiKaiois, toîç Sè àpaprioXoîs %eipa)v. Órav ovv èiriXâpijrr] rò éXeoc rov Kvpiov, rare tfiaveptad-paovrai oí SovXevovres rã Oeâ>, Kai navres t^aveptadyaovrai. 3. laairep yàp rà> dépei evos eKaarov SévBpov oí Kapirol tfiavepovvrai Kai èiriyivtàaKOvrai irorairoi elaiiv, ovrtà Kai rà>v SiKalaiv oí Kapirol ýavepol ëaovrat Kai yvtaaQpa- ovrai navres evdaXeîs ovres èv rà> aitavi èKelvta. 4. rà Sè edvrj Kai oi àaaortaXoi, à eîèef rà èévèpa

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. hi. i-iv. 4

trees?" "Yes, sir," said I, "and I see that they are all alike and dry." And he answered me and said: «These trees which you see are they who dwell in this world." 2. "Why, then," said I, "sir, are they as it were dry and all alike?" "Because," said he, "in this world, neither righteous nor sinners are apparent, but are all alike. For this world is winter for the righteous and they are not apparent, though they are living with sinners. 3. For just as in the winter the trees which have shed their leaves are alike, and it is not apparent which are dry and which are alive, so in this world neither the righteous nor the sinners are apparent, but all are alike."

### Another Parable (IV)

1. He showed me again many trees, some budding and some withered, and said to me, "Do you see," said he, "these trees." "I see them, sir," said I, "some budding and some withered." 2. "These trees," said he, "which are budding are the righteous, who are destined to live in the world to come; for the world to come is summer for the righteous, but winter for the sinners. When therefore the mercy of the Lord shall shine, then the servants of God shall be made plain and all men shall be made apparent. 3 For, just as in the summer the fruit of each individual tree is made plain, and they are recognised for what they are, so also the fruit of the righteous will be plain, and they will all be known, by blossoming in that world. 4. But the heathen and the sinners—the withered

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*rà Ççpà, τοιοῦτοl evpedrjaovrai ^qpot Kai ζbcapnoi  
 èν ζKetvm rà> aitavi Kai &ç; ξύΧα KaraKavffr/crovTai  
 Kai avepol èrrovrat, ori π vrpâ^tç avrtàv  
 novppà yéyovev èν ríj Çwÿ avrtàv. οί p,èν yàp  
 àpapTtùXol KavOyaovrai, ori ypapTov Kai ov  
 p^revotjaav rà 8è eOvr/ KavOr/aovTat, ori ovk  
 eyvtotrav τov Kricravra avrovç. 5. trv ovv Kapno-  
 <f>ópT)crov, 'iva èν rà> dépet eKeivtp yvtoaOy aov ó  
 Kapνό<j- ànéyov Sè ano nóKKtàn npá^etav Kal ovbèν  
 Stapaprrjaets. οί yàp rà nóKXà npátraovre<; noXXà  
 Kal ápapránovat, TreptantàpÆvoi nepl ràç irpá^eis  
 avrtàv Kal p/q8évl ðovKevovre<; rtá Kvpta> èavrtàv.  
 6. Ttcâç ovv, <f>rjcrly, ζ rotovrov Svvarat ri airij-  
 aaaOai napa τov Kvpíov Kal Xaftelv, p,Tj ðovXeva)v  
 rç> Kvpícπ; oi ðovXevovTe<; avTÔ>, èKeívot Xii^ovTai  
 Ta alT-qpaTa avT&v. οί Sè p.r) SovXevovTeç τ ú  
 Kvpitp, èKeívot ov8èν Xy^eovrat. 7. èav 8è paav  
 Tis npâ^tv èpyâcrrfTai, SvvaTai Kal τ& Kvpitp  
 ζovXevaaf ov yàp SiafpdapraeTai rj Stávota  
 avrov ano τov Kvpíov, âXXà ðov\evaei avr^>  
 e^atv ττjv Stávoiaav avrov Kadapáv. 8. ravra oZv  
 èàn noirpTTP;, Svvaat Kapno<f>oprj<rai eiç τov  
 ai&va ròv èp&xppevon Kal 8ç àv ravra noitja-y,  
 Kapno<j>opt]aei.*

“AXX<sub>1</sub>; n a p a O o X t f

### I

1. Ntionevtov Kal Kad-pp^vos eis opos ri Ka  
 ev^apiarSiv rà> Kvpla> nepl návrtov S>v énoI^ae  
 l ntfiiv A, unité L.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. iv. 4-v. i. 1

trees which you saw—will be found to be such, dried and fruitless in that world, and they shall be burnt up like wood and shall be made manifest, because their conduct was wicked in their lives. For the sinners shall be burnt, because they sinned and did not repent, and the heathen shall be burnt, because they did not know their Creator. 5. Be therefore fruitful, that your fruit may be known in that summer. But abstain from much business, and you will do no sin. For those who do much business also sin much, being engrossed in their business, and serving their Lord in nothing. 6. How then,” said he, “can such a one pray for anything from the Lord and receive it, when he does not serve the Lord?” They who serve him,—they shall receive their requests. But they who do not serve the Lord,—they shall receive nothing. 7. But if anyone be occupied with but one business, he can serve the Lord also. For his understanding is not corrupted away from the Lord, but he will serve him with a pure mind. 8. If, therefore, you do this, you can bear fruit for the world to come. And whoever does this shall bear fruit”

### Another Parable (V)

#### I

1. While I was fasting, and sitting on a certain <sup>Fa,ti<g</sup> mountain, and thanking the Lord for all that he had

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*/act' è/xoú, /SXeTTto ròv iroi/iéva irapaKadrf/iévón  
 fiat Kai Xéyovra' Ti òpdpivos code èXyXvffas; "Ot i,  
 <f>v/íi, Kvpte, aranwva e^a). 2. **Tí**, cfüiquav, earl  
 araritov; **Ni/areú**», (jvrffíi, Kvpie. **Ní/oreía** ¿e,  
 </r?cri, t Í èariv avrrj, fjv injarevere; 'iiç eiáffeiv,  
 ^>í?/íí, Kvpte, ovрто vr)<TTéva>, 3. **Ov/c** oibare, <f>Tjai,  
 vijareveiv rS> Kvpttp, ovðé èariv vqareía avrrf 11  
 ava>^eXrjs, rjv vrfarevere avrtp. Atari, (jyrflú,  
 Kvpie, Tovro Xéyets; Aéyai aot, frfaiiv, orí ovk  
 eariv avrr] vqareta, rjv SoKeíre vyareveiv aXX'  
 é'ycó ere diðá^a>, ri éart vijareía èicrr} Kai TTK^pys  
 rip Kvpicp.l "Alcove, (j>7]a¿v. 4. o 0eo<; ov ^ovXerat  
 roiavryv vyareíav paraíav ovрто yàp vqarevmv  
 rtp deep ovSèv épyáar) ry ðncaioavvrj. vij-  
 arevaov ðè **rçi** 0eá> vrjareíav rotavrrjv' 5, p.rjðév  
 rrovrijpevay èv rfj aov, aXÁ ðovXevaov r^  
 Kvpicp èv tcadapâ Kapðía- rr/prjaov rà<: èvroXaç  
 avrov rropevóptevo^ èv roi<; rrpoaráiyMaiv avrov  
 Kai p,rjðepÁ.a èmòv pia rrovqá ava^rjra» èv rrj  
 Kapèia aov rriárevaov ðè r& 9eS>, on, èàv ravra  
 épyáarj Kai <f>o^rj0í)ij avrov Kai èyKparevay àrrò  
 rravròf Trovrjpvov irpáyparas, tyjarf **rçi** ðetp' Kai  
 ravra èàv èpyàarf, fieyaXrju vijareíav rroiyaeis  
 Kai SeKTfv rà> 0eS>.*

Mt. 19, 17

l Kvpiy AELg, Kupúp. Nal, fpyp-'i, Kvplf, paKapiiv pe vol-fans  
 iàv yvtp itív vrjarelai' Tljv Sekt ^v rjý òetp HL2.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. v. i. 1-5

done with me, I saw the shepherd sitting by me, and saying: "Why have you come here so early?" "Because, sir," said I, "I have a station."<sup>1</sup> 2. "What," said he, "is a station." "I am fasting, sir," said I. "But," said he, "what is this fast, which you are fasting?" "I am fasting, sir," said I, "as I have been accustomed." 3. "You do not know," said he, "how to fast to the Lord, and this useless fast which you are fasting to him is not a fast?" "Why, sir," said I, "do you say this?" "I tell you," said he, "that this fast which you think to fast is nothing, but I will teach you what is a fast, acceptable and complete to the Lord. Listen," he said: 4. "God does not wish such a vain fast. For if you thus fast to God you do nothing for righteousness. But fast to God in this way: 5. do nothing evil in your life, but serve the Lord with a pure heart; 'keep his commandments' and walk in his ordinances, and let no evil desire arise in your heart, but believe in God, that if you do these things and fear him, and refrain from every wicked act, you shall live to God; and if you do this you will fulfil a great fast and one acceptable to God.

<sup>1</sup> 'Station' is not found elsewhere in Greek writers but is used in Latin writers in the sense of a fixed time for fasting (*e.g. ci. Tertullian de orat. 19, de jejun. 1, 10, etc.*). It is apparently one of the many terms taken from military language 'statio de militari exemplo nomen accepit, nam et militia dei sumus' says Tertullian.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### II

1. "A/cove rr/v irapa^oXr/v, t<sub>jv</sub> péXXa> eroi Xéyeiv, àvrcovirav ri} vijareia. 2. eiye **nt** àypòv Kal èovXovt iroXXovt Kal pépot **n** tov àypov èfrivrevov àpireX&va' Kal èKXe^àp^vot SovXòv nva irierrov Kal evápearov èvnpov,<sup>l</sup> irpoereKaXéaaro avrov Kal Xéyet avrip' A.à{3e tov àpireX&va tov tov, ov è<f>vrev<ra, Kai ^apaKaxrov avrov, äa>t ép^opai, Kal êrepov èè pi) rroirjapt râ> àpireX&vr Kal ravrrjv pov rpν évroXrjv ipvXa^ov, Kal èXevdepot ècrp Trap' èpoi. è^rjXde ðe o Secriroryt tov èovXov fit Ttjv airoSyplav. 3. é^eXffóvrot ðé avrov eXaftfv ð SovXot Kal è^apaKo/ae tov àpireXStva. Kal reXéaat rrjv ^apaKtúiaiv rov àpireX&vot elèe rov àpireXwva ftoravwv irXripT) ovra. 4. èv èavnponv eXoyítarò Xèyiov tYavrrjv rpν èvroXr/v rov Kvpiov rereXeKa' VKÓ^a> Xoiiròv rov àpvtrèX&va tov tov, Kal serrai evirpeiréa-repot è<TKap,pÀvot, Kal fiorávat e^tav ètóaei Kaprrón irXelova, pp rrviyópevot virò r&v ftoravwv. Xafià>v ea-Ka^e rov àprreXüüva Kal rráaat rat fiorávat rat ovtrat èv tç> àpireX&vt è^énXXe. Kal èyévero ó àp/rreXûfv eKfívoτ evirpeTreararot Kal evffaXyt, pr/ e%<>>v /Borávat trwyovaat avrov. 5. pera ypovov fjXÔev ó èeirrorrit tov ðovXov Kal tov àypov Kai eitrrjXdev fit rov àpireX&va. Kal lèiov ròv àpiceXâva KeyapaKutpévov evirpeirSit, en ðè Kal èaKap-

1 There is probably something missing in the text: L<sub>j</sub> reads deinde peregre profectus elegit servum etc., EL, paraphrase the whole, out insert the phrase peregre afuturus, or its equivalent.

II

1. "Listen to the Parable which I am going to tell The parable you concerning Fasting. 2. A certain man had a of Fastng field, and many servants, and on part of the field he planted a vineyard. And he chose out a certain servant, who was faithful, in good esteem and honour with him, and he called him and said to him : " Take this vineyard which I have planted, and fence it until I come, and do nothing more to the vineyard. And follow this order of mine and you shall have your freedom from me. And the master of the servant went abroad. 3. Now when he had gone the servant took and fenced the vineyard, and when he had finished the fencing of the vineyard he saw that the vineyard was full of weeds. 4. Therefore he reasoned in himself, saying : I have finished this order of the Lord ; I will next dig this vineyard, and it will be better when it is dug, and having no weeds will yield more fruit, not being choked by the weeds. He took and dug the vineyard, and pulled out all the weeds which were in the vineyard. And that vineyard became very beautiful and fertile with no weeds to choke it. 5. After a time the master of the servant and the field came, and entered into the vineyard, and seeing the vineyard beautifully fenced, and moreover dug, and all the weeds pulled up and



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

pevon Kai nàaas ràç /Borávas ζKreriXpevat; Kai evθαXeí<; ovaas ràç à/z7réXovç, 6%áp»7 Xiav ènī row epyos tov SovXov. 6. nποαKaXeaάpevot; ovv ròv vibv avrov rov áyanrprón, bv ei%e KXr)ποvόποv, Kai tovç </>iXouç, ouç e'x6 <rvppovXov<i, Xéyei aùroic, Óaa èvereiXaro rS> bovXip avrov Kai ocra evpe yeyovóra. KÛKeívoi avveycipprav rS> bovXq) ènī rp paprvπίq rj èpaprvppaev avrà ó ζea-Trôríç. 7. Kai Xéyei avroís- 'Eyà) rà> bovXcp rovrcò èXev-Oepiav enpyyeiXáprpv,l èàv pov rpν èvροX^v (pvXà^r), rpν èvereiXáprpv avrúr èyvXa^e Se pov rrjv evροXr/v Kai nποaédpKe rà> àpneXâvi epyov KaXov, Kai èpoi Xiav ppeaev. àvrī rovrov ovv rov épyov ov elpyàaaro deXa> avrov avyKXppovόποv rip vl^> piv TT0irpjai, ori rò KaXòv ^>povricra<i ov irapeveOvpridrj ζXX.' èréXsaev avrò. 8. ravrp rfi yvùp/pi ò uiòç rov bearrórov avmjvZoKrajev avT&, iva avyKXypovόpos yévprai ó SovXo<j r& vt'úü. 9. pera rjpepas òXiyas Seüirrov ζrroirjaev2 Kai éirep^frev avrà ζk rov èeirrov ebétrpara rroXXà. Xaft'ìa>v Se ó êouXoç rà èbéapara rà rrepifiOévra avrà rrapà rov Beanorov rà àpKovra avrà rjpe, rà Xoinà èè rois avvèovXois avrov ècéaiKev. 10. oì èè avvSovXoi avrov Xaftóvres rà ebéapara è^àpiprav Kai pp^avro evyeadaì vnèp avrov, 'iva %àpiv petÇova evprj napà rqs Beanórpi, ori ovroii è^piicraro avroi<;. 11. ravra nàvra rà yeyovóra o èeanórrr]<; aüirov rjKovae

l irnrrytiKifniv A, Hilgenfeld and others emend to ζVCTCIXci/Á^F.

↓ A, L adds paterfamilias which the editors usually accept and translate qiko^ittóttis,

THE SHEPHERD, sim. v. ii. 5-11

vines fertile, he was greatly pleased at the acts of the servant. 6. So he called his beloved son, whom he had as heir, and his friends whom he had as counsellors, and told them what he had ordered his servant, and what he had found accomplished. And they congratulated the servant on the character which the master gave him. 7. And he said to them: I promised this servant his freedom if he kept the orders which I gave him. Now he has kept my orders, and has added good work in the vineyard, and greatly pleased me. So in reward for this work which he has done I wish to make him joint heir with my son, because, when he had a good thought he did not put it on one side, but carried it out. 8. The son of the master agreed with this plan, that the servant should be joint heir with the son. 9. After a few days he made a feast and sent to him much food from the feast. But the servant took the food which was sent to him by the master, kept what was sufficient for himself, and distributed the rest to his fellow-servants. 10. And his fellow-servants were glad when they received the food, and began to pray for him, that he might find greater favour with his master, because he had treated them thus. 11. His master heard all these events, and again rejoiced

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*Kal iráXiv Xíav e-yápr) èrrl rffj irpágei avrov. avyxaXeaápievos rraXiv rovs cpÍKovs o ðeaTrórys Kal ròv vlòv avrov arrrjyyeiXev avrðes rr)v rrpáÇiv avrov, rjv èrrpagev èrrl rocs èðéapcaacv avrov oïs ěXa/Sev oì Sè ere púíKXov avnevðoKraav yevéaOai ròv ζovXov avyKXijpovórov τς> via> avrov.*

### HI

1. Aέyw Kvpie, èyà> ravras ras irapafioXas ov yivàaKtà ovbè ðvnapuu vopaai, èav piy pioi èrrcXvarjs avràs. 2. Tiávra croi èirikvaw, (jrrjai, Kal òaa av XdXrjatv pierà aov. 3. Sellar aoi ràs èvroXàs avrovl èàv ðé ri àyaGov rroipays èKràs rrjs èvroXfjS rov Oeov, aeavrtv rrepirroiijap Sógav ireptaaorépav Kal ear) èvðe^orepos rrapà rcù ðeS> ov épieXXes eivai. èàv oTiv cpvXàaatiiv ras èvroXàs rov ffeov jrpoaffrjs Kal ràs Xei-rovpylas ravras, xaprijay, èàv rrjprjays avràs Karà rrjv èpù)v èvroXrjv. 4. Xέyw avrai- Kvpie, o èàv p.oi évreiXr), <f>vXà^a> avrò- oiða yàp, ori av pier èpiov ei. "Eaopiai, <fyr>al, pierà aov, ori rojavrrjv irpoffvpiav e-^eis rrjs àyadorroi-qaems, Kal pierà rtávrtúv ðè äaopmi, cfrrjaiv, oaoi ravrrjv rr)V rrpodvpiav e^ovaiv. 5. r) vparela avrr), <^r>al, rr]povpuciv) v rà>v èvroXwv rov Kvpiov, Xlav KaXrj eariv. ovrws oív cf>vXà^eis rrjv vrjareiaav ravrrjv, rjv puXXeis rrjpeiv- 6. rrptòrov rràvratv <j>vXal;ai

l t ij ζMToXàs avrai. A, mandata domini custodi et eris probatus et scriberis in numero eorum qui custodivit mandata eius Li(LaE) which the editors usually accept and re-translate into Greek.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. v. ii. n-iii. 6

greatly at his conduct. The master again assembled his friends and his son and reported to them what he had done with the food which he had received, and they were still more pleased that the servant should be made joint heir with his son."

### III

1. I said: "Sir, I do not know these parables and I cannot understand them if you do not explain them to me." 2. "I will explain everything to you," he said, "and everything that I talk with you. 3. I will show you his commandments and if you do anything good, beyond the commandment of God, you will gain for yourself greater glory, and shall be more honourable with God than you were destined to be. If then, you keep the commandments of God, and add these services also, you shall rejoice, if you keep them according to my commandment." 4. I said to him: "Sir, I will keep whatever you command me, for I know that you are with me." "I will be with you," said he, "because you have such zeal for doing good, and I will be with all, said he, who have this zeal. 5. This fast," said he, "if the commandments of the Lord are kept, is very good. You shall therefore keep this fast, which you are going to observe in this way: 6. First of all, keep from every

The  
\*?the\*U<n

10

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*ζTro 7rai>ρδς πrJpzτTOς rrovppov Kai rraaps èmtìvpias  
 rrovppàs Kai KaOáπiaóv aov rpv KapSiav dirò  
 jrávrov r&v paralo)πάroyv rov ai&vos rovrov.  
 èàn ravra <jivXà!;ps, earai aot avrp p vpareia  
 reXeia. 7. ovtm 8è rroipaeis' avvreXéaas rà  
 yeypappÁva, èv èKeivp rp ýpépa p vpareveis ppèièv  
 yevap el py àprov Kai vátov, Kai èK r&v èèeapâraiv  
 aov &v èpeXXes rp&yeiv avp-^pcftlaas rpv rroaô-  
 rpra rps èajràvps èKeivps rps ppépas ps epeXXes  
 iroieiv, &&aeis avrò ^ppa p ôp<l)av& y varepovpévtp,  
 Kai ovrtò raTreivoýpovpaeis, iv èK rys raireivoifipo-  
 avvps aov o eíKp<j>a>s èprfXpap rpv éavrov yfrv^pv  
 Kai ev^prat vrrèp aov rrpòs ròv Kvpiov. 8. èàn  
 ovv aurai reXéaps rpv vpareiav, wç aoi èveretXà-  
 Eccius. 32, s ppv, earat, p dvaia aov SeKrp irapà rtp detp,l Kai  
 πiinóp.0^' eypairos earac p vparela avrp, Kai p Xetrovpyia  
 7S'et,18\*56' °^T6l,ç èpyafypévvp KaXp Kai iXapâèari Kai evirpoa-  
 ègKros rtp Kvritp. 9. ravra ovrcò rpppaeis ai)  
 perà râ>v reKvo>v aov Kai oXov rov oikov aov  
 rpppaas 3è avrà paKapios äap- Kai Óaoi àv  
 ÚKovaavres avrà rpppaatai, paKupiot äaovrai, Kai  
 oaa àv alrpaavrai irapà rov Kvplov Xpifrovrai.*

### IV

1. *avrov ttòXXù, iva poi èpXtóap rpv  
 rrapa^oXpv rov àypov Kai rov èearrôrov Kai rov  
 àprreX,â>vos Kai rov SovXov rov 'xapaKioaavros rov  
 àprreXiàva Kai rûv ^apaKwv Kai rm> ftoravôw  
 rûv èKrerixpevwv èK rov àprreXSivos Kai rov viov*

*l 9e<f A Ant., Kvπίp L Ath.*

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. v. iii. 6–iv. i

evil word, and from every evil desire and purify your heart from all the vanities of this world. If you keep these things, this fast shall be perfect for you. 7. And you shall do thus: After completing what has been written, in that day on which you fast you shall taste nothing except bread and water, and you shall reckon the price of the expense for that day which you are going to keep, of the foods which you would have eaten, and you shall give it to a widow or an orphan or to some one destitute, and you shall thus be humble-minded that through your humility he who receives it may fill his soul and pray to the Lord for you. 8. If then you thus fulfil the fast as I commanded you, your ‘sacrifice shall be acceptable to God,’ and this fast shall be written down to your credit, and the service which is thus done is good and joyful and acceptable to the Lord. 9. You shall therefore keep these things thus with your children and all your house, and if you keep them you shall be blessed, and all who hear them and keep them shall be blessed and shall obtain from the Lord whatever they ask.”

### IV.

1. I besought him much to explain to me the The parable of the field and the master and the vineyard the"1\*0" and the servant who fenced the vineyard, and the the0 “ fences, and the weeds which were pulled up from the servant vineyard, and the son, and the friends the counsellors.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Kal Tô>v <j>Ixa>v râv avp^ovXwv awrpca yàp, oTi  
 Trapa/3oXÿ t lç èaTi TavTa irávra. 2. o Sé airoKpi-  
 oéis; poi eiTrev Av0á8y<; e! Xiav à< to eTrepw pav.  
 ovk </>eiXet?, <j>yaív, èrrepanàv ovSèv oXw èav  
 yáp aoi 8éy 8yX<o0yvvai, 8yXm0yaeTai. Xeya>  
 avrq r iúvpie, oera av poi Sei^jç Kal py 8yXá>ay<;,  
 pá/ryv èaopai èwpaKaxì avrà Kai py vo&v,ri etmr  
 >aavTa><; Kal èàv poi Trapa/3óXá<j XaXyayt; Kal py  
 èiriXvayì poi aiiTcv,; eis páryv èaopai cucyKodis ti  
 irapà aov, 3. 6 Sé iráXiv úreKpidy poi Xeymv'  
 \*Oç av, <f>yaí, SovXos y tov 0eov Kal e^y tov  
 Kvpiov éaVTOv èv ti j KapSía, aiTeiTai Trap avTov  
 avveaiv Kal Xapftávei Kal iráaav TrapaftoXryv  
 eTTiXvei, Kal yvtnaTa avT& yívonTai Ta pypaTa  
 tov Kvplov Ta Xeyópeva Biá Trapa^oX&v oaot Sé  
 jHXy-xpol eiai Kal àpyol Trpôç Tyv evTev^iv, eKeivoi  
 SiaTaÇovaiv aireíaffai Trapa tou Kvpiov 4. o Sé  
 Kvpioí TroXvevaTrXay^vôç èaTi Kal Trâai to Îç  
 alTovpívois Trap avTov áSiaXeíTTTax; BíStoai, av  
 Sé èvieSvnapMpevo'ì virò tov áyíov áyyéXov Kal  
 fiXy<f>a><; Trap avTov tomvttjv cvtcv^iv Kal py <bv  
 àpyóì, Smti ovk aiTy Trapa tov Kvpiov avveaiv  
 Kai Xap^áveit Trap avTov; 5. Xéya> avTÍp' iúvpie,  
 e'7® ê'xaiv aè pe0' éavTov àvcvyKyv exa> aè  
 aiTeiaOai Kal aè èrrepiúTav av yàp poi SetKvvet<j  
 TravTa Kai XaXeí<j per èpoir ei Sé arep aov  
 é^Xeiron y yKOVov avTa, ypó>TO>v av tov Kvpiov, 'iva  
 poi SyXcody.*

## THE SHEPHERD, *sim. v. iv. 1-5*

For I understood that all these things are a parable. 2. He answered and said to me : “ You are very importunate with asking. You ought not,” he said, “ to ask at all, for if it be necessary for it to be explained to you it will be explained.” I said to him : “ Sir, whatever you show me and do not explain I shall have seen in vain, and not understand what it is. So likewise if you speak parables to me and do not interpret them to me, I shall have heard something from you in vain.” 3. He answered and said to me again : “ Whoever,” said he, “ is God’s servant, and has his Lord in his heart, seeks understanding from him and receives it, and he interprets every parable, and the sayings of the Lord which were spoken through parables are made known to him. But as many as are weak and idle in prayer, those hesitate to ask from the Lord. 4. But the Lord is very merciful and gives unceasingly to all who ask from him. But you, since you have been given power by the Holy Angel, and received from him such intercession and are not idle, wherefore do you not seek understanding from the Lord and receive it from him ?” 5. I said to him : “ Sir, when I have you with me I needs must ask you and enquire of you, for you show me all things and talk with me, but if I had seen or heard them without you, I should have asked the Lord that it might be explained to me.”



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### V

1. *Elnón trot, tjrycl, Kai apri, on navovp'yof el Kai av0á8yí, ènepwrtùv t Aç eirtXvcrei? rà>v napa-ftoXùv. èneiòy 8è ovno napárovos ei, èmXvtrto aoi ryv napa^oXyv rov àypoíi Kai rS>v Xoin&v rà>v clko-Xov0a>v nàvrvrv, 'iva yvaranà nàai noirpryt; avrà, cucove vvv, tjryai, Kai avvie avrà. 2. ò àppò<; ζ Κόραο< \$ ovrò<; èανv ò 8è Kvpios rov àypov ó Kritras*

ml is, ss c ?'ps 8,68 28 T'' 7r''i>Ta K(à ànaprlaas avrà Kai òvnapóraaTl ò 8è èoûXoc ζ viòj rov 0eov èανv al sè dpnéXot ó Xaòç ovtoç èανv, òv avròt ètjrvreaev 3. oí Se •άπαKet oí dyioi dyyeXol elei rov Kvpiov oí avyKparovvre<; ròv Xaòv àùrotr ai áe ftorávai ai èKreriXpévai eK rov ápneXá>vo<; avopiai elei rarv SovXarv rov 0eov- rà òè èòétrpara, à errep^ev avrà) ζk rov Seiirrov, ai èvroXai elaiiv, àç èèoKe ra> Xatp avrov Bià rov viov avrov' oi sè tjriXoi Kai trvpftovXoi oi ayioi àfyèkoi oi irptòroi Kriadevref y 8è àrrobr)pla rov SetrTrórov o ^povoç ò Trepitraevcov eì? rrjv rrapoviriav avrov. 4. Xeyta avrà' Kvpie, p^yàXa><; Kai 0avpaarâ><; navra ζari Kai èi'Sofwç navra e%ei. prj ovv, <f>Tlπί, éyιζ> T/Svvápijv ravra vorjerat; ovSé erepo<; rà>v àvûpatnarv, Kav ->dav avverð^ rj t îç, ov ovvarai vorjirai avrà, en, tfrrjpi, Kvpie, èriKtùtrón poi, o péXXco tre èneparrâv. 5. Aéye, ^>T]trív, el rt ftovXeí. ζXiari, tfr)πί, Kvpie, ó tuòç rov 0COV eic SovXov rpónov Keírai èv ry napafioXy;

1 Lj adds filius autem spiritus sanctus est. Cf. Sim. ix. 1. 1, ' ζKttvo yàp rb irvevpa ó viòs tov 0sov tarty.'

V

1. "I told you," said he, "just now, that you are obstinate and importunate in asking for the explanations of the parable. But since you are so persistent I will explain to you the parable of the field and all the other consequences of it, that you may make them known to everyone. Listen, now," he said, "and understand it. 2. 'The field is this world,' and the Lord of the field is 'He who created everything' and perfected it and gave it strength. And the servant is the Son of God,<sup>1</sup> and the vines are this people which he planted. 3. And the fences are the holy Angels of the Lord who support his people. And the weeds which are pulled up out of the vineyard are iniquities of the servants of God. And the food which he sent to him from the supper is the commandments which he gave to his people through his Son, and the friends and counsellors are the holy Angels who were first created. And the absence of the Master<sup>2</sup> is the time which remains before his coming." 4. I said to him: "Sir, all is great and wonderful and all is glorious. How then," said I, "could I understand it? Nor is there any other man, however understanding he may be, who can understand it. Moreover, sir," said I, "explain to me what I am going to ask you." 5. "Say," said he, "what you wish." "Why," said I, "sir, is the Son of God in the parable given the form of a servant?"

<sup>1</sup> With the text given it must be noted that the Son in the parable (Sim. v. ii. 6.) remains unexplained.

<sup>2</sup> The absence of the Master is not mentioned in the text of the parable; but see the critical note on Sim. v. 2, 2.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### VI

1. "Akovē, <|>ñ<T̄|v̄ eiç BovXov rpó-rron ov2 tceírai  
 ó vñog tov ffeov, ζXX' elf è^ovalav /ζeyáXyv  
 KeiTai Kal KvpiórrjTa. Πœç, ^17/a, Kvpie, ov voG>.  
 2. "Ot í, ipTjalv, ò Qeof tov àp/rreXcàva ζ<j>vTevtre,  
 TOVT ecru tov Xaov eKTicre Kal trapézaiKe tS> vià>  
 avTOV' Kal ó vlof KaTeuTycre TOVf ζyyéXovç ètr  
 avTovf tov crvvTTipeiv avTovf Kal avTOf Taf  
 áp-apTÍaf avT&v è/cadaptae TroXXà Kotriáaaf Kal  
 ttoXXoÛç Koirovf yvTXyKcàf ovèelf yàp àp,treXà>v  
 èvvaTat aKa^qvai aTep kottov y puoydov. 3. avTOf  
 onv Kadapiaaf ràç àp,apTiaf tov Xaov e^et^ev  
 avToif Taf Tpi(3ovf Tyf Çcorif, Sovf avTOÍf tov  
 vópìov, òv eXafte trapa tov traTpoof avTOv.2  
 4. ori 3è ó Kvptof <rvp,/3ovXov èXafie tov  
 vlof avTov Kal Toi>f èvèògovf àyyéXovf trepl Ttjf  
 KXqποvopiaf tov SovXov, aKove' 5. to trvevp,a to  
 ayiov to trpoðv, to KTÍcrav tràcrav Tyv ktIuiv,  
 KaTWKLaev ó Oeòf elf aàpKa, fjv 'q^ovXeTO' avTt]  
 onv 17 aàp^, èv y KaTWKyaev to trvevfia to ayiov,  
 èSovXevcre tç> trvevp.aTi KaXcàf èv aep.VOTyTi Kal  
 àyveia Tropevdêícra, pxfiev oXtof pnónaca to  
 7Tvevp,a. 6. troXiTevirapievqv onv avTqv KaXâtf  
 Kal àyvcàf Kal avyKotriàaacrav tð> trvevpMTt  
 Kal cTvvepyrcraav èv travrl TrpâypMTi, la-^ypwf  
 Kal àvâpeicof àvaaTpacpeíaaav, p£rà tov Trvev/MTOf  
 tov àylov eíXaTO koivcùvov ypecre yàp 3 y

l ov LE, om. A.

2 L adds vides inquit dominum eum esse populi accepta a  
 patre suo omni potestate, which the Editors are inclined to  
 accept. 3 A, ^peo-e Tip (or KUPII) LjLj.

Ps. 15,11 ;  
 Prov. 16,17

Job. 10, 18 ;  
 12, 49. 50 ;  
 14, 31  
 15, 10

VI

1. "Listen," said he: "The Son of God is not given the form of a servant, but is given great power and lordship." "How, sir?" said I, "I do not understand." 2. "Because God planted the vineyard," said he, "that is, created the people, and gave it over to his Son. And the Son appointed the angels over them to keep them. And he himself cleansed their sins, labouring much and undergoing much toil. For no vineyard can be dug without toil or labour." 3. When, therefore, he had cleansed the sins of the people, he showed them the ways of life, and gave them the law which he 'received from his Father.' 4. But listen why the Lord took his Son and the glorious angels as counsellors concerning the heritage of the servant. 5. The Holy Spirit which pre-exists, which created all creation, did God make to dwell in the flesh which he willed. Therefore this flesh, in which the Holy Spirit dwelled, served the Spirit well, walking in holiness and purity, and did not in any way defile the spirit. 6. When, therefore, it had lived nobly and purely, and had laboured with the Spirit, and worked with it in every deed, behaving with power and bravery, he chose it as companion with the Holy Spirit! ; for the conduct

1 The meaning is apparently that the flesh (i.e. the human being?), in which the Spirit had been incarnate, was elevated to be the companion, for the future, of the Father and of the Son who is the Spirit.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Trapela tt)? aapKO<; raiiTtḑi, ori, ovk èpiàndrj  
 etti t»|ç 7»|ç povera to trvevpa to àyiov.  
 7. avpfiovXov onv eXafte ròn viòn Kai tovç;  
 àyyéXov<; rouòs èvSógowf, iva Kai η trap!; avTrj,  
 SovXevaaaa tç> trvevpMTi àpiépurrav,; a^y tottov  
 riva KaTaaKT)v0>aea>f Kai p/r| BÓ^tj tov piaffòv  
 ttjç SovXeZaç aùrrçç aTTÓXaiXeKévar Traca yàp  
 aàpj; twroX.jp/reTai piaOovl rj eùpedeíaa aplavTos  
 Kai aaTriXoc, èv η to irvevpa to àyiov KaTipKi]aev.  
 8. e^eiç Kai TaurT/ç ttJç TrapafTaXrp ttjv èirlXvaiv.*

## VII

1. iiv<f>pàvOT)V, <j)l)πί, Kvpie, TavTTJV TìJV ÎtÎXv-  
 aiv aKovaas. "Alcove vvv, </7/a-r ttjv aàpKa aov  
 TavTTjv ^ivXaaa KaOapav Kai àpaavTOV, "va  
 to irvevpM to KaTOtKOVv èv ai/TT] papTVpiori  
 avTTj Kai BiKaiwôp aov cráp^". 2. pXéire,  
 pr)TTOTe àva(3rj ètri ttjv Kapiiav aov ttjv aàpKa  
 aov TavTTjv (f>dapTTjv eivat Kai Trapay'pijay  
 avTp èv piaapâi t iv i. èàn piáv-p^ ttjv aàpKa aov,  
 piaveci Kai to irvevpa to àyiov èàn Se piavi]ç; ttjv  
 aàpKa? oii ^ap. 3. Eî Sè tôç, </77/41, Kvpie,  
 yéyovev àyvoia irpOTepa, irpiv ciKovadwai t(x prj-  
 pMTa Taira, tt&ç acodij o avópanro<j ô piávas tt)v  
 aàpKa avTov; Tlept t &v irpoTepcov, ifirjaiv, àvvoT]-  
 fMTOiv toi Oeíp povip èvvaTov ïaiv Sovvai, avTov

1 t ?s JovAfiaj . . . p.i<rδ;i> om. A. The text is reconstructed from L.

2 *adpKa* ALE, but the editors usually emend to *tò irrev/ta* in the supposed interests of the sense.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. v. vi. 6-vii. 3

of this flesh pleased him, because it was not defiled while it was bearing the Holy Spirit on earth. 7. Therefore he took the Son and the glorious angels as counsellors, that this flesh also, having served the Spirit blamelessly, should have some place of sojourn, and not seem to have lost the reward of its service. For all flesh in which the Holy Spirit has dwelt shall receive a reward if it be found undefiled and spotless. 8. You have the explanation of this parable also.”

### VII

1. “I am glad, sir,” said I, “to hear this explanation.” “Listen, now,” he said. “Guard this flesh conclusion of yours, pure and undefiled, that the spirit which dwells in it may bear it witness, and your flesh may be justified. 2. See to it, lest the idea enter your heart that this flesh of yours is mortal, and you abuse it in some defilement. For if you defile your flesh you defile also the Holy Spirit, and if you defile the flesh you shall not live.” 3. “But, if, sir,” said I, “there was any previous ignorance before these words were heard, how can the man who defiled his flesh be saved?” “*For the former ignorances,*” said he, “it is possible for God

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Mt. 28,18 **fyàp** èan Trâaa ègovaia,<sup>l</sup> 4. èàn to Xowrov prj pìávrj<j aov Trjv aápKa p/rfie to trvevpM' aptyrrepa yap KOivá èan Kai ârep àXXrfXwv piavdryvai ov Zvvarat. àp<j>ÓTepa ovv KaOapà <j>vXaaaa, Kal j;r/ay ró> #eç>.

### T\apa(3oXì] ε'

#### I

1. Ka^/iero? èv rip oiKto pov Kal Sol-àÇtov tov Kypiov Trepl iràvratv a>v èaipaKeiv Kai avÇijTÛv  
 jam. i, 21 Trepl T&v èvToX&v, on KaXal Kal SvvaTal Kal ÍXapal Kal évSoÇoi Kal buvâpevat aâiaai -^rv^rv/ àvapcótrov, eXeyov èv èp/tVT&- Maxapio? èaopai,  
 Ps. 1,1-2 ; èàn Taiç èvroXaíç Tavrai<; rropevos), Kal ôç àv ravrais Tropevfpp, paKapios carat. 2. ¿s ravra èv èpavrâ èXàXovv, fixérra» avrov è^al<f>vriv TrapaKaOijpevón p.oi Kal XéyovTa mvnr Tt Sijru^îs Trepl t wv èvToX&v &v aoi èveTEiXâp/rjv; KaXal elaiiv oXa><j prj ¿XX' evSvaai TTjv TTianv tov Kypiov, Kal èv avTai<j iropevay èyà> yà^ ae èvbvrap,à>aa> èv avTai<;. 3. avTai al èvToXai avpyopoi elai to ið peXXovai pÆTavoéiv' èav yàp pò) Tropevdâav èv avTai<j, «'ç párpv èanv T) penivoia avráiv. 4. oi oîrv peTavoovvTe<; àtro-/BaXXere ràç irovqpiav tov aiáivoç tovtov raç èKTpifiovaaç vpâf èvBvaâpevoi Se irâaav àpeTryv

1 L (A) add (with some variations) sed nunc custodi te, et cum sit dominus omnipotens misericors, prioribus admissis remedium dabit. The editors (probably rightly) usually accept this addition.

**THE SHEPHERD,** sim. v. vii. 3-vi. i. 4

alone to give healing, for 'he has all power,' 4. if, for the future, you defile neither the flesh nor the spirit; for both are in communion, and neither can be defiled without the other. Keep, therefore, both pure, and you shall live to God." 1

Parable 6

I

1. While I was seated in my house, and was glorifying the Lord for all that I had seen, and enquiring about the commandments because they were beautiful and joyful and glorious, and 'able to save the soul' of man, *I* said in myself: I shall be blessed if I 'walk in these commandments,' and whoever shall walk in them shall be blessed. 2. While I said this in myself I suddenly saw him seated by me, and saying this: "Why are you double-minded concerning the commandments which I commanded you? They are beautiful. Be not double-minded at all, but put on the faith of the Lord, and you shall walk in them, for I will strengthen you in them. 3. These commandments are helpful to those who are going to repent, for if they do not walk in them their repentance is in vain. 4. Do you, therefore, who repent, put away the wickednesses of this world which lead you astray, but if you put on all the virtue of righteous-

intro-  
auction

1 This is directed against the Gnostic tendency to divide flesh and spirit, and to regard the acts of the flesh as unimportant. Against this the church insisted on purity of life now, and on the hope of a resurrection of the flesh hereafter.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*SiKatoavvr/s òvvtfcrerrde rrjprjrrai ràç èvroXàs ravras Kai. pr/Kçri irpoirriOévai rais ápapríais iiptòv.l TTopeveaffe ovv rais èvroXaís pov ravraìç, Kai jprcrecrffe r<p Oea>. ravra rrávra Trap' èpov XeKá-Xyrai vpîv. 5. Kai pera rò ravra XaXrjaai avròv per èpov, Xéyet por "A.yapev els àppón, Kai Selcio trot rovs rroipévas rà>v TtποfiártùV. "A.yatpev, <pi>pl, Kvpie. Kai rjKdopev eiç ri ireðiov, Kai òeiKvvei poi rroipéva veavicKov èvðebvπέvov avvdeaiv ipariarv r& Xpíοpari KpoKwòp. 6. efioaKe 8è irpófiara rroXXà Xiav, Kai rà Trpó/Sara ravra avrei rpvÿûvra rpv Kai Xlav airardkàivra Kai iKapà rpv> CKipriòvra èòSe KÒKeiae' Kai avròs ò iroiprpr rràvν iXapòs rjv erri rip iroipvup avrov' Kai avrr) r) ièéa rov iroipévos iXapa rjv ~>dav, Kai èv roí<j irpo^árovs rrepiérpe^e.*

### 11

1. Kai Xéyet por BXéTretç ròv iroipèva rovrov; BXeTTw, <j>7|pl, Kvpie. Ovροç, ffrpriv, àyyeXo^ rpv- Kai àrràrr)<; èariv. ovροç eKRpí^ei ràç ■y/rv^àç rS)v SovXwv rov Oeov Kai Karaarpéi^ei avrovç àrrò rrjç àXrjdeiaç, àirarwv avrovç raìç èrridoplatç raïs rrovripaís, èv aïs aTroKXvvrat. 2. èrriXavOavovrai yàp rò)V èvroX&v rov θεov rov Çâvros Kai rropevovrai àrràrais Kai rpvtpaís parafais Kai àrróX-Xvvrai viro rov àyyέλον rovrov, riva pèv elç òàvarov, nvà δè els Karaipdopáv. 3. Xéyw avrà'

| L adds nihil ergo adicientes plurimum ex prioribus recidetis.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. vi. i. 4-ii. 3

ness, you shall be able to keep these commandments, and no longer add to your sins. Therefore walk in these commandments of mine, and you shall live to God. All these things have been spoken to you by me.” 5. And after he spoke these things with me, he said to me: “Let us go into the country, and I will show you the shepherds of the sheep.” “Let us go, sir,” said I. And we came into a plain, and he showed me a young shepherd, clothed with a suit of garments of yellow colour. 6. And he was feeding very many sheep, and these sheep were well fed and very frisky, and were glad as they skipped here and there. And the shepherd himself was very joyful over his flock, and the face of the shepherd was very joyful, and he ran about among the sheep.

## II

1. And he said to me: “Do you see this shepherd?” “Yes, sir,” said I, “I see him.” “This,” said he, “is the angel of luxury and deceit. He wears out the souls of the servants of God, and perverts them from the truth, deceiving them with evil desires in which they perish. 2. For they forget the commandments of the Living God, and walk in deceit and vain luxury, and are destroyed by this angel, some to death, and some to corruption.” 3. I said to him: “Sir, I do not know what is ‘to

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Kv/we, ov <yivú)CTKa> èycó, ri èaTiv eic dávarov Kai ri eic Kara^dopáv. "ÁKove, <f>r)alv à eZSeç irpo-  
fiara ;Xapò. Kai aKipràivra, ovtoI elaiiv oi airea-  
iraapévoi aitò tov Θεov eic réXoc Kal irapaθε-  
ètoKores èavrovç raïç èrriOvpiav; tov aliavo; tov tov.  
èv tovtoïc ovv peTavoia ^<orj<j ovk èaTiv, oti  
irpoaédriKav Tal; ápapriat; avT&v Kal eic to ovopa  
tov Θεov èfiXaatpiji'jaav. twv τοιοvτοiv ovv o  
ΘάναTÓ; èanv. 4. â Sè eZSeç irpó^aTa prj aKip-  
TMVTa, ζXX' èv tottcù évi /SoaKÓpeva, ovtoI elatv  
oí TraπαSeSto/coreç pèn èavrovç l raïç Tpvÿaî; Kal  
ζTrá/raïç, eic Sè tov Kvpiov ovSèn è/3Xaatfy>ippaav  
ovtoI, ovv KaTe<[>0appévoç elalv àir'o t>?ç àXrjOeia;.  
èv tovtoiv; ε'Xiriç èaTt peiavota;, èv rj SvvavTai  
Çijaac. T) Kara<p0opa ovv èXiriða è^ei àvavetóaeó);  
tívo<β; o δε ΘάναTÓ<j airaiKeiav ever alcóviov.  
5. TráXív irpoéfiriv? piKpón, Kal ðevKvvei poi  
TTOtpéva péyav ζael aypiov Tlj I8éa, irepiKeipevov  
ðéppa alyeiov λevKov, Kal Trepap Tivà ei^ev èirl  
t Sív &pa)v Kal pá^8ov aKkrjpáv λiav Kal oçbuç  
e'xpvaav Kal paarvya peyaKriv Kal to (BXéppa  
ei%e irepÍTTiKpov, waTe ^>o^<rj0T)vaí pe avTov toi-  
ovtov el-^e to (ÍKéppa. 6. ovtoç oZv ó iroip-qv  
irapeXápfave Ta irpó(3aTa àiro tov Troipévoç tov  
veavíaKov, èKeíva t ζ airaTaXwvTa Kal Tpv<f>á>VTa,  
pi] aKipTwvTa ðé, Kal eptaXev avTa eic Tiva tottov  
KpripvtoSij Kal aKav0d>8r] Kal Tpi^oXáSt}, &aTe  
Óitto tmv aKav0üv Kal TpiñioXtov prj ðvvaaOat  
ékTrXe^ai t ζ irpó^aTa, ζXX' èp7fXéKeaOai efc Taç

1 The preceding seven lines (*rais ζmBu/xtais* .... ζaureus) are omitted in A, but are found in Ath. LE, though with much minor variation. 2 srpoélSsiv AE, irpoéPij/xtu L.

THE SHEPHERD, sim. vi. ii. 3-6

death,' and what is 'to corruption.' ” “Listen,” he said, “the sheep which you see joyful and skipping, these are those which have been torn away from God completely, and have given themselves up to the lusts of this world. For these, then, there is no repentance of life, because they added to their sins and blasphemed against the name of God. Such men incur death. 4. But the sheep which you see not skipping, but feeding in one place, these are they who have given themselves up to luxury and deceit, but have uttered no blasphemy against the Lord. These then have been corrupted from the truth ; in them there is hope of repentance, in which they can live. Corruption, then, has hope of some^renewing, but death has eternal destruction.”

5. *Again* I went on a little, and he showed me a -nle great shepherd, as it were savage in appearance, p^rd of clothed in a white goat-skin, and he had a bag on ment his shoulders, with a great staff, very hard and with knots, and a great whip. And he looked very bitter so that I was afraid of him, such a look had he.

6. This shepherd then was receiving the sheep from the young shepherd ; that is to say, those who were frisky and well-fed but not skipping, and put them in a certain place precipitous and thorny and full of thistles, so that the sheep could not disentangle themselves from the thorns and thistles, but were

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*UKav0as Kai Tpiftokovs. 7. ravra ovv e/wre-TrXey-  
péva efiacTKOVTO èv Tais à,Kciv0ais Kai TpiftoXois  
Kai ieiav èraXaiTrcopow ðaipópeva irv' avTov- Kai  
¿>Se KaKeiae irepirjKavnev avrà Kal avairavaiv  
avToiç ovk èèièov, Kal oXa>s ovk evcrra0ov<rav ra  
irpófiara eKelva.*

### III

1. BXsttcop ovv avrà ovra> paariyovpeva Kal  
TaXaiirwpovpeva eKvirovppv èir avTOÏs, ori ovTcos  
èfiacravlÇovTO Kal avoy^pv oXa>s ovk ei'xpv. 2. λeya>  
rç> TT0ip¿vi rçp p,er èpov \aXovvri' Kvpie, riç  
èanv ovtoç ¿ iroipriv ó ovtwç aairXayxyof Ka^  
iriKpbs Kal oXwç pii) airXayyyi^ópevos èirl rà  
irpo^ara ravra; Ovtoç, (jyrjaiv, èarl v o ayyéKos  
ttjs ripuoplaf Ík èè rà>v àyyeXMV t&v èiKaiwv  
èarl, Keipevos sè èirl Trj<j Tipioplá. 3. irapa-  
\ap.^àvei ovv tov s atroirXavapAvovi àiro tov 0eov  
Kal iropev0évTa<; rais èiriOvplais Kal àtrârais tov  
aiátvos TovTov Kal Tipwpeï avrov s, Ka0à><: a^iol  
eiai, Seivaïs Kal iroiKikais Tip,a>p^iais. 4. "H^e-  
\ov, <¿¿¿¿, Kvpie, yvwvai Tas ttolkiûms Tavras  
Tipuvp^ias,l iroTaTtai elai v. vAjcove, tæç  
TTOïKiXas fiaaànovs Kal Tipatpias- ^iWTiKai elatv  
ai {üàavoiv- TipaspovvTai yàp ol p,èv jépiais, ol sè  
vaTepyaeai v, ol èè à<r0evelais iroiKÍXais, ol 8è  
irác rj ¿KaTacTaala, oi 8e vftpiÇôpÆvoi viro àva^  
Iwv Kal èrepais iroXXaïs irpâ^eai iraa^ovres.

5. tt0XXoí yàp ÙKaTaaTaTOvvTes Tais /SovXals  
l Tàs troiKÍXas ravras Ti/iuptas L Ath., ràs voiKÍXas flairdvovs  
Tairas rip-aplas A(E).

## THE SHEPHERD, *sim. vi. ii. 6-iii. 5*

caught in the thorns and thistles. 7. These then were being pastured all entangled in the thorns and thistles, and they were very wretched, being beaten by him, and he was driving them about here and there, and gave them no rest, and those sheep had no happy time at all.

### III

1. When therefore I saw them thus beaten and miserable I grieved for them that they were being so tormented, and had no rest at all. 2. I said to the shepherd who was speaking with me: "Sir, who is this shepherd who is so pitiless and bitter, and has no compassion at all on these sheep?" "This," said he, "is the angel of punishment. He is one of the righteous angels, but is set over punishment. 3. Therefore he receives those who have wandered away from God, and walked in the lusts and deceits of this world, and punishes them, as they deserve, with various terrible punishments." 4. "I should like, sir," said I, "to know these different punishments, of what kind they are." "Hear," said he, "the different tortures and punishments. The tortures befall them in this life, for some are punished with loss, others with deprivations, others with divers illnesses, others with all unsettlement, and others are insulted by the unworthy, and suffer many other things. 5. For many have been unsettled in their

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avT&v ζTriftaXXovTai iroXXà, Kai ov8èν avTOÍç ÔXtoç irpo^wpeî. Kai Xéyovaiv éavTovç py evo-Bovadai èν raîç irpá^eaiv aiiT&v, Kai ovk àvafiaivei avr&v èiri tt/v Kapùtav, ori eir-paj;av Trovr/pà. epya, ζXX' àiritòvrai tov kv-piov. 6. orav ovv 0-Kif3G><Ti Trâay dXiiijrei, tots èpoi Trapaèlèovrai etç àyaQyv iraiSelav Kai la^v-poTTOiovvTai èν rrj Triarsi tov Kvptov Kai ràç Xowràç apipas tt)ç çioiç avT&v SovXevovai tç) KVpttp èν Kadapâ Kap8La- èàn δè peravoy-atoai, Tore àvafталvei èiri Tyv Kapèiav av-twv rà epya à eirpa^av irovypà, Kai tots 8ofàÇovai tov Θεόν, XéyovTes, oti 8iKaios KpiTys èoTi Kai úcKalms êiraOov eKaaTOS KaTa ταç Trpá^eis avrov' BovXevovffi δè Xoúttov t <S Kvpttp èν Kaôapâ KapSlal avTÚv Kai evoSovvTai èν Trâay Mt. 21,22 ; 7rpâε< avTtov, XapftâvovTCS irapà, tov Kypiov i jo. s, 22 :rçVTal òffa àv aITWVTai- Kai tots So^á^ovai tov Kvpiov, OTi, èpoi Trape^ódr/ffav, Kai ovkzti ovSèν irda^ovai t &v irovyp&v.

### IV

1. **Aéya)** avT<p' JZvpie, oti poi tovto SyXcùcrov. Ti, (ijyav, èiri^yTels; **Ei** âpa, <f>yri, Kvpie, tov avTov Xpovov fiacraviÇovTai oi Tpv<f>áivTe<ç Kai aTraTtópevoi, Saov Tpvýâtri Kai aTrarâvTai; Xeyei uof **Tov** avTov jçpôvov /SaaaviÇovTai. 2. '**EXá-**^la-TOv, <j>ripi, Kvpie, fiaaavt^ovTai? e8ei yàp

1 ày 5i . . . . «rapStç L Ath., om. A.  
2 ζKáxi&Tov, Kvpie, Baffa,viçiiivrai om. A. The Greek is reconstructed from L.

THE SHEPHERD, bim. vi. iii. §-iv. 2

*counsels and try many things*, and nothing goes well for them at all. And they say that they do not prosper in their undertaking, and it does not enter into their hearts that they have done wicked deeds, but they blame the Lord. 6. When, therefore, they have been afflicted with every affliction, then they are handed over to me, for good instruction, and are made strong in the faith of the Lord, and they serve the Lord the rest of the days of their life 'with a pure heart.' And if they repent, then it enters into their hearts, that the deeds which they did were evil, and then they glorify God saying that he is 'a righteous judge,' and that they suffered righteously, 'each according to his deeds,' and for the future they serve the Lord with a pure heart, and they prosper in all their deeds, 'receiving from the Lord all things, whatever they ask;' and then they glorify the Lord that they were handed over to me, and they no longer suffer any of the evils."

IV

1. I said to him : " Sir, tell me this also." " What more," said he, " do you ask ?" " Whether, Sir," said I, " those who live in luxury and are deceived are punished for the same time as they live in luxury and deceit ?" And he said to me : " Yes, they are punished the same time." 2. " Sir," said I, " they are punished a very short time, for those who live in



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

too? ovTco Tpvÿtovras Kai ζTriXavOavoπevovs tov  
 0eov ζTTTaTrXaáicov ftaaaviÇeaúai. 3. Xeyet por  
 "Aÿpυv el Kai ov voeis Trp [Baaáovov ttjv èinvapiv.  
 Et yàp èvóovv, cfiffpci, Kvπie, ovk àv è-rrriparriv, 'iva  
 poi Sr/Xciarp. "Akovs, <f>rjaív, àpÿoTepiov Tr/v  
 èvnapiv. 4. tt)ç Tpvÿrp Kai crtrarrp ò %póvos &pa  
 ècrrt pia' Trp Sè ;Baaáovov rj &pa rπiaKovra rjπ&v  
 àvnapiv e%ei. èàv onv πiav Tjépav rpvtprjap ri?  
 Kai àrraTr/dy, πiav Sè ypipav /3aaaviadrj, oXov  
 èviavròv ia^yei f) r^pepa tt)s /Baaáovov. oaa<j onv  
 Tjépα<j Tpvÿijari t i<ι, ToaovTov<j èvtavrovς fiaaaví-  
 Çerai. [IXeireis; onv, (fi-rjaív, ore ríjί Tpvÿrp Kai  
 átrárti'; ò %póvos éXa^iaTÓs éaTi, πj<; Sé Ti.pa>pla<;  
 Kai ftaaáovov ttoXuç.

### V

1. "Et í, <j>rjπζ, Kvπie, ov vevór/Ka oXwç irepl tov  
 Xpóvov Tj)ç; ζTraTi)^ Kai Tpvfiúς Kai fiaaáovov  
 TTqXavyé<TTepov poi irfKaxrov. 2. airoKptOei^ poi  
 Xéyei- 'H à^pocrvvrj aov irapárovó<j èaTi, Kai ov  
 QeXeis aov ttjv Kapitav Kaðapiaai Kai èovXevetv  
 t ô) 6eS>. [iXéne, cfirjaí, prpirote & j^povot; irXtjptodij  
 Kai av á<f>πcov evpeθij<:. cucove onv, (f>rjaí, Kaθ<o<j  
 ^ovAei, "va vor/ayc avTa. 3. ó Tpv^táv Kai àtra-  
 T<òpevo<! πiav r)épav Kai irpâaaav, à fiovXerai,  
 TTÓXXrjv à^poavvrjv evSéSuTat Kalov voeí Tuv irpâ^iv,  
 rjv Troteó- etç Trjvavptov èiriXavdâveTai yáp, t i irpo  
 πiá<; èirpa^ev η yàp Tpvtyr] Kai aTraTTj pvrjpas ovk  
 é^et Stà Trjv à<j>poavvrp>, §jv èvSéSvTai, rj Sè Tipiopia  
 Kai Tj /Sacravo? orav KoXXr/dy rip àvôπιðirip πiav  
 i8o

## THE SHEPHERD, *sim. vi. iv. 2-v. 3*

such luxury and forget God, ought to be punished sevenfold." 3. He said to me : " You are foolish, and do not understand the power of punishment." " No," said I, " Sir, for if I had understood it, I should not have asked you to tell me." " Listen," said he, " to the power of both. 4. The time of luxury and deceit is one hour, but the hour of punishment has the power of thirty days. If, therefore, any man live in luxury and deceit for one day, and be punished one day, the day of punishment has the power of a whole year, for a man is punished as many years as he has lived days in luxury. You see, therefore," said he, " that the time of luxury and deceit is very short, but the time of punishment is long."

### V

1. "Sir," said I, " I still do not at all understand about the time of deceit and luxury and torture ; explain it to me more clearly." 2. He answered and said to me : " Your foolishness is lasting, and you do not wish to purify your heart and to serve God. See to it," said he, " lest the time be fulfilled, and you be found still foolish. Listen, then," said he, " that you may understand it as you wish. 3. He who lives in luxury and deceit for a single day, and does what he likes, is clothed with great foolishness, and does not understand the deed which he is doing. For he forgets to-morrow what he did yesterday. For luxury and deceit have no memory, because of the foolishness which they have put on. But when punishment and torture cleave to a man for a single

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*rpiéav, pÁ^pi? èviavrov TipMpeîrai Kal fiatravi-  
 Çerar p.vrj|p,a<; yàp peyáXas è)(ei rj np,a>πía Kal rj  
 ftávavos. 4. /SatraviÇôpevoi ovv Kal riptopoí-  
 pevov oXov tov èviavrov, pvrjptívevei róre tí|ç  
 rpvyÿrp; Kal ζττείτ^ί Kal yivátaKei, ori Si avrà  
 Tráa^ei rá Trovppá. iras ovv av0pairos ó rpv<j>áv  
 Kal airaráp,evos ovra» ^aaavi^erai, bri eyçovres  
 Ço)r|v etç Oávarov íavrov irapaSeSáKaai. 5. Violai,  
 <jxr|pl, Kvpie, rpvcfiar elai /SXafiapai; Tlátra, <f>i)ái,  
 irpáÇts rpv^ij èari rá> av0páira, b èàn ^Sécoç  
 iroií)' Kal yàp ó ðfv^oXoc rá> éavrov irá0ei ro  
 iKavbv iroiáv Tpv<j>á' Kal ó poicos Kal ç pÁ0v<ros  
 Kal ô KaráXaXos Kai o y^evaTijç Kal o irXeoveKrr/s  
 Kal ô àiroffTepi)Ti)s Kal ç tovtois rà bpota  
 irottùv tí| Ibia voatp to jKavov Troiei' Tpv<f>á ovv  
 èirl ri) irpâ^ei aiiTOV. 6. avTai tráaai ai Tpv<j>al  
 fiXaftapai elai toiç bovXoi<j tov 0eov. Sià ravraç  
 ovv Taç aTraraç Trác^ovaiv oí Ttputpovpevoi Kal  
 ftaaavi^opevoi. 7. elav 8è Kal Tpv<j>al am^ovaai  
 Toùç àv0pà>irov<;' ttoXXoi yàp àyadov èpyaÇôpevoi  
 rpv^ûiTi Tlj èavT&v f)8ovp <f>epópevoi. avTrj ovv r)  
 Tpvfrr) <rvp<f>opôç; èaTi tok bovXoîç tov 0eov Kal  
 ^a)r|v 'irepiTToieîTai t^> àv0pànrtp t^ toiovtio' al èè  
 pka^epal Tpvtfial ai Trpoeiprj/iévai fia<rávov<; Kal  
 TipMpiav aÓTOîç TrepitTOtovvTar èàn bè étripiévonai  
 Kal p,t) peravo^aata-i, OávaTov èavToî<; irepiTrot-  
 ovvTai.*

### I I a p a / 3 o X t ) Ç

1. Mera ì|pÁpa<ì oXiya<; eiðov avrov etç rò  
 irebiov to avrò, oirou Kal tovñ iroiipiéva<j èmpaKeiv,

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. vi. v. 3-vii. 1

day, he is punished and tortured for a year, for punishment and torture have long memories. 4. Therefore, being tortured and punished for a whole year, he then remembers his luxury and deceit, and knows that he is suffering evil because of them. Therefore, all men who live in luxury and deceit are thus tortured, because though they have life, they have given themselves over to death." 5. "What sort of luxuries, Sir," said I, "are harmful?" "Every act which a man does with pleasure," said he, "is luxury, for even the ill-tempered man, by giving satisfaction to his own temper, lives luxuriously. And the adulterer and drunkard and evil-speaker and liar, and the covetous and the robber, and he who does such things as these gives satisfaction to his own disease; therefore he lives in luxury from his own acts. 6. All these luxuries are harmful to the servants of God. Those, therefore, who are punished and tortured suffer, because of these deceits. 7. But there are also luxuries which bring men salvation, for many who do good luxuriate and are carried away with their own pleasure. This luxury therefore is profitable to the servants of God, and brings life to such a man. But the harmful luxuries spoken of already bring them torture and punishment. But if they continue in them and do not repent, they procure death for themselves.

### Parable 7

1. After a few days I saw him in the same plain, where I had also seen the shepherds, and he said to

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*teal Xéyei poi- Ti èirifyjreis; Hápeipi, <fo>πί, Kvpie, iva ròn iroipéva ròn ripwpr)rrjv KeXevtrrp ζk rov oikov pov èÇeXÚeív, ori Xiav pie OXiftei. Aeí ere, cftipri, dXifirptai- ovrto yáp, cft-rprl, írpoaéraÇev ó evðo^oç arfyexo<; rèi rrepl crow- OéXei ydp ere rreipaabr)vai. Tí yáp, ejrrjπί, KVpie, è-rrorlrpra ovrat irovr/pón, Iva rôt áyyéXm rovrat rrapaáo0Si; 2. "A/coue, <f>7]aív ai pev ápapriái crow rroXXaí, aMC ov rocravrai, aterre r& cvyyéXat rovr cp rrapa-ðo0rjvai- ζXX' ó oikζj crow peyakas àvopias Kal apapriái eipyáaaro, Kal rraperriKpávOr) ó &ðoεoç ζ776X09 erri rois epyois avrStv Kal òià rovro eKeKevcré ere -ypónov rivà 0λi/3rjvai, iva Keuceivot peravorfcrotcri Kal Kadaplcrcwrciv èavrovç aíro irácrp; erriOvpias rov alatvo<; rovrov. orav oív pteravoi]-crcúcri Kal KaOapicrdSteri, róre árroar^crerai aíro crowl ó «77eXoç t?)ç npMtipía<j. 3. Xéyat avrai-Kvpie, el eKeivoi roiavra elpyácravro, iva iraparriKpavûy ó evðoεoç àyyeXo<s, ri èyàt èirol-rpra; 'lAWat^, c^rjcriv, oit Bvvavrai eKeívoi OXifirptai, èàn p,r) erv r] KefyaXr) rov oĭkον BXi^y}- crow yàp &Xi/3opévon εε àvàyKiQiï KaKeívoi OXifirjctovrai, everradovvrof 8è crow ovSepâav Svvavrai ÚXttyiv jfyev. 4. 'AXX lèov, cj>T)πί, Kvpie, peravevorjKacriv è^ oX»)ç Kapêlaç aiirairv. OiSa, cftiicrl, KÒyat, ori fieravevojKacriv ÔXy<; KapKiav avràiv- ràtv onv peravoovvratv ev#ùç2 ðo/teíç rá<j àpaprias àcftiicrOai; oit iravreXSvr ζXXà 8eî ròn peravoovvra ^aaavicrai ri]v éavrov -^rv^rjv Kal rarrei-vo^tpovrjaai èv rrácrri rrpâ^ei avrov la-)(ypGi<i Kal OXifirjvai èv rrácrai^ ffitfrecrri rroiKÎXaiç- Kal èàn*

1 àirb ffov LE, om. A.

2 tvûvs LE, om. A.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. vii. 1-4

me : “What more are you seeking?” “I have come here. Sir, said I, (in order that you may command the shepherd of punishment to depart from my house, because he afflicts me too much.” “You must be afflicted,” said he, “For thus,” said he, “the glorious angel enjoined concerning you. For he wishes you to be tried.” “Yes, Sir,” said I, “but what have I done so wicked, that I should be handed over to this angel?” 2. “Listen,” said he, “your sins are many, but not so great as that you should be handed over to this angel; but your family has done great iniquity and sin, and the glorious angel has become enraged at their deeds, and for this reason he commanded you to be afflicted for some time, that they also may repent and purify themselves from every lust of this world. When, therefore, they repent, and have been purified, then the angel of punishment will depart from you.” 3. I said to him : “Sir, even if they have done such things that the glorious angel is enraged, what have I done?” “They cannot,” said he, “be punished in any other way, than if you, the head of the house, be afflicted. For when you are afflicted, they also will necessarily be afflicted, but while you prosper, they cannot suffer any affliction.” 4. “But see, Sir,” said I, “they have repented with all their heart.” “I know,” said he, “myself also, that they have repented with all their heart; do you then think that the sins of those who repent are immediately forgiven? By no means; but he who repents must torture his own soul, and be humble in all his deeds and be afflicted with many divers afflictions. And if

The reason  
for the  
continued

penitent

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Eph. 3, 9  
T<sup>g</sup>s. 68, 28

vrrevèyKT) τοϛ dXi-yjreis ras èrrepf(Ofièvas avrS>, rráv-  
ra>s arrXayf(yi<rtùitrerai ó rà rrávra Kricras Kai  
èvSvnapMcras Kai lacriv riva Stíxrei avrò' 5. Kai  
rovro Trávrtiis, èàv iSp rr/v KapSiav rov fierav-  
voovvros KaOapàv^ arri) rravros rrovrijpov rrcày-  
paros. aoi 8è crvp,tj>érov ècrri Kai rôτ oĪKtp trou  
vvv OXi/3rjvai. ri Sè croi rroXXà Xéyto ;. dXifirjvai  
tre Sei, KaOàs rrhoaéra^ev ò àyyeXos Kvπίov  
èKeivos, ó rrapaSiSovs tre èfioi' Kai rovro ev^a-  
pitrrei τϛ> KVpitp, ori a^iόν tre rfyftraro rov  
rpoSyXàtcrai croi rt)V Oλi-i[riv, iva rrpoyvovs avrqv  
vrrevéyKfjs icr^opcòs. 6. Xèyto avrà' Hvpie, trv  
fier èpov yívov, Kai Svvrjcrofiai tràtrav dXitjriv  
vireveyKeiv. 'E7CÓ, cjrpfcriv, èaofiai fierà trov'  
èparrjctù Sè Kai rov àyyeXov rov ripMprjrrjV, "va  
ere èXa<j>porépo)<; Oúi]ry ιXX' oidyov •(j)ónov  
&Ki;3ri<7Ti Kai rrakiv àroKaraaradicrri eZϛ ròn  
oIkov trov. [Mvov rrapâpÆivov rarreivo^>povS>v Kai  
Xeirovpytòv r^> Kvπia> èv rracrp Kadapa KapSia,  
Kai rà reKva trov Kai o oiko<; crov, Kai rropevov èv  
rais èvroXaìs piv aïs croi èvreXXopat, Kai Svvi-  
crerai trov rj fieràvola itrxyrà Kai Kadapà élvar  
7, Kai èàv ravras <j)vXà^7)S fierà rov oikov trov,  
àrrorrr^trerai rràtra dXiyfris atro trov' Kai atro  
ràvrtov 8é, ifrt/triv, àrrorrrjttrerai OXi^rts. otroi  
èàv èv rais èvroXaìs fiov ravrais rropevd&criv.

1 Tràì'Tai . . . KaOapiv **LE**, trivrws rov fieravoovvros xaBapùs **A**

## **THE SHEPHERD,** sim. vii. 4-7

he endure the afflictions which come upon him he who 'created all things' and gave them power will have compassion in all ways upon him, and will give him some measure of healing; 5. and this in every case when he sees that the heart of the penitent is clean from every evil deed. But it is good for you and for your house, to suffer affliction now. But why do I say much to you? you must be afflicted, even as that angel of the Lord, who handed you over to me, ordained. And give the Lord thanks for this, because he deemed you worthy to show you the affliction beforehand, that in your foreknowledge you may endure it with strength." 6. I said to him: "Sir, do you be with me, and I shall be able to endure every affliction." "Yes," said he, "I will be with you, and I will also ask the angel of punishment to afflict you more lightly. But you shall be afflicted a little time and you shall be restored again to your house. Only continue humble and serving the Lord with a pure heart, both your children and your household, and walk in my commandments which I give you, and your repentance shall be able to be strong and pure. 7. And if you keep these commandments with your family all affliction shall depart from you. Yes," said he, "and affliction shall depart from all who walk in these my commandments."



# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

IL ap a/3 oXt) t; j

## I

1. ¶ESei£é poi Iréav peyáXt;v, aKeirátpvaav mòla Kal opt), Kal virò rt)V aKerrrv rrs crea; irávres èXrjXvúaaiv oi KeK\T)pevoì èv ovopan Kvpiov. 2. elarr/Kei, Sé àyyeXos Kvpiov év8o^os \iav v> ;rpXós trapa rtfv iréav, òpérravov eywv peya, Kal eKorre kXùSovs atro rfjs Ireas, Kai èrreòìðov r<à Xa&> rm aKerra^opévm virò rtjs near piKpà Se pafiðia ètreBiSov airocs, merci rrrpxyaia. 3. pera rò rrávras "Xa^eiv rà paiðla ètirpe rò Spérravov ó áyyeXos, Kal rò SévSpov ckcZvo iyiès r)V, olov Kal éupÚKeiv airó. 4. èdavpaÇov Sé éym ev èpavrm XèymV Ηωç roaovrmv KXáSrnv KCKop-pbevrmv rò SevSpov vyies caril; Xeyei poi o rroip/pv' Mi? Oaúpale, el rò δέvδpov rovvo vyies épeive roaovrmv KXázmv Korrévrnv' èàv2 Sé, <j)T)al, rrávra ið-p<j, eroi δt)Xmd^<rerai ro **n** èànv. 5. ó àyyeXos ó émδεδmKm<i rm -Kaép ras páftSovs iraKiv àrrprei avrov' Kal KaOms eKa-(3ov, ovrm Kal èKaKovvro trpós avrón, Kal eis eKaaros avrmv àrreZlòv ras páffiovs. ekápfiave Se ó ayyèKos rov Kvpiov Kal Karevóei airéis. 6. rrapá nvmv éXáp^ave rás pá/38ovs ^r; pás Kal ^e^mpmçvas ôç virò at)rós' èKeKevaev ó ayyeXos rovs ras rotavras páftóovs èmòeSmKÓras X<opls iaráveaffai. 7. erepot Sé érreδl8oaav Ifypás, ¿XX' oÍk tjaav fieftpmpevai virò at)rós' Kal rovrov

l xlyuf. . . lem m. L and probably P<sup>B</sup>ml.

l íív p<sup>B</sup>rl, lup' A, LE paraphrases.

**THE SHEPHERD**, sim. vin. i. 1-7

Parable 8

I

1. He showed me a great willow, covering plains and mountains, and under the cover of the willow-tree all had come who were called by the name of the Lord. 2. And there stood an angel of the Lord, glorious and very tall, by the side of the willow, with a great pruning-hook, and he kept cutting branches from the willow, and gave them to the people who were in the shade of the willow, and he gave them little rods about a cubit long. 3. After they had all received the little sticks the angel put down the pruning-hook, and that tree remained as sound as when I first saw it. 4. And I wondered in myself saying : How is the tree sound, when so many branches have been cut off? The shepherd said to me: "Do not wonder that this tree has remained sound, though so many branches have been cut off; but if you see everything it will be made clear to you what it is." 5. The angel who had given the sticks to the people asked them back, and as they had received so also they were called to him, and each of them gave back the sticks. And the angel of the Lord took them and looked at them. 6. From some he received the sticks dried and, as it were, moth-eaten. The angel commanded those who had given up such sticks, to stand apart. 7. And others gave up dry sticks, but they were not moth-eaten, and these he commanded

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*¿KeXeuae x<ùp'i; iaráveaPai.1 8. erepoi Sé è'ireSiSovv*  
*pp.i^ppovs' Kal ovtoi )(a>pl<; iarávovro. 9. erepoi*  
*Sé èireSiSovv ràç pafiSovs avrâtv rjp,i^r)pcv<i km*  
*èxpvaw Kal ovroi %copl<f icrravro.*  
 10. *erepoi Se eireSiSovv ràç páfiSovs avriðv*  
*yXtopas Kal a^icrp.a^ emoveras' Kal ovroi )(a>pl'i*  
*iarávovro.2 11. erepoi Se erreSíSovv ras páfiSovs*  
*to rjp.i<rv Çppàv Kal ro r/puco piépos3 xXiopón' Kal*  
*ovtoi x<opls iarávovro. 12. erepoi Sé Trpo<rè<f>epov*  
*T<iç pafiSovs avrâv rà Svo pepp t í}s páfiSov xXaipd,*  
*rò Sé rpirov ^ppón' Kal ovtoi j(a>pls iarávovro.*  
 13. *erepoi Se eTreStSouu rà Suo p,épp %rjpá, rò*  
*Sé rpirov ^¿Xaipáv Kal ovtoi ')(a>pis itrávovro.*  
 14. *erepoi Sé èireSiSovv ras páfiSovs avrwv Trapa*  
*piKpov ÓXas \*)¿Xa>pá<i, eXá^tarov Sé réov pá/3Sa>v*  
*avr&v ^ppov rjv, avrò ro aKpov a^iapa^ Se*  
*eiçov èv avraís' Kal oSroi laravro.*  
 15. *erepion Sé fjv eXá^iarov ¿¿Xeopón, rà Sé Xoirrà*  
*râv páfiStov jipir Kal ovtoi x<opt<; iarávovro.*  
 16. *erepoi Sé r/pxpvro ras pá^Sov<j yXutpa^; ^é-*  
*povre<s œç eXaftiv irapd rov àyyéXov to Sé rrXeiov*  
*pepo<i rov o^Xov roiavrav pà/3Sov<; èireSiSovv. ò*  
*Se idf/eXos èirl rovroii e-yapp Xiav Kal ovroi*  
*Xpipi; taravovro. 17. èrepot Sé èireSiSovv ràç*  
*pafiSow avrùv y^Xtiypàs Kal irapa<f>váSa<; è'voùa-a?'*  
*Kai ovroi yapa; laravro- Kal èirl rovrot; ó a7yeXoc*  
*Xiav exapi).\* 18. erepoi Sé èireSiSovv Taç paySSouç*  
*avrùv ^Xcopàç Kal irapa<j>váSa<i è^ovcTWi' ai Sé*

1 urrávfaBai P»»., iara(rSai A and so throughout this section.

2 erepoi . . . Ìarai/To, oin. ALV      2 ^épos PBerl, Olii. A.

4 èrepoi . . . ¿xápT], retranslated from LE, om. A.

**THE SHEPHERD,** *sim. vii. i. 7-18*

to stand apart. 8. And others gave up sticks half dry, and these stood apart. 9. And others gave up their sticks half dry and with cracks, and these stood apart. 10. And others gave up their sticks, green and having cracks, and these stood apart. 11. And others gave up their sticks half dry and half green, and these stood apart. 12. And others brought two-thirds of the stick green, and one-third dry, and these stood apart. 13. And others gave up two-thirds dry, and one-third green, and these stood apart. 14. And others gave up their sticks almost wholly green, but a little of their sticks was dry, just the tip, and they had cracks in them, and these stood apart. 15. And of others there was very little green and the rest of the sticks was dry, and these stood apart. 16. And others came, bearing their sticks green, as they had received them from the angel, and the greater part of the multitude gave up such sticks, and the angel rejoiced greatly over these, and these stood apart. 17. And others gave up their sticks green and with buds, and these stood apart, and over these also the angel rejoiced greatly. 18. And others gave up their sticks green and with buds,

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

irapa<l>uá8e! avTww ζ<rel KapTrov riva efw Kai Xiav iXapol yaav oc avffptoTroc ζKecvoc, ww ai pàfiëoc TocavTac evpedpaav: Kai o ayyeXos eirl Toiirorç ^yaXXiÔTo, Kai o iroip^v Xcav iXapos yv ètri tovtoçs.

### II

1. 'E/ceXevtre 8è ó ayyeXos Kvpiov aTecfxínov^ eve^drjac. Kai evex&rprav aTe<j>avoc ζcreí ζk <f>ocvcKov yeyovóre?, Kai ecTTecjjavtoae tovç ânëpas rovç ζTri8eda>K0ra<; ràç pà/8ëovç ràç eypvrra rà<; Trapa<j>vää<; Kai Kapirón riva Kai àiréXvaev avrov<; eli tou irvpyov. 2. Kai tovç aXXovs èè airecrTecXev ecf tov irvpyov, rov<j> ràç pàftëovç ràç ^Xcopàç €7Ti8ea<>«ÔTaç Kai Trapa^>vää<; emoveras, Kapirov 8è pi) è^ovaaf ràç Trapac^vääs, ëovç aUTOçç a<ppaycëa<;. 3. Ipararpov ζδè tov airròv trávTe<j> wXpv XevKov ζcreí ^tóva, oí tropevópevot, els tov Trvpyov. 4. Kai tovç tovç pá^8ov<; éiri8eda>KÓTa<; ■^Xaipár; ζ í eXafiov aireXvae, 8ouç a ζtoç i ipaTurpeov Kai a<f>paycëa<;. 5. pera to TavTa TeXécrat tov àyyeXov Xéyei rtp irocépvc- 'Eγ® vircvya' av 8è TovTovf ζTToXvaea eiç Ta rei^T?, Ka@à<>; aipós ζgtc tcç KaTOCKeiv. KaTavofjcov èè ràç pàjBëov; avT&v èircpeXm Kai oilt mç àirôXvaov eircpeXm èè KaTavóiprov. /aXfTre, /177 riç ae irapéXdp, rjyipriv, èàv èè t ζç ce irapeXòp, èyà> aùrouç ètri to 6v<rca<TTTj-pcov èoKcpà<r<o. TavTa éITrζv t ç irocépvc ciTrijXde- 6. Kai peTa to átreXdecv tov ayyeXov Xéyec poc ó TToiptfv Aá^apev irávTcov ràç pàfiëovs Kai rfiVTev- aropev auráf, ec nve<; avT&v èvivprovTat Çrprat.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. viii. i. iS-ii. 6

and the buds had, as it were, some fruit. And those men whose sticks were found thus were very joyful, and the angel rejoiced and the shepherd was very joyful over them.

### II

1. And the angel of the Lord commanded crowns to be brought, and crowns were brought, made, as it were, of palm leaves, and he crowned the men who had given up their sticks with buds and some fruit, and sent them away into the tower. 2. And he sent also the others into the tower who gave up their sticks green and with buds, but the buds without fruit, and he gave them seals. 3. And all who went into the tower had the same clothing, white as snow. 4. And he sent away those who had given up their sticks green, as they had received them, and gave them clothing and seals. 5. After the angel had finished this he said to the shepherd : of the  
“I am going away, but you shall send these within to the  
the walls, according as any is worthy to dwell there. shePhord  
But consider their sticks carefully and thus let them go, but look carefully. See to it that none pass you,” he said, “but if anyone pass you, I will test them at the altar.” When he had said this to the shepherd he departed. 6. And after the angel had departed the shepherd said to me : “Let us take the sticks of all of them, and plant them to see if some

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Xéya> avrâ' ÎZvpie, rà fyipà ravra rrtòs èvvavrai Çfprai; 7. àrroKpideis poi Xéyer Tò ÒévSpov rovro àrea ècrrl Kal <f>iXólpoov rò yevos' eav ovv <f>vrev-ffcòcri Kal piKpàv iKpáoa Xapfiàvtùai v ai pàftòoi, frj<rovrai rróXXal è^ àìiraiv eira Sè rreipàtraspev Kal vèrop avraìs rrapa^éeiv. èàv tíç avrâv òvmjOp Çijaai, avyxaprferopai avraìs' èav Sè pp Çpap, °ù% evpeffipropai èyà> àpeXrp. 8. è«éXevcre Sé poi ó rroiprp/ KaXéaai, Kaëws tíç avr&v èarâôrj. rfXdov ráypara rovipara Kal erreSiBovv ràs pàftòovs rà> iroipévr eXàpjSave Sè ó rroipyv ràs pà/3òovs Kal Karà ráypara è<j>vreaev avras Kai pera rò (ftvréIKTai vba>p avTaîç ttòXÚ rrapé^eev, ware àrrò rov vSaros pr) tpalveaffai Taç papSovç. 9. Kal pera rò rroriaai avrov Taç pá(3?)ovç; Xéyet por "Aytopev | Kal per àXiyaç r|pépas èrravéXdwpev Kal èrriaKe^-iòpeSa ras pàftòovs rrócas' ò yàp Kriaas rò òévòpov rovro OéXeì rrávras ^rjv rovs Xaftióvras eK rov SévSpou rovrov KÁaSovs. èXrriÇm Sè Kaycò, ori Xaftióvra rà pafìdia ravra iKpaàa Kal rroriaóévra vðari ^rjaovrai rò rfXeì<rov pépos avrâv.

i Tim. 2,4

### III

1. Aéyto avrâr iivpie, rò èévèpov rovro ym-  
 piaón poi ri èariv àrropovpai yàp rrepl avrov, ori  
 roaovrwv KXâZwv Korrérvtov vyiés èari rò òévòpov  
 Kal ovðèn Salverai KeKoppènov àrr' avrov- èv rovrtv  
 oðv àrropovpai. 2. "AKove, ify/pri- rò BévBpov  
 rovro rò péya rò CKerrà^ov rreSia Kal opq Kal  
 | íyafn.tr LE, om. A.

THE SHEPHERD, sim. vin., ii. 6-iii. 2

of them will be able to live." I said to him: "Sir, how can these dry things live?" 7. He answered me, and said: "This tree is a willow, and is a species tenacious of life. If then, the sticks be planted and receive a little moisture, many of them will live; but next we must try them, and water them. If any of them can live I shall rejoice with them, and if they do not live I shall not be proved careless." 8. And the shepherd commanded me to call each of them as they stood. They came, rank by rank, and gave up their sticks to the shepherd. And the shepherd took the sticks and planted them in ranks, and after planting them, poured much water round them, so that the sticks could not be seen for the water. 9. And after he had watered the sticks he said to me: "Let us go and come back after a few days, and visit all the sticks, for he who created this tree wishes all to live who received branches from this tree. And I too have hope for these sticks which have received moisture and been watered, that the greater part of them will live."

H1

1. I said to him: "Sir, tell me what this tree is. For I am perplexed about it, that although so many branches have been cut off, the tree is healthy, and nothing seems to have been cut from it; I am perplexed at this." 2. "Listen," said he, "this great tree, which covers plains and mountains and



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*rrâav rpv yr/v vópos θεων èariv ó óo0eh ειç ÓXov  
 τov Koαov ò Sè vόπο<j ovtoç vtoç 0eov èffTl  
 Kripv^0eh eh rà Trepara t j}ç yt)ç. oi Sè vito rpv  
 aKerrpv Xaol ovres ói aKÓvaavres τov Kripvy/uiTO^  
 Kai 'rriarevaavres eh avrov 3. ó Sè ayyeXoç o  
 péya<i Kai evêo^OT Mt%arçX ó è'^toi' tvjv è^ovaia  
 τovτov τov Xaov Kal διαKv/3εpvâ>v avrovrl  
 oSroç yáp eariv ó SiSouç avroh τov vόpov ειç Ταç  
 KapSlas τò>v TrtarevôvTuv èitiaKernerai ovv  
 avrov, oh eStoKev, ei âpa Teryp^Karriv avrov.  
 4. ζ8Xèir«ç Sè èfôç ÉKarrrov ràç pà/SSow ai yap  
 páfiSoi ô vόpov^ èari. fiXéireK ovv vroXXaç pà/3-  
 Souç ■fypeitùpévas, yvwπ Sè avToùç Trávra<j rovs  
 prj TTipr/aavra^ ròv vόpov Kal oy[rei évàs SKaarov  
 rpv KaroïKiaiv. 5. Xèya> avrà- Kvpce, Stari ouç  
 pèv iwreXuaev eh τov rrvpyov, ov<; 8è aol Kare-  
 Xei-\|rei>; "Oaoi, tpr/ai, rrapé^paav ròv vόpov, ôv  
 eXa^ov trap' avrov, eèç rr/v èppv éÇovatav  
 KaréXvrev avrov eh perâvoiaiv oaoi, Sè î/Si;  
 evT)πέarrjaav t & vopw Kal rerrjp'pKaaiv avrov, vito  
 rpv ièiaiv èÇovaiav eyei avrov. 6. Tiveç ovv, (fript,  
 Kvpie, eialv oi èaTerpavaipévoi Kai ειç τov irvpyov  
 vTrcyfovTes; 'Oaoi, (ftpaiv, àvTeiraXataav rà>  
 δια3ôXm Kal èvinpaav avrov, ζarecf>avo>pevoi  
 elalv • ovroi elatv oi inrèp τov vόpov iradovres-  
 7. oi Sè erepoc Kal avrai xXwpih rà<| páfibovs  
 ζTriSeSoiKÓre^ Kal TrapacpvàSa^ è^ovaas, KaptròvSè  
 pt] è-^ovaas ói vrrèp rov vόpov OXiftevρεç, pp*

l aÛTOvs OUI. A.

- o<ro< . . . flaiν retranslated front LE ; instead of ii>ÍKiiaav  
 editors usually read «aTetraXaiaar, but this is not justified by  
 the Latin (colluctati . . . vicerunt).

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. vin. iii. 2-7

all the earth, is God's law which was given to all the world. And this law is God's son preached to the ends of the earth. And those who are under its shade are nations which have heard the preaching and have believed in it. 3. And the great and glorious angell is Michael, who has power over this people and governs them ; for this is he who put the law into the hearts of those who believe. Therefore he looks after those to whom he gave it to see if they have really kept it. 4. But you see the sticks of each one, for the sticks are the law. Therefore, you see that many sticks have been made useless, and you will understand, that they are all the men who have not observed the law ; and you will see the dwelling of each one of them." 5. I said to him : " Sir, why did he send some into the tower, and left some to you?" "All those who have transgressed against the law, which they received from him, he left to my authority for repentance. But as many as were already well-pleased with the law, and have observed it, he keeps them under his own authority." 6. "Who then, Sir," said I, "are they who were crowned and went into the tower?" "All those," said he, " who wrestled with the devil and conquered him, have been crowned. These are they who suffered for the law. 7. And the others who also gave up their sticks green and having buds, but without fruit, are they who were persecuted for the law, but

1 But in Sim. ix. he is the Son of (Sod. This together with the identification of the Son with the Spirit in Sim. ix. 1 (cf. Sim. V. 5) makes it very hard to reconstruct the Christology of Hernias. On the question of Michael see W. Lueke's *licitati*, Gottingen, 1898.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

iraGovTtt; 8è pi)èè àpvi)aàpevoi rov νόπον avTWV.  
 8. οί οὐ (Xci>πά.<; e7ri8eS&><δρεç, οίαç eXaftov, aepvoì  
 Καὶ mküio i Καὶ Xlav Tropevdévre<; ἐν KaGapâ, Kapèla  
 Kai rat ἐνToXàs Κυριον ire<f>vXaK;Te<; rà èè Xoiira  
 yvcoar), òrav Karavorjao> ràç páft&ovs ravras ràç  
 7T60VT6v/xéi<aç Καὶ TreiroTiapevai;.

### IV

1. Kal pera rjépac; òXlyas jXGopev ειç τὸν  
 tottov, Kat eKaGiaev o iroiπì)v ειç rov róirov τὸν  
 àyyéXov, Kaytv 7rape<TTaGi)v avTÒ>. Καὶ Xéyei por  
 YlepiÇatirai ζ>πόXivov Kaiλ èiaKÓvei poi. irepielpo-  
 aappv a>ποXivov sk ctukkov yeyovos KaGapón.  
 2. ièwv èé pe. irepiegatapévon Καὶ eToipov ovTa τὸν  
 ùtaKoveiv avrà, K.àXei, (ftycrì, touç àvSpai;, a>v  
 eiatv ai pàfièoi irei^VTevpévai, KaTci to Tiiypa, ζ>ç  
 tíç èbtiiKe ràç pófibovs. Καὶ à,7rì]X0ov èi<; to ireSiov  
 taì èKaXecra irónTa<;' Καὶ eaTrjaav Trávres TiiypaTa  
 TiiypaTa.l 3. Xéyei avToίç- "E<aaroç ràç ζ>Siaç  
 pàftèov; eKTIxaTto Kai (J>epeTa> Trpòç pe. 4. irpât-  
 Toi è-TréioKav ol ràç fyipà<; Καὶ KeKoppévas  
 èa^pKÓTe<{, Καὶ &>ç avrai evpédiprav %-rjpaì Kai  
 KeKoppiévai, èKeXevcrev avTovv X(opi<; maGr/v ai.  
 5. eira èiréioKav ol Ta<> ^ùpà<i Kai pi) KeKoppévaf  
 t^oureç' rivèç 3è è£ airriàv èiréètoKav ràç pàfâovs

1 Καὶ òiaKÓvfi . . . j]j.ÓKlvov om. A.

2 rayp-ara rdy/xara emended in accordance with Sim. vili,  
 ii. 8. A reads iravra tí Tζy/ζara: Funi; <mends to kwtù-  
 Tu.yf.iirüi,

## THE SHEPHERD, *sim. vin. iii. 7-iv. 5*

did not suffer,<sup>1</sup> and did not deny their law. 8. And those who gave them up green, as they received them, are holy and righteous and have walked far with a pure heart, and have kept the commandments of the Lord. And the rest you will know, when I look at these sticks which have been planted and watered."

### IV

1. And after a few days he came to the place, The con- and the shepherd sat in the place of the angel, and ottbel"<sup>2</sup> I stood by him, and he said to me; "Gird your- parable self with a towel - and serve me." And I girded myself with a clean towel made of sackcloth.

2. And when he saw me girded and ready to serve him he said: "Call the men whose sticks have been planted, according to the order in which each gave his stick." And I went into the plain and called all of them, and they all stood in their stations.

3. And he said to them: "Let each pull out his own stick and bring it to me." 4. And they first gave them up who had had them dry and cut, and they were found to be still dry and cut, and he commanded them to stand apart. 5. Then they gave them up who had them dry, but not cut, and some

1 'Suffer' means 'suffer a death of martyrdom,' and the law means the Christian rule of life, not (as in the N.T.) the Jewish Law.

2 The exact meaning of *ζι^ixivov* is apparently 'made of undressed flax,' but it came to mean merely a towel.

ag toXXo '4»^rogaxa SvdmxX ami.qv %3 loy^ox  
 •aqdU^ aoi/tdi. ag ox '59x40X9 vdmyX Udsrf oqg ux io  
 4»»<ogaxa »xi9 -g •qoi.nv vrfhvi. ox SqdiL Soi.vvx3  
 iivuliffapiiv ssiaviL wJ.no ./w/toXa Sv^yatpvdviL  
 i»w tvdmxX 9g 4<04ix '7v/t3rfmdÿ3ÿ lyx tvdU%  
 amati 'lodltyrfU amati."ivdmxX smx^ioxq lOQÇjrt  
 1» avoUgydqo ano 4<j»4ix .59X4oXa aqdU% nitrfU  
 ag ox 'iioocoyX aordii ox 10 tvx ag 4t»rog9X9 -g  
 .4<OXO» SvrftoXo 5»X OX49^9X0 1»» aVoUfimtOXXU  
 ssiayii tio 'stoinoi ixa aUrftoiL 0 ag UdyXs  
 •Tjrrffj. 401J1 OX j>73 dVJ>Uj.J>3 7V7l 4»X<0Q9X9 SvdmxX  
 iautvjL 70ÍQO .SnaoX^ aj 5»r/x>iXx> '69x40X9  
 497l ivdmx^ !>no%ÿ?j AVX Io 'tno2123M'? I

## A

•stdmX  
 9J 540X '®X»t/APX V7gl »x sqdjl tisrf Sa0-L '770aUffVL.J>  
 itdmX noj.j>vx3 vtts şnoj.nn asjjsxsx) '7vj>noX3  
 j>73rfj>tXo IVX todltyrfU 4W29i4 7V70 9J 5947X 'ó00X  
 -qid^v itw ivdU^ aj 594ix 'svairfmdÿijÿ ipx svdU^  
 nVJKO^fJLS 9J 5941X •70lt3rfm>tV<p3J.03 59X49^z19c/oX  
 nokdaji. /toi. ita to /10X73 S0070 'snoiLdvx sv^vntpvdviL  
 S»x Sis 7VX Avuao^s j.r>q-na<l>vdv2L tvx SvdmxX  
 9j S941X .Svrftxt'ko swaoXs Urft tyx avxm^3iL3  
 SvdmxX /tmi/iv Ja 7oxx0JL IVJl -SvonoXs svrftvXv  
 iyx snodU^7rfU Svi. io /ivxmqsils vi.73 'g -7v/t  
 -Uffvzv /tmi.mdiL ami. vi.3rf svnsxsus Svj.qxm3g7JL3  
 Sv/i3rfrfox3x 7VX SvdUlj a<? sqoi. 'ivaUgvi.D stdmX  
 3va3X3X3 SvdmxX aqo sviqxm^3yiL3 5<ioX 'Soxii-D  
 qiLq Sm Svasrfrfoxsx tvx svdU% ag S94ix 'SvdmxX

of them gave up their sticks green and some dry and cut as it were by moth. Those then who gave them up green he commanded to stand apart, and those who had given them up dry and cut he commanded to stand with the first ones. 6. Then those gave them up who had them half dry and cracked, and many of them gave them up green and without cracks, and some green and with buds, and with fruit on the buds, as those had had who had gone crowned into the tower. But some gave them up dry and moth-eaten, and some dry but not eaten, and some remained half dry and with cracks. And he commanded each of them to stand apart, some in their own station and some apart.<sup>1</sup>

V

1. Next those gave up their sticks who had had them green but with cracks, and these all gave them up green and stood in their own station. And the shepherd rejoiced over these that all were changed and had lost their cracks. 2. And those also gave them up who had had them half green and half dry. The sticks of some of them were found quite green, of some half dry, of some dry and moth-eaten, but of some green and with buds. All these were sent each to his own station. 3. Next those gave them up who had two-thirds green and one-third dry ; many of

<sup>1</sup> This must mean that some were sent back to their original place, others were moved aside. But the text is\* obscure and probably corrupt.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*rjpi^>'lpov?, erepoi 3è £j;pàç Kal fleftptopéva?*  
*ovtoi tteÍpt íí èaTpaav eiç to iðiov Tiiypa.*  
 4. *eira èiréða>Kav oì rà Búo pζp^ fypa è^ovTe?,*  
*to 8è rpiTOV xXwpón TroXXoi é'f avTìðv r/pi^ijpov?*  
*ètréZaiKav, Tirés 8è fñjpàç Kal ^e^pa>péva?, erepot*  
*8è 7/pi^r/pov?, Kal a^iapa? e%ouaaç, oXiyoi 8è*  
*^Xtopaç ovroi Trarre? èarqaav eiç to iðiov*  
*Taypa.1* 5. *ζTréètoKav 8è oi ràç pà{38ov? avT&v*  
*j^Xaipàç èa")(T)KÔTe<;, èXa^iarov 8e £7]pov? Kal*  
*ay^iapà? èyovaa?'* *ζK tovtwv Tivè? "yKiupa?*  
*ζTréSatKav, Tire? 8è ^ζXèpàç Kal irapacjiváSa?-*  
*àirr)\dov Kal oSroi eiç to Taypa avrà>v.* 6. *erra*  
*èiréða>Kav oí èka^aTOv èy^ovre? %X(opón, rà 8è*  
*Xoitrà péprj ^7ipá- tovtwv ai páffiot evpedrjaav*  
*to TrXeíarov p.épo<; ^Kwpal Kal Trapatyvabas*  
*eyovaaí Kal Kapiròv èv Tait Trapa^vaai, Kal*  
*erepai ^Xapal oXai. èirl Tauratç Tatç pàfiðoi,s*  
*è^àpt) o Troiprvj XÍav p.eyaÀ.avf, oti ovicoç evpéOrj-*  
*aav. ÛTrrxXBov 8è ovtoi eKacTOi eiç rò Iðiov*  
*Tar/pa.*

## VI

1. *MeTa to TrávTOtv KaTavorjaat, t «ç pa/Séovs*  
*tov Ttoipéva Xéyei por EIItov croi, oti to BénBpop*  
*TOVTO <jii\ó^(oón èa-Ti. ^Xétrei<!, ipr/aí, Tróaoi*  
*peTevópcrav Kal èacôðpaav; BXe7ro>, (fiypí, Kvpie.*  
*"[va i'Syç, frrijai, ttjv TroXvevffTrXay^viav tov*  
*Kvpiov, oti peyaKi/ Kal èvðo^o<i èaTi, Kal eScoKe*  
*irvevpa toZç àfiotç ovai peTavola?. 2. Afíti i*  
*ovv, <frj)pi, Kvpie, iràvTe? ov peTevor/aav; iiv*

1 <7ra . . . Tayua retranslated from LE, om. A.

2 (tjffùk' LE, om. A.

## THE SHEPHERD, mm. vni. v. 3-vi. 2

them gave them up green, but many half-dry, and others dry and moth-eaten ; these all stood in their own station. 4. Next they gave them up who had had two-thirds dry, and one-third green. Many of them gave them up half-dry, and some dry and moth-eaten and others half-dry and with cracks, and a few green. These all stood in their own station. 5. And those gave up their sticks who had had them green, but a very little dry and with cracks. Of these some gave them up green, and some green and with buds. These also went away to their own station. 6. Next, those gave them up who had had a very little green, but the rest dry. Of these the sticks were found for the greatest part green and with buds, and fruit on the buds, and others quite green. Over these sticks the shepherd rejoiced greatly because they were found thus. And these went away each to his own station.

### VI

1. After the shepherd had looked at the sticks of **The** them all, he said to me : “ I told you that this tree **equation** is tenacious of life. Do you see,” said he, “ how many have repented and been saved ? ” “ Yes, Sir,” said I, “ *I see it.* ” “ See then,” said he, “ the mercifulness of the Lord, that it is great and glorious, and he has given liis spirit to those who are worthy of repentance.” 2. “ Why then, Sir,” said I, “ did not all



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elèe, (fulcri, rìjv Kapèiav péXXovaav Kadapàv yevéaOai Kai èovXeveiv avrai oXr/} Kapèia}, tovtoíç eSto/ce rìjv peràvoiaav a>v èè elèe rrp' èoXiortjra Kai irovppiav, peXXovroiv èv viroKpurei peravoeívn, èKeivoi} ovjc èècoKe peràvoiaav, ppirore iráXiv íβεβrjXá>a<i>cri rò òvopa avrov. 3. Xéya avrep- Kvpie, vvv ovv /404 èijXioaov rov} ràç pàfièov} èirièècùKora}, irorairo'} τίς avrcòv èari, Kai rr/v rovrtov KaroiKiav, 'iva à/covaavre} oi iritarevaavre} Kai ei'X?)^ÔTEÇ rr/v acfipayièa Kai reOXaKÓre} avrijv Kai pp rr/pÿcravre} vyir), èiri-yvóvre} rà èavrcòv èpya pevavorjcraiai, Xafióvre} virò <rov acfipayièa, Kai èo^àaaxri .rov Kvpiov, ori è<r7rXay})(viadri èie avrov} Kai àtréareiXé ere rov àvaKaiviaat rà irvevpara avrcòv. 4. 'Akovc, (fyrjaiv wv ai pciftèoi fypal Kai /3e/3paspévai viro cr^Toç evpé0iì<rav, ovroi eiatv oi àiroerràrat Kai irpoéòrai tjjç éKKXi;aiá<; Kai ^Xaa-ijjpp'paavre^

j»m. 2,7 cf. èv raíç àpapriav; avriàv rov Kvpiov, èri èè Kai èu" 48\*1C' èiraia})(yv0evreç rò ovopa Kvpiov rò èirtKXridev èir avrov};. oèroi ovv ei} reXot; àirióXovro rà> 0e&. pXéirei} èé, ori ovèè eíç avrèòv peievór/ae, Kalirep aKOvaavre} rà prjpara, à eXaXt)aa} avroii}, à eroi èvereiXàppv àirò rS>v roiovrcoy ij ^lù} àiréari}. 5. oi δè Ταç ξqpaç Kai àarprrov} èirièèetoKÓre}, Kai ovroi eyyv<j avròòv rjaav yap viroKptral Kai èièa^àn %éva} elacfiépovres Kai èK<rrpé<f>ovre<} rov} èovXous rov 0eov, pàXiara èè rovs •qpMprjKÓra}, pp à<pievre<t peravoeiv avrov}, àXXà raí} èièa^aì} raí} paipai} ireldovre} avrov}. ovroi ovv è^ovcriv èXirièa rov pevavorjaat. 6. ffXe-irei} èè iroXXov} avrcòv Kai peravevoqKora},

THE SHEPHERD, *sim. viri. vi. 2-6*

repent?" "He gave repentance to those," said he, "whose heart he saw would be pure, and would serve him with all their heart. But in whom he saw guile and wickedness, that they would repent with hypocrisy, to them he gave no repentance, lest they should again defile his name." 3. I said to him: "Sir, now therefore, explain to me those who gave up the sticks, what is the character of each and their dwelling, that when those hear who have believed and have received the seal, and have broken it, and have not kept it whole, they may recognize their own deeds, and repent, and receive a seal from you and glorify the Lord, that he had mercy on them, and sent you to renew their spirits." 4. "Listen," said he, "those whose sticks are dry and were found moth-eaten are the apostates and the betrayers of the Church, and blasphemers of the Lord in their sins; and moreover they were ashamed of 'the name of the Lord which was called over them.' These then have finally perished to God. And you see that not even one of them repented, although they heard the words which you spoke to them, which I commanded you; from such life is departed. 5. And they who gave up their sticks dry and not moth-eaten, these are also near them; for they were hypocrites, and introduced strange doctrines and corrupted the servants of God, and especially those who have sinned, not suffering them to repent, but persuading them with their foolish doctrines. These, then, have hope of repentance. 6. And you see that many of them have repented since I

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à<f> 7/ç èXàKycra1 aÙToiç ràç ei/roXa? pov Kai eri peravoycrovaiv. boot Sè ov peravor]crovaiv, àir<i>Xe<rav rpv Çwpy avrcàv. ôcroi Sè perevoiprav êl; avrûv, àyaffai èyevovro, Kai eyevero p KaroiKia avrcàv eiç rà rà rrcàra- rivés Sè «ai eiç rov itvpyov àvé^crav. /SXéirets ovv, frjjaiv, bri rj perávoia rwv àpapriâv Çwrcv è^ei, T® §e PV peravor/crai ffàvarov.

### VII

1. "Ocroi Sè ppifyjpvovs èiréSatKav Kai èv aurais cry^icrpàs eljçov, aKÔue Kai irepi avrwv. ocrov Tjcrav ai pafiboi rjpi^rjpot,<sup>2</sup> Styvxpi elai' ovre yàp fâaiiv ovre reffvyKacnv. 2. oi Se thu^ti)-povs evomes Kai èv avrai'; a^iapás, ovroi Kai Stý/rv^oi Kai KaraXaXoí eicri Kai pirjSeiروه èipT)vevovre<; civ èavrovv, àXXà SiyppffTarovvre^ irávrوره. ¿XXa Kai toutoiç, ifnjaiv, èrriKeirai perávoia. ^Xétreig, cjrjcri, rivas è^ avr&v p,era-vevoTjKoras. Kai en, jr/cnv, èariv èv avrois eKrris pÆravoias? 3. «ai ôaoi, cfrjtriv, èi; avr&v peravevoTjKaai, rr)v KaroiKiav eiç ròv rrvpyov è^ovaiiv\* oaoi Sè è^ avr&v fBpaSvrepov peravevorj-Kacriv, eis rà reiyv) KaroiKpcrovcriv ocroi Sè ov pieravooiiaiv, ¿XX' èppévovai raís irpâ^ecrtv avrStv, Ôavâr w àiroOavovvrai. 4. oi Sè ^Xojpàs èrriSe-

Mhess. s,

1 iX(Ai)<ra A, èKàKyaas L, 'nuntiatum est' E.

2 Tifil'poi LgEj aarà n> avrò rifiltfpoi A, tantummodo semiaridae Lj; Kara rii airà seems meaningless, and may be a misunderstood gloss taken into the text.

s «ai cri . . . peravoias om. L. 4 eÇovffiv-A, e^outrir LE.

## THE SHEPHERD, *sim. vin. vi. 6-vii. 4*

told them my commandments ; and they shall still repent. But as many as shall not repent have lost their lives. But as many of them as repented became good and their dwelling was within the first walls, and some of them even went up into the tower. You see then," said he, "that repentance of sins brings life, but not to repent brings death."

### VII

1. "And as many as gave them up half dry and had cracks in them ; listen also, concerning them :— They, whose sticks were half dry are the double-minded, for they are neither alive nor dead. 2. And those who had them half dry and with cracks, these are double-minded and evil speakers, and are never 'at peace among themselves,' but are always making schisms; but repentance," said he, "waits also for these. You see," said he, "that some of them have repented, and there remains," said he, "still hope of repentance in them. 3. And as many of them," said he, "as have repented, shall have their dwellings in the tower, and as many of them as have repented more slowly, shall dwell on the walls. But as many as do not repent, but remain in their deeds, shall die the death. 4. And

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ι>το<ÔΤεϚ ΤαϚ πιifiSovi avTcav /caí a-^itrpàì èyovaai,  
•trávTore ovtoi iticttoI /cal àyadol èyévovro,  
e^orreϚ Sè Ç>|X<w Ttva èv aX~X.yX.on irepl  
irparreícov /cal irepl SÓ^yi Tivóì' ζXXà irávTei  
ovtoi pcpoi elatv, èv àXXyXoïi é%ovTei ÇyXov  
irepl irpmetMv. 5. àXXà /cal ovtoi à/covaavrei  
túv èvroX&v pov, àyaOol ovres, è/cadâpiaav  
èavrovi /cal perevoycrav Ta%v. èyévero ovv y  
/carol/cyaii avr&v eli ròv irvpyov èàv Sé tu  
iraXtv èiria-Tréylry eli Tyv Si^ocrraioiav, è/cfiXy-  
Oya-erat àirò tov iriipyov /cal àiroXéaei Tyv Çcoyv  
ai/TOv. 6. y Çwy irávTcov earl twv ràì èvToXÀi  
tov /cypiov ^vXacrcróvTCùv èv Tali èvToXaîi Sè  
irepl irpa/Teícúv y irepl SÓ^yi tivoi ovk èaTiv, aXXà  
irepl pMKpodvpàai Kal irepl Tairecvo<f>povy<rea>i  
àvSpôì. èv Toûi Totoirroti oiv y ^a>y tov Kvpiov  
èv Toli Sc^oaTciTaii Sè Kal irapavópcoiì dâvaroi,

## VIII

1. Οί 3è èiriSeScûKOTeì Tai páfiSovi ypciav pζv  
XXa>pái, ypcav Sè ^ypái, ovTol elatv ol èv Tali  
irpaypaTetan èpire<f>vpp.évoi Kai p,y KoiXXa>p,voi  
Toli âyioii' Sià TOVTO to yp-cav avTÛv Çÿ, to Sè  
ypíav veKpôv èa-Ti. 2. iroX.X.ol ovv ÛKovoravréi  
pov T&v èvToXSiv perevóyaav. oaoi yovv peievo-  
yaav, y KaTotKia avrúv en tov irvpyov. Tivei  
Sè avTcòv eli TeXoc àiréaTyaav. ovtoi oúv peT/i-  
voíav ovk e^ovcriv Sià yap Tai irpaypaTeun  
avTÛv èftXaaÿpyycrav tov Kvpiov Kal àiryvÿ-  
craVTO. àird/Xeaav oSv Tyv, Çtoyv avrcàv Sià Tyv

## THE SHEPHERD, *sim. vin. vii. 4-viii. 2*

they who gave up their sticks green and with cracks, these were ever faithful and good, but had some jealousy among themselves over the first place and some question of reputation. But all these are foolish, who quarrel among themselves about the first place. 5. But these also, when they heard my commandments, because they were good, purified themselves and quickly repented ; so their dwelling was in the tower. But if any of them turn again to schism he shall be cast out from the tower, and shall lose his life. 6. Life is for all those who keep the commandments of the Lord. And in the commandments there is nothing about the first place or any question of reputation, but about man's long-suffering and humility. Among such, then, is the life of the Lord, but among the schismatic and law-breakers there is death.

### VIII

1. “ But those who gave up their sticks half-green and half-dry these are those who are concerned with business and do not cleave to the saints ; for this reason half of them is alive, and half is dead. 2. Many, then, of them, when they heard my commandments repented. As many, as repented, have their dwelling in the tower ; but some of them were apostate to the end. These then have no repentance, for because of their business they blasphemed the Lord and denied him. So they lost their life because

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Trovqpiav, f)V errpa^av. 3. TtoXXoi, Sè ε£ airoiv ζSnjrv^aai'. ovtoi en scovai pxràvoia, èàn ra)(y peravorjatoai, k m sarai avrwv η KaroiKia sis rov rrvpyov èàn Sè ftpaévrepov peravoijaa>ai, KaroiKij-aovaiv «ç ra rei^r)- èàn Sè pi) pueravo-qawai, Kai avrai arrwXsaav rrjv Çwpv avrèdv. 4. oi Sè rà évo pépy jζXiopá, rò èè rpirov ^rjpdv èiriésétOKore;, avrai eiaIV oi àpvraàpevoi rroiKìXaif àpvraeai. 5. TroXXoi ovv puerevórjaav ε£ avràv, Kai ζnrffXOov eicj rov rrvpyov KaroiKSiv rroXXoi Sè airearpaav eic réXoc rov Θεov- ovroi rò Çi)v eic; réXo; àrrióXeaav. rive; Sè è% avrwv èéiyjrv^yaav Kai èéi^oararrfaav. rovroif ovv èari peràvoia, èàn ra^v peravorjawai Kai pi) èrripeivatai raicj rjéovaís avrûv èàn Sζ èrripeivwai rais irpá^eaiv avràv, Kai ovroi Qávarov éavrotç KarepyàÇovrai.

## IX

1. Oi Sè èrriSeétoKores ràç; páfiéow; rà pèv Svo pépi) j'T/pà, rò Sè rpirov )(Ka>πόν, ovroi eiai rriaroi pèv <yeyovóre<;, irXovrrpravres Sè Kai yevopevoi evèò^oi -rapa roíc; èffveaiv vrrepTj^aviav peyáX-pv èveSvaavro Kai vyirTjXôÿpoves èyéovvro Kai Karé-Xiïrov rr)v áXrj0eiaiv Kai ovk èKÓXXi)6paav roíc éiKaiois, àXXà perà riòv èdvSiv avvé^r/aav, Kai avvi) i) óSòs -fòvrèpa avrov; èyévero- àrrò Sè tov Θεov ovk àrréarrrjaav, àXX' èvépeivav rrj rriarei, pi) èpya^ópevoi rà èpya rij; rriarew<;. 2. ttoXXoÏ ovv è^ avràtv perevórjaav, Kai èyévero rj KaroiK-pai; avrèdv èv rà -rrvpyip. 3. èrepoi Sè eic tc'Xoc pera

## THE SHEPHETID, *sim. vili. viii. 2-ix. 3*

of the wickedness which they wrought. 3. And many of them were double-minded. These have still repentance if they repent quickly, and their dwelling shall be in the tower, but if they repent more slowly they shall dwell on the walls. But if they do not repent they also have lost their life. 4. And those who gave up their sticks two-thirds green, and one-third dry, these are they who have denied with manifold denials. 5. Many of them therefore repented and- went to live in the tower. But many of them were apostates from God to the end ; these lost their life finally. And some of them were double-minded, and were schismatic, these then have repentance, if they repent quickly, and do not remain in their pleasures ; but if they continue in their deeds, these also procure death for themselves.

## IX

1, And those who gave up their sticks two-thirds dry, and one-third green, these are they who were faithful, but became rich and in honour among the heathen ; then they put on great haughtiness and became high-minded, and abandoned the truth, and did not cleave to the righteous, but lived together with the heathen, and this way pleased them better. But they were not apostates from God, but remained in the faith, without doing the works of the faith. 2. Many, then, of them repented, and their dwelling was in the tower. 3. But others lived to the end



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τ & ν ἐφ)ν&ν αvÇ&vTes Kai <i>0ei,πόρευοι Tais KεvoBo-  
φιαίς τ & ν ἐδv&ν aireaTpaav avrò tov úevov koà,  
errpa^av ràç Trpâ^eic τ & ν èûv&v. ovtoi peTa τ & ν  
èδv&ν èXoyi<r07]aav. 4. eTepoi 8è è^ avT&v  
èBiip-v^pcrav fir] èXTrlÇovTes acoffijvai 8ià Taç  
TrpâÇeK, as eTrpa^av eTepoi Bè èBiifrv^paav Kai,  
rr^iirpaTa èv éavToîs èiroi^aav. tovtois ovv tocs  
SiyIrvxfaacri Bià Tas Trpâ^eis avT&v peTavoia oti  
èaTiv ζXX' Tj peTiivoia ai>T&v Tacivi) oftreiXei  
eivai, ìva y KaroïKia avr&v yevrpai eis tov  
irvpyov τ & ν 8è pp peTavoovvTivv, ζXX iiripevovTatv  
Tais pèovaîs, o ffitivaTOS èyyvs.

## X

1. Oi 3è Tas pafiBovs èiriBeBtoKoTes )(Xa>påç,  
avTa 8è Ta aKpa Çppà Kai cr^ia'p.às e^ovTa, ovrot  
TràvTOTE àyaôol Kai ttioτοl Kai evBoçoi Trapà τç>  
Geq> èyévonTO, eXa^taror ζè è^rpMpTOv Bià pucpas  
èiridyplas Kai p,ucpà KaT aXXpXcov e%0VTes' aMC  
<iKov<ravTes p.ov τ & ν pppaTwy το TrXeîcrTov pepos  
Taxy peTevζT]aav, Kai èyéveTO 17 KaToïKia avr&v  
els tov TTvpyov. 2. Ttvès Bè è% avT&v èBt-^rv^pa-av,  
Tivès Bè Biy/ru^ijaavTes Bt,Xp<TTacriav petÇova  
eTroiTjaav. èv tovtois ovv eveaTi peTavolas eXirts,  
oti àyaGol iràvTOTE èyévonTO' BvúkoXo>s 5e tis  
avT&v àirodaveITai. 3. oi Bè ràç pafiBovs ai>T&v  
^pas èTriBeBwKOTes, èXà^ta-Tov Bè yXatpov è%ov<ras,  
ovtoi elcrtv oí irtaTevaavres povov, Ta Bè èpya ttjs  
àvoplas èpyaaâpevoi- ovBertoTe Bè ζtto tov Θεov  
iiTréaTijcav Kai το ovopa rjBéa>s èfiàaTaaav Kai eis

## THE SHEPHERD, *sim. viii. ix. 3-x. 3*

with the heathen, and were corrupted by the vain-glory of the heathen, and were apostates from God, and did the deeds of the heathen. These were reckoned with the heathen. 4. And others of them were double-minded, not hoping to be saved, because of the deeds which they had done. And others were double-minded, and made schisms among themselves. For these, then, who became double-minded because of their deeds there is still repentance, but their repentance must be speedy that their dwelling may be within the tower. But for those who do not repent, but remain in their pleasures, death is near.

### X

1. **B**ut those who gave up their sticks green, but the tips were dry and had cracks, these were always good and faithful and glorious before God, but they sinned a little because of small lusts, and had small quarrels with one another. But when they heard my word the greater part repented quickly, and their dwelling was in the tower. 2. But some of them were double-minded, and some in their double-mindedness made a greater schism. For these then there is still hope of repentance, because they were always good, and not easily shall any of them die. 3. But those who gave up their sticks dry, but with a little green, these are they who had belief only but did the deeds of wickedness; but they were never apostates from God, and they bore

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*rovi oikovs avrcàv r/Setuç vireèé^avro tovç ζουXovç  
 rov áeov. aKOVcravret; ovv ravrvv rpv perâvotav  
 àSia-ràKTùìç perezopaav, Kai, èpyà^ovrai rrâaav  
 àperrjv Kai ðiKaioavrvjv. 4. rivés Sè avraiv  
 Kai ýo/Sovvrai, l yivà><XKovre<; ràç Tpa^etç avraiv,  
 aç eirpaÇav. rovrvv ovv rrvriov rj KaroiKia «ç rov  
 rrvpyov earai.*

### XI

1. Kat pera to avvreXéaai avrov ràç eTrtXvaetç  
 iraaciiv rà>v pà/38a>v Xéyei poi- "Tiraye Kai -rrâaiv  
 Xéye, "va peravopatocriv, Kai ^paaivrai rà> dem-  
 ori o Kvpio<{ eirep>[ré pe arrXay-^viadeif rrâai  
 Sovvai rpv perâvoiaiv, Kairrep rivaiv prj dvrwv  
 àÇitov 8tà ra epya avriðv aXXà paKpôdvpos wv à  
 Kvpiof OeXeiv rpv KXr/aiv rrjv yevopéppv 8tà rov  
 vtov avrov aa>Çea-f)ai. 2. Xéyio avrtp' Kvpie,  
 èXiriÇco, on irávre's iiKovaavrei; avrà peravoi]-  
 trovai- rreidopai yàp, ori etç eKaaro<; rà cðia épya  
 èiriyvovi; Kai <f>o/3p0evi ròv 0eðv peravorjaei.  
 3. a-rrroKpideif poi Xéyer "Oaoi, <f>ycriv, è% oXr)<;  
 Kapèias avrtàv peravo-patoai Kai? Kadapiawaiv  
 tauTOV? arra rvv rrov]pià>v avrtòv roiv rrpoeim-  
 péviov Kai ppKeri ppèèv irpoadwai raìç àpapriais  
 avriðv, XipfrovTai iaav irapà rov Kvpiov rvv  
 irporepiov àpapriùv, èav pp ði-^rvx>)<TO>criv èiri

l( P<t. s, 9

1 xal <l>o0ovvrai A, aliqui vero eorum morte obierunt et  
 libenter patiuntur Lp alii vero compressi libenter patiuntur  
 L., et quidam ex iis seipsos afflixerunt E ; it is probable that  
 something has dropped out from the Greek. Funk suggests  
 «ai [xaffcîr oè] tftaPuvî-Tai. 2 neraiàiiduai Kaî LE, oui, A.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. vin. x. 3-xi. 3

the name gladly, and they gladly received into their houses the servants of God. When they heard, then, of this repentance, they repented without doubting, and are accomplishing all virtue and righteousness. 4. But some of them are also afraid, knowing the deeds which they had done. All these, then, shall have their dwelling in the tower."

### XI

1. And after he had finished the explanations of Conclusion all the sticks he said to me: "Go and tell all men to repent and live to God, for the Lord sent me in his mercy to give repentance to all, although some are not worthy because of their deeds. But the Lord, being long-suffering, wishes those who were called through his Son to be saved." 2. I said to him: "Sir, I hope that all who hear them will repent. For I am persuaded that each one who recognizes his own deeds and fears God will repent." 3. "And he answered me and said: "As many," said he, "as repent with all their hearts, and purify themselves from the wickednesses which have been mentioned before, and no longer add anything to their sins, shall receive healing from the Lord for their former sins, if they are not double-minded as

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Taiç èvroXais ravrais, Kal Çrprovrai rî> Oea>. oaoi ðe, <j>r|criv, rporr0Sxri raí<; apapriais aiirüv k m rropev0(ð(Tiv èv raw è-Ti0vpiai<; rov altavoz rovrov, Oavarcp èavrovv KaraKptvovaiv.^ 4. trù ðè rropevov èv rais èvroXaîs pov, Kai râ> Oeâr Kai ocroi àv iropevôSiaiv èv aurais Kai èpyâatùvrai òp0(òs, ^pcovrai râ> Oeâ>.i 5. ravra poi Seibas Kai XaXpaas tróvra Xéyei por Tâ ðè Xoi7rà ètriSeil^to per oXiyas ppépas-

I I a p a ß o x p 0'

### I

1. Mera rò ypcrfrai pe ràç eVroXaç Kal rrap-fioXas rov rroipevos, rov àyyéXov tt)ç peravoias, pX0e rrpôs pe Kal Xéyei por (s)éX&> croi ðeî%ai, oca aoi èèeiÇe rò rrvevpa rò ayiov rò XaXpgrav pera, croi/ èv pop(j>p rps EKKXpaia' èKeîvo yàp rò rrvevpa ó 'uioç rov Oeov èariv. 2. èrretòp yàp à(T0eve(Trepo<; rp aapKi ^ç, ovk èòpXó>0p eroi ði àyyéXov. ore ovv èveèvvapà>0i|<; ðià rov rrvev-parot Kal îa^vaaç rp j■(ryvi aov, oiare ðvvaa0al tre Kal àyyeXov iðeîv, rore pèv ovv è^>avepà>0p (Toi ðià rip; 'EKKXpaia<; p oiKoSopp rov rrvpyov KaXiô<; Kal (repvô)<; rrcivra <uç viro rrap0evov éçpaKa<:. vvv ðè virò àyyéXov ^Xérrer; ðià rov avrov pèv rrvevparos' 3. ðeî ðè ce rrap' èpov iiKpifiearepov

1 8<ro> . . . KaTaKpH'ouñfiî', retranslated from LE, om. A (qui veroadiecerint, inquit, ad delieta sua et conversati fuerint in desideriis saeculi huius, damnabunt se ad mortem L.).

† t ði . . . rtf 0f<p, retranslated from LE, om. A (et vives deo, et quicumque ambulaverint in his, et ea recte exercuerint, vivent deo L2),

to these commandments, and they shall live to God. But as many," said he, "as add to their sins, and live in the lusts of this world shall condemn themselves to death. 4. But do you walk in my commandments and you shall live to God, and as many as walk in them and do rightly, shall live to God." 5. When he had showed me these things and had told me everything, he said to me: "And the rest I will show you after a few days."

Parable 9

I

1. After I had written the commandments and parables of the shepherd, the angel of repentance, he came to me and said to me: "I wish to show you what the Holy Spirit which spoke with you in the form of the Church showed you, for that Spirit is the Son of God. 2. For since you were too weak in the flesh, it was not shown you by an angel. But when you were strengthened by the spirit, and made strong in your strength, so that you could also see an angel, then the building of the tower was shown to you by the Church. You saw all things well and holily as if from a virgin.† But now you see them from an angel, yet through the same Spirit. 3. But

† The point is that the form of the vision was accommodated to Hernias' powers. It was at first sent in the form of a human being (the emphasis is on the humanity, not on the Virginity) and afterwards when he was stronger spiritually in the form of an angel.

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*itlivra paOeiv, eis tovtō yap Kai èoóffr/v virò rov èvòó^ov àyyéXov «Ç rov oikov aov KaToiKraiai, 'iva èvvaréòs rràvra ièps, piyðev ðeΛαιινόpevos Kai tòs rò arpórepov. 4. Kai artiyayē pe eis ryv 'ApKaðiav, etç opos ri paaTÚSes Kai ζKaffiae pe ètri rò a.Kpov rov òpovs Kai èdet^é poi ireðìov peya, kvkXw tiè rov rreðìov opi) ÓcòðeKa, aXXijv Kai aXXijv ìSéav ey^ovra rò opt]. 5. to rtporrov yv peXav <àç àai3oXr]' rò Sè oevrepov yjriKón, {üorávas pi] èy(pv rò Sè TpiTov à.Kav0m> Kai rpiftokìov irXijpes' 6. rò Se réraprov ;Soràvas éy(pv •ppi^'ppov^, ra pèv èrravoi tûv fioravûV yζXa>πά, rà Se irpos rais picáis ^vpá' Tivès Se ftoravai, orav o tñXlos erri-KeKavxei, ^ppai èyivovroA 7. rò Sè Ttéprrov Òpos ey^ov fioràvas y^wpas Kai rpay(ii òv. to Sè OKTOV Òpos ay(iapS)v ôXwç eyepēv, a>v pèv piKpóðv, wv Sè peyàXwv eiy(pv Sè /Baràvas ai ayfiapa, ov Xiav Sè yaav evdaXeìs ai /3oravai, paKKov Sè ðç pepapappévai r/aav. 8. rò Sè efòðopov Òpos ely(e fioràvas iXapàs, Kai oKov rò opos evffrjvovv t)v, Kai trav yévos KTiywv Kai òpvetov epepovro eis tò opos ζKeivo' Kai ðaov èfioaKovro ra ktqvij] Kai ra irereivó, paXXov Kai paKKov ai ;3oràvai rov òpovs ζKeìvov edaXKov. rò Sè oyðoov opos TnyySiv irXripes fp>, Kai rràv yévos tt]ç Krlaews rov Kvpiov èiroTiÇovro ;k riðv TTTjyáiv rov opovs eKeìvov. 9. T0 Sè envaTov Òpos oXo>ç vòcop ovk ely^ev Kai óXov ìpi]pù>ðes rp>. eiy^e Sè èv avrtò di]pia Kai épatēra Oaváatpa ðia<f>0eìpovra avdpatrvovs- to Sè èeKarov*

1 A adda tò 8è ζpos Tp<xò Aiav Sut Ûtos Ix01'

you musi learn everything more accurately from me. For, for this reason too, I was given by the glorious angel, to live in your house, that you might see all things with power and fear nothing, as you did formerly. 4. And he took me away to Arcadia,<sup>1</sup> to a The vision  
Mountains breast-shaped mountain, and set me on top of the mountain, and showed me a great plain and round the plain twelve mountains, and each mountain had a different appearance. 5. The first was black as pitch, the second was bare without herbs, and the third was full of thorns and thistles. 6. And the fourth had half-dried herbage ; the tops of the herbs were green, but the parts by the roots were dry. And some of the herbs, when the sun had burnt them, were becoming dry. 7. And the fifth mountain had green herbs and was steep. And the sixth mountain was altogether full *of* cracks, some small and some great. And the cracks had herbage, but the herbage was not very flourishing, but rather as if it were fading. 8. And the seventh mountain had vigorous herbage, and the whole mountain was flourishing, and all kinds of cattle and birds were feeding on that mountain. And the more the cattle and birds were feeding, the more the herbage of that mountain flourished. And the eighth mountain was full of springs, and every kind of creature of the Lord was given to drink from the springs of that mountain. 9. But the ninth mountain had no water at all, and was quite desert. But it had in it wild beasts and deadly reptiles destroying men. And the tenth moun-

<sup>1</sup> Arcadia is found in all the authorities ; but it plays no further part in the story. Zahn emends to 'Aricia ; but Aricia is a village, and Monte Cavo, which might be intended, is not specially near to it



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

6poc; ei^e èèvbpa pesiara Kat, oXov KaráaKiov TjV, Kat virò rpv aKeirpv raiv SévSpaiv upó/Sara KareKeiuTo àvatravópeva kuì papvxaipeva. 10. rò Sè èvieKarov cipos Xiav avvSevSpov 'jv, Kai rà SévSpa ζKetva KaraKaptra r/v, aXXois Kai aXXois Kaptrois KeKoappéva, 'iva ièàiv rts avrà èrri-dvppap jwyeiv Ík r&v Kaptraiv avr&v. rò Sè SwSé/caroi' opos oλov pv XevKov, Kai i/ Trpòau-^riç avrov iXapà pv Kai evirpeiréararov pv èv avrà ro opos.

### II

1. Eic péaov èè rov treSiov èSeigé poi trérvav pepàXpv XevKpv Ík tov trediov àva/HefipKviav. rj Sé trérpa v^riXorépa 7)v t àv òpéav, rerpáycovos, atare èvvaadai oXov rov Koapov ^wp^aai. 2. ttaXaià 5è η> ?; trérpa ζKeivrj, TtvXrpi ζKKe-KoppÁvrjv expvtra' a>ç irpóatjiaTos 3è éSÓKei p,oi elvai tj eKKoXaifris rfjs irvX-ifi. j 3è truXri ovrais èarixftev vtrèp rov ijXiov, atare pie Oavpià^eiv ètri ríj Xapnrr;Zóvi rrjs trvXrjs. 3. kvkXio èe tt)ç ttÙX»ç eíarrjKeiaav trapdévoi 8<ζdeKa. ai onv réaaapes ai els ràç ywwaç èarr)KVÍai èvèò^órepai pot eboKOW eivaf Kai ai àXXat èè evSotfol yaav. eiarri-Keiaav Sè eis rà réaaapa pépp rijs trvXps, àv péaov avràiv àv à 8vo trapfféi oi. 4. èv&eovp.évai Sè

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. i. 9-ii 4

tain had great trees and was full of shady places, and under the shade of the trees sheep were lying resting and ruminating. 10. And the eleventh mountain was full of trees and those trees had fruit, and were each adorned with different fruits, so that whoever saw them desired to eat of their fruits. And the twelfth mountain was all white, and its appearance was joyful, and the mountain was in itself very beautiful.

### II

1. In the middle of the plain he showed me a The great great white rock, which had risen out of the plain, the'pmn and the rock was higher than the hills, four-square, so that it could hold the whole world. 2. And that rock was old, and had a door hewn out of it. But it seemed to me that the cutting of the door was recent. And the door glistened so in the sun, that I marvelled at the brightness of the door. 3. And round the door The there stood twelve maidens ; the four who stood at the 'Uldens corner, seemed to me to be the more glorious, but the others also were glorious, and they stood at the four parts of the door, each with two other maidens on each side. 4. And they were clothed in linen mantles,

fAbbAi

l The arrangement meant is' L so that the 'door'

tAbbA.I

must have been a sort of porch, cut out of the rock, and the tower was built directly above it

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*yaav Xivovs \n&va<; Kal irepie^toapévai ~p<rav |  
 eÛTrpeirwç, è£w Toùç cofioνç emoveat rovi Be^iουç &<;  
 pÀXXovaai ÿopriov ti fiacrrá^eiv. ovtoK Stoilzoi  
 rjaav Xíav yáp íXapal rjaav Kal irpódvp.oi.  
 5. pera t ó ISeiv p,e ravra édavpM^ov èν è/zaurw,  
 ori peyáXa Kal èνδο^a irpáypaTa ftXéirw. Kat  
 iráXiv èiiprópovv èjrl raïs irapffevois, ori Tpvipepal  
 ouTtoç ovaai àνèpela<; elarpKeurav &ç fiéXXovtraí  
 ÔXov ràv ovpavàn /3a<TTafetv. 6. Kal Xeyet p.ot o  
 Troip-riv Ti èν creavTtô SiaXoyi&i Kal Oia-Tropy Kal  
 aeavTfp Xinrr/v èirioTrâcrai; ôaa yàp ov èνvaai  
 vorrai, p,p èiri^elpei, ovveTcv; &v, aXX' èparra tov  
 Kvpiov, iva Xaft&v avveaiv voijs aiiTa. 7. Ta  
 OTriaw crov ibeîv ov èνvp, Ta Sè èpüirpoaOev <rov  
 /3Xéirei<;. à ovv ièeîv ov Svvatrat, èacrov, Kal pur)  
 a-TrépXov aeavTov à Sè /SAeTreiç, èKeivoov KaTa-  
 Kvpieve Kal rrepl t &v Xoittwv p,r) TreptepyàÇov  
 irávTa Sè aoi èyèò Br/Xatao), oaa àν aoi Seift>.  
 èfi^Xetre ovv roîç Xo it foîç.*

### III

1, EiSoi/ dvSpas eXvfXvdoTas v-ÿriXovs Kal  
 èv&ôi-ovs Kal opMovs ttj loia- Kal èKaXeaav  
 ttXÍj00<; ti àνèptòv. KaKeivoi Se oi èXtjXv00T6<;  
 vyfrfXol rprav dvèpe<; Kal KaXol Kal èνvaToll  
 Kal èKeXevaav aùroùç oi àνèpes oiKoè>op.eiv  
 èiravio Tfs TreTpas2 irvpyov Tivá. Tjv Sè dopvftos  
 t &v àνèp&v èKeivmv péya^ t &v eXrfXv60TO>v  
 oíKO&opÆiv tov Trvpyov &de KÛKeicre irepiTpe-

1 iffax P'''ll, om. A.

2 TTCTpas AK, irerpaí \*aí «wárw TÍly wuXtjj b.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. ii. 4—iii. 1

and were beautifully girded, and had their right shoulders outside, as if they were going to carry a load. Thus they were ready, for they were very joyful and eager. 5. After I had seen these things I wondered in myself, for I was seeing great and glorious things. And again I was perplexed at the maidens, that though they were so delicate, they stood bravely as though they would carry the whole heaven. 6. And the shepherd said to me : “ Why do you reason in yourself and are perplexed, and give yourself sorrow ? For what things you cannot comprehend,—be prudent, do not attempt them, but ask the Lord that you may receive understanding and comprehend them. 7. What is behind you you cannot see, but you see what is before you. Let go what you cannot see, and do not trouble yourself. But what you see, master that, and do not be curious about the rest, and I will explain everything to you, whatever I show you. Look then at the rest.

## HI

1. I saw six men who came, tall and glorious, The six and alike in appearance, and they summoned a mighty multitude of men, and they too who came were tall men and beautiful and strong, and the six men commanded them to build a certain tower above the rock. And there was a great throng of those men who had come to build the tower,

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

γόντων kukXio tt)ç ttÛX'ijç. 2. ai sè irapfiévoi.  
 é<rriçiváia kvkXo> Tjjs ttôXi/ç eXeyov tois àvèpàai  
 o-Treùèii' tov Tripyov olKoèop.eîa'dar ÌKtre-  
 TreTaKeiirav èè Tas yeîpas ai TrapÔévoi o>ç p,éX-  
 Xouaai ti Xap/Baveiv Trapa t&v àvèpûv. 3. oi  
 èè è^ avèpes eKeXeuov Èk [BuOoû tívos XiOovs  
 àvafiaiveiv Kai vrrâyeiv eiç rpv o'ikoèop/qv rov  
 TTvpyov. àve^Tjav èè XÍ00I èeKa rerpavtoivoi  
 Xaprhoi, p,r) XèXarop.'rjp.évoi. 4. oi Sè è£ àuèpes  
 eKÛXovv ràç TtapOéovs Kai çKeXevcrav auras tous  
 XiÛous iravras tous peXXouras els ttjv olKoèopièjv  
 vTrâyeiv rov irupyov ftaarâ^eiv Kai ètaTroptveaOai  
 èlà Tijç TrvXrp; Kai èrrièièovai Tois àvèpâtri roîç  
 péXXovai oiKoèopièiv rov irvpyov. 5. ai èè  
 trapdèvoi roii<; èeKa Xiôovs roûç irpátrovç rov<; çk  
 rov fivGov àva^óvraf èireridow aXXrxXai^ Kai  
 Kara èva XÍ0ov è/Baara^ov òp,ov.

### IV

1. Ka^wç Sè è<TTà0T]aav opov kvkXoì rrjs TruX>),  
 ouTto<; è/3à<rpaçov ai èoKovcai èvvarai eivai Kai  
 virò ràç yayvias rov Xidov vTroèèèVKVÍai rjaav. ai  
 Sè aWai eK rS) v ifXevpwv rov Xiôov vTroèèèvKeiaav  
 Kai ovTtús èfiàiTTaÇov iravraf tous XiOovs' Stà Sè  
 ri)ç ttiiXtjç èié<l>epov auTovç, KaOios èKeXev<T0i> <rav,  
 Kai èireièèouv tois àvèpàaiv els tou irvpyov  
 eKeivoi Sè e^ovTes tous Xidovç rpKoèopovv. 2. rj

*l flit om. AEL, but the addition seems to be made necessary  
 by the reference in Sim. ix. 5, 3, where these stones are  
 described as \fa.To^p.ivoi,*

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. iii. i-iv. 2

running here and there round the tower. 2. And the maidens stood round the tower, and told the men to make speed with building the tower. And the maidens held out their hands as if they were going to take something from the men. 3. And the six men commanded stones to come up from a certain deep place, and to go into the building of the tower. And there came up ten square stones, Tile ten beautiful and not hewn. 4. And the six men<sup>stones</sup> called the maidens and commanded them to take all the stones which were to come for the building of the tower, and to go through the gate, and give them to the men who were going to build the tower. 5. And the maidens put the ten stones, which first came out of the deep place, on one another, and they carried them together like a single stone.

### IV

1. And just as they had stood together round the gate, so the maidens who seemed to be strong were carrying, and they were stooping under the corners of the stone.<sup>„Üthèng</sup> But the others were stooping by the sides of the stone, and so they were carrying all the stones. And they brought them through the gate as they had been commanded, and gave them to the men in the tower, and they took the stones and went on building. 2. Now, the building of the tower

1 The meaning is that the four maidens kept to their original formation, with the four strongest at the corners, and the others in the middle of each side of the stone which they carried.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

oiKoiopr] Sé tov trvpyov èyévero ètri rrjv trérvav  
 11jv peyáXrfv Kai ztráva> rjfs trvXtfs. ■iipp.óaB'rjaav  
 ovv of ézKa Xídoi zKelvoi Kai zvétrXrjaav oXtjv 11jv  
 trérvav Kai zyéovvro zKelvoil ffepeXios t i)ç oiko-  
 èopâjs tov trvpyov t j Sé trérpa Kai y trvXtf yv ^aa-  
 TiiÇovtra oXov tov trvpyov 3. fierá Sé toÛç Sé/ra  
 XI0ovs àXXoi àvé^tfaav z k tov /3v0ov eiKorri? Xldor  
 Kai ovroi rjppoaOrfaav etç rr)v olKodofirfv tov  
 trvpyov, (3a<rra%ófiievoi virò rG>v trapdévrov Katìars  
 Kai ol trpórepoi. fierá Sè rovrov avéfirfaav Xe,  
 Kai ovroi olzoiú>? rjpfioádrj<Tav eiç rov trvpyov.  
 pera Sé rovrov erepoi avé^aav Xídoi j í, Kai  
 ovroi trávres èfiXrffhfa-av eif rrvv olKodofirv rov  
 trvpyov zyéovvro ovv arol^oi reaaapes ev rails  
 6ep.eXíois tov trvpyov? 4. Kai etravaavro e« rov  
 /3u0ov àvafraivovres' ètravaavro Sé Kal ol oIko&o-  
 fiovvres fUKpón. Kal tráXiv ètrera^av ol ávBpes  
 t z trXrfdei rov ô-^Xov eK r&v opérov trapatpépeiv  
 Xíffovs els Trjv olKoso/itfv rov trvpyov. 5. trape-  
 <( >épovT0 ovv z k trávTtnv t &v zpea>v \póais troiKiXais  
 XeXaTOfiT/fiévoi vtro r&v àv&ptòv Kal ètreSiSovro  
 tais trapffévois" ai Sé trapGévoi bie<j>epov avrov  
 Stà rjfs TrvXrfs Kal ztrebí^ovv els rr/v olKodofirjv tov  
 trvpyov. Kai orav els 11jv olKozopirfv eredTfaav ol  
 Xídoi oi troiKÍXoi, op.0101 zyéovvro XevKol Kai ras  
 'Xpóas ras troiKÍXas ifXXaaaov. 6. rives Se Xíffoi  
 éireðiðovro vtro r&v àvBpûv els 11)v olKobofijv Kal  
 ovk èyivovTo Xaptrpol, áXX' oíoi ereGffaav, roiovroi  
 Kal evpédraav ov yàp tfaav vtro tó>v trap0eva>v

1 >al MirXiaav . . . ikívov retranslated from LE, om. A.  
 ' k' A, vigiliti quinque L, quindecim E.

5 z yivuvro . . . Trvpyov retranslated from LE, om. A.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. iv. 2-6

was raised oil the great rock, and above the gate. So those ten stones were fitted in, and they filled the whole rock. And they were the foundation of the building of the tower, and the rock and the gate were supporting the xvhole tower. 3. And The 20 after the ten stones, twenty other stones came up stoliC5 out of the deep place, and these were fitted into the building of the tower and were carried by the maidens like the former stones. And after these The 35 there came up thirty-five, and these likewise were 8tnnes fitted into the tower. And after these there came The 40 up forty other stones, and all these were placed into 8t01le' the building of the tower; so there became four tiers in the foundations of the tower. 4. And they ceased to come up from the deep place, and the builders also stopped for a little. And again the The seco»i six men commanded the mass of tile multitude to induing 'e bring stones for the building of the tower from the mountains. 5. Therefore there were brought from all the mountains stones of different colours, hewn out by the men, and they were given to the maidens, and the maidens carried them through the gate and gave them over for the building of the tower. And when the various stones were put into the building they became all alike white and changed their various Colours. 6. But some stones were given by the men for the building, which did not become bright but proved to remain as they were when they were put in. For they had not been given by the maidens, and had



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

èrriSeSopèvoi ovSè 8là ri/ç ttÛXiç rrapevijveypevoi.  
 ovtoi ovv oi XIgoi àrrpeireit rjcrav èv ry oiKobopy rov  
 •rrvpyov. 7. tSorrec Sè oi et; àv8pet rovç XiGovt  
 Tovt àirperreit èv ry oiKo^opy èicéKevaav airrov  
 àp9ffjvai Kai àva^Gijvai Kara» eíçj tov iBiov Torrov,  
 oGev yve^drjca. 8. Kai Xéyovtri roîç àvèpàat  
 Totç rrapeptjrepovai roùç Xi0ovç' "OX«ç vpeit pi]  
 èrriBiSore eit ttjv oiKoSoprjv Xiffovf ridere 8e  
 avrov irapà tov -rrvpyov, ìva al irapGèvoi 8ià t»ç  
 rrvXijt rrapevéyKwaiv avrov Kai èrri8i8üaiv «ç  
 rijv o'ikoSoprjv. èàn yáp, tjtaai, 8ià t &v -(eip&v  
 t &v trapGévtùv tovtoov pi] Trapeve^d&ai 8là rij  
 rroXy;, ràç ^pôaç avT&v àXXà^ai ov SvavTac pt)  
 KOTriaTe ovv, (jtaav, els paTTjv.

### V

1. Kai èTeXècrGrj t i; Vpépa èKeivr) fj olKo8op>i,  
 ovK à-rreTeXia-Gr] 8è o Trvpyos' èpeXXe yàp tráXiv  
 è-roi.Ko8opeía-daf Kai èyévero àvo(i) t i)ç oi,Ko8op,rpj.  
 èKéXevaav Sè oi et; àvèpe<; roùç olKoèop.ovvTa'i  
 àvaxa>pij<Tai piKpov Travras Kai àvaTravôffjvaf  
 Tait Sè TrapGevov; ètreTa^av àtrà tov trvpyov  
 pi) àva^orpieraí. èSÓKet Se poi Tat trapGèvoit  
 KaTaXeXeûipôai tov <f>vXaa<reiv tov rrvpyov.  
 2. pera Sè to àva%a>pr/aaí trávTat Kai àvarrav-  
 Gijvai Xèyo> t & rroipèvv Ti ori, (ftypi, Kvpie, ov  
 avveTeXèaGr) rj oiKoèopr) tov rrvpyov; Ovttw,  
 cftijiri, ççvarai àrroreXecrdfivai o rrvpyot, èàn  
 pi; eX6p ò Kvpiot avrov Kai ioKipáar] ttjv  
 olKoSopi]v TavT)jv, ìva, èàn Tivet XiGoi o-arrpoi

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. iv. 6-v. 2

not been brought in through the door. Therefore these stones were unseemly in the building of the tower. 7. And when the six men saw the unseemly stones in the building they commanded them to be taken away and to be brought down to their own place, whence they had been taken. 8. And they said to the men who were bringing the stones in: "You must on no account put stones into the building, but put them by the side of the tower, that the maidens may bring them in through the gate, and give them over for the building. For if," said they, "they are not brought in by the hands of these maidens through the gate they cannot change their colours; do not then," said they, "labour in vain."

### V

1. And on that day the building was finished, but Th? pause the tower was not completed, for it was going to bunding be built on to, and there was a pause in the building. And the six men commanded all the builders to retire a little and rest, but they commanded the maidens not to go away from the tower. And it seemed to me that the maidens had given up looking after the tower. 2. But after they had all gone away and were resting I said to the shepherd: "Why, Sir," said I, "was the building of the tower not completed?" "The tower," said he, "cannot yet be completed unless its lord come and test this building, in order that if some stones prove to be

•y tuo 'g'i U104J                      sndir/lf • 1 • vgniyoniy^ t  
 dUay aovad o x ꞑia vox .amaadoXd3 amd^ay itmyxojt  
 at^VLYdvyJL wiLsyjj aodxid v l st! aooi ?>}} • [

## IA

•iZcr/ogo»

-70 alij. ivvUoavLvX ivgvaXda aoLn» aisxx^d  
 awli<f>3 a ꞑ iv -noLdaiL noL ꞑU1oꞑlvs^ o isaoLsL  
 -sdvjL vdv l3 'iaoaogdvJL ꞑv l aUdioil o vLmdsjLS  
 ivx 'i -ivaod loasQdv-iL iv Ud is aoLav ꞑꞑodil  
 aU ꞑꞑi3^no imxo ivx .aoLdniL aoL ꞑꞑodil aàdoffxU ivx  
 •aoLav iwUoavLVx ivLsXds aoLdniL qo l sULasgav  
 dvL o .aoLda.iL aoL ꞑꞑodil asdmLy\* .tori isLsx ivx  
 'aadvxigvxxs no 'noil oL aoL ꞑꞑi3 asidoff^U ꞑ svdsrtti  
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 -oasn 'ivUqt'av^ -g 'vLnv iot/ aoidmoL ivx 'sidax  
 'nor/ aUXnajt aUL aooavjLvay arnLnoL amLaviL idaiL  
 .amaar/iagsLOJLv aoigi aoiLOL &is ivx amasddU aixyjL  
 IVX aUi/o^oxio aUL ꞑꞑis amLOffaxUxsjLv amL amQix  
 aWL idsiL IVX 'd VLIS '3\ VLl3 'x v l is 'awUff3L3  
 70^2y i VTH3Tl3Q VL ꞑꞑl3 aoLmdjL il vi^ f "aUr/  
 -oçoxio aUL ꞑꞑl3 ao)Laoff3JLy ꞑꞑmLao x\ v 'amasi/Ud  
 -o l v\3x Ut/ IVX amLoxU^sÿvav aogaÿ aoL xs amL  
 amffix amL ivx amaagdvJL amL ivx am^do amL ivx  
 sUyniL ivx ꞑꞑvdL3JL sU l idsjL ivx 'ULnv Ut/o^oxio  
 U aiLvs il ivamaL aoLdau. noL noLnoL 'sidax  
 'ir/U<l> •f •ioLdn.jL o iv l ist/o^oxio vt/Ux  
 -3Q noaisxs o l dvL so dji .SnoLnv U^yxxxy 'aivm^sdas

## THE SHEPHERD, *sim. ix. v. a-vi. i*

rotten, he may change them, for the tower is being built according to his will." 3. "I should like, Sir," said I, "to know what is this building of the tower, and concerning the rock, and the gate, and the mountains and the maidens, and the stones which came up from the deep place, and were not hewn, but went as they were into the building. 4. And why ten stones were first laid for the foundation, then twenty, then thirty-five, then forty, and concerning the stones which went into the building, and were taken away again and put back in their own place. Give my soul rest concerning all these things, Sir, and let me know them." 5. "If," said he, "you are not found to be vainly zealous, you shall know all things. For after a few days we will come here, and you shall see the rest of what happens to this tower, and you will know all the parables accurately." 6. And after a few days we came to the place where we had sat, and he said to me : 'Let us go to the tower, for the master of the tower is coming to examine it.' And we came to the tower, and there was nobody by it at all, except only the maidens. 7. And the shepherd asked the maidens if the Lord of the tower had come. And they said that he was about to come, to examine the building.

### VI

1. *And lo*, after a little time I saw an array of many men coming, and in the middle there was

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

T4ç ùi^i/Xôç r<û *peyéOei*, ware ròn rrvpyov virepé-  
*Xeiv*. 2. *Kal oi eg âvSpei oi eli rr)v olKoSopòn*  
*è</>e<TTWTeç è>* re *Kal àpi<rrepiüv rrepieirá-*  
*rrprav per avrov, Kal riavrei oi eli rrjv oIkoSo-*  
*pyv| èpyaaàpevoi per avrov rprav Kal èrepot*  
*TroXXoi kvkXoi avrov èvdo^oi. ai Sè rrapdévoi ai*  
*rripovaai ròn rrvpyov rrpooSpapovcrai KaretyiX-*  
*rrprav avrov Kal rjp^avro èyγvç avrov rrepirrareiv*  
*kvkX<p tov rrvpyov. 3. Karevóei Sè ó àvrijp*  
*èxelvoi rt)v olKoSoprjv aKpiftüi, ware avrov Kaf)'*  
*èva Xidov \rrjXa(f>civ. Kpariüv Sé riva páfiSov rff*  
*Xetpl Karà èva Xidov rüv mKoSopiüpÀvww ervrrre.2*  
4. *Kal orav ζrráraaaev, èyéovvro avriüv rivèi*  
*péXaves wael àa^oXrj, rivèi Sè ètywπiaKÓrei, nvèi*  
*Se ax^p^àf èxovrei, rivìi Sè KoXofioi, nvèi Se*  
*ovre XevKol ovre peXaves, rivèi Sè rpaw,i Kal prj*  
*arvpywvovvrei roii èrépon Xidoii, rtvèi Sè orriXovi*  
*ttōXXovì èx^vrei' avrai r/aav ai rroiKiXiai rtòv*  
*Xldwv rüv crarrpiüv evpedévrtav eli rrjv olKoSo-*  
*pyjv. 5. èKeXevaev ovv rravrai tovtovì ζk tov*  
*rrvpyov perevejçârjvai Kal reSr/vat trapò. ròn*  
*rrvpyov Kai èrepovi èvex^pvai XiOovi Kal èp-*  
*fiXr)6fivai eli ròn rórrov avriüv. 6. Kal*  
*ζvrjpiürriaav avròn oi olKoSopovvrei, ζK rivoi*  
*Ópovi déXy èvex^rp>ai Xidovi Kal ép!3Xr)9fjvai*  
*eli ròn rórrov avriüv.34 Kal ζK pèv rüv òpécov ovk*  
*ζKeXevaev èvex^rjvai, ζK Sé tivoi rreSiov éyyvi*  
*òvroi ζKéXevaev evexO^vai^ 7. Kal ζ>pvyrj rò*

- 1 Retranslated from EL, om. A.
- 2 ÍTUWT6 LE, rpìs ÍTU7TTÈ A.
- 3 Retranslated from EL, om. A.
- 4 Retranslated from EL, om. A.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. vi. 1-7

a man so tall, that he overtopped the tower. The comine  
2. And the six men, who had been in charge of the Lwd'of  
building, were walking with him on the right hand tho'lowel  
and on the left, and all who had worked at the  
building were with him, and there were many other  
glorious beings around him. And the maidens who  
kept the tower ran to him and kissed him, and  
began to walk near him round the tower. 3. And  
that man examined the building carefully, so that  
he felt each stone, and he held a staff in his  
hand and hit each individual stone used in the  
building. 4. And when he struck, some of them  
became as black as pitch, and some rotten, and some  
with cracks, and some short, and some neither white  
nor black, and some rough and not fitting in with  
the other stones, and some with many stains. These  
were the varieties of the rotten stones which were  
found in the building. 5. Therefore he commanded  
all these to be taken away from the tower, and to  
be put beside the tower, and other stones to be  
brought and laid in their place. 6. And the  
builders asked him from which mountains he wished  
stones to be brought and laid in their place, and he  
commanded them not to be brought from the  
mountains, but he commanded them to be brought  
from a certain plain near at hand. 7. And the plain

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

treðiov, Kal evpeérjaav XIgoi Xapinpoi rerpáyaivoi, Tivèç Sè Kal crrpoyyvXoi. ocroi ðé trore %aav XiGoi èv t & rreèiro CKeivip, tráme; ijve^Gijaav Kal èia T7?ç rrvXp; è/BaanâÇovTO virò tmv irapdévoiv. 8. Kal eXaTopbrjStjaav oí rerpaiioivoi XIgoi Kal ereOr^vav el; ròn tottov tólv rjpp,éva)v ol Sè oTpoyyè/Xoi ovk èrédr/trav «ç Trjv oiKoèoppv, oti aKXppol rj<rav etç to Xaropipórp/ai ainov; Kal /3paðéa>; èyévonro. èréOpaav Sè Trapa ròn trpυov, á>; pieXXôvTcov avrSsv XaropueiaGai Kal rlderrOai eiç rpυ oiKoèoppV Xlav yàp Xap/rppol paav.

## VII

1. Tavra ovv rrvmeXécra; ó àvpp ó èvSo^oc Kal Kvpio; oXov tov trpυov tpocreKaXeaaro tov rroipÁva Kal rrapéewKev avrà Toùç Xlôov; navra; Toùç irapà tov TTpυov KeipÁvovs, tov<| aTro^e^Xr)-p,evov<! Ík tijç olKobofirp;, Kal Xéyei avTqr 2. 'Ettc-pxXw Kaffâpia-ov roùç XI0ovf tovtoiv; Kal 0è; avrov; eZç tijv olKodop,rjv tov Trpυov, tov; èvnap.évon; áppó<rat toic Xoíttoi;' tov; Sè p.rj ápp,ó-ÇovTa; pí^/rov pMKpàv à/rro tov Trpυov. 3. raina KéXevaa; tw ttoij|Ívl airpei òtto tov trpυov| puera travrav, pueB' a>v eXTjXvdei' al Sè irapOévoiv kvkXitù tov trpυov elattíKeurav Tijpovaac avriv. 4. Xèym tç) troipuévf Ilœç ovtoi ol XIÔol Svvavrat «ç Tr/v oiKoSopiTjv tov trpυov àtreXÔelv àtroèeSoKi-pMapbévoiv; àtroKpiffel; puoi Xéyer BXén-eiç, c^cri, tov; XIGov; tovtoiv;; Kvpie. 'Ey®, <f>rjai,

l Retranslated from LE, om. A.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. vi. 7-vii. 4

was quarried, and splendid square stones were found, but some were also round. And all the stones that were found in that plain were brought and carried through the door by the maidens. 8. And the square stones were hewn and put into the place of those which had been taken out, but the round stones were not put into the building, because they were hard to hew, and it took a long time ; but they were put beside the tower, as if they were going to be hewn and put into the building ; for they were very splendid.

### VII

1. When the glorious man, the Lord of all the The tower, had finished these things, he called the shepherd and gave over to him all the stones which shepherd were lying by the tower which had been taken out of the building, and said to him : 2. “ Clean these stones carefully, and put into the building of the tower those which can fit in with the rest, and throw far away from the tower those which do not fit.” 3. With these commands to the shepherd he went away from the tower, with all those with whom he had come. But the maidens stood round the tower guarding it. 4. I said to the shepherd : “ How can these stones come again into the building of the tower after they have been rejected ? ” He answered and said to me ; “ Do you see these



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

to 7rXeî<TTOV pépos rmv XíOmv rovrmv Xaropÿam Kal ftaXm «'?' ryv oiKoSopÿv, Kal áppócrovac fiera rmv Xocrrmv Xc0mv. 5. Ηωϛ, 4>ÿpi, Kÿpce, Svvavrac rrepucorrévres rðv avrov rórrov rrXÿpmaac; àrhoKpç0els Xéyei poc- "Oaoc ptKpol evpedyaovrai, els péayv ryv oÏKoSopyv /3Xÿ0ÿ<rovrai, oaoc Sé pecÇoves, ðgmrepoc re0rprovrac Kal cvÿKparyaovacv avrovs. 6. ravrá poc XaX^aaç Xéyet por "Aÿmpev k m perà ÿpépas Svo eXBmpev Kal Ka0apcampev roi><j Xí0ovs rovrovs Kal fiàXmpev avrovs ecs ryv ocKoSopyv rà ÿàp kvkXo» roi: rrvpyov rrávra Ka0apctr0ÿvac Sec, pyrrore ó Searrârys ζ{jarriva eX0rj Kal rà rreol rov rrvpyov pvrrapà evpy Kal rrpaoa^dlar/, Kal ovroc oc m,0oc ovk àrreXev<rovrac ecs ryv oÏKoSopyv rov rrvpyov, Kayw apeXÿs Só^co ecvac rrapà rçii Searrory. 7. Kal perà ÿpépas Svo yXffopev rrpàs rðv rrvpyov Kal Xéyei por Kara-voyacapev rovs Xiffovs rrâvras Kal iStopev rovs Swapévovs ecs ryv oÏKoSopyv àrreXSeîv. Xeyco avrcp- Kÿpce, Karavoÿa-mpev.

## VIII

1. Kai ápfÿipcvoc rrpSrrov rovs péXavas Karevo-ovpev Xcffovs. Kal dtoc ðk rÿs ocKoSopÿs ère0ÿaav, rotovroc Kal evpédÿaav. xac eKeXeuae avrovs o rrocpyv eK rov rrvpyov pereve^(0ÿvac Kai j(cap<T0ÿvac. 2. écra Karevôÿae rovs eyfrcopcaKoras, Kac XaPà>v eXarôpyae rroXXovs avrwv Kal ðKeXeuae ràs rrap0évovs àpac avrovs Kal ffaXecv ecs ryv ocKoSopÿv. Kal ÿpav avrovs ac rrap0evoi Kac é0ÿtcav ecs ryv oÏKoSopyv rov rrvpyov péaov. rovs

## THE SHEPHERD, *sim. ix. vii. 4-viii. 2*

stones?" said he. "Yes, Sir, I see them," said I. "I will hew," said he, "the greater part of these stones, and put them into the building, and they will fit in with the rest of the stones." 5. "How, Sir," said I, "can they fill the same room after they have been hewn?" He answered and said to me: "Those which turn out to be little will be put into the middle of the building, and such as are bigger will be put outside and will hold them together." 6. When he had said this he said to me: "Let us go, and after two days let us come and cleanse these stones and put them into the building, for everything round the tower must be cleansed lest the Master come suddenly and find it dirty round the tower and he will be angry, and these stones will not go into the building of the tower, and I shall seem to be careless before the Master." 7. And after two days we came to the tower, and he said to me: "Let us look at all the stones, and let us see which are able to come into the building." I said to him: "Sir, let us look."

### VIII

1. And when we began we first looked at the black stones, and these were found to be the same as when they were put out of the building. And the shepherd commanded them to be removed from the tower and sent away. 2. Then he looked at those which were rotten and he took and hewed many of them and commanded the maidens to take them and put them into the building, and the maidens took them and put them into the building in the middle of the tower. And the rest he commanded to

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Sè Xoiirovi eKeXevae fierà r&v fieXávatv reffrjvar Kai yàp Kai ovroi fiéXavei eupedyaa. 3. etra Karevoéi tow ràç cr^ia/iàç e%pvrai' Kai ¿K rovratv 110XXovì èXaróppae Kai eKeXevae Sta twil irapOévatv eli rr/v olKoðopi)v atreve^Oífv ar e^&repoi Sé Irédyaav, on vyiéarepoi evpétirfaav. oí Sè Xowroì Sià to irXr)00i r&v ayiafiáratv ovk r)ðvvr(f)r)aav Xaroppdrjvai' Sia ravri)v ovv ryv alñav àirefiXifirjaav àirò Tr/ç olKoðofirfi tov irvpyov. 4. eira Karevoéi rovi KoXoffovi, Kai evpéOqaav troXXol èv avroii péXavei, nvèi Sè o-^ta/zàç fieyáXai ireiroii)-Korei' Kai ÌKeXevae Kai tovtovi re&ffjai fierà r&v (iirò^epXrfpevatv. rovi Sè irepiaaeovvrai avr&v Kaóapiaai Kai Xarofinjaa<¿ eKeXevaev eli rrjv OLKoZofipv reffrjvai. al Sè nrapGévoi avrovi ápaaat eli fiéatfv Tfjv oikoðo(it)v tov rrvpyov vjpfioaa' áaffevéarepoi yàp rjaav. 5. eira Karevoei toví ypiáen XevKovi, rffilaen Sé fieXavai- Kai rróKXol avrôiv evpéffrjaav fiéXavei. eKeXevae Sé Kai tovtovi àpdffjai fierà r&v ¿Tro^e/SXrfpevatv. oí Se XoíttoÍ irávTei fjpbrijaav viro rS>v irapOévanr XevKol yàp ovrei yppoadyaa vit aÛTÛv rSjv Trapdévto eli rifv o'ikoðoprjv é^úrepoi Sè éredpaav, orí vyieíi eúpéyaav, atare ðnvaa0ai avrovi Kparelv rovi eli ro fiéaov redévrai- oXati yàp è% avriitv ovðèn ¿KoXoQdtffr]. 6. eira Karevoéi rovi rpa)(eii, Kai aKXrjpovi Kai ðXlyoi è^ avrStv aire^Xjtjftaav ðlà rò pi) ðnvaa0ai XaropTfOrfvai-aKXrfpol yàp Xiav evpéðyaav. oi Sè Xoitol avràtv eXarofiTffjftaav Kai tfptfqaav virò r&v irapffévav Kai eli péaifv ryv o'ikoðoprjv rov irvpyov ■jpp.óad'r)-

**THE SHEPHERD,** sim. ix. vili. 2-6

be put with the black ones, for these also were found to be black. 3. Then he began to look at those which had cracks, and of these he hewed many, and commanded them to be brought back by the maidens into the building. But they were put on the outside because they were found to be stronger. But the rest could not be hewn because of the number of the cracks. For this cause, therefore, they were thrown away from the building of the tower. 4. Then he began to look at those which were short, and many among them were found black, and some with great cracks, and he commanded these also to be put with the rejected. But the majority of them he cleaned and hewed and commanded to be put into the building. And the maidens took them, and fitted them into the middle of the building of the tower, for they were too weak. 5. Then he began to look at those which were half white, and half black, and many of them were found to be black, and these also he commanded to be put away with the rejected. But the rest were all taken up by the maidens, for they were white and were fitted by the maidens themselves into the building. And they were put on the outside because they were found to be sound, so that they could support those that were put in the middle, for in no way were they too short. 6. Then he began to look at those which were hard and difficult, and a few of them were rejected, because they could not be hewn, for they proved to be very hard. But the rest of them were hewn, and were taken by the maidens and fitted into the middle of the building of the

*lie* to endure the strain of the outside.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

trav àtrffevetnepoi yàp ÿaav. 7. eira Karevoei  
 τοῦς ἐ^ovrai rovi inríXovi, Kal ζk τοvτιῦν eXá-  
 Xitroi épeXáviytrav Kal aTre^Xrjdrjaav irpòdi rovi  
 Xotirovi. ol Sè Trepiaaeiiovrei Xapirpol Kal ùyieîçl  
 evpédprprav Kal ovtoi rjppóaðriaav viro rtáv  
 Trapdévcùv eli rr/v olKoSopr/v, èrtinepoi 8è ere&rprav  
 ètà rijv IcrxypÓTriTa avrtàv.

### IX

1. Erra rfxde Karavofftraì rovi XevKOVì Kal  
 arpoyyvXovi Xi&ovi Kal Xéyei poi' Ti rroioyvev  
 ■repl rovrtoν rà>v XiOtav; Ti, tjyrjpi, èyto yivtàaKto,  
 Kvpie; OùSèi> ovv èrrivoèi rrepl avrwv; 2. 'ILyìð,  
 tjvrjpi, KVpie, ravrijv rrjv ré)(yr)v ovk èxto, ov8è  
 Xarópoi elpl ovBè Bvvpai voffaat. Où fiXerren  
 avrovi, tjrrjtri, Xiav arpoyyvXovi avrai; Kal èàv  
 avrovç deXrfrta rerpaytàvovi Troifiaai, iroXv Sei àir  
 avrtàv avoKoirijvai' Sei 8è avTtàn avayKtjt  
 nvà<i eiç tt)v olKoðopr)v redrjvai. 3. Et o&v,  
 Kvpie, àvàyKT) ζari, ri creavròn ftatravi^eis Kal ovk  
 èKXéyeit; eiv ryv olKoBopr/v ov<; OéXeìs Kal àppó^ei<;  
 eiç avrijv; è^eXé^aro è^ avrtàv rov; pei^ovai Kai  
 XapTrpouì Kal èXaróprprev avrovç- ai 8è irapðéovi  
 àpaaai rjppoaav eli rà è^tàrepa pépi) rrji oikoBo-  
 prji. 4. oi 8è Xoittol oi rrepitraevaavrei r/pOriaav  
 Kal à>reréfh)trav eli rò ireBlov, odev T/vexOijaav  
 ovk aTre^XrjGfjoav 8é, "Ori, tjyrjcri, Xeiirei rS> rrvpytp  
 eri piKpòn olKoBoprjdijvai. rrávrai2 Se déXeì ó

1 ùytfis L, ζKtívoi A, om. E.

8 iracas A (probably, but it is difficult to read), 'forsitan'  
 L which in Sim. vii. 4 seems to represent várrus.

tower ; for they were too weak. 7. Then lie began to look at those which had stains, and of these a very few were turned black, and were rejected with the rest, but most of them were found to be bright and sound, and these were fitted by the maidens into the building, but they were put on the outside because of their strength.

## IX

1. Next he came to look at the white and round stones, and said to me : “ What do we do with these stones ? ” “ How should I know, Sir ? ” said I. “ Then do you not notice anything about them ? ” 2. “ I, Sir,” said I, “ have not this art, I am neither a stone-cutter, nor can I understand. ” “ Do you not see,” said he, “ that they are very round, and if I wish to make them square, a great deal must be cut away from them ? Yet some of them must of necessity be put into the building. ” 3. “ If then, Sir,” said I, “ it is necessary, why do you worry yourself, and not choose for the building those which you wish and fit them into it ? ” He chose out from them the largest and bright ones and hewed them, and the maidens took and fitted them into the outside of the building. 4. And the rest which remained over were taken up and put back into the plain from which they had been brought. But they were not rejected, “ Because,” said he, “ there remains still a little to be

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*ζιcottott/s tov rrvpyov rovrov; ápp-oirByvai rovi Xidouç eiç TT)v oiKoSofiyv, orí Xafirrhoi euri Xiav. 5. eKXydyaaB Se yvvaucei SdSeKa, eveiSéirrarai rí> ^apaKTfjpi, fiéXava èvSeSvpévai, mpieÇatr-pévai Kai è^to tous wvxouç eypvirail Kai Tas rpi-ycn XeXvfiévar èèoKopaav Sé jioi ai yvvaíKei avrai áypiai eivai. ζKeXevae Sè aùràç ó rroifiyv àpai rovi Xiffovi tous àiro/3e/3Xrifiévovi ζK ryi olKoSofiyi Kai àrreyKeív aùrovç eiç rà opy, oúev Kai yvé^dyaav. 6. ai Sè iXapal ypav Kai àpvvey-Kav rràvrai rovi Xiffovi Kai effrycav, S0ev èXytpôy-crav. Kai fierà rà àpdrfvai navrai tous Xidovi Kai firyçéri Keiadaí Xiôov kvkXio rov irvpyov, Xéyei fioi ó rroifirpr ifvKXà><r<oliev rov irvpyov Kai İZtofiev, prf ri eXárrafiá ècrnv èv avrà. Kai ζKwcXevov eyà» fier avrov. 7. ièàtv Sè ó iroi/ipy rov rrvpyov evirpetrrf livra ry oiKoSofiy Xlav iXapôf Tfν ô yàp rrvpyo<; ovrotç yv (ζKoSop/rffievos, &<rre fie ISôvra èrriÔvfiéiv ryv o'iKoSopifv avrov- ovra> yàp yv <ζKoSofiTffiévo<;, à>aàv évó<j XÍGov fïy è^titv fiiav àppoyyv èv éavrâ. èiftaivero Sè ó XlOo^ wç e/c tt)ç irèpa<; éKKeKÓXap,fiévo<j- povoXtôo^ yàp poi èSoKei elvai.*

### X

1. KÓ7ζ> rrepirrarStv fier' avrov iXapàs yfiyv roiavra àyaffà fiXeiriav. Xéyei Sé fioi ó rroifirfv- "Trraye Kai ij>épe auftearov Kai oarpaKov Xerrov, iva rovi rvrrovi r&v Xidinv rà>v rfppeviouv Kai

| Retranslated from LE, om. A.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. ix. 4-x. i

built of the tower, and the master of the tower wishes that all these stones should be fitted into the building because they are very bright. 5. And there were called twelve women, very beautiful to look at, clothed in black, girded, and their shoulders bare, and their hair loose. And these women looked to me to be cruel. And the shepherd commanded them to take the stones which were rejected from the building, and take them back to the mountains, from which also they had been brought. 6. And they were glad and took them up, and took away all the stones, and put them whence they had been taken. And after all the stones had been taken up, and there no longer remained a stone round the tower, the shepherd said to me: "Let us go round the tower and see if there is any defect in it." And I went round it with him. 7. And when the shepherd saw that the tower was beautifully built, he was very joyful; for the tower was so built that when I saw it, I envied its building, for it was so built, as if it were all one stone, without a single joint in it, and the stone appeared as if it had been hewn out of a rock, for it seemed to me to be a single stone.

1. And I also walked with him and was glad when I saw such good things. And the shepherd of the ° said to me: "Go and bring lime and a light clay, that I may fill up the marks of the stones<sup>1</sup> which have the tower

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the meaning is that the holes left in the ground where stones had been taken out were to be filled up and levelled.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*eîç rij/v oîKoSopr/v ftefiXppevwwl àvarrxrjptàaaï' èeî  
yàp τov rrvpyov rà kvkXtû rràvra ôpaXà yevéaQai.  
2. ical ζTroír/aa Kaffibs è/céXevcre, Kal rpeyKa rpos  
avrón. "Tnr/pérei poi, (jtriai, Kal éyyvs τo  
epyov reXeaOr/aerai. èirXripa>aev onv rouç  
TVITOVC TÔ>V XIOTOV T&V 61ç T7]V OlKoàoprjV  
ÛTreXrjXvdÔTiov Kal ζKeXevae aapa>Ofjvai rà kvkX<p  
τov rrvpyov Kal Kaðapà yevéaOai' 3. ai Sè  
rrapθévoi Xa^ovaai aâpovs èaaptoaav Kal iràvra  
rà Koirpta rjav ζK τov rrvpyov Kal êppavav vðo>p,  
Kal èyéiero θ rorros iXapàs Kal evrrperréararos  
τov rrvpyov. 4. Xéyei poi ó rroiprjv liàvra,  
<prjái, KÉKaθápTai' eáv eX0-r] ó Kvpios èrriaKe-  
■\paaθai τov rrvpyov, ovk eyei rjív ovðén pép-  
■ylraadat. Taura eirrwv ijffeXev inráyeiv. 5. èyì>  
ðè éireXa;SópTjv avrov ττ]ί rnípat Kal yp^áprjv  
avrov opKiÇeiv Kara τov Kvpiov, 'iva futí eiriKva-rj,  
à efieiÇé poi. Xeyei poi. MiKpov éX<o aKaípe-  
Gijvai Kal rróvra aoi ζ'jriXua-iv cK^e^aí pe ζ>ðe,  
«o>j ép%opai. G. Xéya> avrà- Ìlvpte, povos iðv  
a>ðe èyàì ri Trov/prá»; Ovκ ei, <f>r<ni, povo<r ai  
yàp trapðévoi avrai pera aov eiaì. Tiapâài  
onv, (jtripí, aurais pe. vpoaKaXeirai aínas o  
iroipr/v Kal Xiyei aurais' HapanSepai vpív  
TOVTov ea>s epappai' Kal airfjXtiev. 7. èyio èè  
rjppv póvos perà rà>v rrapðévivv ijaav Sè iXa-  
piórepai Kal rpos èpè eu ei^ov- páXiara Sè ai  
réaaapes ai èvSoÇorepai aiiTÚv.*

| rip7f.itvww . . . /3éj8À7|u<Pa>p LE,  
 KOI A.

fis T7/P ol/ep5üju/r

## THE SHEPHERD, *sim. ix. x. i-7*

been taken up, and put into the building. For all the ground round the tower must be level." 2. And I did as he commanded and brought them to him. "Serve me," said he, "and the work will soon be completed." So he filled up the marks of the stones which had gone into the building, and commanded all round the tower to be swept, and be made clean. 3. And the maidens took brooms and swept, and they took away all the dirt from the tower and sprinkled water, and the place of the tower became joyful and very beautiful. 4. The shepherd said to me : "Everything," said he, "has been made clean. If the lord come to visit the tower, he has nothing with which to blame us." When he had said this he wished to go away. 5. But I took him by his wallet, and began to adjure him by the Lord to explain to me what he had shown me. He said to me : "I am busy for a little and then I will explain everything to you. Wait for me here till I come." 6. I said to him : "Sir, what shall I do here alone?" "You are not alone," he said, "for these maidens are here with you." "Give me then," said I, "into their charge." The shepherd called them and said to them : "I entrust him to you till I come," and he went away. 7. And I was alone with the maidens, and they were merry and gracious towards me, especially the four more glorious of them.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### XI

1. Aέyoiw poi ai rrapffévoi- zrfpepov o rroiϱpρ &δe ovk épierai. Tí ovv, <f>r]πί, rroi^ato èy&; Mé^πτς ò\ré, <f>aaly, rrepipeivov avróv Kai èàn eXOp, XaXtfa-ei perà aov, èàn δè prj èXdp, peveis pe0' ■ppòtv &δe ecaç ep%erai. 2. Xéyro avrai?- 'F.KÒé^opai avróv <cbç δ^έ- èàn δè pi] eX0y, àrreXevaopai eiç ròv oĩkov Kal rrepoi èrravr]^a>. al δè aKOKpideicrai Xéyoval poi- Hpiv rrapeSófh)?- ov Bvvaai àtf>' ijpwv àva^oip^ai. 3. Iiov ovv, 4>r]πί, pev&; Me# r)p&v, <j>aai, Koiprj0r]ap &? àèXcjíó?, Kal ov^ cbç àvÿp- rjpérepo? yàp àδeX<j>ò? ei, Kai rov Xoirrov peXXopev perà aov KaroiKeiv Xiav yáp ae àyarr&pev. èyà> δè r/a-^vvop-qv per avr&v péveiv. 4. Kal rj SoKovaa rrpτόri) avréði eivai ij]ξaró pe Kara^iXelv Kal rreprnrXeKeaOat. al Sè aXXat ópüaai èKeivijv rreptrrXeKopévijv poi Kai avrai -pp^avró pe Kara<f>iXeiv Kal rrepiàyetv KVKXtp rov rrvpyov Kal iralÇeiv per èpov. 5. Kayàì (oaei vea>re^o<; èyeyóveiv Kal rj;p^ápt]v Kal àùròç rraiÇeiv per avr&v- ai pèv yàp è-^ópevov, al Sè i>p-Xovvro, ai Sè pδov èyà> Sè aiyr/v e^a>v per avr&v kvkXçp rov rrvpyov rrepierrdrovv Kal iXapàs r]pi]v per avr&v. 6. ò->jrla<; Sè yevopévrjs rjδeXov el? rov oiKov viráyeiv al Sè ovk àcf>f]Kav, àXXà Karé-aX^v Kal èpeiva per avr&v rijv vvKra Kal eKOipr]0r]v rrapà ròv rrvpyov. 7. earpeoaav yàp ai rrapffévoi rov? Xivovv %tr&va<i èavr&v -)(apal Kal epe aveKXivav elç rò péaov avr&v, Kal ovδèν oXcos erroiovv ei pi) rrhoarjv^ovro- Kay& per' avr&v

## XI

1. The maidens said to me : “ To-day the shepherd <sup>H«rma<</sup> is not coming here. “ What then, <sup>Beay@ ^ich</sup> said I, ( < snail I <sup>the Maidens</sup> do?” “ Wait for him,” said they, “ until the evening, and if he come he will speak with you ; and if he come not you shall remain here with us until he come.” 2. I said to them : “ I will wait for him till evening, but if he come not I will go away home and return in the morning.” But they answered and said to me : “ You were given to our charge ; you cannot go away from us.” 3. “ Where shall I stay then? ” said I. “ You shall sleep with us,” said they, “ as a brother and not as a husband, for you are our brother and for the future we are going to live with you, for we love you greatly.” But I was ashamed to stay with them. 4. And she who seemed to be the first of them began to kiss and embrace me, and the others seeing her embracing me began to kiss me themselves, and to lead me round the tower, and to play with me. 5. I, too, had, as it were, become young again, and began to play with them myself, for some were dancing, others were gavotting, others were singing, and I walked in silence with them round the tower, and was merry with them. 6. But when evening came I wished to go home but they did not let me go, but kept me, and I stayed the night with them and slept by the tower. 7. For the maidens spread their linen tunics on the ground, and they made me lie down in the midst of them, and they did nothing else but pray, and I also prayed with

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

rèSiaXeîTTTtwç rrpørTrpjy/opvp) Kai ovk eXaaaov  
 çKeivtov. icat fyaipov al rrap0évot ovrto pov  
 rrpotreropévov. Kai épetva çKei pégypt τ<sup>^</sup>ς avpiov  
 «ος &πα<; èv répas pera rtòv rrap0evov. 8. eira  
 rrapfjv ó rroipr/v, Kai Xéyet rais rrap0évois- M?;  
 riva ài)Tto vftptv irerrotr/Kare; 'Epatra, ijtaçiv,  
 avrov. Xéyat avrà- Kvpte, ev<j>pàv07)v per  
 avrtov peivas. Tí, (ftipriv, èèirrvjrcras; 'ESei-  
 7Ti<sup>^</sup>7<ra, <jjripl, Kvpte, prjpara Kvpiov oXijv rr)  
 vvKTa. KaXwç, iftupriv, eXaftón tre; Nai, <frrjpi,  
 Kvpte. 9. Nw, ftrjtri, ri OeXeîs rrpτοrov ÛKovaat;  
 Kafftos, (itypi, Kvpie, àrr' àp<sup>^</sup>r/s èèet<sup>^</sup>as- épàtròt  
 ae, Kvpte, iva, Ka0às av tre èrreptorrpito, ovrto poi  
 Kai èr]Xto<TTjS. Ka0tos /BovXeî, frjiriv, ovrto trot  
 Kai ètriXvffto, Kai ovδέν aXtoç àrroKpv-<sup>^</sup>rto atro <rov.

## XII

1. npwTO!, ifi]pi, rràvTtov, Kvpte, rovvo poi  
 8>Xto<rov i) rrérpa Kai r) ttvXt] ris èariv; 'H  
 irérpa, iftiitriv, avrt) Kai 17 ttvXt; o vtos rov 0eov  
 èari. IIwç, <f>Tjpi, Kvpie, rj rrérpa rrdXatà èariv,  
 r) sè rrvXrì Kaivq; "ÀKOve, <f>-r]<Ti, Kai crvvie, àavvere.  
 2. ó pèv v'tòs rov 0eoi> rràcrjs rip Kriaetos avrov  
 rrpoyevéareoós èanv, Stare avp<sup>^</sup>ovXov avrov  
 yevéa0ai rat rrapri rrjs Kriaetos avrov- èia rovvo  
 Kai rraXaià rj rrérpa.l 'H sè rrvXrj èttari KaiVTj,  
 (ftripi, Kvpte; 3. "Ori, iftrjaiv, èrr èa-yartov rStv  
 ppepStv rrjs avvreXeias cftavepòs èyévero, Stà rovvo

Prov. 8,  
27"30

l itaKaià ij irérpa Piini TraÀaiós ieri A, uni, L,

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xi. 7-xii. 3

them unceasingly and not less than they, and the maidens rejoiced when I was praying thus, and I stayed there until the morrow until the second hour with the maidens. 8. Then the shepherd came and said to the maidens: "Have you done him any despite?" "Ask him," said they. I said to him: "Sir, I rejoiced at remaining with them." "On what," said he, "did you sup?" "I supped, Sir," said I, "on the words of the Lord the whole night." "Did they receive you well?" said he, "Yes, Sir," said I. 9. "Now," said he, "what do you wish to hear first?" "Even as, Sir," said I, "you showed me from the beginning; I ask you, Sir, to declare things to me even as I ask them of you." "Even as you desire," said he, "so I will interpret to you, and hide from you nothing at all."

## XII

1. "First of all, Sir," said I, "tell me this: What The ex- is the rock and the door?" "This rock and the oMhc™ door," said he, "is the Son of God." "How is it," said I, "Sir, that the rock is old, but the gate is new?" "Listen," said he, "and understand, foolish man. 2. The Son of God is older than all his creation, so that he was the counsellor of his Creation to the Father, therefore the rock is also old." "But why is the gate new, Sir?" said I. 3. "Because," said he, "He was manifested in the last days of the end!

1 The Greek means 'the consummation,' the time when this age or world-period is finished, and a new age will begin. (Cf. Mt. 13, 40.)

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Kaivy èyèveTo 17 irvXy, iva ói peXXovreç ató^eaOai  
aÛT^ç eiç Tyv fiaeriXeíav elaéXôoiai tov Oeov.*

Jo. 3, of.  
Me. 9, 47 ;  
10, 28-25 ;  
Mí 5, 20 ;  
7, 21 ; 18, 8

4. eídeç, <jjy<rív, rouç Xl0ov<; tovç Sià tt?ç ttuXi/ç  
eicreX^Xu^oraç etç Tyv oíKoèopyv tov Trvpyov  
fiefl'Kypévon';<sup>1</sup> tovç; ùè py el<TeXyXv0oTa<; ttoXiv  
aTro^e^Kypevon; etç tov fàcov tottov; Elèov, <f>yprí,  
Kvpte. OvTto, <j>y<rív, Tyv fiaatXeíav tov Oeov

ovSeh eitreXevtreTai, el py Xáftoi to óvopa to  
ayioi^ avTov. 5. èàn yàp eiç iroXiv 0e\ycrri^ eioreX-  
0eiv Ttva KaKeívy y wóXw TrepiteTei^tcrpévy KVKktp  
Kai píav é%ei TrvXyv, Imjtí èvvy eiç eKetvyn Tyv  
irokiv elaékOeiv, el py èià t?ç ítÛXtjç i?ç e%ei;  
Πωç yàp, <f>rjprí, Kvpie, èvvarai yevéaOai àXXcoç;

Eî onv eh Tyv ttoKiv on èvvy elaeXOelv el  
py èià tjç TrvXyç ^Xet^ ovto>, ipyai, Kai  
eh Tyv OaaiXelav tov Oeov aXX®ç eureXOelv  
on SvvaTac àvOpanros el py èià tov ovopa-  
toç tov víov aiiTov tov yyarrypevon vrr avTov.

Jo. 3, 5

6. EZSeç, (ftyal, tov o^Xop tov oucoèopovvTa tov  
Trvpyov; Ìllèov, ^>yprí, Kvpie. EKéivoi, <f>y<rí,  
TravTes àyyeXoi évèò^oi elai- tovtoicç onv Trepite-  
Tel^iaTai 0 Kvpto<;. y èè TrvXy à utàç tov Oeov

Jo. 14, 6

ètITtiv- avTy pía eiaoèò<; çitti tt^òç; tov Kvpiov.  
aXXαç oín ovèeh ehreXevaeTai Tpoç avTov ei py  
èia tov víov avTov. 7. EZSeç, ipycrí, tovç; el;  
àvèpas Kai tov péaov avTÚv evSo^ov Kai péyav  
àvèpa tov TrepitraTovvTa irepi tov trvpyov Kai tovç  
XÍOoví aTToSoKipacravTa çk Ty<j olKoèopr; Ìllèov,  
rfrypl, Kvpie. 8. 'O e^Sofoc, <f>yaív, ávyp o vío<j  
tov Oeov çfftí, KaKeívot ol el; ol evèòçoi àyyéXoi

<sup>1</sup> fitfikrjffLfvovs om. A.

<sup>1</sup> rò aytok A, tov víov «útqv E, tov víov tov ðtov L.

THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xii. 3-8

of the world, for this reason the gate is new, that those who are to be saved may 'enter' through it 'into the kingdom of God.' 4. Do you see," said he, "the stones which entered through the gate, were put into the building of the tower, but those which did not enter through it were put back again into their own place?" "I see, Sir," said I. "So," said he, "no man 'shall enter into the Kingdom of God,' except he take his holy name. 5. For if you wish to enter into a city, and that city has been walled round, and has one gate, can you enter into that city except through the gate which it has?" "No, Sir," said I, "for how is it possible otherwise?" "If then you are not able to enter into the city except through the gate which it has, so," said he, "a man 'cannot' otherwise 'enter into the kingdom of God,' except through the name of his Son, who was beloved by him. 6. Do you see," said he, "the crowd which is building the tower?" "Yes, Sir," said I, "I see it." "They," said he, "are all glorious angels; by these then the Lord<sup>l</sup> has been walled round. But the gate is the Son of God, this is the only entrance to the Lord. No man can enter in to him otherwise, than through his Son. 7. So you see, said he, ((the six men<sup>o</sup>, and the glorious and great man in their midst, who is walking round the tower and rejected the stones from the building?" "Yes, Sir," said I, "I see him." 8. "The glorious man, said he, "is the Son of God, and <sup>the</sup> <sup>glorious</sup> <sup>man</sup>

l It is noteworthy that here the Lord is for the moment identified with the tower.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

fĭtĭ Seftà Kal evdvvpa avyKparovvres avriv.  
 tovtoiv, <j>y<ri, rwv àyyéXtov rôtv èvSi^iov ouSeiq̃  
 eiaeXevaeTai Trpôç tov Θεov àrep avrov os av to  
 ovopa avrov py Xâfiy, ovk eiaeXewerai eis ryv  
 ftaaiXeíav tov tieov.

### XIII

1. 'O Sè rrvpyos, efyrjplV, ris èariv; 'O rrvpyos,  
 (jyaiv, ovTos y èKKXyoia èariv. 2. Ai Sè  
 rrapOevoi avrai rives eiaiv; Avrai, <(y)aiv, àyia  
 •nvevparà eiaf Kai àXXws àvdpcorros ov ivvarat  
 evpedyvav eis ryv ftaaiXeíav tov θεov, èàv py  
 avrai avrov èvivaaiat to èvivpa avrûv èav yàp  
 rò ovopa pivov Xâfiys, to Sè evSvpa rrapà rovrnv  
 py Xâfiys, ovSèν àx^eXyay avrai yàp ai rrapOevoi  
 Svvapecs eial rov viov tov ffeov. èàv rò ovop,a  
 (ftopfjs, ryv Se è>vvaiv p.y ifiopys avrov, eis p,àrrjv  
 ear) to ovopM avrov <f>opδ>v. 3. rovs Sè Xidovs,  
 (jtycriv, ovs eièes àrro^efiXypÀnovs, ovroi r̀ piev  
 ovopa ètfiόpeaav, rov Sè ipanapòv r̀tav rrapffévtov  
 ovk èveèvcravro. Ηοίοç, ^ypí, ipariapàs avroir  
 èari, Kvpie; Avrà rà ovipara, (prjcriv, ipariapós  
 ètrnv avr&v. òs àv rò ovopa rov viov rov ffeov  
 <(y)opj, Kai rovrtoν ò<j>eiXeí rà ovopara <f>opeiv Kal  
 yàp avròs ó vios rà ovipara rwv rrapbéva>v rov-  
 ra>v esopei. 4. oa-ovs, <fr><ri, Xidovs élies eis ryv  
 oĭKoSopyv rov rrvpyov eiaeXyXvdiras, èiriSeSo-  
 pénovs Sià riòv 'xeipwv aìnStv Kal peivavras eis  
 ryv oĭKoSopyv,l tovtwv t &v rrapdévww ryv Svva-

l Retranslated from LE, om. A.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xii. 8-xiii. 4

those six are glorious angels supporting him on the right hand and on the left. None of these glorious angels," said he, "can enter into God's presence without him. Whoever receives not his name 'shall not enter into the kingdom of God.' "

### XIII

1. "But," said I, "what is the tower? " This <sup>The Tower</sup> tower," said he, "is the Church." 2. "And what <sup>The</sup> are these maidens?" "They," said he, "are holy <sup>Maidens</sup> spirits. And a man cannot be found in the kingdom of God in any other way, except they clothe him with their clothing. For if you receive the name alone but do not receive the clothing from them, you will benefit nothing, for these maidens are the powers of the Son of God. If you bear the name, but do not bear his power you will be bearing his name in vain. 3. And the stones," said he, "which you saw rejected, these are they who bore the name, but were not clothed with the raiment of the maidens." "What," said I, "is their raiment, Sir?" "Their names themselves," said he, "are their raiment. Whoever bears the name of the Son of God must also bear their names; for even the Son himself bears the names of these maidens. 4. All the stones," said he, "which you saw enter into the building of the tower, given by their hands and remaining in the building, had put on the power of

1 The explanation is given in Siin. ix. 15.

·y\* /tWIMrto .dit i>2/ vrfiC/tj ni Tq- Brlagz0 gi <2rjy rt>rfn/lcig rIQi (

•amaarlUx^a^onv iimi amaxina alti  
'inlap 'siaXa 'aoag noi d>yio mx aa avalarla amiaoi  
amyivaaL ami I3x\ny rax Sax/ta^izxwjip Uri aj 10  
■awligo^advii Srvaiaaya ivy qosg nox noxio aoi ojl v  
avnUgUxgjaiiv aqo loino -g ^airlvtiaq ■^x iyy  
vrlaoaa ox oxrtW-ongsjxn tmaagdvi ao ıtrox 'ztroxn»  
arrivano rtiix oiawaoaaa ivy amiaav annUrlanans  
ôax/loçj ôwxpvx .acotjrdorfaz pM ôvf&riayzx bvXid.L i gg <0l Spv  
6p x kw aqojmoXz çjia snorfpo ipox (amařringzodj «. m  
viıyrh vav\arl çagi? <tm amviviink, nmi ojLq hvvUq v ra/nl ;s v)  
-13M.3AV v/tii. itonqdX nqo »x?r/ -g -oxrtojpIdia aSjnMJUi  
nhaavoivyi^ X0^ naotiod<f>3 vi.qv dvL »x .vidalita 'st jodif  
>ta ivy vrimv aa ivy vriqaiui na rtmivn ttU ivy 'goag t 't qd®  
nox ttmxqoQ timi, viari tivvU ivy nvoUffmrlvna^  
-atta VJ.QVI vivrtaaaL vi nao ijaitio^v\ 'rtmiaoi.  
timaagdviL timi tiirlviiac aUi ivy ag tio^v^a 'tioÿvya  
aoag aoi goia qoi vrloao oi iaitivn 'ivU<f>  
•loiao •amgıl amaarlbaÿa^oiiv ami idan aooyv  
•Sia^via^a Smÿidyv iyy 'ia\ari 'i.otuj> 'iov viavn  
'aoLdau qoi dU-riooqoyio alii sia aw  
-hgaia amaagdvn ami amdiaX ami vi^ iyy 'sUyan  
sUi viq dvL aogyUiç iavvUgUxg/anv ixwg 'OfllvY  
loaarlUxÿaÿouv 'aidqy 'irlli<l> 'aqo iq -9 -aoLdan  
aoi Sia viÿioivy U aiiva amaagdvi ami vivrloao vi  
amiaqodotji ami ag amiqoioi ami 'arniqv amiıtrrli  
ami yodX vir! ivy 'vrlvny aa 'vrlaaan qa, sia maonã f -ipia  
viqvi vivrlaaaii vi loarloy-on^ityia ivy qoiqv  
goia aoi vi^ miday mi saiawaaiom io ivy mio  
.Svdiaib sili viari viaoakah aogiyoaori aoLdaii  
aoi S13U3X^ oiaoi vio -g -inia loaarta^a^aa air!

## THE SHEPHERD, sni. i.x. xiii. 4-9

these maidens. 5. For this reason you see that the tower has become one solid stone with the rock. So also those who believe on the Lord through his Son, and put on these spirits will become 'one spirit and one body,' and the colour of their raiment will be one. And the dwelling of such as bear the names of the maidens is in the tower." 6. "Why, Sir," said I, "were the rejected stones rejected? For they came in through the gate and were put into the building of the tower by the hands of the maidens." "Since," said he, "you care for everything, and enquire accurately, listen concerning the rejected stones. 7. These," said he, "all bore the name of the Son of God, and they also received the power of these maidens. By receiving these spirits, then, they were strengthened and were with the servants of God, and they had 'one spirit and one body,' and one raiment, for they had the same mind' and 'wrought righteousness.' 8. After some time, then, they were made disobedient by the women whom you saw clothed in black raiment, who had their shoulders bare, and their hair loose, and were beautiful. When they saw them they desired them, and put on their power, and put off the clothing and power of the maidens. 9. They were therefore rejected from the house of God and were handed over to those women. But those who were not deceived by the beauty of these women remained in the house of God. You have here," said he, "the explanation of those who were rejected."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### XIV

1. T/ oSv, Kvpie, èàv ovtoI ol avffpayjroi, robovTOB ovres, peTavortacan km aTro^dXwab Ta<t èirb6vp/ba<; twv yvvabKÛv tovtojv, km éjravaKap^rú)-abv èvri, ràç irapffévovs km èv rfi Svjàpeb avTtáv km èv robs è^yob<i avTtáv TropevÔwrnv, ovk ebceXev-aovTM eîç tov obKov tov ffeov; 2. ^EibaeXevaovTM, bfrr/Mv, èàv TOVTiov t Ûv yvvMKÛv airo^aXfoab Ta èpya, T<àv sè Trapdévww àvaXâ/Bcoab ttjv èvnapbv Kai èv toîs èpyobs avTtòv rtopevBuicn- èia tovto yàp Kal t ^ç OLKoèopèjç àvoyr] èyéveTO, ìva, èàv peTavorprataiv ovTOB, çTreXffaxnv eîç tt)v oiKoSoppv tov irvpyov. èàv Sè pi) peTavo/jaa>ab, tots àXXoi eiaeXevaovTab, l Kal oírrob eîç réXoc èKj3Xl)0paoVTai.

3. ètri tovtoic TtâtTbv rpiyapicrTTpra Kvpbtp, OTb èairKay^yladf) ètri Trâai tok èirbKaXovpevob^; t S) òvopaTb avTov Kal è^aTréffTebXe tov àyyéXov tijç peTavoza<> eîç rjpa<i Toùç àpapTi)<ravTa<f etç avTov Kal àveKatvbaev è)pô>v to irvevpa Kal ifòiq KaTe-<f>8appévtov r/pâ>v Kal pi) è^óvTOìv èXirbèa tov Çjfv ànevècoae rrjv r/pâ>v.

4. Nw, (jyrjpb, Kvpbe, Si)Xa>aón pob, S<arí ó TTvpyos %apaì ovk àtKoèopi)-Tab, çXX' ètri tt)v irérvav Kal èirl Tpv irvXTjv. "Et î, tjycrbv, a</>pa>v ei Kal àavveTO<;; AvayKT)v eyrv, (j>rjpb, Kvpbe, iràvTa èirepcoTav ce, on ov8' oxwç ovèèv èvnapab voiprar rà yàp iràvTa peyaXa Kal èvSo^à èaTb Kal èvanôi)Ta toic àvdpàiTrob^.

5. "A.Kove, bjypab" to ovopa tov viov tov 0éov peya èan Kal à^bôp^Tov Kal tov Koapov oxov ^acTti^eb,

1 «IffeXeuffovTtti LE, úire,\svffufjai A.

XIV

1. "How will it then be, Sir," said I, "if these men, such as they are, repent and put away the lusts of these women, and return to the maidens and walk in their power and in their deeds? Will they not enter into the house of God?" 2. "They will enter," said he, "if they put away the works of these women, and take back the power of the maidens and walk in their deeds. For this cause also there was a pause in the building, in order that, if they repent, they may go away into the building of the tower. But if they do not repent then others will enter and they will be finally rejected." 3. I thanked the Lord for all these things, that he had mercy on all who call upon his name, and sent the angel of repentance to us who have sinned against him, and renewed our spirit, even when we were already corrupted, and restored our life, when we had no hope of living. 4. "Now, Sir," said I, "explain to me why the tower was not built on the ground but on the rock and on the gate." "Are you still," said he, "silly and foolish?" "I need, Sir," said I, "to ask everything from you, because I am wholly without power of understanding anything. For all things great and glorious are also difficult for men to understand." 5. "Listen," said he, "the name of the Son of God is great and incomprehensible, and supports the whole world. If

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*el ovv irâtra y «Tiats 8ià tov vlov tov 6eov /BaarâlpTai, ri ôoKeis rov<> KeKXijpevoç vit avrov Kai to ôvopa ÿopovvraç tov vlov tov 0eov Kal 'iropevopévovs raïs eYroXais avrov; 6. /SXeSrets ovv, ttoIovs ftatTâÇei; tovç oX?/s Kapoias tÿo-povvraç ro ovofia avrov. avroç ovv ffepeXioç avroîç èyévero Kal ^8éa>j avrovç ;3aarâ^ei, Ôri ovk errawxyvovTai to ovopa avrov tpopeîv.*

### XV

1. AíJXwa'óí' poi, cjrifii, Kvpie, r&v irapdé-  
vtûv rà òvôpara Kal r&v yvvaiKtov rS>v rà peXava  
ijfMTia èvSeSvpévæv. "Akové, (jyrjaiv, r&v irapûé-  
Vtovl rct òvôpara t &v la'xyporépa>v, rà>v el<j ràç  
ya>vlas trraffeurûv. 2. r/ pèv rrpâr) Hícrris, rj Sè  
èevrépa 'QfKpàreia, î] 8è rpirr) Avvapiç, T) 8è  
rerápri TìAaKpoOvpla' al 8è erepai àvà pÁaov  
Tovrrnv aradeíaaí ravra ê^ovai rà òvôpMra'  
'AttXÓt ???, 'A/cawia, 'Ayvela, 'IXapórric<;, 'AXifóeta,  
Swecriç, 'Opóvoia, 'Ayarrt). ravra rà òvôpara  
ó <j>opûv Kal ro ovopa. rov vloîi rov ffeov Swijaerai  
eis TT)V ftacriXelav rov óeov eltréXOelv. 3. aKove,  
furiai, Kal rà òvôpara r&v yvvaiK&v r&v rà Ipána  
peXava è^ovaâiv. Kal çk tovtov réaaapés elct  
SvvaTtüTepai- ó tf^iÓtt? Airiarla, 17 bevrépa 'Ak-  
paaiá, rj 8e rpirp AtréiOeta, f) 8é rerápri) 'Arrárr),  
al 8é aKÓXovóoi avr&v KaXovvrai Avrrrj, T Lovrjpiá,  
'AaéXyeia, 'O^v^oXía, 5Pev8oç, 'Acftpoavvr], Kara-  
XaXtá, Míaos, ravra rà òvôpara ó (fyopûv tov

Jo. s, 5

l rà ovipara. . . irapBívuv, retranslated from LE, om. A.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xiv. 5-xv. 3

then the whole creation is supported by the Son of God, what do you think of those who are called by him, and bear the name of the Son of God, and walk in his commandments? 6. Do you see then whom he supports? Those who bear his name with their whole heart. He then was their foundation and he supports them joyfully, because they are not ashamed to bear his name."

### XV

1. "Explain to me, Sir," said I, "the names of the maidens, and of the women who are clothed in and the black raiment." "Listen," said he, "to the names of the stronger maidens who stand at the corners. 2. In black The first is Faith, the second is Temperance, the third is Power, the fourth is Long-suffering, and the others who stand between them have these names:—Simplicity, Guilelessness, Holiness, Joyfulness, Truth, Understanding, Concord, Love. He who bears these names and the name of the Son of God, 'shall be able to enter into the Kingdom of God.' 3. Hear, also," said he, "the names of the women who have black raiment. Of these also four are more powerful. The first is Unbelief, the second Impurity, the third Disobedience, and the fourth Deceit; and those who follow them are called Grief, Wickedness, Licentiousness, Bitterness, Lying, Foolishness, Evil-speaking, Hate. The servant of God who bears



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Deut. 34,4

*Oeov* *8ovXo*<; *11jv fdaarikeiav pèv oyfrerai tov Oeov*,  
*6iç avrrjv Sè ovk eicreXevaeTai*. 4. *Oi Xi0oi Sé*,  
 <j>7]fj,i, *Kvpie, oi çK TOV ftvOoV r)pp00pévOl 6iç Ttjv*  
*oiKo8opr)v Tives eiaiv; Oi pèv irpÛTOi, <pi)áiv, oi i*  
*oi eiç rà 0epéXia Te0eipevoi, irpúrq yeveá' oi Sè*  
*Ke l ðevTepa yeveà àvèp&v OiKaioiv oi Sè Xe' irpo-*  
*(f>fj)Tai tov Oeov Kai BiÓkonoiv avTOV' oi Sè p'*  
*ç ■TTCKTToXoi Kal SlbàcFKaXoi TOV KT[pVy]iaTO<; TOV*  
*viov tov deov*. 5. *Atari ovv, (frip) i, Kvpie, ai*  
*trapdévot Kal tovtovì tovì Xi0ouç èiréSaiKav eìs*  
*11jv oiKoSofirjv tov irvpyov, SievéyKaaai Stà ri/ç*  
*TrtiX^ç; 6. Ovroi yàp, <l>r)cri, irpÛTOi TavTa Ta*  
*irvevpara è<f>ope<rav Kal oxæç dir aKkrjktov ovk*  
*aTrecmprav, ovre Ta irvev/iaTa Ôtto tûv àvOpiúnriov*  
*ovre oi dvdpoliroi çirò t S)v irvevfiaTtov, çXXà irapé-*  
*fiéivav Ta irvevriaTa avTOif [lé^pi i]jì Koip/tjcrem*  
*avTwv. Kal ei pi] Tavra Ta irvevpuTa peT avT&v*  
*ç^X^Keiaav, ovk àv evxpi}CToi yeyóvetcrav 11i*  
*oìKoZopq TOV TTVpyOV TOVTOV*.

## XVI

1. \*En poi, <f>i]pi, *Kvpie, StjXaiiTOv. Tí, ^yalv,*  
*èiri^i)Teí<; Atari, itypi, Kvpie, oi Xiðoi èx tov*  
*ftvdov aveftrpjav Kal etç tv)v o'iKoèopijv tov*  
*irvpyov? çTedpirav, ire<f>oprjKÓTe<; rà irvevpaTa*  
*TavTa; 2. 'AvayKijv, rfyrjaiv, ei^ov Si iiSaroç ava-*  
*fiffvai, iva ^a>oirov;Gá)áiv ovk rfivvavTO yap àXXav;*  
 lo. s, 6

1 *Kt' AL, XV E.*

2 *tov nipyov LE, om. A.*

THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xv. 3-xvi 2

these names shall see the Kingdom of God, but shall not enter into it.” 4. “But, Sir,” said I, “what are the stones which were fitted into the building from the deep?” “The first,” said he, “the ten which were placed in the foundation, are the first generation; and the twenty-five are the second generation of righteous men; and the thirty-five are the prophets of God and his servants, and the forty<sup>1</sup> are prophets and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God.” 5. “Why, then, Sir,” said I, “did the maidens give these stones also for the building of the tower, and brought them through the gate?” 6. “Because,” said he, “these first bore these spirits, and they did not depart from one another at all; neither the spirits from the men nor the men from the spirits, but the spirits remained with them until they fell asleep. And if they had not had these spirits with them they would not have been useful for the building of this tower.”

XVI

1. “Explain to me, Sir,” said I, “still more.” “What,” said he, “are you asking further?” “Why Sir,” said I, “did the stones come up from the deep and were put into the building of the tower, after they had borne these spirits?” 2. “They had need,” said he, “to come up through the water that they might be made alive, for ‘they could not’

<sup>1</sup> It must be noted that the numbers given here do not quite agree with those in Sim. ix. 4, and no satisfactory hypothesis has ever been suggested as to any hidden meaning which the numbers may conceal.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*elaeX0eiv eli ryv ftaatXeivav rov 0eov, el uiy ryv veKpatatv àireOevro tt)ç ð&ti)ç avriòv ryi rrporepai.1 3. eXafiov ovv Kai ovroi oi KeKotpyévot ryv a^tpayî^a rov vlov rov 0eov Kai eiayXOov eli ryv /BatriXeivav rov 0eov,z rrpvt yap, tjytrt, tjtopécrai ròv àv0patTrov to ovopa rov vlov rov 0eov, veKpói ètmr orav Sè Xàfòy ryv aÿpayîèa, ànroTì0eTai ryv veKpataiv Kai àvaXapftàvet ryv Çajyv. 4. y atftpayii ovv to vittop eanv en to vlcov ovv Karafiaivovcri veKpoi Kai àvafiaivovai Çàtvrei. KctKelvoii ovv çKypv)(0y y trÿpayii avry Kai èy^pytravro avry, 'iva ela-eX0aariv eli ryv fiatriXeivav rov 0eov. 5. Atari, <f>ypl, Kvpie, Kai oi p Xi0ot per avr&v avé^yaav çk tov j3v0ov, yhy eayrjKorei ryv atpayl^a; "Ort, tpyctv, ovtoi oi àrroaroXoi Kai ol StSatTKaXoc ot Kypv^avrei to ovopa tov viov tov 0eov, KOtpy0evrei év èvvàpei Kat rrtaret tov viov rov 0eov eKypv^av Kai roti rrpokeKoipypevoti3 Kai avrol èStoKav avroti ryv crtftpayîèa rov Kypvyparoi. 6. Kare^yaav ovv per avrâtv eli to vèa>p Kai rraXtv àvéftyaaav àXX ovroi pèv ^wvrei Karéftytrav Kai tpavrei .àveftytrav çKeivoi δè oi irpOKeKoipyplvoi veKpoi Karefyaaav, IrovTei Sè àvé^yaav^ 7. Sta tovtwv ovv è^a>OTTOtÿ0ycrav Kai erreyvasaav to ovopa rov viov rov 0eov' Sià tovto Kai avvave^yaav per' avrSjv, Kai <rvvyp0(T0y<Tav eli ryv otKoSopyv rov*

Jo. s, s

Ju. 3, 5

1 Tîjs irporépas LE, om. A.

2 «al . . . 0éov retranslated from LE, om, A.

3 TpoKtKoipLT)jçtvois Clem. LjE, K^Koif,riuçzvois AL2.

4 aW' o&ttoi , . . àvé^Tjaav Clem. (LE) . . . om. A.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xvi. 2-7

otherwise 'enter into the kingdom of God' unless they put away the mortality of their former life. 3. So these also who had fallen asleep received the seal of the Son of God and "entered into the kingdom of God.' For before," said he, "a man bears the name of the Son of God, he is dead. But when he receives the seal he puts away mortality and receives life. 4. The seal, then, is the water. They go down then into the water dead, and come up alive. This seal, then, was preached to them also, and they made use of it 'to enter into the kingdom of God.'" 5. "Why, Sir," said I, "did the forty stones also come up with them from the deep, although they had received the seal already?" "Because," said he, "these apostles and teachers, who preached the name of the Son of God, having fallen asleep in the power and faith of the Son of God, preached also to those who had fallen asleep before them,<sup>1</sup> and themselves gave to them the seal of the preaching. 6. They went down therefore with them into the water and came up again, but the latter went down alive and came up alive, while the former, who had fallen asleep before, went down dead but came up alive. 7. Through them, therefore, they were made alive, and received the knowledge of the name of the Son of God. For this cause they also came up with them and were joined into the building of the tower, and were used

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1, Pet. 3, 19, Gospel of Peter ix. and the *Descensus ad inferos* in the *Acta Pilati*. The idea that hearing the gospel and baptism is necessary for the salvation of the righteous dead of pre-Christian times is common, but it is more usually the Christ himself who descends to Hades for the purpose.

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*irvpyov, Kai aXarópyroi Ervva>KoSopr}0r}<rav èv SiKaioavvp yàp exoippOprTav Kai èv peyáXp áyveia-pónov rpv a|}payera ravrvv ovk ei^ov. e^etç ovv Kai ryv rovrvav éiriXwiv. <f>r|pí, Kypie.*

### XVII

1. Nw ovv, Kypie, rrepi rá>v opétoy poi SijXaxrov Stari aXXai Kai aXXat eiaiv ai iSéai Kai rroi-KtKat; vAKOve, ciperi' rà oprj ravra ra StóSexa <(v>Xaí| eiaiv al KaroiKovaai oKov rov Koapov. èKppv'ydri ovv eiç ravra<j ó vtoç rov Oeov Sta r&v árhoaróXasv. 2. Atari 8è rroiKiXa Kai aXXrj Kai aXXrj ISéa èari rà Óprj, SrjXajaón poi, Kypite. \*Akové, (jyrjaív ai SáSeKa ývXai avrai ai Karoi-Kovaai oKov ròv Koapov SdiSeKa é0vp elal' rroiKiXa Sé eìai ry cppvpaet Kal r& voi' oia ovv eiSe<; rà oprj rroiKiXa, roiavrai eteri Kai rovrevov ai rroiKiXiai rov voó<j r<òv èdv&v Kai 17 <f>pónvjai<!. SrjXó>aa> Sé aoi Kai évo? ÒKÓarov rrjv Tipà^tv. 3. Hpèdrov, <j>r|pí, Kypie, rovvo SrjXa)<TOV, Stari ovrtv rroiKiXa Óvra rà Spi), etç ri}V oiKoSoprjv orav èrédrjcrav 0l Xlòoi aiirtòv, pia Xpóa. èyévoyro Xaprrpot, à>s Kai oi èx rov {jivdov àva/3efir}KÓre<; XÍ601; 4. 'Ori, <j>rj<rí, rrávra rà e0vrj rà vrrò ròv ovpavòv Karoi-Kovvra, aKOvaavra Kal rrtarevaavra èrri rat òvópari èKXi}0t}<rav rov viov 2 rov ffeov. XaBovres oSv rt)v atfipayìSa plav (ppónvjatv èa^ov Kai Iva

Eph. 4, »-«

1 4>vAaí A, éiAal 5<ú5e«a L. E connecte SáSeKa with <(v>Aaí, but omite it with Sprl. The original text may have been rò ípri ravra SáSexa ipvXal etc. \* roí 1/10S LE, om. A.

together with them for the building without being hewn. For they had fallen asleep in righteousness and in great purity, only they had not received this seal. You have then the explanation of these things also." "Yes, Sir," said I, "I have."

## XVII

1. "Now therefore, Sir, explain to me about the mountains. Why is their appearance different from one another and various?" "Listen," said he, "these twelve mountains are the tribes which inhabit the whole world. The Son of God, then, was preached to them by the Apostles." 2. "But tell me, Sir," said I, "why the appearance of the mountains differs one from another and is various." "Listen," said he, "these twelve tribes which inhabit the whole world are twelve nations, but they are various in understanding and mind. Just as, then, you saw that the mountains are various, so also are there varieties in the mind and understanding of the nations. And I will explain to you the action of each one." 3. "First of all, Sir," said I, "explain this to me, why though these mountains were so various, when the stones from them were put into the building they became bright with a single colour, like the stones which had come up from the deep." 4. "Because," said he, "all the nations which dwell under heaven, when they heard and believed were called after the name of the Son of God. So then when they received the seal they

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vow, Kal pía ttIgt is avr&v éyéveTO Kal pía àyàm), Kal Ta TTvevfiara t &v -rrapOevaiv peTa tov ovo paros èfyópecrav' Sia tovto i) oiKoSopi) tov Trvpyov piâ Xpóa èyéveTO Xapirpà &s ò rjXios. 5. peTa Sè to eicreXOeiv avTOVs èirl to avTO Kal yevéaOai èv a&pa, Tivès ài>T&v èpiavav éavrovS Kal è^e^Xr)-Orjcrav ζK tov yévovS t&v SiKaicov Kal TraXiv èyévonTo, oioi TTpoTepov Tprav, pâXXov Sè Kal xel-poves.

### XVIII

1. Πωç, cfrjpi, Kvpie, éyévonTO ^eipoves, Oeov èireyvcoKÓTeS; 'O pi) yiv&ffKcov, cfycrri, Oeov Kal Trovrjpevópevos e^ei KÓXacriv Tiva tt|ç Trovi)pias avrov, ò Sè Oeov eTTtyfou? ovksti òçj{>eiXet Trovrjpeveadai, àXX' àyadoiroieiv. 2. èav onv o otfteiXmv àyadorroiëiv irovTjpevrjTai, ov èoKeì irXeiova ttovt)-plav TToteiv Trapa tov prj ytvwaKovTa tov θεov; Sta tovto oi pi) èyvrùKÓTer; Oeov Kai Ttovqpevo-pevoi KeKripévoi elcrlv èi? OàvaTOV, ol Sè tov Oeov ζyvaiKoreç Kal rà peydXeìa avTov èwpaKÓTeç; Kai Trovppevopevoi δKTffâç; KoXaaOpaovTai Kai atro-Oavovvrai etç tov alcòva, ovicos onv KaOapurOr)-acTai T) eKKXrjala tov Oeov. 3. a>ç Sè etSeç è« tov Trvpyov tovì XiOovç; f)ppévovç; Kal irapaZeiope-vovç; roîç Trvevpaai toíçj Trovppoîf Kal eKeiOev èK^XT)Oévraç; (Kal ecrrat èv awpa t&v KeKaOap-pévovv, &nrep Kal ò irvpyos èyeveTO aç evos XiOov yeyov&s peTa rò KaOapiaOrjvai avTov) ovicos ecrrai Kal f) eKKXffaia tov Oeov pera to KaOapia-

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xvii. 4-xviii. 3

had one understanding and one mind, and their faith became one, and their love one, and they bore the spirits of the maidens together with the name. For this cause the building of the tower became bright with one colour like the sun. 5. But after they entered in together and became one body, some of them defiled themselves and were cast out from the family of the righteous, and became again what they had been before, or rather even worse."

### XVIII

1. "How, Sir," said I, "did they become worse, why the after they had attained to the knowledge of God?" „re worse™  
"He who does not know God," said he, "and does than the un-  
wickedly, incurs some punishment for his wickedness, couverted  
but he who has knowledge of God, is bound no more to do wickedly, but to do good. 2. If then he who is bound to do good do wickedly, does he not seem to do more wickedly than he who does not know God? For this reason, those who have no knowledge of God and do wickedly, are condemned to death, but those who have knowledge of God and have seen his great deeds, and do wickedly, shall be punished doubly, and shall die for ever. Thus therefore the Church of God shall be cleansed. 3. But just as you saw that the stones were taken from the tower, and handed over to the evil spirits and cast out from it (and there shall be one body of those who are purified, just as also the tower became as if it were made of a single stone, after it was purified), so the Church of God also shall be, after it



*trox viari 'ivmaa^vdg ag ava .aiomnàoviari*  
*qXvi ava 'roiian vioaviari aao Sioiaoi 'SviagUxy*  
*sondan sioiav aa Sia^qo ivx ima ioaax Smaivm sai*  
*ag ojiv 'aivaoXa aari vrioao loiaoi io lonmJffav 10 <8l*  
*7>> miao 'aoiidmiv amiav sodo oi dvL sm .slutav /s nl'r t n*  
*-oivnig aondvn saiaoXa Uri 'ivia loiorio siodiaidn 'i ddingj*  
*Sioi aao loiao ivn -SvidUaon loxvnuy^ig ivx wxte/w*  
*-oua .amia maioi saiawaamiji 10 ao\i-^ aoi*  
*Saodo aodaiaag aoi ag na -g 'itmi aorioay amiav*  
*Soaaki oi dvL ivn .ivia Saav\ari ivn oiqoi »7g*  
*ron 'ma ag soivavff 'JX-oa wao vioayiari a^ Sioiaoi*  
*•aog aoi amyaoq ami ivio^odn i>w aoidax aoi Sia*  
*loriàtpvyxg ivn ivivivoav .aivia io iq o j o i saiavn*  
*-qaiiviji 70 sotivyari qoi Saodo aoimdn aoi ¶*

### XIX

*•amaffa vxagmq ami 'iva/ avrnwiou aài amado*  
*ami 'ivU<f> 'aaoxyn -aoiav vrioao ao^o^aa lyx S '66*  
*aoivvriavff iva vkari oi livy^o^ vwnqoaiy aoidqu .81 '6 '98*  
*aoi 7-u.a viaffiojiaji UXaajv vvvjl vai 'Sia^yda 18 '6 'ed*  
*svi ivi/ airfva^ aài rori aonmxUq aoivyva sqaa*  
*amado ami 'aidax 'rrHi<j> 'txg\* -g -iaXa maya Sm^*  
*-og/ta IVX 'aidait 'iriàtp 'Smxpka^ •aodvQvn aoiaav*  
*aovx aoi smcjiUxianv Sioiav aa iviavliffavdtjiqa*  
*7>w 7@xax>i>7YY>4p (}030 f}0-l S?77 ? aoi wx .Unvkm*  
*viri 'snviii viri 'sqoa Sja 'SivUaodtfi vni 'vrimv aa*  
*qoaff qoi vwàxnna U iviva ivaUffUygonv saioai*  
*oi viari -f -sividUaoji Sivyimoa SaoaarioaadàaoJL*  
*ivy saoXai/iig ron Saorià^iwxcg ivn Syndnouq*  
*ivi/ sqodàaojL Saoi ivaàffàxgoJLv ivn aliiqv ivaàg*

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xviii. 3-xix. 2

has been purified, and the wicked and hypocrites and blasphemers and double-minded, and doers of various wickedness, have been rejected from it. 4. After these have been rejected the Church of God shall be one body, one mind, one spirit, one faith, one love, and then the Son of God shall rejoice and be glad in them, when he has received his people in purity." "All this, Sir," said I, "is great and wonderful. 5. Yet, Sir," said I, "explain to me the power and the action of each one of the mountains, that every soul that has believed on the Lord, may hear and glorify His great and wonderful and glorious name." "Listen," said he, "to the variety of the mountains and the twelve nations.

### XIX

1. "From the first mountain, the black one, are The charac- such believers as these: apostates and blasphemers mountain against the Lord, and betrayers of the servants of God. M For these there is no repentance, but there is mountain death, and for this cause they also are black, for their race is lawless. 2. And from the second mountain, The second the bare one, are such believers as these: hypocrites mountain and teachers of wickedness. These then also are like unto the first, having no 'fruit of righteousness,' for just as their mountain is unfruitful, so also such men have the name, but are devoid of faith, and there is no fruit of truth in them. For these then repentance is ready if they repent quickly, but if they delay their death will be with the former ones."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

irporepcav earai ó Oavaros avrcòv. 3. Stari, jppi, Kypie, rovrois peràvoia erri, τοῖς ζῆ ῥρρçòροῖς οὐκ cari; trapa ri yap ai avrai ai ἡ paleis avrcòv eiai. Sia rovro, cf<sup>ai</sup>, rovrois peràvoia Keìrai, ori οὐκ εἰ3Xaafyr;pr)aaav ròv Κυριον avrcòv οὐδὲ ἐγέvovro ῥρρoÓórai rcòv δονX,a>v rov Θεov- Sia ζῆ ῥρρjv ètri0vpiav rov Xr;pparos inreKpi0r)aaav Kal èδi8agev eKarros Karal ras èirt0vpias rcòv àv0pcórrcov rcòv àpapravóvrwv. àXXà ritrovai δlkt)v riva' Keìrai δε avrois peràvoia δlà rò pi) yevéaffai avrovs ^Saa^>r;ipovs pyòè ῥρρoBóras.

### XX

1. 'E« Sè rov Ópovs rov rpirov rov ë^ovros aKav0as Kai rpifioKovs oi irlarevaavres roiovroi elaiiv. èξ avrcòv oi pev ῥrXovatoi, oi δὲ ῥρpaypareiats troXXaís èptrecfivppevoi. oi pev rpiftoXoi eiatv oi ῥrKovaiοι, ai sè aKav0ai oi èv rais trpay-  
 Mt. 13,22 ;  
 Mc. 4, is. io ^aTeiatç rais iroiKlXaís èptrecfivppévoi. 2. ovroi ovv, oi èv ῥroXXaís Kai rroiKiXaís ῥρpaypareiaís èptrecfivppévoi, οὐ2 KoXXtòvrai rois èovXots rov deov, akX' àtroTrXavcòvrai ῥrviyópevoi virò ῥwv trpà^ecov avrcòv oi èè ifKovaiot SyaKÓXcos κó\-\tòvrai rois δον\ois rov deov, cjiοfiovpevoi, py ri  
 Mt. is, 23 ;  
 Lukíis^i eiaXevaovrai eis ῥpυ ^aaiKeiav rov Θεov. 3. wairep yàp èv rpi^oXois yypvois ῥroai trepírrareiv èvaKoXón èartv, οvrco Kai rois roiovrois

<sup>1</sup> nari LE, oro. A.

<sup>a</sup> oiv . . . où retranslated from LE, oui. A.

THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xix. 3-xx. 3

3. "Why, Sir," said I, "is there repentance for these but not for the first, for their deeds are almost the same?" "For this reason," said he, "there is repentance for these, because they did not deceive their Lord and were not betrayers of the servants of God; but because of the lust of gain, they played the hypocrite, and each taught according to the lusts of sinful men. But they will be punished in some way, yet repentance is open to them because they did not become blasphemers or traitors.

**XX**

1. "And from the third mountain, which has thorns The third and thistles, are such believers as these. Of them are those who are rich and are mixed up with many affairs of business, for the thistles are the rich, and the thorns are those who are mixed up with various affairs of business. 2. These then who are engaged in many and various businesses do not cleave to the servants of God, but are choked by their work and go astray. And the rich cleave with difficulty to the servants of God, fearing that they will be asked for something by them. Such then 'will enter with difficulty the kingdom of God.' 3. For just as it is difficult to walk with naked feet among thistles, so it is

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Me. io, 24 *SvokoXov èariv eiç rryv /BaaiKeiav tov Oeov eiaex-Oeiv. 4. ¿XXà tovtoiq rràai fierávotá èart, Taytvrj Sé, ìv ô to Îç Trporépoi? yjpbvois ovk elpyáavvro vvv àvabpàpoiaiv raîç ppépais Kai àyaObv ti TT0ilq-acoaiv. èàn onv peravoyaojai Kai àya0ov ti rroiariawai, ÇtfaovTai tç> 0eS>' èàn 8e èiripeivioai Tais irpá^eatv **aim**, •trapa8o0paovTai Tais yvvai!; ìv èKelvais, arrives avTovs 0avaTç>aovaiv.*

### XXI

1. 'Ek Sè tov TerápTOV opovs tov eyovTos ^OTÓvas rroWás, rà p'ev éirávco t&v ftoTav&v •)(Ka>pá, Tà Sè -rpos Tais pilais &pá, Tives Sè Kai aitò tov fjidov ^rjpaivbpevai, oí Triarevaavres TOiovToi eitriv oí p'ev Síy/rv^oi, oí Sè tov Kvpiov è'XpvTes èiri rà ^eiXrj, èrri ttjv Kapëiav Sè pp e~xpvTes. 2. 8là tovto rà OepéXia avTÛv fyqpa èiTti Kai 8vnaviv p/r) eypvTa, Kai Tà prjpaTa avTiàn pova Çüai, Tà Sè epya aiiT&v veKpà èaTiv. oí TOiovToi ovTe tyùcriv ovre<sup>2</sup> TedvrjKaaiv. opoioi onv elai<sup>1</sup> tois èi^v^ois' Kai yàp oí 8iyjrv^ot ovre yXwpoi éiaiv ovre ;;ppoí- ovre yap Çwaiv ovTe TeOvrjKaaiv. 3. (barrep yàp avrai<sup>3</sup> ai ftoTavat rpsiov ièovcrai è^ppâvd'paav, ovtoi Kai oí 8iyjrvjçoi, orar ffXÿyJriv aKovaaai, èià Trjv 8eiXíav avTÍbv el8a>XoXa-Trovai Kai to ovopM èiraia'xyvovTai tov Kvpiov avriv. 4. oí TOiovToi onv ovre Çâaiv<sup>4</sup> ovre

1 iàv . . - Toi^<n><n> retranslated from LE, Kat A.

2 oSre fifix, oUrt LE, om. A.

3 aurai LE, avriv A. 4 olire Çwaw LE, om. A.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xx. 3-xxi. 4

also 'difficult' for such men 'to enter into the Kingdom of God.' 4. But for all these there is repentance, but it must be speedy, that they may now retrace their days and the omissions of former years, and do some good. If then they repent and do some good they will live to God, but if they remain in their deeds they will be delivered to those women, and they will put them to death.

### XXI

1. 'And from the fourth mountain which has many The fourth mountain herbs, with the top of the herbs green but the parts by the roots dry, and some dried up by the sun, are such believers as these: the double-minded, and those who have the Lord on their lips but do not have him in their hearts. 2. For this cause their foundations are dry and have no power, and only their words are alive but their deeds are dead. Such are neither alive nor dead. Therefore they are like the double-minded, for the double-minded are neither green nor dry, for they are neither alive nor dead. 3. For just as these herbs, when they saw the sun, were dried up, so also the double-minded when they hear of affliction, become idolaters through their cowardice, and they are ashamed of the name of their Lord. 4. Such men

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*TeOvTjKaaiv. aXXà Kai ovtoi èàn ra^v peTavotf-  
trtotriv, &uvrj<TOVTai ffiaar èàn δè prj fieravorja(ú-  
aiv,l Tj&r) irapa^e^opAvoi elal ral<; yvvaigi Tais  
airo<j>epopevai,<; ttjv ^wtjv avT&v.*

### XXII

1. 'E/C 5e TOV opov<j; TOV TTGpTTTOV TOV è^OVTOÇ  
/3oTava<! ^Xtopàf Kai Tpa%éos ovtoç oi iriarev-  
<ravTe<; tolovtol euri' tticttoì pév, évopafteis Se  
Kai àùÆàSeiç Kai éavTois àpéτρKovTes, βèKovTe<f  
iràvra yivcooKeiv, Kai ovèèν οα><; yivwaKovai.  
2. 8tà tt)v avSàèetav avTww TavT-rjv aTtecrri àir  
avTÚv 7] avvedi, Kai iarjXOev eiç aùrouç à<j)po-  
avvT) pMpá. èiraivovai Sè èavTovç &>ç avveaiv  
e^ovTaç Kai fféXovaiv èffeXoSiSàaKaXoi? elvai,  
a<j>pove<i ovT&i. 3. Sta TavTiyv oSv Ttjv vyjnNo-  
(j>pocrvvTjv TroXXoi éKevá>βrja-av vyj/ovvTe<{ éavTOVf  
péya yàp Satpovión èaTtv ÿ avdáSeia Kai Kevì]  
Treiroi0Tja'i<;' èK tovtcov ovv ttoXXoì aTre^Xijdriaav,  
Tivè<; èè peTevóqaav Kai èiriaTevaav Kai viréra^av  
éauToùç toÍç e^ovat avveatv, yvónTes ttjv éavTtòv  
ac^pocrvrvjv. 4. Kai tois Xoüfois zè tois toiov-  
tois; KeÍTai peTavoia- ovk èyéovvro yàp TtovrjpoL,  
páXXov zè pupoi Kai àavveTOi. ovtoi ovv èàn<sup>3</sup>  
peTavoijcrcoai, ^ycrovTai tð> deà>- èàn Sè prj peTa-  
voijatocri, KaToucprvai, perà t &v yvvaiKwv t S>v  
Trovtepevopévvv eiç avTovç.

1 Svyritrot'Tai . . . p.iravoiurwffwv retranslated from LE, om. A.

2 zQeKuSiSáTkaAot A, b<it LE seem to represent óiSátrfcaAot.

8 p.(\*)po\ Kai . . . cay retranslated from LE. A is illegible,  
but seems to read 7roF7jp(óTaTot ?) instead of p.a>pol.

therefore are neither alive nor dead ; but these also will be able to live if they repent quickly, but if they do not repent they have already been given over to the women who take away their life.

## XXII

1. “ And from the fifth mountain, which has green The fifth herbage and is rough, are such believers as these : mountain believers, but slow to learn and presumptuous, and pleasing themselves, wishing to know everything, and yet they know nothing at all. 2. Because of this presumption of theirs understanding has departed from them, and senseless folly has entered into them, and they praise themselves for having understanding and they wish to be teachers<sup>1</sup> in spite of their folly. 3. For this high-mindedness therefore many have been made worthless by exalting themselves,<sup>2</sup> for presumption and vain confidence is a great demon. Many therefore of these were rejected, but some repented and believed, and submitted themselves to those who have understanding, recognising their own folly. 4. And for the rest of such men repentance is waiting, for they were not wicked, but rather foolish and without understanding. If therefore these repent they will live to God, but if they do not repent they will dwell with the women who devise evil against them.

<sup>1</sup> *iSeXoSiSdffKaXoi* is not found elsewhere. If it be right it must mean a teacher who unduly magnifies his office. Cf. *eUeXo&piitricia* in Col. 2, 23.

<sup>2</sup> There may be here a reference to Philipp. 2, 9 in which *Kevwffu* and *v^utris* are contrasted : the point being that as the *Kivuais* of Christ led to his *v^utns*, so the *v^utris* of these men results in their ultimate *Ktvwris*.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### XXIII

1. Οί Σε etc tov opovs tov sktov tov &)ovto<|  
*rr^iapa^ peyáXas Kal pucpàs Kal èv Taîç ayfia-paîs;*  
*ftoTiúvas pepapappévas 7Tia-revaavTe<; roiovroi*  
*elary. 2. oí pev ras a-ypapas; ràç pucpàs é^ovreç,*  
*ovroi eiaiv oí tear àXXpXwv ê^ovreç, Kal àiro rà^v*  
*KaraXaXiiðv éavrww pepapappevoi eiaiv ev rp*  
*iriarer àXXa perevopaav ck rovrtav ttOXXoi.*  
*Kal ol Xoirol Bè peTavopcovaiv, orav ÛKOvawai*  
*pov rà<; èvroXaip piKpal yap avTWV eiaiv ai Kara-*  
*XaXiai, Kal ra^v peTavopcovaiv. 3. oi Bè*  
*peyaXas èy^ovres vyiapcii;, ovroi napapovoi elei*  
*raîs KaTaXaXiaí<; àiirtòv Kai pvpaiKaKoi yivovrat*  
*ppviâ)vre<; àXXpXoi<p ovroi ovv atro tov irvpyov*  
*aireppii^paav Kal àireBoKipaaÔpaav rpç oiKoBoppç*  
*avTov. oi toiovtoi oBv Bvo-kÔXojç ^paovrai.*  
4. èi ó \$eðç Kal ó Kvptos pp.wv à iravriov KVpievwv  
*Kal exatv Trâcrijç tt)ç Ktl^re(ú<; avrov rpv è^ovaiav*  
*ov pvpaiKaKei to Îç è^opoXoyovpévoi<; ras àpaprias*  
*avrâiv, àXX' ZXewç ylveTai, áv0pa>7ro<; <p0apTo<;*  
*aiv Kal TrXppps àpapnSw avOpivrrip pvpaiKaKeí*  
*à>ç Bvváp.evo<; àiroXéaai p trSxrai avrov; 5. Xeyw*  
*Bè vpîv, ò ayyeXoç r^ç peravoias- ocroi ravrpv*  
*e^ere rpv aipeatv àirôOeaOe avrpv Kai pera-*  
*vpaare, Kal ò Kvpios íaaeTai vpS^v ra rpoTepa*  
*àpMprppara, èàn Kadaplapre. éavrovç àrho tovtov*  
*tov Baipoviov ei Sè pp, irapaBoðpaeaOe avTip*  
*eli dávarov.*

Jam. 4,12

XXIII

1. “ And those of the sixth mountain which has cracks, great and small, and withered plants in the cracks, are such believers as these. 2. Those who have the small cracks are those who have quarrels with one another, and are withered in the faith from their evil speaking. But many of these repented, and the rest shall also repent when they hear my commandments, for their evil-speaking was small and they will quickly repent. 3. But those who have great cracks are those who are persistent in their evil-speaking, and are become malicious in their rage against one another. These then were cast away from the tower and were rejected from its building. Such men then will live with difficulty. 4. If God and our Lord who rules over all and has power over all his creation bear no malice against those who confess their sins, but is merciful, shall man who is mortal and full of sin bear malice against man, as though he were ‘able to destroy or to save him.’? 5. And I, the angel of repentance, say to you, do all you, who have this heresy, put it aside and repent, and the Lord will heal your former sins, if you cleanse yourselves from this demon. But if not you shall be delivered to him to death.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### XXIV

1. 'E/c 8s τῶν ἐπιτοπῶν ὀπῶν; ἐν σο *fiotavai* *XXoipai Kai iXapai, Kal ολον το ὀπο; ev0T]vovv* *Kal rrāv yévo; KrrjvStv Kal rà irereivà τῶν οvpavov* *èvepovTo τῶν? /BoTava; sk τῶντῶ τῶν? opei, Kal ai /SoTavai, âç èvépovTo, paXXov evθαXeî; èyivovto, ol iri<TTevcravTes τοιοῦτοL elai. 2. ttuptots àirXoî Kal cukaKOi Kal paKapioc èyivovTO, prfièν KaT aXXrjX<av è^ovTeç, àXXà iravTore àydXXtwpevot èirl τοÎ; SoiiXoi; τῶν Θεῶν Kal ἐνSeSvpéoi το irvevpa το àyiov τῶντῶν τῶν irapθéva)v Kal TràvTOTe airXayyyov iyyovTe; ètri irávTa àvOptatrov, Kal ἕκ T&v κῆτικῶν avTtitv iravTl àv0pó)K(p é'xpprp ypaav àvoveiZtaTox; Kal áSitTci.KTa><;. 3. ó oüv Kvpio<; Îðàν rpv cvnXoTTiTa avTtòv Kal iràaav vrjTriórriTa èirXifónven ài>Tov<j ἐν τὸκ κῆτιοί; τῶν )eipà)v avTÒtv Kal è^apÎTcoaev avTovs ἐν tràap irpà^et avTtòv. 4. Xeyw 8è vpìv τῶν; τοιοῦτων; ovatv èyà> ò ayyeXo; 111/; peTavola;- ènapeivaTe TOLovToi, Kal ovk é%aXeî<f>0T;aeTai το airéppa vpÀðv eco? aliavo;' è^oKipaue yàp vpà; o Kvpio; Kal èvéypay^ev vpù; et? τῶν àpt,0p,ov τῶν ilpèTepov, Kal oXov το arréppa vpMv KaToiKijaei peTa τῶν vlov τῶν Θεῶν' èK yàp τῶν irvevpaTo; avTov eXá/Sere.*

### XXV

1. 'E/c 8è τῶν ὀπῶν; τῶν ðySóov, ov Tjcrav ai iroXXal TT-pyal Kal iraaa rj κτῆτι; τῶν Kvpiov èiroTÍÇeTO èK τῶν Trtjywv, oi Tria-Tevaavre; τοιοῦτοι

XXIV

1. “ And from the seventh mountain, on which were The seventh green and joyful herbs, and the whole mountain was mountain fair and every kind of cattle and the birds of heaven were feeding on the herbs on this mountain, and the herbs on which they were feeding became yet more luxuriant, are such believers as these. 2. They were ever simple and guileless and blessed and had nothing against one another, but ever rejoiced in the servants of God and were clothed in the holy spirit of these maidens, and were ever merciful to every man, and helped every man from the fruit of their labours without upbraiding or doubting. 3. The Lord, therefore, seeing their simplicity and all their innocence, filled them with the labours of their hand, and was gracious to them in all their doings. 4. And I, the angel of repentance, say to you who are such :— Remain such as you are, and your seed shall not be blotted out for ever, for the Lord has proved you and written you in among our number, and all your seed shall dwell with the Son of God, for of his spirit have you received.

XXV

1. “ And from the eighth mountain, where there The eighth were many springs and all the creation of the Lord mountain was given to drink from the springs, are such

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*elaiv' 2. αττοιττοχοι Kai ^i^áKaΧοι οί K'ppv-  
l-avTes els oXov τov Koapov Kai οί SièÇavTes  
aepvôis Kai àyvûs τov Xóγov τov Kvplov Kai prfiev  
oXws voacjüicrápevoi els eir10vpiav Trovrjπàv, àKXa  
trávroTe èv SiKaioavvrj Kai aX.r;0eía irovevBévres,  
Kadois Kai rrapeXaftov to irvevpa to àvtov. twv  
TotovTtùv ovv i) irápoOos peTà t &v àyyéXtov èvTiv.*

### XXVI

1. 'E « Se TOV opovs TOV èvaTOV TOV èprjpdì^ovs,  
τov t0, èpTrera Kai Orjπia èv avT& èxpvrros to,  
δία<f>0elpovTa τovs àv0pó>irovs, oi jricrrevaavTes  
ToiovTol elatv 2. ol pèv τovs aìrlXovs eyovTes  
SiaKOVoi elcri KaKtos SiaKovpaavTes Kai Biapjrà-  
oravTes XVP^v Kai àp<f>avâ>v ττjv Çmrjv Kai eavTOÎs  
TrepLTrovqaâpevoi èK τijs èiaKovias rjs eXaftov  
StaKovrjaar èàv ovv èiripelvatai Tp avr-rj èTTi-  
9vpla, àiréGavov Kai oiiðepla avTols èXirls fyorjs'  
èàv &è èTriaTpéjrwat Kai àyv&s TeXeîâcrtoat τljv  
SiaKovlav avTtàn, SwycrovTai Çrja-ai. 3. ol sè  
ètlrcoptaKOTes, ovrot, ol àpvraâpevoi elai Kai pi)  
èTriarpe^avres èirl τov Kvptov èavTÔtv, aXXa  
-)(epaa>OevTes Kai, yevôpevoi èpr)påfeis' pi) KoXXâ-  
pevoi τοis SovXoîs τov Θεov, àXXà povâÇovTes  
M t io, so ;  
17\*33^'Joh  
12, 25  
àiroXXvovcri Tas èavTÛv yjrv^ás. 4. à\$ yap  
àpTeXos èv (j;paypô) tivi KaTaXeî^>0eîcra àpeXelas  
Tvyvânovaa KaTa<fi0eipeTai Kai virò t &v lSotavâ>v  
èprjpvovTai Kai τδ> ^póvco àvπia yiveTat, Kai ovKeTt

THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xxv. i-xxvi. 4

believers as these : 2. Apostles and teachers who preached to all the world, and taught reverently and purely the word of the Lord, and kept nothing back for evil desire, but always walked in righteousness and truth, even as they had received the Holy Spirit The passing of such is with the angels.<sup>1</sup>

XXVI

1. “An d from the ninth mountain, which was desert, <sup>The ninth</sup> and had <sup>in</sup> it creeping things and <sup>wild</sup> <sup>beasts</sup> which <sup>mountain</sup> devour men, are such believers as these : 2. Those with spots are ministers who ministered amiss, and devoured the living of widows and orphans, and made gain for themselves from the ministry which they had received to administer. If then they remain in the same covetousness they are dead and they have no hope of life. But if they turn and fulfil their ministry in holiness they shall be able to live. 3. And those with scabs, these are they who have denied and have not turned to their Lord, but have become barren and deserted ; by not cleaving to the servants of God, but keeping alone, they are destroying their own souls. 4. For just as a vine left alone within a fence and neglected is spoilt and is wasted by weeds, and in time becomes wild and is no longer

<sup>1</sup> That is, after death they will be with the angels. Cf. notes on Henn. Vis. ii. 2, 7 and on Martyr. Polycarp. ii. 3.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ev^pTyaTÔç citti tS) Aearror-rj eavrr/s, avrai Kai oi toioivtoi avffptoTroï eavrovS aireyvaiKaai Kai yivovrai ay^pparot ra> Kvpiat èavrww aypiwOevres. 5. τοιοις ουν παράνοια yiverai, èav pur) sk KapAias evpeθâ>αiv r)pvripζivoi' èàn sè èK KapAtas evpeffp èjpvppévovS tîç, ovk 018a, el AvvaTat Çjjaai. 6. Kai τοιτο ovk ειç TttUTαç T«ç ppépas Xéya>, ίva tîç àpvpaâpevos peràvoïav Xáfirp àAvvarov yàp èari aa>0jfvai rov péXXovra vvv àpvela0ai τον Kvpiov éavrov' àXX' èKeivois rois rràXai r/pvppévois Aokci Keia0ai παράνοια. ei ris ουν péXXei peravoeiv, Ta^iPoç yevéaBw trplv rov irvpyov cwrareXeaOr/var el sè prj, uttò t &v yvvaiKÔtv KaTafidaprpreTai ειç Bávarov. 7. «at οί κοXo^oi, οvtoi SoXtoί είcri Kai KaràXaXor Kai ra Brijía, à ειSeç etç το opov, ovroi elaiν. warrep yàp rà dypia ètaipdeipei t & èavT&v l^> τον àvdpwTTOv Kai àροXXvei, οvto Kai tS)V τοιοιτων àvBptBTrtiiv rà pppara ènatpffeipei τον àv0pa>7rov Kai àiroXXvei. 8, ovroi ουν κοXo^oi elaiν ζιtto ttjç Triaretos avTÛv èià rpν irpâ^iv, pv eypvaiv èν èavrois' rives sè peTevôpaav Kai èaihOpaav. Kai ol "Xoirroi οί τοιοιτοι Ôvres Avvarrai aa>0rjvai, èàn peravopacoaiν èav sè prj peravopaaiav, atro rà>v yvvaiK&v èKeivmv, S>v rpν Avvapiv è'Xpvaiν, àροBavovvrai.

## XXVII

1. 'E« Sè rov opovS rov AeKarov, oA rjaav AévApa aKeirà^ovra rrpofiará riva, οί Triarevaavres

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xxvi. 4-xxvii 1

useful to its master, so also such men as these have renounced themselves and have become wild and valueless to their Lord. 5. To these then there is repentance, if they be not found to have denied from their hearts. But if one be found to have denied from his heart I do not know whether he can live. 6. And I do not speak this for these days, in order that one may deny and receive repentance, for it is impossible for him to be saved who shall now deny his Lord. But there seems to be repentance waiting for those who have denied in time past. If then any be about to repent, let him make haste before the tower be finished, otherwise he will be destroyed by the women unto death. 7. And the stunted ones, these are deceitful and evil-speaking men, and the wild beasts which you saw on the mountains are these. For just as the wild beasts destroy man by their poison 1 and kill him, so also the words of such men destroy man and kill him. 8. These then are stunted in their faith through their conduct which they have in themselves, but some repented and were saved. And the rest who are such can be saved if they repent; but if they repent not they will be put to death by those women whose quality 2 they have.

### XXVII

1. "And from the tenth mountain, where were trees The tenth sheltering some sheep, are such believers as these:

1 Apparently *empton*, as often in later Greek, means "snake."  
' Lit. "power."



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

roiovroi elcriv 2. èrrlaKorro Kai (fnXó^evoi, oi-  
rives r/Béws els rovs oïkous èavrww rrávrore vrreè-  
Çavro rovs SovXovs rov Θεov ârep vroKpiaews' ol  
sè èrricKorrot rrávrore rovs vareprjévovs Kal ras  
%ijpas ry èiaKovia èavrww àèiaXeirrrws effKerraaav  
Kal àyvws ávecrrpá^aav rrávrore. 3. ovroi ovv  
rràvres aKerraa0r/aovrai vrrò rov Kvpiov èiarravrós.  
ol ovv ravra èpyatrâp.evoi èvèòÇol eitri rrapà rw  
0eii> Kal ifâr) ò rorros avrw peerá rwv àyyeXwv  
èariv, èv èrripeivwaiv èws réXovs Xeirovpyovvres  
rw Kvpiw.

### XXVIIH

1. 'Ezc Se rov opovs rov évèKàrov, ov rjaav  
èévòpa Kaprrww rrXrjpr], àXXois Kal àXXois Kaprrois  
KeKoaprpiva, oi rricrrevaavres roiovroi elaiiv.  
2. ol rraOóvres vrrèp rov ovóparos rov viov rov  
0eov, oï Kal rpo0vpws èrradov è^ oXi]s rfjs KapSias  
Kal rrapébwKav ràs yjrv^às avrwv. 3. ^iarl ovv,  
<l>rip.t, Kvpie, rràvra pèv rà SévSpa Kapirovs e%ei,  
rives sè ef avrwv Kaprrrol evebéarepol eiaiv;  
"A.KOve, ^rjaív oaoi rrorè èrraSov Sia rò ovopa,  
èvòò^oi eiai rrapa rw 0ew, Kal rràvrwv ai àpapriai  
à^rjpéôrjaav, ori èrraffov èia rò ovopa rov viov rov  
0eov. èlari sè oi Kaprrrol avrwv rroiKìXoi eiaiv,  
nvès sè vrrepé^ovres, aKOVE. 4. oaoi, ^rjaiv, èrr  
è^ovaiav à^0evres è^r)ràa0r]a'av Kal ovk rjpvvj-  
aavro, àXX erra0ov rpo0vpws, ovroi paXXnv  
èvèò^órepoi eiai rrapà r^> Kvpiw- rovrww ó Kaprrós  
èariv ó vrrepé^wv oaoi sè èeiXol Kal èv èiaraypw  
èyéovvro Kal èXoyiaavrw èv rais Kapèiais avrwv,

**THE SHEPHERD,** sim. ix. xxvii. z-xxviii. 4

2. Bishops and hospitable men who at all times received the servants of God into their houses gladly and without hypocrisy ; and the bishops ever ceaselessly sheltered the destitute and the widows by their ministration, and ever behaved with holiness. 3. These then shall all be always sheltered by the Lord. They then who have done these things are glorious with God, and their place is already with the angels, if they continue serving the Lord unto the end.

**XXVIII**

1. “ And from the eleventh mountain, where were <sup>The</sup> trees full of fruit, each adorned with different fruit, <sup>mountain</sup> are such believers as these : 2. they who have suffered for the name of the Son of God, who also suffered readily with all their heart and 'gave up their lives.'” 3. “ Why then, Sir,” said I, “ have all the trees fruit, but the fruit of some of them is more beautiful?” “ Listen,” said he, “ as many as ever suffered for the name are glorious before God, and the sins of all these have been taken away because they suffered for the name of the Son of God. But listen why their fruits are different and some better than others. 4. As many,” said he, “ as were brought under authority and were questioned and did not deny, but suffered readily, these are especially glorious before the Lord ; the fruit of these is excellent. But as many as were fearful, were in doubt, and considered

•gIrJ noxrt» 'y r10xri0A oxnox I

liḡadḡ multa Sm -aivia loiqoiḡ saiawasivm iḡ  
aonaxx aoi aoxpMaggm aoi saodo aoi 3g w g -j

### XIXX

•<6a^ mi aitivli^ soiavuvig vai  
'amriq amigdvn timi ouy sviavi syxao^ Svi aivdv  
tavivao^s alii amiayn isi(,3 so 'tirria soldán o  
i3oUio.il siianog 11 'aoiavs aoidan aqi iviUoUadv  
Sii aya 'aioao^yx»\* timiav saoxqog Saoi Uags  
vi is 'g -aoidUimrioag Sia SQoUoUQOgvdvn  
ioariaoady sionUri 'aiaXs tioidan no 'siiLoxorio  
.SmaoUhoxorio U smsoUadv idsii loao^yioig topi  
mk&x irriti viavi .z. \*\*?3# rðx ay susnUagai  
amriq svndvrviv Svi vig 'aoidan soivriotio aoi  
rt3X3tt3 3ivq c io il 3.il, Uri 13 1VM 'tivvUdyäivx dmriti  
iviidvrviv dvL iv .3113011 qo ivn 'ivis^idvX Soidqn  
o tirria tiUm^ -Hgyn ao3g tiqi tug timriq Su tiys  
'ivtt3nUioiL3ii vLsri noeris susnoo vxxv .iaoiavs h 'i`J i  
3i32idvnnv tiqonqo -g 'ttivmffvi ivuavrviv 7»lzi-ii'sik  
tiwriq ravvi! ivn aili^yiw^ vriotiq 01 Toiqoi  
vai 'i03Q o oivvUkU Syria Saoi^y 110 'aqsg aoi  
3i3xp<f>o aiD^y^og Soivrioag qoi aansas ssiaoX , ,  
-ava 10 9g Siariq 'Aag mi siUaygony ivn amriq si`w\*!  
Srviqdv:» Sivi as llaisrivi^ Uiav Uxnod SL02L^ri  
'loasrioaaxAo^ viavi 10 Sisria aao siansx^ 'Q  
•iviUvUady aoigi aoidan Soxaog vai 'Uiqv lixcioç/  
U dyÄi vdüaou .ùiaiv Uxnoÿ amiqv aviqdvn aUi  
1113 U^sav 110 'aims Saoiiyxf loudvn 10 amiaoi  
'aoffvns yon 'iGaoniiLoxoriq li iviaovUadv aodaioi

THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xxviii. 4-xxix. 1

in their hearts whether they should deny or confess, and suffered, the fruits of these are inferior because this thought entered into their hearts, for this is an evil thought, that a servant should deny his own Lord. 5. See to it, then, you who have these thoughts, lest this thought remain in your hearts and you die to God. But you who are suffering for the name, ought to glorify God, that God deemed you worthy to bear this name and that all your sins should be healed. 6. So then count yourselves blessed ; but think that you have done a great deed, if any of you suffer for God's sake. The Lord is giving you life, and you do not consider it ; for your sins have weighed you down, and except you had suffered for the name of the Lord you would have died to God because of your sins. 7. I say this to you who are hesitating as to denial or confession. Confess that you have a Lord, lest you deny him and be delivered into prison. 8. If the heathen punish their servants, if one deny his lord, what think you will the Lord, who has power over all, do to you ? Put away these thoughts from your heart that you may live for ever to God.

XXIX

1. “ And from the twelfth mountain, the white one, The twelfth mountain are such believers as these : They are as innocent

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*elaly, olç ovbepla KaKia àvafiaivei èm ryv Kapilav ov8e eyvcocrav, t1 e<TTi rrov)r)ia, aXXa rravrore èv vqrrtoTyTi èièpeivav. 2. oí toiovtοi οvv àBig t c i k t w KaroiKrpTOviriv èv rfj fiacriXeia tov deov, ori èv ovSevi Trpâypari èplavav ràf èvroXai rov ôeov, àXXd perd vtjttiÔt ijt oç ïiièpeivav rràaa<; t Àç fjpépas Tjtç Çwtjç avrâv èv rij avrij tppovtfaei.*

ml 18,3 3. Serai οvv Siapeveîre, c^rjcrí, Kal eaeaffe (jç rd ßpé<j>T), Kcuciav pi) ë^ovres, rrilvrwv tδ>v rrpoeipy-pévcov èvSogórepoc ëcrecrffe- iràvra yap rà ßpé<j>ì) èvboÇà èan rrapà r& ðeS> Kai rrpô>ra trap avrà).l paKÚpioi οvv vpeí<j, ocroi av dprjre à<f> èavT&v i ì)v 7TOVT)piav, èvSvarprde óè tt)v ùcaKláv Trp&TOi Trávrtov ^rjaeaOe r& óeS>. 4. pera to avvTeXèaat avrov ràç Trapa/BoXái rS>v òpéa>l Xéyas àur^>- iivpie, vvv poi 8i)Xaxrov irepi rcòv Xl00IV T&v ijppévcov èK tov ireSiov Kai eic ri)v oìKoèopìjv Tedeipévwv àvri tδ>v XiOa>v riàn rjppévtov èK tov rrvpyov, Kai t &v aTpoyyvXmv twv tç-QèvTtov eic rì)v oìKoSoptfv, Kai twv en rrvpoyyvXcov OVTCOV.

### XXX

1. "À.KOve, <f>r)0-i, Kai rrepi tov t cov rravrav. oi Xldoi ol rov rreèlov rjppèvoi Kai redeipévoi etç ri)v oiKolioprjv rov rrvpyov àvri ràv àrròl3e/3Xr)pevcùv, ai piÇai èitri tov opov<; tov Xévkov.2 2. erra οvv oi TriaTeva'avTeì, èK tov opovt rov XevKOV

*irdvra yap . . . airry AFLj, om< Lj.  
2 faVKOV P@m, ÀiUKOV TOUTOU AL,*

babes, and no evil enters into their heart, nor have they known what wickedness is, but have ever remained in innocence. 2. Such then shall live without doubt in the kingdom of God, because by no act did they defile the commandments of God, but remained in innocence all the days of their lives in the same mind. 3. All of you, then, as many as shall continue," said he, "and shall be as babes, with no wickedness, shall be more glorious than all those who have been mentioned before, for all babes are glorious before God, and are in the first place by him. Blessed then are you who put away evil from yourselves, and put on guiltlessness, for you shall be the first of all to live to God." 4. But The stones  
thiTpiab. ° after he had finished the parable of the mountains I said to him: "Sir, now explain to me about the stones which were taken out of the plain, and put into the building instead of the stones which were taken away from the tower, and the round stones which were put into the building, and those which are still round."

### XXX

1. "Listen also," he said, "concerning all these. The stones that are taken from the plain and put into the building of the tower instead of those which are rejected, are the roots of the white mountain. 2. Since then all the believers from the white

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*TrávTe<> aKaKoi evpéd'qaav, eKeXeavaev o Kvpio<j rov  
 •rrvpyov tovtovs ère tδ>v πιÇâvl tov opov<j tovtoν  
 /3Xi)0ί)vai etç Tyv oiKo8opyv tov irvpyow éyva  
 yáp, oti, èàn aireXOaraiv eiç Tyv oiKoèopyv tov  
 Trvpyov oi Xldoi ovToi, ðiapevovai Xapirpol Kai  
 ovδel<; avT&v peKavycrei.<sup>2</sup> 3. Quodsi de ceteris  
 montibus adiecisset, necesse habuisset rursus visitare  
 eam turrem atque purgare. Hi autem omnes can-  
 didi inventi sunt, *TriaTevaavTe} Kal oi peKXovTe?  
 Trt,cTTevei.v £k tov avTov yàp yévovs eiaiv. pa-  
 KÚptov to yévoσ tovto, oti olkukov cctiv.* 4.  
*aKove vvv Kal irepl t &v ~Ki,0ti>v t &v aTpoyyvÁMV  
 Kai Xapirpâv. Kal avrol trávTeç çk tov opovç rov  
 XevKov elaiiv-* Audi autem, quare rotundi sunt  
 reperti. Divitiae suae eos pusillum obscuraverunt  
 a veritate atque obfuscaverunt, a deo vero nun-  
 quam recesserunt, nec ullum verbum malum pro-  
 cessit de ore eorum, sed omnis aequitas et virtus  
 veritatis. 5. Horum ergo mentem cum vidisset  
 dominus posse eos veritati favere, bonos quoque  
 permanere, iussit opes eorum circumcidi, non enim  
 in totum eorum tolli, ut possint aliquid boni  
 facere de eo, quod eis relictum est, et vivent deo,  
 quoniam ex bono genere sunt. Ideo ergo pusillum  
 circumcisi sunt et positi sunt in structuram turris  
 huius.*

Eph. 4,29

<sup>1</sup> *Tiw fáiv* LE, om. A.

<sup>2</sup> At this point A ends, as the last leaf is missing. The Latin text which follows is that of L,. The few verses in Greek are from P<sup>s</sup>™. Some words have been restored as the Papyrus is in bad condition, but the reconstructions are almost certain.

## THE SHEPHERD, *sim. ix. xxx. 2-5*

mountain were found guiltless, the lord of the tower commanded these to be brought from the roots of this mountain for the building of the tower. For he knew that if these stones go into the building of the tower they will remain bright and none of them will become black. 3. But if he had added them from the other mountains he would have been obliged to visit the tower again, and to purge it, for all these have been found white, both past and future believers, for they are of the same race. Blessed is this race, because it is innocent. 4. Listen now concerning the round and bright stones. They also are all from this white mountain. Listen then why they have been found round. Their riches have hidden them a little from the truth and darkened them, but they have never departed from God, nor has any evil word proceeded from their mouth, but all equity and virtue of truth. 5. When therefore the Lord saw their minds, that they are able to favour the truth and to remain good, he commanded their wealth to be cut down, yet not to be wholly taken away from them, that they may be able to do some good with that which was left them, and they shall live to God because they are of a good kind. Therefore they were cut down a little, and placed in the building of this tower.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### XXXI

1. Ceteri vero, qui adhuc rotundi remanserunt neque aptati sunt in eam structuram, quia nondum acceperunt sigillum, repositi sunt suo loco; valde enim rotundi reperti sunt. 2. Oportet autem circumcidi hoc saeculum ab illis et vanitates opum suarum, et tunc convenient in dei regnum. Necessè est enim eos intrare in dei regnum; hoc enim genus innocuum benedixit dominus. Ex hoc ergo genere non intercidet quisquam. Etenim licet quis eorum temptatus a nequissimo diabolo aliquid deliquerit, cito recurret ad dominum suum. 3. Felices vos iudico omnes, ego nuntius paenitentiae, quicumque estis innocentes sicut infantes, quoniam pars vestra bona est et honorata apud deum. 4. Dico autem omnibus, vobis, quicumque sigillum hoc accepistis, simplicitatem habere neque offensarum memores esse neque in malitia vestra permanere aut in memoria offensarum amaritudinis, in unum quemque spiritum fieri et has malas scissuras pennediare ac tollere a vobis, ut dominus pecorum gaudeat de his.<sup>1</sup> 5. *^aprjaeTai Sé, èàv irávTa vyij evpe&rj, Kal p,rj StaTreiTTrmKOTa è% avT&v. èàv Sè evpeOfi riva è% aiiT&v SiaTreiTrtoKOTa, ovai τοῖς iroipÀtriv sarai.* 6. *èàv Sè Kal ài>Tol ol Troifiève\*; evpeôâtai Sia-ttstttcokotss, ri èpovai rà SeairoTr) tov iroip,vlov; ori ôtto tS>v irpo{3aTww Siéireaav; ov irraTev-drjaovTac àriatov yàp ttpåyp,á èaTi iroipÁva virò Tpo{3aT<ov iradeiv τῆ' paWov Sè KoXaa-*

<sup>1</sup> The Greek which follows is a quotation preserved in Antiochus.

XXXI.

1. “BUT the others which still remained round and were not fitted into the building, because they had not yet received the seal, were put back in their place, for they were found very round. 2. But this world and the vanities of their riches must be cut away from them, and then they will be meet for the kingdom of God. For they needs must ‘enter into the kingdom of God’; for the Lord blessed this innocent kind. Therefore not one of this kind shall perish, for though one of them be tempted by the most wicked devil, and do some wrong, he will quickly return to his Lord. 3. I, the angel of repentance, judge you all happy who are innocent as babes, for your part is good and honourable with God. 4. But I say to you all, as many as have received the seal, keep simplicity and bear no malice, and do not remain in your guilt, or in remembrance of the bitterness of offences. Be of one spirit and put away these evil schisms, and take them away from yourselves that the lord of the sheep may rejoice over them. 5. But he will rejoice if all be found whole; but if he find some of them fallen away, it will be woe to the shepherds. 6. But if the shepherds themselves be found fallen away, what shall they answer to the Master of the flock? That they have fallen away because of the sheep? They will not be believed, for it is incredible that a shepherd should be harmed

Th0 round  
stones

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Ôr/trovrai, 8ià to i/reuSo? avTwv.* Et ego sum pastor, et validissime oportet me de vobis reddere rationem.

### XXXII

1. Remediate ergo vos, dum adhuc turris aedificatur. 2. Dominus habitat in viris amantibus pacem; ei enimvero pax cara est; a litigiosis vero et perditis malitiae longe abest. Reddite igitur ei spiritum integrum, sicut accepistis. 3. Si efiim dederis fulloni vestimentum novum integrum idque integrum iterum vis recipere, fullo autem scissum tibi illud reddet, recipies illud? Nonne statim scandesces<sup>1</sup> et eum convicio persequeris, dicens: Vestimentum integrum tibi dedi; quare scidisti illud et inutile redegisti? Et propter scissuram, quam in eo fecisti, in usu esse non potest. Nonne haec omnia verba dices fulloni ergo et de scissura, quam in vestimento tuo fecerit?<sup>2</sup> 4. Si sic igitur tu doles de vestimento tuo et quereris, quod non illud integrum recipias, quid putas dominum tibi facturum, qui spiritum integrum tibi dedit, et tu eum totum inutilem redegisti, ita ut in nullo usu esse possit domino suo? Inutilis enim esse coepit usus eius, cum sit corruptus a te. Nonne igitur dominus spiritus eius propter hoc factum tuum morte te adficiet? 5. Plane, inquam, omnes eos,

<sup>1</sup> Scandescis L., irascaris L2.

<sup>2</sup> A great part of this paragraph is found in Greek in Antiochus, but he seems here to abbreviate and perhaps to paraphrase too much to render it wise to follow his text.

THE SHEPHERD, sim. ix. xxxi. 6-xxxii. 5

by the sheep, and they will rather be punished for their lie. And I am the shepherd, and am very exceedingly bound to give account for you.

XXXII

1. “Therefore, amend yourselves while the tower <sup>The final</sup> is still being built. 2. The Lord dwells among men who <sup>of the\*\*4#00</sup> love peace, for of a truth peace is dear to him, but he <sup>shepherd</sup> is far away from the contentious and those who are destroyed by malice. Give back then to him your spirit whole as you received it. 3. For if you give to the dyer a new garment whole, and wish to receive it back from him whole, but the dyer gives it you back torn, will you accept it? Will you not at once grow hot<sup>l</sup> and pursue him with abuse, saying ‘I gave you a whole garment, why have you torn it and given it me back useless? And because of the tear which you have made in it it cannot be used.’ Will you not say all these things to the dyer about the rent which he has made in your garment? 4. If then you are grieved with your garment, and complain that you did not receive it back whole, what do you think the Lord will do to you, who gave you the spirit whole, and you have returned it altogether useless, so that it can be of no use to its Lord, for its use began to be useless when it had been corrupted by you. Will not therefore the Lord of that spirit punish you with death, because of this deed of yours?” 5. “Certainly,” said I, “He will punish

<sup>l</sup> Scandesco is probably a dialectic form of candesco, which is found in some MSS of L>.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

quoscumque invenerit in memoria offensarum permanere, adficiet. Clementiam, inquit, eius calcare nolite, sed potius honorificate eum, quod tam patiens est ad delicta vestra et non est sicut vos. Agite enim paenitentiam utilem vobis.

### XXXIII

1. Haec omnia, quae supra scripta sunt, ego pastor nuntius paenitentiae ostendi et locutus sum dei servis. Si credideritis ergo et audieritis verba mea et ambulaveritis in his et correxeritis itinera vestra, vivere poteritis. Sin autem permanseritis in malitia et memoria offensarum, nullus ex huiusmodi vivet deo. Haec omnia a me dicenda dicta sunt vobis.

2. Ait mihi ipse pastor: Omnia a me interrogasti? Et dixi: Ita, domine. Quare ergo non interrogasti me de forma lapidum in structura repositorum, quod explevimus formas? Et dixi: Oblitus sum, domine.

3. Audi nunc, inquit, de illis. Hi sunt qui nunc mandata mea audierunt et ex totis praecordiis egerunt paenitentiam. Cumque vidisset dominus bonam atque puram esse paenitentiam eorum et posse eos in ea permanere, iussit priora peccata eorum deleri. Hae enim formae peccata erant eorum, et exaequata sunt, ne apparent.

all those whom he finds keeping the memory of offences." "Do not then," said he, "trample on his mercy, but rather honour him that he is so patient to your offences and is not as you are. Repent therefore with the repentance that avails you.

### XXXIII

1. "All these things which have been written above I, the shepherd, the angel of repentance, have declared and spoken to the servants of God. If then you shall believe and shall listen to my words and shall walk in them, and shall correct your ways, you shall be able to live. But if you shall remain in malice and in the memory of offences, none of such kind shall live to God. All these things that I must tell have been told to you." 2. The shepherd himself said to me, "Have you asked me about everything?" And I said: "Yes, Sir," "Why then did you not ask me about the marks of the stones which were placed in the building, why we filled up the marks?" And I said: "I forgot, Sir." 3. "Listen now," said he, "about them. These are those who heard my commandments, and repented with all their hearts. And when the Lord saw that their repentance was good and pure, and that they could remain in it, he commanded their former sins to be blotted out. For these marks were their sins, and they were made level that they should not appear."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Similitudo **X**

### 1

1. Postquam perscripseram librum hunc, venit nuntius ille, qui me tradiderat huic pastori, in domum, in qua eram, et consedit supra lectum, et adstitit ad dexteram hic pastor. Deinde vocavit me et haec mihi dixit: 2. Tradidi te, inquit, et domum tuam huic pastori, ut ab eo protegi possis. Ita, inquam, domine. Si vis ergo protegi, inquit, ab omni vexatione et ab omni saevitia, successum autem habere in omni opere bono atque verbo et omnem virtutem aequitatis, in mandatis huius ingredi, quae dedi tibi, et poteris dominari omni nequitiae. 3. Custodienti enim tibi mandata huius subiecta erit omnis cupiditas et dulcedo saeculi huius, successus vero in omni bono negotio te sequetur. Maturitatem huius et modestiam suscipe in te et dic omnibus, in magno honore esse eum et dignitate apud dominum et magnae potestatis eum praesidem esse et potentem in officio suo. Huic soli per totum orbem paenitentiae potestas tributa est. Potensne tibi videtur esse? Sed vos maturitatem huius et verecundiam, quam in vos habet, despicitis.

### II

1. Dico ei: Interroga ipsum, domine, ex quo in domo mea est, an aliquid extra ordinem fecerim, ex

THE SHEPHERD, sim. x. i. i-ii. i

Parable 10

I

1. After I had written this- book the angel who had handed me over to the shepherd came to the house in which I was, and sat on the couch, and the shepherd stood on his right hand. Then he called me and said to me : 2. "I have handed you over," said he, "and your house to this shepherd, that you may be protected by him." "Yes, Sir," said I. "If then," said he, "you wish to be protected from all vexation and all cruelty, and to have success in every good work and word, and every virtue of righteousness, walk in his commandments, which he gave you, and you will be able to overcome all wickedness. 3. For, if you keep his commandments, all the lusts and delight of this world will be subject to you, but success in every good undertaking will follow you. Take his perfection<sup>1</sup> and moderation<sup>2</sup> upon you, and say to all that he is in great honour and dignity with the Lord, and that he is set in great power and powerful in his office. To him alone throughout all the world is given the power of repentance. Does he not seem to you to be powerful ? But you despise his perfection and the modesty which he has towards you."

II

1. I said to him : "Ask him himself, Sir, whether since he has been in my house I have done anything

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'ripeness.'

<sup>2</sup> A translation either of *autppoa-ivii* or of «irradia = propriety of conduct, a word specially used by the Stoics.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

quo eum offenderim. 2. Et ego, inquit, scio nihil extra ordinem fecisse te neque esse facturum. Et ideo haec loquor tecum, ut perseveres. Bene enim de te hic apud me existimavit. Tu autem ceteris haec verba dices, ut et illi, qui egerunt aut acturi sunt paenitentiam, eadem quae tu sentiant et hic apud me de his bene interpretetur et ego apud dominum. 3. Et ego, inquam, domine, omni homini indico magnalia domini; spero autem, quia omnes, qui antea peccaverunt, si haec audiant, libenter acturi sunt paenitentiam vitam recuperantes. 4. Permane ergo, inquit, in hoc ministerio et consumma illud. Quicumque autem mandata huius efficiunt, habebunt vitam, et hic apud dominum magnum honorem. Quicumque vero huius mandata non servant, fugiunt a sua vita et illum adversus<sup>1</sup>; nec mandata eius sequuntur, sed morti se tradunt et unusquisque eorum reus fit sanguinis sui. Tibi autem dico, ut servias mandatis his, et remedium peccatorum habebis.

Act» 2, n

### III

1. Misi autem tibi has virgines, ut habitent tecum; vidi enim eas affabiles tibi esse. Habes ergo eas adiutrices, quo magis possis huius mandata servare; non potest enim fieri, ut sine his virginibus haec mandata servantur. Video autem eas libenter esse tecum; sed ego praecipiam eis, ut omnino a domo

<sup>1</sup> Hilgenfeld emends to "aversantur illum."

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. x. ii. i-iii. i

against his command, to offend against him ?” 2. “ I know myself,” said he, “ that you have done nothing and will do nothing against his command, and therefore I am speaking thus with you, that you may persevere ; for he has given me a good account of you. But you shall tell these words to others, that they also who have repented, or shall repent, may have the same mind as you, and that he may give a good account to me of them, and I to the Lord.” 3. “ I myself, Sir,” said I, “ show the ‘ mighty acts ’ of the Lord to all men, but I hope that all who have sinned before, if they hear this, will willingly repent, and recover life.” 4. “ Remain then,” said he, “ in this ministry and carry it out. But whoever perform his commandments shall have life, and such a one has great honour with the Lord. But whoever do not keep his commands, are flying from their own life and against him, and they do not keep his commandments, but are delivering themselves to death, and each one of them is guilty of his own blood. But you I bid to keep these commandments, and you shall have healing for your sins.

## HI

1. “ But I sent these maidens to you to dwell with nermas and you, for I saw that they were courteous to you. You themaldens have them therefore to help you, in order to keep his commandments the better, for it is not possible that these commandments be kept without these maidens. I see moreover that they are with you willingly ; but I will enjoin on them not to depart at all from your

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

tua non discedant. 2. Tu tantum communda domum tuam; in munda enim domo libenter habitabunt; mundae enim sunt atque castae et industriae et omnes habentes gratiam apud dominum. Igitur si habuerint domum tuam puram, tecum permanebunt. Sin autem pusillum aliquid iniquationis acciderit, protinus a domo tua recedent; hae enim virgines nullum omnino diligunt iniquationem. 3. Dico ei: Spero me, domine, placitum eis, ita ut in domo mea libenter habitent semper. *Kai Starrep ovrot, a> irapeixoKat pe, ov pép-ierai pe, ovèè avrai pépyfrovraí pe.* 4. *Xéyei tco rroipévr Oièa, orí o SovKoc rov 3eov dèxi Çp> Kai rrijpjaei ra<j èvroXàt ravrat Kai rat rrapûévovt èv KaSapórrjri Karaarrpei.* 5. *ravra eirràn tû rroipévi irâKiv rrapé-SoiKev pe Kai rat rrapOévovt KaKéaat . . . .* *Xéyet aiiiraît'!* Quoniam video vos libenter in domo huius habitare, commendo eum vobis et domum eius, ut a domo eius non recedatis omnino. Illae vero haec verba libenter audierunt.

### IV

Acts 2,1

1. Ait deinde mihi: Viriliter in ministerio hoc conversare, omni homini indica magnalia domini, et habebis gratiam in hoc ministerio. Quicumque ergo in his mandatis ambulaverit, vivet et felix erit in vita sua; quicumque vero neglexerit, non vivet et erit infelix in vita sua. 2. Dic omnibus, ut non

1 The Greek is from Pox (Oxyrynchus Papyr. 404).

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. x. iii. i-iv. 2

house. 2. Only do you make your house pure, for in a pure house they will willingly dwell, for they are pure and chaste and industrious and all have favour with the Lord. If then they find your house pure they will remain with you. But if ever so little corruption come to it they will at once depart from your home, for these maidens love no sort of impurity."

3. I said to him : "I hope, Sir, that I shall please them so that they may ever willingly dwell in my house. And just as he, to whom you handed me over, finds no fault in me, so they also shall find no fault in me." 4. He said to the shepherd : "I know that the servant of God wishes to live, and will keep these commandments, and will provide for the maidens in purity." 5. When he had said this he handed me over again to the shepherd, and called the maidens and said to them : "*Since I* see that you willingly dwell in his house I commend him and his house to you, that you depart not at all from his house." But they heard these words willingly.

## IV

1. Then he said to me : "Behave manfully in this ministry, show to every man the 'mighty acts' of the Lord, and you shall have favour in this ministry. Whoever therefore shall walk in these commandments shall live, and shall be happy in his life ; but whoever shall neglect them shall not live, and shall be unhappy in his life. 2. Say to all men who are

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

cessent, quicumque recte facere possunt; bona opera exercere utile est illis. Dico autem, omnem hominem de incommodis eripi oportere. Et is enim, qui eget et in cotidiana vita patitur incommoda, in magno tormento est ac necessitate. 3. Qui igitur huiusmodi animam eripit de necessitate, magnum gaudium sibi acquirit. Is enim, qui huiusmodi vexatur incommodo, pari tormento cruciatur atque torquet se qui in vincula est. Multi enim propter huiusmodi calamitates, cum eas sufferre non possunt, mortem sibi adducunt. Qui novit igitur calamitatem huiusmodi hominis et non eripit eum, magnum peccatum admittit et reus fit sanguinis eius. 4. Facite igitur opera bona, quicumque accepistis a domino, ne, dum tardatis facere, consummetur structura turris. Propter vos enim intermissum est opus aedificationis eius. Nisi festinetis igitur facere recte, consummabitur turris, et excludemini. 5. Postquam vero locutus est mecum, surrexit de lecto et apprehenso pastore et virginibus abiit, dicens autem mihi, remissurum se pastorem illum et virgines in domum meam.

## THE SHEPHERD, sim. x. iv. 2-5

able to do right,<sup>1</sup> that they cease not; the exercise of good deeds is profitable to them. But I say that every man ought to be taken out from distress, for he who is destitute and suffers distress in his daily life is in great anguish and necessity. 3. Whoever therefore rescues the soul of such a man from necessity gains great joy for himself. For he who is vexed by such distress is tortured with such anguish as he suffers who is in chains. For many bring death on themselves by reason of such calamities when they cannot bear them. Whoever therefore knows the distress of such a man, and does not rescue him, incurs great sin and becomes guilty of his blood. 4. Therefore do good deeds, all you who have learnt of the Lord, lest the building of the tower be finished while you delay to do them. For the work of the building has been broken off for your sake. Unless therefore you hasten to do right the tower will be finished and you will be shut out."

5. Now after he had spoken this he rose from the couch, and took the shepherd and the maidens and departed, but said to me that he would send back the shepherd and the maidens to my house.

<sup>1</sup> 'recte facere' can hardly be translated otherwise: but from the context it seems probably to represent e8 iroieir, or some such phrase, meaning to do good in the sense of charitable acts.



# THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP





## THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP

This obviously genuine and contemporary account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, in the form of a letter from the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium, is the earliest known history of a Christian martyrdom, the genuineness of which is unquestionable, and its value is enhanced by the fact that in the extant MSS. a short account is given of the history of the text. From this it appears that Gaius, a contemporary of Irenaeus who had himself seen Polycarp when he was a boy, copied the text from a manuscript in the possession of Irenaeus. Later on Socrates in Corinth copied the text of Gaius, and finally Pionius copied the text of Socrates. Pionius, who is supposed to have lived in the 4th century, says that the existence of the document was revealed to him in a vision by Polycarp, and that when he found it the MS. was old and in bad condition.

Of the text of Pionius, the following five Greek MSS. are available and further research among hagiographical MSS. would probably reveal the existence of more, but there is no reason to suppose that such discovery would make any important addition to our knowledge of the text, which is quite good.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- m, Codex Mosquensis 159 (13th century), now in the Library of the Holy Synod at Moscow.
- b, Codex Baroccianus 238 (11th century), now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.
- p, Codex Parisinus Gr. 1452 (10th century), now in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris.
- s, Codex Hierosolymitanus (10th century), now in the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.
- v, Codex Vindobonensis Gr. Eccl. iii. (11th century), at Vienna.

Of these MSS. b p s v form a group as opposed to m, which has often the better text.

We also have the greater part of the letter preserved by Eusebius in quotations in his Ecclesiastical History IV. 15, quoted as E.

Besides these authorities there exists a Latin version, quoted as L, and extracts from Eusebius in Syriac and Coptic which have obviously no independent value.

The date of the martyrdom of Polycarp is fixed by the chronicle of Eusebius as 166-7, but this date has now been almost universally abandoned, as according to the letter to the church at Smyrna, Polycarp's martyrdom was on Saturday, Xanthicus<sup>1</sup> 2, that is Feb. 23, in the proconsulship of Statius Quadratus, and from a reference in Aelius Aristides, Waddington (*Mémoire sur la chronologie de la vie du rhéteur, Aelius Aristide*, Paris, 1864) showed that Quadratus became proconsul of Asia in 153-4. Now, Feb. 23 fell on a Saturday in 155. It is therefore suggested

<sup>1</sup> The name of the spring month in the Macedonian Calendar which was commonly used in Smyrna.

## THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP

that Feb. 23, 155, was the date of the martyrdom. The question however is complicated by the statement in the letter that the day of the martyrdom was a great Sabbath. This may mean the Jewish feast Purim, and Purim in 155 was not on Feb. 23. Mr. C. H. Turner has argued in *Studia Biblica* H., pp. 105 ff. that Purim, Feb. 22, 156, is the real date and that the Roman reckoning which regards Xanthicus 2 as equivalent to Feb. 23 is a mistake due to neglect to consider fully the complicated system of intercalation in the Asian calendar. More recently Prof. E. Schwartz has argued in the *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gollingen* VIII. (1905), 6, pp. 125 ff. that the 'great Sabbath' can only mean the Sabbath after the Passover (cf. Jo. 19, 21), and that owing to the local customs of the Jews in Smyrna this was on Feb. 22 in the year 156 a.d. He thus reaches the same result as Turner, but by a different method.

**MAPTYPION TOY AHOY HIOAY-  
KAPNOY ENISKONOY SMYPNH21**

Judeif

'H *tov Oeov* 17 *irapoiKOvaa ^pnpvnav*  
*Trj eKKXrpria tov Oeov Trj TrapoiKovar} ev*  
*<\$>iXopifKitp Kai irátrais raïs <ara irávTa tottov*  
*Tr}<; áyía? Kai Ka0oXiKrp; eKKXiprias irapoi-*  
*Kiaw eXeoç, eipipn] Kai cuyáirr) Oeov iraTpos*  
*Kai Kvpíov rjps>v 'I?]}tov \pUTTOv 7rXr]0vv0eiTi.*

**I**

phii 2,4

1. 'Eiypá^rapev vpîv, àSeX(j>oi, Ta Kara toví  
*papTvpifaavTas Kai tov paKapiov UoXvKapTrov,*  
*otrTtt &arrep ê7ri<T<f>payía-a<; Sia tt|ç papTvpia<j*  
*avTov KaTerraev tov Sicoypón. ay^eSbv yap*  
*irávra Ta TTPoáyovTa ζέveTO, iva rjπίv o Kvpios*  
*ava>Oev ζTriSeí^y to KaTa to evayyéXiov papTvpiov,*  
2. *trepíépÆeven yáp, "va TrapaSo0y, <ε>ç Kai o Kvpio<j,*  
*"va piprjTai Kai ij/ieíç avTov yeva>pe0a, pr] povov*  
*aKOTT0VVTe<; to KO0' ζavTOví, aXXa Kai to KaTa*  
*tous TréXas. áyáirrj<; yàp oXi]0ov^ Kai ^e^aía<j*  
*eaTiv, prj pónov éavTov OeXeiv cra>^ea0ai, aXXa*  
*Kai irávTa<; tovs áSeX<f>ov<j.*

1 This title has no special support. Each MS. gives its own title and though there is a general resemblance no two are the same.

# THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. POLY- CARP, BISHOP OF SMYRNA

The Church of God which sojourns in Smyrna, to the Church of God which sojourns in Philomelium, and to all the sojournings of the Holy Catholic Church in every place. "Mercy, peace and love" of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied.

## I

1. We write to you, brethren, the story of the martyrs and of the blessed Polycarp, who put an end to the persecution by his martyrdom as though adding the seal.<sup>1</sup> For one might almost say that all that had gone before happened in order that the Lord might show to us from above a martyrdom<sup>2</sup> in accordance with the Gospel. 2. For he waited to be betrayed as also the Lord had done, that we too might become his imitators, "not thinking of ourselves alone, but also of our neighbours." For it is the mark of true and steadfast love, not to wish that oneself may be saved alone, but all the brethren also.

<sup>1</sup> He was the last to suffer and thus might be regarded as being the seal to the 'witness' or 'testimony' (*paprvpiov*) of the Church. It is not clear whether *paprvpta* and *papriptov* ought to be translated 'martyrdom' or 'witness': there is an untranslatable play on the words.

<sup>3</sup> Or perhaps "witness."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### II

1. <sup>^</sup>Aatcávia piv ovv Kal yevvaíā rā papTvria Trávra rā Kara to óéXripa tov Oeov yeyovoTa. Sei yàp ev\lambda(3eaTepov; rjpa; úTráp-^ovra; t S) be< > Trjv /cara irávTatv è^ovcriav àvaTiOévat. 2. to yap yevvaíov avTÛv Kal vjropovrjTiKÒv Kal <( >iXoSecr7ro-Tov rtç ovk O.V Oaupátretev; oil pàari^iv pèv KaTa^avOévTe;, wore λέjí^oί t &v earn <j>Xe/3a>v Kal àpTijjiàrv TTjv Try; aapKo; olKovopíav dem-peladat, inrépeivav, to; Kai tov; irepiecrTwra; eXeiv Kal òSvpeaOai' tov; Sè Kai ei; Toaovrov yevvaioTryro; eXdely, ware prjTe ypittai pryre arevá^at Tivà avr&v, èiriSeiKvvpévov; arrae?iv •qpv, OTi ζKeivp Trj arpa ftaaaviÇôpevoi tt); aapKo; á-rreSrjrov oi yevvaiÓTaToil pàpTvpe; tov Xpíatov, paXXov Sé, 6ti rrapeaToi; o Kvpio; à>piXeí avrai;.

3. Kal vpoaé-^ovTe; Ty tov \píatov papiri Ttòv KoapiKwv KaTeijrpónovv ^aaàvtoν, Sia pia; &pa; t Ì]v altóviov ^airjv2 è^ayopa^ópevoi. Kal rð irvp 7]v avToi; yfrv^pov to tçòv áirrjvS>v (SacraviaTÛv. irpo ò<f>6aXpiàv yàp el^ov tfrvyeiv rð alórviov Kal prìSéiroTe afievvvpevov, Kal toi; Trj; KapSia; òfydaXpoi; àvéfiXe-Trov rā Tppovpeva toi; viro-peivaatv àyaðà, à ovts ov; fjKovaov ovts ò<f>0aX-liðç eiSev ovre èirl KapSiav àvdpdyrov àvé^rr), ζKeivoi; Sè vTreSeiKVVTò virò tov Kvpiov, oiirep pr/KeTi àvdpwrroi, ζXX' ifòr) àyyeXoi yaav.

1 yeveàlrara! mps, om. bv.

2 Culli' m, K;Ka<riv bpsv. The reading of bpsv would have to be translated "buying off eternal punishment" and this rendering of ζfayopáfeo-eai is doubtful.

**SU**

i Cor. 2,9  
«5, ia/ '»

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, n. i-3

### II

1. Blessed then and noble are all the martyrdoms The which took place according to the will of God, for of the things we must be very careful to assign the power over all Maitiyi to God. 2. For who would not admire their nobility and patience and love of their Master? For some were torn by scourging until the mechanism of their flesh was seen even to the lower veins and arteries, and they endured so that even the bystanders pitied them and mourned. And some even reached such a pitch of nobility that none of them groaned or wailed, showing to all of us that at that hour of their torture the noble martyrs of Christ were absent from the flesh, or rather that the Lord was standing by and talking with them. 3. And paying heed to the grace of Christ they despised worldly tortures, by a single hour purchasing everlasting life. And the fire of their cruel torturers had no heat for them, for they set before their eyes an escape from the fire which is everlasting and is never quenched, and with the eyes of their heart they looked up to the good things which are preserved for those who have endured, 'which neither ear hath heard nor hath eye seen, nor hath it entered into the heart of man,' but it was shown by the Lord to them who were no longer men but already angels.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This passage, combined with *Hermas Vis. II. ii. 7* and *Sim. IX. XXV. 2*, shows that the identification of the dead with angels existed in the second century in Christian circles.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

4. òpioiws sè Kai oi els rà dr/pía KaraKpiffevres  
virépeivav Seivàs KoXáaeis, KrjpVKas viroa-rpaiv-  
vypevot Kai aXKats irouciKtov ftaaávmv ;Seats  
KoXaÇôp,evoi, iva, el SvvrjOeli], o rvpavvos Sia rrjs  
èiriptóvov KoXaaetos eis àpvrvatv avròvs rpé^r/,  
iroXXà yàp ep/rf^avaro ko, z' avrâv o StáftóKos.

### III

1. 'AXXà X“Piç T\$ @eW' KaT^ irónvraiv yàp  
ovk ïa^ycev. ó 7®P yewatoraros VeppiaviKOS  
eireppmvvnev aiiT&v rrpv SeiXiav Sta rijs èv avrà  
viropævrjs' os Kai ;Triaripats è0T)pio/iay(rja-ev. fiouv-  
\op,evov yàp tov àvBvrràrov rretOetv avrov Kai  
Xeyovros, rrjv fjKtKÍav avrov KaroiKréîpat, eavTtp  
eireairaaaro to tìppiov irpoa^iarrafievos, ra^iov  
rov àSiKov Kai àvópov fôiou avrâ>v arraWayfjvai  
(3ovXóp,evos. 2. eK tovtoov ovv wav to irKfidov,  
ÔavpMcrav tt)v yevvatorriTa rov OeoiijjiKovs Kat  
Geoae^ovs yéovov râ>v Xpiariavtov, eTre^orjcrev  
Alpe Tovs àdéovs' ^Teiadto HoX-vKapiros.

### IV

1. Eîç Sé, òvópiav iúóivros, ^pv^ irpoa^àrtos  
eXrfkvdàis àrrò rfjs ^pvyias, ISàiv rà 0t;pia  
;SeiXíaaev. ovtoç Sè ^v ò irapafia<ràp,evos  
éavTov re Kai rivas irpoaeXdely eKovras. tovtoov  
ó àvOviraros troWà eKXiTraprjtras eireiaev òp-ocat  
Kai èrriòvaai. Stà tovto ovv, àSeX<f>oi, ovk  
èiraivovpiev tovs irpoSiSóvras éavrovç, èiretSi) ov%  
OVT03S StSàaKei ro evayyeKiov.

Mt. io, 23

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, n. 4-iv. i

4. And in the same way also those who were condemned to the beasts endured terrible torment, being stretched on sharp shells and buffeted with other kinds of various torments, that if it were possible the tyrant might bring them to a denial by continuous torture. For the devil used many wiles against them.

### III

1. But thanks be to God, for he had no power over Germanicus any. For the most noble Germanicus encouraged their fears by the endurance which was in him, and he fought gloriously with the wild beasts. For when the Pro-Consul wished to persuade him and bade him have pity on his youth, he violently dragged the beast towards himself, wishing to be released more quickly from their unrighteous and lawless life. 2. So after this all the crowd, wondering at the nobility of the God-loving and God-fearing people of the Christians, cried out: "Away with the Atheists; let Polycarp be searched for."

### IV

1. But one, named Quintus, a Phrygian lately come Quintus from Phrygia, when he saw the wild beasts played the coward. Now it was he who had forced himself and some others to come forward of their own accord. Him the Pro-Consul persuaded with many entreaties to take the oath and offer sacrifice. For this reason, therefore, brethren, we do not commend those who give themselves up, since the Gospel does not give this teaching.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### V

1. 'Ο Sè Bapacrllo<sup>r</sup>aras Ti.oXvKap<sup>r</sup>ros to pè<sup>n</sup> trpwTov aKovcras ovk èrapà<sup>^</sup>Or), àXX' èftovXero Kara ttoXiv péveiv ol Sè TrXeiovc èrreiBov avrov vrre<sup>^</sup>èXBeiv. Kai vrre<sup>^</sup>ffXdev els àp<sup>l</sup>Siov ov paK- pàv àrré<sup>^</sup>ov dirò t)ç TròXewç Kai diérpi/3ev per' oXiyiov, vvKra Kai ppépav ouBèv erepov rrotSiv r) rpoa-ev<sup>^</sup>opevos rrepì rràvrtov Kai rtov Kara ryv oiKovpevrv eKKXrpriiov, orrep r/v avin)6es avrû. 2. Kai rpoaev<sup>^</sup>ôpevos èv omaala yéyovev rrp'o rpitov r)pepôiv rov crvXXippBrjvai avrôv, Kai eiBev rà irpocTKe<l>áXaiov avrov viro irvpò<; KaraKaió- pevov km arpare!?! evrrev 'n-pos roùç criiv avrSr Aeî pe Çâvra Kavjvai.l

### VI

1. Kai èrripevôvra>v râv ^rjrovvreov avrov perefir) eli erepov dyptôtov, Kai evdêws errear-rijaav ol ÇijToûvrec avrov Kai pi) evpóvres crvveXâ/Bovro irat&àpLa 8vo, wv to erepov ^aaavi<sup>^</sup>opevov jipriKoyrprev. 2. rpv yàp Kai àSvvarov XaBeiv avrov, èrrel Kai ol irpoèièovres avrov olKetoì virij<sup>^</sup>ov, Kai o eiprvvapxos, o KeKXr)pa>pevo<; to avrò ovopa, èmXeyôpevoç, ecrrevSev eiç rà aráSiov avrov elcra<sup>y</sup>eiv, iva eKeivoç pèv rov

Mt. io, so

l Ka7)vai m, Kau<sup>^</sup>fyvai bpsv.

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, v. i-vi. 2

### V

1. But the most wonderful Polycarp, when he <sup>Polycarp's</sup> first heard it, was not disturbed, but wished to remain in the city ; but the majority persuaded him <sup>country</sup> to go away quietly, and he went out quietly to a farm, not far distant from the city, and stayed with a few friends, doing nothing but pray night and day for all, and for the Churches throughout the world, as was his custom. 2. And while he was praying he fell into a trance three days before he was arrested, and saw the pillow under his head burning with fire, and he turned and said to those who were with him : " I must be burnt alive."

### VI

1. And when the searching for him persisted he <sup>his betrayal</sup> went to another farm ; and those who were searching for him came up at once, and when they did not find him, they arrested young slaves,<sup>1</sup> and one of them confessed under torture. 2. For it was indeed impossible for him to remain hid, since those who betrayed him were of his own house, and the police captain who had been allotted the very name, being called Herod,<sup>2</sup> hastened to bring him to the arena

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'children,' but constantly used for slaves ; the South African use of 'boy' is an almost exact parallel.

- The writer desires to bring out the points of resemblance to the Passion of Christ. The coincidences are remarkable, but none are in themselves at all improbable.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*ÍPiov Kkrjrov àrrapriap ^ipiarov Koivarvoi yevope-  
voç, 0l Sè rpoÓóvrei avrov ryv avrov rov louSa  
viroa^oiev nptoplav.*

### VII

1. "Evoi/reç oìiv rò rraiðápiov, rÿ rrapaa-Kevij  
*Mt 26, 55* rrepl Sewrvov oipav è^rjk.0ov ðioiypìrat Kai, irriren  
 puerà rS>v avvrj0<ùv avroìi òrrKwv wç erri kyarijv  
 rpéyovrei. Kai ¿A|rè rijf &pa<; a'vverrék0ovre<!  
 èiceivov pèv eupov èv vrrepwtp KaraKeipevov! Ka-  
 Keiffev Sè ijònvvaro et? erepov ^toplov àrrekOeiv,  
*Acta 21,14* ¿x x' ovK rj{Bov\rjdr} elmón Tð 0ekqpM rov 0eov  
*et. Mt. 6,10* 2. ¿./coverai ovv Trapóvras avrovi, Ka-  
 rafiai ðieλέ^0r] avroí<j, OavpuaÇovrav rS>v trapov-  
 ra>v rrjv rfkiKtav avrov Kai rò evara0e<;, Kau et  
 roaavrrj (titov8i) ?iv rov trvWri^dfjvai roiovrov  
 rpe<T^vrr)v avSpa. evbéa>s ovv avroí<; eKekevaev  
 rrapareOrivai <f>ayeiv Kai rrieiv èv èKetvp ry &pa,  
 ðaov àv ^ovkatvrat, è^priaaro Sè avrovç, iva  
 Süaiv avrai wpav rrpò<; rò rpoaev^airdai ¿Sewç.  
 3, rtòv Sè èrrirpe^avraiv, aradel<; rpoa-riv^aro  
 rr^prj<; \$>v rijç papiros rov 0eov ovra>>; &<rre ètri  
 Svo &pa<; p,rj ðvvaá0at aiyfjaai Kai èKTrkr/rrea^ai  
 rovi aKOVovrai, rrókkovi re peravoeiv èrrl rà>  
 è\vjX.v0évai èrri roiovrov Oeoirperrr) trpeir^vrrjv.

l ¿y iHTCp(pf) KaraKitfitvov κ, Íp rivi Zw.p.a'ρίtp ¿v birfptcp  
 KaraKftpLfrov m, tv rivi ZtaiAarlp KaTa.Kelp.eyQy ¿y vTrepçcy bpsv.

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, vi. 2-vii. 3

that he might fulfil his appointed lot by becoming a partaker of Christ, while they who betrayed him should undergo the same punishment as Judas.

### VII

1. Taking the slave then police and cavalry The arrival of the P<sup>o</sup>l, cc went out on Friday<sup>1</sup> about supper-time, with their usual arms, as if they were advancing against a robber.<sup>2</sup> And late in the evening they came up together against him and found him lying in an upper room. And he might have departed to another place, but would not, saying, "the will of God be done." 2. So when he heard that they had Their poiycarp by arrived he went down and talked with them, while those who were present wondered at his age and courage, and whether there was so much haste for the arrest of an old man of such a kind. There- --- fore he ordered food and drink to be set before them at that hour, whatever they should wish, and he asked them to give him an hour to pray without hindrance. 3. To this they assented, and he stood His prayer and prayed—thus filled with the grace of God—so that for two hours he could not be silent, and those who listened were astounded, and many repented that they had come against such a venerable old man.

<sup>1</sup> *TrapaffKtvri* is literally Preparation (i.e. for the Sabbath) and has always been used in the Greek Church for Friday.

<sup>2</sup> "robber" is the traditional translation : but "brigand" is nearer the real meaning.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### VIII

1. 'Eírei Se irore *Karéiravaev rrjv rrpoev*)ζrjv, *pvrjpovevaas áirávraiv Kal rüv irarrrore avpfe- /3T)KÓra>v avrà, piKp&v re Kal peyákww, évBo^tov re Kal aBó^atv Kal iráarp; t i}ç Kara rryv oi, KavpévrjV KaffoÁMcfy; ζKKXyaia^, rrjf &pa<j èkdovarp; tov èÇiévac, ovq> Kadlaavros avrov rjyayov eZç rtjv 110Xiv, ovro<j aa/i^ároov p^eyakov. 2. Kal vnrrivra avrà ó elprjvap^ot 'HpcéSijç Kal o Trarrj]p avrov Niki)ttjç, oí Kal peradévre; avrov erri rrjv Kapov- %avl eireiSov irapaKade^ópxvoi Kal XéyoPTEç. Tí yàp KaKov èariv eirréiv Kvpios Kaícrap, Kal ζTTiOvaat, Kal rà rovroi<j cucokovOa Kal Biaacó- Çeaffai; ζ Sè rà pev rrporra ovk árreKplvaro avroís, èrripevóvrotv Sè avrátv ecfrrp O ó pekla> iroieiv, ô a-vp^ovkeveré fwi. 3. oi Sè àTroTu^érreç rov rreiaai avrov Beivà papara ekeyov avrà Kal perà mrov^rj'; KaOypovv avrov, <w Kartovra airo t^ç Kapov^as àiroav^at rà àvriKVij]piov. Kal pt] ζTricrrpatjteLi, wç ovèev ireTTOV0; ><; Trpo0vpa><i pera atrovStji ζTTopevero, cvyópevo<j eiç rð aráBiov, 0opv/3ov rrfkiKOVTOv ovro<; èv tç> orraSiq», wç pi)8è aKovaSrjvai riva Svvaaffai,*

### IX

1. Tóti Sè *UokvKapiro}* eiaiovñ eèç ro crâBiov (jttüvr] è^ ovpavov èyévero' "Ia^ve, iïokvKaprrre, Kal àvBpi^ov. Kal ròv pèv elirónvra ovSelç elèev,

1 Kapoûx" (cf. *Corpus Inscr. Lai.* iii. p. 835) is the Latin 'caracca,' a closed carriage used by ladies and high officials.

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, vin. i-ix. i

### Vili

1. Now when he had at last finished his prayer, after remembering all who had ever even come his way, both small and great, high and low, and the whole Catholic Church throughout the world, the hour came for departure, and they set him on an ass, and led him into the city, on a "great Sabbath day." 2. And the police captain Herod and his father Niketas met him and removed him into their carriage, and sat by his side trying to persuade him and saying: "But what harm is it to say, 'Lord Caesar,' and to offer sacrifice, and so forth, and to be saved?" But he at first did not answer them, but when they continued he said: "I am not going to do what you counsel me." 3. And they gave up the attempt to persuade him, and began to speak fiercely to him, and turned him out in such a hurry that in getting down from the carriage he scraped his shin; and without turning round, as though he had suffered nothing, he walked on promptly and quickly, and was taken to the arena, while the uproar in the arena was so great that no one could even be heard.

### IX

1. Now when Polycarp entered into the arena there came a voice from heaven: "Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man." And no one saw the

1 This may have been the Jewish feast Purim, which, according to tradition, celebrates the triumph of the Jews in Persia over their enemies, as is related in the book of Esther, or else the Sabbath in the Passover week (see p. 311).



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*rrjv δὲ <f>a>w;rv râ>v Tjperepoiv oî Trapóvref rjKovtrav. Kai Xowròv -rrpoaaydévTO'ì avrov, Oópvfto9 np> péya9 cucovtravTWV, ori HoXvKapTro9 avvetA/rjirrai. 2. irpoaay(6évra ovv avròv àvTjpcóra o àvOvrraro9, eì avrÒ9 eirj TlóXvKaptro9. rov sè òpo~Xoyovvro9, érret0ev àpveì<r0ai Xéyasv- A18éa0t;rb aov rtjv fjXiKvav, Kai crepa rovrob9 à,KoXov0a, ζ'9 è009 avroÏ9 Xéyeiv- "Opoaov rrjv Kaicrapo9 rvyrjv,l peravòiprov, et/rrow Alpe roi>9 àθέov9- o sè HoXvKapm>9 èpf3pt,0eì rat rpoawrrtp eZç rrávra ròv ojfxov ròv èv rā araSitp àvópwn è0v<òv èp^Xé'Jra9 Kai èmacicras avrov; rqv %eipa, arevà^as re Kai àva^Xé^as eÏ9 ròv ovpanòn eirrev Alpe rov9 àθέov9. 3. èyKeipévon Sè rov àvdyrràrov Kai Xéyovro9' "Qpoaov, Kai àrhoXvto ire, Xoiðóppr;iaov ròv XpitTrón, e<f>|] ó HoXv/iapTroç\* 'OySoyKOvra Kai ei; eri] SovXeua) avríp, Kai oi;δév pe rjibKtjaev Kai 11(ì)9 δύναpζu /3\aa<jyrip.fi<TaL ròv ^aaikea pov ròv ááavrá pe;*

### X

1. 'EiTTi.pévovro9 Sè rraXiv avrov Kai Xeyovro9' "Opocrov rijv H.aicrapo9 rv%yv, àrreKpivaro- Et Kevodoξet9, 'iva òpóaa rr;v Kaiaapo9 rv^v, ζ'9 trv Xéyei9, Trpoairoieî Sè àyvoeív pe, ri? eipi, /ζ'erà Trappr;iaía9 aKove- Vpiariavo9 elpt,. eì δὲ 0eXei9 ròv rov Xpicrriaviapov pa0eiv Xóyov, 809 -ppépa

| The customary Greek for the oath 'per genium' (or sometimes 'fortunam,' hence túx'í") Caesaris which Christians rejected. Per salutem Caesaris (*trarripiav*) they accepted. (Cf Tertullian *Apol.* 32.)

speaker, but our friends who were there heard the voice. And next he was brought forward, and there was a great uproar of those who heard that Polycarp had been arrested. 2. Therefore when he was brought forward the Pro-Consul asked him if he were Polycarp, and when he admitted it he tried to persuade him to deny, saying: "Respect your age," and so forth, as they are accustomed to say: "Swear by the genius of Caesar, repent, say: 'Away with the Atheists'"; but Polycarp, with a stern countenance looked on all the crowd of lawless heathen in the arena, and waving his hand at them, he groaned and looked up to heaven and said: "Away with the Atheists." 3. But when the Pro-Consul pressed him and said: "Take the oath and I let you go, revile Christ," Polycarp said: "For eighty and six years<sup>1</sup> have I been his servant, and he has done me no wrong, and how can I blaspheme my King<sup>2</sup> who saved me?"

## X

1. But when he persisted again, and said: "Swear by the genius of Caesar," he answered him: "If you vainly suppose that I will swear by the genius of Caesar, as you say, and pretend that you are ignorant who I am, listen plainly: I am a Christian. And if you wish to learn the doctrine of Christianity fix a

<sup>1</sup> He was therefore probably a Christian born, unless we ascribe to him a quite improbable age.

<sup>2</sup> *jBaaievs* represents 'imperator' not 'rex,' and though it can hardly be translated 'Emperor,' the antithesis to Caesar is clearly implied.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Rom. 13, i  
i Pet. 2,13

*Kai aKovaov. 2. ó avOvirarol)' üeÍtroR tov èppov. ó èè HoXvKapiros elirev 2è pèv k&v Xóyov p^ltoaa' üeéjéjáypeOa yàp appals Kat, ðgova.[al<j to9 Oeov reraypévaK rippv Karà to rrpooapKov, rpv pp. ^Xajrrovaav ppàs, airovepetv ÍkcÍvooví 8è ovji pyovpai alpovs tov arroXo yelaOai avrol<j.*

### XI

1. 'O 8è àvOviraron elirev Qppla e%a>, tovtois ae -rrapafjdKS), èàn pp peravopaps. ó Se elirev KáXei, àperáOeros yàp ppìv p atro rà>v Kpemovoiv ðtÍ Ta yelpw peravoM' KaXov 8è perarlderrfiat àirèt tó>v 'XpXeirwv èjrl Tà àÍKata. 2. o 8e iraXiv Trpài avTov Tlvpi tre iroipca) SavavpOpvai, el tó>v ffpicov KaTa<f>povéi<;, èàn pp peTavopap<j. o 8è HoXvKapiro<; eiirev IÎÛp ðTretXetç to 7poc<; topav Kaiópevon Kal peT oXlyov a^evvvpevon àyvoeî<; yàp to rp<; peXXovaps Kplatof Kal aiatvlov Kokâ-o-ecoç toîç àtrefiéa-i Tppovpevon irvp. aKkâ tI /BpaSvveis; <j>épe, o jBovXei-

### XII

1. Taûra 8è Kal erepa trXeiova Xéywn Odpaov<; Kal %apâ<; èvempTrXaTO, Kal to irpóatoirov avrov ^àpiToç ètrXppovro, ware ov pôvon pp avptreaeiv rapa^dévTa viro r&v Xeyopévoiv rrpà<; avrov, aXXà rovvavrlon rov àvôvrrarov èKarpvat, rrép^at re ròv éavrov KppvKa èv péatp rov araSíov KppvÇai

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## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, x. i-xii. i

day and listen.” 2. The Pro-Consul said: “Persuade the people.” And Polycarp said: “You I should have held worthy of discussion, for we have been taught to render honour, as is meet, if it hurt us not, to princes and authorities appointed by God. But as for those, I do not count them worthy that a defence should be made to them.

### XI

1. And the Pro-Consul said: “I have wild beasts, The Pro- I will deliver you to them, unless you repent.” And he said: “Call for them, for repentance from better to worse is not allowed us; but it is good to change from evil to righteousness.” 2. And he said again to him: “I will cause you to be consumed by fire, if you despise the beasts, unless you repent.” But Polycarp said: “You threaten with the fire that burns for a time, and is quickly quenched, for you do not know the fire which awaits the wicked in the judgment to come and in everlasting punishment. But why are you waiting? Come, do what you will.”

### XII

1. And with these and many other words he was filled xvith courage and joy, and his face was full of grace so that it not only did not fall with trouble at the things said to him, but that the Pro-Consul, on the other hand, was astounded and sent his herald into the midst of the arena to announce three

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Τῆς- λιὸΚνKapTTO<i ζ;j(LoXoyrprev εἰςΤov Χριατ lavov  
 etvai- 2. τοὺτον Χε^0έβΤΟ<; virò τὸν ΚριπνΚΟ<;,  
 ἀτραν το τtXi)0os ἐθὺά>v Te Kal 'Iov8aitov τwv τι)v  
 Spivpvav KaTOiKovvTfov aKaraayertp QvpSp Kal  
 p-eyóXri tjxovrj ζ;Tre/Bòα- Outoc ζ;cttiv δ̄ t̄i]ς 'A<naç  
 διδάτρKaXo<;, ò iraTijp τwv HpiaTiav&v, ò t̄u v qpeae-  
 ptùv 0eS>v KadaipeTTjff, ò Tto'XXovç SiSáaKtov pii) Oveiv  
 pvr;ðe irpoffKweiv. TavTa XéyovTes èire/Botov Kal  
 i)pa>T0)v ròv 'A.aiàpyrjv 'biXvnrrov, "va è7ra<|>\$ t̄u3  
 TLoXvKapTtrp 'kéovTa. ò ζ;è ecfñ), pii) eivai e^ov  
 avrà, èirei8i) TreirXripwKei Tà Kvvr)yé<ria. 3. rone  
 eðoξev avroίς òπο0vpM8òv ζ;Triffoij<rai, &<TTe τὸν  
 HoXvKapTrov Çmrra KaTaKavaai. eðei γὰρ ρὸ t ^ç  
 <|>avepa>0eía"r)<: avrip ètri τὸν TrpoaKecfiaXaiov oir-  
 Tairías TrXr)p<j)0r;vai, ore l8à>v avrò Katópevon  
 irpoaev^óp,evo<j evrrev ζ;TriaTpa^el; tok (tvv avTÛ  
 TrijfTTOK TrpoiprjTiKSvì' Aeì pie ^&VTa Kaijvai.

### XIII

1. TaCra ovv pieTà Toaovrov Tay;ov<; èyéveTO,  
 0aTTOV i) eXeyeTO, t &v oþ^Xtùv irapa^pfipui avva-  
 yóvTWW eK Te tS>v èpyaaTr/piaiv Kal fieCXavelaiv  
 ^vXa Kal <f>pvvava, paXiCTa 'lovSaitov Trpo0vpio)<|,  
 àç 00<; avTois, ei<: TavTa virovpyovvTww. 2. ore  
 δὲ T) TTvpKaià r;TOipáa0r;), airoOepievos èavTp irávTa  
 rà ipaTia Kal Xvcra<: t̄ljv Çcovrjv èireipaTo Kal  
 vTToXveiv èavTov, pii) irpoTepov τοὺτο ττοι&v δià ρὸ  
 àel eKaa>Tov t &v ttuttSiv atrovδά^eiv, oaTis Tarlov  
 τὸν Χpa>Te><j; avTov aijnjTar iravTl γὰρ KoXip  
 àya0i)v èveKev TroXiTeiav Kal trpo rrfi puipTvpla<!

times : "Polycarp has confessed that he is a Christian."

2. When this had been said by the herald, all the multitude of heathen and Jews living in Smyrna <sup>The anger</sup> cried out with uncontrollable wrath and a loud <sup>e Jews</sup> shout: "This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the destroyer of our Gods, who teaches many neither to offer sacrifice nor to worship." And when they said this, they cried out and asked Philip the Asiarch to let loose a lion on Polycarp. But he said he could not legally do this, since he had closed the Sports.<sup>1</sup> 3. Then they found it good to cry out with one mind that he should burn Polycarp alive, for the vision which had appeared to him on his pillow must be fulfilled, when he saw it burning, while he was praying, and he turned and said prophetically to those of the faithful who were with him, "I must be burnt alive."

### XIII

1. These things then happened with so great speed, <sup>The pre-</sup> quicker than it takes to tell, and the crowd came to- <sup>gathering</sup> gether immediately, and prepared wood and faggots <sup>him</sup> from the work-shops and baths and the Jews were extremely zealous, as is their custom, in assisting at this. 2. Now when the fire was ready he put off all his clothes, and loosened his girdle and tried also to take off his shoes, though he did not do this before, because each of the faithful was always zealous, which of them might the more quickly touch his flesh. For he had been treated with all respect because of his

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'hunting,' the Latin 'venatio.'

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

èKeKÓaprho. 3. evθéa>s ovv aiirA rrepieroero  
rà rpos rrjv itvpàv rjppoapeva oprava. peWóvratv  
Sè aiirAv Kal Trpoarfkovv, elrrev 'A.<j>eré pue ovrms"  
ó yàp Sovs òττοpeivai rò rrvp BAAei %<opls rrjs  
vperépas ¿k rAv rfKmv aaÿaXeias àaKvfvrov  
èmpelvai ríj rrvpâ.

### XIV

1. Oí Sè ov Ka0rjKaJaav pèv, rrhoaè^rjaav Sè  
avrov. ò Sè òrrlam ràç feijoa? rroiqaas Kai  
Trpoaèe0eis, Aarrep Kpios èrriar)pu>s ¿K pxydKov  
iroipviov eiç rrhoa<f>opáv, oXoKavrmpe èeicròn rA  
0eA rjroipaapévov, avafiKe-fyas eèç rov ovpavov  
elrrev Xvpie ó 0eòs ò rravroKpartop, o rov àya-  
TTT]rov Kal evKoyrjrov TraiSoí aov 'Iiprov Xpiarov  
Traryp, Se' ov rrjv rrepl aov erriyvwaiv eikrpfrapèv,  
ó 0eò<! àyyéXtùv Kal Svváp^wv Kal Tràtjç τ »¿ç  
Krlaea><; rravrói re rov yévon<; rAv BiKaítov, ot  
ÇAaiv ¿vArrión aov 2. evKoyA ae, orí r/^ía>aá<; pie  
rrp; ypèpas Kal Apas ravrijs, rov Xafteiv pe pepos  
èν àπιOpép rAv paprvpwv èν rA rrorr)πί(p rov  
Xpicrrov aov l eis áváaraaiv ^atjs altovíov y/rv^ÿs  
re Kcá amparos èν á<f>0apaía rrvèvparos áyíov  
èν ois rrhoa^e^Oeirjv èvArriov aov ar/pepov èν  
Ovaía rríovi Kal rrhoaBeKry, Ka0ms 'irpoqroipaaas

joh. 5,29

aov mbvs, om. E p.

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, xin. 2-xiv. 2

noble life,<sup>1</sup> even before his martyrdom. 3. Immediately therefore, he was fastened to the instruments which had been prepared for the fire, but when they were going to nail him as well he said: "Leave me thus, for He who gives me power to endure the fire, will grant me to remain in the flames unmoved even without the security you will give by the nails."

### XIV

1. So they did not nail him, but bound him, and he put his hands behind him and was bound, as a noble player<sup>s</sup> ram out of a great flock, for an oblation, a whole burnt offering made ready and acceptable to God; and he looked up to heaven and said: "O Lord God Almighty, Father of thy beloved and blessed Child,<sup>2</sup> Jesus Christ, through Whom we have received full knowledge of thee, the God of Angels and powers, and of all creation, and of the whole family of the righteous, who live before thee! 2. I bless thee, that Thou hast granted me this day and hour, that I may share, among the number of the martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, for the Resurrection to everlasting life, both of soul and body in the immortality of the Holy Spirit. And may I, to-day, be received among them before Thee, as a rich and acceptable sacrifice,

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "citizenship," but it is used in a special sense of Christian life.

\* This use of *vais* as applied to Jesus is rare, and usually found in prayers; cf. *Ep. ad Diogn.* viii. 9. 11, ix. 1, *Didache* 9, 2, *I Clement* 59, 2 (the "Prayer"), and *Acts* 3, 13. 26. 4, 27. 30. Here it is clearly "Child": in *Acts* it may mean "Servant" with reference to *Is.* 53, etc.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*Kai Trpoeÿavépcoaas Kai èirXripcoaas, o ùi/reui^ç  
Kai àXpOcvòs Θεός. 3. Stà τοῦτο Kai Τρεπὶ ἡγεμετων  
κτὲρ alveo, αὐὲ εἰιΧογcò, αὐὲ ἐοçciçco èia τὸν accovlov  
Kal éirovpavión ἀρ%cepécoc ípaov Χptarov, áya-  
TrjTOV aov Tracéòs, ol ov aoc avv avTco Kai irvev-  
p.ari áycçp óó^a Kal vvv Kai ειç τοῦç /i^XXovραç  
alarvas- àprjV.*

### XV

1. 'AvaTrép^fravros Sè avrov rò àppo Kai trXri-  
pcóaaVTOS ἡῖν ev^pv, ol rov trvpos àv0pcoiroc  
è^fpjrav rò irvp. peyaXps èè éKXapyjráat]s c] >Xoyòs,  
Oavpa elèopev, oís cèecv èBó0ip oc Kai eTppy]0ppev  
els το àvayyecXac τοcs Xoίττοίç rà yevóp.eva. 2. rò  
yàp TTvp Kapapas ecèos Trocljaav, &airep <j0óin;  
ηXocov otto TTvevparos TrXrjrovpeVTj, kvkXo> irepce-  
rel^caev το acopa τὸν pápTvpos' Kac rjv peaov  
ov^ cos aàp^ KaiópévTj, ùXX' à's àpTos OTTTCópevos rj  
®ç j^pvaos ^aì àpyvpos èν Kapivqc irvpovpevos-  
Kai yàp evcoèlas ToaavTtjs àvTèXa^ópeffa, ù>s  
Xt^avcoTov TrvéovTos V) àXXov TIVOS TC0v Tiplcov  
àpcopaTWvl

### XVI

1. Tlépas yovv cèóvTes ol àvopoc prj èvvàpevon  
avTov το acopa viro τὸν Trvpos èairavrjdiyvai,  
eKeXcvaav irpoaéXOovTa avrà Kopcf>eKTopa Trapa-  
/3vaac ^ccjilèiov. Kai τοῦτο aroi-ijaavTOS, è^yXOev

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, xiv. 2-xvi. i

as Thou, the God who lies not and is truth, hast prepared beforehand, and shown forth, and fulfilled. 3. For this reason I also praise Thee for all things, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee through the everlasting and heavenly high Priest, Jesus Christ, thy beloved Child, through whom be glory to Thee with him and the Holy Spirit, both now and for the ages that are to come, Amen.”

### XV

1. Now when he had uttered his Amen and finished his prayer, the men in charge of the fire lit it, and a great flame blazed up and we, to whom it was given to see, saw a marvel. And we have been preserved to report to others what befell. 2. For the fire made the likeness of a room, like the sail of a vessel filled with wind, and surrounded the body of the martyr as with a wall, and he was within it not as burning flesh, but as bread that is being baked, or as gold and silver being refined in a furnace. And we perceived such a fragrant smell as the scent of incense or other costly spices.

### XVI

1. At length the lawless men, seeing that his body could not be consumed by the fire, commanded an executioner to go up and stab him with a dagger, and when he did this, there came out a dove, and

1 This no doubt points to the belief that the spirit appears at death in the form of a bird. Cf. Prudentius *Peristeph. Hymn.* iii. 33 (other references are also given by Lightfoot).

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*TrepLarepà Kail irXrjQos aïparos, ware Karaa;bérrai to rrvp Kat, Oavpácrat Trávra to v o^Xov, el ToaavTi) tîç èiarfiopa pera^v râ>v re aTriaratv Kai t S)V èKXeKTWW 2. &v elç Kai ovros yeyóvei ò ffavpaai-córaros pâprvç HoXvKapTroç, èv rots Ka0' r/pâç Xpóvois SiSátrKaXos aTroaroXiKos km TrpotpyriKÔç yevópevos, ètriffkottos t^ç èv 'Zpvpvy KadoXiKrp 2 éKKVraia<; irciv yàp pijpa, ò á^>rjKev èK to v VTopaTOS avrov, Kai èreXeitóffp Kai Texeia>Orj<Terai-*

### XVII

1. 'O Sé àvrlÇpXos Kai ftáaKavos km Ttovppós, ó avruceipevos tð> yévei r&v SiKalcov, l8i>v ró re péyeOos avrov t^ç paprvpias Kai tt)v ζtt' à/>%îç àvTTiKTjTTTov rroXiTeíav, ètrretfiavtopévon tc to v ζ<pfpapaía<; arérvavov Kai /3pa[3eïov ánavTtpptjTov aTrevrjveypevon, eireTpZevrrev, ζç pr)3è to aapariov avTov vj>' t)pmV Xrpfijffjvai, Kaiirep tt0XXwv èiridvponvTtov TOVTO TTOiijaai Kai KOivcovqaai tð> àyiq> avTov orapKiai. 2. viré^aXev yovv ~NiKriTrjv to v to v 'HptoSov ttarepa, àSeXtftàv Sè"AXKyç,3 èvTV^eïv tð> á^XpvTi, ware pi) Sovvai avrov to aSjpa' prj, fajaiiv, à^>évTe<; to v èaravptopévon to v to v àp^tovrai aéfiæOai. Kai ravra eiTrov vTro^aXXÔvTtov Kai èvKri^uónTOiv Ttàn 'lovèaicov, oî Kai èrrip'paav, péXXôvTtov r^ptàn èK rov Trvpâç avrov Xapfiâveiv àyvoovvreç, on ovre rov lipiarov nrore KaraXirreiv Ôvvi)crôpeffa, rov vrrèp t?)ç to v TTavrò<; Koapov

1 Trepio-Tepà «a! om. E, Wordsworth emends to irepl aripam (round the sword-haft).

8 KafloAi/cís E bs, iyias (holy) m(L). 3 AúAsqs E.

much blood, so that the fire was quenched and all the crowd marvelled that there was such a difference between the unbelievers and the elect. 2. And of the elect was he indeed one, the wonderful martyr, Polycarp, who in our days was an apostolic and prophetic teacher, bishop of the Catholic Church in Smyrna. For every word which he uttered from his mouth both was fulfilled and will be fulfilled.

## XVII

1. But the jealous and envious evil one who resists the family of the righteous, when he saw the greatness of his martyrdom, and his blameless career from the beginning, and that he was crowned with the crown of immortality, and had carried off the unspeakable prize, took care that not even his poor body should be taken away by us, though many desired to do this, and to have fellowship with his holy flesh. 2. Therefore he put forward Niketas, the father of Herod, and the brother of Alee, to ask the Governor not to give his body, "Lest," he said, "they leave the crucified one and begin to worship this man." And they said this owing to the suggestions and pressure of the Jews, who also watched when we were going to take it from the fire, for they do not know that we shall not ever be able either to abandon Christ, who suffered for the salvation of those who are being

1 If the reading "Catholic" be right, this and the instance on p. 322 are the earliest clear examples of this use of the word (but of Ignatius, *Symrn.* viii.).

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*t w v <ra>^opζva>v ffa>rripía< j iradónTa dpa>p,ov virèp  
(ip.apriiùλwv, ovre èrepón riva ae/BeaOai. 3. τoν τoν  
p,èn γὰρ νιδὸν ovra τoν Θεov Τρποα-Κννονpev, tous Se  
püàpΤvpas ζς p-aOr/Tas Kai jζip/pTas τoν Κυριov  
ζyairàpev êvetca evvoias avoTrep^XitTov rfy;  
eìn τoν iSiov j3aaζXέα Kai διδά<TKaXov a>v yevoitO  
Kai r)πύ<! Koivavovs re Kai avppaOpTa^ yeveadat.*

### XVIII

1. 'ISwi/ ovv ò KevrvplMV ttjv Twv λovδaitov  
yevopépnv (jaXoveiKláv, deis avTov èν péaw, áδs  
é(?os avTOK, cKavaev. 2. ovρας Te Ty/xeίς vaTepov  
áveXóp, evot Ta Tipiárrepa. Xt,0a>v jroXvTéXwv Kai  
δoKipá>Tepa vir'ep ^pvaiov ðcrrà avTov ciTre0ep.e9a,  
0TTOV Kai aKoKovdov rjv. 3. evôa aς SvvaTov Tjp,iv  
(Tnvayop.évoi'i èν àyaXXidaei Kai ýapa irape^ei o  
Kvpcoi èiriTeXeiv ttjv τoν p,apTvplov avTov pp,epav  
yevédXtov, eic re Tl̂pv τὸ>v trporiOXriKOTaiv p-vrip^v  
Kai T&v πιéXXόνTcov daKpalv Te Kai eToipacnav.

### XIX

1. Toiavra Ta KaTa τoν p.aKapiov UoXvKapTTov,  
os avv τοίς atro ^>iXa8eX(f>ía<; ScoSeKaTOί èν %p.pvny  
papTvpjraa<;, pMV0<; viro irávTwv p.aXXov p,vppo-  
veveTai, &<TTe Kai virò Ttòv èdvtòv èν travTi totttw  
XaXeîaÔar ov pónov eída<TKaXo<; yevópevos èirv-  
rrppoí, àXXà Kai p.ápTV<; e^oyo<{, ov to [lapTvpiov

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, xvii. 2-xix. i

saved in the whole world, the innocent for sinners, or to worship any other. 3. For him we worship as the Son of God, but the martyrs we love as disciples and imitators of the Lord ; and rightly, because of their unsurpassable affection toward their own King and Teacher. God grant that we too may be their companions and fellow-disciples.

### XVIII

1. **W**hen therefore the centurion saw the contem-<sup>The</sup>tiousness caused by the Jews, he put the body in the midst, as was their custom, and burnt it. 2. Thus <sup>ashes</sup>we, at last, took up his bones, more precious than precious stones, and finer than gold, and put them where it was meet. 3. There the Lord will permit us to come together according to our power in gladness and joy, and celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom, both in memory of those who have already contested,<sup>1</sup> and for the practice and training of those whose fate it shall be.

### XIX

1. **S**uch was the lot of the blessed Polycarp, who <sup>Conclusion</sup>though he was, together with those from Philadelphia, the twelfth martyr in Smyrna, is alone especially remembered by all, so that he is spoken of in every place, even by the heathen. He was not only a famous teacher, but also a notable martyr,

<sup>1</sup> This is almost a technical term for martyrdom, of Ignatius's epistle to Polycarp 1, 3.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*TrávTes èrriúvnpovaiv pipeîtrúai Kara to evayyeXiov XpWTOv yevópevon. 2. Stà viropovrp; Ktrraywviaápevo^ tov âèiKov ap^oVTa Kal ovto\} tov tt}ç â^>0apaiaç aréifiavov ârhoXa/Baiv, crvv roifç çtto\}t ÔXoifç Kai irâaiv èucalois àyaXXta>pevo<; èoÇàÇei tov 0eòv Kal iratépa iravTOKpaTopa Kal evXoyei tov Kvpiov rjpâvl 'Itjüovv Xpiarov, tov <TüiTrjpa tódv ^v^âiv rjptív Kal Kv^epv^TTjv tðv awpárwv flp.Srv Kal iroipéva r^ç /cara ttjv oikov-pévrjv KaOoXiKTfi çKK^rjabai.*

### XX

1. "T/z.eifç pev ovv tj^iáuraTe èia irXetovatv ètjXto-Orjvai vpiv to, ysvópeva, rjpfíç; Sé KaTa to Tapbv çttiI Ke^>dXaía> peprjvvKapev èia tov áéçX<f>ov r/pcón MapKianos.2 pa0ónTe<; ovv TavTa Kai toifç 67re-Keiva àèeX^oif ttjv èmaToXi^v èiairép^aaOe, iva Kal çKeivoi So^á^toaiv tov Kvpiov tov çKKoyáç; iroiovvTa atro 3 t S>v léfiiov èovXtov.

2. Tç> Sé ènvapévip irávTa<ç rjpáç; elaayayéiv çv Tí) avTov ^ápiTi Kal èwpeâ elç t ^v éiroppáviov 4 avTOv ^aaiXeiav èià tov povoyevov<;5 'rraièòç avTov 'Lrjaov Xpiarov, èó^a,6 Tipi), Kpáros, peyaXco-avT) éiç tov í aitovaç. irpoaayopeveTe TrávTav

1 Tifíuv bps, om. m.

2 MapKlaolos m, Mápfou bps (v ends with chap, xix.), Mar-  
cianum L. Lightfoot prefers Mapsiarov

s TToioOrra ami bps, Troioóperor m.

\* itroupáviov m, aitiviov bps.

5 tov povoyevovs avrov vaiSçs m, iraiSbs avrov too voyoytvovs  
b, tov TraiSòs avrov tov /çovoywvovs ps.

6 83£a m, \$ rj Só^a bps.

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, xix. i-xx. 2

whose martyrdom all desire to imitate, for it followed the Gospel of Christ. 2. By his endurance he overcame the unrighteous ruler, and thus gained the crown of immortality, and he is glorifying God and the Almighty Father, rejoicing with the Apostles and all the righteous, and he is blessing our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of our souls, and Governor of our bodies, and the Shepherd of the Catholic Church throughout the world.

### XX

1. You, indeed, asked that the events should be explained to you at length, but we have for the present explained them in summary by our brother Marcion<sup>1</sup>; therefore when you have heard these things, send the letter to the brethren further on, that they also may glorify the Lord, who takes his chosen ones from his own servants.

2. And to him who is able to bring us all in his grace and bounty, to his heavenly kingdom, by his only begotten Child, Jesus Christ, be glory, honour, might, and majesty for ever. Greet all the saints. Those who are with us, and

<sup>1</sup> Not of course to be identified with the famous heretic. If Marcianus be the right text, it is noteworthy that Irenaeus sent his treatise on the "The Apostolic Preaching" to a certain Marcianus. But this was probably forty years later than Polycarp's death.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

των ἀϑιονς. νρâ<t oi <Tww ýplv irpoaayopevovaiiv  
Kal Eivápea-TOi; ó ypàÿw\* travoi/ceí.1

### XXI

1. *Maprypei* Sé ó paK<ipt,o<; *li.oXvKafy;ros* ppr>o<;  
'S,av0iKov 2 éevTepa íarapévov, tr^o éirra Kdkavé&v  
*Mapríaiv, aaftftaTtp peyaKcp, a>pa òyèòr*). *crvve-*  
*Xy<f>0rj* Sé viro 'Hpalèov éttÍ àp^iepétos ^iXÍttttov  
*TpaXXtavov, áv0vrraTevovTO<j XraTiov KoépaTOV,*  
*^aaínevovro<j Sè eí<j to Ûç at'wuaç 'Iprov Xpiarov'*  
(p rj *Soga, Tipy, peyaXaiavnrvj, dpovos alaivto<j à'rro*  
7«'eâç eíç yeveáiv. áprjv.

### XXII

1. 'Eppó>cré?ai; v/zâç eù^òp.e(9a, àèéKtfoi, tttoi-  
•yolivras râi Kara to evayyéXLOv Xoytp lyaóu  
*Xpicrrov, pe0' ov èo^a tc3 0eâ> Kal irarpl Kal àyltp*  
*Trrev/MTi., eui awTppta rf) r&v àylaiv êk\skt&v,*  
*Ka0à>t epMpTvprjcrev ó paKapios TioXvKapiro<;, ov*  
*yevono èv Ty /SaaiXeia 'lyaov Xpiarov 7rpo<j ra*  
*lyyy eí>pe0rjvai rj pá<;?*

2. *Taura pereypâ-ifraro pèv Taíø? é/c râ>v*  
*Eipyvalov, pa0rjrov tov TloXvKapirov, Sç Kal*  
*cweiroXirevaaTO tç> ^Iprjvaitp. èym Sé 2û>/cpaTijç*  
*èv Kopiv0tp èK t Siv Taiov àvTtÿpà<f>a>v eypaifra.*  
*y'XP-pis pera iravraiv.*

1 This is really the end of the book. What follows is a series of notes, which have been taken into the text.

a The more correct spelling, according to inscriptions, is *tiavSiKov*.

3 The whole of this paragraph is omitted by L m.

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, *xx. e-xxii. 3*

Evarestus, who wrote the letter, with his whole house, greet you.

### XXI

1. Now the blessed Polycarp was martyred on the second day of the first half of the month of Xanthicus, the seventh day before the kalends of March,<sup>1</sup> a great sabbath, at the eighth hour. And he was arrested by Herod, when Philip of Tralles was High Priest, when Statius Quadratus was Pro-Consul, but Jesus Christ was reigning<sup>2</sup> for ever, to whom be glory, honour, majesty and an eternal throne, from generation to generation, Amen.

### XXII.

1. We bid you God-speed, brethren, who walk according to the Gospel, in the word of Jesus Christ (with whom be glory to God and the Father and the Holy Spirit), for the salvation of the Holy Elect, even as the blessed Polycarp suffered martyrdom, in whose footsteps may it be granted us to be found in the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.

2. Gaius copied this from the writing of Irenaeus, a disciple of Polycarp, and he lived with Irenaeus, and I, Socrates, wrote it out in Corinth, from the copies of Gaius. Grace be with you all. 3. And I,

<sup>1</sup> Z.«. Feb. 23.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase is pointedly inserted instead of a reference to the reigning Emperor.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

3. 'E7&) ζέ iráXiv Tiiôvios ζK rov irpoyeyappevov  
επα\jra àvafyprjcras avrà, Kara ζTro/ctiXin^iv  
(fMvepdxravros poi rov pMKapiov UoXvKaprron,  
Kaòeos &r]Xcócra> èv rà> KaOe^rp, crvvayayàiv avrà  
rfir) a-yebbv Ík tov %pónov KeKpijKora, iva KÔpè  
avvayâyrij ò Kvpios 'Ipiroús Xpiaròs pera rà>v  
έKXeKTÔ>v avrov etç rr)v ovpàvtov [BacriXeíav avrov,  
(p rj èó^a crvv rà> irarpi Kai áyítv irvevpart, els  
tous alôyvas rüv aiaivaiv. àptjv.†

## EPILOGUS ALIUS

E CODICE MOSQUENSI DESCRIPTUS.

2. Tavra perepâyjraro pèv Fáios ck rà>v  
EipijvaLov avyypappartov, os Kal avveTroXirevaaro  
Tw Eàpip>at(p, padriTT] yeyovôrb rov àvrov HoXu-  
Kaptrov. 3. ovros yap o Elptjvaîos, Kara ròv  
Kaipòv rov papTvpiov rov èrriaKoirov UoXvKapTrov  
yevópevos èv 'Piópp, 110XXoVS èèiisa^ev ov Kai  
rroXXà avyypàppara KaXXiara Kai òpdóraTa  
t^éperai, èv ois pepvrprai HoXvKapirov, oti Trap'  
avrov èpaOev, ÍKavàs re irâcrav aipeaiv ijXey^ev Kai

† Instead of the two pai'agraphs ravra jue-reTptctaTo—  
m has the alternative conclusion given below.

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, xxn. 3

again, Pionius, wrote it out from the former writings, after searching for it, because the blessed Polycarp showed it me in a vision, as I will explain in what follows,<sup>1</sup> and I gathered it together when it was almost worn out by age, that the Lord Jesus Christ may also gather me together with his elect into his heavenly kingdom, to whom be glory with the Father and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever, Amen.

### ANOTHER CONCLUSION FROM THE MOSCOW MANUSCRIPT.

2. This account Gaius copied from the writings of Irenaeus, and he also had lived with Irenaeus, who was a disciple of the holy Polycarp. 3. For this Irenaeus, at the time of the martyrdom of the bishop Polycarp was in Rome, and taught many, and many most excellent and correct writings are extant, in which he mentions Polycarp,<sup>2</sup> saying that he had been his pupil, and he ably refuted every heresy, and

<sup>1</sup> No explanation is given : probably because the ‘Pionian’ text was part of a larger ‘Acts of Polycarp.’ Either these Acts have entirely disappeared except for this letter of the church of Smyrna, or a fragment preserved in p may perhaps belong to them.

<sup>2</sup> Irenaeus *Haer.* iii. 3. 4, *Ep. ad Florinum* (in Eusebius *H.E.* v. 20) and *Ep. ad Victorem* (in Eusebius *H.E.* v. 24). The story of Marcion is in *Haer.* iii. 3. 4.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ròv èKKXrjaiaariKÒv Kavóna Kai KaOoXiKov, &<; irapeXaftiev rrapà rov áyíov, Kai rrapéSwKev. 4. Xéyei èè Kal rovro· Òri crwavrycravros rrore raí àylw HoXvKapjrtv MapKiwwos, à<p> ov ol Xeyo-p,voi MapKiiovicrral, Kal elrròvros' 'ErriyivaxTKe Tjv,á<;, üoXvKapire, eirrev avròs tç3 Map/cimw 'EiriyivæaKW, èrriyivà><TKa> ròv rrpwròKov rov traravâ. 5. Kal rovro Sè jpeperai èv rois rov Elprjvaíov avyypáfipMaiv, on rj Tjv,epa Kai topa èv 'hp.vpvr/ èp.aprvpriaev o HoXvKaprrros, yk o verev <pa>vrv èv rrj Pcopiaitov rroXeì vrrápywv o Eipr/vacos <»ç craXmyyos Xeyovarjs' XloXvKaprrros èp,ap-rvpTjtrev.

6. 'E<τ rovriov ovv, i>ç rrpoxéXeKrai, râv rov Elprjvaíov avyypap,para>v Vaïos p,ereypayjraro, eK 8è r&v Vatov àvriypâpxov 'i<roKpári<j èv Eoplvdtp. èyw Sè rraXiv Ihôvioç èK râ>v 'laoKpàrovs àvriypâ-pwv eypatjra Kara airoKciXvtyiv rov àylov HoXu-Kapirov ^rrjaai avrà, avvayaymv avrà ifòt) cr^eèðv èK rov ^pónov KeKp.rjKÓra, iva Kapç avvayáyr] ó KVpios 'irjaov; Xpiaròs jçera rww èKXeKrwv avrov eiç rrjv ènovpàviov avrov /Saai-Xelav w rj èó^a crvv ra> rrarpl k m rq> v<ç> Kal rat àylcp rrvvvpMri et? rovs aiwvas r&v alwvcov. ap,T)v.

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, 3-6

he also handed on the ecclesiastical and catholic rule, as he had received it from the saint. 4. And he also says this that once Marcion,<sup>1</sup> from whom come the so-called Marcionites, met the holy Polycarp and said: "Recognise us, Polycarp," and he said to Marcion, "*I* do recognise you, I recognise the first-born of Satan." 5. And this is also recorded in the writings of Irenaeus, that at the day and hour when Polycarp suffered in Smyrna Irenaeus, who was in the city of Rome, heard a voice like a trumpet saying: "Polycarp has suffered martyrdom."

6. From these papers of Irenaeus, then, as was stated above, Gaius made a copy, and Isocrates used in Corinth the copy of Gaius. And again I, Pionius, wrote from the copies of Isocrates, according to the revelation of the holy Polycarp, after searching for them, and gathering them together when they were almost worn out from age, that the Lord Jesus Christ may also gather me into his Heavenly Kingdom together with his Elect. To him be glory, with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever, Amen.

<sup>1</sup> Marcion was the most famous heretic of the second century. He was a native of Pontus and afterwards came to Rome. The main points of his teaching were the rejection of the Old Testament and a distinction between the Supreme God of goodness and an inferior God of justice, who was the Creator, and the God of the Jews. He regarded Christ as the messenger of the Supreme God.



# THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS



## THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS

The epistle to Diognetus is an anonymous writing of uncertain date. The Diognetus to whom it is addressed is unknown, though some scholars have sought to identify him with a Diognetus who was a teacher of Marcus Aurelius. Its claim to be included among the apostolic fathers rests on custom rather than right, for it is probably later than any of the other writings in this group, and if it were judged by the character of its contents would more probably be placed among the works of the Apologists.

Like most early apologies for Christianity it begins by expounding the foolishness of the worship of idols, and the inadequacy of the Jewish religion and then proceeds to give a short sketch of Christian belief, a panegyric on Christian character and a description of the benefit which it offers to converts. In this respect it resembles the apology of Aristides, and somewhat less closely those of Justin and Tatian, and the suggestion has been made that it may have been written by Aristides. Its style is, however, rhetorical in the extreme and it may be doubted whether it was not an academic treatise or possibly the exercise of some young theologian rather than an actual apology sent to a living person. The general impression made by the document is unfavourable to any theory of an early date and quite decisive against the tradition which seems to have been preserved in the lost MS. in which the epistle was found, attributing it to Justin Martyr. Harnack thinks that it more probably belongs to the

## THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS

third than to the second century, but early tradition does not mention the epistle and there is nothing in the internal evidence to justify any certainty of opinion.

The concluding chapters (xi-xii) have clearly no connection with the preceding ones, and it is generally conceded that they belong to a different document, probably an Epiphany homily, though possibly, as Otto thought, an Easter homily. Bonwetsch has shown very strong reasons for thinking that Hippolytus was the author. (*Nachrichten d. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1902.)

The best authority for the text is the third edition of Otto's *Corpus Apologeticum*, vol. 3, published in 1879, as the unique MS. of the epistle in the library at Strasburg was twice collated for Otto's edition but was destroyed by fire in 1870. This MS., probably written in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, was formerly the property of Reuchlin, passed about 1560 to the Alsatian monastery of Maursmunster, and between 1793 and 1795 came to Strasburg. It was collated for the first edition of Otto by Cunitz and for the third edition by Reuss. Earlier copies were made by Stephanus in 1586 (now preserved in Leiden, Cod. Voss. Gr. 30) and about 1590 by Beurer and (a collation of this copy which is no longer extant was published by Stephanus at the end of his edition of 1592). A third copy was made by Hausius about 1580 for Martin Crucius and is now preserved in Tübingen (Cod. Mise. M.b. 17). The fullest account of these MSS. and the proof that none of them are more than copies of the Strasburg MS. is given in O. von Gebhardt's edition of the Apostolic Fathers, vol. i., part 2, published in 1878.

## ELIISTOAH nPOL AIOFNHTON

### I

'EttmSi/ op&, kpáttare &ióyvr}Te, vtrep-  
eatrovèaKÓra ae ri}v Geoaéfiavian t &v Xpiarian&v  
paGelv Kai irávv aa<f>&<i Kai ζtripeX&<; trvvGavo-  
pevov trepl avr&v, rivi re Ge& tretroiGóreg Kai ttôç  
Gp^aKCvovres avrov tov re Koapov vtrepop&ai  
trávTCS Kai Gavárov Karaÿpovovai, Kai ovre tovς  
voptÇopevovς into r&v 'EXX^vtw Geovς XoyiÇovrai  
ovre rrjv ïovSaiatv BeiaiSaipovlav <j>vXáaaovai,  
Kai riva ttjv tfxXoaropyiav e^ovai Ttpot EXXjjXouç,  
Kai ti St) trore Kaivòv tovto yévo<; rj eirn^evpa  
elarjXGev «Ç tov fiiiov vvv Kai ov ttporepov àtro^é-  
XopuiL ye rrjf Trpoθvpía<; ae Tavrrp; Kai trapa tov  
Geov, tov Kat, to Xéyeiv Kai to ζÍKOveiv rj piv 'Xpp'p-  
yovvTos, anovpab Bodrivat, èpoi pèv eltreiv ovtiò<;  
&ç paXurra àv aKovaavrà ae ^eXrriar yevéaGat,,  
aoi re ovto>çj ζucovaai, t>ç pi} XvtrqGfivai, ròv  
eitróvra.

### II

1. "A.ye Stj, KaGapaç aeavròv atro tràvrtov t &v  
trpoKaTexovrmv aov rr/v ètàvoiaiv Xoytap&v Kai ri}v  
àtrar&aàv ae avvrjGeiav átroaKevaaápevo<j Kai

# THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS

## I

Since I perceive, most excellent Diognetus, that intro, you are exceedingly zealous to learn the religion of ductlon the Christians and are asking very clear and careful questions concerning them, both who is the God in whom they believe, and how they worship him, so that all disregard the world and despise death, and do not reckon as Gods those who are considered to be so by the Greeks, nor keep the superstition of the Jews, and what is the love which they have for one another, and why this new race or practice has come to life at this time, and not formerly ; I indeed welcome this zeal in you, and I ask from God who bestows on us the power both of speaking and of hearing, that it may be granted to me so to speak that you may benefit so much as possible by your hearing, and to you so to hear that I may not be made sorry for my speech.

## II

1. Come then, clear yourself of all the prejudice Discussion which occupies your mind, and throw aside the Gods custom which deceives you, and become as it were heathen

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

yei'ô/iei'oc éberrep è% àpxy; Kaivos àv0parrot, wç àv  
 Kai Xóyov Kaivov, Ka0árrep Kai avrò? ¿>πολυρ}<ρα<;  
 ¿Kποαρfy; èèérpevon iSe prj pérvon τοις ò<ρ0αXpow,  
 àXXà Kai rfj <ppovf<rei, rivos vroerràerecos r/ tif o?  
 ei'Souç rvyxávonffiv, oðç èpeître Kai voplÇere Θεovs.  
 2. oi;x ò pév rwXl0os èarlν,bpoios rérrarovpévep,  
 ô b' serri                      ov Kpelerereov réav eiç rrp> xprprw  
 rjπiv KSXa^K^vpévww aKevéov, ô Sè ÇvXov, ifôr) Kai  
 aeerrjrrros, ó Sè apyvpos, XPÚ£<ÚV àv0πεóρrov rov  
 ipvXà^avros, iva pp KÀarrfj, ò Sè criSr/poç, virò lov  
 bieep0appévoc, ò Sè oarpaKOV, ovbèν rov KareaKeva-  
 erpévov rrpò<! rrvν àriporàrriv vrrijpeerLav einrperréa-  
 repov; 3. ov <j>0aprrj<; vXt/ç ravra rràvra; oi>x viro  
 cribripov Kai TTvpòf Kexa^Kev0'^va! °^X °  
 avrStv Xi0o^óo<j, b Sè ^aX/cevç, ó Sè àpyvpoKorro<;,  
 è Sè Kepapevs errXacrev; ov rrpiv fj raif rexvaif  
 rovvarv el<j rrvν pop<f>rjv rovveov èKrvjra>Orjvai, 7p>  
 eKaerrov avréov eKaarep, eri Kai vvv, perapepop-  
 ýcopévov; ov ra vvv eK tj]ç àur^ç vXiγ ovra crKevp  
 yévoir av, el rvxoi réav avrSrv rexviréav, bpoia roi-  
 ovrois; 4. ov ravra rràXiv,rà vvv vip' vpèðv rrpoe-  
 Kvvoypeva, bvvaiv av virò àv0πεorra>v erKevj bpoia  
 yevéa0ai row Xoirrow; ov Keopa rrávra; ov rvepXà;  
 ovk à^rvxa; ovk àvaiaOpra; ovk à.Kivip~a; ov  
 rrávra arjrropeva; oí) rràvra <p0eipé>peva; 5. ravra  
 Θεov<; KaXeître; rovrow bovXevere; rovrow rrpoe-  
 Kvveître, réXeov S' avroí<j è^opoiova0e. 6. bià

## THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, n. 1-6

a new man from the beginning, as one, as you yourself also admitted, who is about to listen to a new story. Look, not only with your eyes, but also with your intelligence, what substance or form they chance to have whom you call gods and regard as such. 2. Is not one a stone, like that on which we walk, another bronze, no better than the vessels which have been forged for our use, another wood already rotten, another silver, needing a man to guard it against theft, another iron, eaten by rust, another earthenware, not a whit more comely than that which is supplied for the most ordinary service? 3. Are not all these of perishable material? Were they not forged by iron and fire? Did not the wood-carver make one, the brass-founder another, the silver-smith another, the potter another. Before they were moulded by their arts, into the shapes which they have, was it not possible and does it not still remain possible, for each of them to have been given a different shape? Might not vessels made out of the same material, if they met with the same artificers, be still made similar to such as they? 4. Again, would it not be possible, for these, which are now worshipped by you, to be made by men into vessels like any others? Are they not all dumb? Are they not blind? Are they not without souls? Are they not without feeling? Are they not without movement? Are not they all rotting? Are they not all decaying? 5. Do you call these things gods? Are these what you serve? Are these what you worship and in the end become like them? 6. Is this the reason

1 The meaning is that, given the requisite workers, the material used for ordinary vessels of wood or brass or silver might at any moment be turned into a 'god.'

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

rovTO puaeîre 'Kpiariavovs, oti tovtovs oi>x  
riyovvrai Oeovs; 7. vpeîs yàp alveiv vopiÇorfes  
Kai olópevoi, ov iroXv irXéov avrúv KaTatftpoveire;  
ov troXv paXXov avrov s yXeuaferre Kai vfiplÇere,  
tovs p-èv Xióivovs Kal oarpaKívovs aéfiovres  
a<f>vXaKTovs, tous Sè àpyvpéovs Kai ^pvcrouç èyKXei-  
orreç Taîç- vvÇi Kai raîs ripépais ývXaKas irapa-  
Ka0i<rTávTes, ìva prj KXarr&aiv; 8. aîs Sè So/ceîTe  
ripMÍs Trpoa-<f>épeiv, et pèv ala0áovvrai, KoXâÇere  
pâXXov avTovs' el Sè avaitrdip-ovcriv, eXéyxovres  
aípMTi Kai Kviaais avrov OppaKçveTe. 9. ravO'  
vpMv ns vrrlopeivârtù, ravra àvaa<sup>()</sup>(éa0a> ns  
èavrtv yevéa-0ai. àXXà avOparrros pev ovSè els  
TavTTjs Tr/s KoXâaews eKiov avérerai, atadpiriv  
yàp e^ei Kai XoyitrvMV o Sè Xldos àvéx^f^  
àvaia0TjTec yáp. ovk ovv ttjv aia0rj<Tiv avrov  
eX&yXtre; 10. Trepì p.ev ovv tov prj δεèovXâ>a0ai  
X.pi<TTiavovs TOiovTois Ocoîs TToXXà fièv àv Kai  
aXXa eàrreiv 'ζχοιπι' eì Sé rivi p,rj SoKoíp Kav  
ravra iKavá, rrepiaaov pyovpai Kai rà irXeito  
Xéyeiv.

### III

1. fEΞi)ç Sè Ttepi rov p,T) Karà rà avrà 'lovSaiois  
0eoaε@eiv aiiTovs dìpai ae paXiara rro0eiv Ûkov-  
<rai. 2. 'lovSaioc roivvv, ei p,èv àrréxovTai rav-  
ri)S rfjs Trpoeipppevps Xarpeias, KaXàs 0eòv eva  
rG)v TrávTtiiv ae/deiv Kai SeaTrorrjv à^iovai <|>povèiv  
eì Sè roîs TTpoeippévois ópoiorpórrois rrjv 0pTj-  
cnceiáv TporráyovaIV avrà) ravr^v, Siapaprà-  
vovaiv. 3. à yap rois ávaia0rjTois Kai KCùjoiís

why you hate the Christians—that they do not think that these are gods? 7. For is it not you, who, though you think and believe that you are praising the gods, are much more despising them? Are you not much rather mocking and insulting them, when you worship those of stone and earthenware without guarding them; but lock up at night and in the day-time place guards over those of silver and gold, that they be not stolen away. 8. And, if they have powers of perception, by the honours which you think to pay them you are rather punishing them, and, if they are without perception, you are refuting them by worshipping them with blood and burnt fat. 9. Let one of you suffer these things, let him endure that it should be done to him. Why, there is not a single man who would willingly endure this punishment, for he has perception and reason. But the stone endures, for it has no perception. Do you not then refute its perception? 10. I could say much more as to the refusal of Christians to serve such gods, but if any one find these arguments insufficient, I think it useless to say more.

### III

1. In the next place I think that you are <sup>the</sup> especially anxious to hear why the Christians do not <sup>betwee</sup>T worship in the same way as the Jews. 2. The Jews <sup>Jews and</sup> indeed, by abstaining from the religion already <sup>chnatiana</sup> discussed, may rightly claim that they worship the one God of the Universe, and regard him as master, but in offering service to him in like manner to those already dealt with they are quite wrong. 3. For just as the Greeks give a proof of foolishness



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*rrpo<T<f>érovres oi "EXX^peç afypoavnqs deiypa*  
*'rrapé'XpviTi, rav0' oïnoi KaOáirep Trpoaδeopév<p*  
*rw 0eá> XoyiÇépevoi 'jra.peyeiv pwpiav eì/cò? pa\*  
*n^Psfiw, ^-ov 'rffolvT' àv, ov 0eoaé/3etav. 4. ó yàp rroiqa-as*  
*Acts 14, r^v oupavov Kai rqv yqv Kai rravra rà èv avToïis*  
*Kai rrâcriv qpîv 'Xoppyràv, wv rpoa'deope0a, ovSevos*  
*àv avrò; irpoaSéono toutou> a>v rois olopévois*  
*8i8ovai irapé^ei aînés. 5. oí 8é ye Ovaias avr& Si'*  
*aiparos Kai Kviaqs Kai oXoKavTm̄pâratv èirireKeiv*  
*oiépevoi Kai ravrais rais ripais avrov yepaipeiv,*  
*ov8év poi SoKovai 8iatj>épeiv rûv eis rà Kaftà rqv*  
*avrqv èv8eiKvvpéva>v yiXoriplav rô>v pèv pq*  
*8vnapévois rfjs riprjs peraKapftâvsiv, râv èè*  
*Sokovvtcov rrapé^eiv rS> pq8evòs irpoaSeopévo.*

### IV

1. 'AXXà pqv to ye rrepi ras fipuxreis avr&v  
 yfrotfioSeès Kai rqv Trepì rà aáfiftara éeiaiéai-  
 vlav Kai rqv rqs Trepìropqs àXa^oveiav Kai rqv  
 Tijv vqareias Kai vovprevias eipovveiav, KarayéX-  
 aara Kai ovSevos a^ta Xéyov, ov vopiÇiv ae  
 Xpiféiv rrap' èpov paOeiv. 2. to re yàp rà>v virò  
 rov 0eov Kriadévriov eis xpqaiv àv0pânratv à pèv  
 à>S KaXiòs KTio-0évra rrapa8é)iecr0ai, à 8' â)s  
 a-xprprra Kai rre^iaaà rrapaiTéÏa0ai, ttwç ovk  
 à0épiarov; 3. ro 8è Kara-\jrev8ea0ai 0eov cos  
 kwXvovtos èv Tÿ rüv aafifüároov fjz;pa koKón ti  
 TToielv, irás ovk àtreftés; 4. to 8è Kai ttjv p^tataiv  
 Tqs aapKOS paprvpiov éKXoyqs aKatpveva0ai i>S

## THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, m. 3-iv. 4

by making offerings to senseless and deaf images, so the Jews ought rather to consider that they are showing foolishness, not reverence, by regarding God as in need of these things. 4. For "He who made heaven and earth and all that is in them," and bestows on all of us that which we need, would not himself have need of any of these things which he himself supplies to those who think that they are giving them. 5. For after all, those who think that they are consecrating sacrifices to him by blood and burnt fat, and whole burnt offerings, and that they are reverencing him by these honours, seem to me to be in no way better than those who show the same respect to deaf images. For it seems that the one offer to those who cannot partake of the honour, the others to him who is in need of nothing.

### IV

1. Moreover I do not suppose that you-need to learn from me that, after all, their scruples about food and superstition about the Sabbath, and their pride in circumcision and the sham of their fasting and feast of the new moon, are ridiculous and unworthy of any argument. 2. For how can it be anything but unlawful to receive some of the things created by God for the use of man as if well created, and to reject others as if useless and superfluous? 3. And what can it be but impious falsely to accuse God of forbidding that a good deed should be done on the Sabbath day? 4. And what does it deserve but ridicule to be proud of the mutilation of the flesh as a proof of election as if



THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, iv. 4-v. 5

they were, for this reason, especially beloved by God? 5. And their attention to the stars and moon, for the observance of months and days, and for their arbitrary distinctions between the changing seasons ordained by God, making some into feasts, and others into occasions of mourning;—who would regard this as a proof of piety, and not much more of foolishness? 6. So then I think that you have learnt sufficiently that the Christians do rightly in abstaining from the general silliness and deceit and fussiness and pride of the Jews. But do not suppose that you can learn from man the mystery of the Christians' own religion.

V

1. FOR the distinction between Christians and other men, is neither in country nor language nor customs. 2. For they do not dwell in cities in some place of their own, nor do they use any strange variety of dialect, nor practise an extraordinary kind of life. 3. This teaching of theirs has not been discovered by the intellect or thought of busy men, nor are they the advocates of any human doctrine as some men are. 4. Yet while living in Greek and barbarian cities, according as each obtained his lot, and following the local customs, both in clothing and food and in the rest of life, they show forth the wonderful and confessedly strange character of the constitution of their own citizenship. 5. They dwell in their own fatherlands, but as if sojourners in them; they share all things as citizens, and suffer

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*rravroxv a>t rrdXirai, Kai irávd' viropévovaiiv wç  
 ^evor Tràcia ^evrj irarpis èariv avròtv, Kai rrâaa  
 Trarpis ^evy. 6. yapovaiv côç rrâvres, rexvoyov-  
 oîtaiv ζXX' ov plrrrovai rà yewwpeva. 7. rpáire-  
 II Cor. 10, Çap Koivrpt rraparídevrai, ζXX' ov Kolrrjv. 8. èv  
*ii* ?s<sup>o</sup>m 8' °'aPz<sup>4</sup> rvy^avovaiv, ζXX\* ov Kara aápKa Ç&aiiv.  
 Philipp. 3, 9. èrti yíjs Siarpl0ovaiv, ζXX' èv ovpavS) rroXi-  
 is-20 revovrai. 10. rreidovrai rois ζtpiapévois vopois,  
 Kai rois ISiois Oiois viK&ai rov<; vópovs. 11. àya-  
 rrâai rróvras, Kai virò rrávrwv Siwcovrai.  
 II Cor. o, o 12. àvvoovvrai, Kai Karaxpivovrai' davarovvrai,  
 II Cor. 6, io Kai ÇwoTroiovvrai. 13. rrrai^evovai, Kai ttXovtI-  
 Çovai rroWovs" rrâvrcov varepovvrai, Kai èv rrâai  
 irepiaaevovaiv. 14. àripovvrai, Kai èv raís  
 ζripiáis SoÇàÇovrai. jîXaafyripovvrai, Kai SiKai-  
 I Cor. 4,12 ovvrai. 15. XoiSopovvrai, Kai evXoyovaiv i>0pl-  
 II Cor. o, io Çovrai, Kai rtpwaiv. 16. àyafjoiroiovvre<i ζç  
 KaKol Ko'àÇovrar Ko'KaÇôp.evoi 'xaipovaiv mç  
 ^oo-rroriovpevoi. 17. vrro lovSaliov àXXôcJivXoi  
 TroXepovvrai Kai vrro 'EWyvav SidiKovrai' Kai  
 r>)v airlav Tj<; e^dpai eirreiv oi /tiicrovvTe<; ovk  
 é^ovaiv.*

## VI

1. 'AttXwç 8' elireiv, orrep èarl v <râ>p.ari ^rv'^rj,  
 rovr elaiiv èv Koapop lipiariavoi. 2. éarraprai  
 Kara rrávrion râ>v rov acop&roç peXâ>v rj 'ÿVXIj'  
 Kai Xpiariavol Kara raç rov Koapov rroXeí<.  
 3. oiKei pèv èv rS> aζjpari yjrvy(ii, ovk eari Sè èx  
 II'io'11, tov aà>p.aro<r Kai Xpiariavol èv Koapip oiKovaiiv,  
 360

## THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, v. 5-vi. 3

all things as strangers. Every foreign country is their fatherland, and every fatherland is a foreign country. 6. They marry as all men, they bear children, but they do not expose their offspring. 7. They offer free hospitality, but guard their purity. 8. Their lot is cast "in the flesh," but they do not live "after the flesh." 9. They pass their time upon the earth, but they have their citizenship in heaven. 10. They obey the appointed laws, and they surpass the laws in their own lives. 11. They love all men and are persecuted by all men. 12. They are unknown and they are condemned. They are put to death and they gain life. 13. "They are poor and make many rich"; they lack all things and have all things in abundance. 14. They are dishonoured, and are glorified in their dishonour, they are spoken evil of and are justified. 15. "They are abused and give blessing," they are insulted and render honour. 16. When they do good they are buffeted as evil-doers, when they are buffeted they rejoice as men who receive life. 17. They are warred upon by the Jews as foreigners and are persecuted by the Greeks, and those who hate them cannot state the cause of their enmity.

## VI.

1. To put it shortly what the soul is in the body, The world that the Christians are in the world. 2. The soul is spread through all members of the body, and Christians throughout the cities of the world. 3. The soul dwells in the body, but is not of the body, and Christians dwell in the world, but are not of the

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- ovk eial Sé ;K tov Koapov. 4. ζopai-oc %  
ev oparâ> ýpovpeîrai rS> adparr Kal Xpiariavot  
ylvdaKovrai pèv ovres èv rî> Koapep, àóparos Se  
aüirtòv 7j ffeoaéfteia pévei. 5. piaci rpν ýjrvxpν »|  
aap% Kal iroxepει ppòèν àèiKovpévrp Stóri rais  
-rfiovais KtùXverai y^prjaOat.' piaci Kal ~K.pianavovs  
o Koapos pr)8èν àSiKovpevos, ori rat? rfiovais  
àvriàaaovrai. 6. p ^vyrj rpν piaovaav àyatra  
aàpKa Kai rà péXrp Kal Xpiariavol rovs piaovv-  
raç àyaTrdatv. 7. èyKìKXeiarai pèν rj "úrvX^  
adpari, avvé^ei Se auri/ to aúpa! Kal Xpia-  
navol KaTCXOVTai pev ζς èν <f>poupâ tð) Koapw,  
avTol Sè avveravai ròν Koapov. 8. àf)avaros rj  
•ýrvxr) èν Ovι|tð) aKr/vaipari KaroiKer Kai Xpia-  
Ttavol rrapoiKovaiv èν <f>0aprois, rr)v èν ovpavois  
à<f>0apaiav Trpoadeyópevoi. 9. KaKovpyovpév  
airlois Kal ttotoiç 17 ^;Kriovrai- Kal  
Xpiartavol KoXa^ópevoi KaO' ppépav rrXeová^ovai  
pàXXov. 10. eis TOaavT-pv avrovs ra^iv effero ð  
ffeós, Vv Oepir'ov avrois Trapairpaaaffai.*
- Gai. 5, n  
Jo. is, is.  
19  
Luk.'e, 27

## VII

- 1, Oð yàp èiriyeiov, ;ς eçypv, evpppa rovρ  
avrois rrapeióffr), ov8è ffvprpp èirivoiav <j>vXàaaev  
ovtois à^iovaiv èiripeXâts, ov8è àvffpcoTrivwv ol-  
Kovopiov pvarppltov Treiriarevvrai. 2. aXX avros  
ax7]d; i>S ó iravroKparatp Kai 'rravroKriar'ps Kal
- I Cor. 9, i7

## THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, vi. 3-vii. 2

world. 4. The soul is invisible, and is guarded in a visible body, and Christians are recognised when they are in the world, but their religion remains invisible. 5. The flesh hates the soul, and wages war upon it, though it has suffered no evil, because it is prevented from gratifying its pleasures, and the world hates the Christians though it has suffered no evil, because they are opposed to its pleasures. 6. The soul loves the flesh which hates it and the limbs, and Christians love those that hate them. 7. The soul has been shut up in the body, but itself sustains the body; and Christians are confined in the world as in a prison, but themselves sustain the world.<sup>1</sup> 8. The soul dwells immortal in a mortal tabernacle, and Christians sojourn among corruptible things, waiting for the incorruptibility which is in heaven. 9. The soul when evil treated in food and drink becomes better, and Christians when buffeted day by day increase more. 10. God has appointed them to so great a post<sup>2</sup> and it is not right for them to decline it.

### VII

1. For it is not, as I said, an earthly discovery The which was given to them, nor do they take such pains to guard some mortal invention, nor have they been entrusted with the dispensation of human mysteries. 2. But in truth the Almighty and all-creating and invisible God himself founded among

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aristides, *Apoloogy* 16. 'I have no doubt but that the world stands through the intercession of Christians.'

<sup>2</sup> There is probably a recurrence of the idea of the church as the 'militia dei' (cf. note on Hermas, *Sim.* v. i. 1).



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*ἀόπαροφ 0εος, avrò? ζtt' ovpavmv Trjv iiXpOeiaiv  
 Kai τov Χόγov τov ayiov Kai airepivopTOV avdpoo-  
 iroi< j èv fapvcre Kai èyKareaTTipi^e ratç Kapbiais  
 avTww ov, Kadá-rep av τi i; eiKáaetev, άvOpánroK  
 vTTTjpeTr/v Tivà Trép^as rj àyyéXov rj dpyovTa ij  
 Tiva τcòv SieTrónTcov rà èiriyeia rj Tiva τòv  
 ireTri<TTeup.éva>v ràç èv ovpavois; úioiK-paei^, ζXX  
 avTov τov TeyviT-qv Kai è-qpiovpyov τww oXww,  
 çS roùç ovpavov<; eKTitrev, a> Trp> OaXacrcrav  
 lòiois; èvéKXeiaev, ou Ta pvaTr/pia TriaTtiv; tráVTa  
 < j>vXácrrei Ta aToi^eía, Trap' ou Ta perpa τww  
 ττ|ç rj pépa<; úpópww ò fjXio<; eiXipfte < j>vXáaaeiv, a>  
 TreiOap^eì aeXriv) vvkTI tjjaiveiv KeXevovTi, a>  
 Treidap^eì Ta áaTpa τç> ττ|ç treXj/i'j|ç aKoXov-  
 úoivTa úpòp,tp' a> Trávra ζίaréra/crai Kai úim-  
 piaTai Kai vTTOTSTaKTai, ovpavoi Kai rà èv ovpa-  
 voí<!, 777 Kai Ta èv Trj yfj, OaKaaaa Kai Ta ev ττ)  
 OaXáo-ay, Trop, àrjp, d/3vavos, rà èv vífreat, rà èv  
 fládeai, Ta èv τò> peTa^v' τοúτων Trpòç avTOvç  
 àfréaTeiKev. 3. apa ye, ζ>; àvOpânrtov av τi i  
 Xoy'iaaiTO, èirl Tv pavviùì Kai \$>o(3rp Kai nara-  
 TrX^et; 4. ov pèv ovv ζXX' èv èirteiKeia Kai  
 irpavTpTi æç /3aatXeùç irépiroav vlòv ftaaiXéa  
 èirep^rev, deòv èirep^ev, ζ>ç avOpanrov irpo^;  
 àvdpMTrov^ €Trepvrev, ζç aeo^tov érrep^ev, a>ç  
 Treidatv, ov fiiaÇòpevoç' (ila yàp ov irpocreati τò>  
 θεά>. 5. eirep^rev &ç koXúv, ov Simkiov eTrepvrev  
 à9 àyatrwv, ov Kplviiv. 6. Triplet yàp avTov  
 Kp'ivovTa' Kai Tif avTov Tpv irapovaíav vitoúττj-  
 aeTai; . . . 7. . . . 7rapa^aKXopènov<; dppioK,*

Zech. 9,9

Jo. s, 17

Jo. s, 17

Maiaeh. 3,2

## THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, vu. 2-7

men the truth from heaven, and the holy and incomprehensible word, and established it in their hearts, not, as one might suppose, by sending some minister to men, or an angel, or ruler, or one of those who direct earthly things, or one of those who are entrusted with the dispensations in heaven, but the very artificer and Creator of the universe himself, by whom he made the heavens, by whom he enclosed the sea in its own bounds, whose mysteries all the elements guard faithfully; from whom the sun received the measure of the courses of the day, to whose command the moon is obedient to give light by night, whom the stars obey, following the course of the moon, by whom all things were ordered, and ordained, and placed in subjection, the heavens and the things in the heavens, the earth and the things in the earth, the sea and the things in the sea, fire, air, abyss, the things in the heights, the things in the depths, the things between them—him he sent to them. 3. Yes, but did he send him, as a man might suppose, in sovereignty and fear and terror? 4. Not so, but in gentleness and meekness, as a king sending a son, he sent him as King, he sent him as God, he sent him as Man to men, he was saving and persuading when he sent him, not compelling, for compulsion is not an attribute of God. 5. When he sent him he was calling, not pursuing; when he sent him he was loving, not judging. 6. For he will send him as judge, and who shall endure his coming?| \* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \* 7. . . . they are thrown to wild beasts

1 There is here a lacuna in the MS. Probably the next sentence may be completed by prefixing "Do you not see that" before "they are thrown."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*iva àpvyawvrai ròn Kvpiov, Kal py viKtopevovs;  
8. ois% òpàs, oatp rrXeíoves KoXâÇovrai, rocovrtp  
rrXeovâÇovras aXXovs; 9. ravra àvdptorrov ov  
òoKel rà èpya' ravra Bv vapls èteri Oeov' ravra  
tt)' rrapovtrlas avrov òeiypara.*

### Vili

1. Ttç yàp oXa>s àvdptórrtov ýmtrraro, ri rror  
èteri beòs rrvlv avrov èXffeiv; 2. y rovs kvovs Kal  
Xypcòdeis èKeivcov Xóyovs àrroèé^y rcòv tomartov  
ýiXoaòýtov, S>v oi pév rives rrvp èt^ao-av eivai rpv  
Oeòv (ov peXXovai ^wprpreiv avrol, rovro KaXovai  
Oeón), oi Bè vòtop, oi 8' aXXo ri rwv aroi^eicov rwv  
èKritrpévtov virò Oeoi>; 3. Kalroi ye, et ris rovrto  
rcòv Xóycov àrroèeKrés èart, Bvvair av Kal rtàv  
Xoirr&v Kriapàratv èv eKaarov opoiats àrro(f>ai-  
vevcoai beón. 4. ζXXà ravra pev repàrela Kal  
rXàvrì r&v yorirwv ècrrlv 5. àvdπό>rρα>v sè ovèiels  
ovre eiðev ovre eyviopiaev, avròs Sè èavròn èrréei-  
%ev. 6. èrréei^e èè Bià rricretos, y povy Geòv IBeiv  
trvyKexioprirai. 7. ó yàp Bearrórys Kal Bypiovpyòs  
ràiv ÔXtov Oeós, ò Trocytras rà rrávra Kal Karà rà^tv  
BtaKpivas, ov pónov tñXàvdptorros èyévero, àXXà  
Kal paKpodvpos- 8. ζXX' ovros yv pev ζèi roi-  
ovros Kal ean Kal earai, xpyaròs Kal àyaffòs  
Kal àópyyros Kal àXydys, Kal pónos àyadós ècrriv  
9. èvvoyeras Sè peyaXyv Kal à<j>pacrov èvvoia  
àveKOTvótaaro povtp rçò rraièl. 10. èv otrto pèv  
ovv Kareiyev èv pvarypicp Kal Bterrjpet ryv crot^yv  
avrov ^ovXyv, àpeXeiv yptòv Kal àtf>povriareiv

## THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, vn. 7-vni. n

that they may deny the lord, and are not overcome ?  
8. Do you not see that the more of them are punished,  
the more do others multiply ? 9. These things do  
not seem to be the works of man ; these things are a  
miracle of God, these things are the proofs' of his  
coming.

### VIII

1. For before he came what man had any know- Human  
ledge at all of what God is ? 2. Or do you accept of oZddge  
the vain and foolish statements of those pretentious  
philosophers, of whom some said that God is fire  
(they give the name of God to that to which they  
shall go) and some water, and some one of the other  
elements which were created by God. 3. And yet  
if any of these arguments is acceptable it would be  
possible for each one of the other created things to  
be declared God. 4. Now these things are the miracle  
mongering and deceit of the magicians ; 5. but of  
men there is none who has either seen him or known  
him, but he himself manifested himself. 6. Now  
he manifested himself through faith, by which alone  
it is given to see God. 7. For God the Master and  
Creator of the universe, who made all things and  
arranged them in order was not only kind to man,  
but also long-suffering. 8. Nay, he was ever so and  
is and will be, kindly and good and free from wrath  
and true, and he alone is good. 9. And having  
formed a great and unspeakable design he commu-  
nicated it to his Child alone. 10. And so long as he  
kept it in a mystery and guarded his wise counsel,  
he seemed to neglect us and to be careless; 11. but

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*èotjKei' 11. ζmi Sè aTreKaXv^/re Sià tov tiyaTTprov  
 traiSòs Kai è(j>avépa><re rà ζ^ àpxffi Trroipatrpeva,  
 iráv0' àpa irapéa'xev rjpiv Kai peTaayeiv tSiv  
 eveyeai&v avTov Kai I8eiv Kai voíjaat, à riç  
 àv TrcÓTTore TpoaeOoKpaev -r)pwv;*

### IX

1. ITiifr' ovv ifòrj Trap' éavrâ> avv Tip Traici  
**Rom. 3, 21-26** *olKovrjprjKtós, pζXPl pèv tov TTpóaffev xpovov eiaaev  
 ìjpàs, a>ç ζfiovXòpe0a, ζltcIktois jopáis cj>épe<r0ai,  
 ^Soi/aí? Kai ζTri0vplais cwrayopévovs- ou rravTtas  
 è<f)T]é0evos tois <ipaprr;paaiv ppoiv, aXX aveyo-  
 pevos, ov8e tð) toté Tljs àSiKias Kattp avnevôKwv,  
 àXXà tov vvv Tps SiKaioavvps 8r;piovpyS>v, iva ev  
 tS> Tore ^poixji ekeyxSlvTes ζk tüv ièltov epya>v  
 àvâ^ioi Çújtjç vvv viro ttjs tov 0eov xP^totti0os  
 à^ia>6â>pev, Kai to Kad' èavTOvs jävepi0aaVTes  
 àovvaTov eiaexffeiv els ryv ftatriitelav tov 0eô> rj  
 èvvâpei tov 0eov SvvaToi ryevy0â>pev.*  
**Jo. 3, s** *2. èirel se  
 ireTrXijpa>To pèv fj ripeTepa ζSiteía Kai Tékelws  
 Tre<l>avepa>To, oti o pia0às avTrps KoXaais Kai  
 OávaTos irpoaehoKciTO, ?jX0e se 6 Kaipós, ov 0eòs  
 7p0é06To XoITov (ftavepâxrai ttjv éavTov xPVaTO-  
 TTijTa Kai 8vvapiv (ð ttjs ÛTrep/SaXXouâijç tfuXav-  
 0p<07Tlâs Kai àyâTTTiS tov 0eov), ovk èpia-rjaev  
 ypâs ouSè àiriócraTO ouSè epv>}<TiKaK7]a-ev, àXXa  
 èpaKpo0vprja-ev, ^véa^eTO, èXetâv aiiTos Tas riP-e-  
 Tepas àpapTias àveúé^aTO, avTOS tov iSiov viàv  
 àiréSoTO XvTpon inrèp ppivv, tov ayiov VTrèp  
 àvoptùv, tov aKaKov vrrèp twv KaKiov, tov SiKatov*

**Rom. s, 32**  
**rÇimÎîrè**  
**I Pet. s, is**

when he revealed it through his beloved Child, and manifested the things prepared from the beginning, he gave us all things at once, both to share in his benefits and to see and understand, and which of us would ever have expected these things ?

## IX

1. HAVING thus planned everything by himself The plan of with his Child he suffered us up to the former time Salvation to be borne along by unruly impulses as we willed, carried away by pleasures and lust. Not at all because he delighted in our sins, but in forbearance ; not in approval of the time of iniquity which was then, but fashioning the time of righteousness which is now, that we, who at that time were proved by our own deeds to be unworthy of life, may now be granted it by the goodness of God, and that when we had made it plain that it was impossible for us by ourselves to enter into the kingdom of God, we might be made able by the power of God. 2. But when our iniquity was fulfilled and it had become fully manifest, that its reward of punishment and death waited for it, and the time came which God had appointed to manifest henceforth his kindness and power (O the excellence of the kindness and the love of God !) he did not hate us nor reject us nor remember us for evil, but was long-suffering, endured us, himself in pity took our sin, himself gave his own Son as ransom for us, the Holy for the wicked, the innocent for the

7970 5047X 9g SqOakldiS '£ M O X g » <17X>t7X>ZiJi»A» S70X  
 isomq 'oinyis/JJins anisyinnj mandqo as aki 6 \* °tii  
 sio 'kas^onoti aoi aoian noia rtoX syisnssdin sqo -gs 't 'u@d  
 sqddi 'snnydis Soaoms sfrx 2no 'asipsdisdis  
 undo aoian Soda man Sioaorl Sio 'aqoa S^o 'asnmqs  
 ao&oy 6jo 'ZA Zix as ni mana s^msaq 6jo 'aorlnqn  
 aoi snkioas Sao (7g 'snkanLk saoaamdfan sqoi sqsg of  
 dnh o -g . . . -sodina ausmakaas asrl aoimda sliçjny :gi 's °r  
 inn 'sknkgoa ans annidi alii an inn alnan^ •{

## X

•iinarhdsri kid Sktpodi inn Smsnagas  
 idsdi 'akm^ 'aaXni 'an^oq 'alirln 'Smip 'aaoa 'aodim is-w's^w  
 'ao\ao^jdan 'ao^nnnn^i^ 'ndsindi 'nstpodi ingnisLli  
 aoian 'aoian nkiOinkdX &i Snrlk aisasima  
 kQkyaoÿs amdsiocprln ^s 'mnaa^ni inn ais^mn  
 aoinaaq Sn^is^ ndUimn aoi 9g aaa 'Skm^ aisXai  
 oi sis Smsnacjs Sndsisrlk ski aoinaa^ni oi maodX  
 asQnoddi mi asrl as aao Sn^ksys '9 'llnminm^  
 Saorloan Sqoyyodi sqas 9g kaanoinniç 'üÿadn las  
 minniç as amyyodi asid nidoan nai .ammsfjdsqs  
 amiknoQooddin ami m 'SniLdaonik^ aoinniaXi^san  
 Ski m 'skLnyynian Svisnayh ski m -g tQos0  
 aoi mia mi maqrl as k Sis^snn inn Sndk Saorloan  
 Sqoi aoinaag inakgminniç iaii as 'f ikaqnoinniç  
 aoaisns k indfiayvn kffkaa^k arndk. sniidnrln sm  
 oyyin dnL ii •£ 'amikag ami dsdiç aoinangn aoi  
 'amidngcp ami dsdiç aoidngcpn aoi 'amnion ami dsdiç

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, ix. a-x. 3

guilty, the just for the unjust, the incorruptible for the corruptible, the immortal for the mortal. 3. For what else could cover our sins but his righteousness? 4. In whom was it possible for us, in our wickedness and impiety, to be made just, except in the son of God alone? 5. O the sweet exchange, O the inscrutable creation, O the unexpected benefits, that the wickedness of many should be concealed in the one righteous, and the righteousness of the one should make righteous many wicked! 6. Having convinced us then of the inability of our nature to attain life in time past, and now having shown the Saviour who is able to save, even where it was impossible, it was his will for both reasons that we should believe on his goodness, and regard him as nurse, father, teacher, counsellor, physician, mind, light, honour, glory, strength, life, and to have no care for clothing and food.

X

1. If you also desire this faith, and receive first <sup>the</sup> complete knowledge of the Father... J 2. For God <sup>conversion</sup> loved mankind for whose sake he made the world, to whom he subjected all things which are in the earth, to whom he gave reason, to whom he gave mind, on whom alone he enjoined that they should look upward to him, whom he made in his own image, to whom he sent his only-begotten Son, to whom he promised the kingdom in heaven,—and he will give it to them who loved him. 3. And when you

1 Here again there is apparently a lacuna in the text.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- I Jo. 4,19 *TrXr)pa>OT;jaea0ai %apâs ; ireos áyarrijaeis tov ovTeos irpoayairr;jaavTÚ ere; 4. àyairrjaas 5è pipi)-tt;ç ear) avTov Tijç XpíjaTOT-rjTOS- Kai pi) Oavpáar]s, el Svvarai pip^rris àv0peirros yevea0ai 0eov. SvvaTai 0éXovros avrov. 5. ov yàp to KæraZvva-aTeveiv t Sív TrXr/aiov ovSè to irXéov eyç;eiv ;3ovXea0ai. t S>v àaOeveaTepatv ov8è to irXovTeiv Kai ;3iá%ea0ai tovs vrr0SeeaTepovs evèaipoveiv èaTiv, ov8è èv tovt0is ovvarae tis pipr;aaa0ai 0eov, çXXa ravra è/erôç tt)s èxecvov peyaXeioTi)TOS. 6. çXX oaris to tov irXrjaeov àvaðé^eTai /3tipos, os èv ç5 Kpeia-aeov èariv erepov tov èXaTTovpevov eveyereiv è0éee, oç a irapa tov 0eov Xaftàrv e^et, Tavra to Ís èaiBeopévois xoprjyüv 0eos yiveTat, t S>v Xapfðavón-Twv, ovTos pipT)T7)s èaTi 0eov. 7. TOTe Oeaay Tyv")(à.v<àv èiri yf/s, ot ç 0eòs èv ovpavois TroXiTeveTai, TOTe pvaTrjpia 0eov XaXeiv àp^y, TOTe tovs KoXa-^opévois èiri t0) p/r) 0éXeiv àpv;r;aaa0ai, 0eòv Kai àyaTTi)aets Kai Oavpáaeis' Terre tt)s àirçtt)s tov Koapov Kai tt)s irKàvrjs KaTayvdtay, OTav to çXij-0Srs èv oupavât çrjv èaiyveps, OTav tov Sokovvtos èv0àSe 0aveiTov KaTaeftpovriaps, orav tov ovtwç 0ávaTov <jj0/3rj0éjs, os epvXeiaaeTai tois KaTaKpi0ij-aopevois els to rrvp to aleóviov, ô tovs TrapaSo-0évras avreò péxpt teXovs KoXáaei. 8. rore tovs vrr0pévovTas vTrèp BiKaioavnrvs Oavpáaeis ro irvp to TtpôaKaipov Kai paKapiaeis, orav èKeivo to irvp etreyvat^*
- Gai. g. 2
- Eph. ç. 9  
Col 4'1

have this full knowledge, with that joy do you think that you will be filled, or how greatly will you love him who thus first loved you? 4. But by your love you will imitate the example of his goodness. And do not wonder that it is possible for man to be the imitator of God; it is possible when he will. 5. For happiness consists not in domination over neighbours, nor in wishing to have more than the weak, nor in wealth, and power to compel those who are poorer, nor can anyone be an imitator of God in doing these things, but these things are outside his majesty. 6. But whoever takes up the burden of his neighbour, and wishes to help another, who is worse off in that in which he is the stronger, and by ministering to those in need the things which he has received and holds from God becomes a god to those who receive them,—this man is an imitator of God. 7. Then, though your lot be placed on earth you will see that God lives in heaven, then you will begin to speak of the mysteries of God, then you will both love and admire those who are being punished because they will not deny God, then you will condemn the deceit and error of the world, when you know what is the true life of heaven, when you despise the apparent death of this world, when you fear the death which is real, which is kept for those that shall be condemned to the everlasting fire, which shall punish up to the end those that were delivered to it. 8. Then you will marvel at those who endure for the sake of righteousness the fire which is for a season, and you will count them blessed when you know that other fire.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### XI

1. Ον ζέβα όπιΧοι όνδè ρραπαΧόγο)^ %rj-G>, àXXà  
 ÛTTomóXcùv yevopevos paôprp^ yivopai διδάρKaXo<;  
 èth'MV rà ρραπαδοθέβρα àfla><; vrrpperG) yivopévois  
 àktj6eia<; paOpraîs. 2. ριç γὰρ όποτὰς διδα%0el<i  
 kh i Xoyço ρρoaiπιXijs yevr/Oeis ovk èiri^preî aa<j>G><;  
 paÓelv rà δια Χόγον δεi%0έβρα <f>avepà><; paOpraK,  
 olç è<f>avéptùæv ó Xoyoc </>aveiç, Ttappaia. XaXtáv,  
 urrà àrrlaratv prj vooovpevos, padrpraic; ζè διρjγov-  
 pevov, 0'l maral Xoyiaθέβρε<; vrr avrov eyvaxrav  
 varpòf pvtrrppia; 3. ov %àpiv arrecrreiXe Χόγον,  
 jο. 1,9  
 I Tim. 3,16  
 ίva Kocrptù <j>avi), όç virò Xaov àripaadei^, δια  
 ζttocttÓXïük Kripvydel^, virò èüvûv èmarevOr/.

I jo. 1,1 : 4. ovtoç ó àrr àp)(V)) ó \*r@w/δç faveis Kal rraXaios  
 evpe^eiç Kal rràvρορε véoc èv àyiiàn KapèlaK yevvtô-  
 pevov. 5. ovtoç ó àei, ó arjpepov viòs XoyiaOei'j,  
 is. 2, J :  
 dl ov rfkovrierai rj ζKKXpaia Kai yapis arrXov-  
 pÂvrj èv ayioK Trkpdvverai, rrapeypvaa vovv, <f>jave-  
 povaa pvarrjpta, SiayyéWovaa Kaipov^^aipovaa  
 èrrl iriirroî';, èm^provai δv>popv,évp, ol<! opKia

XI

1. My speech is not strange, nor my inquiry Conclusion unreasonable, but as a disciple of apostles I am becoming a teacher of the heathen. I administer worthily that which has been handed down to those who are becoming disciples of the truth. 2. For who that has been properly taught, and has become a lover of the word does not seek to learn plainly the things which have been clearly shown by the word to disciples, to whom the Word appeared and revealed them, speaking boldly, not being perceived by the unbelieving, but relating them to disciples, who were held by him to be faithful and gained knowledge of the mysteries of the Father? 3. And for his sake he sent the Word to appear to the world, who was dishonoured by the chosen people,<sup>1</sup> was preached by apostles, was believed by the heathen. 4. He was from the beginning, and appeared new, and was proved to be old, and is ever young, as he is born in the hearts of the saints. 5. He is the eternal one, who to-day<sup>2</sup> is accounted a Son, through whom the Church is enriched, and grace is unfolded and multiplied among the saints, who confers understanding, manifests mysteries, announces seasons, rejoices in the faithful, is given to them that seek, that is, to those by whom the pledges of faith are

<sup>1</sup> Aids is here, as frequently, the chosen people of Israel, in contrast with rà Wri;, the heathen nations.

<sup>2</sup> This suggests that the homily belongs to a feast of the Nativity. In the time of Hippolytus this was probably not separated from the Epiphany or feast of the Baptism (see article on Christmas in *Hastings Dictionary of Religion and Ethics.*)

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Trúrrewç ov Gpaverat ovbè opia rrareptov rrapoptfeTaí. 6. eira tjió^oe vórov aberat, icat rrpofiyrrwv -^ápíe yivànr/cerat, icat evayyeXtav rrtorte tbpvrai, icat árroaróXtov rrapáboate (jivXáaaeraí, icat èic-KXrpTtae %ápte atctprâ. 7. rjv %áptv pi] XvrrSiv éirtvá><rr), a Aoyoc optXet bt a>v ftovXerat, ore QéXet. 8. ocra yàp GeXrjpart roí) iceXevovroe Xóyov èKtvGijpev èRetiretv perà rrónov, è£ àyàrrrje rrvv àrroicaXv<f>Gévra>v rjptv ytvopeGa vptv Kotvùvot.

## XII

1. Oíç èvrwxpvree icat àtcovaavree pera airovbfpi etcreaGe, boa rrapé'xet o (9eoç roíç àyarrSiiotv opGiàe, **Gen. 2,15;** oi yevópevot rrapàbetooe rpvrfiip, rráyKaprtov ^vXov 3' 4 evGaXovv àvareiXavre^ èv èavrott;; rrotictXoiç; /cap-irote Ketcoaprpievot. 2. èv yap rovrcp r& ^toptcp **Gen. 2, 9** fypXov yvtócreaie tcài ^vXov çw^ç rre^vrevraf àXX' oii rò rtje yvcócretoc àvatpet, àXX' i) rrapaicorj àvatpet. 3. ovbè yàp àar/pa rà yeypappéva, óe Geðe àrr àp^ije ÇvXov yvcóaecoc tcat ÇvXov ^wíje èv péarp rrapabetoov ètjivrevae, btà yvó>oea>e Çiaijp èrribettcvve' y pi) KaGaptàe xpr/cràpevot oi àrr àpxije rrXávr] rov o<j>ea>e yeyvpvcovrat. 4. ovbe yàp Ça>ri ànev yvtóaetoc ovbè yvSxrte àa^taXrje avev Çtoije àXi]Gove' btb irXijcrtov éicárepov rre^vrevrai. 5. rjv bvvaptv èvtbàv ó àrróaroXoe rr/v re ànev àXrjGeiae 376

not broken, nor the decrees of the Fathers transgressed. 6. Then is the fear of the Law sung, and the grace of the Prophets known, the faith of the Gospels is established, and the tradition of apostles is guarded, and the grace of the Church exults. 7. And if you do not grieve this grace you will understand what the word says through the agents of his choice, when he will. 8. For in all things which we were moved by the will of him who commands us to speak with pain, we become sharers with you through love of the things revealed to us.

## XII

1. If you consider and listen with zeal to these truths you will know what things God bestows on those that love him rightly, who are become "a Paradise of delight," raising up in themselves a fertile tree with all manner of fruits, and are adorned with divers fruits. 2. For in this garden has been planted "the tree of knowledge and the tree of life," but the tree of knowledge does not kill, but disobedience kills. 3. For that which was written is quite plain, that God in the beginning planted "a tree of knowledge and a tree of life in the midst of Paradise," and showed that life is through knowledge. But those who did not use it in purity were in the beginning deprived of it by the deceit of the serpent; 4. for neither is there life without knowledge, nor sound knowledge without true life; wherefore both are planted together. 5. And when the apostle saw the force of this, he blamed the

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- I Cor. 8,1 *TrpocrTaY/xato? ei's Çcorjv àaKovpévr/v yvwaiv pepfyo-  
pevoç Xéyev 'H yvcoais cjvatoî, rj Sè àyàirc) oIko-  
Bopeî. 6. ó yàp vopiÇayv elèévat ti avev yvá>aeco<;  
àXyôov; /cal papTvpovpévrp virò tí's f&>i}ç ovk  
eyvco, vTTo tov osetas TrXavÚTai, pi] áyairiyaas to  
ô Sè pera fyôftov èiriyyovs Kal ^cor/v çtti-*
- I cor. 9, io *Çi/Twv ètr èÀTriSi tpvTevei, Kapirov TrpoaSoKÛv.  
7. tjtco aol Kapoia yvcoais, Ça>y Sè Xóyos aXy0i]<;,  
Xa>povpevo<;. 8. ov ÇvXov <f>épa>v Kal Kaprov  
a'ipôiv Trpvryjaeis àel Ta irapà ffeâ iroffovpeva, a>v  
otjiK 0l% àrrTSTai ov8è TrXány avyxpíOTÍÇeTav  
ocSè Eva ýOeipsTai, aXXà Trapdévos TriaTeve.Tar  
9. Kal ao)T>ipiov BeiKvvTai, Kal àjroaToXoi avveTb-  
^ovTat, Kal rà Kvpiov iraaya TrpoepxeTai, Kal  
Kaipol avvàyovTai Kac pera Koapov àppôÇovTai,  
Kal SiSdaKw àyôovs o Xoyo>f evtjpaiveTai, Si' ov  
iraTi)p So^à^eraf co èó^a eis tous ai&vas.  
àijv.*

## THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, xn. 5-9

knowledge which is exercised apart from the truth of the injunction which leads to life and said ; “ Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth.” 6. For he who thinks that he knows anything without knowledge which is true and testified to by life, does not know, but is deceived by the serpent, not loving life. But he who has full knowledge with fear and seeks after life plants in hope, looking for fruit. 7. Let your heart be knowledge, and your life the true and comprehended word. 8. And if you bear the tree of this and pluck its fruit you will ever enjoy that which is desired by God, which the serpent does not touch, and deceit does not infect, and Eve is not corrupted but a virgin is trusted, 9. and salvation is set forth, and apostles are given understanding, and the Passover of the Lord advances, and the seasons are brought together, and are harmonised with the world, and the Word teaches the saints and rejoices, and through it the Father is glorified ; to whom be glory for ever, Amen.





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