

*THE FATHERS
OF THE CHURCH*

A NEW TRANSLATION

VOLUME 1

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GENERAL FOREWORD

THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH* lived in an age when a new world, a Christian world, was emerging out of the civilization of Greco-Roman antiquity. Retaining all that was good in the ancient culture, they struggled not only against the various opponents of the Church, but also against the heresies which arose within the Church itself. Over against a decadent paganism they stressed unceasingly the ethical teachings of Christ's gospel. As spiritual leaders they confronted at first a hostile worldly power; they stood their ground with equal firmness when the state had turned Christian but was only too often inclined to infringe upon the rights of the Church. These manifold controversies and tensions have left us an unusually rich literature; monuments of far-reaching influence in the history of Christian thought, monuments to which Councils and theologians have turned at all times for guidance; monuments whose constructive value is being acutely realized in a special way today, at a time when so many social and philosophical systems have proved futile. Serious thinkers, therefore, are seeking to find in these writings the path by which humanity can perhaps retrace its steps to the solidarity it has lost.

Accordingly, the demand for new translations of the works of the Fathers has been growing more insistent from year to year. The old translations are not only difficult to obtain, but frequently fail to convey to the reader, as they ought, the results of modern scholarship.

* *The Fathers of the Church*, a title similar to Migne's *Patrologia*, has been chosen as a collective name for this series of the works of the Early Christian Writers represented in the present project.

GENERAL FORWARD

This series of seventy-two volumes will present outstanding patristic writings and include some works never translated before. The translations, although done by American Catholic scholars, are destined neither for scholars only, nor exclusively for Catholics, but for the entire English-speaking world. They will be kept as close as possible to the meaning and the spirit of the original as is compatible with the character of modern English. Introductions will familiarize the reader with the life and works of the authors. While all annotations will be brief, a select bibliography may serve as means for further study.

In the summer of 1936 I first conceived the plan of publishing a series of the Fathers in English. In this venture I was encouraged by my old teacher and friend, the great scholar A. Dyroff. I am well aware of the great responsibility I took upon myself in finally launching the project and of the great labor it involves. I cannot but be grateful for the splendid comments the announcement of the series has received in the secular as well as in the religious press. The assistance of a distinguished and experienced Editorial Board and the collaboration of eminent and competent men engaged in the translations encourage my hope that this series may become, with the help of Almighty God, one of the great monuments of Christian scholarship in America.

March 12, 1946

LUDWIG SCHOPP

*THE
APOSTOLIC FATHERS*

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

TRANSLATED

by

FRANCIS X. GLIMM

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INTRODUCTION

WORLD WAR II was hardly over before the movement of Christian intellectual reconversion was far on its way. One of the first signs of this new life was the effort of Dr. Ludwig Schopp to interest American scholars in a new translation of the classics of early Christian literature. His general policy and preliminary plans had, in fact, been already formulated before the outbreak of the war.

Dr. Schopp's dream was of a collaborative effort—both American and Catholic—in which the best available scholarship in theology, patristics, history and classical philology could combine to produce an accurate, readable, moderately priced and thoroughly modern rendering of the precious literature of the first seven centuries of the Christian era.

The present volume, *The Apostolic Fathers*,¹ is the first of a projected series of seventy-two. It contains but a sample—though a notable one—of the treasury of wisdom, culture, heroism and holiness revealed in early Christianity. The volume should make an appeal to every Christian mind and heart—and, not least, to those who, by the vicissitudes of later history, have become separated from the center of Catholic unity. The Apostolic Fathers wrote at a time when heresy and schism had, indeed, begun their perennial work of religious corrosion, but long before the great constitutional revolts of Constantinople and Canterbury from Rome had wrought their seemingly irreparable damage to the seamless robe. In these primitive writings, as in a mirror, all Christians whose minds and wills and souls are wholly set on the Truth

¹ The Apostolic Fathers is a collective name, in use since the 17th century, for a group of Christian writers who either were or were believed to be disciples of the Apostles. Cf. Bihlmeyer, *Die apostolischen Väter* (Tübingen 1924) VIII.

INTRODUCTION

and Way and Life of Jesus Christ will find a dogmatic creed, a moral code, an ecclesiastical constitution and, above all, an inward character of devotional, supernatural, sacramental life that are self-authenticating. In the presence of martyrs, saints, scholars and simple souls like Pope Clement of Rome or Bishop Ignatius of Antioch or Polycarp of Smyrna or the author of the *Didache* or the *Shepherd* or the *Letter to Diognetus* no one will feel inclined to apply such labels as 'Romanism' or 'Byzantinism,' or 'Protestantism.' And, on the other hand, there is no Christian who will not feel that he has the right—and still more the duty—to ask himself whether his heart burns, as these early Christian hearts burned, with love for Jesus Christ, our Lord; whether his mind is as clear as these minds were clear in regard to the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity, the Divinity of Jesus Christ, the necessity of inward communion with the Holy Spirit and of outward communion with the government of one, holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church; whether his soul is nourished, as these souls were nourished, with the sacraments—and, especially, the Eucharistic sacrament—of which there is here such unmistakable witness.

As subsequent volumes of this series are published, it should become clearer not only to Christians but to others as well that, during the first seven centuries that followed the passion and resurrection of Jesus Christ, men of towering genius and of heroic mold, born in many lands and in different ages, men of diverse character, education, racial origin and political background, men inclined to defend their own brilliant and original opinions and the cherished customs of their own locality sought and found a common life, a common bond of love, a common source of spiritual strength that leveled frontiers and made them members of a single family.

INTRODUCTION

Men who do not admit the full claims of Christianity will read these documents with some interest. Even those who take pride in the 'modern mind' and the 'contemporary mood' will feel little sense of intellectual superiority when they meet the minds of men like Athanasius, Basil or Augustine. It will be still harder to entertain any feeling of moral superiority in the presence of men like Ignatius of Antioch, Cyprian of Carthage or Chrysostom of Constantinople. Those who imagine that Christianity involves some kind of passive conformism will be startled by the aggressive tenacity of men like Irenaeus, Hippolytus or Jerome. And those who insist that convictions should emerge from genuine debate will learn something from the subtle and vigorous polemics with heretics as skillful as Novatian, Sabellius, Donatus, Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinaris, Pelagius and Nestorius. There was every reason in (or, at least, of) the world why the Fathers might have been tempted to abandon or modify the dogmatic, moral and sacramental tradition of the Apostles. There is here an intellectual and religious problem that no man of good will can dismiss without, at least, the courtesy of inquiry.

As for modern sectarian Christianity, the shibboleths of controversy lose their force in the face of this massive evidence. Phrases like 'corruptions in doctrine and discipline' look rather ridiculous when the 'corruptions' are traced back, in an unbroken line, from the seventh, to the fourth, to the first century. Or, to take an obvious example, who can be inclined to accuse a thoroughly Oriental bishop of the first century like Ignatius of Antioch of, let us say, 'the later legal constitutionalism' of the Latin spirit? Yet no Latin Father was ever so strong for the hierarchic position of bishops and no modern 'Romanist' was ever more flattering in speaking of the primacy of Rome than the Syrian bishop of Antioch.

INTRODUCTION

In general, these Fathers will prove to be a reproach to all narrowness and exclusivism. If we are inclined to minimize theological speculation in the interests of religious activism, we have the long tradition of the Greek Fathers to reproach us. Or, again, if we tend to emphasize personal feeling at the expense of public ecclesiastical order, we have the equally authentic tradition of the Latin Fathers. If humanistic culture should seem to us a danger to the purity of Christian convictions, we have the *Letter to Diognetus*, the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix, the exhortations of St. Basil to correct our 'puritanism.' If ever we forget the part that Christian poetry has played in the propagation of Christian truth, we have only to recall the hymns and lyric lines of Ambrose, Ephraem, Pope Damasus, Prudentius and Boethius. If discussion and dogmatic debate seem to us a violation of Scriptural simplicity and of Christian charity, almost any of these volumes—and particularly any of the volumes which cover the fourth century—will serve to shock us from our intellectual inertia. And if we think that the last word has been said on any matter of Christian love, or life or learning, we need only note the never-ending effort of these followers of the Apostles to develop (without deforming) the meaning of all the Apostles said and did and suffered.

THE EDITORS

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THE LETTER
OF
ST. CLEMENT OF ROME
TO THE CORINTHIANS

Translated

by

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INTRODUCTION

THE REPUTATION of St. Clement, the third successor of St. Peter as Bishop of Rome, was so great that even in antiquity numerous legends grew up about him and apocryphal writings were circulated under his name. We are here concerned only with the few authentic facts about him that are known through ancient authors. It is possible that he is the 'fellow-worker' mentioned by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Philippians (4.3), as both Origen and Eusebius assert. The ancient lists of the Popes, including that found in Irenaeus,¹ agree in showing him as the third successor of St. Peter. A detail added by Tertullian² and taken for granted by numerous apocryphal writings attributed to Clement is that he was ordained by St. Peter and was a kind of auxiliary bishop to St. Linus and St. Cletus, his immediate papal predecessors. His own pontificate, extending from about A.D. 90 to 99, would fall within the reigns of Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan. Efforts to identify him with the imperial house of the Flavii and with the consul Titus Flavius Clemens, cousin of Domitian, have been futile. The story of his exile and martyrdom in the Tauric Chersonese is likewise a late legend. The exact date and the manner of his death are unknown. His feast is celebrated on November 23. Excavations have made it seem probable that the Basilica of St. Clement at Rome, one of the earliest *tituli* or parish churches of the city is actually built on the site of his home.

1 Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 3.3.3.

2 Tertullian, *De praescriptione* 32.

We know of only one authentic writing of St. Clement, the *Epistle to the Corinthians*. In form it is a letter of the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth, and in its body the name of Clement does not appear. It is not, however, as Kirsopp Lake suggests,³ anonymous. In fact, all the known manuscripts, six in number, attribute it to Clement, who is, moreover, named as its author by Dionysius of Corinth, Origen, Irenaeus, and Eusebius. Other citations from the second and third centuries attest to its early circulation and popularity.

The occasion of the letter was a schism in the Church of Corinth. This unfortunate incident must have caused widespread repercussions at the time, since both Irenaeus and Eusebius speak of it retrospectively as a matter of general concern. The names of the leaders of the schism, however, have not come down to us, nor have any details about the specific issues involved. From St. Clement's letter we gather that a group of lay persons had succeeded in ousting all or most of the higher clergy, or had persuaded a large portion of the community to alienate themselves from the presbyters, an action declared to be not only unauthorized but unjustified. The letter insists, moreover, that the lives of these presbyters had so far been blameless and that the cause of the quarrel was simply 'envy and jealousy.'

The letter is very lengthy and carefully planned. An appeal is made to the whole congregation at Corinth, in the name of charity and for the sake of Christ, to end this scandal. In great detail the obedience and humility of the saints of the Old Testament are brought forward as examples. Then Christ's obedience to His Father and the heroic submission of the recent martyrs, and particularly Sts. Peter and Paul,

³ K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers* (Loeb Classical Library, London and New York 1912) 1. 337.

are all reviewed in order to bring the Corinthians to a sense of obedience to God and the officers of His Church.

In the course of this long appeal Clement advances in support of his reasons for unity and charity a great deal of incidental information which gives his letter great importance among the Apostolic Fathers.

In this letter the Roman Church is seen as holding an impressive position of authority, intervening as it did in the internal affairs of the Corinthian Church without being requested to do so (47.6-7). The language used in the letter is more than once threatening. A delegation of three men brought the letter to Corinth, and the Corinthians were instructed that these delegates themselves were to return with confirmation of a settlement of the schism. This attitude is remarkable, and its implications have not been mistaken by such historians of the early Church as Lightfoot, Harnack, and Lietzmann. The ancient history of the Church shows no similar letter of rebuke and reproof sent by one Christian community to another, and we judge that none would have been received except from Rome. The respect and honor paid to the letter by the Corinthians was not short-lived. Evidence found in Eusebius⁴ shows that it received regular public reading at Corinth as late as nearly a century after its composition.

Of no slight importance is the information furnished by the letter on the hierarchical organization of the Church. The higher clergy are clearly designated as 'bishops and deacons' (42.4) but from Ch. 44 it is clear that the term 'bishops' (*episkopoi*, lit., overseers) is used synonymously with *presbúteroi*, i.e., to designate—as in Acts 20.17, 28 and the letters of St. Paul—the college of priests. It is clearly stated that the

⁴ Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 4.23.11.

community had no right to depose them: they derived their authority not from the congregation, but directly from the Apostles, who acted according to the instructions of Christ (42; 44). Their principal duty was the offering of the sacrifice (44.4). We must remember that in Apostolic times the function of a 'bishop' in the proper sense, and especially the power of ordination, was still exercised, without restriction to a local church, by the Apostles themselves or their delegates (Titus, Timothy), and thereafter by those 'other eminent men' whom St. Clement mentions (44.3) as the successors of the Apostles. It is from these, and not from the local college of *epískopoi-presbúteroi* that the office of the one bishop who in each local church ordains and presides over priests and deacons (so already St. Ignatius, *ad Philad.* 4; 7; *ad Trall.* 2; 3, etc.) is derived.

Students of the liturgies have a document of high importance in the lengthy prayer of thanksgiving (59.4-61.3), which sounds very much like the beginning of the ancient Eucharistic canon.

For the historian the letter contains a tantalizing assembly of allusions to facts too well known to the Corinthians to require elaboration by Clement. Details would have been welcomed of the 'multitude' of martyrdoms at Rome, including those of Sts. Peter and Paul mentioned in Chapters 5 and 6. Concerning the latter it is stated that he journeyed 'to the confines of the West,' evidence which, originating at Rome, supports the position that the Apostle traveled to Spain. Indication of the circulation of St. Paul's *Epistles to the Corinthians* is found in the instruction to the Corinthians to 'take up the letter' which 'blessed Paul the Apostle' had written them.

Corroborative evidence for the early date of the letter is found in the Scriptural quotations. Those from the Old

Testament are frequent and lengthy. Anything that may be taken as a quotation from the New Testament is not specified as such. Instead, we find a large number of phrases and sentences which may be thought of as part of the normal vocabulary of the newly founded Church, rather than as intentional quotations.

The text followed in the present translation is that of Karl Bihlmeyer, *Die apostolischen Väter* (Tübingen 1924).

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THE LETTER OF ST. CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS¹

THE CHURCH OF GOD which dwells as a pilgrim in Rome to the Church of God in pilgrimage at Corinth —to you who have been called and made holy by the will of God through our Lord Jesus Christ. May you be filled with grace and peace from Almighty God through Jesus Christ.²

Chapter 1

1 Dear brothers, because of the sudden misfortunes and calamities which have fallen upon us, one after another,¹ we have been, we confess, somewhat tardy in turning our attention to the matters in dispute, and especially to the abominable and unholy schism, among you.² It is a thing alien and foreign to those who have been called by God. It was started by a handful of impetuous and self-opinionated persons. It has been inflamed to such a degree of madness that your name, once so well known and loved and revered by all, has suffered a grave reproach. 2 There was a time when everyone who lived among you thought highly of the

1 The title, not forming part of the original letter, varies in the manuscripts: 'To the Corinthians,' 'Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians,' 'Clement to the Corinthians.'

2 This salutation has noticeable resemblances to that of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians and to St. Peter's First Epistle, and may have been the model for that used for the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*.

1 This is understood to refer to the recent persecution under Domitian, A.D. 95

2 One may note that a firm stand is taken at the start.

full virtue and firmness of your faith, admired the sweet reasonableness of your Christian piety, heralded abroad your reputation for unbounded hospitality, and praised the fullness and soundness of your knowledge.³ 3 You did all things without respect of persons and walked in accordance with the commands of God—subject to those in office and properly respectful to the presbyters of your community. You educated the minds of your young men to moderation and modesty. You exhorted girls to do their duty with a blameless, modest, and pure conscience. And you taught married women to love their husbands as they should, to be subject to them according to the rule of obedience, and to manage their homes with piety and much wisdom.

Chapter 2

1 Every one of you used to walk in humbleness of mind, without boasting, preferring to obey rather than to command, to give rather than to receive,¹ satisfied with the rations² served by Christ. You gave heed to His words; you were careful to keep them in your hearts; His sufferings were before your eyes. 2 Thus to all were granted a deep and radiant peace and an untiring longing to do good, and there came upon all an abundant outpouring of the Holy Spirit. 3 You were filled with holy counsel and in pious zeal and reverent confidence you stretched forth your hands to Almighty God, beseeching Him to be merciful to your involuntary shortcomings. 4 Day and night you kept up your efforts

³ 'Knowledge' (Greek *gnosis*) means a deep understanding of the mysteries of the Christian faith. The word is much favored by St. Paul.

¹ Cf. Acts. 20.35.

² The Greek word *ephódia* (literally 'things for the journey,' Latin *viaticum*) was especially appropriate in military usage.

on behalf of the whole brotherhood, so that, with mercy and compassion, the full number of His chosen ones might be saved. 5 You were pure and simple and forgiving toward one another. 6 All sedition and schism of any sort was abominated by you. You wept for the failings of your neighbors and you reckoned as your own their shortcomings. 7 You were without regret for any good you had done and were ready to 'undertake any kind of honorable service.'³ 8 Adorned with the habits of virtue and reverence, you performed all your duties in the fear of God. The commandments and ordinances of the Lord 'were written on the tablets of your heart.'⁴

Chapter 3

1 All glory and greatness was granted you,¹ and what the Scripture said was fulfilled: 'My beloved ate and drank, and was enlarged and grew fat and kicked.'² 2 From this came jealousy and envy,³ quarreling and dissension, persecution and disorder, war and captivity. 3 Thus the 'unhonored' rose up against those 'in honor,'⁴ those without reputation against those with a good name, the foolish against the wise, 'the young against their elders.'⁵ 4 The reason why

³ Titus 3.1 (Msgr. Ronald Knox's translation—London 1944).

⁴ Prov. 7.3.

¹ Whether the Corinthians specifically deserved all this praise or not, we have here St. Clement's ideal picture of the Christian community. With the end of this sentence the tone of commendation changes to one of rebuke.

² Deut. 32.15.

³ The phrase 'jealousy and envy' and its equivalents will be repeated many times. St. Clement evidently regarded these vices as the explanation of the whole trouble at Corinth, as well of all past persecutions and troubles.

⁴ Isa. 3.5.

⁵ *Ibid.*

righteousness and peace are far removed⁶ is because each one abandons the fear of God, becomes blind in the things of His faith, does not walk in the ways of His commandments, and does not live worthy of Christ. Instead, each one proceeds according to the evil desires of his heart, yielding to a wicked and impious jealousy, by which also 'death came into the world.'⁷

Chapter 4

1 For it is written thus:¹ 'And it came to pass after some days that Cain from the fruits of the earth offered a sacrifice to God, and Abel also offered of the first born of the sheep and their fat. 2 And God looked on Abel and his gifts, but He did not regard Cain and his sacrifices. 3 And Cain was greatly grieved and his countenance fell. 4 And God said to Cain: "Why are you pained and why has your countenance fallen? If you have offered rightly but not divided rightly, have you not committed sin? 5 Restrain your envy; you can repel it, and you must control it."² 6 And Cain said to Abel his brother: "Let us go into the plain." And it happened while they were in the plain that Cain rose up against Abel his brother and killed him.' 7 You see, brothers—jealousy and envy brought about the murder of a brother. 8 Because of jealousy our father Jacob fled from the face of Esau his

6 Isa. 59.14.

7 Wisd. 2.24.

1 The narrative contained in the first six sections of the chapter is partly a translation, partly a paraphrase of Gen. 4.3-8. Here, as elsewhere, the author at will makes free use of Scriptural texts.

2 The Greek text of the passage is obscure. The translation has been brought somewhat into line with the Hebrew, which itself is not wholly clear.

brother.³ 9 Jealousy caused Joseph to be pursued to death, and to become enslaved.⁴ 10 Jealousy compelled Moses to flee from the face of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, when he was asked by his countryman:⁵ 'Who set you up as a judge or arbiter over us? Do you wish to kill me as you killed the Egyptian yesterday?' 11 Through jealousy Aaron and Miriam were lodged outside the camp.⁶ 12 Jealousy plunged Dathan and Abiron alive into Hades for having rebelled against Moses the servant of God.⁷ 13 Because of jealousy David received ill will not alone from foreigners, but was persecuted even by Saul, King of Israel.⁸

Chapter 5

1 But, to leave the ancient examples, let us come to the heroes¹ nearest ourselves; let us consider the noble examples of our own generation. 2 Through jealousy and envy the greatest and holiest pillars² [of the Church] were persecuted, and they endured to the death.³ 3 Let us put before our eyes the good apostles: 4 Peter, because of unrighteous jealousy, underwent not one or two but many sufferings, and having

3 Gen. 27.41. Note how the Gentile Christians spoke of Jacob as 'our father.'

4 E.g., Gen. 37.5.

5 Exod. 2.14.

6 Cf. Num. 12; 16.

7 Num. 61; 26.9; Deut. 11.6.

8 1 Kings 18.8-9.

1 The Greek word, *athletés*, means combatant, champion.

2 Cf. Gal. 2.9.

3 The two martyrdoms occurred in the reign of Nero, A.D. 54-68. See also note on 6.1 below.

thus borne testimony⁴ went to his well-deserved place of glory. 5 Because of jealousy and dissension Paul pointed out the way to the reward of endurance: 6 Seven times he was put in chains; he was banished, stoned;⁵ he became a herald in the East and in the West and received the noble renown of his faith. 7 He taught righteousness to the whole world, and after reaching the confines of the West,⁶ and having given testimony before rulers, passed from the world and was taken up to the Holy Place, having become the outstanding model of endurance.

Chapter 6

1 Besides these men who lived such holy lives, there was a great multitude of the elect who suffered many outrages because of jealousy and became a shining example among us.¹ 2 It was because of jealousy that women were paraded as Danaids and Dircae and put to death after they had suffered horrible and cruel indignities. They kept up the race

4 The Greek verb *marturéo* in Christian usage implies courageous testimony to the faith, not necessarily (as in this case) sealed by death. The Latin *confiteor* was used with the same meanings. Hence the two words 'martyr' and 'confessor.' An important study is that of H. Delehaye, S. J., 'Martyr et confesseur' in *Analecta Bollandiana* 39 (1921) 20-49.

5 See St. Paul's summary of his persecutions, 2 Cor. 11.23 ff. and the appropriate references to Acts.

6 See Introduction.

1 These are presumably the Christians whose execution under Nero is described by Tacitus, *Annals* 15.44, where his phrase *multitudo ingens* agrees closely with the 'great multitude' of St. Clement. The phrase with which the sentence ends, 'among us,' localizes at Rome the martyrdoms of which St. Clement is here immediately speaking and, by a compelling inference, those of Sts. Peter and Paul. For the 'great multitude' of martyrs see *Roman Martyrology* 24 June.

of faith to the finish and, despite their physical weakness, won the prize they deserved. 3 It was jealousy that separated wives from their husbands and changed the saying of our father Adam, 'This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh.'² 4 Jealousy and quarreling have destroyed great cities and uprooted mighty nations.

Chapter 7

1 These things, dearly beloved, we are writing, not only to warn you, but also to remind ourselves; for we are in the same arena, and the same contest lies before us. 2 For this reason let us abandon empty and silly concerns, and come to the glorious and holy rule of our tradition. 3 Let us see what is good and pleasing and acceptable in the sight of our Maker. 4 Let us fix our gaze on the blood of Christ and realize how precious it is to His Father, seeing that it was poured out for our salvation and brought the grace of conversion to the whole world. 5 Let us look back over all the generations, and learn that from generation to generation the Lord has given an opportunity of repentance¹ to all who would return to Him. 6 Noe preached penance,² and those who heeded were saved. Then Jonas announced destruction to the Ninivites and they repented of their sins,³ besought God in prayer and, estranged though they were from God, obtained salvation.

² Gen. 2.23.

¹ Wisd. 12.10.

² Gen. 7.

³ Jonas 3; Matt. 12.41.

Chapter 8

1 The ministers of God's grace preached on repentance¹ with the help of the Holy Spirit. 2 And the Lord of all things Himself spoke of repentance, with an oath:² 'For as I live, saith the Lord, I desire not the death of the sinner but his repentance.' He added this kindly assurance: 3 'Repent, O house of Israel, of your wickedness. Say to the sons of my people: "If your sins reach from the earth to Heaven, and if they be redder than scarlet, and blacker than sackcloth, and you return to Me with all your heart and say, Father, I will listen to you as a holy people."'³ 4 And in another place He speaks thus:³ 'Wash and cleanse yourselves, put away wickedness out of your souls from before my eyes, cease from your wickedness, learn to do good, seek judgment, rescue the oppressed, give judgment to the fatherless and justice to the widow, and come and let us consider together, saith the Lord; and if your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as snow, and if they be as crimson, I will whiten them as wool; and if you be willing and listen to me, you shall eat the good things of the earth, but if you be unwilling and listen not to me, a sword shall devour you, for the mouth of the Lord has spoken these things.' 5 Desiring therefore that all His beloved should share in repentance, He established it by His Almighty Will.

Chapter 9

1 And so let us obey His magnanimous and glorious will.

1 In view of the controversy which sprang up later (cf. *The Shepherd of Hermas*), it should be noticed that this chapter establishes the true teaching of the Church on repentance and forgiveness of sins, without any limitations of kind or number.

2 Ezech. 33.11.

3 Isa. 1.16-20.

Let us become suppliants of His mercy and kindness and prostrate ourselves and turn to His compassion. Let us abandon vain effort and quarreling and the jealousy which leads to death. 2 Let us fix our gaze on those who have perfectly served His magnificent glory. 3 Let us take Henoah, who was found righteous in obedience, and was taken up, without there being a trace of his death.¹ 4 Noe was found faithful by reason of his service; he proclaimed a new birth to the world, and through him the Lord saved the living creatures who entered in harmony into the Ark.²

Chapter 10

1 Abraham, who was called 'the Friend,'¹ proved himself faithful by becoming obedient to the words of God. 2 It was through obedience that he went out from his country, and from his kindred and from his father's house. It was by leaving a small country and a weak kindred and a small household that he hoped to inherit the promises of God. For He says to him:² 3 'Depart from thy country and from thy kindred and from thy father's house, to the land which I shall show thee, and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and I will magnify thy name, and thou shalt be blessed. And I will bless them that bless thee, and I will curse them that curse thee, and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.' 4 And again, when he separated from Lot, God said to him:³ 'Lift up thine eyes and look from the place where thou art now, to the North and to the

1 Gen. 5.24; Heb. 11.5.

2 Gen. 6.8; 7.1; Heb. 11.7; 2 Peter 2.5.

1 Isa. 41.8; James 2.23.

2 Gen. 12.1-3.

3 Gen. 13.14-16.

South and to the East and to the West; for all the land which thou seest I will give to thee and to thy seed for ever. 5 And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth. If a man can count the dust of the earth, then can thy seed be counted also.' 6 And again He says:⁴ 'God brought Abraham forth and said to him, "Look up to the heaven and count the stars if thou canst count them. So shall thy seed be." And Abraham believed God, and this was reputed to him for justice.' 7 Because of his faith and hospitality a son was given him in his old age, and it was through obedience that he offered him as a sacrifice to God on the mountain which He showed him.⁵

Chapter 11

1 Because of his hospitality and piety Lot was saved from Sodom, when the whole region round about was judged by fire and brimstone.¹ The Lord made clear that He does not abandon those who hope in Him, but that He delivers to punishment and torture those who turn away. 2 For as his wife was going out with him, becoming of a different mind and not remaining in harmony, she was turned into a sign. She became a pillar of salt and remains so to this day, so that all may know that the double-minded and the doubters of God's power come into judgment and become a warning to all generations.²

Chapter 12

1 Because of her faith and hospitality Rahab the harlot

⁴ Gen. 15.5,6; Rom. 4.3.

⁵ Gen. 18-22 embrace the incidents referred to. Cf. Heb. 11.17.

¹ Gen. 19; ² Peter 2.6,7.

² Cf. Luke 17.32.

was saved.¹ 2 For when spies had been sent to Jericho by Josue the son of Nun,² the king of the land knew that they had come to spy on his country and sent men to capture them, so that when they were taken they might be put to death. 3 So the hospitable Rahab received them and hid them in the top of the house under stalks of flax. 4 And when the men from the king came and said: 'The men spying on our land came into thee; bring them out, for the king has so commanded,' she answered, pointing for them in the opposite direction: 'The men whom you seek did indeed come to me, but they left immediately and are continuing on their journey.' 5 And she said to the men: 'I surely know that the Lord God is giving you this land, for the fear and dread of you has fallen upon all its inhabitants. When therefore you shall have taken it, save me and my father's house.' 6 And they said to her: 'It will be just as thou hast requested us; as soon as thou knowest that we are on the way, gather all thy people under thy roof and they shall be saved; for as many as shall be found outside will be killed.' 7 And they gave her a sign, that she should hang from her house something scarlet in color, clearly indicating beforehand that through the blood of the Lord will redemption come to all who believe and hope in God. 8 You see, beloved, that not only faith but also prophecy is found in this woman.

Chapter 13

1 Let us, therefore, be humble-minded, brothers, putting away all boasting and conceit and silliness and anger, and let

1 This story of Rahab is partly quoted and partly summarized from Josue 1-2. Rahab is also used as an example in James 2.25 and Heb. 11.31.

2 St. Clement, following the Septuagint, has 'Jesus, son of Nave.'

us do what is written, for the Holy Spirit says:¹ 'Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, nor let the strong man glory in his strength, nor the rich man in his riches, but let him that glories glory in the Lord, to seek Him and to do judgment and justice.' Especially should we remember the words which the Lord Jesus spoke, when He taught clemency and long-suffering. 2 For He spoke thus:² 'Be merciful, that you may obtain mercy. Forgive, that you may be forgiven. As you do, so shall it be done to you. As you give, so shall it be given to you. As you judge, so shall you be judged. As you are kind, so shall you be treated kindly. With what measure you measure, with the same shall it be measured to you.' 3 In this commandment and in this counsel let us strengthen ourselves to walk obedient to His holy words, being humble-minded, for the Holy Writ says:³ 4 'On whom shall I have regard except on the meek and gentle and him who trembles at My words.'

Chapter 14

1 And so, brothers, it is right and holy for us to be obedient to God rather than to follow those who in arrogance and insubordination are the leaders in abominable jealousy. 2 For we shall suffer no ordinary harm, but run a very great risk, if we rashly entrust ourselves to the designs of men who aim at strife and sedition, to alienate us from what is right. 3 Let us be kind to one another after the model of the compassion and sweetness of Him who made us. 4 For it is

1 Jer. 9.23-24; 1 Kings 2.10; 1 Cor. 1.31; 2 Cor. 10.17.

2 These quotations from Christ's Sermon on the Mount are probably derived from oral tradition rather than from the written gospels. See Matt. 5.7; 6.14,15; 7.1,12 and Luke 6.31, 36-38.

3 Isa. 66.2.

written:¹ 'The kindly shall remain inhabitants of the land, and the innocent shall be left upon it; but the lawbreakers shall be entirely destroyed from off it.' 5 And again He says:² 'I saw the wicked lifted up and exalted as the cedars of Lebanon. And I passed by, and behold, he was no more, and I sought his place, and did not find it. Conserve innocence and regard righteousness; for there is a remnant for the peaceful man.'

Chapter 15

1 And so let us cleave to those who are peaceable in piety and not to those who desire peace in hypocrisy. 2 For He says in one place:¹ 'This people honors me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.' 3 And again:² 'They blessed with their mouth, but they cursed in their heart.' 4 And again He says:³ 'They loved Him with their mouth, and they lied to Him with their tongue, and their heart was not right with Him, nor were they faithful in His covenant.' 5 Therefore, 'Let the deceitful lips which speak iniquity against the just man become mute.'⁴ And again,⁵ 'May the Lord destroy all the lying lips, the tongues that boast, and those who say: "Let us magnify our tongue, our lips are our own, who is lord over us?"' 6 Because of the misery of the poor and the groans of the needy, now I will arise, says the Lord, I will set him in safety; 7 I will deal plainly with him.'

1 Ps. 36.9,11,38; Prov. 2.21,22.

2 Ps. 36.35-37.

1 Isa: 29.13; Mark 7.6.

2 Ps. 61.5.

3 Ps. 77.36,37.

4 Ps. 30.19.

5 Ps. 11.4-6.

Chapter 16

1 For Christ belongs to the humble-minded, not to those who exalt themselves above His flock. 2 The scepter of the majesty of God, the Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the pomp of boasting or of arrogance, though He was mighty; but he was humble-minded, as the Holy Spirit spoke concerning Him. For He says:¹ 3 'Lord, who has believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? We announced in his presence—he is as a child, as a root in thirsty ground. There is no beauty in him, nor comeliness, and we have seen him, and he had neither form nor beauty, but his form was without honor, deficient in comparison with the form of men; a man living in stripes and hardships, and knowing how to bear weakness, for his face was turned away, and he was despised and not blessed. 4 This is he who bears our sins and is hurt for us, and we regarded him as subject to pain and stripes and affliction. 5 But he was wounded for our iniquities, he was bruised for our sins. The chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his bruises we are healed. 6 We all went astray like sheep; everyone went astray in his own way. 7 And the Lord delivered him up for our sins, and he did not open his mouth on account of his affliction. As a sheep he was led to the slaughter, and as a lamb dumb before its shearer he opens not his mouth. In humiliation his judgment was taken away. 8 Who shall declare his generation? For his life is taken away from the earth. 9 For the iniquities of my people he has come to death. 10 And I will give the wicked for his burial, and the rich for his death; for he did no iniquity, nor was deceit found in his mouth. And the Lord wills to purify him from his wounds. 11 If you make an offering for sin, your soul shall see a seed with long life. 12

¹ Isa. 53.1-12.

And the Lord wills to take from the labor of his soul, to show him light and to form him in understanding, to justify a righteous man who serves many well. And he himself shall bear their sins. 13 On this account he shall inherit many, and shall share the spoils of the strong; because his soul was delivered to death, and he was counted among the wicked. 14 And he bore the sins of many, and for their sins he was delivered up.' 15 And again He says Himself:² 'But I am a worm and no man, the reproach of men, and the outcast of the people. 16 All who saw me laughed me to scorn, they spoke with their lips, they shook their heads [saying], "He hoped in the Lord; let Him deliver him, let Him save him, seeing that he delights in Him."' 17 You see, beloved, what is the example given to us. For if the Lord was thus humble-minded, what shall we do who through Him have come under the yoke of His grace ?

Chapter 17

1 Let us become imitators also of those who went about "in goatskins and sheepskins,"¹ preaching the coming of Christ. We mean Elias and Eliscus, and also Ezechiel, the prophets, and beside them the famous men of old. 2 Abraham was greatly praised and was proclaimed the 'Friend of God,' and he in his humility, fixing his gaze on the Glory of God, says:² 'But I am dust and ashes.' 3 Besides, it is also written thus concerning Job:³ 'And Job was righteous and blameless, true, a worshipper of God, keeping himself from all evil.' 4 But

2 Ps. 21.7-9.

1 Heb. 11.37.

2 Gen. 18.27.

3 Job. 1.1.

he accuses himself, saying:⁴ 'No one is pure from defilement, not even if his life be but for a single day.'⁵ Moses was called 'faithful in all his household,'⁶ and through his instrumentality God judged Egypt with their plagues and torments. But even he, when he was given great praise, did not utter proud words, but when an oracle was given him at the bush, said: 'Who am I, that Thou sendest me? I am feeble of speech and slow of tongue.'⁶ And again he says: 'But I am as smoke from a pot.'⁷

Chapter 18

1 What shall we say of the celebrated David, to whom God said:¹ 'I have found a man after my own heart, David the son of Jesse, in eternal mercy I have anointed him.' 2 But even he says to God:²

'Have mercy on me, O God, according to Thy great mercy,
and according to the multitude of Thy tender mercies
blot out my iniquity.

Wash me yet more from my iniquity, and cleanse me from
my sin;

For I knew my iniquity, and my sin is always before me.
To Thee only have I sinned, and have done evil before
Thee, that Thou mayst be justified in Thy words, and
mayst overcome when thou art judged.

For, behold, I was conceived in iniquities, and in sins did
my mother bear me.

4 Job 14.4.5.

5 Num. 12.7; Heb. 3.2.

6 Exod. 3.11; 4.10.

7 Source unknown.

1 Ps. 88.21; 1 Kings 13.14; Acts 13.22.

2 With the exception of the last two verses, this is Psalm 50, the *Miserere*.

For, behold, Thou hast loved truth; the dark and hidden things of Thy wisdom Thou has made clear to me.

Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed; Thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.

Thou shalt cause me to hear joy and gladness; the bones that have been humbled shall rejoice.

Turn away Thy face from my sins, and blot out all my iniquities.

Create a clean heart in me, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.

Cast me not away from Thy face, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me.

Restore to me the joy of Thy salvation, and strengthen me with Thy governing spirit.

I will teach the lawless ones Thy ways, and the impious shall be converted to Thee.

Deliver me from the guilt of blood, O God, the God of my salvation; my tongue shall rejoice in Thy justice.

Lord, Thou wilt open my mouth, and my lips will declare Thy praise.

For if Thou hadst desired sacrifice, I would have given it; with holocausts Thou wilt not be pleased.

A sacrifice to God is a contrite spirit; a contrite and humbled heart God will not despise.'

Chapter 19

1 The humility and obedient submissiveness of so many men of such proven reputations have made us better—and not only us, but likewise our fathers before us and all who have received His words in fear and truth. 2 Sharing, then,

in their many great and glorious deeds,¹ let us run toward the goal of peace which from the beginning has been handed down to us, let us look steadfastly toward the Father and Creator of the whole world, and hold fast to His magnificent and surpassing gifts of peace and kindness to us. 3 Let us see Him with our mind and with the eyes of the soul let us look on His long-suffering purpose. Let us realize how peacefully He acts toward His whole creation.

Chapter 20

1 The heavens move at His direction and are subject to Him in tranquility.¹ 2 Day and night complete the course assigned by Him without hindering each other. 3 Sun and moon and the choir of stars revolve in harmony according to His command in the orbits assigned to them, without swerving the slightest. 4 The earth, flowering at His bidding in due seasons, brings forth abundant food for men and beasts and all the living beings on its surface, without reluctance and without altering any of His arrangements. 5 The unsearchable places of the bottomless pit and the indescribable regions of the lower world are subject to the same decrees. 6 The mass of the boundless sea, gathered together in one place according to His plan, does not overrun the barriers appointed to it, but acts as He commanded it. 7 For He said:² 'Thus far shalt thou come, and thy wave shall be

¹ For this sentence cf. Heb. 12.1.

¹ This chapter, ending, as do others later, with its own doxology, is an eloquent statement of the God-governed order in the universe. For a comparable utterance from a pagan Greek see the 'Hymn to Zeus' of Cleanthes; a good version in T. F. Higham and C. M. Bowra, *The Oxford Book of Greek Verse in Translation* (Oxford 1938) 483-485. Comparable also, in their own ways, are the Canticle in Dan. 3.57 ff. and St. Francis' 'Praise of Creatures.'

² Job 38.11.

broken within thee.' 8 The ocean, impassable by men, and the worlds beyond it are regulated by the same decrees of the Lord. 9 The seasons of spring, summer, fall and winter give way in turn, one to the other, in peace. 10 The winds from the different quarters, each in its proper season, perform their service without hindrance. The ever-flowing springs, made for enjoyment and for health, unfailingly offer their breasts to sustain the life of man. The very smallest of the animals come together in harmony and in peace. 11 The great Creator and Lord of the universe commanded all these things to be at peace and in harmony; He does good to all, and more than superabundantly to us who have found refuge in His mercies through our Lord Jesus Christ. 12 To whom be glory and majesty forever and ever. Amen.

Chapter 21

1 Be on your guard, brothers, lest His many benefits turn into a judgment upon all of us. This will be so if we do not, by performing in concord virtuous deeds pleasing to Him, live lives worthy of Him. 2 For He says in one place:¹ 'The Spirit of the Lord is a light, searching the inward parts.' 3 Let us see how near He is, and that not one of our thoughts or the plans we make escapes Him. 4 It is right, then, that we should not be deserters from His will. 5 If we must offend, let it be foolish and senseless men who exalt themselves and boast in the arrogance of their reason, rather than God. 6 Let us fear the Lord Jesus, whose blood was given for us; let us respect our leaders; let us honor the presbyters; let us teach the young in the school of the fear of God. Let us guide our women toward what is good. 7 Let them reveal an exquisite

¹ Prov. 20.27.

disposition to purity, let them exhibit an unfaltering will to be meek. Let them show forth the control of their tongue by their silence. Let them show their affection, not with partiality but in holiness, equally to all who fear God. 8 Let your children take part in the instruction which is in Christ, let them learn how powerful with God is humility, how strong is a pure love, how the fear of Him is beautiful and great and saves those who live in it in holiness with a pure mind. 9 For He is a searcher of thoughts and desires;² His breath is in us, and when He wills, He will take it away.

Chapter 22

1 Faith in Christ confirms all these things, for He Himself through the Holy Spirit thus calls us to Himself:¹

'Come, children, hearken to Me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord.

Who is the man that desireth life; who loveth to see good days?

Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile.

Turn away from evil and do good; seek after peace and pursue it.

The eyes of the Lord are upon the just; and His ears unto their prayers.

But the countenance of the Lord is against them that do evil, to destroy the memory of them from the earth.

The just man cried out, and the Lord heard him, and delivered him out of all his troubles.

The tribulations of the just are many, but mercy will encompass those who hope in the Lord.'

² Cf. Heb. 4.12.

¹ Ps. 33.12-18,20; 31.10.

Chapter 23

1 The all-merciful and beneficent Father has compassion on them who fear Him, and with gentleness and kindness bestows His favors on those who approach Him with a simple mind. 2 So, let us not be double-minded, nor let our soul form false ideas about His extraordinary and glorious gifts. 3 Let that Scripture be far from us where He says:¹ 'Miserable are the double-minded who doubt in their soul and say: "These things have we heard even in the days of our fathers, and behold, we are grown old, and none of these things has happened to us."' 4 O senseless men, compare yourselves to a tree. Take a vine: First it sheds its leaves, then there comes a bud, then a leaf, then a flower, and after that the unripe grape, then the full bunch.' You see how in a little time the fruit of the tree reaches its ripeness. 5 Truly His will shall be fulfilled swiftly and suddenly, as the Scripture testifies:² 'He shall come quickly and not delay; and the Lord shall come suddenly to his temple, the Holy One whom you expect.'

Chapter 24

1 Let us consider, beloved, how the Lord is continually revealing to us the resurrection that is to be. Of this He has constituted the Lord Jesus Christ the first-fruits, by raising Him from the dead.¹ 2 Let us look, beloved, at the resurrection in regard to the seasons. 3 Day and night demonstrate

1 This prophecy of unknown source is also quoted (in a longer and somewhat different form) in Chapter 11 of the pseudo-Clementine homily translated below (p. 72).

2 Cf. Isa. 14.1 (13.22 in Septuagint); Mal. 3.1.

1 1 Cor. 15.20.

a resurrection: the night sleeps and the day arises; the day departs and night returns. 4 Let us take the crops, to see how and in what manner the planting takes place. 5 'The sower went forth'² and cast each of the seeds into the ground, and they, falling on the ground dry and bare, decay. Then from their decay the greatness of the Lord's providence raises them up, and from one seed many grow up and bring forth fruit.

Chapter 25

1 Let us look at the strange phenomenon¹ which takes place in the East, that is, in the regions near Arabia. 2 There is a bird which is called the phoenix. This bird, the only one of its species, lives five hundred years. As the time of its dissolution in death approaches, it makes a nest of incense and myrrh and other spices, into which it enters when its time is completed, and dies. 3 Now, as its flesh decays a worm is born, which is nourished by the moisture of the dead bird and grows wings. Then, growing strong, it picks up that nest, in which are the bones of its predecessor, and carries them from the country of Arabia as far as Egypt, to the city called Heliopolis. 4 And in the daylight, in the sight of all, flying to the altar of the Sun, it places them there and so sets out on its return. 5 Then the priests look up the records of the years, and they find that it has come at the end of the five-hundredth year.

² Matt. 13.3; Mark 4.3; Luke 8.5.

¹ Among pagan authors who related the widely credited fable of the phoenix are Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.392-407; Pliny, *Natural History* 10.2; and Tacitus, *Annals* 6.34. A Christian poem on the phoenix ascribed to Lactantius may be read both in English and in Latin in Otto J. Kuhnmuensch, S. J. *Early Christian Latin Poets* (Chicago 1929) 48-63. The most important systematic study on the phoenix is to be found in Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1909) 3, 3450-3472.

Chapter 26

1 Do we think it something great and marvellous, then, if the Creator of the universe shall bring about a resurrection of those who served Him in holiness, in the confidence of a good faith, considering that He demonstrates the greatness of His promise by means even of a bird? 2 For He says somewhere:¹ 'And Thou shalt raise me up, and I will praise Thee,' and² 'I lay down and slept; I rose up for Thou art with me.' 3 And again, Job says:³ 'And Thou shalt raise up this flesh of mine which has endured all these things.'

Chapter 27

1 With this hope, then, let our souls be bound to Him who is faithful in His promises¹ and just in His judgments. 2 He who commanded us not to lie will be far from lying Himself. For nothing is impossible to God, except to lie.² 3 Let faith in Him, then, be enkindled in us, and let us reflect that all things are near to Him. 4 By the word of His majesty He has set up all things, and by a word He can overturn them. 5 'Who shall say to Him, "What hast Thou done?" or who shall stand against the force of His power?'³ When He wishes, and as He wishes, He will do all things, and none of the things decreed by Him shall fail. 6 All things are before Him, and nothing is hid from His planning.

7 'The heavens show forth the glory of God, and the firmament declareth the work of His hands.'

1 Source unknown; cf. Ps. 27.7.

2 Cf. Ps. 3.5.

3 Job 19.26 (free citation).

1 Cf. Heb. 10.23; 11.11.

2 Cf. Heb. 6.18.

3 Wisd. 12.12.

Day utters speech to-day; and night proclaims knowledge tonight.

And there are no words or sounds, and their voices are not heard.⁴

Chapter 28

1 Seeing, then, that all things are seen and heard, let us fear Him, and abandon the unclean lust of evil deeds, that we may be shielded by His mercy from the future judgments to come. 2 For where can any of us flee from His mighty hand? What world will receive any one of the deserters from Him? 3 For the Scripture¹ says in one place:²

‘Where shall I go, and where shall I hide from Thy face?

If I go up into heaven, Thou art there:

If I go off to the ends of the earth, there is Thy right hand;

If I make my bed in the abyss, Thy spirit is there.’

4 Where, then, shall a man go off or where escape from Him who embraces all things?

Chapter 29

1 Let us come before Him, then, in sanctity of soul, lifting pure and undefiled hands to Him, loving our gentle and merciful Father who has made us His chosen portion. 2 For it is written:¹ ‘When the Most High divided the nations,

⁴ Ps. 18.2-4.

¹ Literally, ‘the writing,’ which was the designation of the third part of the Bible among the Jews; the first two parts being called the Law and the Prophets.

² Ps. 138.7-9.

¹ Deut. 32.8,9.

when He scattered the sons of Adam, He set up the boundaries of nations according to the number of angels of God. His people, Jacob, became the portion of the Lord; Israel was the allotment of His inheritance.' 3 And in another place He says:² 'Behold, the Lord takes to Himself a nation from the midst of nations, as a man takes the first-fruit of his threshing floor, and from that nation shall come forth the Holy of Holies.'

Chapter 30

1 Since we are a portion of the Holy One, let us do all that belongs to holiness, fleeing from evil speech, and abominable and impure embraces, from drunkenness and from rioting, and detestable lusts, foul adultery, and detestable pride. 2 'For God,' He says,¹ 'resisteth the proud but giveth grace to the humble.' 3 Let us then join with those to whom grace is given from God; let us put on concord in meekness of spirit and in self-control, keeping ourselves far from all gossip and evil speaking, being justified by works and not by words. 4 For He says:² 'He that speaketh much shall also hear much; or does he that speaks fair think that he is just?' 5 Blessed is the man born of woman who has a short life. Be not full of words.' 6 Let our praise be with God,³ and not from ourselves, for God hates those who praise themselves. 7 Let the testimony of our good deeds be given by others, as it was given to our fathers, who were righteous. 8 Boldness

2 Deut. 4.34; 14.2; Num. 18.27; Ezech. 48.12. The quotation is a medley of phrases from the Old Testament. Similar conflation will be noted below.

1 Prov. 3.34; James 4.6; 1 Peter 5.5.

2 Job. 11.2,3.

3 Cf. Rom. 2.29.

and arrogance and presumption belong to those who are cursed by God; gentleness and humility and meekness belong to those who are blessed by God.

Chapter 31

1 Let us, then, cling to His blessing, and let us see what are the ways of blessedness. Let us recall the events of old.¹ 2 Why was our father Abraham blessed? Was it not because he performed justice and truth through faith? 3 Isaac, knowing the future in confidence, was willingly led forth as a sacrifice. 4 Jacob went out from his own country with meekness because of his brother, and went to Laban and served him, and the twelve tribes of Israel were given to him.

Chapter 32

1 And, if anyone will examine fairly each example, he will recognize the greatness of the gifts given by God. 2 For from him¹ come the priests and the Levites who minister at the altar of God; from him comes the Lord Jesus according to the flesh;² from him come the kings and rulers and leaders in the line of Judah. And the other tribes are in no slight honor, since, as God promised:³ 'Thy seed shall be as the stars of heaven.' 3 They were all glorified and magnified, not through themselves or their own works or the good deeds which they did, but through His will. 4 And we also, having been called through His will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, or by our own wisdom or understanding or piety

1 See Gen. 12.2,3; 18.18; 22.7 ff.; 28 f.

1 I.e., from Jacob.

2 Rom. 9.5.

3 Gen. 15.5; 22.17; 26.4.

or the works we have done in holiness of heart, but through the faith, by which the Almighty God has justified all men from the beginning; to whom be glory for all ages. Amen.

Chapter 33

1 What, then, shall we do,¹ brothers? Shall we slacken from doing good and abandon charity? May the Lord never allow this to happen to us, but let us be diligent to accomplish every good work² with earnestness and zeal. 2 For the Creator and Lord of the universe Himself takes joy in His works. 3 For in His overwhelming might He has set up the heavens, and by His unsearchable wisdom He has put them in order. He has separated the earth from the surrounding water and placed it on the solid foundation of His own will; and He has called into existence the animals that move in it by His own arrangement. Having prepared the sea and the living creatures that are in it, He enclosed them by His own power. 4 Over all, with His holy and pure hands He formed man, the most excellent and greatest in intelligence, with the stamp of His own image. 5 For God spoke thus:³ 'Let us make man according to our image and likeness; and God made man, male and female He made them.' 6 Having finished all these things, he praised and blessed them and said:⁴ 'Increase and multiply.' 7 Let us consider that all the saints have been adorned with good works; and the Lord Himself, adorning Himself with good works, rejoiced. 8 Holding this pattern, then, let us follow out His will without hesitation; let us do the work of justice with all our strength.

1 Cf. Rom. 6.1.

2 Titus 3.1.

3 Gen. 1.26,27.

4 Gen. 1.28.

Chapter 34

1 The good laborer receives the bread of his labor with confidence; the lazy and careless one does not look his employer in the face. 2 We must, therefore, be zealous in doing good; for all things are from Him. 3 He warns us:¹ 'Behold the Lord comes, and his reward is before his face, to pay each man according to his work.' 4 He therefore urges us who believe in Him with all our heart not to be lazy or careless in any good work.² 5 Let our glorying and our confidence be in Him; let us be subject to His will. Let us consider the whole multitude of angels, how they stand and minister to His will. 6 For the Scripture says:³ 'Ten thousand times ten thousand stood by him, and thousands of thousands ministered to him, and they cried, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of hosts the whole creation is full of His glory."' 7 We, therefore, gathering together in concord in our conscience, also should cry out earnestly as with one voice to Him, that we may become participants in His great and glorious promises. 8 For He says:⁴ 'Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man, what great things the Lord has prepared for those who wait for him.'

Chapter 35

1 How blessed and wonderful are the gifts of God, beloved. 2 Life in immortality, joyousness in justice, truth in confidence, faith in trustfulness, continence in holiness. And all these things fall within our understanding. 3 And what shall we say of the things that are being prepared for those who

1 Isa. 40.10; 62.11; Prov. 24.12; Apoc. 22.12.

2 Titus 3.1.

3 Dan. 7.10; Isa. 6.3.

4 I Cor. 2.9.

persevere. Only the Creator and Father of the ages, the all-holy One, knows their greatness and beauty. 4 Let us strive, therefore, to be found in the number of those who wait for Him, that we may share in the promised gifts. 5 But how shall this be, beloved? If our mind be fixed by means of faith on God; if we seek what is pleasing and acceptable to Him; if we perform what is proper to His faultless will and follow the path of truth, casting from us all injustice and wickedness, covetousness, strife, malice and deceit, gossiping and evil speaking, hatred of God, arrogance and boasting, vain-glory and inhospitality. 6 For they who do these things are detestable to God, and 'not only those who do them, but also those who consent to them.'¹ For the Scripture says:²

'But to the sinner God hath said: Why dost thou declare my justices, and take my covenant in thy mouth?

Thou who hatest discipline and hast cast away my words behind thee.

If thou seest a thief, thou dost run with him; and with adulterers thou hast had a share.

Thy mouth has been full of evil, and thy tongue hath framed plans of deceit.

Thou didst sit to speak evil against thy brother, and hast laid a stumbling block against thy mother's son.

These things hast thou done; and I was silent.

Thou hast thought, O wicked man, that I should be like to thee.

But I will convict thee and set thee before thy face.

Understand these things, you who forget God; lest he seize you as a lion, and there shall be none to deliver you.

¹ Rom. 1.32.

² Ps. 49.16-23.

The sacrifice of praise shall glorify me; and therein is the way by which I will show him the salvation of God.'

Chapter 36

1 This is the way, beloved, by which we found our Saviour, Jesus Christ, the high priest¹ of our offerings, the protector and the helper of our weakness. 2 Through Him let us strain our eyes toward the heights of heaven; through Him we see mirrored His spotless and glorious countenance.² Through Him the eyes of our heart have been opened; through Him our foolish and darkened understanding shoots up into the light; through Him the Lord willed that we should taste immortal knowledge, 'Who, being the brightness of his majesty is so much greater than the angels as he hath inherited a more excellent name.'³ 3 For it is so written: ⁴ 'Who makes his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.' 4 But regarding His Son the Lord has spoken thus: ⁵ 'Thou art My Son; this day I have begotten Thee. Ask of Me, and I will give Thee the gentiles for Thy inheritance, and the end of the earth for Thy possession.' And again He says to Him: ⁶ 'Sit on My right hand until I make Thy enemies a footstool for Thy feet.' Who then are the enemies? They who are wicked and resist His will.

1 Heb. 2.18; 3.1. The chapter, based largely on the most discussed book in the New Testament, is a magnificent summary of the doctrine of Christ's priesthood.

2 Cf. 2 Cor. 3.18.

3 Heb. 1.3,4.

4 Ps. 103.4; Heb. 1.7.

5 Ps. 2.7,8; Heb. 1.5.

6 Ps. 109.1; Heb. 1.13. Taken together, the quotations in this passage form evidence for the existence of 'Books of Testimonies' in which Christians collected Messianic passages from the Old Testament.

Chapter 37

1 Brothers, let us be His soldiers, therefore, in all earnestness, under His faultless commands. 2 Let us consider those who are enrolled under our rulers, how well-ordered, and how readily, how obediently they carry out commands. 3 Not all are prefects, or tribunes, or centurions, or in charge of bands of fifty, and so forth; but each one in his own rank¹ carries out the commands issued by the emperor and the officers. 4 The great cannot exist without the small, nor the small without the great; there is a certain organization, and it is of benefit to all. 5 Let us take our body.² The head without the feet is nothing, and so also the feet without the head are nothing. The smallest members of our body are necessary and useful to the whole body. But all conspire together and unite in a single obedience, so that the whole body may be saved.

Chapter 38

1 Therefore, let our whole body be saved in Christ Jesus, and let each be subject to his neighbor, according to the position which grace bestowed on each.¹ 2 Let not the strong neglect the weak, and let the weak respect the strong. Let the rich man supply the wants of the poor, and let the poor man give thanks to God, because He has given him someone to supply his needs. Let the wise show his wisdom not in words, but in good works. Let the humble-minded not testify to his own humility, but allow others to bear him witness. Let him who is pure in the flesh be so without boasting, knowing that

1 1 Cor. 15.23.

2 For the following passage cf. 1 Cor. 12.

1 Cf. Rom. 12.4 ff; 1 Cor. 16.17; Phil. 2.30.

it is Another who grants him this continence. 3 Let us consider, brothers, of what matter we were made; who and what we are who have come into the world; from what a tomb and what darkness our Maker and Creator brought us into the world and prepared His benefits for us before we were born. 4 We who have obtained all these things from Him ought to thank Him for all, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

Chapter 39

1 Foolish, unthinking, silly, and ignorant men laugh at us and deride us, wishing to exalt themselves in their own imagination. 2 For what can mortal man do? Or what is the strength of one born on earth? 3 For it is written:¹ 'There was no shape before my eyes, but I heard breathing and a voice. 4 What then? Shall a mortal be pure before the Lord? Or shall a man be blameless in his works [before God], if He believeth not in His servants, and finds defects in His angels? 5 Even the heaven is not pure in His sight. Away, you that live in houses of clay, from which, yes, from the same clay, we ourselves were made. He struck them like a moth, and between morning and evening they ceased to exist; they perished without being able to help themselves. 6 He breathed on them, and they died, because they had not wisdom. 7 Cry out, if there is anyone to hear thee; or if thou shalt see any of the holy angels. For wrath destroyeth the foolish man, and jealousy kills him that errs. 8 I have seen the foolish take root, but shortly their dwelling was consumed. 9 Let their sons be far from safety; let them be derided in the gates of their inferiors, and there will be none to rescue them. For the just shall eat what was prepared for them, and they shall not be delivered from their ills.'

¹ Job. 4.12-18; 15.15; 4.19-5.5.

Chapter 40

1 Since all these things are clear to us,¹ and we have looked into the depths of divine knowledge,² we ought in proper order to do all things which the Lord has commanded us to perform at appointed times. 2 He has commanded the offerings and ministrations to be carried out, and not carelessly or disorderly, but at fixed times and seasons. 3 He has Himself fixed according to His surpassing counsel where and by whom He deires them to be performed, in order that all things may be done in holy fashion according to His good pleasure and acceptable to His will. 4 Those who make their offerings at the appointed time, therefore, are acceptable and blessed, for they err not, following the ordinances of the Lord. 5 For the high priest has been allotted his proper ministrations, and to the priests their proper place has been assigned, and on the Levites their own duties are laid. The lay man is bound by the lay ordinances.

Chapter 41

1 Let us, brothers, each in his own order,¹ strive to please God with a good conscience and with reverence, not transgressing the fixed rule of each one's own ministry. 2 Not in every place, brothers, are the daily sacrifices for petitions and for sins and for trespasses offered, but only in Jerusalem. And even there the offering is not made in any place, but only before the sanctuary near the altar, after the offering has been inspected for defects by the high priest and the above-

1 Chapters 40 to 42 are important for the Christian understanding of a divinely established hierarchy in the Church.

2 Rom. 11.33.

1 1 Cor. 15.23.

mentioned ministers. 3 Those who do anything contrary to what is due to Him will suffer the penalty of death. 4 You see, brothers, the more knowledge we have been given, the more we are exposed to danger.

Chapter 42

1 The Apostles received the Gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ was sent from God. 2 Christ, therefore, is from God and the Apostles are from Christ. Both, accordingly, came in proper order by the will of God. 3 Receiving their orders, therefore, and being filled with confidence because of the Resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, and confirmed in the word of God, with full assurance of the Holy Spirit, they went forth preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom of God that was about to come. 4 Preaching, accordingly, throughout the country and the cities, they appointed their first-fruits, after testing them by the Spirit, to be bishops¹ and deacons of those who should believe. 5 And this they did without innovation, since many years ago things had been written concerning bishops and deacons. Thus, the Scripture says in one place:² 'I will establish their bishops in justice and their deacons in faith.'

Chapter 43

1 And what wonder is it if they, who had been entrusted in Christ by God with such a work, appointed the persons we have mentioned? After all, the blessed man Moses, 'a faithful servant in all his house,'¹ recorded in the sacred

1 On the meaning of the word *episkopoi* in the Church of the first century see Introduction *above* p. 5f.

2 Isa. 60.17. This is a free adaptation of the text by St. Clement. The Septuagint reads: 'I will establish your rulers in peace and your overseers (*episkopous*) in justice.'

1 Num. 12.7; Heb. 3.5.

books all the things commanded him. And the other prophets followed him, testifying with him to the laws laid down by him. 2 For, when jealousy arose about the priesthood² and the tribes quarreled as to which of them should be honored with that glorious name, he commanded the chiefs of the twelve tribes to bring him rods inscribed with the name of each tribe; and, taking them, he bound them, and sealed them with the rings of the chiefs, and put them away in the Tabernacle of Testimony on the table of God. 3 And, closing the Tabernacle, he sealed the keys as well as the doors. 4 And he said to them: 'Brethren, the tribe whose rod blossoms, this one has God chosen to be priests and to minister to Him.' 5 And, when morning came, he called together all Israel, six hundred thousand men, and showed the seals to the chiefs of the tribes, and opened the Tabernacle of Testimony, and brought out the rods; and the rod of Aaron was found not only to have blossomed, but also to be bearing fruit. 6 What do you think, beloved? Did not Moses know beforehand that this would happen? Certainly, he knew. But, that no disorder should arise in Israel, he acted thus to glorify the name of the true and only God, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

Chapter 44

1 Our Apostles also knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be contention over the bishop's office.¹ 2 So, for this cause, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the above-mentioned men, and afterwards gave them a permanent character, so that, as they died, other approved men should succeed to their ministry. 3 Those, therefore, who were appointed by the Apostles or afterwards by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole Church,

2 Num. 17.

1 *Episkopé* means rank or office of bishop.

and who ministered blamelessly to the flock of Christ in humility, peaceably and nobly, being commended for many years by all—these men we consider are not justly deposed from their ministry. 4 It will be no small sin for us, if we depose from the episcopacy men who have blamelessly and in holiness offered up sacrifice. 5 Blessed are the presbyters who have gone before, since they reached a fruitful and perfect end; for now they need not fear that anyone shall remove them from the place assigned to them. 6 For we see that, in spite of their good conduct, you have forced some men from a ministry which they fulfilled without blame.

Chapter 45

1 Brothers, be eager and zealous for the things that pertain to salvation. 2 You have studied the Holy Scriptures, which are true and inspired by the Holy Spirit. 3 You know that nothing contrary to justice or truth has been written in them. You will not find that just men have been expelled by holy men. 4 Just men were persecuted, but by wicked men. They were imprisoned, but by impious men. They were stoned by breakers of the laws; they were killed by men who had conceived a foul and wicked jealousy. 5 Although suffering such things, they endured nobly. 6 What shall we say, brothers? Was Daniel cast into the lions' den by men who feared God?¹ 7 Or were Ananias, Azarias, and Misael shut up in the fiery furnace by men who observed the great and glorious worship of the Most High? God forbid! Who, then, were the men who did these acts? They were detestable men, filled with all wickedness, who were carried to such fury that they heaped humiliation on those who served God in holiness and purity of intention. They did not know that the Most High is the

¹ Dan. 6.16,17; 3.19 ff.

protector and defender of those who minister with a pure conscience to His all holy Name, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen. 8 But those who endured confidently gained an inheritance of glory and honor, and were exalted and inscribed by God in His memorial forever and ever. Amen.

Chapter 46

1 And so, brothers, we, too, must cling to models such as these. 2 For it is written:¹ 'Cling to the saints, for they who cleave to them shall become saints.' 3 And again in another place:² 'With the innocent man, Thou shalt be innocent; and with the elect man, Thou shalt be elect; and with the perverse man, Thou shalt be perverse.' 4 Let us cling, then, to the innocent and the just, for they are God's elect. 5 Why are there quarrels and ill will and dissensions and schism and fighting among you? 6 Do we not have one God and one Christ, and one Spirit of Grace poured out upon us? And is there not one calling in Christ?³ 7 Why do we wrench and tear apart the members of Christ, and revolt against our own body, and reach such folly as to forget that we are members one of another? Remember the words of the Lord Jesus: 8 For He said:⁴ 'Woe to that man! It were better for him if he had not been born, rather than scandalize one of My elect. It were better for him that a millstone were tied to him, and that he be cast into the sea, than that he should pervert one of My chosen ones.' 9 Your schism has perverted many, has thrown many into despair, has caused all of us to grieve; and your rebelliousness continues.

1 Source unknown.

2 Cf. Ps. 17.26,27.

3 Eph. 4.4-6.

4 Matt. 26.24; Luke 17.1,2; Mark 9.42.

Chapter 47

1 Take up the epistle of blessed Paul the Apostle.¹ 2 What did he first write to you at the beginning of his preachings?² 3 In truth, being inspired, he wrote to you concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos, because even then you were given to faction. 4 But that factiousness involved you in less guilt, for you were partisans of highly reputed Apostles, and of a man commended by them. 5 But consider now who they are who have perverted you, and have diminished the honor or your renowned reputation for brotherly love. 6 It is disgraceful, beloved, very disgraceful, and unworthy of your training in Christ, to hear that the stable and ancient Church of the Corinthians, on account of one or two persons, should revolt against its presbyters. 7 And this report has come not only to us, but also to those who dissent from us. The result is that blasphemies are brought upon the name of the Lord through your folly, and danger accrues for yourselves.

Chapter 48

1 Let us quickly remove this, then, and let us fall down before the Lord and supplicate Him with tears that He may become merciful and be reconciled to us, and restore us to the honored and holy practice of brotherly love. 2 For thus is the gate of justice opened to life, as it is written:¹ 'Open to me the gates of justice, that I may enter through them and praise the Lord. 3 This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter by it.' 4 Of the many gates that are opened, the one in justice is the one in Christ. All are blessed who enter

1 1 Cor. 1.10 ff.

2 Phil. 4.15.

1 Ps. 117.19,20.

by this gate and pursue their way in holiness and justice, performing all things without disorder.² 5 Let a man be faithful, let him be able to utter deep knowledge, let him be wise in discerning words, let him be energetic in deeds,³ let him be pure. 6 For the greater he seems to be, so much the more should he be humble; and he ought to seek the common good of all and not his own.

Chapter 49

1 Let him who has chastity in Christ keep Christ's commandments.¹ 2 Who can explain the bond of the charity of God?² 3 Who can express the splendor of its beauty? 4 The height to which charity lifts us is inexpressible. 5 Charity unites us to God, 'Charity covers a multitude of sins';³ charity bears all things, is long-suffering in all things. There is nothing mean in charity, nothing arrogant. Charity knows no schism, does not rebel, does all things in concord. In charity all the elect of God have been made perfect. Without charity nothing is pleasing to God. 6 In charity the Lord received us; out of the charity which He had for us, Jesus Christ our Lord gave His blood for us by the will of God, and His flesh for our flesh, and His life for our lives.

Chapter 50

1 You see, dearly beloved, how great and wonderful is charity, and that its perfection is beyond expression. 2 Who

² Luke 1.75.

³ Cf. 1 Cor. 12.8,9.

1 The close resemblance of this whole chapter to St. Paul's 1 Cor. 13 is noticeable.

² Cf. Col. 3.14.

³ Prov. 10.12; 1 Peter 4.8; James 5.20.

is good enough to be found in it except those whom God makes worthy? Let us pray, therefore, and beg of His mercy that we may be found in charity, without human partisanship, free from blame. 3 All the generations from Adam to this day have passed away; but those who were made perfect in charity by the grace of God live among the saints; and they shall be made manifest at the judgment of the Kingdom of Christ. 4 For it is written:¹ 'Enter into thy chambers a little while, until My wrath and anger pass, and I remember the good day and will raise you up out of your graves.' 5 Blessed were we, dearly beloved, if we fulfilled the commandments of God in the harmony of charity, that our sins were forgiven through charity. 6 For it is written:² 'Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man whose sin the Lord will not reckon, and in whose mouth there is no deceit.' 7 This benediction came to those who were chosen by God through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

Chapter 51

1 Whatsoever we have done wrong, and whatsoever we have done by suggestion of our adversary, let us hope that it may be forgiven us. Even those who were the leaders of rebellion and schism must look to the common hope. 2 For those who live in fear and charity prefer that they, rather than their neighbors, should undergo sufferings, and they more willingly suffer their own condemnation than the loss of that harmony which has been taught us well and justly. 3 It is better for a man to confess his sins than to harden his heart, as the heart of those who rebelled against Moses, the

¹ Isa. 26.20; Ezech. 37.12.

² Ps. 31.1,2; Rom. 4.7-9.

servant of God, was hardened¹—and the verdict on them was plain. 4 For they went ‘down into Hades alive’ and ‘death will gather them in.’² 5 Pharaoh and his army and all the leaders of Egypt, ‘the chariots and their riders,’ were drowned in the Red Sea and perished, for no other reason than that their foolish hearts were hardened, after the working of signs and wonders in the land of Egypt by God’s servant Moses.³

Chapter 52

1 Brothers, the Lord of the universe has need of nothing; He requires nothing of anyone, except that confession be made to Him. 2 For David, the chosen one, says: ¹ ‘I will confess to the Lord, and it shall please Him more than a young bullock with horns and hoofs. Let the poor see it and be glad.’ 3 And again he says: ² ‘Sacrifice to God a sacrifice of praise, and render to the All-High thy vows; and call upon Me in the day of affliction, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me.’ 4 ‘For a contrite spirit is a sacrifice to God.’³

Chapter 53

1 For you understand, beloved, you well understand the Sacred Scriptures, and you have studied the oracles of God. So we write these things as a reminder. 2 For, when Moses went up the mountain and spent forty days and forty nights in fasting and humiliation, God said to him: ¹ ‘Go down from

1 Num. 16.

2 Num. 16.33; Ps. 48.15.

3 Exod. 14.23.

1 Ps. 68.31-33.

2 Ps. 49.14,15.

3 Ps. 50.19.

1 Deut. 9.12.

here quickly, for thy people, whom thou has brought out of Egypt, have committed iniquity; they have speedily gone astray from the way which thou hast commanded them; they have made molten images for themselves.' 3 And the Lord said to him:² 'I have spoken to thee once and twice, saying, "I have seen this people, and, behold, it is stiffnecked. Suffer Me to destroy them and I will wipe out their name from under heaven, and I will make thee a great and wonderful nation, far more numerous than this one." 4 And Moses said:³ "No Lord; pardon the sin of this people, or blot me also out of the book of the living." 5 What great charity! What superb perfection! The servant speaks out to the Lord and asks that the people be forgiven or that he himself be blotted out with them.

Chapter 54

1 Who, now, among you is noble? Who is compassionate? Who is filled with charity? 2 Let him say: 'If on my account there are sedition and quarreling and schisms, I will leave; I will go wherever you wish and will do what is enjoined by the community, only let the flock of Christ have peace with its appointed presbyters.' 3 He who does this will win for himself great fame in Christ, and every place will receive him, for 'the earth is the Lord's, and the fullness of it.'¹ 4 Thus have they acted and will continue to act who fulfill their obligations as citizens of God without regret.

2 Deut. 9.13,14.

3 Exod. 32.31,32.

1 Ps. 23.1.

Chapter 55

1 And now to take examples from the pagans also: Many kings and rulers, when a period of pestilence occurred, followed the advice of oracles and gave themselves up to death, in order to rescue their subjects by their own blood. Many left their own cities, that these might be divided no more. 2 We know that many among ourselves have given themselves up to chains in order to redeem others. Many have surrendered themselves to slavery and provided food for others with the price they received for themselves. 3 Many women, fortified by the grace of God, have accomplished many heroic actions. 4 The blessed Judith,¹ when the city was besieged, asked permission of the elders to be allowed to go into the foreigners' camp. 5 By exposing herself to danger she went out for love of her country and of the people who were besieged, and the Lord delivered Holophernes into the hand of a woman. 6 To no less danger did Esther,² who was perfect in faith, expose herself, in order to save the twelve tribes of Israel that were about to be destroyed. For, by fasting and humiliation she begged the all-seeing Master of the ages and He, seeing the meekness of her soul, rescued the people for whose sake she had faced danger.

Chapter 56

1 Therefore, let us also intercede for those who fall into any transgression, that meekness and humility may be granted them, so that they may yield not to us but to God's will. For in this way there will be for them a fruitful, perfect, and compassionate remembrance with God and the saints. 2 Let us receive correction, and not be angered by it, dearly beloved.

1 Judith 8 ff.

2 Esther 4.16.

The admonition which we give to one another is good and most beneficial, for it unites us to the will of God. 3 For the holy word speaks thus:¹ 'With chastisement did the Lord chastise me, and he delivered me not to death.' 4 'For whom the Lord loves He chastises, and scourges every son whom He receives.' 5 For it says: 'The just will chastise me with mercy and correct me, but let not the mercy of sinners anoint my head.' 6 And, again, it says: 'Happy is the man whom the Lord has corrected; and despise not the admonition of the Almighty, for He makes a man suffer pain and again restores him. 7 He struck, and His hands have healed. 8 Six times he shall deliver thee from troubles, and in the seventh time evil shall not touch thee. 9 In famine He shall deliver thee from death, and in war he shall free from the hand of the sword. 10 And He shall hide thee from the scourge of the tongue, and thou shalt not be afraid when evils come. 11 Thou shalt laugh to scorn the unjust and lawless men, and thou shalt not fear wild beasts. 12 For wild beasts shall be at peace with thee. 13 Thou shalt know that thy house shall be at peace, and the habitation of thy tent shall not fail. 14 And thou shalt know that thy seed shall be many and thy children like the grass of the field. 15 And thou shalt come to the grave like ripened corn that is harvested in its due season, or like a heap on the threshing floor which is gathered in at the appointed time.' 16 You see, beloved, how great is the protection given to those who are chastised by the Lord. For He chastises as a good father, that we may receive mercy through His holy chastisement.

Chapter 57

1 You, therefore, who laid the foundation of rebellion,

¹ Ps. 117.18. For the Scripture which follows cf. Prov. 3.12; Heb. 22.6; Ps. 140.5; Job. 5.17-26.

submit to the presbyters, and accept chastisement for repentance, bending the knees of your heart. 2 Learn to be submissive, laying aside the boastful and proud self-confidence of your tongue, for it is better for you to be found 'little ones,' but honorable within the flock of Christ, than to seem to be pre-eminent, but to be cast out from His hope. 3 For the all-virtuous Wisdom speaks thus:¹ 'Behold I will bring forth to you the words of my spirit, and I will teach you my word. 4 Because I called and you did not obey, and I put forth my words and you paid no attention, but made my counsel useless and disobeyed my admonitions. Therefore I will also laugh at your destruction, and I will rejoice when ruin comes on you and when confusion suddenly overwhelms you and catastrophe descends like a whirlwind, or when affliction or a siege comes. 5 For it shall come to pass when you call upon me I will not hear you. The wicked shall seek me and shall not find me. For they hated knowledge and did not choose the fear of the Lord; neither would they heed my counsels but mocked my reproofs. 6 Therefore they shall eat the fruits of their own way, and shall be filled with their own impiety. 7 Because they wronged the simple, they shall be killed, and judgment shall destroy the impious. But he that hearkens to me shall dwell securely in hope, and shall be quiet without fear of any evil.'

Chapter 58

1 Let us, then, obey His all-holy and glorious name, and escape the threats which have been spoken by Wisdom long

¹ Prov. 1.23-33. 'Wisdom' is here a collective title, used in the liturgy and elsewhere to designate the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus. The Roman Missal invariably entitles readings from any of these books *Lectio libri Sapientiae* (*Reading from the Book of wisdom*).

ago against the disobedient, that we may encamp in confidence in the most sacred name of His majesty. 2 Take our advice, and there will be nothing for you to regret. For, as God lives and the Lord Jesus Christ lives and the Holy Spirit, the faith and hope of the elect, so shall he who with humility of mind, and ready gentleness, and without turning back, has performed the decrees and commandments given by God be enrolled and chosen among the number of those who are saved through Jesus Christ, through whom is the glory to Him forever and ever. Amen.

Chapter 59

1 But, if some shall disobey the words which have been spoken by Him through us,¹ let them know that they will involve themselves in no small transgression and danger. 2 But we shall be innocent of this sin, and shall beg with earnest prayer and supplication that the Creator of all may keep unharmed the number which has been counted of His elect in all the world, through His beloved child Jesus Christ, through whom He called us from darkness to light.² from ignorance to the full knowledge of the glory of His name. 3 [Grant us, Lord,]³ to hope in His name, the beginning of all creation; open the eyes of our heart⁴ to know Thee, that Thou alone art the 'Highest in the highest' and remainest

1 St. Clement is not speaking to Christians of his own immediate Church. The present phrase suggests that he was fully aware of the special prerogatives of the See of Rome which he occupied.

2 Acts 26.18.

3 Most editors agree that something is missing in the Greek text at this point. 'Grant us Lord' is not in the Greek, but seems necessary for the sense.

4 Eph. 1.18. Other sources drawn on in this section are: Isa. 57.15; 13.11; Ps. 32.10; Job. 5.11; 1 Kings 2.7; Luke 1.53; Deut. 32.39; 1 Kings 2.16; 4 Kings 5.7; Num. 16.22; 27.16; Sam. 3.55 (Heb. Bible 3.31).

Holy among the holy. Thou dost humble the pride of the haughty, Thou dost destroy the conceits of nations, lifting up the humble and humbling the exalted. Thou art He who makes both rich and poor, who kills and who vivifies, the sole benefactor of spirits and God of all flesh. Thou 'lookest on the abysses,' Thou seest into the works of man, Thou art the helper of those in danger, the 'saviour of those in despair,' the Creator and observer of every spirit. Thou dost multiply nations upon earth and hast chosen from them all those who love Thee, through Jesus Christ Thy beloved child, and through Him Thou hast taught us, sanctified us, given us honor. 4 We beseech Thee, Lord, to be our helper and protector.⁵ Save those of us who are in affliction, have mercy on the humble, raise the fallen, show Thyself to those who are in need, heal the sick, turn back the wanderers of Thy people, feed the hungry, ransom our prisoners, raise up the weak, comfort the faint-hearted. Let all the nations know Thee, that Thou alone art God, and that Jesus Christ is Thy Servant, and that 'we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture.'

Chapter 60

1 For thou hast made manifest the eternal fabric of the world through Thy operations. Thou, Lord, didst create the world. Thou who art faithful in all generations, just in Thy judgment, wonderful in strength and majesty, wise in Thy creation, and prudent in establishing Thy works, good in the things which are seen, and compassionate to those who trust in Thee, merciful and compassionate¹—forgive our sins and injustices, our trespasses and failings. 2 Count not every

⁵ Judith 9.11. Other sources for this section are: Ps. 118.11; 3 Kings 8.60; 4 Kings 19.19; Ezech. 36.23; Ps. 78.13.

¹ Joel 2.13.

sin of Thy servants and handmaids, but cleanse us with the cleansing of Thy truth, and make our steps straight that we may walk in holiness and justice and simplicity of heart, and may do those things that are good and well-pleasing before Thee² and our rulers. 3 Yes, Lord, let Thy countenance shine on us for good in peace, that we may be protected by Thy strong hand and delivered from all sin by Thy uplifted arm, and deliver us from those who hate us unjustly. 4 Give concord and peace to us and to all the inhabitants of the earth, as Thou didst give it to our fathers, when they invoked Thee reverently in faith and truth, so that we may be saved, and grant that we may be obedient to Thy almighty and excellent name, and to our rulers and governors on earth.

Chapter 61

1 Thou, Lord, hast given the authority of the Kingdom to them through Thy all-powerful and unspeakable might, that we, acknowledging the glory and honor given them by Thee, may be subject to them and in no way resist Thy will. To them, Lord, give health, peace, concord, and firmness that they may administer without offense the government which Thou hast given them. 2 For Thou, heavenly Lord, King of the ages,¹ givest to the sons of men glory and honor, and authority over the things on earth. Direct their counsels, Lord, according to what is good and well-pleasing before Thee,² that by piously administering in peace and gentleness the authority granted them by Thee they may obtain Thy mercy. 3 Thou who alone art able to do these good things for us and other things more abundantly, we praise Thee through the

2 Ps. 118.133.

1 1 Tim. 5.17; Tob. 13.6,10.

2 Deut. 12.25,28; 13.18.

high priest and protector of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom be glory and majesty to Thee both now and for all generations and for all ages. Amen.

Chapter 62

1 Brothers, we have written to you sufficiently concerning the things that befit our religion and are most helpful to the life of virtue for those who wish to direct their steps in piety and justice. 2 For, in regard to faith and repentance and genuine charity and self-control and discretion and patience, we have treated every point. We have reminded you that you must please Almighty God with holiness in justice and truth and long-suffering, in a life of concord. You should forget injuries in love and peace, and continue in gentleness, as our fathers aforementioned who, in their humility, were pleasing to God, the Father and Creator, and to all men. 3 And we have reminded you of these things the more willingly because we knew well that we were writing to men who are faithful and well-reputed and had studied the words of God's instruction.

Chapter 63

1 Confronted by so many and such great examples,¹ therefore, we rightly should bow our necks and adopt an attitude of obedience, so that abandoning this foolish rebellion we may without blame reach the goal set before us. 2 For you will afford us joy and gladness if you obey what we have written through the Holy Spirit and get rid of the wicked passion of jealousy, according to the plea for peace and harmony which we have made in this letter. 3 We have sent trustworthy and

¹ 'It is right,' i.e., a matter of elementary justice. Note that the procedure of sending delegates along with the written letter is the same as that described in Acts 15.22 ff.

prudent men, who have lived among us irreproachably from youth to old age; and they will be witness between you and us. 4 We have done this in order that you may know our entire preoccupation has been and remains that you may quickly achieve peace.

Chapter 64

1 In conclusion, may the all-seeing God and Ruler of the spirits and Lord of all flesh,¹ who chose the Lord Jesus Christ and us through Him to be a special people,² grant to every soul upon whom His great and holy name has been invoked faith, fear, peace, patience, and long-suffering, self-control, purity and prudence, so that they may be well-pleasing to His name through our high priest and defender Jesus Christ, through whom be glory and majesty, power and honor, to Him, both now and for all ages. Amen.

Chapter 65

1 Send back to us quickly our delegates, Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Vito, together with Fortunatus, in peace with gladness, so that they may speedily announce the peace and harmony which we have prayed for and desired, and that we also may more speedily rejoice at your good order. 2 May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all those, in every place, who have been called by God through Him; through whom be glory, honor, power, and majesty to Him, and eternal dominion from eternity to all eternity. Amen.

1 Num. 16.22; 27.16; Heb. 12.9.

2 Deut. 14.2.

*THE SO-CALLED
SECOND LETTER
OF
ST. CLEMENT*

BEING

AN ANCIENT HOMILY

BY AN ANONYMOUS AUTHOR

Translated

by

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INTRODUCTION

THE WORK here translated is one that immediately follows the genuine letter of St. Clement of Rome in two Greek manuscripts¹ and in one Syriac manuscript. Like St. Clement's letter, it carries the heading 'To the Corinthians.'

The supposed existence of a second letter by this author was known to Eusebius,² who states, however, that he knew of no use of it made by the 'ancients.' Whether or not Eusebius had in mind the text furnished by the manuscripts cited above, it is clear that the document is not a letter, but a homily intended for public reading. Stylistic and other reasons show that the work does not belong to St. Clement. Its attribution to him depends only upon its inclusion in the manuscripts.

Opinions vary as to the probable place of origin and the occasion of the homily. Certain scholars, among them Lightfoot, conclude that it was preached at Corinth, attaching decisive importance to the allusions (7.1-4) to athletic contests, which, it is proposed, refer to the Isthmian games held at Corinth. As a homily of local origin, it could well have

1 The famous fifth-century Codex Alexandrinus, now at the British Museum, Royal MS IDV-VIII, and the Codex Hierosolymitanus, or Constantinopolitanus, of 1056 A.D., originally belonging to the Church of the Most Holy Sepulchre, later preserved at Constantinople and more recently transferred to Jerusalem.

2 Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.38.4.

been preserved in the archives of the Corinthian Church and have been copied at a later date with St. Clement's letter to the same Church. Lack of a title prefixed to the homily might have led to the supposition that the document was a letter and might thus have produced the epistolary heading, 'To the Corinthians.'

The second most favored opinion has the advantage of giving the homily a closer historical connection with St. Clement's letter. Harnack³ and the others who have favored this opinion identify the work with a letter known from Eusebius to have been sent to Bishop Dionysius of Corinth by Soter, Bishop of Rome (*ca.* 170).⁴ Such a document would reasonably have been preserved in the Corinthian Church archives with St. Clement's letter, which, we know from Dionysius' reply to Soter, was then being read publicly in the Corinthian Church together with the latter's epistle. The subsequent joint copying of the two texts—no doubt in a book used for public reading—would thus have been a natural eventuality. To explain how a homily could have been used as a letter, it is simply suggested that it was possibly the practice of the time for bishops to exchange homilies on subjects of general interest as letters of exhortation.

Unless Harnack's opinion be accepted, no certain dating is possible with the facts now at hand. Otherwise, the contents of the letter permit us to place it anywhere in the second or third centuries.

The interior organization of the homily is loose and its contents varied. Among its doctrinal teachings, particular notice should be taken of the clear assertion (1.1) of the

3 A. Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* (Leipzig 1897) 1 438 ff.

4 Eusebius, *op. cit.* 4.23.11.

divinity of Jesus Christ and of the emphasis on the resurrection of the body as a motive for abstaining from sin (9.1-5). Chapter 8 in its entirety is a valuable and neglected source of ideas on penance.

While historians can regret that the early history of the homily is little more than conjecture, it seems not unworthy of the place of distinction it later won through its inclusion in the Codex Alexandrinus. Whatever other merit the work has, it appears to be the oldest example of Christian preaching that we possess outside of Holy Scripture.

The text followed in the present translation is that of Karl Bihlmeyer, *Die apostolischen Väter* (Tübingen 1924).

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THE SO-CALLED SECOND EPISTLE OF ST. CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS

Chapter 1

BROTHERS, we must think of Jesus Christ as of God— as the ‘judge of the living and the dead.’¹ And we must not think lightly of our Savior. 2 For, in thinking lightly of Him, we also hope to receive but little. And we sin, those of us who listen as if to an unimportant matter, not knowing whence, by whom, and to what place we have been called, and how much suffering Jesus Christ endured for our sakes. 3 What return, then, shall we make to Him, or what fruit worthy of that which He has given us? How much devotion do we owe Him! 4 He has lavished the light upon us; He has spoken to us as a father to his sons; He has saved us when we were perishing. 5 What praise, then, shall we give to Him, or what payment in return for what we have received? 6 Blinded in our understanding, we bowed down to sticks and stones and gold and silver and brass, the works of men; and our whole life was nothing else but death. While we were covered with darkness and our sight was obscured by this mist, by His will we recovered our sight, putting off the cloud which invested us. 7 For He had mercy on us and, out of pity, saved us, seeing in us much waywardness and destruction and no hope of salvation except such as might come from Him. 8 For He called us when we were not, and out of nothing willed us to be.

Chapter 2

1 ‘Rejoice, O thou barren, thou bearest not; sing forth and

¹ Acts 10.42.

shout, thou that dost not travail; for many are the children of the desolate, more than heirs that hath a husband.¹ By saying 'Rejoice, O thou barren, that bearest not' He meant us, for our Church was barren before being given children. 2 And by saying 'Shout, thou that dost travail' He means this: to offer up our prayers in simplicity to God and not grow weary like women in labor. 3 And by saying 'Many are the children of the desolate, more than heirs that hath a husband' He meant that our people seemed to be abandoned by God, but now, having believed, we have become more numerous than those who seemed to have God. 4 And another Scripture says:² 'I came not to call the just, but sinners.' This means that all who are perishing must be saved. 6 For it is a great and wonderful thing to sustain, not the things that are standing, but those that are falling. 7 So, also, Christ willed to save the things that were perishing,³ and He saved many men, when He had come and called us who were, even now, perishing.

Chapter 3

1 Since, then, He has bestowed such mercy on us, first that we the living do not sacrifice to gods who are dead nor worship them, but through Him know the Father of Truth—what is true knowledge concerning Him except not to deny Him through whom we knew the Father? 2 He Himself says:¹ He who confessed me before men, I will confess him

¹ Isa. 54.1, quoted also by St. Paul, Gal. 4.27.

² Matt. 9.13; Mark 2.17; Luke 5.32. This may be the earliest instance in which the New Testament is quoted as 'Scripture' (Greek *graphê*). Below, at 6.8 and 14.2, the same word designates Old Testament books; at 14.1 the reference is either to St. Matthew or to Jeremias.

³ Cf. Matt. 18.11; Luke 19.0.

¹ Matt. 10.32; Luke 12.8.

before my Father.' 3 This, then, is our reward, if we confess Him through whom we were saved. 4 But how do we confess Him? By doing what He says, and not disobeying His commandments, and honoring Him not only with our lips but 'with all our heart and all our mind.'² 5 And He says also in Isaias:³ 'This people honors me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.'

Chapter 4

1 Let us not merely call Him Lord, then, for this will not save us. 2 For He says:¹ 'Not everyone who says to me Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he who works justice.' 3 So, then, brothers, let us confess Him in our works by loving one another, by not committing adultery, nor speaking against one another, by not being envious, but by being self-controlled, kindly, good; and we ought to sympathize with one another and not be avaricious. By these works we confess Him, and not by the contrary. 4 And we must not fear men rather than God. 5 For this reason, provided you do these things, the Lord said:² 'If ye be gathered together with Me in My bosom and do not carry out My commandments, I will cast you off and will say to you: Depart from me; I know not whence you come, you workers of iniquity.'

Chapter 5

1 Therefore, brothers, leaving behind life as strangers in this world, let us do the will of Him who called us, and let us not be afraid to go forth from this world. 2 For the Lord

² Mark 12.30; cf. Luke 10.27 and Matt. 22.37.

³ Isa. 29.13; cf. Matt. 15.8 and Mark 7.6.

¹ Cf. Matt. 7.21 and (less close) Luke 6.46; also Rom. 2.13.

² The source of this quotation is unknown; it may come from the lost 'Gospel of the Egyptians.'

said:¹ 'You shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves.' 3 And Peter answered and said to Him: 'What if the wolves should tear the lambs?' 4 Jesus said to Peter: 'The lambs should not fear the wolves after they are dead. And so with you—fear not those who kill you and can do nothing more to you; but fear Him who after your death has power over soul and body, to cast them into hell fire.' 5 And understand, brothers, that the lingering of our flesh in this world is short and passing, but the promise of Christ is great and wonderful and is a repose in the kingdom to come and in eternal life. 6 What, then, shall we do to secure these things, except to conduct ourselves in holiness and justice and regard these things of the world as foreign to us and not desire them? 7 For it is by desiring to possess these things that we fall from the path of justice.

Chapter 6

1 The Lord says:¹ 'No servant can serve two masters.' If we desire to serve both God and Mammon, it is no good to us. 2 'For what is the advantage if a man gain the whole world and lose his soul?'² 3 This world and the future world are two enemies. 4 This world talks of adultery and corruption and love of money and deceit, but that world says farewell to these things. 5 We cannot, then, be friends of both, but we must say farewell to this to possess the other. 6 We think that it is better to despise the things which are here, for they are small and passing and perishable, and to love the

1 Here again the source of the quotation (sects. 2-4) is unknown, possibly an apocryphal gospel. The chief ideas are found in the canonical gospels: Luke 10.3 and Matt. 10.16; Matt. 10.28 and Luke 12.4.5.

1 Luke 16.13; Matt. 6.24.

2 Matt. 16.26; Mark 8.36; Luke 9.25.

things which are there, things good and imperishable. 7 For if we do the will of Christ, we shall find repose; but if not, nothing shall save us from eternal punishment, if we neglect His commandments. 8 And the Scripture also says, in Ezechiel, that 'although Noa and Job and Daniel arise, they shall not rescue their children in the captivity.'³ But if even such just men cannot rescue their children by their own just actions, with what confidence shall we enter into the palace of God, if we do not keep our baptism pure and unspotted? Or who shall be our patron if we are not found to have holy and just works?

Chapter 7

1 So then, my brothers, let us strive, knowing that the contest is close at hand¹ and that many make voyages for corruptible contests, but not all are crowned—only those who have labored much and striven well. 2 Let us strive, then, that we may all be crowned. 3 Let us run the straight course, then, the incorruptible contest, and let many of us sail to it, and strive, that we also may receive the crown; and, if we cannot all be crowned, let us at least come near to the crown. 4 We must remember that he who takes part in a corruptible contest, if he be found dealing dishonestly, is flogged, taken away, and thrown off the course. 5 What do you think? What shall he suffer who cheats in the contest for immortality? 6 For, concerning those who have not kept the seal,²

3 Cf. Ezech. 14.14,18,20.

1 The figures of speech drawn in sects. 1-5 from athletic contests are like those in St. Paul, 1 Cor. 9.25-26. Some hold this passage (with 20.2 below) as evidence that the homily was preached at Corinth, where the famous Isthmian games were held. See Introduction.

2 Possibly baptismal vows are meant; cf. above, 6.9.

He says: 'Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be extinguished, and they shall be a spectacle to all flesh.'³

Chapter 8

1 While we are yet on earth, let us repent. 2 For we are as clay for the hand of the workman. Just as the potter, if he makes a vessel and it bends or breaks in his hands, shapes it over again, but if he has gone so far as to put it into the fiery oven, can do nothing to help it any more; so let us also, while we are still in this world, repent with our whole heart of the evil things we have done in the flesh, that we may be saved by the Lord while we have time for repentance. 3 For, after leaving the world, we cannot there confess or repent any more. 4 So then, brothers, by doing the will of the Father and preserving the flesh pure and keeping the commandments of the Lord, we shall obtain eternal life. 5 For the Lord says in the Gospel.¹ 'If you do not keep what is small, who will give you what is great? For I say to you, that he who is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in that which is great.' 6 He means, therefore, this: Keep the flesh pure and the seal² undefiled that we may receive eternal life.

Chapter 9

1 And let not any one of you say that this flesh is not judged and does not rise again. 2 Understand: In what state were you saved, in what did you recover your sight, except in this flesh? 3 We must, therefore, guard the flesh as a temple of God. 4 Just as you were called in the flesh, so shall you come in the flesh. 5 If Christ the Lord, who saved us, being spirit

³ Isa. 66.24; Mark 9.44.

¹ Luke 16.10-12.

² See note on 7.2 above.

at first, became flesh and so called us, so also shall we receive our reward in this flesh. 6 Let us, then, love one another, that we may all arrive at the Kingdom of God. 7 While we have time to be healed, let us give ourselves to God our Healer, giving Him some recompense. 8 What recompense? Repentance from a sincere heart. 9 For He has foreknowledge of all things and knows what is in our hearts. 10 Let us, then, give Him everlasting praise, not only from our mouth, but also from our heart, that He may receive us as sons. 11 For the Lord said:¹ 'Those who do the will of my Father are my brethren.'

Chapter 10

1 Therefore, my brothers, let us do the will of the Father who called us, that we may live, and let us rather seek virtue and abandon vice as the forerunner of our sins, and let us flee from ungodliness, lest evil things come upon us. 2 For, if we are zealous to do good, peace will follow us. 3 On this account it is not possible for men to find peace,¹ when they bring in human fears and prefer the pleasures of the present to the promises of the future. 4 For they know not what great torture the pleasures of the present bring and how great is the joy of the promised future. 5 And if only they themselves did these things, it could be endured; but, as it is, they continue teaching evil to innocent souls, not knowing that they will incur a double condemnation, themselves and their hearers.

¹ Matt. 12.50; Mark 3.35; Luke 8.21.

¹ The text appears to be corrupt here. The word 'peace' has been added to complete the sense. Something also may have been lost before the following clause.

Chapter 11

1 With a pure heart, then, let us serve God, and we shall be just; but if, through our not trusting the promises of God, we do not serve Him, we shall be miserable. 2 For the prophetic word says:¹ 'Miserable are the double-minded, who hesitate in their heart and say: All these things we have heard even in our fathers' time, but we have waited from day to day and have seen none of them. 3 O foolish men, compare yourselves to a tree. Take a vine; first it sheds its leaves, then there comes a bud, after this a sour berry, then the bunch of ripe grapes. 4 So also my people had upsets and afflictions, but afterwards it shall receive good things.' 5 Therefore, my brothers, let us not be double-minded, but let us be patient in hope, that we may also gain our reward. 6 'For He is faithful who promised'² to pay to each the wages of his works. 7 If, then, we perform justice before God, we shall enter into His kingdom and receive the promises which 'ear has not heard, nor eye seen, nor has it entered into the heart of men.'³

Chapter 12

1 Let us, then, wait for the Kingdom of God, from hour to hour, in love and justice, since we know not the day of God's manifestation. 2 For the Lord Himself, when asked by someone when His Kingdom would come, said:¹ 'When the two shall be one, and the outside as the inside, and the male

1 This same 'prophecy' is quoted as 'Scripture' in the authentic letter of Clement, Ch. 23, 3f. (p. 29). The source is unknown, but it shows an interesting literary connection between this work and *The Letter to the Corinthians*.

2 Heb. 10.13.

3 1 Cor. 2.9.

1 The unknown source of this quotation may be an apocryphal gospel.

with the female neither male nor female.' 3 Now, the 'two are one' when we speak truth to each other, and there is one soul in two bodies without dissimulation. 4 And 'the outside as the inside' means this: the inside is the soul and the outside the body. Therefore, just as your body is visible, so let your soul be apparent in your good works. 5 And 'the male with the female neither male nor female' means that a brother seeing a sister has no thought of her as female, nor she of him as male. 6 'If you do this,' He says, 'the Kingdom of my Father shall come.'

Chapter 13

1 Accordingly, brothers, let us now at last repent and be watchful for the good, for we are full of great folly and evil; let us cleanse from ourselves our previous sins, and by repentance from our very heart gain salvation. Let us not be pleasers of men, nor seek to please ourselves alone, but rather by our justice those also who are outside, that the Name be not blasphemed because of us. 2 For the Lord says:¹ 'My name is continually blasphemed among all the Gentiles,' and again: 'Woe to him on whose account my name is blasphemed.'² How is it blasphemed? By your not doing what I desire. 3 For when the Gentiles hear from our mouth the oracles of God, they wonder at their beauty and grandeur; afterwards, when they find out that our works are unworthy of the words we speak, they turn from this to blasphemy, saying that it is a myth and a delusion. 4 For, when they hear from us that God says:³ 'It is no credit to you, if you

1 Isa. 52.5.

2 Cf. Matt. 18.7.

3 Luke 6.32,35; Matt. 5.44. Cf. *Didache* 1.3.

love them that love you, but it is a credit to you if you love your enemies and those who hate you'—when they hear this, they wonder at its surpassing goodness; but when they see that not only do we not love those who hate us but not even those who love us, they laugh scornfully at us, and so the Name is blasphemed.

Chapter 14

1 Thus, brothers, by doing the will of God our Father, we shall belong to the first Church, the spiritual one established before the sun and the moon; but if we do not the will of the Lord, we shall verify the Scripture which says:¹ 'My house has become a den of thieves.' Let us choose, therefore, to belong to the Church of life, that we may be saved. 2 I do not think that you are ignorant that the living Church is 'the body of Christ.'² For the Scripture says:³ 'God made man male and female'; the male is Christ and the female is the Church. The sacred books, moreover, and the Apostles say that the Church is not of the present time, but existed from the beginning. For she was spiritual, as also our Jesus, and He was revealed in the last days to save us.⁴ 3 And the Church, being spiritual, was revealed in the flesh of Christ, showing us that if any of us guard her in the flesh and do not corrupt her, he shall receive her again in the Holy Spirit. For this flesh is an antitype of the Spirit; no one, accordingly, who has corrupted the antitype shall receive the reality. So, then, brothers, it means this: Guard the flesh, so that you may share in the Spirit. 4 But if we say that the flesh is the Church

1 Matt. 21.13; Jer. 7.11.

2 Eph. 1.23.

3 Gen. 1.27.

4 1 Peter 1.20.

and the Spirit is Christ, then he who has abused the flesh has abused the Church. Such a one, accordingly, will not share in the Spirit, which is Christ. 5 The flesh is able to share in this great life and immortality, provided the Holy Spirit is joined to it. No one can declare or tell 'the things which the Lord has prepared'⁵ for His chosen ones.

Chapter 15

1 It is no negligible advice, I think, that I have given you concerning self-control, and by following it a man will not regret, but will save both himself and me who advised him. For the reward is not small for having converted a straying and perishing soul to salvation. 2 For we have this return to make to God who created us, if both he who speaks and he who hears, speak and hear with faith and charity. 3 Let us, then, remain just and holy in the things which we have believed, that we may pray in confidence to God, who says:¹ 'While thou art still speaking, I will say: Behold, here I am.' 4 For this saying is the sign of great promise; for the Lord says that He is more ready to give than a man is to ask. 5 Being sharers of such great kindness, then, let us not begrudge ourselves the obtaining of such benefits. For, as these words contain a great joy for those who follow them, so they hold a great judgment for the disobedient.

Chapter 16

1 So, brothers, having received no slight opportunity to repent, let us, when there is yet time, turn to God who called us, while we still have One who awaits us. For if we bid farewell to these pleasures and overcome our soul by refusing

⁵ 1 Cor. 2.9.

¹ Isa. 58.9.

to carry out its evil desires we shall share in the mercy of Jesus. 3 But you know that 'the day' of judgment 'is now coming, kindled as a furnace,'¹ and 'the powers of heaven shall dissolve';² and the whole earth shall be as lead melting in the fire, and then shall the secret and public deeds of men be made known. 4 Almsgiving, therefore, is good as penance for sin; fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving is better than both; and 'charity covers a multitude of sins,'³ but prayer from a good conscience delivers from death. Blessed is every man who is found full of these things; for almsgiving relieves the burden of sin.

Chapter 17

1 Let us, then, repent wholeheartedly, that no one of us may perish by the way. For, if we have commandments to do this also, to snatch men away from idols and to instruct them, how much more necessary is it that a soul which already knows God should not be lost? 2 So let us help one another and guide those who are weak in goodness, that we may all be saved; and let us convert and encourage one another. 3 And let us not merely seem to pay attention and to believe now, while being admonished by the presbyters,¹ but also, when we have gone home, let us remember the commandments of the Lord and let us not be carried away by worldly lusts; but let us try to come here more frequently and to advance in the commandments of the Lord, that 'keeping the same mind'² we may be gathered together unto life. 4 For

1 Mal. 4.1.

2 Isa. 34.4.

3 1 Peter 4.8; cf. Prov. 10.12.

1 One of the indications that the present text is essentially a homily and not a letter, as once was believed. See Introduction.

2 Rom. 12.16.

the Lord said:³ 'I come to gather together all the nations, tribes, and languages.' By this He means the day of His appearing. when He will come and redeem us, each according to his works. 5 And the believers 'shall see his glory⁴ and might and shall be astounded when they look upon the sovereignty of the world given to Jesus and shall say: 'Woe to us, for it was thou, and we knew it not and did not believe, and were disobedient to the presbyters who preached to us about salvation.' And 'their worms shall not die and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be a spectacle to all flesh.'⁵ 6 He means that day of judgment when they shall see those who were ungodly among us and contradicted the commandments of Jesus Christ. 7 But the just, who have done good and endured tortures and hated the pleasures of the soul, when they see how those who have sinned and denied Jesus by their words or their deeds are punished by terrible torture in unquenchable fire, shall give 'glory to their God,'⁶ saying: 'There shall be hope for him who has served God with all his heart.'

Chapter 18

1 Let us also be of those who give thanks, who have served God, and not of the ungodly who are judged. 2 For I myself also am altogether sinful and have not escaped temptation, but, being still surrounded by the devices of the devil, I strive to pursue justice, so that I may have the strength at least to approach it, fearing the judgment to come.

³ Isa. 66.18.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Isa. 66.24; Mark 9.44.

⁶ Apoc. 11.13.

Chapter 19

1 Therefore, brothers and sisters, [following] the God of truth, I am reading to you an exhortation to heed what is written, that you may both save yourselves and him who is reading to you.¹ As a reward, I ask you to repent with your whole heart, giving yourselves salvation and life. By doing this, we shall set a goal for all the young who wish to work in the cause of piety and goodness of God. 2 And let us not be annoyed or displeased, fools that we are, when anyone corrects us and turns us from justice to justice. For sometimes we do evil unknowingly because of the double-mindedness and unbelief within our breasts, and we are 'darkened in our understanding'² by vain desires. 3 Let us, then, do justice that we may be saved in the end. Blessed are those who obey these instructions; although for a short time they suffer in this world, they shall reap the immortal fruit of the resurrection. 4 Let not the godly man grieve, then, if he be distressed in these present times. A time of blessedness awaits him; he shall live again above with the fathers and rejoice in an eternity without sorrow.

Chapter 20

1 But do not let it disturb your mind that we see the unjust

1 This may refer to the office of Reader (*lector*), which was definitely one of the minor orders at Rome in the time of Pope Cornelius (Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 6. 43.11). On the hypothesis that the present text is basically a homily sent in letter-form by Pope Soter at Rome to the Church at Corinth (see Introduction), it is not unreasonable that Chapters 1-18 (with 20.5 possibly appended) represent the text of the communication received from Rome, Chapters 19-20 (possibly less 20.5) being an addition made by the *lector* appointed at Corinth to read the communication.

2 Eph. 4.18.

wealthy and the servants of God in straitened circumstances. 2 Let us, then, have faith, brothers and sisters. We are contending in the contest of the living God and are being trained by the present life that we may obtain the crown in the life to come. 3 No one of the just has reaped fruit quickly, but waits for it. 4 For if God should pay out the reward of the just quickly, it would be immediately apparent that our training was in commerce and not in godliness, for we should seem to be just when we were pursuing not piety but gain. And for this cause the divine judgment punishes an unjust spirit and loads it with chains.¹ 5 To the one God, invisible,² Father of Truth, who sent us the Savior and Prince of Immortality, through whom also He manifested to us Truth and the life of heaven, to Him be glory for all ages. Amen.

1 In the above rendering the two verbs translated in the present tense appear in the Greek as past (aorist). Such so-called 'gnomic' use of the aorist is not uncommon in Classical Greek, and reasonably certain examples are found in the New Testament (James 1.24; 1 Peter 1.24 and James 1.11 are complicated by direct or indirect quotation from the Hebrew). If this interpretation is disallowed, the sentence would seem to refer to Satan: '. . . the divine judgment punished the Unjust Spirit, and loaded him with chains.'

2 1 Tim. 1.17.

*THE LETTERS
OF
ST. IGNATIUS
OF ANTIOCH*

Translated

by

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INTRODUCTION

THE SEVEN LETTERS, which are here translated from the Greek text as established by critical researches of modern scholars,¹ are among the most precious treasures of early Christian literature. They reveal a rounded, living, lovable personality—a saint of gigantic spiritual stature; a passionate lover of the Cross and of the Church of Jesus Christ; a man of both ardor and order, with a heart large enough to hold tender human affections along with zealous pastoral solicitude, and a mind broad enough to range from the mysteries of angelology to practical matters of ecclesiastical and moral discipline; a genius too tumultuous for the petty proprieties of grammar and rhetoric, who rushes headlong from one bursting idea to another without bothering about the structure of his periods or paragraphs.

Yet, of the life of St. Ignatius of Antioch we know practically nothing beyond the meager allusions in the Letters themselves. It has been conjectured that he was born about the time of the passion and resurrection of our Lord. There is a legend—perhaps suggested merely by the name Theophorus ('God-borne' or 'God-bearing')—that he was a child carried in the arms of our Lord, as related by St. Mark.² On the other hand, there may be a hint in the expression

¹ J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*. Edited and completed by J. R. Harmer (London 1891); Kirsopp Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers* (Loeb Classical Library, New York 1912) 1; K. Bihlmeyer, *Die apostolischen Väter* (Tübingen 1924). Besides the translations by Lake and Lightfoot, there is a more recent one, J. H. Strawley, *The Epistles of Saint Ignatius* (S.P.C.K., London 1935).

² Mark 9.36,37.

éktroma,³ 'one born out of due time,' that he was a convert to Christianity late in life.⁴ There is reason to suppose that he came into direct contact with more than one of the Apostles. The historian Eusebius,⁵ who is careful in such matters, tells us that Ignatius was the third bishop of Antioch—succeeding Evodius, the successor of St. Peter. Some details of the martyrdom are given in a document of somewhat doubtful historical accuracy published by Ruinart in 1689.⁶ The saint seems to have been thrown to the beasts in the Flavian amphitheatre in Rome in the second half of the reign of the Emperor Trajan (98-117 A.D.). What bones were left were religiously collected and returned for burial outside the Gate of Daphne at Antioch. They were finally, in 637, transferred to the Church of San Clemente in Rome.

It is possible, from the Letters, to establish part of the saint's itinerary on his way from Antioch to Rome. He reports that he was in the custody of guards 'on land and at sea.'⁷ This suggests that he sailed from Seleucia, the port of Antioch, to Attilia in Pamphilia. We learn, too, that he passed through Philadelphia on his way to Smyrna, where he rested to receive delegations of Christians from the communities of Ephesus, Magnesia and Tralles. From Smyrna, where Polycarp was bishop, Ignatius proceeded to Troas. It is further clear, from a letter written by Polycarp to the community at Philippi, that Ignatius passed through this latter city.⁸

It was Polycarp who first mentioned a collection of letters

3 Letter to the Romans 9.

4 Cf. Trallians 13 and Smyrnaeans 11.

5 *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.36.

6 A critical edition of the so-called *Martyrium Colbertinum* will be found in Funk-Diekamp, *Patres Apostolici* (1913) 2. 324ff.

7 Letter to the Romans 5.

8 For Polycarp's letter see below pp. 129ff., and particularly Chapters 9 and 13.

written by Ignatius. One of Polycarp's disciples, Irenaeus,⁹ shows his familiarity with at least one of the Letters by quoting a phrase from the Letter to the Romans. The historian Eusebius is the first to indicate that there were seven letters in the collection with which he was familiar.¹⁰

In later centuries the original seven letters were expanded by interpolations; and additional letters, not written by Ignatius, were ascribed to him. On the other hand, copyists or translators were content to make a series of excerpts from a selection of the seven letters.¹¹ The result was that the authenticity of the Letters was long in debate and has only been settled by a determined effort of modern critical scholarship.

The dogmatic significance of the Letters will be obvious to every reader. Even when allowance is made for the normal development of doctrine and discipline during the last eighteen hundred years, St. Ignatius' firm handling of the mysteries of the Trinity, Incarnation, Redemption, and Eucharist, his insistence on the hierarchy of bishops, priests and deacons and the primacy of the see of Rome, his clear conception of the Church as Catholic, in the sense of one and universal, his allusions to the practice of Christian virginity, to the religious character of marriage, and to other such matters set up a standard by which all who are eager to adhere to the tradition of Apostolic Christianity may measure the degree of their conformity with this early witness.

9 *Adversus haereses* 5.28.4. This passage and several other witnesses to St. Ignatius and his Letters will be found collected in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 5.9-32.

10 *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.36.

11 An abbreviated Syriac form of the Letters to Polycarp, to the Ephesians and to the Romans, was published by W. Cureton, *The Ancient Syriac Version of the Epistles of S. Ignatius* (London 1945). See, too, Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum* (London 1845). Altaner, *Patrologia* (Rome 1940) 59f., gives more references to the Syriac and Latin versions.

THE LETTERS OF ST. IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH

I

To The Ephesians

IGNATIUS THEOPHORUS greets the Church of Ephesus in Asia, congratulating you as you deserve and wishing you perfect joy in Jesus Christ—you who have grown in spiritual stature through the fullness of God the Father, and have been predestined from eternity to eternal abiding and unchanging glory, and have been united and chosen through a true passion by the will of the Father and of Jesus Christ, our God.

(1) I have welcomed in God your well beloved name, which is yours by reason of your natural [sense and]¹ goodness in accord with faith and charity in Jesus Christ, our Savior. Imitators of God as you are, with hearts warmed in the blood of God, you have done perfectly the work that fell to you to do; for you were eager to visit me when you heard that I was on my way from Syria, in chains because of our common name and hope, and longing, with the help of your prayers, to face the wild beasts in Rome and not to fail and so become a disciple. And so in God's name I received your whole community in the person of Onesimus, your bishop, in the flesh, a man whose charity is beyond all power to say. I beg of you to love him in Jesus Christ and to be like him to a man. May He be blessed who gave you the grace to have and to deserve to have such a bishop.

¹ The words in square brackets represent an addition to the Greek text suggested by Lightfoot. The words appear in an early Syriac version.

(2) A word about Burrhus, my fellow worker and your deacon by the will of God, a man blessed in every way. It is my prayer that he may continue with me to your honor and that of your bishop. Crocus, too, who is worthy of God and of yourselves, I have received as an exemplar of the love you bear me. He has been a great comfort to me in every way. May the Father of Jesus Christ reward him with His grace—and not only him but Onesimus, Burrhus, Euplus and Fronto; for in them I saw the love of all of you. If only I deserve it, may I have joy in you always. And so it is right for you to glorify Jesus Christ in every way, who has given you glory so that you may be made perfect in a single obedience to your bishop and the priests and be made holy in every way.

(3) I do not give you orders as though I were a person of importance, for I have not yet been made perfect in Jesus Christ, even though I am a prisoner for His name. But, at last, I am beginning to be His disciple and speak to you as His disciples, too. For I have need of being trained² by you in faith, counsel, endurance and long-suffering. Still, love will not let me be silent in your regard, and so I make bold to beg you to be in harmony with God's mind. For Jesus Christ, the life that cannot be taken from us, is the mind of the Father, and the bishops appointed to ends of the earth³ are of one mind with Jesus Christ.

(4) Hence, it is right for you to concur, as you do, with

2 Literally, 'anointed,' that is, rubbed with embrocation as trainers do with athletes.

3 'Of one mind with . . .' Literally, 'in the mind of . . .' The theme of the unity of Christ with the Father, of the bishops with Christ, and of the faithful with the bishops is one that is very dear to the heart of Ignatius. The 'ends of the earth' meant for Ignatius in the beginning of the second century the Churches as far east as Mesopotamia and as far west as Gaul.

the name of the bishop. For your priests, who are worthy of the name and worthy of God, like the strings of a lyre, are in harmony with the bishops. Hence it is that in the harmony of your minds and hearts Jesus Christ is hymned. Make of yourselves a choir, so that with one voice and one mind, taking the key-note of God, you may sing in unison with one voice through Jesus Christ to the Father, and He may hear you and recognize you, in your good works, as members of His son. It is good for you, therefore, to be in perfect⁴ unity that you may at all times be partakers of God.

(5) And if I, in a short time, have achieved such spiritual and not merely human communion with your bishop, all the more do I congratulate you who have become one with him, as the Church is one with Jesus Christ and as Jesus Christ is one with the Father, so that all things may be in harmony. Let no man be deceived. If a person is not inside the sanctuary⁵ he is deprived of the Bread [of God]. For if the prayer of one or two men⁶ has so much force, how much greater is that of the bishop and of the whole Church. Any one, therefore, who fails to assemble with the others has already shown his pride and set himself apart. For it is written: 'God resists the proud.'⁷ Let us be careful, therefore, not to oppose the bishop, so that we may be obedient to God.

(6) And let a man respect the bishop all the more if he sees him to be a man of few words. For, whoever is sent by the Master to run His house, we ought to receive him as we would receive the Master himself. It is obvious, therefore, that we ought to regard the bishop as we would the Lord Himself. I should tell you that Onesimus himself is full of

4 Literally, 'blameless.'

5 Literally, 'the place of sacrifice.'

6 Cf. Matt. 18.18-20.

7 Prov. 3.34.

praise for your orderly, religious behavior, because all of you are living according to truth and because among you no heresy finds a home. Indeed, you do not so much as listen to anyone unless his speech is of Jesus Christ in truth.

(7) There are some who, in guile and wickedness, have a way of bearing the Name about while behaving in a way unworthy of God. Such men you must shun as you would wild beasts; for they are mad dogs that bite when you are not on your guard. Of these you must beware, for these men are hard to heal. There is one Doctor active in both body and soul, begotten and yet unbegotten, God in man, true life in death, son of Mary and Son of God, first able to suffer and then unable to suffer, Jesus Christ, our Lord.

(8) Let no one, therefore, deceive you as, in fact, being wholly given to God, you are not deceived. For, so long as no passion within you has an established power to torment you, you are certainly living according to God. As a cheap sacrifice⁸ in your stead I offer myself for you Ephesians, for your Church which will be remembered in every age. Carnal men can no more do the works of the spirit than those who walk in the spirit do the things of the flesh; nor can faith do the things of infidelity nor infidelity the things of faith. Since you do all things in Jesus Christ, even those things are spiritual which you do according to the flesh.

(9) I have learned that some strangers⁹ holding bad doctrine have passed your way, but that you have not allowed

8 The word here used is *peripsema*. It is the word used by St. Paul in 1 Cor. 4.13. It is used again by Ignatius in Ch. 18 of this Letter. Literally, *peripsema* means 'offscouring'; but it is sometimes applied to the 'scum,' the 'jail birds,' who were offered in sacrifice to appease the wrath of the gods in times of affliction. St. Ignatius wants to imply that his life is being offered up for the Church and, at the same time, that it is a life of no value.

9 Literally, 'persons from yonder.'

them to sow their seed among you and have stopped your ears lest you should receive what they sowed. Like the stones of a temple, cut for a building of God the Father, you have been lifted up to the top by the crane of Jesus Christ, which is the Cross, and the rope of the Holy Spirit. For your faith has drawn you up and charity has been the road leading to God. You are all fellow pilgrims,¹⁰ carrying with you God and His temple; you are bearers of Christ and of holy offerings, decked out in the commandments of Jesus Christ. And with this letter I am able to take part in your festivity, to be of your company, to share in the joy that comes from setting your heart not on what is merely human in life, but on God.

(10) And so do not cease to pray for all other men, for there is hope of their conversion and of their finding God. Give them the chance to be instructed, at least by the way you behave. When they are angry with you, be meek; answer their words of pride by your humility, their blasphemies by your prayers, their error by your steadfastness in faith, their bullying by your gentleness. Let us not be in a hurry to give them tit for tat, but, by our sweet reasonableness, show that we are their brothers. Let us rather be eager to imitate the Lord, striving to be the first in bearing wrongs, in suffering loss, in being despised, so that no weed of the evil one may be found among you; but abide in Jesus Christ in perfect purity and temperance of body and soul.

(11) The last days are at hand. For the rest, let us live in reverence and fear of the patience of God, lest it turn in

¹⁰ The rapid change of metaphors, from seed and soil to stones and building and now to pilgrims with their festal clothes and carved offerings, is typical of St. Ignatius' tumultuous style. For an illustration of such a pagan procession see Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp* 2.17. See, too, Acts 19.24 for silver shrines made by Demetrius of Ephesus for the pilgrims to the temple of Artemis.

judgment against us. Either let us fear the wrath which is to come or else let us love the grace we have—one or the other, so long as we are found in Jesus Christ unto true life. Let nothing appeal to you apart from Him, by whose help I bear my chains about with me like spiritual pearls; and in these, with your prayers—in which I trust always to have a share—may I rise again, so that I may be found in the company of the Christian Ephesians who have always been at one with the Apostles through the power of Jesus Christ.

(12) I know who I am and to whom I am writing. I am a condemned man; you have received mercy. I am in danger; you are safe. You are the road for those on the way to die for God. You have shared in the sacraments¹¹ with Paul who was made a saint, who died a martyr, who deserved to be blessed—in whose footsteps may I be found when I reach God; in whose every letter¹² there is a mention of you in Christ Jesus.

(13) Be zealous, therefore, to assemble more frequently to render thanks¹³ and praise to God. For, when you meet together frequently, the powers of Satan are destroyed and danger from him is dissolved in the harmony of your faith. There is nothing better than peace in which an end is put to the warfare of things in heaven and on earth.

(14) You are aware of all these truths if you have perfect faith and love for Jesus Christ—the beginning and end of life; for faith is the beginning and the end is love and God is the two of them brought into unity. After these comes whatever else makes up a Christian gentleman. No one

11 Literally, 'you are initiated into the mysteries along with Paul.'

12 This may mean 'throughout the whole of one of those letters,' namely, the Epistle to the Ephesians.

13 The verb *eucharistein* may well have here the more special sense of 'to celebrate the Eucharist.'

commits sin who professes the faith, and no one hates who is possessed of charity. A tree is shown by its fruit,¹⁴ and in the same way those who profess to belong to Christ will be seen by what they do. For what is needed is not mere present profession,¹⁵ but perseverance to the end in the power of faith.

(15) It is better to say nothing and be [a Christian] than to speak and not to be [one]. It is good to teach, if one practices what he preaches. There is one Teacher who spoke—and the thing was done;¹⁶ and even the things He did without speaking are worthy of the Father. Anyone who is really possessed of the word of Jesus can listen to His silence¹⁷ and so be perfect; so that he may act through his words and be known by his silence. Nothing is hidden from the Lord and even the things we hide are near Him. Let us do all that we do, therefore, as though He were dwelling within us—we as His temple and He within as our God. And so, indeed, it is, and will be clearly seen by us from the love we justly bear Him.

(16) Make no mistake, brethren; the corrupters of families will not inherit the kingdom of God. If, then, those are dead who do these things according to the flesh, how much worse if, with bad doctrine, one should corrupt the faith of God for which Jesus Christ was crucified. Such a man, for becoming contaminated, will depart into unquenchable fire; and so will any one who listens to him.

(17) It was for this reason that the Lord received the

14 Cf. Matt. 12.33; Luke 5.44.

15 This may mean: 'At present the Work (i.e., of preaching and practicing the Christian religion) is no mere matter of profession.' Cf. Acts 15.38; Phil. 2.30; John 4.34; 6.29; 17.4.

16 Cf. Ps. 32.9.

17 I.e., can learn the lessons of His hidden life at Nazareth, of His silence during the passion.

ointment on his head¹⁸—that he might breathe the odor of incorruptibility into the Church. Be not anointed with the bad odor of the doctrine of the prince of this world, lest he lead you away captive from the life proposed to you. Why do we not all become wise by accepting the knowledge of God which is Jesus Christ? Why do we perish in our folly by being ignorant of the grace which the Lord has truly sent us?

(18) I offer up my life as a poor substitute¹⁹ for the Cross, which is a stumbling block to those who have no faith, but to us salvation and eternal life. Where is the wise man? Where is the philosopher?²⁰ Where is the boasting of the so-called men of prudence? For our God Jesus Christ was, according to God's dispensation, the fruit of Mary's womb, of the seed of David; He was born and baptized in order that He might make the water holy by His passion.

(19) The maidenhood of Mary and her child-bearing and also the death of the Lord were hidden from the prince of this world—three resounding mysteries wrought in the silence of God. How, then, did He appear in time? A star, brighter than all other stars, shone in the sky, and its brightness was ineffable and the novelty of it caused astonishment. And the rest of the stars, along with the sun and the moon, formed a choir about the star; but the light of the star by itself outshone all the rest. It was a puzzle to know the origin of this novelty unlike anything else. Thereupon all magic was dissolved, every bond of malice disappeared, ignorance was destroyed, the ancient kingdom was ruined, when God ap-

18 Cf. John 12.3.

19 The same word *peripsema* occurs here as in Ch. 8. Literally 'my spirit (or life) is a cheap sacrifice in comparison with the Cross.'

20 Cf. I Cor. 1.20,23,24.

peared in the form of man to give us newness of eternal life. What had been prepared in God now had a beginning. And, because of the plan for the abolition of death, all things were disturbed.

(20) If, through your prayers, Jesus Christ should make me worthy and if it should be His will, and still more if the Lord should reveal it to me, in a second letter which I intend to write to you, I shall explain more fully what I have merely touched upon—the dispensation of becoming the new man Jesus Christ, who is of the race of David according to the passion and resurrection. Come together in common, one and all without exception in charity, in one faith and in one Jesus Christ, who is of the race of David according to the flesh, the son of man and Son of God, so that with undivided mind you may obey the bishop and the priests, and break one Bread²¹ which is the medicine of immortality and the antidote against death, enabling us to live for ever in Jesus Christ.

(21) I am offering up my life²² for you and for those whom, to the honor of God, you sent to Smyrna; and from here I write to you, thanking the Lord and loving Polycarp as I love you. Remember me as Jesus Christ remembers you. Pray for the Church which is in Syria, from which I, the last of the faithful there, am being led away a prisoner to Rome; for so I was deemed worthy to be found to God's glory. Farewell in God the Father and in Jesus Christ our common hope.

21 A clear reference to Holy Communion. Cf. Acts 2.46; 20.7; 1 Cor. 10.16,17; John 6.53,54.

22 The word *antipsychon* which is used here and again in the Letter to the Smyrnaeans, Ch. 10, and in the Letter to Polycarp, Chs. 2 and 6, seems to have something of the force of *peripsema*. The central idea is that St. Ignatius is dying physically in order that his brothers may live supernaturally. Cf. the counsel in 1 John 3.16.

II

To the Magnesians

IGNATIUS THEOPHORUS to the Church in Magnesia near the Maeander that is blessed with the grace of God the Father through Jesus Christ our Savior. I salute you and wish you every joy in God the Father and in Jesus Christ.

(1) I have heard of the perfect order of your love toward God; and so it is with great joy and in the faith of Jesus Christ that I have decided to address you. Honored as I have been with a name so dear to God,¹ I sing, in the chains I bear about with me, the praise of the Churches. And I pray that the Churches may have unity in the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ, who is our everlasting life—a union in faith and charity that is to be preferred to all else and, especially, union with Jesus and the Father, through whom we shall reach God if only we bear with and escape from the wanton attacks of the prince of this world.

(2) It was possible² for me to see you in the persons of your devout bishop Damas and the worthy priests, Bassus and Apollonius, and my fellow worker, the deacon Zotion. May I continue to have joy in him, since he is obedient to the bishop, as to the grace of God, and to the priests, as to the law of Jesus Christ.

(3) It ill becomes you to treat your bishop too familiarly because of his youth. You should show him all reverence out of respect for the authority of God the Father. This, I understand, the holy priests do. They take no advantage of his

¹ He may mean the name *Theophorus*, which is Greek for 'God bearer' or 'God-borne,' according to the accent.

² In the Greek text St. Ignatius begins with 'Since it was possible . . .' and leaves the sentence unfinished.

youthful appearance, but they yield to him as to one who is wise in God—not, of course, merely to him, but to the Father of Jesus Christ, who is the bishop over all. To the honor of Him who loves you, you must obey without any insincerity; for in this case one does not so much deceive a bishop who can be seen as try to outwit one who is invisible—in which case one must reckon not with a man, but with God who knows our hidden thoughts.

(4) It is not enough to be Christians in name; it behooves us to be such in fact. So, too, there are those who invoke the name of the bishop while their actions are without any regard for him. Such men, it seems to me, are lacking in good conscience, for they do not assemble regularly as enjoined.

(5) Seeing that all things have an end, two things are proposed to our choice—life and death; and each of us is to go to his appropriate place. As there are two currencies, the one of God, and the other of the world, each stamped in its own way, so the unbelieving have the stamp of the world; those who, in charity, believe have the stamp of God the Father through Jesus Christ. And, unless it is our choice to die, through Him, unto His passion, His life is not in us.

(6) In the persons I have mentioned I have seen in faith, and have loved, your whole community; and so I exhort you to be careful to do all things in the harmony of God, the bishop having the primacy after the model of God and the priests after the model of the council of the Apostles, and the deacons (who are so dear to me) having entrusted to them the ministry of Jesus Christ—who from eternity was with the Father and at last appeared to us. Let all reverence one another in conformity with God's will. Let no man regard his neighbor with the eyes of the flesh, but in Jesus Christ love one another at all times. Let there be nothing among

you to divide you; but be at one with the bishop and with those who are over you, thus affording a model and lesson of immortal life.

(7) Just as the Lord, being one with the Father, did nothing, either in His own person or through the Apostles, without the Father, so you should do nothing without the bishop and the council of priests. Nor should you try to make a thing out to be reasonable, merely because it seems so to you personally; but let there be in common a single prayer, one petition, one mind, one hope, in love, in the unmixed³ joy which is Jesus Christ who is the best of all. Hasten all of you together as to one temple of God, to one altar, to Jesus Christ alone, who came forth from one Father in whom He is and to whom He has returned.

(8) Do not be led astray either by new doctrines or old fables which are now useless, for, to go on observing Jewish rites⁴ is to deny that we have received grace. Remember that the holiest prophets lived according to Jesus Christ, and for this reason they were persecuted; they were inspired by His grace so that unbelievers might be fully assured that there is one God, who has manifested Himself in Jesus Christ His Son, who is His Word proceeding⁵ from silence, and who in all things was pleasing to Him who sent Him.

(9) How, then, shall we be able to live apart from Him, seeing that the prophets were His disciples in the Spirit and

³ Literally, 'joy without blame.'

⁴ One of the main difficulties that St. Ignatius had to contend with was the 'Judaizing' tendency of early Christians who emphasized the Law more than Grace. He tried to insist on what St. Paul says in Gal. 2.21: 'If we can be justified through the law, then Christ's death was needless.'

⁵ The Greek text, as we now have it, says 'not proceeding.' However, the Armenian version, made from an early Syriac translation, says 'proceeding.' This suits the context better.

