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**THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS**

**II**



7

# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
KIRSOPP LAKE

IN TWO VOLUMES

II

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



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# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

## THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

VOL. II.

B



# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

## THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fragments of the text have also been found in the following papyri quoted as P<sup>am</sup>, P<sup>ox</sup>, etc. :—

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

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

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

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

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

Published in *Berliner Klassiker Texte*, vi.

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

L<sub>1</sub>, the Vulgate version found in many MSS., published in the *Editio Princeps* of Faber, Paris, 1513.

L<sub>2</sub>, the Palatine version found in Cod. Vat. Palatin. 150, and published in the *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* of von Gebhardt, Harnack and Zahn.

L, without qualification, is used for the consensus of L<sub>1</sub> and L<sub>2</sub>.

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

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

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

# ΠΟΙΜΗΝ

## I

1. Ὁ θρέψας με πέπρακέν με Ῥόδη τινὶ<sup>1</sup> εἰς Ῥώμην. μετὰ πολλὰ ἔτη ταύτην ἀνεγνωρισάμην καὶ ἠρξάμην αὐτὴν ἀγαπᾶν ὡς ἀδελφὴν. 2. μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ λουομένην εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Τίβεριν εἶδον καὶ ἐπέδωκα αὐτῇ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐξήγαγον αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ταύτης οὖν ἰδὼν τὸ κάλλος διελογιζόμεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου λέγων· Μακάριος ἦμην, εἰ τοιαύτην γυναῖκα εἶχον καὶ τῷ κάλλει καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ. μόνον τοῦτο ἐβουλευσάμην, ἕτερον δὲ οὐδὲ ἓν. 3. μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ πορευομένου μου εἰς Κώμας<sup>2</sup> καὶ δοξάζοντος τὰς κτίσεις τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς μεγάλαι καὶ ἐκπρεπεῖς καὶ δυναταί εἰσιν, περιπατῶν ἀφύπνωσα. καὶ πνεῦμά με ἔλαβεν καὶ ἀπήνεγκέ με δι' ἀνοδίας τινός, δι' ἧς ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἐδύνατο ὀδεῦσαι· ἦν δὲ ὁ τόπος κρημνώδης καὶ ἀπερρηγῶς ἀπὸ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς γυναῖκά τινα AL<sub>1</sub>, omitting the mention of her name

<sup>2</sup> κώμας N AE, civitatem Ostiorum L, the editors emend to Κούμας (Cumae). It is probable that Cumae is the meaning of the text, but it is not impossible the spelling κώμας is original. The alternative is that πορευομένου εἰς κώμας means the same as the modern Italian "Villeggiatura" (summer holiday in the country).

## VISION 1

### I

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

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ὑδάτων. διαβὰς οὖν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκείνον ἦλθον εἰς τὰ ὄμαλά καὶ τιθῶ τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἠρξάμην προσεύχεσθαι τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι μου τὰς ἀμαρτίας. 4. προσευχομένου δέ μου ἠνοίγη ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ βλέπω τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκείνην, ἣν ἐπεθύμησα, ἀσπαζομένην με ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, λέγουσαν· Ἐρμᾶ χαῖρε. 5. βλέψας δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν λέγω αὐτῇ· Κυρία, τί σὺ ὧδε ποιεῖς; ἡ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη μοι· Ἀνελήμφθην, ἵνα σοῦ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐλέγξω πρὸς τὸν κύριον. 6. λέγω αὐτῇ· Νῦν σύ μου ἔλεγχος εἶ; Οὐ, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ ἄκουσον τὰ ῥήματα, ἃ σοι μέλλω λέγειν. ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ κτίσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος τὰ ὄντα καὶ πληθύνας καὶ αὐξήσας ἕνεκεν τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ ὀργίζεται σοι, ὅτι ἤμαρτες εἰς ἐμέ. 7. ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῇ λέγω· Εἰς σὲ ἤμαρτον; ποίῳ τόπῳ<sup>1</sup> ἢ πότε σοι αἰσχρὸν ῥῆμα ἐλάλησα; οὐ πάντοτέ σε ὡς θεὰν<sup>2</sup> ἠγησάμην; οὐ πάντοτέ σε ἐνετράπην ὡς ἀδελφήν; τί μου καταψεύδη, ὦ γύναι, τὰ πονηρὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἀκάθαρτα; 8. γελάσασά μοι λέγει· Ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀνέβη ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῆς πονηρίας. ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἀνδρὶ δικαίῳ πονηρὸν πρᾶγμα εἶναι, εἰάν ἀναβῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἡ πονηρὰ ἐπιθυμία; ἀμαρτία γέ ἐστιν, καὶ μεγάλη, φησὶν. ὁ γὰρ δίκαιος ἀνὴρ δίκαια βουλευέται. ἐν τῷ οὖν δίκαια βουλευέσθαι αὐτὸν κατορθοῦται ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ εὐκατάλλακτον ἔχει τὸν κύριον ἐν παντὶ πράγματι αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ πονηρὰ βουλευόμενοι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν θάνατον καὶ αἰχμαλωτισμὸν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισπῶνται, μάλιστα οἱ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦτον

Ps. 2, 4;  
123, 1;

Gen. 1, 28;  
8, 17; 9, 1;  
28, 3 etc.

<sup>1</sup> τόπῳ **Σ\*** L<sub>1</sub>, τρόπῳ **Σ<sup>c</sup>** AL<sub>2</sub>(E).

<sup>2</sup> θυγατέρα **A**, dominam **E**.

## THE SHEPHERD, VIS. I. I. 3-8

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

The Vision  
of Rhoda  
speaking  
from  
Heaven



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Deut. 30, 3  
cf. Jer. 3, 22

περιποιούμενοι καὶ γαυριῶντες ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἀντεχόμενοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν μελλόντων. 9. μετανοήσουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ αὐτῶν, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐλπίδα, ἀλλὰ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεγνώκασιν καὶ τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ σὺ προσεύχου πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἰάσεται τὰ ἁμαρτήματά σου καὶ ὅλου τοῦ οἴκου σου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων.

### II

1. Μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι αὐτὴν τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἐκλείσθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί· καὶ γὰρ ὅλος ἤμην πεφρικῶς καὶ λυπούμενος. ἔλεγον δὲ ἐν ἑμαυτῷ· Εἰ αὕτη μοι ἡ ἁμαρτία ἀναγράφεται, πῶς δυνησομαι σωθῆναι; ἢ πῶς ἐξιλάσομαι τὸν θεὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μου τῶν τελείων; ἢ ποίοις ῥήμασιν ἐρωτήσω τὸν κύριον, ἵνα ἰλατεύσηταί μοι;  
2. ταῦτά μου συμβουλευομένου καὶ διακρίνοντος ἐν τῇ κάρδιᾳ μου, βλέπω κατέναντί μου καθέδραν λευκὴν ἐξ ἐρίων χιονίνων γεγонуῖαν μεγάλην· καὶ ἦλθεν γυνὴ πρεσβῦτις ἐν ἱματισμῷ λαμπροτάτῳ, ἔχουσα βιβλίον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ἐκάθισεν μόνη καὶ ἀσπάζεται με· Ἐρμᾶ, χαῖρε. καὶ γὰρ λυπούμενος καὶ κλαίων εἶπον· Κυρία, χαῖρε.  
3. καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Τί στυγνός, Ἐρμᾶ; ὁ μακρόθυμος καὶ ἀστομάχητος, ὁ πάντοτε γελῶν, τί οὕτω κατηφῆς τῇ ιδέᾳ καὶ οὐχ ἰλαρός; καὶ γὰρ εἶπον αὐτῇ· Ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἀγαθωτάτης λεγούσης, ὅτι ἤμαρτον εἰς αὐτήν. 4. ἡ δὲ ἔφη· Μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο. ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀνέβη περὶ αὐτῆς.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἔστιν μὲν τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ τοιαύτη βουλή ἀμαρτίαν ἐπιφέρουσα· πονηρὰ γὰρ βουλή καὶ ἔκπληκτος εἰς πάνσεμνον πνεῦμα καὶ ἤδη δεδοκιμασμένον, εἰς ἐπιθυμήσῃ πονηρὸν ἔργον, καὶ μάλιστα Ἐρμᾶς ὁ ἐγκρατής, ὁ ἀπεχόμενος πάσης ἐπιθυμίας πονηρᾶς καὶ πλήρης πάσης ἀπλότητος καὶ ἀκακίας μεγάλης.

### III

1. Ἄλλ' οὐχ ἔνεκα τούτου ὀργίζεται σοι ὁ θεός, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸν οἶκόν σου τὸν ἀνομήσαντα εἰς τὸν κύριον καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψῃς. ἀλλὰ φιλότεκνος ὢν οὐκ ἐνουθέτεις σου τὸν οἶκον, ἀλλὰ ἀφῆκες αὐτὸν καταφθαρῆναι,<sup>1</sup> διὰ τοῦτό σοι ὀργίζεται ὁ κύριος· ἀλλὰ ἰάσεταιί σου πάντα τὰ προγεγονότα πονηρὰ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου· διὰ γὰρ τὰς ἐκείνων ἀμαρτίας καὶ ἀνομήματα σὺ κατεφθάρης ἀπὸ τῶν βιωτικῶν πράξεων. 2. ἀλλ' ἡ πολυσπλαγχνία τοῦ κυρίου ἠλέησέν σε καὶ τὸν οἶκόν σου καὶ ἰσχυροποιήσῃ σε καὶ θεμελιώσῃ σε ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ. σὺ μόνον μὴ ῥαθυμῆσῃς, ἀλλὰ εὐψύχει καὶ ἰσχυροποιεῖ σου τὸν οἶκον. ὡς γὰρ ὁ χαλκεὺς σφυροκοπῶν τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ περιγίνεται τοῦ πράγματος οὐ θέλει, οὕτω καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ καθημερινὸς ὁ δίκαιος περιγίνεται πάσης πονηρίας. μὴ διαλίπῃς οὖν νουθετῶν σου τὰ τέκνα. οἶδα γάρ, ὅτι, εἰς μετανοήσουσιν<sup>2</sup> ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας αὐτῶν, ἐνγραφῆσονται εἰς τὰς βίβλους τῆς ζωῆς

<sup>1</sup> καταφθαρῆναι **Σ\*** Pam, καταφθαρῆναι δεινῶς ALE.

<sup>2</sup> μετανοήσουσιν **Σ**, μετανοήσωσιν A.

## THE SHEPHERD, VIS. I. II. 4-III. 2

heart concerning her. It is such a design as this which brings sin on the servants of God. For it is an evil and mad purpose against a revered spirit and one already approved, if a man desire an evil deed, and especially if it be Hermas the temperate, who abstains from every evil desire and is full of all simplicity and great innocence.

### III

1. "BUT it is not for this that God is angry with you, but in order that you should convert your family, which has sinned against the Lord, and against you, their parents. But you are indulgent, and do not correct your family, but have allowed them to become corrupt. For this reason the Lord is angry with you, but he will heal all the past evils in your family, for because of their sins and wickednesses have you been corrupted by the things of daily life. 2. But the great mercy of the Lord has had pity on you and on your family, and will make you strong and will establish you in his glory; only do not be slothful, but have courage and strengthen your family. For as the smith, by hammering his work, overcomes the task which he desires, so also the daily righteous word overcomes all wickedness. Do not cease, then, correcting your children, for I know that if they repent with all their heart, they will be inscribed in the books of

Why God  
is angry

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων. 3. μετὰ τὸ παῆναι αὐτῆς τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα λέγει μοι· Θέλεις ἀκοῦσαί μου ἀναγινωσκούσης; λέγω καὶ γώ· Θέλω, κυρία. λέγει μοι· Γενοῦ ἀκροατῆς καὶ ἄκουε τὰς δόξας τοῦ θεοῦ. ἤκουσα μεγάλως καὶ θαυμαστῶς, ὃ οὐκ ἴσχυσα μνημονεῦσαι· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα ἔκφρικτα, ἃ οὐ δύναται ἄνθρωπος βαστάσαι. τὰ οὖν ἔσχατα ῥήματα ἐμνημόνευσα· ἦν γὰρ ἡμῖν σύμφορα καὶ ἡμέρα. 4. Ἴδού, ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων, ὃν ἀγαπῶ,<sup>1</sup> δυνάμει κραταῖα καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ συνέσει αὐτοῦ κτίσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ τῇ ἐνδόξῳ βουλῇ περιθεὶς τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τῇ κτίσει αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ ἰσχυρῷ ῥήματι πήξας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ θεμελιώσας τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ ὑδάτων καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ σοφίᾳ καὶ προνοίᾳ κτίσας τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῦ, ἣν καὶ ἠύλόγησεν, ἰδού, μεθιστάνει τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ τοὺς βουνοὺς καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα ὁμαλὰ γίνεται τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἀποδῶ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, ἣν ἐπηγγείλατο μετὰ πολλῆς δόξης καὶ χαρᾶς, εἰς τὴν τηρήσωσιν τὰ νόμιμα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἃ παρέλαβον ἐν μεγάλῃ πίστει.

Ps. 58, 6 ;  
etc.

Ps. 135, 6

### IV

1. "Ὅτε οὖν ἐτέλεσεν ἀναγινώσκουσα καὶ ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῆς καθέδρας, ἦλθαν τέσσαρες νεανίαι καὶ ἦραν τὴν καθέδραν καὶ ἀπῆλθον πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν. 2. προσκαλεῖται δέ με καὶ ἤψατο τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ὃν ἀγαπῶ N, qui invisibili (= ἀοράτῳ) L<sub>1</sub>, qui omnia virtute sustentabili L<sub>2</sub>, "in his pity and in his love" E. The text is clearly corrupt, and cannot be restored with certainty.

## THE SHEPHERD, VIS. I. III. 2-IV. 2

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

The lady  
reads to  
Hermas

### IV

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

The close  
of the  
vision

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

στήθους μου καὶ λέγει μοι· "Ἡρεσέν σοι ἡ ἀνάγνωσίς μου; καὶ λέγω αὐτῇ· Κυρία, ταῦτά μοι τὰ ἔσχατα ἀρέσκει, τὰ δὲ πρῶτα<sup>1</sup> χαλεπὰ καὶ σκληρά. ἡ δὲ ἔφη μοι λέγουσα· Ταῦτα τὰ ἔσχατα τοῖς δικαίοις, τὰ δὲ πρῶτα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀποστάταις. 3. λαλούσης αὐτῆς μετ' ἐμ ὕ δύο τινὲς ἄνδρες ἐφάνησαν καὶ ἦραν αὐτὴν τῶν ὀγκύων καὶ ἀπῆλθαν, ὅπου ἡ καθέδρα, πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν. ἵλαρὰ δὲ ἀπῆλθεν καὶ ὑπάγουσα λέγει μοι· Ἀνδρίζου, Ἑρμᾶ.

### "Ο ρ α σ ι ς β'.

#### I

1. Πορευομένου μου εἰς Κώμας<sup>2</sup> κατὰ τὸν καιρόν, ὃν καὶ πέρυσι, περιπατῶν ἀνεμνήσθην τῆς περυσινῆς ὀράσεως, καὶ πάλιν με αἶρει πνεῦμα καὶ ἀποφέρει εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, ὅπου καὶ πέρυσι. 2. ἐλθὼν οὖν εἰς τὸν τόπον τιθῶ τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἠρξάμην προσεύχεσθαι τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ δοξάζειν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα, ὅτι με ἄξιον ἠγήσατο καὶ ἐγνώρισέν μοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου τὰς πρότερον. 3. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐγερθῆναί με ἀπὸ τῆς προσευχῆς βλέπω ἀπέναντί μου τὴν πρεσβυτέραν, ἣν καὶ πέρυσιν<sup>3</sup> ἐωράκειν, περιπατοῦσαν καὶ ἀναγινώσκουσαν βιβλαρίδιον, καὶ λέγει μοι· Δύνη ταῦτα

Ps. 85, 9, 12;  
Is. 24, 15;  
66, 5;

<sup>1</sup> πρότερα  $\aleph^a$  A (L priora).  $\aleph^*$  omits, but the next line (where A also reads πρότερα) suggests that its archetype read πρῶτα.

<sup>2</sup> κώμας  $\aleph$ AE, regionem Cumanorum L, but see the note on Vis. I, 1. 3. <sup>3</sup> πέρυσιν AL<sub>1</sub>, πρότερον  $\aleph$ , om. EL<sub>2</sub>.

## THE SHEPHERD, VIS. I. IV. 2-II. I. 3

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

### VISION 2

#### I

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



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τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναγγεῖλαι; λέγω αὐτῇ· Κυρία, τοσαῦτα μνημονεῦσαι οὐ δύναμαι· δὸς δέ μοι τὸ βιβλίδιον, ἵνα μεταγράψωμαι αὐτό. Λάβε, φησίν, καὶ ἀποδώσεις μοι. 4. ἔλαβον ἐγώ, καὶ εἷς τινα τόπον τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἀναχωρήσας μετεγραψάμην πάντα πρὸς γράμμα· οὐχ ἠῦρισκον γὰρ τὰς συλλαβάς. τελέσαντος οὖν<sup>1</sup> τὰ γράμματα τοῦ βιβλιδίου ἐξαίφνης ἤρπάγη μου ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τὸ βιβλίδιον· ὑπὸ τίνος δὲ οὐκ εἶδον.

### II

1. Μετὰ δὲ δέκα καὶ πέντε ἡμέρας νηστεύσαντός μου καὶ πολλὰ ἐρωτήσαντος τὸν κύριον ἀπεκαλύφθη μοι ἡ γνῶσις τῆς γραφῆς. ἦν δὲ γεγραμμένα ταῦτα· 2. Τὸ σπέρμα σου, Ἐρμᾶ, ἠθέτησαν εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἐβλασφήμησαν εἰς τὸν κύριον καὶ προέδωκαν τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῶν ἐν πονηρίᾳ μεγάλη καὶ ἤκουσαν προδόται γονέων καὶ προδόντες οὐκ ὠφελήθησαν, ἀλλὰ ἔτι προσέθηκαν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις αὐτῶν τὰς ἀσελγείας καὶ συμφυρμούς πονηρίας, καὶ οὕτως ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι αὐτῶν. 3. ἀλλὰ γνώρισον ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα τοῖς τέκνοις σου πᾶσιν καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ σου τῇ μελλούσῃ<sup>2</sup> ἀδελφῇ· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη οὐκ ἀπέχεται τῆς γλώσσης, ἐν ᾗ πονηρεύεται· ἀλλὰ ἀκούσασα τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἀφέξεται καὶ ἔξει<sup>3</sup> ἔλεος. 4. μετὰ τὸ γνωρίσαι σε ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῖς, ἃ ἐνετείλατό μοι ὁ δεσπότης ἵνα σοι

<sup>1</sup> οὖν Ν, οὖν μου Α.

<sup>2</sup> μελλούση Ν, μελλούση σου Α(Λ).

<sup>3</sup> ἔξει Ν.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἀποκαλυφθῆ, τότε<sup>1</sup> ἀφίενται αὐτοῖς αἱ ἁμαρτίαι πᾶσαι, ἅς πρότερον ἤμαρτον, καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀγίοις τοῖς ἁμαρτήσασιν μέχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, εἰ ἂν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας μετανοήσωσιν καὶ ἄρωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν τὰς διψυχίας. 5. ὤμοσεν γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης κατὰ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ· εἰ ἂν ὠρισμένης τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἔτι ἁμάρτησις γένηται, μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς σωτηρίαν· ἢ γὰρ μετάνοια τοῖς δικαίοις ἔχει τέλος· πεπλήρουνται αἱ ἡμέραι μετάνοίας πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀγίοις· καὶ τοῖς δὲ ἔθνεσιν μετάνοιά ἐστὶν ἕως ἐσχάτης ἡμέρας. 6. ἐρεῖς οὖν τοῖς προηγουμένοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἵνα κατορθώσωνται τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἵνα ἀπολάβωσιν ἐκ πλήρους τὰς ἐπαγγελίας μετὰ πολλῆς δόξης. 7. ἐμμείνατε οὖν οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ μὴ διψυχήσητε, ἵνα γένηται ὑμῶν ἡ πάροδος μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἀγίων. μακάριοι ὑμεῖς, ὅσοι ὑπομένετε τὴν θλίψιν τὴν ἐρχομένην τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ὅσοι οὐκ ἀρνήσονται τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν. 8. ὤμοσεν γὰρ κύριος κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς ἀρνησαμένους τὸν Χριστὸν<sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν ἀπεγνωρίσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν, τοὺς νῦν μέλλοντας ἀρνεῖσθαι ταῖς ἐρχομέναις ἡμέραις· τοῖς δὲ πρότερον

Ps. 15, 2;  
Acts 10, 35;  
Heb. 11, 33

<sup>1</sup> τότε ALIE, πότε N L<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> τῆς καρδίας N, τῶν καρδιῶν A(L).

<sup>3</sup> Χριστὸν N\*, κύριον N<sup>c</sup> AL<sub>2</sub>, filium L<sub>1</sub>.

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

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

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

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

III

1. Σὺ δέ, Ἑρμᾶ, μηκέτι μνησικακῆσης τοῖς τέκνοις σου μηδὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν σου ἐάσης, ἵνα καθαρισθῶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. παιδευθήσονται γὰρ παιδεῖα δικαία, ἐὰν σὺ μὴ μνησικακῆσης αὐτοῖς. μνησικακία θάνατον κατεργάζεται. σὺ δέ, Ἑρμᾶ, μεγάλας θλίψεις ἔσχες ἰδιωτικὰς διὰ τὰς παραβάσεις τοῦ οἴκου σου, ὅτι οὐκ ἐμέλησέν σοι περὶ αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ παρενεθυμήθης καὶ ταῖς πραγματείαις σου συνανεφύρης ταῖς πονηραῖς. 2. ἀλλὰ σώζει σε τὸ μὴ ἀποστήναί σε ἀπὸ θεοῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἡ ἀπλότης σου καὶ ἡ πολλὴ ἐγκράτεια· ταῦτα σέσωκέν σε, ἐὰν ἐμμείνης, καὶ πάντας σώζει τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργαζομένους καὶ πορευομένους ἐν ἀκακίᾳ καὶ ἀπλότητι. οὗτοι κατισχύουσιν<sup>1</sup> πάσης πονηρίας καὶ παραμενοῦσιν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. 3. μακάριοι πάντες οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν δικαιοσύνην. οὐ διαφθαρήσονται ἕως αἰῶνος. 4. ἐρεῖς δὲ Μαξίμω· Ἴδου, θλίψις ἔρχεται· ἐάν σοι φανῆ, πάλιν ἄρνησαι. Ἐγγὺς κύριος τοῖς ἐπιστρεφομένοις, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἑλδὰδ καὶ Μωδάτ,<sup>2</sup> τοῖς προφητεύσασιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῷ λαῷ.

Heb. 3, 12

Ps. 106, 3;  
15, 2

Eldad and  
Modat

<sup>1</sup> κατισχύουσιν **Σ**.

<sup>2</sup> Ἑλδὰδ καὶ Μωδάτ **Σ**, Ἑλὰδ καὶ Μωδάδ **A**, Hieldam et Modal **L**<sub>1</sub>, Hieldat et Modat **L**<sub>2</sub>, Eldad et Mudath **A**.

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

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

### III

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

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

# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

## IV

1. Ἀπεκαλύφθη δέ μοι, ἀδελφοί, κοιμωμένῳ ὑπὸ νεανίσκου εὐειδεστάτου λέγοντός μοι· Τὴν πρεσβυτέραν, παρ' ἧς ἔλαβες τὸ βιβλίδιον, τίνα δοκεῖς εἶναι; ἐγὼ φημι· Τὴν Σίβυλλαν. Πλανᾶσαι, φησίν, οὐκ ἔστιν. Τίς οὖν ἔστιν; φημί. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία, φησίν. εἶπον αὐτῷ· Διατί οὖν πρεσβυτέρα; Ὅτι, φησίν, πάντων πρώτη ἐκτίσθη· διὰ τοῦτο πρεσβυτέρα· καὶ διὰ ταύτην ὁ κόσμος κατηρτίσθη. 2. μετέπειτα δὲ ὄρασιν εἶδον ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου. ἦλθεν ἡ πρεσβυτέρα καὶ ἠρώτησέν με, εἰ ἤδη τὸ βιβλίον δέδωκα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. ἠρνησάμην δεδωκέναι. Καλῶς, φησίν, πεποίηκας· ἔχω γὰρ ῥήματα προσθεῖναι. ὅταν οὖν ἀποτελέσω τὰ ῥήματα πάντα, διὰ σοῦ γνωρισθήσεται τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς πᾶσιν. 3. γράψεις οὖν<sup>1</sup> δύο βιβλαρίδια καὶ πέμψεις ἐν Κλήμεντι καὶ ἐν Γραπτῇ. πέμψει οὖν Κλήμης εἰς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις, ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται· Γραπτὴ δὲ νουθετήσῃ τὰς χήρας καὶ τοὺς ὀρφανούς. σὺ δὲ ἀναγνώσῃ εἰς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν προΐσταμένων τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Ὅρασις γ'.

## I

1. Ἦν εἶδον, ἀδελφοί, τοιαύτη. 2. νηστεύσας πολλάκις καὶ δεηθεὶς τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα μοι φανε-

<sup>1</sup> γράψεις οὖν  $\aleph^c$  AL<sub>1</sub>, γράψεις  $\aleph^*$ , καὶ γράψεις L<sub>2</sub>F.

IV

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

The revelation as to the ancient lady

The ancient lady returns

VISION 3.

I

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

The ancient lady comes again



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ρώση τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν, ἣν μοι ἐπηγγείλατο  
 δεῖξαι διὰ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ἐκείνης,<sup>1</sup> αὐτῇ τῇ  
 νυκτί μοι ὤπται ἡ πρεσβυτέρα καὶ εἶπέν μοι·  
 Ἐπεὶ οὕτως ἐνδεὴς εἶ καὶ σπουδαῖος εἰς τὸ γνῶναι  
 πάντα, ἔλθε εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν, ὅπου χονδρίζεις, καὶ  
 περὶ ὥραν πέμπτην ἐμφανισθήσομαί σοι καὶ  
 δείξω σοι, ἃ δεῖ σε ἰδεῖν. 3. ἠρώτησα αὐτὴν  
 λέγων· Κυρία, εἰς ποῖον τόπον τοῦ ἀγροῦ; Ὁπου,  
 φησὶν, θέλεις. ἐξελεξάμην τόπον καλὸν ἀνα-  
 κεχωρηκότα. πρὶν δὲ λαλῆσαι αὐτῇ καὶ εἰπεῖν  
 τὸν τόπον, λέγει μοι· Ἦξω<sup>2</sup> ἐκεῖ, ὅπου θέλεις.  
 4. ἐγενόμην οὖν, ἀδελφοί, εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν καὶ  
 συνεψήφισα τὰς ὥρας καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν τόπον,  
 ὅπου διηταξάμην αὐτῇ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ βλέπω συμ-  
 ψέλιον κείμενον ἐλεφάντινον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ συμ-  
 ψελίου ἔκειτο κερβικάριον λινοῦν καὶ ἐπάνω  
 λέντιον ἐξηπλωμένον λινοῦν καρπάσιον. 5. ἰδὼν  
 ταῦτα κείμενα καὶ μηδένα ὄντα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ  
 ἔκθαμβος ἐγενόμην, καὶ ὡσεὶ τρόμος με ἔλαβεν  
 καὶ αἱ τρίχες μου ὀρθαί· καὶ ὡσεὶ φρίκη μοι  
 προσῆλθεν μόνου μου ὄντος. ἐν ἑμαυτῷ οὖν  
 γενόμενος καὶ μνησθεὶς τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ  
 λαβὼν θάρσος, θεὶς τὰ γόνατα ἐξωμολογούμην τῷ  
 κυρίῳ πάλιν τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου<sup>3</sup> ὡς καὶ πρότερον.  
 6. ἡ δὲ ἦλθεν μετὰ νεανίσκων ἕξ, οὓς καὶ πρότε-  
 ρον ἐωράκειν, καὶ ἐστάθη<sup>4</sup> μοι καὶ κατηκροᾶτο  
 προσευχομένου καὶ ἐξομολογουμένου τῷ κυρίῳ  
 τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου. καὶ ἀψαμένη μου λέγει·

<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνης om. N.

<sup>2</sup> Om. N\*.

<sup>3</sup> ἁμαρτίας μου—ἁμαρτίας μου om. per homoiot. NL<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> ἐστάθη A, stetit post me L<sub>1</sub>E, ἐπεστάθη is accepted by most editors as an emendation.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Ἐρμᾶ, παῦσαι περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν σου πάντα ἐρωτῶν· ἐρώτα καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἵνα λάβῃς μέρος τι ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου. 7. καὶ ἐξεγείρει με τῆς χειρὸς καὶ ἄγει με πρὸς τὸ συμφέλιον καὶ λέγει τοῖς νεανίσκοις· Ὑπάγετε καὶ οἰκοδομεῖτε. 8. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀναχωρῆσαι τοὺς νεανίσκους καὶ μόνων ἡμῶν γεγονότων λέγει μοι· Κάθισον ὧδε. λέγω αὐτῇ· Κυρία, ἄφες τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους πρῶτον καθίσαι. Ὁ σοι λέγω, φησὶν, κάθισον. 9. θέλοντος οὖν μου καθίσαι εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη οὐκ εἶασέ με, ἀλλ' ἐννεύει μοι τῇ χειρὶ, ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἀριστερὰ μέρη καθίσω. διαλογιζομένου<sup>1</sup> μου οὖν καὶ λυπουμενίου, ὅτι οὐκ εἶασέ με εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη καθίσαι, λέγει μοι· Λυπῆ, Ἐρμᾶ; ὁ εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τόπος ἄλλων ἐστίν, τῶν ἤδη εὐαρεστηκότων τῷ θεῷ καὶ παθόντων εἵνεκα τοῦ ὀνόματος.<sup>2</sup> σοὶ δὲ πολλὰ λείπει ἵνα μετ' αὐτῶν καθίσῃς· ἀλλὰ ὡς μένεις<sup>3</sup> τῇ ἀπλότητί σου, μείνον, καὶ καθιῆ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὅσοι ἐὰν ἐργάζωνται τὰ ἐκείνων ἔργα καὶ ὑπενέγκωσιν, ἃ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ὑπήνεγκαν.

## II

1. Τί, φημί, ὑπήνεγκαν; Ἄκουε, φησὶν· μάστιγας, φυλακάς, θλίψεις μεγάλας, σταυρούς, θηρία εἵνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος· διὰ τοῦτο ἐκείνων ἐστὶν τὰ

<sup>1</sup> διαλογιζ.  $\mathfrak{N}^a$ , λογιζομ. A ( $\mathfrak{N}^*$  om. per homoiot. ἀλλ' ἐννεύει—εἶασέ με).

<sup>2</sup> μου τοῦ ὀνόματος  $\mathfrak{N}^*$ , τοῦ ὀνόματός μου  $\mathfrak{N}^c$ , τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ  $\mathfrak{AL}_2\mathfrak{E}$ , τοῦ ὀνόματος  $\mathfrak{L}_1$ . <sup>3</sup> μένεις  $\mathfrak{N}^*$ , ἐμμένεις  $\mathfrak{N}^c\mathfrak{A}$ .

## THE SHEPHERD, VIS. III. i. 6-ii. 1

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

Hermas  
and the  
couch

The place  
of the  
martyrs

## II

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

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ ἀγιάσματος καὶ ὅς ἐὰν πάθῃ διὰ τὸ ὄνομα· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τὰ ἀριστερὰ μέρη ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ τῶν ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ τῶν ἀριστερῶν καθημένων, τὰ αὐτὰ δῶρα καὶ αἱ αὐταὶ ἐπαγγελίαι· μόνον ἐκεῖνοι ἐκ δεξιῶν κάθηνται καὶ ἔχουσιν δόξαν τινά. 2. σὺ δὲ κατεπιθυμεῖς καθίσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν μετ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑστερήματά σου πολλά. καθαρισθῆσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑστερημάτων σου· καὶ πάντες<sup>1</sup> οἱ μὴ διψυχοῦντες καθαρισθῆσονται ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν. 3. ταῦτα εἶπασα ἤθελεν ἀπελθεῖν· πεσὼν δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τοὺς πόδας ἠρώτησα αὐτὴν κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα μοι ἐπιδείξῃ ὃ ἐπηγγείλατο ὄραμα. 4. ἡ δὲ πάλιν ἐπελάβετό μου τῆς χειρὸς καὶ ἐγείρει με καὶ καθίζει ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέλιον ἐξ εὐωνύμων· ἐκαθέζετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ἐκ δεξιῶν. καὶ ἐπάρασα ῥάβδον τινὰ λαμπρὰν λέγει μοι· Βλέπεις μέγα πρᾶγμα; λέγω αὐτῇ· Κυρία, οὐδὲν βλέπω. λέγει μοι· Σύ, ἰδού, οὐχ ὄρας κατέναντί σου πύργον μέγαν οἰκοδομούμενον ἐπὶ ὑδάτων λίθοις τετραγώνοις λαμπροῖς; 5. ἐν τετραγώνῳ δὲ ὠκοδομεῖτο ὁ πύργος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξ<sup>2</sup> νεανίσκων τῶν ἐληλυθόντων μετ' αὐτῆς· ἄλλαι δὲ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν παρέφερον λίθους, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐπεδίδουν τοῖς ἐξ<sup>2</sup> νεανίσκοις· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐλάμβανον καὶ ὠκοδόμουν. 6. τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ λίθους ἐλκομένους πάντας οὕτως ἐτίθεσαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν· ἡρμοσμένοι γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ συνεφώνουν τῇ ἀρμογῇ μετὰ τῶν ἑτέρων· καὶ οὕτως ἐκολλῶντο ἀλλήλοις, ὥστε τὴν ἀρμογὴν αὐτῶν μὴ φαίνεσθαι. ἐφαίνετο

<sup>1</sup> πάντες N\*, πάντες δὲ N<sup>c</sup>A.

<sup>2</sup> ἐξ N<sup>c</sup> ALE, ἐξήκοντα N\*.

## THE SHEPHERD, VIS. III. II. 1-6

Therefore is it given to them to be on the right hand of the Holiness, and to everyone who shall suffer for the Name; but for the rest there is the left side. But both, whether they sit on the right or the left, have the same gifts, and the same promises, only the former sit on the right and have somewhat of glory. 2. And you are desirous of sitting on the right hand with them, but your failings are many. But you shall be cleansed from your failings, and all who are not double-minded shall be cleansed from all sins, up to this day." 3. When she had said this she wished to go away, but I fell at her feet and besought her by the Lord, to show me the vision which she had promised. 4. And she again took me by the hand and lifted me up, and made me sit on the couch on the left and she herself sat on the right. And she lifted up a certain glittering rod, and she said to me: "Do you see a great thing?" I said to her: "Lady, I see nothing." She said to me: "Behold, do you not see before you a great tower being built on the water with shining square stones?" 5. Now the tower was being built four-square by the six young men who had come with her; but tens of thousands of other men were bringing stones, some from the deep sea, and some from the land, and were giving them to the six young men, and these kept taking them and building. 6. The stones which had been dragged from the deep sea, they placed without exception as they were into the building, for they had all been shaped and fitted into the joins with the other stones. And they so fastened one to the other that their joins could not be seen. But the

The vision  
of the town

The stones

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

δὲ ἢ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς λίθου ὠκοδομημένη. 7. τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους λίθους τοὺς φερομένους ἀπὸ τῆς ξηρᾶς τοὺς μὲν ἀπέβαλλον, τοὺς δὲ ἐτίθουν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν· ἄλλους δὲ κατέκοπτον καὶ ἔρριπτον<sup>1</sup> μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου. 8. ἄλλοι δὲ λίθοι πολλοὶ κύκλω τοῦ πύργου<sup>2</sup> ἔκειντο, καὶ οὐκ ἐχρῶντο αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ<sup>3</sup> τὴν οἰκοδομήν· ἦσαν γάρ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐψωριακότες, ἕτεροι δὲ σχισμὰς ἔχοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ κεκολοβωμένοι, ἄλλοι δὲ λευκοὶ καὶ στρογγύλοι, μὴ ἀρμόζοντες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν. 9. ἔβλεπον δὲ ἑτέρους λίθους ῥιπτομένους μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου καὶ ἐρχομένους εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ μὴ μένοντας ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἀλλὰ κυλιόμενους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀνοδίαν· ἑτέρους δὲ ἐπὶ πῦρ ἐμπίπτοντας καὶ καιομένους· ἑτέρους δὲ πίπτοντας ἐγγὺς ὑδάτων καὶ μὴ δυναμένους κυλισθῆναι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, καίπερ θελόντων κυλισθῆναι καὶ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ.

### III

1. Δείξασά μοι ταῦτα ἤθελεν ἀποτρέχειν. λέγω αὐτῇ· Κυρία, τί μοι ὄφελος ταῦτα ἐωρακότι καὶ μὴ γινώσκοντι, τί ἐστὶν τὰ πράγματα; ἀποκριθεῖσά μοι λέγει· Πανούργος εἶ ἄνθρωπος, θέλων γινώσκειν τὰ περὶ τὸν πύργον. Ναί, φημί, κυρία, ἵνα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀναγγείλω καὶ ἰλαρώτεροι γένωνται καὶ ταῦτα<sup>4</sup> ἀκούσαντες γινώσκωσιν τὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἔρριπτον ALE, ἐτίθουν N.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ πύργου—τοῦ πύργου om. *per homoiot.* N.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ N\*, εἰς N<sup>c</sup>A.

<sup>4</sup> ἰλαρώτεροι γένωνται, καὶ ταῦτα AL, om. NE which also alter the next sentence to ἐν πολλῇ δόξῃ, ἔφη, ἀκούσονται κ.τ.λ.

## THE SHEPHERD, VIS. III. II. 6-III. 1

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

### III

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

The  
explanation  
of the  
vision



κύριον ἐν πολλῇ δόξῃ. 2. ἡ δὲ ἔφη· Ἀκούσονται μὲν πολλοί· ἀκούσαντες δὲ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν χαρήσονται, τινὲς δὲ κλαύσονται· ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι, εἴαν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ μετανοήσωσιν, καὶ αὐτοὶ χαρήσονται. ἄκουε οὖν τὰς παραβολὰς τοῦ πύργου· ἀποκαλύψω γάρ σοι πάντα. καὶ μηκέτι μοι κόπους πάρεχε περὶ ἀποκαλύψεως· αἱ γὰρ ἀποκαλύψεις αὐταὶ τέλος ἔχουσιν· πεπληρωμένοι γὰρ εἰσιν. ἀλλ' οὐ παύσῃ αἰτούμενος ἀποκαλύψεις· ἀναιδὴς γὰρ εἶ. 3. ὁ μὲν πύργος, ὃν βλέπεις οἰκοδομούμενον, ἐγὼ εἶμι ἡ Ἐκκλησία, ἡ ὀφθεισά σοι καὶ νῦν καὶ τὸ πρότερον· ὃ ἂν οὖν θελήσῃς, ἐπερώτα περὶ τοῦ πύργου, καὶ ἀποκαλύψω σοι, ἵνα χαρῆς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων. 4. λέγω αὐτῇ· Κυρία, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ ἄξιόν με ἠγήσω τοῦ πάντα μοι ἀποκαλύψαι, ἀποκάλυψον. ἡ δὲ λέγει μοι· Ὁ εἴαν ἐνδέχῃταί σοι ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, ἀποκαλυφθήσεται. μόνον ἡ καρδία σου πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἦτω καὶ μὴ διψυχήσῃς, ὃ ἂν ἴδῃς. 5. ἐπηρώτησα αὐτήν· Διατί ὁ πύργος ἐπὶ ὑδάτων ὠκοδόμηται, κυρία; Εἶπά σοι, φησὶν, καὶ τὸ πρότερον, καὶ ἐκζητεῖς ἐπιμελῶς· ἐκζητῶν οὖν εὕρισκεις τὴν ἀλήθειαν. διατί οὖν ἐπὶ ὑδάτων ὠκοδόμηται ὁ πύργος, ἄκουε· ὅτι ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν διὰ ὕδατος ἐσώθη καὶ σωθήσεται. τεθεμελίωται δὲ ὁ πύργος τῷ ῥήματι τοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος, κρατεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀοράτου δυνάμεως τοῦ δεσπότη.

IV

1. Ἀποκριθεὶς λέγω αὐτῇ· Κυρία, μεγάλως καὶ θαυμαστῶς ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο· οἱ δὲ

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

νεανίσκοι οἱ ἕξ<sup>1</sup> οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, τίνες εἰσίν, κυρία; Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ οἱ πρῶτοι κτισθέντες, οἷς παρέδωκεν ὁ κύριος πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ αὔξειν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ δεσπόζειν τῆς κτίσεως πάσης· διὰ τούτων οὖν τελεσθήσεται ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου. 2. Οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι οἱ παραφέροντες τοὺς λίθους, τίνες εἰσίν; Καὶ αὐτοὶ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ· οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἕξ ὑπερέχοντες αὐτούς εἰσιν· συντελεσθήσεται οὖν ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου, καὶ πάντες ὁμοῦ εὐφρανθήσονται κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου καὶ δοξάσουσιν τὸν θεόν, ὅτι ἐτελέσθη ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου. 3. ἐπηρώτησα αὐτὴν λέγων· Κυρία, ἤθελον γνῶναι τῶν λίθων τὴν ἕξοδον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, ποταπή ἐστιν. ἀποκριθεῖσά μοι λέγει· Οὐχ ὅτι σὺ ἐκ πάντων ἀξιώτερος εἶ, ἵνα σοι ἀποκαλυφθῇ. ἄλλοι γάρ σου πρότεροί εἰσιν καὶ βελτίονές σου, οἷς ἔδει ἀποκαλυφθῆναι τὰ ὄραματα ταῦτα· ἀλλ' ἵνα δοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, σοὶ ἀπεκαλύφθη καὶ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται διὰ τοὺς διψύχους, τοὺς διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, εἰ ἄρα ἔστιν ταῦτα ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν.<sup>2</sup> λέγε αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ καὶ οὐθὲν ἕξωθὲν ἐστὶν τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἰσχυρὰ καὶ βέβαια καὶ τεθεμελιωμένα ἐστίν.

Ps. 86, 9. 12

### V

1. "Ακουε νῦν περὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν ὑπαγόντων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν. οἱ μὲν οὖν λίθοι οἱ τετράγωνοι

<sup>1</sup> ἕξ N<sup>c</sup> AL, ἐξήκοντα N<sup>\*</sup>, om. E. (but in the next verse N<sup>c</sup> also reads ἕξ). <sup>2</sup> εἰ ἄρα . . . οὐκ ἔστιν om. N<sup>\*</sup>.

## THE SHEPHERD, VIS. III. IV. I-V. I

young men who are building?" "These are the holy angels of God, who were first created, to whom the Lord delivered all his creation to make it increase, and to build it up, and to rule the whole creation. Through them, therefore, the building of the tower shall be completed." 2. "But who are the others, who are bringing the stones?" "They also are holy angels of God, but these six are greater than they. Therefore the building of the tower shall be completed, and all shall rejoice together around the tower, and shall glorify God because the building of the tower has been completed." 3. I asked her saying: "Lady, I would like to know the end of the stones, and what kind of force<sup>1</sup> they have." She answered me and said: "It is not because you are more worthy than all others that a revelation should be made to you, for there were others before you and better than you, to whom these visions ought to have been revealed. But in order that 'the name of God might be glorified' they have been, and shall be, revealed to you because of the double-minded who dispute in their heart whether these things are so or not. Tell them, that all these things are true, and that there is nothing beyond the truth, but that all things are strong and certain and well-founded.

### V

1. "LISTEN then concerning the stones which go The stones into the building. The stones which are square and

<sup>1</sup> Here almost the equivalent of 'meaning.'—'What is their meaning in the vision?'

καὶ λευκοὶ καὶ συμφωνοῦντες ταῖς ἀρμογαῖς αὐτῶν, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διδάσκαλοι καὶ διάκονοι οἱ πορευθέντες κατὰ τὴν σεμνότητα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπισκοπήσαντες καὶ διδάξαντες καὶ διακονήσαντες ἀγνῶς καὶ σεμνῶς τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, οἱ μὲν κεκοιμημένοι, οἱ δὲ ἔτι ὄντες· καὶ πάντοτε ἑαυτοῖς συνεφώνησαν καὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς εἰρήνην ἔσχον καὶ ἀλλήλων ἤκουον· διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ πύργου συμφωνοῦσιν αἱ ἀρμογαὶ αὐτῶν. 2. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἐλκόμενοι καὶ ἐπιτιθέμενοι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν καὶ συμφωνοῦντες ταῖς ἀρμογαῖς αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν ἐτέρων λίθων τῶν ἤδη ὠκοδομημένων, τίνες εἰσίν; Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ παθόντες ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου.<sup>1</sup> 3. Τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους λίθους τοὺς φερομένους ἀπὸ τῆς ξηρᾶς θέλω γνῶναι, τίνες εἰσίν, κυρία. ἔφη· Τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ὑπάγοντας καὶ μὴ λατομουμένους, τούτους ὁ κύριος ἔδοκίμασεν, ὅτι ἐπορεύθησαν ἐν τῇ εὐθύτητι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατωρθώσαντο τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ. 4. Οἱ δὲ ἀγόμενοι καὶ τιθέμενοι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν, τίνες εἰσίν; Νέοι εἰσίν ἐν τῇ πίστει καὶ πιστοί. νουθετοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸ ἀγαθοποιεῖν, διότι εὐρέθη<sup>2</sup> ἐν αὐτοῖς πονηρία. 5. Οὓς δὲ ἀπέβαλλον καὶ ἐρίπτουν, τίνες εἰσίν; Οὗτοί εἰσιν ἡμαρτηκότες καὶ θέλοντες μετανοῆσαι· διὰ τοῦτο μακρὰν οὐκ ἀπερίφησαν ἔξω τοῦ πύργου, ὅτι εὐχρηστοὶ ἔσονται εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν, εἰ μὴ μετανοήσωσιν. οἱ οὖν μέλλοντες μετανοεῖν, εἰ μὴ μετανοήσωσιν, ἰσχυροὶ ἔσονται ἐν τῇ πίστει, εἰ μὴ νῦν μετανοήσωσιν, ἐν ᾧ οἰκοδομεῖται ὁ πύργος. εἰ μὴ

<sup>1</sup> κυρίου AL, Θεοῦ N.

<sup>2</sup> εὐρέθη N<sub>2</sub>, οὐχ εὐρέθη AL<sub>1</sub>E.

## THE SHEPHERD, VIS. III. V. 1-5

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

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

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

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

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

5. “ But who are they whom they were rejecting and throwing away ? ”

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

The rejected stones

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

δὲ τελεσθῆ ἢ οἰκοδομή, οὐκέτι ἔχουσιν τόπον, ἀλλ' ἔσονται ἔκβολοι· μόνον δὲ τοῦτο ἔχουσιν, παρὰ τῷ πύργῳ κεῖσθαι.

### VI

1. Τοὺς δὲ κατακοπτομένους καὶ μακρὰν ῥιπτομένους<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου θέλεις γνῶναι; οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς ἀνομίας· ἐπίστευσαν δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει, καὶ πᾶσα πονηρία οὐκ ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν· διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔχουσιν σωτηρίαν, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν εὐχρηστοὶ εἰς οἰκοδομὴν διὰ τὰς πονηρίας αὐτῶν. διὰ τοῦτο συνεκόπησαν καὶ πόρρω ἀπερίφησαν διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ κυρίου, ὅτι παρώργισαν αὐτόν.

2. τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους, οὓς ἑώρακας πολλοὺς κειμένους, μὴ ὑπάγοντας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν, οὗτοι οἱ μὲν ἐψωριακότες εἰσὶν, οἱ ἐγνωκότες τὴν ἀλήθειαν, μὴ ἐπιμένοντας<sup>2</sup> δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ.<sup>3</sup> 3. Οἱ δὲ τὰς σχισμὰς ἔχοντες, τίνες εἰσὶν; Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἔχοντες καὶ μὴ εἰρηνεύοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ πρόσωπον εἰρήνης ἔχοντες, ὅταν δὲ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀποχωρήσωσιν, αἱ πονηρίαι αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἐμμένουσιν· αὐταὶ οὖν αἱ σχισμαὶ εἰσιν, ἃς ἔχουσιν οἱ λίθοι.

4. οἱ δὲ κεκολοβωμένοι, οὗτοί εἰσιν πεπιστευκότες μὲν καὶ τὸ πλεῖον μέρος ἔχουσιν<sup>4</sup> ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, τινὰ δὲ μέρη ἔχουσιν τῆς ἀνομίας· διὰ τοῦτο κολοβοὶ καὶ οὐχ ὀλοτελεῖς εἰσιν. 5.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ μακρὰν ῥιπτομένους om. N.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιμένοντας N, ἐπιμείναντας A.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτῇ NL<sub>2</sub>E, αὐτῇ, μηδὲ κολλώμενοι τοῖς ἀγίοις. διὰ τοῦτο ἄχρηστοί εἰσιν AL<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> ἔχουσιν N, ἔχοντες A.

## THE SHEPHERD, VIS. III. V. 5-vi. 5

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

### VI

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

The stones which were broken up

The stones put on one side



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Οἱ δὲ λευκοὶ καὶ στρογγύλοι καὶ μὴ ἀρμόζοντες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν, τίνες εἰσιν; κυρία; ἀποκριθεῖσά μοι λέγει· "Ἐως πότε μωρὸς εἶ καὶ ἀσύνητος, καὶ πάντα ἐπερωτᾷς καὶ οὐδὲν νοεῖς; οὗτοί εἰσιν ἔχοντες μὲν πίστιν, ἔχοντες δὲ καὶ πλοῦτον τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου· ὅταν γένηται θλίψις, διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τὰς πραγματείας ἀπαρνοῦνται τὸν κύριον αὐτῶν. 6. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῇ λέγω· Κυρία, πότε οὖν εὐχρηστοὶ ἔσονται εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν; "Ὅταν, φησὶν, περικοπῇ αὐτῶν ὁ πλοῦτος ὁ ψυχαγωγῶν αὐτούς, τότε εὐχρηστοὶ ἔσονται τῷ θεῷ. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ λίθος ὁ στρογγύλος, εἰ μὴ περικοπῇ καὶ ἀποβάλλῃ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τι, οὐ δύναται τετράγωνος γενέσθαι, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πλουτοῦντες ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι, εἰ μὴ περικοπῇ αὐτῶν ὁ πλοῦτος, οὐ δύνανται τῷ κυρίῳ εὐχρηστοὶ γενέσθαι. 7. ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ πρώτον. γνῶθι· ὅτε ἐπλούτεις, ἄχρηστος ἦς, νῦν δὲ εὐχρηστος εἶ καὶ ὠφέλιμος τῇ ζωῇ. εὐχρηστοὶ γίνεσθε τῷ θεῷ· καὶ γὰρ σὺ αὐτὸς χρᾶσαι ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν λίθων.<sup>2</sup>

## VII

1. Τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους λίθους, οὓς εἶδες μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου ῥιπτομένους καὶ πίπτοντας εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ κυλιομένους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀνοδίας· οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ πεπιστευκότες μὲν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διψυχίας αὐτῶν ἀφίουσιν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀληθινήν· δοκοῦντες οὖν βελτίονα ὁδὸν δύ-

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ αἰῶνος . . . πλοῦτον om. D.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ γὰρ . . . λίθων om. D.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Heb. 3, 12  
 Mk. 4, 18;  
 Mt. 13, 20. 22  
 Acts 19, 5  
 (10, 48; 2,  
 35)  
 Ecclus. 18,  
 30
 
 νασθαι εὐρεῖν, πλανῶνται καὶ ταλαιπωροῦσιν περιπατοῦντες ἐν ταῖς ἀνοδίαις. 2. οἱ δὲ πίπτοντες εἰς τὸ πῦρ καὶ καιόμενοι, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ εἰς τέλος ἀποστάντες τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἀναβῆ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ μετανοῆσαι διὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀσελγείας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πονηριῶν ἧν εἰργάσαντο. 3. τοὺς δὲ ἑτέροους τοὺς πίπτοντας ἐγγὺς τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ μὴ δυναμένους κυλισθῆναι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ θέλεις γνῶναι, τίνες εἰσίν; οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὸν λόγον ἀκούσαντες καὶ θέλοντες βαπτισθῆναι εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου· εἶτα ὅταν αὐτοῖς ἔλθῃ εἰς μνεΐαν ἢ ἀγνότης τῆς ἀληθείας, μετανοοῦσιν καὶ πορεύονται πάλιν ὀπίσω τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αὐτῶν τῶν πονηρῶν. 4. ἐτέλεσεν οὖν τὴν ἐξήγησιν τοῦ πύργου. 5. ἀναιδευσάμενος ἔτι αὐτὴν ἐπηρώτησα, εἰ ἄρα πάντες οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι οἱ ἀποβεβλημένοι καὶ μὴ ἀρμόζοντες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου, εἰ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς μετάνοια καὶ ἔχουσιν τόπον εἰς τὸν πύργον τοῦτον. Ἔχουσιν, φησίν, μετάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ εἰς τοῦτον τὸν πύργον οὐ δύνανται ἀρμόσαι· 6. ἐτέρω δὲ τόπῳ ἀρμόσουσιν πολὺ ἐλάττονι, καὶ τοῦτο ὅταν βασανισθῶσιν καὶ ἐκπληρώσωσιν τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μετατεθήσονται, ὅτι μετέλαβον τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ δικαίου. καὶ τότε αὐτοῖς συμβήσεται μετατεθῆναι ἐκ τῶν βασάνων αὐτῶν, διὰ<sup>1</sup> τὰ ἔργα ἃ εἰργάσαντο πονηρά. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀναβῆ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν, οὐ σώζονται διὰ τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν αὐτῶν.

<sup>1</sup> διὰ  $\mathfrak{NL}_2$ , εἰ δὲ ἀναβῆ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν  $AL_1E$ . The text of  $\mathfrak{NL}_2$  can scarcely be quite correct, but the other is clearly an emendation.

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

The end of  
the rejected  
stones

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* from their punishment.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the meaning is 'Then, *i.e.* if they repent,' but the text is obscure, and probably some words have been lost.

## VIII

1. "Ότε οὖν ἐπαυσάμην ἐρωτῶν αὐτὴν περὶ πάντων τούτων, λέγει μοι. Θέλεις ἄλλο ἰδεῖν; κατεπίθυμος ὢν τοῦ θεάσασθαι περιχαρῆς ἐγε- νόμην τοῦ ἰδεῖν. 2. ἐμβλέψασά μοι ὑπεμειδίασεν καὶ λέγει μοι. Βλέπεις ἑπτὰ γυναῖκας κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου; Βλέπω, φημί, κυρία. Ὁ πύργος οὗτος ὑπὸ τούτων βαστάζεται κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ κυρίου. 3. ἄκουε νῦν τὰς ἐνεργείας αὐτῶν. ἡ μὲν πρώτη αὐτῶν, ἡ κρατοῦσα τὰς χεῖρας, Πίστις καλεῖται· διὰ ταύτης σώζονται οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. 4. ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα, ἡ περιεζωσμένη καὶ ἀνδριζομένη, Ἐγκράτεια καλεῖται· αὕτη θυγάτηρ ἐστὶν τῆς Πίστεως. ὅς ἂν οὖν ἀκολουθήσῃ αὐτῇ, μακάριος γίνεται ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πάντων τῶν πονηρῶν ἔργων ἀφέξεται, πιστεύων ὅτι, ἐὰν ἀφέξηται<sup>1</sup> πάσης ἐπιθυμίας πονηρᾶς, κληρονομήσει<sup>2</sup> ζωὴν αἰώνιον. 5. Αἱ δὲ ἑτεραι, κυρία, τίνες εἰσίν; Θυγατέρες ἀλλήλων εἰσίν. καλοῦνται δὲ ἡ μὲν Ἀπλότης, ἡ δὲ Ἐπιστήμη, ἡ δὲ Ἀκακία, ἡ δὲ Σεμνότης, ἡ δὲ Ἀγάπη. ὅταν οὖν τὰ ἔργα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν πάντα ποιήσῃς, δύνασαι ζῆσαι. 6. Ἦθελον, φημί, γνῶναι, κυρία, τίς τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει αὐτῶν. Ἄκουε, φησὶν, τὰς δυνάμεις, ἃς ἔχουσιν. 7. κρατοῦνται δὲ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν καὶ ἀκολουθοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις, καθὼς καὶ γεγεννημένοι εἰσίν. ἐκ τῆς Πίστεως γεννᾶται Ἐγκράτεια, ἐκ τῆς Ἐγκρατείας Ἀπλότης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀπλότητος Ἀκακία, ἐκ τῆς Ἀκακίας

<sup>1</sup> πιστεύων ὅτι ἐὰν ἀφέξηται ΔΛΕ, καὶ Ν.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ κληρονομήσει Ν.

## VIII

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

The vision  
of the seven  
w<sup>o</sup>men

The  
explanation

The powers  
of the  
Virtues

<sup>1</sup> Here also (cf. Vision III. iv. 3) 'powers' probably is almost equivalent to 'meaning' or 'signification.'

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Σεμνότης, ἐκ τῆς Σεμνότητος Ἐπιστήμη, ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιστήμης Ἀγάπη. τούτων οὖν τὰ ἔργα ἀγνὰ καὶ σεμνὰ καὶ θεϊά ἐστιν. 8. ὃς ἂν οὖν δουλεύσῃ ταύταις καὶ ἰσχύσῃ κρατῆσαι τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν, ἐν τῷ πύργῳ ἔξει τὴν κατοίκησιν μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ θεοῦ. 9. ἐπηρώτων δὲ αὐτὴν περὶ τῶν καιρῶν, εἰ ἤδη συντέλειά ἐστιν. ἡ δὲ ἀνέκραγε φωνῇ μεγάλη λέγουσα· Ἀσύνετε ἄνθρωπε, οὐχ ὄρας τὸν πύργον ἔτι οἰκοδομούμενον; ὡς ἂν οὖν συντελεσθῇ ὁ πύργος οἰκοδομούμενος, ἔχει τέλος. ἀλλὰ ταχὺ ἐποικοδομηθήσεται. μηκέτι με ἐπερώτα μηδέν· ἀρκετή σοι ἡ ὑπόμνησις αὕτη καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ ἡ ἀνακαίνωσις τῶν πνευμάτων ὑμῶν. 10. ἀλλ' οὐ σοὶ μόνῳ ταῦτα ἀπεκαλύφθη, ἀλλ' ἵνα πᾶσιν δηλώσῃς αὐτά, 11. μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, νοῆσαί σε γὰρ δεῖ πρῶτον. ἐντέλλομαι δέ σοι πρῶτον,<sup>1</sup> Ἐρμᾶ, τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, ἃ σοι μέλλω λέγειν, λαλήσαι αὐτὰ πάντα εἰς τὰ ὦτα τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες αὐτὰ καὶ ποιήσαντες καθαρισθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν αὐτῶν καὶ σὺ δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν.

### IX

1. Ἀκούσατέ μου, τέκνα· ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐξέθρεψα ἐν πολλῇ ἀπλότητι καὶ ἀκακίᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς στάξαντος τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ἵνα δικαιωθῆτε καὶ ἁγιασθῆτε ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης σκολιότητος· ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐ θέλετε παῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς πονηρίας ὑμῶν.

<sup>1</sup> ἐντέλλομαι δέ σοι πρῶτον om N L<sub>1</sub>.

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

## IX

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



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

I Thess. 5,  
13

Rom. 15, 17  
cf. Acts 20,  
35

Jam. 5, 4

Mt. 23, 6  
Mc. 12, 39  
Lc. 11, 43;  
20, 46

Ps. 47, 2 etc.

2. νῦν οὖν ἀκούσατέ μου καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐπισκέπτεσθε ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθε ἀλλήλων, καὶ μὴ μόνοι τὰ κτίσματα τοῦ θεοῦ μεταλαμβάνετε ἐκ καταχύματος, ἀλλὰ μεταδίδοτε καὶ τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις. 3. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐδεσμάτων ἀσθένειαν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτῶν ἐπισπῶνται καὶ λυμαίνονται τὴν σάρκα αὐτῶν. τῶν δὲ μὴ ἐχόντων ἐδέσματα λυμαίνεται ἡ σὰρξ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὸ ἀρκετὸν τῆς τροφῆς, καὶ διαφθείρεται τὸ σῶμα αὐτῶν. 4. αὕτη οὖν ἡ ἀσυνκρασία βλαβερὰ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ μὴ μεταδιδούσιν τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις. 5. βλέπετε τὴν κρίσιν τὴν ἐπερχομένην. οἱ ὑπερέχοντες οὖν ἐκζητεῖτε τοὺς πεινῶντας, ἕως οὐπω ὁ πύργος ἐτελέσθη· μετὰ γὰρ τὸ τελεσθῆναι τὸν πύργον θελήσετε ἀγαθοποιεῖν, καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε τόπον. 6. βλέπετε οὖν ὑμεῖς οἱ γαυριώμενοι<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ ὑμῶν, μήποτε στενάξουσιν οἱ ὑστερούμενοι καὶ ὁ στεναγμὸς αὐτῶν ἀναβήσεται πρὸς τὸν κύριον καὶ ἐκκλεισθήσεσθε μετὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὑμῶν ἔξω τῆς θύρας τοῦ πύργου. 7. νῦν οὖν ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς προηγουμένοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῖς πρωτοκαθεδρίταις· μὴ γίνεσθε ὅμοιοι τοῖς φαρμακοῖς. οἱ φαρμακοὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ φάρμακα ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὰς πυξίδας βαστάζουσιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ φάρμακον ὑμῶν καὶ τὸν ἴον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν. 8. ἐνεσκιρωμένοι ἐστὲ καὶ οὐ θέλετε καθαρῖσαι τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ συνκεράσαι ὑμῶν<sup>2</sup> τὴν φρόνησιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ἵνα σχῆτε ἔλεος παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου. 9. βλέπετε οὖν, τέκνα,

<sup>1</sup> γαυριώμενοι N\*, γαυρούμενοι N<sup>c</sup>, γαυριῶντες A.

<sup>2</sup> συνκεράσαι ὑμῶν om. N\*.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

I Thess. 5,  
13

μήποτε αὐται αἱ διχοστασίαι<sup>1</sup> ἀποστερήσουσιν τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν. 10. πῶς ὑμεῖς παιδεύειν θέλετε τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς κυρίου, αὐτοὶ μὴ ἔχοντες παιδείαν; παιδεύετε οὖν ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἵνα καὶ γὰρ κατέναντι τοῦ πατρὸς ἴλαρὰ σταθεῖσα λόγον ἀποδῶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πάντων τῷ κυρίῳ.<sup>2</sup>

### X

1. "Ὅτε οὖν ἐπαύσατο μετ' ἐμοῦ λαλοῦσα, ἦλθον οἱ ἕξ νεανίσκοι οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες καὶ ἀπήνεγκαν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν πύργον, καὶ ἄλλοι τέσσαρες ἦσαν τὸ συμφέλιον καὶ ἀπήνεγκαν καὶ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸν πύργον. τούτων τὸ πρόσωπον οὐκ εἶδον, ὅτι ἀπεστραμμένοι ἦσαν. 2. ὑπάγουσαν δὲ<sup>3</sup> αὐτὴν ἠρώτων, ἵνα μοι ἀποκαλύψῃ περὶ τῶν τριῶν μορφῶν, ἐν αἷς μοι ἐνεφανίσθη. ἀποκριθεῖσά μοι λέγει· Περὶ τούτων ἕτερον δεῖ σε ἐπερωτῆσαι, ἵνα σοι ἀποκαλυφθῇ. 3. ὤφθη δέ μοι, ἀδελφοί, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ὁράσει τῇ περυσινῇ λίαν πρεσβυτέρα καὶ ἐν καθέδρᾳ καθημένη. 4. τῇ δὲ ἑτέρα ὁράσει τὴν μὲν ὄψιν νεωτέραν εἶχεν, τὴν δὲ σάρκα καὶ τὰς τρίχας πρεσβυτέρας, καὶ ἐστηκυῖά μοι ἐλάλει· ἴλαρωτέρα δὲ ἦν ἢ τὸ πρότερον.<sup>4</sup> 5. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὁράσει ὅλη νεωτέρα καὶ κάλλει ἐκπρεπεστάτη, μόνας δὲ τὰς τρίχας πρεσβυτέρας εἶχεν· ἴλαρὰ δὲ εἰς τέλος ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ συμφελίου καθημένη. 6. περὶ

<sup>1</sup> διχοστασίαι **N\*** A, διχοστασίαι ὑμῶν **N<sup>c</sup>** LE.

<sup>2</sup> τῷ κυρίῳ **L<sub>1</sub>E**, τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν **N**, τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν **AL<sub>2</sub>**.

<sup>3</sup> δὲ **N<sup>c</sup>** **AL<sub>2</sub>**, om. **N** **L<sub>1</sub>**.

<sup>4</sup> ἢ τὸ πρότερον **ALE**, τὸ πρόσωπον **N**.

THE SHEPHERD, VIS. III. IX. 9-X. 6

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

X

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

The  
departure  
of the  
ancient  
lady

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τούτων περίλυπος ἤμην λίαν τοῦ γνῶναί με τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ταύτην, καὶ βλέπω τὴν πρεσβυτέραν ἐν ὄραματι τῆς νυκτὸς λέγουσάν μοι. Πᾶσα ἐρώτησις ταπεινοφροσύνης χρήζει. νήστευσον οὖν, καὶ λήμψη ὁ αἰτεῖς παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου. 7. ἐνήστευσα οὖν μίαν ἡμέραν, καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτί μοι ὤφθη νεανίσκος καὶ λέγει μοι· Τί σὺ ὑπὸ χεῖρα αἰτεῖς ἀποκαλύψεις ἐν δεήσει; βλέπε, μήποτε πολλὰ αἰτούμενος βλάβης σου τὴν σάρκα. 8. ἀρκοῦσίν σοι αἱ ἀποκαλύψεις αὗται.<sup>1</sup> μήτι δύνη ἰσχυροτέρας ἀποκαλύψεις ὧν ἐώρακας ἰδεῖν; 9. ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ λέγω· Κύριε, τοῦτο μόνον αἰτοῦμαι, περὶ τῶν τριῶν μορφῶν τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ἵνα ἀποκάλυψις ὀλοτελής γένηται. ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· Μέχρι τίνος ἀσύνετοί ἐστε; ἀλλ' αἱ διψυχίαι ὑμῶν ἀσυνέτους ὑμᾶς ποιούσιν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν κύριον. 10. ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ πάλιν εἶπον· Ἄλλ' ἀπὸ σοῦ, κύριε, ἀκριβέστερον αὐτὰ γνωσόμεθα.

### XI

1. Ἄκουε, φησὶν, περὶ τῶν μορφῶν<sup>2</sup> ὧν ἐπιζητεῖς. 2. τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ὄρασει διατί πρεσβυτέρα ὤφθη σοι καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδραν καθημένη; ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα ὑμῶν πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἤδη μεμαραμμένον καὶ μὴ ἔχον δύναμιν ἀπὸ τῶν μαλακιῶν ὑμῶν καὶ διψυχιῶν. 3. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, μηκέτι ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα τοῦ ἀνανεῶσαι, οὐδὲν

<sup>1</sup> ἀρκοῦσίν . . . αὗται om. N.

<sup>2</sup> μορφῶν N\* LE, τριῶν μορφῶν N<sup>c</sup> A.

## THE SHEPHERD, VIS. III. X. 6-xi. 3

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

### XI

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

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

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Ps. 54, 23;  
1 Pet. 5, 7

ἄλλο προσδοκῶσιν εἰ μὴ τὴν κοίμησιν αὐτῶν, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς μαλακισθέντες ἀπὸ τῶν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων παρεδώκατε ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰς ἀκηδίας καὶ οὐκ ἐπερίψατε ἑαυτῶν τὰς μερίμνας ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον· ἀλλὰ ἐθραύσθη ὑμῶν ἡ διάνοια καὶ ἐπαλαιώθητε ταῖς λύπαις ὑμῶν. 4. Διατί οὖν ἐν καθέδρᾳ ἐκάθητο, ἤθελον γινῶναι, κύριε. "Ὅτι πᾶς ἀσθενὴς εἰς καθέδραν καθέζεται διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα συνκρατηθῇ ἡ ἀσθένεια τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ. ἔχεις τὸν τύπον τῆς πρώτης ὁράσεως.

### XII

1. Τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ ὁράσει εἶδες αὐτὴν ἐστηκυῖαν καὶ τὴν ὄψιν νεωτέραν ἔχουσαν καὶ ἰλαρωτέραν παρὰ τὸ πρότερον, τὴν δὲ σάρκα καὶ τὰς τρίχας πρεσβυτέρας. ἄκουε, φησὶν, καὶ ταύτην τὴν παραβολήν· 2. ὅταν πρεσβύτερός τις, ἤδη ἀφηλικῶς ἑαυτὸν διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πτωχότητα, οὐδὲν ἕτερον προσδέχεται εἰ μὴ τὴν ἐσχάτην ἡμέραν τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ· εἶτα ἐξαίφνης κατελείφθη αὐτῷ κληρονομία, ἀκούσας δὲ ἐξηγέρθη καὶ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἐνεδύσατο τὴν ἰσχύν· καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνακεῖται, ἀλλὰ ἕστηκεν, καὶ ἀνανεοῦται αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἤδη ἐφθαρμένον ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων αὐτοῦ πράξεων, καὶ οὐκέτι κάθηται, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρίζεται· οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀκούσαντες τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν, ἣν ὑμῖν ὁ κύριος ἀπεκάλυψεν,<sup>1</sup> 3. ὅτι ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἀνενεώσατο τὰ πνεύματα ὑμῶν καὶ ἀπέθεσθε τὰς μαλακίας ὑμῶν,

<sup>1</sup> ἦν . . . ἀπεκάλυψεν om. B.

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

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

## XII

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



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καὶ προσῆλθεν ὑμῖν ἰσχυρότης καὶ ἐνεδυναμώθητε ἐν τῇ πίστει, καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ κύριος τὴν ἰσχυροποίησιν ὑμῶν ἐχάρη· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐδήλωσεν ὑμῖν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου καὶ ἕτερα δηλώσει, εἰ ἂν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς.

### XIII

1. Τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὁράσει εἶδες αὐτὴν νεωτέραν καὶ καλὴν καὶ ἰλαρὰν καὶ καλὴν τὴν μορφήν αὐτῆς·  
2. ὡς εἰ ἂν γάρ τινι λυπουμενῶ ἔλθῃ ἀγγελία ἀγαθὴ τις, εὐθὺς ἐπελάθετο τῶν προτέρων λυπῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο προσδέχεται εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀγγελίαν, ἣν ἤκουσεν, καὶ ἰσχυροποιεῖται λοιπὸν εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀνανεοῦται αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα διὰ τὴν χαρὰν, ἣν ἔλαβεν· οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνανέωσιν εἰλήφατε τῶν πνευμάτων ὑμῶν ἰδόντες ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ. 3. καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ συμφελίου εἶδες καθημένην, ἰσχυρὰ ἢ θέσις, ὅτι τέσσαρας πόδας ἔχει τὸ συμφέλιον καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἔστηκεν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόσμος διὰ τεσσάρων στοιχείων κρατεῖται. 4. οἱ οὖν μετανοήσαντες ὀλοτελῶς νέοι ἔσονται καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι, οἱ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας μετανοήσαντες. ἀπέχεις ὀλοτελῆ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν· μηκέτι μηδὲν αἰτήσης περὶ ἀποκαλύψεως,<sup>1</sup> εἰ ἂν τι δὲ δέῃ, ἀποκαλυφθήσεται σοι.

<sup>1</sup> περὶ ἀποκαλύψεως AL<sub>1</sub>E, om. N L<sub>2</sub>.

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## "Ο ρ α σ ι ς δ'.

## I

1. "Ην εἶδον, ἀδελφοί, μετὰ ἡμέρας εἴκοσι τῆς προτέρας ὀράσεως τῆς γενομένης, εἰς τύπον τῆς θλίψεως τῆς ἐπερχομένης.<sup>1</sup> 2. ὑπήγον εἰς ἀγρὸν τῆ ὁδῶ τῆ καμπανῆ. ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς δημοσίας ἐστὶν ὡσεὶ στάδια δέκα· ῥαδίως δὲ ὀδεύεται ὁ τόπος. 3. μόνος οὖν περιπατῶν ἀξιῶ τὸν κύριον, ἵνα τὰς ἀποκαλύψεις καὶ τὰ ὀράματα, ἃ μοι ἔδειξεν διὰ τῆς ἀγίας Ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ, τελειώσῃ, ἵνα με ἰσχυροποιήσῃ καὶ δῶ τὴν μετάνοιαν τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐσκανδαλισμένοις, ἵνα δοξασθῆ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ τὸ μέγα καὶ ἔνδοξον, ὅτι με ἄξιον ἠγήσατο τοῦ δεῖξαι μοι τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ. 4. καὶ δοξάζοντός μου καὶ εὐχαριστοῦντος αὐτῶ, ὡς ἦχος φωνῆς μοι ἀπεκρίθη· Μὴ διψυχῆσεις, Ἐρμᾶ. ἐν ἑμαυτῶ ἠρξάμην διαλογίζεσθαι καὶ λέγειν· Ἐγὼ τί ἔχω διψυχῆσαι, οὕτω τεθεμελιωμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἰδὼν ἔνδοξα πράγματα; 5. καὶ προσέβην<sup>2</sup> μικρὸν, ἀδελφοί, καὶ ἰδού, βλέπω κοινορτὸν ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἠρξάμην λέγειν ἐν ἑμαυτῶ· Μήποτε κτήνη ἔρχονται καὶ κοινορτὸν ἐγείρουσιν; οὕτω δὲ ἦν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίου. 6. γινομένου μείζονος καὶ μείζονος κοινορτοῦ ὑπενόησα εἶναί τι θεῖον· μικρὸν ἐξέλαμψεν ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἰδού, βλέπω θηρίον μέγιστον ὡσεὶ κῆτός τι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἀκρίδες πύριλαι ἐξεπορεύοντο· ἦν δὲ τὸ θηρίον τῶ μήκει

<sup>1</sup> εἰς τύπον . . . ἐπερχομένης AL<sub>1</sub>E, om. N (L<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>2</sup> προσέβην N L<sub>2</sub>, προέβην AL<sub>1</sub>E.

## VISION 4

## I

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

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ὡσεὶ ποδῶν ῥ', τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν εἶχεν ὡσεὶ κεράμου. 7. καὶ ἤρξάμην κλαίειν καὶ ἐρωτᾶν τὸν κύριον, ἵνα με λυτρώσῃται ἐξ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐπανεμνήσθην τοῦ ῥήματος οὗ ἀκηκόειν· Μὴ διψυχήσεις, Ἐρμᾶ. 8. ἐνδυσάμενος οὖν, ἀδελφοί, τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ μνησθεὶς ὧν ἐδίδαξέν με μεγαλείων, θαρσήσας εἰς τὸ θηρίον ἐμαυτὸν ἔδωκα. οὕτω δὲ ἤρχετο τὸ θηρίον ῥοίζω, ὥστε δύνασθαι αὐτὸ πόλιν λυμᾶναι. 9. ἔρχομαι ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ τηλικούτο κῆτος ἐκτείνει ἑαυτὸ χαμαὶ καὶ οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ τὴν γλῶσσαν προέβαλλεν καὶ ὅλως οὐκ ἐκινήθη, μέχρις ὅτε παρῆλθον αὐτό· 10. εἶχεν δὲ τὸ θηρίον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς χρώματα τέσσαρα· μέλαν, εἶτα πυροειδὲς καὶ αἱματῶδες, εἶτα χρυσοῦν, εἶτα λευκόν.

## II

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παρελθεῖν με τὸ θηρίον καὶ προελθεῖν ὡσεὶ πόδας λ', ἰδοὺ, ὑπαντᾶ μοι παρθένος κεκοσμημένη ὡς ἐκ νυμφῶνος ἐκπορευομένη, ὅλη ἐν λευκοῖς καὶ ὑποδήμασιν λευκοῖς, κατακεκαλυμμένη ἕως τοῦ μετώπου, ἐν μίτρα δὲ ἦν ἡ κατακάλυψις αὐτῆς· εἶχεν δὲ τὰς τρίχας αὐτῆς λευκάς. 2. ἔγνων ἐγὼ ἐκ τῶν προτέρων ὄραμάτων, ὅτι ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἐστίν, καὶ ἰλαρώτερος ἐγενόμην. ἀσπάζεται με λέγουσα· Χαῖρε σύ, ἄνθρωπε. καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὴν ἀντησπασάμην· Κυρία, χαῖρε. 3. ἀποκριθεῖσά μοι λέγει· Οὐδὲν σοι ἀπήντησεν; λέγω αὐτῇ· Κυρία, τηλικούτο θηρίον, δυνάμενον λαοὺς διαφθεῖραι· ἀλλὰ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῇ

Ps. 19, 5;  
Rev. 21, 2

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

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

## II

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

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Ps. 55, 22

Ps. 62, 7

Acts 4, 12

Dan. 6, 22 ;  
cf. Heb. 11,  
33

Ps. 55, 22

Mt. 26, 24 ;  
Mk. 14, 21

πολυσπλαγχνία αὐτοῦ ἐξέφυγον αὐτό. 4. Καλῶς ἐξέφυγες, φησὶν, ὅτι τὴν μέριμνά σου ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπέριψας καὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἤνοιξας πρὸς τὸν κύριον, πιστεύσας, ὅτι δι' οὐδενὸς δύνη σωθῆναι εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ κύριος ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν θηρίων ὄντα, οὗ τὸ ὄνομά ἐστιν Θεγρί, καὶ ἐνέφραξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ σε λυμάνῃ. μεγάλην θλίψιν ἐκπέφευγας διὰ τὴν πίστιν σου καὶ ὅτι τηλικούτο θηρίον ἰδὼν οὐκ ἐδιψύχησας. 5. ὕπαγε οὖν καὶ ἐξήγησαι τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ κυρίου τὰ μεγαλεῖα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπέ αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο τύπος ἐστὶν θλίψεως τῆς μελλούσης τῆς μεγάλης· εἰ οὖν προετοιμάσησθε καὶ μετανοήσητε ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν κύριον, δυνήσεσθε ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτήν, εἰ ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν γένηται καθαρὰ καὶ ἄμωμος καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τῆς ζωῆς ἡμέρας ὑμῶν δουλεύσητε τῷ κυρίῳ ἀμέμπτως. ἐπιρίψατε τὰς μερίμνας ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον, καὶ αὐτὸς κατορθώσει αὐτάς. 6. πιστεύσατε τῷ κυρίῳ, οἱ δίψυχοι, ὅτι πάντα δύναται καὶ ἀποστρέφει τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ ἀφ' ὑμῶν καὶ ἐξαποστέλλει μάστιγας ὑμῖν τοῖς διψύχοις. οὐαὶ τοῖς ἀκούσασιν τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα καὶ παρακούσασιν· αἰρετώτερον ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ γεννηθῆναι.

<sup>1</sup> μεγάλου ΑΛΕ, ἁγίου ἀγγέλου Ν.

## THE SHEPHERD, VIS. IV. II. 3-6

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

The  
explanation  
of the  
Leviathan

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



III

1. Ἡρώτησα αὐτὴν περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων χρωμάτων ὧν εἶχεν τὸ θηρίον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν. ἢ δὲ ἀποκριθεῖσά μοι λέγει· Πάλιν περίεργος εἶ περὶ τοιούτων πραγμάτων. Ναί, φημί, κυρία· γνώρισόν μοι, τί ἐστὶν ταῦτα. 2. Ἄκουε, φησὶν· τὸ μὲν μέλαν οὗτος ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖτε· 3. τὸ δὲ πυροειδὲς καὶ αἱματῶδες, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δι' αἵματος καὶ πυρὸς ἀπόλλυσθαι. 4. τὸ δὲ χρυσοῦν μέρος ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ ἐκφυγόντες τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ χρυσίον δοκιμάζεται διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ εὐχρηστον γίνεται, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς<sup>γυβ</sup> δοκιμάζεσθε οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτοῖς.<sup>1</sup> οἱ οὖν μείναντες καὶ πυρωθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν καθαρισθήσεσθε. ὥσπερ τὸ χρυσίον ἀποβάλλει τὴν σκωρίαν αὐτοῦ, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποβαλεῖτε πᾶσαν λύπην καὶ στενοχωρίαν, καὶ καθαρισθήσεσθε καὶ χρήσιμοι ἔσεσθε εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. 5. τὸ δὲ λευκὸν μέρος ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐπερχόμενός ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ κατοικήσουσιν οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅτι ἄσπιλοι καὶ καθαροὶ εἰσονται οἱ ἐκλελεγμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ<sup>2</sup> εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. 6. σὺ οὖν μὴ διαλίπῃς λαλῶν εἰς τὰ ὦτα τῶν ἀγίων. ἔχετε καὶ τὸν τύπον τῆς θλίψεως τῆς ἐρχομένης μεγάλης. εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς θελήσητε, οὐδὲν ἔσται. μνημονεύετε τὰ προγεγραμμένα. 7. ταῦτα εἶπασα ἀπῆλθεν, καὶ οὐκ εἶδον, ποίῳ τόπῳ ἀπῆλθεν.<sup>3</sup> νέφος<sup>4</sup> γὰρ ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπεστράφημ ἐν τὰ ὀπίσω φοβηθεῖς, δοκῶν ὅτι τὸ θηρίον ἔρχεται.

<sup>1</sup> ἐν αὐτοῖς **N**L, ἐν αὐτῷ **AE**. <sup>2</sup> ὅτι ἄσπιλοι . . . θεοῦ **om. N**.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ οὐκ . . . ἀπῆλθεν **om. N**. <sup>4</sup> νέφος **N** L<sub>2</sub>, ψόφος **AL**<sub>1</sub>**E**.

II Pet. 2, 20

I Pet. 1, 7;  
cf. Eccles.

2, 5;  
Prov. 17, 3;  
Job 23, 10

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Ἀποκάλυψις ε'.<sup>1</sup>

1. Προσευξαμένου μου ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καὶ καθίσαντος εἰς τὴν κλίνην εἰσῆλθεν ἀνὴρ τις ἔνδοξος τῇ ὄψει, σχήματι ποιμενικῷ, περικείμενος δέρμα αἴγειον λευκὸν καὶ πήραν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων καὶ ἄβδον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα. καὶ ἠσπάσατό με, καὶ ἄγγα<sup>ρ</sup> ἀντησπασάμην αὐτόν. 2. καὶ εὐθὺς παρεκάθισέν μοι καὶ λέγει μοι· Ἀπεστάλην ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνοτάτου ἀγγέλου, ἵνα μετὰ σοῦ οἰκήσω τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου. 3. ἔδοξα ἐγώ, ὅτι πάρεστιν ἐκπειράζων με, καὶ λέγω αὐτῷ· Σὺ γὰρ τίς εἶ; ἐγὼ γάρ, φημί, γινώσκω, ᾧ παρεδόθην. λέγει μοι· Οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκεις με; Οὐ, φημί. Ἐγώ, φησίν, εἰμὶ ὁ ποιμὴν, ᾧ παρεδόθης. 4. ἔτι λαλοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἠλλοιώθη ἡ ἰδέα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπέγνων αὐτόν, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἦν, ᾧ παρεδόθην, καὶ εὐθὺς συνεχύθην καὶ φόβος με ἔλαβεν καὶ ὄλος συνεκόπην ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης, ὅτι οὕτως αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίθην πονηρῶς καὶ ἀφρόνως. 5. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθείς μοι λέγει· Μὴ συγχύννου, ἀλλὰ ἰσχυροποιοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς μου αἷς σοι μέλλω ἐντέλλεσθαι. ἀπεστάλην γάρ, φησίν, ἵνα ἂ εἶδες πρότερον πάντα σοι πάλιν δείξω, αὐτὰ τὰ κεφάλαια τὰ ὄντα ὑμῖν σύμφορα. πρῶτον πάντων τὰς ἐντολάς μου γράψον καὶ τὰς παραβολάς· τὰ δὲ ἕτερα, καθὼς σοι δείξω, οὕτως γράψεις· διὰ τοῦτο, φησίν, ἐντέλλομαί σοι πρῶτον γράψαι τὰς ἐντολάς καὶ παραβολάς, ἵνα ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἀναγινώσκῃς

<sup>1</sup> Ἀποκάλυψις ε' N, ὄρασις ε' AE, incipiunt Pastoris mandata duodecim L<sub>2</sub>, visio quinta initium Pastoris L<sub>1</sub>.

## THE SHEPHERD, VIS. V. 1-5

### THE FIFTH REVELATION<sup>1</sup>

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

The coming  
of the  
shepherd

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

<sup>2</sup> There is no mention of this in the preceding Visions.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

αὐτὰς καὶ δυνηθῆς φυλάξαι αὐτάς. 6. ἔγραψα οὖν τὰς ἐντολάς καὶ παραβολάς, καθὼς ἐνετείλατό μοι. 7. εἰάν οὖν ἀκούσαντες αὐτὰς φυλάξητε καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς πορευθῆτε καὶ ἐργάσησθε αὐτὰς ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ἀπολήμψεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὅσα ἐπηγγείλατο ὑμῖν· εἰάν δὲ ἀκούσαντες μὴ μετανοήσητε, ἀλλ' ἐτι προσθῆτε ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν, ἀπολήμψεσθε παρά τοῦ κυρίου τὰ ἐναντία. ταῦτά μοι πάντα οὕτως γράψαι ὁ ποιμὴν ἐνετείλατο, ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας.

### Ἐντολὴ α'.

Eph. 3, 9  
II Macc. 7,  
23;  
cf. Wisd. 1,  
14

1. Πρῶτον πάντων πιστεύσον, ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ καταρτίσας καὶ ποιήσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα καὶ πάντα χωρῶν, μόνος δὲ ἀχώρητος ὢν. 2. πιστεύσον οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ φοβήθητι αὐτόν, φοβηθεὶς δὲ ἐγκράτευσαι. ταῦτα φυλάσσε, καὶ ἀποβαλεῖς πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ καὶ ἐνδύσῃ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν δικαιοσύνης καὶ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ, εἰάν φυλάξῃς τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην.

### Ἐντολὴ β'.

Jam. 4, 11

1. Λέγει μοι· Ἄπλότητα ἔχε καὶ ἄκακος γίνου, καὶ ἔσῃ ὡς τὰ νήπια τὰ μὴ γινώσκοντα τὴν πονηρίαν τὴν ἀπολλύουσαν τὴν ζωὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. 2. πρῶτον μὲν μηδενὸς καταλάλει μηδὲ ἠδέως ἄκουε καταλαλοῦντος· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ σὺ ὁ ἀκούων ἐνοχος ἔσῃ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ καταλαλοῦντος, εἰάν πιστεύσῃς τῇ καταλαλιᾷ ἢ ἂν ἀκούσῃς· πιστεύσας γὰρ<sup>1</sup> καὶ

<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ΔΕ(L<sub>1</sub>) Ath. Ant. om. ΝL<sub>2</sub>.

## THE SHEPHERD, VIS. V. 5-MAND. n. 2

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

### MANDATE 1

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

### MANDATE 2

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

σὺ αὐτὸς ἔξεις κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου· οὕτως οὖν ἔνοχος ἔσῃ τῆς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ καταλαλοῦντος. 3. πονηρὰ ἢ καταλαλιά· ἀκατάστατον δαιμόνιον ἐστίν, μηδέποτε εἰρηνεῦον, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ἐν διχοστασίαις κατοικοῦν. ἀπέχου οὖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐθηνίαν πάντοτε ἔξεις<sup>1</sup> μετὰ πάντων. 4. ἔνδυσαι δὲ τὴν σεμνότητα, ἐν ᾗ οὐδὲν πρόσκομμά ἐστίν πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμαλὰ καὶ ἰλαρά. ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου ὧν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσίν σοι πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις δίδου ἀπλῶς, μὴ διστάζων, τίνι δῶς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῶς. πᾶσιν δίδου· πᾶσιν γάρ ὁ θεὸς δίδοσθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρημάτων. 5. οἱ οὖν λαμβάνοντες ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον τῷ θεῷ, διατί ἔλαβον καὶ εἰς τί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες θλιβόμενοι οὐ δικασθήσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνοντες τίσουσιν δίκην. 6. ὁ οὖν διδοὺς ἀθῶός ἐστιν· ὡς γὰρ ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τὴν διακονίαν τελέσαι, ἀπλῶς αὐτὴν ἐτέλεσεν, μηθὲν διακρίνων, τίνι δῶ ἢ μὴ δῶ. ἐγένετο οὖν ἡ διακονία αὕτη ἀπλῶς τελεσθεῖσα ἔνδοξος παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. ὁ οὖν οὕτως ἀπλῶς διακονῶν τῷ θεῷ ζήσεται.<sup>2</sup> 7. φύλασσε οὖν τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην, ὡς σοι λελάληκα, ἵνα ἡ μετάνοιά σου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου σου ἐν ἀπλότητι εὐρεθῇ, καὶ ἀκακία<sup>3</sup> καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος.

Jam. 1, 27

<sup>1</sup> ἔξεις  $\aleph^c$ AL<sub>2</sub>E Ath., ἔχεις  $\aleph$ L<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> From here to the end of this Mandate  $\aleph$  is missing except the end of the last word (-αντος).

<sup>3</sup> ἀκακία A (probably, but the MS is almost illegible), ἡ καρδία edd. the versions are all paraphrastic, but "cor" is found in L<sub>1</sub>.

## THE SHEPHERD, MAND. II. 2-7

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

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



## Εντολή γ.

I Joh. 2, 27

II Tim. 1, 14

1. Πάλιν μοι λέγει· Ἀλήθειαν ἀγάπα καὶ πᾶσα ἀλήθεια ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου ἐκπορευέσθω, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα, ὃ ὁ θεὸς κατώκισεν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ταύτῃ, ἀληθὲς εὔρεθῇ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ οὕτως δοξασθήσεται ὁ κύριος ὁ ἐν σοὶ κατοικῶν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἀληθινὸς ἐν παντὶ ῥήματι καὶ οὐδὲν παρ' αὐτῷ ψεῦδος. 2. οἱ οὖν ψευδόμενοι ἀθετοῦσι τὸν κύριον καὶ γίνονται ἀποστερηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου, μὴ παραδιδόντες αὐτῷ τὴν παρακαταθήκην, ἣν ἔλαβον. ἔλαβον γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἄψευστον. τοῦτο εἰάν ψευδὲς ἀποδώσωσιν, ἐμίαναν τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐγένοντο ἀποστερηταί. 3. ταῦτα οὖν ἀκούσας ἐγὼ ἔκλαυσα λίαν. ἰδὼν δέ με κλαίοντα λέγει· Τί κλαίεις; Ὅτι, φημί, κύριε, οὐκ οἶδα, εἰ δύναμαι σωθῆναι. Διατί; φησίν. Οὐδέπω γάρ, φημί, κύριε, ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ζωῇ ἀληθὲς ἐλάλησα ῥῆμα, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε πανούργως ἐλάλησα<sup>2</sup> μετὰ πάντων καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος μου ἀληθὲς ἐπέδειξα παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις· καὶ οὐδέποτε μοι οὐδεὶς ἀντεῖπεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστεύθη τῷ λόγῳ μου. πῶς οὖν, φημί, κύριε, δύναμαι ζῆσαι ταῦτα πράξας; 4. Σὺ μὲν, φησί, καλῶς καὶ ἀληθῶς φρονεῖς· ἔδει γάρ σε ὡς θεοῦ δοῦλον ἐν ἀληθείᾳ πορεύεσθαι, καὶ πονηρὰν συνείδησιν μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ἀληθείας μὴ κατοικεῖν μηδὲ λύπην ἐπάγειν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ σεμνῷ καὶ ἀληθεῖ. Οὐδέποτε, φημί, κύριε,

<sup>1</sup> From here to the last words of the Mandate (-τάτου ψεύσματος ζήσεται τῷ θεῷ) **N** is missing.

<sup>2</sup> ἐλάλησα A, ἔζησα EL.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τοιαῦτα ῥήματα ἀκριβῶς ἤκουσα. 5. Νῦν οὖν, φησὶν, ἀκούεις· φύλασσε αὐτά, ἵνα καὶ τὰ πρότερον ἂ ἐλάλησας ψευδῆ ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις σου, τούτων εὐρεθέντων ἀληθινῶν, κακείνα πιστὰ γένηται· δύναται γὰρ κακείνα πιστὰ γενέσθαι. εἰ ἂν ταῦτα φυλάξης καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν πᾶσαν ἀλήθειαν λαλήσης, δυνήσῃ σεαυτῷ ζωὴν περιποιήσασθαι· καὶ ὅς ἂν ἀκούσῃ τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀπέξεται<sup>1</sup> τοῦ πονηροτάτου ψεύσματος ζήσεται τῷ θεῷ.

### Ἐντολὴ δ΄.

#### I

1. Ἐντέλλομαί σοι, φησὶν, φυλάσσειν τὴν ἀγνείαν, καὶ μὴ ἀναβαινέτω σοι ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἀλλοτρίας ἢ περὶ πορνείας<sup>2</sup> τινὸς ἢ περὶ τοιούτων τινῶν ὁμοιωμάτων πονηρῶν. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν μεγάλην ἀμαρτίαν ἐργάζῃ. τῆς δὲ σῆς μνημονεύων πάντοτε γυναικὸς οὐδέποτε διαμαρτήσεις. 2. εἰ ἂν γὰρ αὕτη ἢ ἐνθύμησις ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῆ, διαμαρτήσεις, καὶ εἰ ἄλλα οὕτως πονηρά,<sup>3</sup> ἀμαρτίαν ἐργάζῃ· ἢ γὰρ ἐνθύμησις αὕτη θεοῦ δούλῳ ἀμαρτία μεγάλη ἐστίν· εἰ δὲ τις ἐργάσῃται τὸ ἔργον τὸ πονηρὸν τοῦτο, θάνατον ἑαυτῷ κατεργάζεται. 3. βλέπε οὖν σύ·

<sup>1</sup> ἀπέξεται A, but N probably read ἀπέχεται as χη can be read at the place where the word ought to be.

<sup>2</sup> πορνείας N<sup>c</sup>LE Ath., πονηρίας N\* A.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ εἰ ἂν . . . ἀμαρτίαν N, καὶ εἰ ἂν ἐτέρως ὡσαύτως πονηρὰν ἐνθυμήσῃ πονηρά A. The versions paraphrase.

## THE SHEPHERD, MAND. III. 5-IV. 1-3

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

### MANDATE 4

#### I

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

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

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ἀπέχου ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως ταύτης· ὅπου γὰρ σεμνότης κατοικεῖ, ἐκεῖ ἀνομία οὐκ ὀφείλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνδρὸς δικαίου. 4. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ὀλίγα ἐπερωτήσαί σε. Λέγε, φησίν. Κύριε, φημί, εἰ γυναῖκα ἔχη τις πιστὴν ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ ταύτην εὖρη ἐν μοιχείᾳ τινί, ἄρα ἁμαρτάνει ὁ ἀνὴρ συνζῶν μετ' αὐτῆς; 5. Ἄχρι τῆς ἀγνοίας, φησίν, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει· ἐὰν δὲ γνῶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν αὐτῆς καὶ μὴ μετανοήσῃ ἢ γυνή, ἀλλ' ἐπιμένῃ τῇ πορνείᾳ αὐτῆς καὶ συνζῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ μετ' αὐτῆς, ἔνοχος γίνεται τῆς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῆς καὶ κοινωνὸς τῆς μοιχείας αὐτῆς. 6. Τί οὖν, φημί, κύριε, ποιήσῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐὰν ἐπιμένῃ τῷ πάθει τούτῳ ἢ γυνή; Ἀπολυσάτω, φησίν, αὐτὴν καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μενέτω· ἐὰν δὲ ἀπολύσας τὴν γυναῖκα ἑτέραν γαμήσῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς μοιχᾶται. 7. Ἐὰν οὖν φημί, κύριε, μετὰ τὸ ἀπολυθῆναι τὴν γυναῖκα μετανοήσῃ ἢ γυνή καὶ θελήσῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα ὑποστρέψαι, οὐ παραδεχθήσεται; 8. Καὶ μήν, φησίν, ἐὰν μὴ παραδέξῃται αὐτὴν ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἁμαρτάνει καὶ μεγάλην ἁμαρτίαν ἑαυτῷ ἐπισπᾶται, ἀλλὰ δεῖ παραδεχθῆναι τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα καὶ μετανοῦντα, μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺν δέ· τοῖς γὰρ δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ μετάνοιά ἐστὶν μία. διὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν οὖν οὐκ ὀφείλει γαμεῖν ὁ ἀνὴρ. αὕτη ἢ

Μκ. 10, 11 ;  
Μτ. 5, 32 ;  
19, 9 ;  
cf. I Cor. 7,  
11

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

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

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πρᾶξις ἐπὶ γυναικὶ καὶ ἀνδρὶ κεῖται. 9. οὐ μόνον, φησὶν, μοιχεία ἐστίν, ἐάν τις τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ μίανη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅς ἂν τὰ ὁμοιώματα ποιῆ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, μοιχᾶται. ὥστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐὰν ἐμμένῃ τις καὶ μὴ μετανοῇ, ἀπέχου ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ συνηθῆσθαι αὐτῷ· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ σὺ μέτοχος εἶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῦ. 10. διὰ τοῦτο προσετάγη ὑμῖν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς μένειν, εἴτε ἀνὴρ εἴτε γυνή· δύναται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις μετάνοια εἶναι. 11. ἐγὼ οὖν, φησὶν, οὐ δίδωμι ἀφορμὴν, ἵνα αὕτη ἡ πρᾶξις οὕτως συντελήται,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ μηκέτι ἁμαρτάνειν τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα. περὶ δὲ τῆς προτέρας ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ δυνάμενος ἴασιν δοῦναι.<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἔχων πάντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν.

## II

Μκ. 6, 52

1. Ἠρώτησα δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν λέγων· Ἐπεὶ ὁ κύριος ἀξιόν, με ἠγήσατο, ἵνα μετ' ἐμοῦ πάντοτε κατοικῆς, ὀλίγα μου ῥήματα ἐτι ἀνάσχου, ἐπεὶ οὐ συνίω οὐδὲν καὶ ἡ καρδία μου πεπώρωται ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων μου πράξεων· συνέτισόν με, ὅτι λίαν ἄφρων εἰμὶ καὶ ὅλως οὐθὲν νοῶ. 2. ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· Ἐγὼ, φησὶν, ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας εἰμὶ καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς μετανοοῦσιν σύνεσιν δίδωμι. ἢ οὐ

<sup>1</sup> συντελήται  $\aleph^c A$ , συντελέσεται  $\aleph^*$ .

<sup>2</sup> ὁ δυνάμενος ἴασιν δοῦναι om.  $\aleph^*$ .

## THE SHEPHERD, MAND. IV. i. 8-ii. 2

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

## II

1. AND I asked him again, saying: "If the Lord has thought me worthy for you always to live with me, suffer yet a few words of mine, since I have no understanding and my heart has been hardened by my former deeds; give me understanding, for I am very foolish and have absolutely no understanding."

2. He answered me and said, "I am set over repentance, and I give understanding to all those not strictly divorce, as the innocent party was not free to remarry in order to give the other the opportunity of repenting and of returning.

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



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Judg. 2, 11;  
3, 12; 4, 1;  
10, 6; 13, 1;  
I Sam. 15,  
19 etc.

δοκεῖ σοι, φησίν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ μετανοῆσαι σύνε-  
σιν εἶναι; τὸ μετανοῆσαι, φησίν, <sup>1</sup> σύνεσις ἐστίν  
μεγάλη· συνίει γὰρ ὁ ἁμαρτήσας, ὅτι πεποίηκεν  
τὸ πονηρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ἀναβαίνει  
ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἡ πρᾶξις, ἣν ἔπραξεν, καὶ  
μετανοεῖ καὶ οὐκέτι ἐργάζεται τὸ πονηρὸν, ἀλλὰ  
τὸ ἀγαθὸν πολυτελῶς ἐργάζεται καὶ ταπεινοῖ τὴν  
ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν καὶ βασανίζει, ὅτι ἤμαρτεν.  
βλέπεις οὖν, ὅτι ἡ μετάνοια σύνεσις ἐστίν μεγάλη.  
3. Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, φημί, κύριε, ἐξακριβάζομαι  
παρὰ σοῦ πάντα· πρῶτον μὲν, <sup>2</sup> ὅτι ἁμαρτωλός  
εἰμι, ἵνα γνῶ, ποῖα ἔργα ἐργαζόμενος ζήσομαι, ὅτι  
πολλαί μου εἰσὶν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι καὶ ποικίλαι. 4.  
Ζήση, φησίν, εἰ τὰς ἐντολάς μου φυλάξης καὶ  
πορευθῆς ἐν αὐταῖς· καὶ ὅς ἂν ἀκούσας τὰς  
ἐντολάς ταύτας φυλάξη, ζήσεται τῷ θεῷ.

### III

1. Ἔτι, φημί, κύριε, προσθήσω τοῦ ἐπερωτῆσαι.  
Λέγε, φησίν. Ἦκουσα, φημί, κύριε, παρὰ τινῶν  
διδασκάλων, ὅτι ἕτερα μετάνοια οὐκ ἐστίν εἰ μὴ  
ἐκείνη, ὅτε εἰς ὕδωρ κατέβημεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν  
ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν τῶν προτέρων. 2. λέγει  
μοι· Καλῶς ἤκουσας· οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει. ἔδει γὰρ  
τὸν <sup>3</sup> εἰληφότα ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν μηκέτι ἁμαρτάνειν,  
ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγνείᾳ κατοικεῖν. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα  
ἐξακριβάξῃ, καὶ τοῦτό σοι δηλώσω, μὴ διδοὺς  
ἄφορμὴν τοῖς μέλλουσι πιστεύειν ἢ τοῖς νῦν

<sup>1</sup> ὁ ἁμαρτήσας ALE, ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἁμαρτήσας N.

<sup>2</sup> From here to Mand. IV. 3, 4 (καρδιογνώστης) N is missing.

<sup>3</sup> τὸν Clem., τινὰ A.

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# HISTORY

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

πιστεύσασιν εἰς τὸν κύριον. οἱ γὰρ νῦν πιστεύσαντες ἢ μέλλοντες πιστεύειν μετάνοιαν ἁμαρτιῶν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἄφεσιν δὲ ἔχουσι τῶν προτέρων ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. 4. τοῖς οὖν κληθεῖσι πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἔθηκεν ὁ κύριος μετάνοιαν· καρδιογνώστης γὰρ ὢν ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντα προγινώσκων ἔγνω τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὴν πολυπλοκίαν τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι ποιήσῃ τι κακὸν τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πονηρεύσεται εἰς αὐτούς. 5. πολὺσπλαγχνος οὖν ὢν ὁ κύριος ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπὶ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔθηκεν τὴν μετάνοιαν ταύτην, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐξουσία τῆς μετανοίας ταύτης ἐδόθη. 6. ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ σοι λέγω, φησί<sup>1</sup>. μετὰ τὴν κλῆσιν ἐκείνην τὴν μεγάλην καὶ σεμνὴν εἴαν τις ἐκπειρασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἁμαρτήσῃ, μίαν μετάνοιαν ἔχει· εἴαν δὲ ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἁμαρτάνῃ καὶ μετανοήσῃ,<sup>2</sup> ἀσύμφορόν ἐστι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῆ τοιούτῳ· δυσκόλως γὰρ ζήσεται. 7. λέγω αὐτῷ Ἐξωποιεῖθην ταῦτα παρὰ σοῦ ἀκούσας οὕτως ἀκριβῶς· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι, εἴαν μηκέτι προσθήσω ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις μου, σωθήσομαι. Σωθήσῃ, φησὶν, καὶ πάντες, ὅσοι εἴαν ταῦτα ποιήσωσιν.

### IV

1. Ἠρώτησα αὐτὸν πάλιν λέγων· Κύριε, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ ἀνέχῃ μου, ἔτι μοι καὶ τοῦτο δήλωσον. Λέγε, φησὶν. Ἐὰν γυνή, φημί, κύριε, ἢ πάλιν ἀνὴρ τις κοιμηθῇ καὶ γαμήσῃ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν, μήτι

<sup>1</sup> With the φη of φησί the extant leaves of  $\aleph$  come to an end. <sup>2</sup> μετανοήσῃ E (L), οὐ μετανοήσῃ A.

## THE SHEPHERD, MAND. IV. iii. 3-iv. 1

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

### IV

1. I ASKED him again, saying, "Sir, since you for once endure me explain this also to me." "Say on," said he. "If, sir," said I, "a wife, or on the other hand a husband, die, and the survivor marry, does Second marriages

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ἀμαρτάνει ὁ γαμῶν; 2. Οὐχ ἀμαρτάνει, φησὶν· ἂν δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μείνη τις, περισσοτέραν ἑαυτῷ τιμὴν καὶ μεγάλην δόξαν περιποιεῖται πρὸς τὸν κύριον· ἂν δὲ καὶ γαμήσῃ, οὐχ ἀμαρτάνει. 3. τήρει οὖν τὴν ἀγνείαν καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα, καὶ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ. ταῦτά σοι ὅσα λαλῶ καὶ μέλλω λαλεῖν, φύλασσε ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, ἀφ' ἧς μοι παρεδόθης ἡμέρας, καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου κατοικήσω. 4. τοῖς δὲ προτέροις σου παραπτώμασιν ἄφεσις ἔσται, ἂν τὰς ἐντολάς μου φυλάξῃς· καὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἄφεσις ἔσται, ἂν τὰς ἐντολάς μου ταύτας φυλάξωσι καὶ πορευθῶσιν ἐν τῇ ἀγνότητι ταύτῃ.

### Ἐντολὴ ε'.

#### I

I. Μακρόθυμος, φησί, γίνου καὶ συνετός, καὶ πάντων τῶν πονηρῶν ἔργων κατακυριεύσεις καὶ ἐργάσῃ πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην. 2. ἂν γὰρ μακρόθυμος ἔσῃ, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ κατοικοῦν ἐν σοὶ καθαρὸν ἔσται, μὴ ἐπισκοτούμενον ὑπὸ ἑτέρου πονηροῦ πνεύματος, ἀλλ' ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ κατοικοῦν ἀγαλλιάσεται καὶ εὐφρανθήσεται μετὰ τοῦ σκεύους, ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖ, καὶ<sup>1</sup> λειτουργήσῃ τῷ θεῷ ἐν ἰλαρότητι πολλῇ, ἔχον τὴν εὐθηνίαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ. 3. ἂν δὲ ὀξύχολία τις προσέλθῃ, εὐθὺς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τρυφερὸν ὄν, στενο-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ EL Ant., before μετὰ Α.

THE SHEPHERD, MAND. IV. iv. 1-V. i. 3

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

MANDATE 5

I

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

Long-suffering  
Against ill temper

<sup>1</sup> The translation of *μακροθυμία* and *ὀξυχολία* is difficult. *Μακροθυμία* is a little more than "long suffering" and almost equals courage. *ὀξυχολία* is a rare word, literally "quickness to wrath," but this phrase does not convey in English the bad sense which Hermas obviously implies.

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χωρεῖται, μὴ ἔχον τὸν τόπον καθαρὸν, καὶ ζητεῖ ἀποστῆναι ἐκ τοῦ τόπου· πνίγεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος, μὴ ἔχον τόπον λειτουργῆσαι τῷ κυρίῳ, καθὼς βούλεται, μαινόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ὀξυχολίας. ἐν γὰρ τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ ὁ κύριος κατοικεῖ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὀξυχολίᾳ ὁ διάβολος. 4. ἀμφοτέρωθεν οὖν τὰ πνεύματα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατοικοῦντα, ἀσύμφορόν ἐστιν καὶ πονηρὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ, ἐν ᾧ κατοικοῦσιν. 5. εἰ γὰρ λάβης ἀψίνθου μικρὸν λίαν καὶ εἰς κεράμιον μέλιτος ἐπιχέης, οὐχὶ ὅλον τὸ μέλι ἀφανίζεται, καὶ τοσοῦτον μέλι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἀψίνθου ἀπόλλυται καὶ ἀπόλλυσι τὴν γλυκύτητα τοῦ μέλιτος, καὶ οὐκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν χάριν ἔχει παρὰ τῷ δεσπότη, ὅτι ἐπικράνη καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτοῦ ἀπόλεσεν; εἰ δὲ εἰς τὸ μέλι μὴ βληθῆ τὸ ἀψίνθον, γλυκὺ εὐρίσκεται τὸ μέλι καὶ εὐχρηστον γίνεται τῷ δεσπότη αὐτοῦ.<sup>1</sup> 6. βλέπεις ὅτι ἡ μακροθυμία γλυκυτάτη ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὸ μέλι καὶ εὐχρηστός ἐστι τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικεῖ. ἡ δὲ ὀξυχολία πικρὰ καὶ ἄχρηστός ἐστιν. εἰ οὖν μιγῆ ἡ ὀξυχολία τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ, μαινεται ἡ μακροθυμία καὶ οὐκέτι εὐχρηστός ἐστι τῷ θεῷ ἢ ἔντευξις αὐτῆς. 7. Ἦθελον, φημί, κύριε, γινῶναι τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς ὀξυχολίας, ἵνα φυλάξωμαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς. Καὶ μήν,

<sup>1</sup> The text of this passage is reconstructed thus by the editors from LE Ant. A reads ἀφανίζεται, καὶ πικρὸν γίνεται καὶ ἀπολλύει τὴν γλυκύτητα τοῦ μέλιτος καὶ οὐκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν χάριν ἔχει παρὰ τῷ δεσπότη ὅτι ἐπικράνη καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτοῦ ἀπόλεσεν, εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀψίνθον μὴ βληθῆ μέλι, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀψίνθον μὴ βληθῆ μέλι οὐδὲ εὐχρηστον γίνεται τῷ δεσπότη αὐτοῦ. This of course is hopelessly corrupt, but it seems to point to a shorter text.

## THE SHEPHERD, MAND. V. i. 3-7

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



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φησίν, ἐὰν μὴ φυλάξῃ ἀπ' αὐτῆς σὺ καὶ ὁ οἶκός σου, ἀπώλεσάς σου τὴν πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα. ἀλλὰ φύλαξαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς· ἐγὼ γὰρ μετὰ σοῦ εἰμί. καὶ πάντες δὲ ἀφέξονται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὅσοι ἂν μετανοήσωσιν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν· μετ' αὐτῶν γὰρ ἔσομαι καὶ συντηρήσω αὐτούς· ἐδικαιώθησαν γὰρ πάντες ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνοτάτου ἀγγέλου.

### II

1. "Ἄκουε νῦν, φησί, τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς ὀξύχολίας, πῶς πονηρά ἐστι, καὶ πῶς τοὺς δούλους μου<sup>1</sup> καταστρέφει τῇ ἑαυτῆς ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ πῶς ἀποπλανᾷ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς „δικαιοσύνης. οὐκ ἀποπλανᾷ δὲ τοὺς πλήρεις οντας ἐν τῇ πίστει οὐδὲ ἐνεργῆσαι δύναται εἰς αὐτούς, ὅτι ἡ δύναμις μου<sup>1</sup> μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστίν· ἀποπλανᾷ δὲ τοὺς ἀποκένοους καὶ διψύχους ὄντας. 2. ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους εὐσταθοῦντας, παρεμβάλλει ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μηδενὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἢ ἡ γυνὴ ἐν πικρία γίνεται ἕνεκεν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων ἢ περὶ ἐδεσμάτων ἢ μικρολογίας τινὸς ἢ περὶ φίλου τινὸς<sup>2</sup> ἢ περὶ δόσεως ἢ λήψεως ἢ περὶ τοιούτων μωρῶν πραγμάτων· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα μωρά ἐστι καὶ κενὰ καὶ ἄφρονα καὶ ἀσύμφορα τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. ἡ δὲ μακροθυμία μεγάλη ἐστὶ καὶ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ δύναμιν ἔχουσα καὶ στιβαρὰν καὶ εὐθηνουμένην ἐν πλατυσμῶ μεγάλῳ, ἰλαρά,

<sup>1</sup> μου A, τοῦ κυρίου L<sub>2</sub>, (E) τοῦ θεοῦ L<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> ἢ περὶ φίλου τινὸς om. A.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Tob. 4, 19

ἀγαλλιωμένη, ἀμέριμνος οὔσα, δοξάζουσα τὸν κύριον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, μηδὲν ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἔχουσα πικρὸν, παραμένουσα διὰ παντὸς πραεῖα καὶ ἡσύχιος· αὕτη οὖν ἡ μακροθυμία κατοικεῖ μετὰ τῶν τὴν πίστιν ἔχόντων ὀλόκληρον. 4. ἡ δὲ ὀξυχολία πρῶτον μὲν μωρὰ ἐστίν, ἐλαφρὰ τε καὶ ἄφρων. εἶτα ἐκ τῆς ἀφροσύνης γίνεται πικρία, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πικρίας θυμός, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θυμοῦ ὀργή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς μῆνις· εἶτα ἡ μῆνις αὕτη ἐκ τοσούτων κακῶν συνισταμένη γίνεται ἁμαρτία μεγάλη καὶ ἀνίατος. 5. ὅταν γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ πνεύματα ἐν ἐνὶ ἀγγείῳ κατοικῆ, οὐ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατοικεῖ, οὐ χωρεῖ τὸ ἅγγιον ἐκεῖνο, ἀλλ' ὑπερπλεονάζει. 6. τὸ τρυφερὸν οὖν πνεῦμα, μὴ ἔχον συνήθειαν μετὰ πονηροῦ πνεύματος κατοικεῖν μηδὲ μετὰ σκληρότητος, ἀποχωρεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ ζητεῖ κατοικεῖν μετὰ πραότητος καὶ ἡσυχίας. 7. εἶτα ὅταν ἀποστῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκεῖνου, οὐ κατοικεῖ, γίνεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος κενὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πεπληρωμένος τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῖς πονηροῖς ἀκαταστατεῖ ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτοῦ, περισπώμενος ὧδε κἀκεῖσε ἀπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν πονηρῶν, καὶ ὅλως ἀποτυφλοῦται ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας τῆς ἀγαθῆς. οὕτως οὖν συμβαίνει πᾶσι τοῖς ὀξυχόλοις. 8. ἀπέχου οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀξυχολίας, τοῦ πονηροτάτου πνεύματος· ἔνδυσαι δὲ τὴν μακροθυμίαν καὶ ἀντίστα τῇ ὀξυχολίᾳ καὶ τῇ πικρίᾳ, καὶ ἔσῃ εὐρισκόμενος μετὰ τῆς σεμνότητος τῆς ἡγαπημένης ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου. βλέπε οὖν μήποτε, παρενθυμηθῆς τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην· ἐὰν γὰρ ταυτῆς τῆς ἐντολῆς κυριεύσης, καὶ τὰς

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

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

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λοιπὰς ἐντολὰς δυνήσῃ φυλάξαι, ἃς σοι μέλλω ἐντέλλεσθαι. ἰσχυροῦ ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ ἐνδυναμοῦ, καὶ πάντες ἐνδυναμούσθωσαν, ὅσοι ἐὰν θέλωσιν ἐν αὐταῖς πορεύεσθαι.

### Ἐντολὴ 5'

#### I

1. Ἐνετειλάμην σοι, φησὶν, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐντολῇ, ἵνα φυλάξῃς τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν. Ναί, φημί, κύριε. Ἄλλὰ νῦν θέλω σοι, φησὶν, δηλῶσαι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν, ἵνα νοήσῃς τίς αὐτῶν τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει καὶ ἐνέργειαν· διπλαῖ γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ ἐνέργειαι αὐτῶν. κεῖνται οὖν ἐπὶ δικαίῳ καὶ ἀδίκῳ. 2. σὺ οὖν πίστευε τῷ δικαίῳ, τῷ δὲ ἀδίκῳ μὴ πιστεύσῃς· τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἄδικον στρεβλήν. ἀλλὰ σὺ τῇ ὀρθῇ ὁδῷ πορεύου καὶ ὁμαλῇ, τὴν δὲ στρεβλήν ἕασον. 3. ἡ γὰρ στρεβλή ὁδὸς τρίβους οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἀνοδίας καὶ προσκόμματα πολλὰ καὶ τραχεῖά ἐστι καὶ ἀκανθώδης. βλαβερὰ οὖν ἐστι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ πορευομένοις. 4. οἱ δὲ τῇ ὀρθῇ ὁδῷ πορευόμενοι ὁμαλῶς περιπατοῦσι καὶ ἀπροσκόπως· οὔτε γὰρ τραχεῖά ἐστιν οὔτε ἀκανθώδης. βλέπεις οὖν ὅτι συμφωρότερόν ἐστι ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ πορεύεσθαι. 5. Ἄρέσκει μοι, φημί, κύριε, ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ πορεύεσθαι. Πορεύσῃ, φησί, καὶ ὃς ἂν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς κύριον, πορεύσεται ἐν αὐτῇ.

Jer. 24, 7;  
Joel 2, 12

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## II

1. "Ακουε νῦν, φησί, περὶ τῆς πίστεως. δύο εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἷς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἷς τῆς πονηρίας. 2. Πῶς οὖν φημί, κύριε, γνώσομαι τὰς αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας, ὅτι ἀμφοτέροι ἀγγελοι μετ' ἐμοῦ κατοικοῦσιν; 3. "Ακουε, φησί, καὶ συνιείς αὐτάς.<sup>1</sup> ὁ μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄγγελος τρυφερός ἐστὶ καὶ αἰσχυνηρὸς καὶ πραῦς καὶ ἡσύχιος· ὅταν οὖν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῆ, εὐθέως λαλεῖ μετὰ σοῦ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, περὶ ἀγνείας, περὶ σεμνότητος καὶ περὶ αὐταρκείας καὶ περὶ παντός ἔργου δικαίου καὶ περὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐνδόξου. ταῦτα πάντα ὅταν εἷς τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῆ<sup>2</sup>, γίνωσκε, ὅτι ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς δικαιοσύνης μετὰ σοῦ ἐστί. ταῦτα οὖν ἐστὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς δικαιοσύνης. τούτῳ οὖν πίστευε καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. 4. ὄρα οὖν<sup>3</sup> καὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας τὰ ἔργα. πρῶτον πάντων ὀξύχολός ἐστὶ καὶ πικρὸς καὶ ἄφρων,<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά, καταστρέφοντα τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅταν οὖν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῆ, γνῶθι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. 5. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, νοήσω αὐτόν, οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι. "Ακουε, φησὶν. ὅταν ὀξύχολία σοί τις προσπέσῃ ἢ πικρία, γίνωσκε, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ἐν σοί· εἶτα ἐπιθυμία πράξεων πολλῶν καὶ πολυτέλεια

Mt. 7, 16

<sup>1</sup> συνιείς αὐτάς A, σύνιιε L, om E.

<sup>2</sup> εὐθέως λαλεῖ . . . ἀναβῆ (with some variations) LE Ath. Ant., om. A. <sup>3</sup> οὖν A Ath., νῦν L(E).

<sup>4</sup> πικρὸς καὶ ἄφρων L Ath. Ant., om. A.

II

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



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ἐδεσμάτων πολλῶν καὶ μεθυσμάτων καὶ κραιπαλῶν πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων τροφῶν καὶ οὐδεόντων καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι γυναικῶν καὶ πλεονεξιῶν καὶ ὑπερηφανία πολλή τις καὶ ἀλαζονεία καὶ ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσιά ἐστι καὶ ὅμοια· ταῦτα οὖν ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῆ, γίνωσκε, ὅτι ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς πονηρίας ἐστὶν ἐν σοί. 6. σὺ οὖν ἐπιγνοὺς τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἀπόστα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, μηδὲν<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ πιστεύε, ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά εἰσι καὶ ἀσύμφορα τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔχεις οὖν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἀγγέλων τὰς ἐνεργείας· σύνιε αὐτὰς καὶ πιστεύε τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης· 7. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας ἀπόστηθι, ὅτι ἡ διδαχὴ αὐτοῦ πονηρά ἐστι παντὶ ἔργῳ· ἐὰν γὰρ ἢ τις πιστὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ ἡ ἐνθύμησις τοῦ ἀγγέλου τούτου ἀναβῆ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ, δεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον ἢ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐξαμαρτῆσαι τι. 8. ἐὰν δὲ πάλιν πονηρότατός τις ἢ ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνή καὶ ἀναβῆ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀγαθόν τι ποιῆσαι. 9. βλέπεις οὖν, φησὶν, ὅτι καλόν ἐστι τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀκολουθεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς πονηρίας ἀποτάξασθαι. 10. τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς πίστεως αὕτη ἡ ἐντολὴ δηλοῖ, ἵνα τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς δικαιοσύνης πιστεύσης, καὶ ἐργασάμενος αὐτὰ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ· πιστεύε δέ, ὅτι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας χαλεπά ἐστι· μὴ ἐργαζόμενος οὖν αὐτὰ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ.

<sup>1</sup> μηδὲ ΑΕ, καὶ μηδὲν Ath., L.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### Ἐντολή ζ

Eccles. 12,13

1. Φοβήθητι, φησί, τὸν κύριον καὶ φύλασσε τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ. φυλάσσω οὖν τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἔση δυνατὸς ἐν πάσῃ πράξει, καὶ ἡ πράξις σου ἀσύγκριτος ἔσται. φοβούμενος γὰρ τὸν κύριον πάντα καλῶς ἐργάση· οὗτος δὲ ἔστιν ὁ φόβος, ὃν δεῖ σε φοβηθῆναι, καὶ σωθῆναι.<sup>1</sup> 2. τὸν δὲ διάβολον μὴ φοβηθῆς· φοβούμενος γὰρ τὸν κύριον κατακυριεύσεις τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι δύναμις ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ δύναμις οὐκ ἔστιν,<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ φόβος· ἐν ᾧ δὲ δύναμις ἢ ἔνδοξος, καὶ φόβος ἐν αὐτῷ. πᾶς γὰρ ὁ δύναμιν ἔχων φόβον ἔχει· ὁ δὲ μὴ ἔχων δύναμιν ὑπὸ πάντων καταφρονεῖται. 3. φοβήθητι δὲ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι πονηρὰ ἔστι. φοβούμενος οὖν τὸν κύριον<sup>3</sup> οὐκ ἐργάση αὐτά, ἀλλ' ἀφέξη ἀπ' αὐτῶν. 4. δισσοὶ οὖν εἰσιν οἱ φόβοι· εἴαν γὰρ θέλῃς τὸ πονηρὸν ἐργάσασθαι, φοβοῦ τὸν κύριον, καὶ οὐκ ἐργάση αὐτό· εἴαν δὲ θέλῃς πάλιν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσασθαι, φοβοῦ τὸν κύριον, καὶ ἐργάση αὐτό. ὥστε ὁ φόβος τοῦ κυρίου ἰσχυρὸς ἔστι καὶ μέγας καὶ ἔνδοξος. φοβήθητι οὖν τὸν κύριον, καὶ ζήση αὐτῷ· καὶ ὅσοι ἂν φοβηθῶσιν αὐτὸν καὶ τηρήσωσι<sup>4</sup> τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ. 5. Διατί, φημί, κύριε, εἶπας περὶ τῶν τηρούντων τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ· Ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ; Ὅτι, φησὶν, πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις φοβεῖται τὸν κύριον τὰς δὲ ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ οὐ φυλάσσει. τῶν οὖν

<sup>1</sup> σωθῆναι A, σωθήση L<sub>2</sub> Ant.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν ᾧ . . . ἔστιν om. (E) L<sub>2</sub> Ath.

<sup>3</sup> κύριον A, add. φοβηθήση τὰ ἔργα τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ Ant. (L<sub>1</sub>), L<sub>2</sub> omits the whole clause.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ τηρήσωσι E Ant., τῶν φυλασσόντων A.

## THE SHEPHERD, MAND. VII. 1-5

### MANDATE 7

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

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φοβουμένων αὐτὸν καὶ φυλασσόντων τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ἐκείνων ἡ ζωὴ ἐστὶ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ· τῶν δὲ μὴ φυλασσόντων τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ζωὴ ἐν αὐτῷ.

### Ἐντολὴ ἡ'

1. Εἶπόν σοι, φησίν, ὅτι τὰ κτίσματα τοῦ θεοῦ διπλᾶ ἐστὶ· καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἐγκράτεια διπλῆ ἐστίν. ἐπὶ τινῶν γὰρ δεῖ ἐγκρατεῦεσθαι, ἐπὶ τινῶν δὲ οὐ δεῖ· 2. Γνώρισόν μοι, φημί, κύριε, ἐπὶ τίνων δεῖ ἐγκρατεῦεσθαι, ἐπὶ τίνων δὲ οὐ δεῖ. "Ἄκουε, φησί. τὸ πονηρὸν ἐγκρατεύου καὶ μὴ ποίει αὐτό· τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐγκρατεύου, ἀλλὰ ποίει αὐτό. ἐὰν γὰρ ἐγκρατεύσῃ τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ποιεῖν, ἀμαρτίαν μεγάλην ἐργάξῃ.<sup>1</sup> ἐὰν δὲ ἐγκρατεύσῃ τὸ πονηρὸν μὴ ποιεῖν, δικαιοσύνην μεγάλην ἐργάξῃ. ἐγκρατευσαι οὖν ἀπὸ πονηρίας πάσης ἐργαζόμενος τὸ ἀγαθόν. 3. Ποταπαί, φημί, κύριε, εἰσὶν αἱ πονηρίαι, ἀφ' ὧν ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἐγκρατεῦεσθαι; "Ἄκουε, φησίν. ἀπὸ μοιχείας καὶ πορνείας, ἀπὸ μεθύσματος ἀνομίας, ἀπὸ τρυφῆς πονηρᾶς, ἀπὸ ἐδεσμάτων πολλῶν καὶ πολυτελείας πλούτου καὶ καυχήσεως καὶ ὑψηλοφροσύνης καὶ ὑπερηφανίας καὶ ἀπὸ ψεύσματος καὶ καταλαλιᾶς καὶ ὑποκρίσεως, μνησικακίας καὶ πάσης βλασφημίας. 4. ταῦτα τὰ ἔργα πάντων πονηρότατά εἰσιν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἀπὸ τούτων οὖν τῶν ἔργων δεῖ ἐγκρατεῦεσθαι τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ἐγκρατευόμενος ἀπὸ τούτων οὐ δύναται ζῆσαι τῷ θεῷ. ἄκουε οὖν καὶ τὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἐὰν γὰρ . . . ἐργάξῃ EL, om. A.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἀκόλουθα τούτων, 5. Ἔτι γάρ, φημί, κύριε, πονηρὰ ἔργα ἐστί; Καί γε πολλά, φησίν, ἔστιν, ἀφ' ὧν δεῖ τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι· κλέμμα, ψεῦδος, ἀποστέρησις, ψευδομαρτυρία, πλεονεξία, ἐπιθυμία πονηρά, ἀπάτη, κενοδοξία, ἀλαζονεία καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοιά εἰσιν. 6. οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦτα πονηρὰ εἶναι; καὶ λίαν πονηρά, φημί,<sup>1</sup> τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. τούτων πάντων δεῖ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι τὸν δουλεύοντα τῷ θεῷ. ἐγκράτευσαι οὖν ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων, ἵνα ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐγγραφῆσῃ μετὰ τῶν ἐγκρατευομένων αὐτά. ὧν μὲν οὖν δεῖ σε ἐγκρατεύεσθαι, ταῦτά ἐστιν. 7. ἀδὲ δεῖ σε μὴ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι, φησίν, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν, ἄκουε. τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐγκρατεύου, ἀλλὰ ποίει αὐτό. 8. Καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μοι, φημί, κύριε, δήλωσον τὴν δύναμιν, ἵνα πορευθῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ δουλεύσω αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ἐργασάμενος αὐτὰ δυνηθῶ σωθῆναι. Ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἔργα, ἃ σε δεῖ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι. 9. πρῶτον πάντων πίστις, φόβος κυρίου, ἀγάπη, ὁμόνοια, ῥήματα δικαιοσύνης, ἀλήθεια, ὑπομονή· τούτων ἀγαθώτερον οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ταῦτα ἐάν τις φυλάσῃ καὶ μὴ ἐγκρατεύηται ἀπ' αὐτῶν, μακάριος γίνεται ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ. 10. εἶτα τούτων τὰ ἀκόλουθα ἄκουσον· χήραις ὑπηρετεῖν, ὀρφανοὺς καὶ ὑστερομένους ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, ἐξ ἀναγκῶν λυτροῦσθαι τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ, φιλόξενον εἶναι (ἐν γὰρ τῇ φιλοξενίᾳ εὐρίσκεται ἀγαθοποίησις ποτε), μηδενὶ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι, ἡσύχιον εἶναι, ἐνδεέστερον γίνεσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων, πρεσβύτας σέβεσθαι,

<sup>1</sup> φημί A, φησί L<sub>2</sub>, om. E.

## THE SHEPHERD, MAND. VIII. 4-10

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



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δικαιοσύνην ἀσκεῖν, ἀδελφότητα συντηρεῖν, ὕβριν ὑποφέρειν, μακρόθυμον εἶναι, μνησικακίαν μὴ ἔχειν, κάμνοντας τῇ φυγῇ παρακαλεῖν, ἐσκανδαλισμένους ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως μὴ ἀποβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιστρέφειν καὶ εὐθύμους ποιεῖν, ἀμαρτάνοντας νουθετεῖν, χρεώστας μὴ θλίβειν καὶ ἐνδεεῖς, καὶ εἴ τινα τούτοις ὅμοιά ἐστι. 11. δοκεῖ σοι, φησί, ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ εἶναι; Τί γάρ, φημί, κύριε, τούτων ἀγαθώτερον; Πορεύου οὖν φησίν, ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ μὴ ἐγκρατεύου ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ζήση τῷ θεῷ. 12. φύλασσε οὖν τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην· ἐὰν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιῆς καὶ μὴ ἐγκρατεύσῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ζήση τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ οἱ οὕτω ποιοῦντες. καὶ πάλιν ἐὰν τὸ πονηρὸν μὴ ποιῆς καὶ ἐγκρατεύσῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ζήση τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ, ὅσοι ἐὰν ταύτας τὰς ἐντολάς φυλάξωσι καὶ πορευθῶσιν ἐν αὐταῖς.

### Ἐντολὴ θ'.

1. Λέγει μοι Ἄρον ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ τὴν διψυχίαν καὶ μὲν ὅλως διψυχήσεως αἰτήσασθαί τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγων ἐν σεαυτῷ ὅτι πῶς δύναμαι αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ λαβεῖν, ἡμαρτηκῶς τοσαῦτα εἰς αὐτόν; 2. μὴ διαλογίζου ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου ἐπίστρεψον ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον καὶ αἰτοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀδιστακτῶς, καὶ γνώσῃ τὴν πολλὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπη, ἀλλὰ τὸ αἶτημα τῆς ψυχῆς σου πληροφορήσει. 3. οὐκ ἐστὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὡς οἱ ἄνθρωποι μνησικακοῦντες, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀμνησίκακός

Jer. 24, 7;  
Joel 2, 12

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἔστι καὶ σπλαγχνίζεται ἐπὶ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ.  
 4. σὺ οὖν καθάρισόν σου τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ πάντων  
 τῶν ματαιωμάτων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ τῶν  
 προειρημένων σοι ῥημάτων καὶ αἰτοῦ παρά τοῦ  
 κυρίου, καὶ ἀπολήψῃ πάντα καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν  
 αἰτημάτων σου ἀνυστέρητος ἔσῃ, εἰάν ἀδιστακτως  
 αἰτήσῃς παρά τοῦ κυρίου. 5. εἰάν δὲ διστάσῃς ἐν  
 τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, οὐδὲν οὐ μὴ λήψῃ τῶν αἰτημάτων  
 σου. οἱ γὰρ διστάζοντες εἰς τὸν θεόν, οὗτοί εἰσιν  
 οἱ δίψυχοι καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τῶν  
 αἰτημάτων αὐτῶν. 6. οἱ δὲ ὀλοτελεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῇ  
 πίστει πάντα αἰτοῦνται πεποιθότες ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον  
 καὶ λαμβάνουσι, ὅτι ἀδιστακτως αἰτοῦνται, μηδὲν  
 διψυχοῦντες. πᾶς γὰρ δίψυχος ἀνὴρ, εἰάν μὴ  
 μετανοήσῃ, δυσκόλως σωθήσεται. 7. καθάρισον  
 οὖν τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀπὸ τῆς διψυχίας, ἔνδυσαι  
 δὲ τὴν πίστιν, ὅτι ἰσχυρά ἐστι, καὶ πίστευε τῷ  
 θεῷ, ὅτι πάντα τὰ αἰτήματά σου ἂ αἰτεῖς λήψῃ,  
 καὶ εἰάν αἰτησάμενός ποτε παρά τοῦ κυρίου αἴτημά  
 τι βραδύτερον λαμβάνῃς, μὴ διψυχίῃς, ὅτι ταχὺ  
 οὐκ ἔλαβες τὸ αἴτημα τῆς ψυχῆς σου· πάντως  
 γὰρ διὰ πειρασμόν τινα ἢ παράπτωμά τι, ὃ σὺ  
 ἀγνοεῖς, βραδύτερον λαμβάνεις τὸ αἴτημά σου.  
 8. σὺ οὖν μὴ διαλίπῃς αἰτούμενος τὸ αἴτημα τῆς  
 ψυχῆς σου, καὶ λήψῃ αὐτό· εἰάν δὲ ἐκκακήσῃς καὶ  
 διψυχίῃς αἰτούμενος, σεαυτὸν αἰτιῶ καὶ μὴ τὸν  
 δίδόντα σοι. 9. βλέπε τὴν διψυχίαν ταύτην·  
 πονηρὰ γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀσύνητος καὶ πολλοὺς  
 ἐκριζοῖ ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως καὶ γε λίαν πιστοὺς καὶ  
 ἰσχυροὺς. καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ διψυχία θυγάτηρ<sup>1</sup> ἐστὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἀδελφή Α.

Ps. 2, 12;  
etc.

cf. Jac. 1, 8

## THE SHEPHERD, MAND. IX. 3-9

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

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τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ λίαν πονηρεύεται εἰς τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ. 10. καταφρόνησον οὖν τῆς διψυχίας καὶ κατακυρίευσον αὐτῆς ἐν παντὶ πράγματι, ἐνδυσάμενος τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ δυνατὴν· ἡ γὰρ πίστις πάντα ἐπαγγέλλεται, πάντα τελειοῖ, ἡ δὲ διψυχία μὴ καταπιστεύουσα ἑαυτῇ πάντων ἀποτυγχάνει τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς ὧν πράσσει. 11. βλέπεις οὖν, φησὶν, ὅτι ἡ πίστις ἄνωθεν ἐστὶ παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἔχει δύναμιν μεγάλην· ἡ δὲ διψυχία ἐπίγειον πνεῦμά ἐστὶ παρὰ τοῦ διαβόλου, δύναμιν μὴ ἔχουσα. 12. σὺ οὖν δούλευε τῇ ἐχούσῃ δύναμιν τῇ πίστει καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς διψυχίας ἀπόσχου τῆς μὴ ἐχούσης δύναμιν, καὶ ζήση τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ οἱ ταῦτα φρονοῦντες.<sup>1</sup>

### Ἐντολὴ ἰ'

#### I

1. Ἄρον ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ, φησί, τὴν λύπην· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἀδελφή ἐστὶ τῆς διψυχίας καὶ τῆς ὀξυχολίας. 2. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, ἀδελφή ἐστὶ τούτων; ἄλλο γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὀξυχολία καὶ ἄλλο διψυχία καὶ ἄλλο λύπη. Ἄσύνετος εἶ ἄνθρωπε, φησί, καὶ<sup>2</sup> οὐ νοεῖς, ὅτι ἡ λύπη πάντων τῶν πνευμάτων πονηροτέρα ἐστὶ καὶ δεινοτάτη τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ πνεύματα καταφθείρει τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ

<sup>1</sup> φρονοῦντες I<sub>2</sub> Ath., φρονήσαντες ALI(E).

<sup>2</sup> φησί, καὶ om. A.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἐκτρίβει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ πάλιν σώζει; 3. Ἐγώ, φημί, κύριε, ἀσύνητός εἰμι καὶ οὐ συνίω τὰς παραβολὰς ταύτας. πῶς γὰρ δύναται ἐκτρίβειν καὶ πάλιν σώζειν, οὐ νοῶ. "Ἀκουε, φησὶν· οἱ μηδέποτε ἐρευνήσαντες περὶ<sup>4</sup> τῆς ἀληθείας μηδὲ ἐπιζητήσαντες περὶ τῆς θεότητος, πιστεύσαντες δὲ μόνον, ἐμπεφυρμένοι δὲ πραγματείαις καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ φιλίαις ἐθνικαῖς καὶ ἄλλαις πολλαῖς πραγματείαις τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου· ὅσοι οὖν τούτοις πρόσκεινται, οὐ νοοῦσι τὰς παραβολὰς τῆς θεότητος· ἐπισκοτοῦνται γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν πράξεων καὶ καταφθείρονται καὶ γίνονται κεχερσωμένοι. 5. καθὼς οἱ ἀμπελῶνες οἱ καλοί, ὅταν ἀμελείας τύχῃσι, χερσοῦνται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκανθῶν καὶ βοτανῶν ποικίλων, οὕτως οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ πιστεύσαντες καὶ εἰς ταύτας τὰς πράξεις τὰς πολλὰς ἐμπίπτοντες τὰς προειρημένας, ἀποπλανῶνται ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως νοοῦσι περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἀκούσωσι περὶ θεότητος καὶ ἀληθείας, ὁ νοῦς αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν πράξιν αὐτῶν καταγίνεται, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως νοοῦσιν. 6. οἱ δὲ φόβον ἔχοντες θεοῦ καὶ ἐρευνῶντες περὶ θεότητος καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸν κύριον, πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα αὐτοῖς τάχιον νοοῦσι καὶ συνίουσιν,<sup>1</sup> ὅτι ἔχουσι τὸν φόβον τοῦ κυρίου ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· ὅπου γὰρ ὁ κύριος κατοικεῖ, ἐκεῖ καὶ σύνεσις πολλή. 7. ἐκκολληθήσεται οὖν τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ πάντα συνήσεις καὶ νοήσεις.

Ps. 111, 10;  
Prov. 1, 7;  
etc.

Ecclus. 2, 3

<sup>1</sup> τάχιον νοοῦσι καὶ συνίουσι Ath (LE), ταχύνουσι καὶ νοοῦσι A.

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



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### II

1. "Ακουε οὖν, φησίν, ἀνόητε, πῶς ἡ λύπη ἐκτρίβει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ πάλιν σώζει.  
2. ὅταν ὁ δίψυχος ἐπιβάληται πράξιν τινα καὶ ταύτης ἀποτύχη διὰ τὴν διψυχίαν αὐτοῦ, ἡ λύπη αὕτη εἰσπορεύεται εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ λυπεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐκτρίβει αὐτό.  
3. εἶτα πάλιν ἡ ὀξυχολία ὅταν κολληθῆ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ περὶ πράγματός τινος, καὶ λίαν πικραθῆ, πάλιν ἡ λύπη εἰσπορεύεται εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ὀξυχολήσαντος, καὶ λυπεῖται ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτοῦ ἢ ἔπραξε καὶ μετανοεῖ, ὅτι πονηρὸν εἰργάσατο. 4. αὕτη οὖν ἡ λύπη δοκεῖ σωτηρίαν ἔχειν, ὅτι τὸ πονηρὸν πράξας μετενόησεν. ἀμφοτέραι οὖν αἱ πράξεις λυποῦσι τὸ πνεῦμα· ἡ μὲν διψυχία, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπέτυχε τῆς πράξεως αὐτῆς, ἡ δὲ ὀξυχολία λυπεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα, ὅτι ἔπραξε τὸ πονηρὸν. ἀμφοτέρα οὖν λυπηρά ἐστι τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, ἡ διψυχία καὶ ἡ ὀξυχολία. 5. ἄρον οὖν ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ τὴν λύπην καὶ μὴ θλίβε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ἐν σοὶ κατοικοῦν, μήποτε ἐντεύξεται τῷ θεῷ<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀποστῆ ἀπὸ σοῦ. 6. τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ δοθὲν εἰς τὴν σάρκα ταύτην λύπην οὐχ ὑποφέρει οὐδὲ στενοχωρίαν.

Eph. 4, 30

### III

1. "Ἐνδυσαι οὖν τὴν ἰλαρότητα, τὴν πάντοτε ἔχουσαν χάριν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτον

<sup>1</sup> τῷ θεῷ EL Ath.<sup>2</sup> Ant., κατὰ σοῦ A, κατὰ σοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ Ath.<sup>1</sup>

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οὔσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐντρυφᾶ ἐν αὐτῇ. πᾶς γὰρ ἰλαρὸς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὰ ἐργάζεται καὶ ἀγαθὰ φρονεῖ καὶ καταφρονεῖ τῆς λύπης. 2. ὁ δὲ λυπηρὸς ἀνὴρ πάντοτε πονηρεύεται· πρῶτον μὲν πονηρεύεται, ὅτι λυπεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ δοθὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἰλαρόν· δεύτερον δὲ λυπῶν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀνομίαν ἐργάζεται, μὴ ἐντυγχάνων μηδὲ ἐξομολογούμενος τῷ κυρίῳ. Πάντοτε γὰρ λυπηροῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ ἔντευξις οὐκ ἔχει δύναμιν τοῦ ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. Διατί, φημί, οὐκ ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἡ ἔντευξις τοῦ λυπουμενοῦ; Ὅτι, φησὶν, ἡ λύπη ἐγκάθηται εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ. μεμιγμένη οὖν ἡ λύπη μετὰ τῆς ἐντεύξεως οὐκ ἀφήσιν τὴν ἔντευξιν ἀναβῆναι καθαρὰν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὄξος καὶ οἶνος μεμιγμένα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡδουὴν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ λύπη μεμιγμένη μετὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος τὴν αὐτὴν ἔντευξιν οὐκ ἔχει. 4. καθάρισον οὖν σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης τῆς πονηρᾶς ταύτης, καὶ ζήση τῷ θεῷ· καὶ πάντες ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ, ὅσοι ἂν ἀποβάλωσιν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν λύπην καὶ ἐνδύσωνται πᾶσαν ἰλαρότητα.

### Ἐντολή ια'

1. Ἐδειξέ μοι ἐπὶ συμφελλίου καθήμενους ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἕτερον ἄνθρωπον καθήμενον ἐπὶ καθέδραν, καὶ λέγει μοι· Βλέπεις τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ συμφελλίου καθήμενους; Βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. Οὗτοι, φησί, πιστοί εἰσι, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τὴν καθέδραν ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν, ὃς ἀπόλλυσι

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

#### MANDATE 11

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

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ· τῶν διψύχων δὲ ἀπόλλυσιν, οὐ τῶν πιστῶν. 2. οὗτοι οὖν οἱ δίψυχοι ὡς ἐπὶ μάντιν ἔρχονται καὶ ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτόν, τί ἄρα ἔσται αὐτοῖς· κακείνος ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης, μηδεμίαν ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ δύναμιν πνεύματος θείου, λαλεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰ ἐπερωτήματα αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ πληροῖ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, καθὼς αὐτοὶ βούλονται. 3. αὐτὸς γὰρ κενὸς ὢν κενὰ καὶ ἀποκρίνεται κενοῖς· ὁ γὰρ ἐὰν ἐπερωτηθῆ, πρὸς τὸ κένωμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκρίνεται. τινὰ δὲ καὶ ῥήματα ἀληθῆ λαλεῖ· ὁ γὰρ διάβολος πληροῖ αὐτὸν τῷ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι, εἴ τινα δυνήσεται ῥῆξαι τῶν δικαίων. 4. ὅσοι οὖν ἰσχυροὶ εἰσιν ἐν τῇ πίστει τοῦ κυρίου, ἐνδεδυμένοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τοῖς τοιούτοις πνεύμασιν οὐ κολλῶνται, ἀλλ' ἀπέχονται ἀπ' αὐτῶν· ὅσοι δὲ δίψυχοί εἰσι καὶ πυκνῶς μετανοοῦσι, μαντεύονται ὡς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἑαυτοῖς μείζονα ἁμαρτίαν ἐπιφέρουσιν εἰδωλολατροῦντες· ὁ γὰρ ἐπερωτῶν ψευδοπροφήτην περὶ πράξεώς τινος εἰδωλολάτρης ἐστὶ καὶ κενὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἄφρων. 5. πᾶν γὰρ πνεῦμα ἀπὸ θεοῦ δοθὲν οὐκ ἐπερωτᾶται, ἀλλὰ ἔχον τὴν δύναμιν τῆς θεότητος ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λαλεῖ πάντα, ὅτι ἄνωθέν ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θείου πνεύματος. 6. τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐπερωτώμενον καὶ λαλοῦν κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπίγειόν ἐστι καὶ ἐλαφρόν, δύναμιν μὴ ἔχον· καὶ ὅλως οὐ λαλεῖ, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπερωτηθῆ. 7. Πῶς οὖν, φημί, κύριε, ἄνθρωπος γινώσεται, τίς αὐτῶν προφήτης καὶ τίς ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν; Ἄκουε, φησί, περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν προφητῶν· καὶ

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# HISTORY

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ὡς σοι μέλλω λέγειν, οὕτω δοκιμάσεις τὸν προφήτην καὶ τὸν ψευδοπροφήτην. ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς δοκιμάζε τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἔχοντα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον. 8. πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἔχων τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄνωθεν<sup>1</sup> πραῦς ἐστὶ καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ταπεινόφρων καὶ ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ματαίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐνδεέστερον ποιεῖ πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνεται ἐπερωτώμενος, οὐδὲ καταμόνας λαλεῖ, οὐδὲ ὅταν θέλη ἄνθρωπος λαλεῖν, λαλεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀλλὰ τότε λαλεῖ, ὅταν θελήσῃ αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς λαλήσαι. 9. ὅταν οὖν ἔλθῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἔχων τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον εἰς συναγωγὴν ἀνδρῶν δικαίων τῶν ἐχόντων πίστιν θεοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ἔντευξις γένηται πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων, τότε ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος<sup>2</sup> ὁ κείμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν πληροῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ πληρωθεὶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ λαλεῖ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος, καθὼς ὁ κύριος βούλεται. 10. οὕτως οὖν φανερὸν ἔσται τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς θεότητος. ὅση οὖν περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς θεότητος τοῦ κυρίου ἡ δύναμις αὕτη. 11. ἄκουε νῦν, φησί, περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἐπιγείου καὶ κενοῦ καὶ δύναμιν μὴ ἔχοντος, ἀλλὰ ὄντος μωροῦ. 12. πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ὁ δοκῶν πνεῦμα ἔχειν ὑψοῖ ἑαυτὸν καὶ θέλει πρωτοκαθεδρίαν ἔχειν, καὶ εὐθύς ἰταμός ἐστὶ καὶ ἀναιδής καὶ πολύλαλος καὶ ἐν τρυφαῖς πολλαῖς ἀναστρεφόμενος καὶ ἐν ἑτέραις πολλαῖς

<sup>1</sup> τὸ ἄνωθεν AL<sub>1</sub>, τὸ θεῖον τὸ ἄνωθεν EL<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος L<sub>2</sub>E<sub>1</sub>, τοῦ προφητοῦ A, nuntius sanctus divinitatis (ἄγγελος ἅγιος θεότητος).

## THE SHEPHERD, MAND. XI. 7-12

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



ἀπάταις καὶ μισθοὺς λαμβάνων τῆς προφητείας αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ λάβῃ, οὐ προφητεύει. δύναται οὖν πνεῦμα θεῖον μισθοὺς λαμβάνειν καὶ προφητεύειν; οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τοῦτο ποιεῖν θεοῦ προφήτην, ἀλλὰ τῶν τοιούτων προφητῶν ἐπίγειόν ἐστι τὸ πνεῦμα. 13. εἶτα ὅλως εἰς συναγωγὴν ἀνδρῶν δικαίων οὐκ ἐγγίξει, ἀλλ' ἀποφεύγει αὐτούς· κολλᾶται δὲ τοῖς διψύχοις καὶ κενοῖς καὶ κατὰ γωνίαν αὐτοῖς προφητεύει καὶ ἀπατᾶ αὐτοὺς λαλῶν κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν πάντα κενῶς· κενοῖς γὰρ καὶ ἀποκρίνεται· τὸ γὰρ κενὸν σκεῦος μετὰ τῶν κενῶν συντιθέμενον οὐ θραύεται, ἀλλὰ συμφωνοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις. 14. ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ εἰς συναγωγὴν πλήρη ἀνδρῶν δικαίων ἐχόντων πνεῦμα θεότητος καὶ ἐντευξίς ἀπ' αὐτῶν γένηται, κενοῦται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐπίγειον ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου φεύγει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ κωφοῦται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὅλως συνθραύεται, μηδὲν δυνάμενος λαλῆσαι. 15. ἐὰν γὰρ εἰς ἀποθήκην στιβάσης οἶνον ἢ ἔλαιον καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς θῆς κεράμιον κενόν, καὶ πάλιν ἀποστιβάσαι θελήσῃς τὴν ἀποθήκην, τὸ κεράμιον ἐκεῖνο, ὃ ἔθηκας κενόν, κενὸν καὶ εὐρήσεις· οὕτω καὶ οἱ προφήται οἱ κενοὶ ὅταν ἔλθωσιν εἰς πνεύματα δικαίων, ὅποιοι ἦλθον, τοιοῦτοι καὶ εὐρίσκονται. 16. ἔχεις ἀμφοτέρων τῶν προφητῶν τὴν ζωὴν. δοκίμαζε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῆς ζωῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν πνευματοφόρον εἶναι. 17. σὺ δὲ πίστευε τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἔχοντι δύναμιν· τῷ δὲ πνεύματι τῷ ἐπιγείῳ καὶ κενῷ μηδὲν πίστευε, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμις οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου γὰρ ἔρχεται. 18. ἀκου-

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

σον οὖν<sup>1</sup> τὴν παραβολήν, ἣν μέλλω σοι λέγειν· λάβε λίθον καὶ βάλε εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἴδε, εἰ δύνασαι ἄψασθαι αὐτοῦ· ἢ πάλιν λάβε σίφωνα ὕδατος καὶ σιφώνισον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἴδε, εἰ δύνασαι τρυπῆσαι τὸν οὐρανόν. 19. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, δύναται ταῦτα γενέσθαι; ἀδύνατα γὰρ ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα εἶρηκας. Ὡς ταῦτα οὖν φησίν, ἀδύνατά ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἐπίγεια ἀδύνατά ἐστι καὶ ἀδρανῆ. 20. λάβε οὖν<sup>2</sup> τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐρχομένην· ἡ χάλαζα ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι κοκκάριον, καὶ ὅταν ἐπιπέσῃ ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἀνθρώπου, πῶς πόνον παρέχει; ἢ πάλιν λάβε σταγόνα, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κεράμου πίπτει χαμαὶ καὶ τρυπᾷ τὸν λίθον. 21. βλέπεις οὖν ὅτι τὰ ἄνωθεν ἐλάχιστα πίπτοντα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν μεγάλην δύναμιν ἔχει· οὕτω καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενον δυνατόν ἐστι· τούτῳ οὖν τῷ πνεύματι πίστευε, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀπέχου.

### Ἐντολὴ ιβ'.

#### I

1. Λέγει μοι ὁ Ἄρον ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν πονηράν, ἐνδύσαι δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν ἀγαθὴν καὶ σεμνήν· ἐνδεδυμένος γὰρ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ταύτην μισήσεις τὴν πονηρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ χαλιναγωγήσεις αὐτήν, καθὼς βούλει. 2. ἀγρία γὰρ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἢ πονηρὰ καὶ δυσκόλως ἡμεροῦται. φοβερὰ γὰρ ἐστι καὶ λίαν τῇ ἀγριό-

<sup>1</sup> οὖν L (ergo) E (now), om. A.

<sup>2</sup> οὖν A, νῦν L (E is confused).

## THE SHEPHERD, MAND. XI. 18-XII. i. 2

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

### MANDATE 12

#### I

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

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

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τητι αὐτῆς δαπανᾶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· μάλιστα δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν δοῦλος θεοῦ καὶ μὴ ἢ συνετός, δαπανᾶται ὑπ' αὐτῆς δεινῶς· δαπανᾶ δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας ἔνδυμα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀγαθῆς, ἀλλὰ ἐμπεφυρμένους τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ· τούτους οὖν παραδίδωσιν εἰς θάνατον. 3. Ποῖα, φημί, κύριε, ἔργα ἐστὶν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς πονηρᾶς τὰ παραδιδόντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς θάνατον; γνώρισόν μοι, ἵνα ἀφέξωμαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν. "Ἀκουσον, φησὶν,<sup>1</sup> ἐν ποίοις ἔργοις θανατοῖ ἢ ἐπιθυμία ἢ πονηρὰ τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ.

### II

1. Πάντων προέχουσα ἐπιθυμία γυναικὸς ἀλλοτρίας ἢ ἀνδρὸς καὶ πολυτελείας πλούτου καὶ ἐδεσμάτων πολλῶν ματαίων καὶ μεθυσμάτων καὶ ἑτέρων τρυφῶν πολλῶν καὶ μωρῶν· πᾶσα γὰρ τρυφή μωρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ κενὴ τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. 2. αὗται οὖν αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι πονηραὶ εἰσι, θανατοῦσαι τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ· αὕτη γὰρ ἢ ἐπιθυμία ἢ πονηρὰ τοῦ διαβόλου θυγάτηρ ἐστίν. ἀπέχεσθαι οὖν δεῖ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν πονηρῶν, ἵνα ἀποσχόμενοι ζήσητε τῷ θεῷ. 3. ὅσοι δὲ ἂν κατακυριευθῶσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἀντισταθῶσιν αὐταῖς, ἀποθανοῦνται εἰς τέλος· θανατώδεις γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι<sup>2</sup> αὗται. 4. σὺ δὲ ἔνδυσαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ καθοπλισάμενος τὸν φόβον τοῦ κυρίου ἀντίστηθι αὐταῖς· ὁ γὰρ φόβος τοῦ θεοῦ κατοικεῖ ἐν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῇ ἀγαθῇ.

<sup>1</sup> φησὶν om. A.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιθυμίαι εἰς τέλος A.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Jam. 4, 7

ἢ ἐπιθυμία ἢ πονηρὰ ἐὰν ἴδῃ σε καθωπλισμένον τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθεστηκότα αὐτῇ, φεύξεται ἀπὸ σοῦ μακρὰν καὶ οὐκέτι σοι ὀφθήσεται φοβουμένη τὰ ὄπλα σου. 5. σὺ οὖν νικήσας καὶ<sup>1</sup> στεφανωθείς κατ' αὐτῆς ἐλθὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ παραδὸς αὐτῇ τὸ νίκος, ὃ ἔλαβες, δούλευσον αὐτῇ, καθὼς αὐτῇ βούλεται. ἐὰν δουλεύσης τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῇ ἀγαθῇ καὶ ὑποταγῆς αὐτῇ, δυνήσῃ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς πονηρᾶς κατακυριεῦσαι καὶ ὑποτάξαι αὐτήν, καθὼς βούλει.

### III

Ps. 15, 2

1. "Ἦθελον, φημί, κύριε, γνῶναι, ποίοις τρόποις με δεῖ δουλεῦσαι τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῇ ἀγαθῇ. "Ἀκουε, φησὶν· ἔργασαι δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀρετὴν, ἀλήθειαν καὶ φόβον κυρίου, πίστιν καὶ πραότητα καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοιά ἐστιν ἀγαθά. ταῦτα ἐργαζόμενος εὐάρεστος ἔσῃ δούλος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ζήσῃ αὐτῷ· καὶ πᾶς, ὃς ἂν δουλεύσῃ τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῇ ἀγαθῇ, ζήσεται τῷ θεῷ. 2. συνετέλεσεν οὖν τὰς ἐντολὰς τὰς δώδεκα καὶ λέγει μοι· "Ἐχεις τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας· πορεύου ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας παρακάλει, ἵνα ἡ μετάνοια αὐτῶν καθαρὰ γένηται τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν. 3. τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην, ἣν σοι δίδωμι, ἐκτέλει ἐπιμελῶς, καὶ πολὺ ἐργάσῃ· εὐρήσεις γὰρ χάριν ἐν τοῖς μέλλουσι μετανοεῖν, καὶ πείσ-

<sup>1</sup> νικήσας καὶ om A. (The exact words are of course doubtful, but LE both imply some such phrase before στεφανωθείς. Hollenberg and Funk read· νίκος λαβών to correspond with τὸ νίκος ὃ ἔλαβες.)

## THE SHEPHERD, MAND. XII. ii. 4-iii. 3

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

### III

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

Conclusion  
of Mandates



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Ps. 19, 8 ;  
104, 15

θήσονται σου τοῖς ῥήμασιν· ἐγὼ γὰρ μετὰ σοῦ<sup>1</sup>  
ἔσομαι καὶ ἀναγκάσω αὐτοὺς πεισθῆναί σοι .  
4. Λέγω αὐτῶ· Κύριε, αἱ ἐντολαὶ αὐταὶ μεγάλαι  
καὶ καλαὶ καὶ ἐνδοξοὶ εἰσι καὶ δυνάμεναι εὐφρᾶναι  
καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ δυναμένου τηρῆσαι αὐτάς.  
οὐκ οἶδα δέ, εἰ δύνανται αἱ ἐντολαὶ αὐταὶ ὑπὸ  
ἀνθρώπου φυλαχθῆναι, διότι σκληραὶ εἰσι λίαν.  
5. ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει μοι· Ἐὰν σὺ σεαυτῶ προθῆς,  
ὅτι δύνανται φυλαχθῆναι, εὐκόλως αὐτὰς φυλάξεις  
καὶ οὐκ ἔσονται σκληραὶ· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν  
σου ἤδη ἀναβῆ μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτὰς ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου  
φυλαχθῆναι, οὐ φυλάξεις αὐτάς. 6. νῦν δέ σοι  
λέγω· ἐὰν ταύτας μὴ φυλάξης, ἀλλὰ παρενθυμη-  
θῆς, οὐχ ἔξεις σωτηρίαν οὔτε τὰ τέκνα σου οὔτε  
ὁ οἶκός σου. ἐπεὶ ἤδη σεαυτῶ κέκρικας τοῦ μὴ  
δύνασθαι τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου  
φυλαχθῆναι.

### IV

1. Καὶ ταῦτά μοι λίαν ὀργίλως ἐλάλησεν, ὥστε  
με συγχυθῆναι καὶ λίαν αὐτὸν φοβηθῆναι· ἡ  
μορφὴ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἠλλοιώθη, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι  
ἄνθρωπον ὑπενεγκεῖν τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ.<sup>2</sup> 2. ἰδὼν  
δέ με τεταραγμένον ὅλον καὶ συγκεχυμένον ἤρξατό  
μοι ἐπιεικέστερον καὶ ἰλαρώτερον λαλεῖν καὶ  
λέγει· Ἄφρον, ἀσύνετε καὶ δίψυχε, οὐ νοεῖς τὴν  
δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ, πῶς μεγάλη ἐστὶ καὶ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> There are some indications that in some recensions the Similitudes began here. A inserts ἀρχή before the next paragraph and E inserts *initium similitudinum*.

<sup>2</sup> A inserts here σὺ συνέκλεισας φῶς καὶ ἐχώρισας τὸ σκότος ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἐθεμελίωσας τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἔκτισας καρποὺς παντα-

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Ps. 8, 7

θαυμαστή, ὅτι ἔκτισε τὸν κόσμον ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ ὑπέταξε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν πᾶσαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τοῦ κατακυριεύειν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν πάντων; 3. εἰ οὖν φησὶν, πάντων ὁ ἄνθρωπος κύριός ἐστι τῶν κτισμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πάντων κατακυριεύει, οὐ δύναται καὶ τούτων τῶν ἐντολῶν κατακυριεύσαι; δύναται, φησί, πάντων καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων κατακυριεύσαι ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἔχων τὸν κύριον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. 4. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν ἔχοντες τὸν κύριον, τὴν δὲ καρδίαν αὐτῶν πεπωρωμένην καὶ μακρὰν ὄντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ἐκείνοις αἱ ἐντολαὶ αὐταὶ σκληραὶ εἰσι καὶ δύσβατοι. 5. θέσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς, οἱ κενοὶ καὶ ἑλαφροὶ ὄντες ἐν τῇ πίστει, τὸν κύριον ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ γνώσεσθε, ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστιν εὐκοπώτερον τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων οὔτε γλυκύτερον οὔτε ἡμερώτερον. 6. ἐπιστράφητε ὑμεῖς οἱ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς πορευόμενοι τοῦ διαβόλου, ταῖς δυσκόλοις καὶ πικραῖς καὶ ἀγρίαις καὶ ἀσελγέσι, καὶ μὴ φοβήθητε τὸν διάβολον, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμις οὐκ ἔστιν καθ' ὑμῶν. 7. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν, ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας ὁ κατακυριεύων αὐτοῦ. ὁ διάβολος μόνον φόβον ἔχει, ὁ δὲ φόβος αὐτοῦ τόνον οὐκ ἔχει. μὴ φοβήθητε οὖν αὐτόν, καὶ φεύξεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν.

### V

1. Λέγω αὐτῷ. Κύριε, ἄκουσόν μου ὀλίγων ῥημάτων. Λέγε, φησὶν, ὃ βούλει. Ὁ μὲν ἄνθρωπος, φημί, κύριε, πρόθυμός ἐστι τὰς ἐντολάς

## THE SHEPHERD, MAND. XII. iv. 2-V. I

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

### V

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τοῦ θεοῦ φυλάσσειν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὁ μὴ αἰτούμενος παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα ἐνδυναμωθῆ ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποταγῆ αὐταῖς· ἀλλ' ὁ διάβολος σκληρὸς ἐστὶ καὶ καταδυναστεύει αὐτῶν.

2. Οὐ δύναται, φησί, καταδυναστεύειν τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας ἐλπίζόντων ἐπ' αὐτόν. δύναται ὁ διάβολος ἀντιπαλαῖσαι, καταπαλαῖσαι δὲ οὐ δύναται. ἐὰν οὖν ἀντισταθῆτε αὐτῷ, νικηθεὶς φεύξεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν κατησχυμμένος. ὅσοι δέ, φησὶν, ἀπόκενοί εἰσι, φοβοῦνται τὸν διάβολον ὡς δύναμιν ἔχοντα.

3. ὅταν ὁ ἄνθρωπος κεράμια ἱκανώτατα γεμίση οἴνου καλοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κεραμίοις ἐκείνοις ὀλίγα ἀπόκενα ἦ, ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τὰ κεράμια καὶ οὐ κατανοεῖ τὰ πλήρη· οἶδε γάρ, ὅτι πλήρη εἰσὶ· κατανοεῖ δὲ τὰ ἀπόκενα, φοβούμενος, μήποτε ὥξισαν· ταχὺ γὰρ τὰ ἀπόκενα κεράμια ὀξίζουσι, καὶ ἀπόλλυται ἡ ἡδονὴ τοῦ οἴνου.

4. οὕτω καὶ ὁ διάβολος ἔρχεται ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκπειράζων αὐτούς. ὅσοι οὖν πλήρεις εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ πίστει, ἀνθεστήκασιν αὐτῷ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ κεῖνος ἀποχωρεῖ ἀπ' αὐτῶν μὴ ἔχων τόπον, ποῦ εἰσέλθῃ. ἔρχεται οὖν τότε πρὸς τοὺς ἀποκένους καὶ ἔχων τόπον εἰσπορεύεται εἰς αὐτούς, καὶ ὁ δὲ βούλεται ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐργάζεται, καὶ γίνονται αὐτῷ ὑπόδουλοι.

Jam. 4, 7

## VI

1. Ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω, ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας· μὴ φοβήθητε τὸν διάβολον. ἀπεστάλην γάρ, φησί, μεθ' ὑμῶν εἶναι τῶν μετανοούντων ἐξ ὅλης

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

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

καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἰσχυροποιῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ πίστει. 2. πιστεύσατε οὖν τῷ θεῷ ὑμεῖς οἱ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν ἀπεγνωκότες τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν καὶ προστιθέντες ἁμαρτίαις καὶ καταβαρύνοντες τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν, ὅτι, εἰ ἐπιστραφῆτε πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ ἐργάσησθε τὴν δικαιοσύνην, τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν καὶ δουλεύσητε αὐτῷ ὀρθῶς κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ, ποιήσει ἴασις τοῖς προτέροις ὑμῶν ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ ἔξετε δύναμιν τοῦ κατακυριεῦσαι τῶν ἔργων τοῦ διαβόλου. τὴν δὲ ἀπειλὴν τοῦ διαβόλου ὅλως μὴ φοβήθητε· ἄτονος γάρ ἐστιν ὡσπερ νεκροῦ νεῦρα. 3. ἀκούσατε οὖν μου καὶ φοβήθητε τὸν πάντα δυνάμενον, σῶσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι, καὶ τηρεῖτε τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας, καὶ ζήσεσθε τῷ θεῷ. 4. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, νῦν ἐνεδυναμώθη ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς δικαιώμασι τοῦ κυρίου, ὅτι σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ· καὶ οἶδα, ὅτι συγκόψεις τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ διαβόλου πᾶσαν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ κατακυριεύσομεν καὶ κατισχύσομεν πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐλπίζω, κύριε, δύνασθαί με τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας, ἅς ἐντέταλσαι, τοῦ κυρίου ἐνδυναμοῦντος φυλάξαι. 5. Φυλάξεις, φησὶν, εἰ ἡ καρδία σου καθαρὰ γένηται πρὸς κύριον· καὶ πάντες δὲ φυλάξουσιν, ὅσοι ἂν καθάρισωσιν ἑαυτῶν τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ τῶν ματαίων ἐπιθυμιῶν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, καὶ ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ.

Jam. 4, 12

## THE SHEPHERD, MAND. XII. vi. 1-5

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

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### ΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΑΙ<sup>1</sup> ΑΣ ΕΛΑΛΗΣΕ ΜΕΤ' ΕΜΟΥ

1. Λέγει μοι· Οἴδατε, φησίν, ὅτι ἐπὶ ξένης κατοικεῖτε ὑμεῖς οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ· ἡ γὰρ πόλις ὑμῶν μακράν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης· εἰ οὖν οἴδατε, φησί, τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν, ἐν ἧ ἔμελλετε κατοικεῖν, τί ὧδε ὑμεῖς ἐτοιμάζετε ἀγρούς καὶ παρατάξεις πολυτελεῖς καὶ οἰκοδομὰς καὶ οἰκήματα μάταια; 2. ταῦτα οὖν ὁ ἐτοιμάζων εἰς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν οὐ δύναται<sup>2</sup> ἐπανακάμψαι εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν. 3. ἄφρον καὶ δίψυχε καὶ ταλαίπωρε ἄνθρωπε, οὐ νοεῖς, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἀλλότριά εἰσι καὶ ὑπ' ἐξουσίαν ἑτέρου εἰσίν; ἐρεῖ γὰρ ὁ κύριος τῆς πόλεως ταύτης· Οὐ θέλω σε κατοικεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μου, ἀλλ' ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, ὅτι τοῖς νόμοις μου οὐ χρᾶσαι. 4. σὺ οὖν ἔχων ἀγρούς καὶ οἰκήσεις καὶ ἑτέρας ὑπάρξεις πολλάς, ἐκβαλλόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τί ποιήσεις σου τὸν ἀγρὸν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὅσα ἠτοίμασας σεαυτῷ; λέγει γὰρ σοι δικαίως ὁ κύριος τῆς χώρας ταύτης· Ἡ τοῖς νόμοις μου χρῶ ἢ ἐκχώρει ἐκ τῆς χώρας μου. 5. σὺ οὖν τί μέλλεις ποιεῖν, ἔχων νόμον ἐν τῇ σῇ πόλει; ἔνεκεν τῶν ἀγρῶν σου καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ὑπάρξεως τὸν νόμον σου πάντως ἀπαρνήση καὶ πορεύσῃ τῷ νόμῳ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης; βλέπε,

<sup>1</sup> Translated *Similitudines* in L, hence the custom of quoting this section of the Shepherd as the "Similitudes."

<sup>2</sup> δύναται A, cogitat L, vult E. (LE perhaps represent προσδοκᾶ).

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

μὴ ἀσύμφoron ἐστὶν ἀπαρνηῆσαι τὸν νόμον σου·  
 εἰ γὰρ ἐπανακάμψαι θελήσης εἰς τὴν πόλιν σου,  
 οὐ μὴ παραδεχθήσῃ, ὅτι ἀπηνήσω τὸν νόμον  
 τῆς πόλεώς σου, καὶ ἐκκλεισθήσῃ ἀπ' αὐτῆς.

6. βλέπε οὖν σύ· ὡς ἐπὶ ξένης κατοικῶν μηδὲν  
 πλέον ἐτοίμαζε σεαυτῷ, εἰ μὴ τὴν αὐτάρκειαν  
 τὴν ἀρκετὴν σοι, καὶ ἐτοιμος γίνου, ἵνα, ὅταν  
 θέλῃ ὁ δεσπότης τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἐκβαλεῖν σε  
 ἀντιταξάμενον τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ, ἐξέλθῃς ἐκ τῆς  
 πόλεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέλθῃς ἐν τῇ πόλει σου καὶ  
 τῷ σῷ νόμῳ χρήσῃ ἀνυβρίστως ἀγαλλιώμενος.<sup>1</sup>

Ps. 103, 18

7. <sup>βλ</sup> βλέπετε οὖν ὑμεῖς οἱ δουλεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ  
 ἔχοντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν· ἐργάζεσθε τὰ  
 ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ μνημονεύοντες τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν ὧν ἐπηγγείλατο, καὶ πιστεύ-  
 σατε αὐτῷ, ὅτι ποιήσει αὐτάς, εἰάν αἱ ἐντολαὶ  
 αὐτοῦ φυλαχθῶσιν.

Jam. 1, 27

8. ἀντὶ ἀγρῶν οὖν ἀγορά-  
 ζετε ψυχὰς θλιβομένας, καθά τις δυνατός ἐστι,  
 καὶ χήρας καὶ ὀρφανοὺς ἐπισκέπτεσθε καὶ μὴ  
 παραβλέπετε αὐτούς, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ὑμῶν καὶ  
 τὰς παρατάξεις πάσας εἰς τοιούτους ἀγροὺς καὶ  
 οἰκίας δαπανᾶτε, ἃς ἐλάβετε παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.

9. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπλούτισεν ὑμᾶς ὁ δεσπότης, ἵνα  
 ταύτας τὰς διακονίας τελήσητε αὐτῷ· πολὺ  
 βέλτιόν ἐστι τοιούτους ἀγροὺς ἀγοράζειν καὶ  
 κτήματα καὶ οἴκους, οὓς εὐρήσεις ἐν τῇ πόλει σου,  
 ὅταν ἐπιδημήσῃς εἰς αὐτήν.

10. αὕτη ἡ πολυ-  
 τέλεια καλὴ καὶ ἱερά, λύπην μὴ ἔχουσα μηδὲ  
 φόβον, ἔχουσα δὲ χαράν. τὴν οὖν πολυτέλειαν  
 τῶν ἐθνῶν μὴ πράσσετε· ἀσύμφoron γάρ ἐστιν

<sup>1</sup> ἀνυβρίστως ἀγαλλιώμενος LE, ἀνυβρίστως καὶ ἀγαλλιωμένως.  
 A.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> ἀνυβρίστως is either active or passive: it may qualify ἀγαλλιώμενος, "in decorous joy," "joy unmixed with ὕβρις."

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ὑμῖν τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. 11. τὴν δὲ ἰδίαν πολυτέλειαν πράσσετε, ἐν ἣ δύνασθε χαρῆναι, καὶ μὴ παραχαράσσετε μηδὲ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου ἄψησθε μηδὲ ἐπιθυμεῖτε αὐτοῦ· πονηρὸν, γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν. τὸ δὲ σὸν ἔργον ἐργάζου, καὶ σωθήσῃ.

### Ἄλλη παραβολή

1. Περιπατοῦντός μου εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν καὶ κατανοοῦντος πτελέαν καὶ ἄμπελον καὶ διακρίνοντος περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν, φανεροῦταί μοι ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ λέγει· Τί σὺ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ζητεῖς περὶ τῆς πτελέας καὶ τῆς ἀμπέλου; Συζητῶ, φημί, κύριε,<sup>1</sup> ὅτι εὐπρεπέσταταί εἰσιν ἀλλήλαις. 2. Ταῦτα τὰ δύο δένδρα, φησὶν, εἰς τύπον κεῖνται τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. Ἦθελον, φημί, γνῶναι τὸν τύπον τῶν δένδρων τούτων ὧν λέγεις. Βλέπεις, φησί, τὴν πτελέαν καὶ τὴν ἄμπελον; Βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. 3. Ἡ ἄμπελος, φησὶν, αὕτη καρπὸν φέρει, ἡ δὲ πτελέα ξύλον ἄκαρπὸν ἐστὶν· ἀλλ' ἡ ἄμπελος αὕτη εἰ μὴ ἀναβῆ ἐπὶ τὴν πτελέαν, οὐ δύναται καρποφορῆσαι πολὺ ἐρριμμένη χαμαί, καὶ ὃν φέρει καρπὸν, σεσηπότα φέρει μὴ κρεμαμένη ἐπὶ τῆς πτελέας, ὅταν οὖν ἐπιρριφῆ ἡ ἄμπελος ἐπὶ τὴν πτελέαν, καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῆς φέρει καρπὸν καὶ παρὰ τῆς πτελέας. 4. Βλέπεις οὖν ὅτι καὶ ἡ πτελέα πολὺν καρπὸν δίδωσιν, οὐκ ἐλάσσονα τῆς ἀμπέλου, μάλλον δὲ καὶ πλείονα. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε,

<sup>1</sup> κύριε LE, om. A.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

πλείονα;<sup>1</sup> "Οτι, φησίν, ἡ ἄμπελος κρεμαμένη ἐπὶ τὴν πτελέαν τὸν καρπὸν πολὺν καὶ καλὸν δίδωσιν, ἐρριμμένη δὲ χαμαὶ<sup>2</sup> ὀλίγον καὶ σαπρὸν φέρει. αὕτη οὖν ἡ παραβολὴ εἰς τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ κεῖται, εἰς πτωχὸν καὶ πλούσιον. 5. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, γνώρισον μοι. "Ακουε, φησίν· ὁ μὲν πλούσιος ἔχει χρήματα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν κύριον πτωχεύει, περισπώμενος περὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ λίαν μικρὰν ἔχει τὴν ἔντευξιν καὶ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν πρὸς τὸν κύριον, καὶ ἣν ἔχει, βληχρὰν καὶ μικρὰν καὶ ἄλλην<sup>3</sup> μὴ ἔχουσαν δύναμιν. ὅταν οὖν ἐπαναπάῃ ἐπὶ τὸν πένητα ὁ πλούσιος καὶ χορηγήσῃ αὐτῷ τὰ δέοντα, πιστεύει, ὅτι ἐὰν ἐργάσῃται εἰς τὸν πένητα δυνηθήσεται τὸν μισθὸν εὐρεῖν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ· ὅτι ὁ πένης πλούσιός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ἐντεύξει καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξομολογήσει καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχει παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἢ ἔντευξις αὐτοῦ. ἐπιχορηγεῖ οὖν ὁ πλούσιος τῷ πένητι πάντα ἀδιστάκτως. 6. ὁ πένης δὲ ἐπιχορηγούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου ἐντυγχάνει τῷ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶν αὐτῷ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ διδόντος αὐτῷ· καὶ κείνος ἔτι ἐπισπουδάζει περὶ τοῦ πένητος, ἵνα ἀδιάλειπτος γένηται ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ· οἶδε γάρ, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ πένητος ἔντευξις προσδεκτὴ ἐστὶ καὶ πλουσία πρὸς κύριον. 7. ἀμφότεροι οὖν τὸ ἔργον τελοῦσιν· ὁ μὲν πένης ἐργάζεται τῇ ἐντεύξει, ἐν ἣ ἡ πλουτεῖ, ἣν ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου· ταύτην ἀποδίδωσι τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ ἐπιχορηγοῦντι αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ πλούσιος ὡσαύτως

<sup>1</sup> πῶς . . . πλείονα LE, om. A.

<sup>2</sup> χαμαὶ om. P<sup>oxy</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> ἄλλην conjectured from P<sup>oxy</sup> (ἀ . . ην), ἀνοῦ (= ἀνθρώπου) A.

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. II. 4-7

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



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τὸ πλοῦτος, ὃ ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ἀδιστάκτως παρέχεται τῷ πένητι. καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον μέγα ἐστὶ καὶ δεκτὸν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι συνῆκεν ἐπὶ τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰργάσατο εἰς τὸν πένητα ἐκ τῶν δωρημάτων τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐτέλεσε τὴν διακονίαν ὀρθῶς. 8. παρὰ τοῖς οὖν ἀνθρώποις ἢ πτελέα δοκεῖ καρπὸν μὴ φέρειν, καὶ οὐκ οἶδασιν οὐδὲ νοοῦσιν, ὅτι, ὅταν ἀβροχία γένηται, ἢ πτελέα ἔχουσα ὕδωρ τρέφει τὴν ἄμπελον καὶ ἢ ἄμπελος ἀδιάλειπτον ἔχουσα τὸ ὕδωρ διπλοῦν τὸν καρπὸν ἀποδίδωσι, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πτελέας. οὕτως καὶ οἱ πένητες ὑπὲρ τῶν πλουσίων ἐντυγχάνοντες πρὸς τὸν κύριον πληροφοροῦσι τὸ πλοῦτος αὐτῶν, καὶ πάλιν οἱ πλούσιοι χορηγοῦντες τοῖς πένησι τὰ δέοντα πληροφοροῦσι τὰς εὐχὰς<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν. 9. γίνονται οὖν ἀμφοτέρωθεν κοινωνοὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ δικαίου. ταῦτα οὖν ὁ ποιῶν οὐκ ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔσται γεγραμμένος εἰς τὰς βίβλους τῶν ζώντων. 10. μακάριοι οἱ ἔχοντες καὶ συνιέντες, ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου πλουτίζονται, ὁ γὰρ συνίων τοῦτο δυνήσεται καὶ διακονῆσαί τι ἀγαθόν.

### Ἄλλη παραβολή

1. Ἐδειξέ μοι δένδρα πολλὰ μὴ ἔχοντα φύλλα, ἀλλ' ὡσεὶ ξηρὰ ἐδόκει μοι εἶναι· ὅμοια γὰρ ἦν πάντα. καὶ λέγει μοι· Βλέπεις τὰ δένδρα ταῦτα;

<sup>1</sup> εὐχὰς is a conjecture; ψυχὰς AL<sub>2</sub>, L<sub>1</sub>E paraphrase and clearly could not understand the Greek.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Βλέπω, φημί, κύριε, ὅμοια ὄντα καὶ ξηρά. ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· Ταῦτα τὰ δένδρα, ἃ βλέπεις, οἱ κατοικοῦντές εἰσιν ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ. 2. Διατί οὖν, φημί, κύριε, ὡσεὶ ξηρά εἰσι καὶ ὅμοια; "Οτι, φησὶν, οὔτε οἱ δίκαιοι φαίνονται οὔτε οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλ' ὅμοιοί εἰσιν· ὁ γὰρ αἰὼν οὗτος τοῖς δικαίοις χειμῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐ φαίνονται μετὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν κατοικοῦντες. 3. ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τὰ δένδρα ἀποβεβληκότα τὰ φύλλα ὅμοιά εἰσι καὶ οὐ φαίνονται τὰ ξηρὰ ποιά εἰσιν ἢ τὰ ζῶντα, οὕτως ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ οὐ φαίνονται οὔτε οἱ δίκαιοι οὔτε οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὅμοιοί εἰσιν.

### "Αλλη παραβολή

1. "Εδειξέ μοι πάλιν δένδρα πολλά, ἃ μὲν βλαστῶντα, ἃ δὲ ξηρά, καὶ λέγει μοι· Βλέπεις, φησί, τὰ δένδρα ταῦτα; Βλέπω, φημί, κύριε, τὰ μὲν βλαστῶντα τὰ δὲ ξηρά. 2. Ταῦτα, φησὶ, τὰ δένδρα τὰ βλαστῶντα οἱ δίκαιοί εἰσιν οἱ μέλλοντες κατοικεῖν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἐρχόμενον· ὁ γὰρ αἰὼν ὁ ἐρχόμενος θερεία ἐστὶ τοῖς δικαίοις, τοῖς δὲ ἁμαρτωλοῖς χειμῶν. ὅταν οὖν ἐπιλάμψῃ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ κυρίου, τότε φανερωθήσονται οἱ δουλεύοντες τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες φανερωθήσονται. 3. ὡσπερ γὰρ τῷ θερεί ενὸς ἐκάστου δένδρου οἱ καρποὶ φανεροῦνται καὶ ἐπιγινώσκονται ποταποὶ εἰσιν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν δικαίων οἱ καρποὶ φανεροὶ ἔσονται καὶ γνωσθήσονται πάντες εὐθαλεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι ἐκείνῳ. 4. τὰ δὲ ἔθνη καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί, ἃ εἶδες τὰ δένδρα

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. III. I-IV. 4

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

### ANOTHER PARABLE (IV)

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

The budding and withered trees

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τὰ ξηρά, τοιοῦτοι εὐρεθήσονται ξηροὶ καὶ ἄκαρποι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ αἰῶνι καὶ ὡς ξύλα κατακαυθήσονται καὶ φανεροὶ ἔσονται, ὅτι ἡ πράξις αὐτῶν πονηρὰ γέγονεν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἁμαρτωλοὶ καυθήσονται, ὅτι ἤμαρτον καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν· τὰ δὲ ἔθνη καυθήσονται, ὅτι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὸν κτίσαντα αὐτούς. 5. σὺ οὖν καρποφόρησον, ἵνα ἐν τῷ θέρει ἐκείνῳ γνωσθῇ σου ὁ καρπός· ἀπέχου δὲ ἀπὸ πολλῶν πράξεων καὶ οὐδὲν διαμαρτήσεις. οἱ γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ πράσσοντες πολλὰ καὶ ἁμαρτάνουσι, περισπώμενοι περὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν καὶ μηδέν<sup>1</sup> δουλεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ ἑαυτῶν. 6. πῶς οὖν, φησὶν, ὁ τοιοῦτος δύναται τι αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ λαβεῖν, μὴ δουλεύων τῷ κυρίῳ; οἱ δουλεύοντες αὐτῷ, ἐκεῖνοι λήψονται τὰ αἰτήματα αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ μὴ δουλεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν λήψονται. 7. εἰ δὲ μίαν τις πράξιν ἐργάσεται, δυνατὰ καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ δουλεῦσαι· οὐ γὰρ διαφθαρήσεται ἡ διάνοια αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ἀλλὰ δουλεύσει αὐτῷ ἔχων τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καθάραν. 8. ταῦτα οὖν εἰ ποιήσης, δύνασαι καρποφορῆσαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἐρχόμενον· καὶ ὅς ἂν ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, καρποφορήσει.

### Ἄλλη παραβολή

#### I

1. Νηστεύων καὶ καθήμενος εἰς ὄρος τι καὶ εὐχαριστῶν τῷ κυρίῳ περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησε

<sup>1</sup> μηδέν A, μηδέ L.

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# HISTORY

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

μετ' ἐμοῦ, βλέπω τὸν ποιμένα παρακαθήμενόν μοι καὶ λέγοντα· Τί ὀρθρινὸς ὧδε ἐλήλυθας; "Οτι, φημί, κύριε, στατίωνα ἔχω. 2. Τί, φησίν, ἐστὶ στατίων; Νηστεύω, φημί, κύριε. Νηστεία δέ; φησί, τί ἐστὶν αὕτη, ἣν νηστεύετε; Ὡς εἰώθειν, φημί, κύριε, οὕτω νηστεύω. 3. Οὐκ οἶδατε, φησί, νηστεύειν τῷ κυρίῳ, οὐδέ ἐστὶν νηστεία αὕτη ἢ ἀνωφελής, ἣν νηστεύετε αὐτῷ. Διατί, φημί, κύριε, τοῦτο λέγεις; Λέγω σοι, φησίν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν αὕτη νηστεία, ἣν δοκεῖτε νηστεύειν· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σε διδάξω, τί ἐστὶ νηστεία δεκτὴ καὶ πλήρης τῷ κυρίῳ.<sup>1</sup> "Ακουε, φησίν. 4. ὁ θεὸς οὐ βούλεται τοιαύτην νηστείαν ματαίαν· οὕτω γὰρ νηστεύων τῷ θεῷ οὐδὲν ἐργάσῃ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ. νήστευσον δὲ τῷ θεῷ νηστείαν τοιαύτην· 5. μηδὲν πονηρεύσῃ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου, ἀλλὰ δούλευσον τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ· τήρησον τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ πορευόμενος ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδεμία ἐπιθυμία πονηρὰ ἀναβήτω ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου· πίστευσον δὲ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι, ἐὰν ταῦτα ἐργάσῃ καὶ φοβηθῆς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγκρατεύσῃ ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος, ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ· καὶ ταῦτα ἐὰν ἐργάσῃ, μεγάλην νηστείαν ποιήσεις καὶ δεκτὴν τῷ θεῷ.

Mt. 19, 17

<sup>1</sup> κυρίῳ AEL<sub>2</sub>, κυρίῳ. Ναί, φημί, κύριε, μακάριόν με ποιήσεις ἐὰν γνῶ τὴν νηστείαν τὴν δεκτὴν τῷ θεῷ HL<sub>2</sub>.

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

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

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



## II

1. "Ακουε τὴν παραβολὴν, ἣν μέλλω σοι λέγειν, ἀνήκουσαν τῇ νηστείᾳ. 2. εἶχέ τις ἄγρον καὶ δούλους πολλοὺς καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα· καὶ ἐκλεξάμενος δούλόν τινα πιστὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον ἔντιμον,<sup>1</sup> προσεκαλέσατο αὐτὸν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Λάβε τὸν ἀμπελῶνα τοῦτον, ὃν ἐφύτευσα, καὶ χαράκωσον αὐτόν, ἕως ἔρχομαι, καὶ ἕτερον δὲ μὴ ποιήσης τῷ ἀμπελῶνι· καὶ ταύτην μου τὴν ἐντολὴν φύλαξον, καὶ ἐλεύθερος ἔσῃ παρ' ἐμοί. ἐξῆλθε δὲ ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ δούλου εἰς τὴν ἀποδημίαν. 3. ἐξελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν ὁ δούλος καὶ ἐχαράκωσε τὸν ἀμπελῶνα. καὶ τελέσας τὴν χαράκωσιν τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος εἶδε τὸν ἀμπελῶνα βοτανῶν πλήρη ὄντα. 4. ἐν ἑαυτῷ οὖν ἐλογίσατο λέγων· Ταύτην τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ κυρίου τετέλεκα· σκάψω λοιπὸν τὸν ἀμπελῶνα τοῦτον, καὶ ἔσται εὐπρεπέστερος ἔσκαμμένος, καὶ βοτάνας μὴ ἔχων δώσει καρπὸν πλείονα, μὴ πνιγόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν βοτανῶν. λαβὼν ἔσκαψε τὸν ἀμπελῶνα καὶ πάσας τὰς βοτάνας τὰς οὔσας ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι ἐξέτιλλε. καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἀμπελῶν ἐκεῖνος εὐπρεπέστατος καὶ εὐθαλής, μὴ ἔχων βοτάνας πνιγούσας αὐτόν. 5. μετὰ χρόνον ἦλθεν ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ δούλου καὶ τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα. καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν ἀμπελῶνα κεχαρακωμένον εὐπρεπῶς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἔσκαμ-

<sup>1</sup> There is probably something missing in the text: L<sub>1</sub> reads *deinde peregre profectus elegit servum etc.*, EL<sub>2</sub> paraphrase the whole, but insert the phrase *peregre afuturus*, or its equivalent.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

μένον καὶ πάσας τὰς βοτάνας ἐκτετιλμένας καὶ εὐθαλεῖς οὔσας τὰς ἀμπέλους, ἐχάρη λίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦ δούλου. 6. προσκαλεσάμενος οὖν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγαπητόν, ὃν εἶχε κληρονόμον, καὶ τοὺς φίλους, οὓς εἶχε συμβούλους, λέγει αὐτοῖς, ὅσα ἐνετείλατο τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα εὔρε γεγονότα. καὶ οὗτοι συνεχάρησαν τῷ δούλῳ ἐπὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ ἣ ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτῷ ὁ δεσπότης. 7. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἐγὼ τῷ δούλῳ τούτῳ ἐλευθερίαν ἐπηγγειλάμην,<sup>1</sup> εἴαν μου τὴν ἐντολὴν φυλάξῃ, ἣν ἐνετειλάμην αὐτῷ· ἐφύλαξε δέ μου τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ προσέθηκε τῷ ἀμπελῶνι ἔργον καλόν, καὶ ἐμοὶ λίαν ἤρεσεν. ἀντὶ τούτου οὖν τοῦ ἔργου οὗ εἰργάσατο θέλω αὐτὸν συγκληρονόμον τῷ υἱῷ μου ποιῆσαι, ὅτι τὸ καλὸν φρονήσας οὐ παρενεθυμήθη, ἀλλ' ἐτέλεσεν αὐτό. 8. ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ δεσπότης συνηυδόκησεν αὐτῷ, ἵνα συγκληρονόμος γένηται ὁ δούλος τῷ υἱῷ. 9. μετὰ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας δεῖπνον ἐποίησεν<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ δεῖπνου ἐδέσματα πολλά. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ δούλος τὰ ἐδέσματα τὰ πεμφθέντα αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότης τὰ ἀρκούντα αὐτῷ ἤρε, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ τοῖς συνδούλοις αὐτοῦ διέδωκεν. 10. οἱ δὲ σύνδουλοι αὐτοῦ λαβόντες τὰ ἐδέσματα ἐχάρησαν καὶ ἤρξαντο εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα χάριν μείζονα εὔρη παρὰ τῷ δεσπότη, ὅτι οὕτως ἐχρήσατο αὐτοῖς. 11. ταῦτα πάντα τὰ γεγονότα ὁ δεσπότης αὐτοῦ ἤκουσε

<sup>1</sup> ἐπηγγειλάμην A, Hilgenfeld and others emend to ἐνετειλάμην.

<sup>2</sup> ἐποίησεν A, L adds paterfamilias which the editors usually accept and translate οἰκοδεσπότης.

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. V. II. 5-11

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

καὶ πάλιν λίαν ἐχάρη ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτοῦ. συγκαλεσάμενος πάλιν τοὺς φίλους ὁ δεσπότης καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἔπραξεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐδέσμασιν αὐτοῦ οἷς ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον συνευδόκησαν γενέσθαι τὸν δούλον συγκληρονόμον τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ.

### III

1. Λέγω· Κύριε, ἐγὼ ταύτας τὰς παραβολὰς οὐ γινώσκω οὐδὲ δύναμαι νοῆσαι, ἐὰν μή μοι ἐπιλύσης αὐτάς. 2. Πάντα σοι ἐπιλύσω, φησί, καὶ ὅσα ἂν λαλήσω μετὰ σοῦ. 3. δείξω σοι τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> ἐὰν δέ τι ἀγαθὸν ποιήσης ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, σεαυτῷ περιποιήσῃ δόξαν περισσοτέραν καὶ ἔσῃ ἐνδοξότερος παρὰ τῷ θεῷ οὗ ἔμελλες εἶναι. ἐὰν οὖν φυλάσσω τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ προσθῆς καὶ τὰς λειτουργίας ταύτας, χαρήσῃ, ἐὰν τηρήσης αὐτάς κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐντολήν. 4. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, ὃ ἐάν μοι ἐντείλῃ, φυλάξω αὐτό· οἶδα γάρ, ὅτι σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ. "Ἔσομαι, φησί, μετὰ σοῦ, ὅτι τοιαύτην προθυμίαν ἔχεις τῆς ἀγαθοποιήσεως, καὶ μετὰ πάντων δὲ ἔσομαι, φησὶν, ὅσοι ταύτην τὴν προθυμίαν ἔχουσιν. 5. ἡ νηστεία αὕτη, φησί, τηρουμένων τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ κυρίου, λίαν καλὴ ἐστίν. οὕτως οὖν φυλάξεις τὴν νηστείαν ταύτην, ἣν μέλλεις τηρεῖν. 6. πρῶτον πάντων φύλαξαι

<sup>1</sup> τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ. A, mandata domini custodi et eris probatus et scriberis in numero eorum qui custodivit mandata eius L<sub>1</sub>(L<sub>2</sub>E) which the editors usually accept and re-translate into Greek.

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# HISTORY

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἀπὸ παντὸς ῥήματος πονηροῦ καὶ πάσης ἐπιθυμίας πονηρᾶς καὶ καθάρισόν σου τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ματαιωμάτων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. εἰὰν ταῦτα φυλάξης, ἔσται σοι αὕτη ἡ νηστεία τελεία. 7. οὕτω δὲ ποιήσεις· συντελέσας τὰ γεγραμμένα, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ νηστεύεις μηδὲν γεύσῃ εἰ μὴ ἄρτον καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων σου ὧν ἐμελλες τρώγειν συμψηφίσας τὴν ποσότητα τῆς δαπάνης ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἐμελλες ποιεῖν, δώσεις αὐτὸ χήρᾳ ἢ ὀρφανῶ ἢ ὑστερουμένῳ, καὶ οὕτω ταπεινοφρονήσεις, ἵν' ἐκ τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης σου ὁ εἰληφῶς ἐμπλήσῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν καὶ εὗξηται ὑπὲρ σοῦ πρὸς τὸν κύριον. 8. εἰὰν οὖν οὕτω τελέσῃς τὴν νηστείαν, ὡς σοι ἐνετειλάμην, ἔσται ἡ θυσία σου δεκτὴ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ,<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἔγγραφος ἔσται ἡ νηστεία αὕτη, καὶ ἡ λειτουργία οὕτως ἐργαζομένη καλὴ καὶ ἰλαρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτος τῷ κυρίῳ. 9. ταῦτα οὕτω τηρήσεις σὺ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων σου καὶ ὅλου τοῦ οἴκου σου· τηρήσας δὲ αὐτὰ μακάριος ἔσῃ· καὶ ὅσοι ἂν ἀκούσαντες αὐτὰ τηρήσωσι, μακάριοι ἔσονται, καὶ ὅσα ἂν αἰτήσωνται παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου λήψονται.

Ecclus. 32, 9  
(Vulg. 35. 9);  
Phillipp. 4,  
18, cf. Is. 56,  
7; etc.

### IV

1. Ἐδεήθην αὐτοῦ πολλά, ἵνα μοι δηλώσῃ τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος καὶ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ χαρακώσαντος τὸν ἀμπελῶνα καὶ τῶν χαράκων καὶ τῶν βοτανῶν τῶν ἐκτετιλμένων ἐκ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ

<sup>1</sup> θεῷ A Ant., κυρίῳ L Ath.

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. V. iii. 6-iv. 1

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

### IV.

1. I BESOUGHT him much to explain to me the parable of the field and the master and the vineyard and the servant who fenced the vineyard, and the fences, and the weeds which were pulled up from the vineyard, and the son, and the friends the counsellors. The application of the parable as to the servant



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

καὶ τῶν φίλων τῶν συμβούλων· συνῆκα γάρ, ὅτι παραβολή τίς ἐστὶ ταῦτα πάντα. 2. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς μοι εἶπεν· Αὐθάδης εἶ λίαν εἰς τὸ ἐπερωτᾶν. οὐκ ὀφείλεις, φησὶν, ἐπερωτᾶν οὐδὲν ὄλως· ἐὰν γάρ σοι δέη δηλωθῆναι, δηλωθήσεται. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, ὅσα ἂν μοι δείξῃς καὶ μὴ δηλώσῃς, μάτην ἔσομαι ἑωρακὼς αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ νοῶν, τί ἐστίν· ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐὰν μοι παραβολὰς λαλήσῃς καὶ μὴ ἐπιλύσῃς μοι αὐτάς, εἰς μάτην ἔσομαι ἀκηκοὼς τι παρὰ σοῦ. 3. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἀπεκρίθη μοι λέγων· Ὅς ἂν, φησί, δούλος ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἔχῃ τὸν κύριον ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, αἰτεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ σύνεσιν καὶ λαμβάνει καὶ πᾶσαν παραβολὴν ἐπιλύει, καὶ γνωστὰ αὐτῷ γίνονται τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ κυρίου τὰ λεγόμενα διὰ παραβολῶν· ὅσοι δὲ βληχροὶ εἰσι καὶ ἀργοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔντευξιν, ἐκεῖνοι διστάζουσιν αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου. 4. ὁ δὲ κύριος πολυεύσπλαγχνός ἐστι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς αἰτουμένοις παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀδιαλείπτως δίδωσι. σὺ δὲ ἐνδεδυναμωμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγίου ἀγγέλου καὶ εἰληφὼς παρ' αὐτοῦ τοιαύτην ἔντευξιν καὶ μὴ ὢν ἀργός, διατί οὐκ αἰτῆ παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου σύνεσιν καὶ λαμβάνεις παρ' αὐτοῦ; 5. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, ἐγὼ ἔχων σὲ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀνάγκην ἔχω σὲ αἰτεῖσθαι καὶ σὲ ἐπερωτᾶν· σὺ γάρ μοι δεικνύεις πάντα καὶ λαλεῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ· εἰ δὲ ἄτερ σου ἔβλεπον ἢ ἤκουον αὐτά, ἡρώτων ἂν τὸν κύριον, ἵνα μοι δηλωθῇ.

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# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

## V

1. Εἶπόν σοι, φησί, καὶ ἄρτι, ὅτι πανοῦργος εἶ καὶ αὐθάδης, ἐπερωτῶν τὰς ἐπιλύσεις τῶν παραβολῶν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὕτω παράνομος εἶ, ἐπιλύσω σοι τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἀκολούθων πάντων, ἵνα γνωστὰ πᾶσι ποιήσης αὐτά. ἄκουε νῦν, φησί, καὶ σύνιε αὐτά. 2. ὁ ἀγρὸς ὁ κόσμος οὗτός ἐστιν· ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα καὶ ἀπαρτίσας αὐτὰ καὶ δυναμώσας.<sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ δούλος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν· αἱ δὲ ἄμπελοι ὁ λαὸς οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐφύτευσεν. 3. οἱ δὲ χάρακες οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοί εἰσι τοῦ κυρίου οἱ συγκρατοῦντες τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ· αἱ δὲ βοτάναι αἱ ἐκτετιλμένα ἐκ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος ἀνομίαί εἰσι τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ· τὰ δὲ ἐδέσματα, ἃ ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου, αἱ ἐντολαί εἰσιν, ἃς ἔδωκε τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ σύμβουλοι οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι οἱ πρῶτοι κτισθέντες· ἡ δὲ ἀποδημία τοῦ δεσπότης ὁ χρόνος ὁ περισσεύων εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ. 4. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, μεγάλως καὶ θαυμαστῶς πάντα ἐστὶ καὶ ἐνδόξως πάντα ἔχει. μὴ οὖν, φημί, ἐγὼ ἠδυνάμην ταῦτα νοῆσαι; οὐδὲ ἕτερος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κἂν λίαν συνετὸς ἢ τις, οὐ δύναται νοῆσαι αὐτά. ἔτι, φημί, κύριε, δήλωσόν μοι, ὃ μέλλω σε ἐπερωτᾶν. 5. Λέγε, φησὶν, εἴ τι βούλει. Διατί, φημί, κύριε, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς δούλου τρόπον κεῖται ἐν τῇ παραβολῇ;

Mt. 13, 38

Eph. 3, 9  
Cf. Ps. 68, 28

<sup>1</sup> L<sub>1</sub> adds filius autem spiritus sanctus est. Cf. Sim. ix. 1. 1, 'ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα ὃ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν.'

## V

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

The  
further  
application

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

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

VI

1. "Ακουε, φησίν· εἰς δούλου τρόπον οὐ<sup>2</sup> κείται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην κείται καὶ κυριότητα. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, οὐ νοῶ.

2. "Οτι, φησίν, ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα ἐφύτευσε, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸν λαὸν ἔκτισε καὶ παρέδωκε τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ υἱὸς κατέστησε τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοῦ συντηρεῖν αὐτούς· καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν ἐκαθάρισε πολλὰ κοπιάσας καὶ πολλοὺς κόπους ἠντληκῶς· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀμπελῶν δύναται σκαφῆναι ἄτερ κόπου ἢ μόχθου. 3. αὐτὸς οὖν καθάρισας τὰς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς τρίβους τῆς ζωῆς, δούς αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον, ὃν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.<sup>2</sup>

Ps. 15, 11 ;  
Prov. 16, 17

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

4. ὅτι δὲ ὁ κύριος σύμβουλον ἔλαβε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους ἀγγέλους περὶ τῆς κληρονομίας τοῦ δούλου, ἄκουε· 5. τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ προόν, τὸ κτίσαν πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν, κατώκισεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς σάρκα, ἣν ἠβούλετο· αὕτη οὖν ἡ σὰρξ, ἐν ἣ κατώκησε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐδούλευσε τῷ πνεύματι καλῶς ἐν σεμνότητι καὶ ἀγνεΐᾳ πορευθεῖσα, μηδὲν ὅλως μίανασα τὸ πνεῦμα. 6. πολιτευσαμένην οὖν αὐτὴν καλῶς καὶ ἀγνῶς καὶ συγκοπιάσασαν τῷ πνεύματι καὶ συνεργήσασαν ἐν παντὶ πράγματι, ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως ἀναστραφεῖσαν, μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου εἶλατο κοινωνόν· ἤρεσε γὰρ<sup>3</sup> ἡ

<sup>1</sup> οὐ LE, om. A.

<sup>2</sup> L adds *vides inquit dominum eum esse populi accepta a patre suo omni potestate*, which the Editors are inclined to accept. <sup>3</sup> ἤρεσε A, ἤρεσε τῷ θεῷ (or τῷ Κυρίῳ) L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

πορεία τῆς σαρκὸς ταύτης, ὅτι οὐκ ἐμίανθη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔχουσα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. 7. σύμβουλον οὖν ἔλαβε τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοὺς ἐνδόξους, ἵνα καὶ ἡ σὰρξ αὕτη, δουλεύσασα τῷ πνεύματι ἀμέμπτως, σχῆ τόπον τινὰ κατασκηνώσεως καὶ μὴ δόξη τὸν μισθὸν τῆς δουλείας αὐτῆς ἀπολωλέκεναι· πᾶσα γὰρ σὰρξ ἀπολήψεται μισθὸν<sup>1</sup> ἢ εὐρεθείσα ἀμίαντος καὶ ἄσπιλος, ἐν ᾗ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατώκησεν. 8. ἔχεις καὶ ταύτης τῆς παραβολῆς τὴν ἐπίλυσιν.

### VII

1. *Ἡὺφράνθην, φημί, κύριε, ταύτην τὴν ἐπίλυσιν ἀκούσας. "Ἄκουε νῦν, φησί· τὴν σάρκα σου ταύτην φύλασσε καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ κατοικοῦν ἐν αὐτῇ μαρτυρήσῃ αὐτῇ καὶ δικαιωθῇ σου ἡ σὰρξ. 2. βλέπε, μήποτε ἀναβῆ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου τὴν σάρκα σου ταύτην φθαρτὴν εἶναι καὶ παραχρῆσῃ αὐτῇ ἐν μiasmῶ τινί. ἐὰν μιάνῃς τὴν σάρκα σου, μιανεῖς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· ἐὰν δὲ μιάνῃς τὴν σάρκα,<sup>2</sup> οὐ ζήσῃ. 3. εἰ δέ τις, φημί, κύριε, γέγονεν ἄγνοια προτέρα, πρὶν ἀκουσθῶσι τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, πῶς σωθῆ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ μιάνας τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ; Περὶ τῶν προτέρων, φησὶν, ἀγνοημάτων τῷ θεῷ μόνῳ δυνατὸν ἴασιν δοῦναι, αὐτοῦ*

<sup>1</sup> τῆς δουλείας . . . μισθὸν om. A. The text is reconstructed from L.

<sup>2</sup> σάρκα ALE, but the editors usually emend to τὸ πνεῦμα in the supposed interests of the sense.

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

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

### VII

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

The practical conclusion



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Mt. 28, 18 γάρ ἐστι πᾶσα ἐξουσία,<sup>1</sup> 4. ἐὰν τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ μιάνης σου τὴν σάρκα μηδὲ τὸ πνεῦμα· ἀμφότερα γὰρ κοινά ἐστι καὶ ἄτερ ἀλλήλων μιανθῆναι οὐ δύναται. ἀμφότερα οὖν καθαρὰ φύλασσε, καὶ ζήση τῷ θεῷ.

### Παραβολὴ σ'

#### I

Jam. 1, 21 1. Καθήμενος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου καὶ δοξάζων τὸν κύριον περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐωράκειν καὶ συζητῶν περὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν, ὅτι καλαὶ καὶ δυναταὶ καὶ ἰλαραὶ καὶ ἔνδοξοι καὶ δυνάμεναι σῶσαι ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου, ἔλεγον ἐν ἑμαυτῷ· Μακάριος ἔσομαι, ἐὰν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς ταύταις πορευθῶ, καὶ ὅς ἂν ταύταις πορευθῆ, μακάριος ἔσται. 2. ὡς ταῦτα ἐν ἑμαυτῷ ἐλάλουν, βλέπω αὐτὸν ἐξαίφνης παρακαθήμενόν μοι καὶ λέγοντα ταῦτα· Τί διψυχεῖς περὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν ὧν σοι ἐνετειλάμην; καλαὶ εἰσιν· ὅλως μὴ διψυχῆσης, ἀλλ' ἐνδυσαι τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς πορεύση· ἐγὼ γὰρ σε ἐνδυναμώσω ἐν αὐταῖς. 3. αὗται αἱ ἐντολαὶ σύμφοροί εἰσι τοῖς μέλλουσι μετανοεῖν· ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ πορευθῶσιν ἐν αὐταῖς, εἰς μάτην ἐστὶν ἢ μετάνοια αὐτῶν. 4. οἱ οὖν μετανοοῦντες ἀποβάλλετε τὰς πονηρίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τὰς ἐκτριβούσας ὑμᾶς· ἐνδυσάμενοι δὲ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν

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

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

δικαιοσύνης δυνήσεσθε τηρῆσαι τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας καὶ μηκέτι προστιθέναι ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν.<sup>1</sup> πορεύεσθε οὖν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς μου ταύταις, καὶ ζήσεσθε τῷ θεῷ. ταῦτα πάντα παρ' ἐμοῦ λελάληται ὑμῖν. 5. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ταῦτα λαλήσαι αὐτὸν μετ' ἐμοῦ, λέγει μοι· "Αγωμεν εἰς ἀγρόν, καὶ δείξω σοι τοὺς ποιμένας τῶν προβάτων. "Αγωμεν, φημί, κύριε. καὶ ἦλθομεν εἰς τι πεδίου, καὶ δεικνύει μοι ποιμένα νεανίσκον ἐνδεδυμένον σύνθεσιν ἱματίων τῷ χρώματι κροκώδη. 6. ἔβασκε δὲ πρόβατα πολλὰ λίαν, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ὡσεὶ τρυφῶντα ἦν καὶ λίαν σπαταλῶντα καὶ ἰλαρὰ ἦν σκιρτῶντα ὧδε κἀκεῖσε· καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ποιμὴν πάνυ ἰλαρὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ αὐτοῦ· καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ ποιμένου ἰλαρὰ ἦν λίαν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προβάτοις περιέτρεχε.

## II

1. Καὶ λέγει μοι· Βλέπεις τὸν ποιμένα τοῦτον; Βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. Οὗτος, φησὶν, ἄγγελος τρυφῆς καὶ ἀπάτης ἐστίν. οὗτος ἐκτρίβει τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ καταστρέφει αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀπατῶν αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἐπιθομίαις ταῖς πονηραῖς, ἐν αἷς ἀπόλλυνται. 2. ἐπιλανθάνονται γὰρ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος καὶ πορεύονται ἀπάταις καὶ τρυφαῖς ματαίαις καὶ ἀπόλλυνται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τούτου, τινὰ μὲν εἰς θάνατον, τινὰ δὲ εἰς καταφθοράν. 3. λέγω αὐτῷ·

<sup>1</sup> L adds nihil ergo adicientes plurimum ex prioribus recidetis.

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. VI. i. 4-ii. 3

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

The vision  
of the  
Shepherds

## II

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

The  
Shepherd  
of luxury

Κύριε, οὐ γινώσκω ἐγώ, τί ἐστὶν εἰς θάνατον καὶ τί εἰς καταφθοράν. Ἐκκουε, φησὶν· ἃ εἶδες πρόβατα ἰλαρὰ καὶ σκιρτῶντα, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀπεσπασμένοι ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τέλος καὶ παραδεδωκότες ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. ἐν τούτοις οὐν μετάνοια ζωῆς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅτι προσέθησαν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐβλασφήμησαν. τῶν τοιούτων οὐν ὁ θάνατός ἐστιν. 4. ἃ δὲ εἶδες πρόβατα μὴ σκιρτῶντα, ἀλλ' ἐν τόπῳ ἐνὶ βοσκόμενα, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ παραδεδωκότες μὲν ἑαυτοὺς<sup>1</sup> ταῖς τρυφαῖς καὶ ἀπάταις, εἰς δὲ τὸν κύριον οὐδὲν ἐβλασφήμησαν· οὗτοι οὐν κατεφθαρμένοι εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας. ἐν τούτοις ἐλπίς ἐστὶ μετανοίας, ἐν ᾗ δύνανται ζῆσαι. ἡ καταφθορὰ οὐν ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἀνανεώσεώς τινος, ὁ δὲ θάνατος ἀπώλειαν ἔχει αἰώνιον. 5. πάλιν προέβην<sup>2</sup> μικρόν, καὶ δεικνύει μοι ποιμένα μέγαν ὡσεὶ ἄγριον τῇ ἰδέᾳ, περικείμενον δέρμα αἴγειον λευκόν, καὶ πήραν τινὰ εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων καὶ ῥάβδον σκληρὰν λίαν καὶ ὄζους ἔχουσαν καὶ μάστιγα μεγάλην· καὶ τὸ βλέμμα εἶχε περίπικρον, ὥστε φοβηθῆναί με αὐτόν· τοιοῦτον εἶχε τὸ βλέμμα. 6. οὗτος οὐν ὁ ποιμὴν παρελάμβανε τὰ πρόβατα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιμένου τοῦ νεανίσκου, ἐκεῖνα τὰ σπαταλῶντα καὶ τρυφῶντα, μὴ σκιρτῶντα δέ, καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτὰ εἰς τινα τόπον κρημνώδη καὶ ἀκανθώδη καὶ τριβολώδη, ὥστε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκανθῶν καὶ τριβόλων μὴ δύνασθαι ἐκπλέξαι τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' ἐμπλέκεσθαι εἰς τὰς

<sup>1</sup> The preceding seven lines (ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις . . . . ἑαυτοὺς) are omitted in A, but are found in Ath. LE, though with much minor variation. <sup>2</sup> προέβην AE, προέβημεν L.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους. 7. ταῦτα οὖν ἐμπεπλεγμένα ἐβόσκοντο ἐν ταῖς ἀκάνθαις καὶ τριβόλοις καὶ λίαν ἐταλαιπώρουν δαιρόμενα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὧδε κἀκεῖσε περιήλανεν αὐτὰ καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐδίδου, καὶ ὅλως οὐκ εὐσταθοῦσαν τὰ πρόβατα ἐκείνα.

### III

1. Βλέπων οὖν αὐτὰ οὕτω μαστιγούμενα καὶ ταλαιπωρούμενα ἐλυπούμην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὕτως ἐβασανίζοντο καὶ ἀνοχὴν ὅλως οὐκ εἶχον. 2. λέγω τῷ ποιμένι τῷ μετ' ἐμοῦ λαλοῦντι· Κύριε, τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ οὕτως ἄσπλαγχνος καὶ πικρὸς καὶ ὅλως μὴ σπλαγχνιζόμενος ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα; Οὗτος, φησὶν, ἐστὶν ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς τιμωρίας· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν δικαίων ἐστὶ, κείμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τιμωρίας. 3. παραλαμβάνει οὖν τοὺς ἀποπλανωμένους ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πορευθέντας ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἀπάταις τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ τιμωρεῖ αὐτούς, καθὼς ἄξιοί εἰσι, δειναῖς καὶ ποικίλαις τιμωρίαις. 4. "Ἦθελον, φημί, κύριε, γνῶναι τὰς ποικίλας ταύτας τιμωρίας,<sup>1</sup> ποταπαί εἰσιν. "Ἄκουε, φησί, τὰς ποικίλας βασάνους καὶ τιμωρίας. βιωτικάί εἰσιν αἱ βάσανοι· τιμωροῦνται γὰρ οἱ μὲν ζημίαις, οἱ δὲ ὑστερήσειν, οἱ δὲ ἀσθενείαις ποικίλαις, οἱ δὲ πάσῃ ἀκαταστασίᾳ, οἱ δὲ ὑβριζόμενοι ὑπὸ ἀναξίων καὶ ἑτέραις πολλαῖς πράξεσι πάσχοντες. 5. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀκαταστατοῦντες ταῖς βουλαῖς

<sup>1</sup> τὰς ποικίλας ταύτας τιμωρίας L Ath , τὰς ποικίλας βασάνους ταύτας τιμωρίας A(E).

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. VI. ii. 6–iii. 5

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

### III

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



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αὐτῶν ἐπιβάλλονται πολλά, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὅλως προχωρεῖ. καὶ λέγουσιν ἑαυτοὺς μὴ εὐδοῦσθαι ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀναβαίνει αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν, ὅτι ἔπραξαν πονηρὰ ἔργα, ἀλλ' αἰτιῶνται τὸν κύριον. 6. ὅταν οὖν θλιβῶσι πάσῃ θλίψει, τότε ἐμοὶ παραδίδονται εἰς ἀγαθὴν παιδείαν καὶ ἰσχυροποιῶνται ἐν τῇ πίστει τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν δουλεύουσι τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ. ἐὰν δὲ μετανοήσωσι, τότε ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἔπραξαν πονηρὰ, καὶ τότε δοξάζουσι τὸν θεόν, λέγοντες, ὅτι δίκαιος κριτῆς ἐστὶ καὶ δικαίως ἔπαθον ἕκαστος κατὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ. δουλεύουσι δὲ λοιπὸν τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν καὶ εὐδοῦνται ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτῶν, λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου πάντα, ὅσα ἂν αἰτῶνται. καὶ τότε δοξάζουσι τὸν κύριον, ὅτι ἐμοὶ παρεδόθησαν, καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδὲν πάσχουσι τῶν πονηρῶν.

Ps. 51, 10

Ps. 7, 12;

Ps. 62, 12;

Mt. 21, 22;

I Jo. 3, 22

### IV

1. Λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, ἔτι μοι τοῦτο δήλωσον. Τί, φησὶν, ἐπιζητεῖς; Εἰ ἄρα, φημί, κύριε, τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον βασανίζονται οἱ τρυφῶντες καὶ ἀπατώμενοι, ὅσον τρυφῶσι καὶ ἀπατῶνται; λέγει μοι· Τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον βασανίζονται. 2. Ἐλάχιστον, φημί, κύριε, βασανίζονται.<sup>2</sup> ἔδει γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> ἐὰν δὲ μετανοήσωσι . . . . καρδίᾳ L Ath., om. A.

<sup>2</sup> ἐλάχιστον, φημί, κύριε, βασανίζονται om. A. The Greek is reconstructed from L.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τοὺς οὕτω τρυφῶντας καὶ ἐπιλανθανομένους τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπταπλασίως βασανίζεσθαι. 3. λέγει μοι· "Ἄφρων εἶ καὶ οὐ νοεῖς τῆς βασάνου τὴν δύναμιν. Εἰ γὰρ ἐνόουν, φημί, κύριε, οὐκ ἂν ἐπηρώτων, ἵνα μοι δηλώσης. "Ἄκουε, φησίν, ἀμφοτέρων τὴν δύναμιν. 4. τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ ἀπάτης ὁ χρόνος ὥρα ἐστὶ μία· τῆς δὲ βασάνου ἡ ὥρα τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν δύναμιν ἔχει. εἰ οὖν μίαν ἡμέραν τρυφήσῃ τις καὶ ἀπατηθῆ, μίαν δὲ ἡμέραν βασανισθῆ, ὅλον ἐνιαυτὸν ἰσχύει ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς βασάνου. ὅσας οὖν ἡμέρας τρυφήσῃ τις, τοσοῦτους ἐνιαυτοὺς βασανίζεται. βλέπεις οὖν, φησίν, ὅτι τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ ἀπάτης ὁ χρόνος ἐλάχιστός ἐστι, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας καὶ βασάνου πολὺς.

### V

1. "Ἐτι, φημί, κύριε, οὐ νενόηκα ὅλως περὶ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἀπάτης καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ βασάνου· τηλαυγέστερόν μοι δήλωσον. 2. ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· "Ἡ ἀφροσύνη σου παράμονός ἐστι, καὶ οὐ θέλεις σου τὴν καρδίαν καθαρῖσαι καὶ δουλεύειν τῷ θεῷ. βλέπε, φησί, μήποτε ὁ χρόνος πληρωθῆ καὶ σὺ ἄφρων εὐρεθῆς. ἄκουε οὖν, φησί, καθὼς βούλει, ἵνα νοήσῃς αὐτά. 3. ὁ τρυφῶν καὶ ἀπατώμενος μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ πράσων, ἂ βούλεται, πολλὴν ἀφροσύνην ἐνδέδυται καὶ οὐ νοεῖ τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἣν ποιεῖ· εἰς τὴν αὔριον ἐπιλανθάνεται γάρ, τί πρὸ μιᾶς ἔπραξεν· ἡ γὰρ τρυφή καὶ ἀπάτη μνήμας οὐκ ἔχει διὰ τὴν ἀφροσύνην, ἣν ἐνδέδυται, ἡ δὲ τιμωρία καὶ ἡ βάσανος ὅταν κολληθῆ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ μίαν

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. VI. iv. 2-v. 3

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

### V

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

ἡμέραν, μέχρις ἐνιαυτοῦ τιμωρεῖται καὶ βασανίζεται· μνήμας γὰρ μεγάλας ἔχει ἢ τιμωρία καὶ ἢ βάσανος. 4. βασανιζόμενος οὖν καὶ τιμωρούμενος ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, μνημονεύει τότε τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ γινώσκει, ὅτι δι' αὐτὰ πάσχει τὰ πονηρά. πᾶς οὖν ἄνθρωπος ὁ τρυφῶν καὶ ἀπατώμενος οὕτω βασανίζεται, ὅτι ἔχοντες ζωὴν εἰς θάνατον ἑαυτοὺς παραδεδώκασι. 5. Ποῖαι, φημί, κύριε, τρυφαί εἰσι βλαβεραί; Πᾶσα, φησί, πράξις τρυφή ἐστι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὃ ἐὰν ἠδέως ποιῇ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὀξύχολος τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πάθει τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῶν τρυφᾷ· καὶ ὁ μοιχὸς καὶ ὁ μέθυσος καὶ ὁ κατάλαλος καὶ ὁ ψεύστης καὶ ὁ πλεονέκτης καὶ ὁ ἀποστερητῆς καὶ ὁ τούτοις τὰ ὅμοια ποιῶν τῇ ἰδίᾳ νόσῳ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιεῖ· τρυφᾷ οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτοῦ. 6. αὗται πᾶσαι αἱ τρυφαὶ βλαβεραὶ εἰσι τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. διὰ ταύτας οὖν τὰς ἀπάτας πάσχουσιν οἱ τιμωρούμενοι καὶ βασανιζόμενοι. 7. εἰσὶν δὲ καὶ τρυφαὶ σώζουσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἐργαζόμενοι τρυφῶσι τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἡδονῇ φερόμενοι. αὕτη οὖν ἡ τρυφή σύμφορός ἐστι τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ζωὴν περιποιεῖται τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τοιούτῳ· αἱ δὲ βλαβεραὶ τρυφαὶ αἱ προειρημέναι βασάνους καὶ τιμωρίας αὐτοῖς περιποιοῦνται· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμένωσι καὶ μὴ μετανοήσωσι, θάνατον ἑαυτοῖς περιποιοῦνται.

### Παραβολὴ ζ'

1. Μετὰ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας εἶδον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον τὸ αὐτό, ὅπου καὶ τοὺς ποιμένας ἐωράκειν,

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

καὶ λέγει μοι· Τί ἐπιζητεῖς; Πάρειμι, φημί, κύριε, ἵνα τὸν ποιμένα τὸν τιμωρητὴν κελεύσης ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου μου ἐξελθεῖν, ὅτι λίαν με θλίβει. Δεῖ σε, φησί, θλιβῆναι· οὕτω γάρ, φησί, προσέταξεν ὁ ἔνδοξος ἄγγελος τὰ περὶ σοῦ· θέλει γάρ σε πειρασθῆναι. Τί γάρ, φημί, κύριε, ἐποίησα οὕτω πονηρόν, ἵνα τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τούτῳ παραδοθῶ; 2. Ἄκουε, φησὶν· αἱ μὲν ἁμαρτίαι σου πολλάί, ἀλλ' οὐ τοσαῦται, ὥστε τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τούτῳ παραδοθῆναι· ἀλλ' ὁ οἶκός σου μεγάλας ἀνομίας καὶ ἁμαρτίας εἰργάσατο, καὶ παρεπικράνθη ὁ ἔνδοξος ἄγγελος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκέλευσέ σε χρόνον τινὰ θλιβῆναι, ἵνα κακῆνοι μετανοήσωσι καὶ καθαρίσωσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. ὅταν οὖν μετανοήσωσι καὶ καθαρισθῶσι, τότε ἀποστήσεται ἀπὸ σοῦ<sup>1</sup> ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς τιμωρίας. 3. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, εἰ ἐκεῖνοι τοιαῦτα εἰργάσαντο, ἵνα παρὰ πικρανθῆ ὁ ἔνδοξος ἄγγελος, τί ἐγὼ ἐποίησα; Ἄλλως, φησὶν, οὐ δύνανται ἐκεῖνοι θλιβῆναι, εἰ μὴ σύ ἢ κεφαλὴ τοῦ οἴκου θλιβῆς· σοῦ γὰρ θλιβομένου ἐξ ἀνάγκης κακῆνοι θλιβήσονται, εὐσταθοῦντος δὲ σοῦ οὐδεμίαν δύνανται θλίψιν ἔχειν.<sup>4</sup> Ἄλλ' ἰδοὺ, φημί, κύριε, μετανενοήκασιν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας αὐτῶν. Οἶδα, φησί, καὶ γὰρ, ὅτι μετανενοήκασιν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας αὐτῶν· τῶν οὖν μετανοούντων εὐθύς<sup>2</sup> δοκεῖς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀφίεσθαι; οὐ παντελῶς· ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὸν μετανοοῦντα βασανίσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν καὶ ταπεινοφρονῆσαι ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ θλιβῆναι ἐν πάσαις θίψεσι ποικίλαις· καὶ εἰάν

<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ σοῦ LE, om. A.

<sup>2</sup> εὐθύς LE, om. A.

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. VII. 1-4

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

The reason  
for the  
continued  
punishment  
of the  
penitent



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Eph. 3, 9  
Ps. 68, 28

ὑπενέγκη τὰς θλίψεις τὰς ἐπερχομένας αὐτῷ, πάντως σπλαγχνισθήσεται ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ ἐνδυναμώσας καὶ ἰασίν τινα δώσει αὐτῷ· 5. καὶ τοῦτο πάντως, ἐὰν ἴδῃ τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ μετανοοῦντος καθαρὰν<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος. σοὶ δὲ συμφέρον ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ σου νῦν θλιβῆναι. τί δέ σοι πολλὰ λέγω; θλιβῆναί σε δεῖ, καθὼς προσέταξεν ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐκεῖνος, ὁ παραδιδούς σε ἐμοί· καὶ τοῦτο εὐχαρίστει τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἄξιόν σε ἠγήσατο τοῦ προδηλῶσαί σοι τὴν θλίψιν, ἵνα προγνοῦς αὐτὴν ὑπενέγκης ἰσχυρῶς. 6. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ γίνου, καὶ δυνήσομαι πᾶσαν θλίψιν ὑπενεγκεῖν. Ἐγώ, φησίν, ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ· ἐρωτήσω δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν τιμωρητήν, ἵνα σε ἐλαφροτέρως θλίψῃ· ἀλλ' ὀλίγον χρόνον θλιβήσῃ καὶ πάλιν ἀποκατασταθήσῃ εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου. μόνον παράμεινον ταπεινοφρονῶν καὶ λειτουργῶν τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν πάσῃ καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου καὶ ὁ οἶκός σου, καὶ πορεύου ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς μου αἷς σοι ἐντέλλομαι, καὶ δυνήσεταιί σου ἡ μετάνοια ἰσχυρὰ καὶ καθαρὰ εἶναι· 7. καὶ ἐὰν ταύτας φυλάξῃς μετὰ τοῦ οἴκου σου, ἀποστήσεται πᾶσα θλίψις ἀπὸ σοῦ· καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων δέ, φησίν, ἀποστήσεται θλίψις. ὅσοι ἐὰν ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς μου ταύταις πορευθῶσιν.

<sup>1</sup> πάντως . . . καθαρὰν LE, πάντως τοῦ μετανοοῦντος καθαρῶς A.

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## Παραβολὴ ἡ

## I

1. Ἐδειξέ μοι ἰτέαν μεγάλην, σκεπάζουσιν πεδία καὶ ὄρη, καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῆς ἰτέας πάντες ἐληλύθασιν οἱ κεκλημένοι ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου. 2. εἰστήκει δὲ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἔνδοξος λίαν ὑψηλὸς παρὰ τὴν ἰτέαν, δρέπανον ἔχων μέγα, καὶ ἔκοπτε κλάδους ἀπὸ τῆς ἰτέας, καὶ ἐπεδίδου τῷ λαῷ τῷ σκεπαζομένῳ ὑπὸ τῆς ἰτέας· μικρὰ δὲ ῥαβδία ἐπεδίδου αὐτοῖς, ὡσεὶ πηχυαῖα. 3. μετὰ τὸ πάντα λαβεῖν τὰ ῥαβδία ἔθηκε τὸ δρέπανον ὁ ἄγγελος, καὶ τὸ δένδρον ἐκεῖνο ὑγιὲς ἦν, οἷον καὶ ἐωράκειν αὐτό. 4. ἐθαύμαζον δὲ ἐγὼ ἐν ἑμαυτῷ λέγων· Πῶς τοσούτων κλάδων κεκομμένων τὸ δένδρον ὑγιὲς ἐστι<sup>1</sup>; λέγει μοι ὁ ποιμὴν· Μὴ θαύμαζε, εἰ τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο ὑγιὲς ἔμεινε τοσούτων κλάδων κοπέντων· ἐὰν<sup>2</sup> δέ, φησί, πάντα ἴδης, σοι δηλωθήσεται τὸ τί ἐστιν. 5. ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ἐπιδεδωκὼς τῷ λαῷ τὰς ῥαβδούς πάλιν ἀπήτει αὐτούς· καὶ καθὼς ἔλαβον, οὕτω καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ εἰς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπεδίδου τὰς ῥαβδούς. ἐλάμβανε δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατενόει αὐτάς. 6. παρά τινων ἐλάμβανε τὰς ῥαβδούς ξηρὰς καὶ βεβρωμένας ὡς ὑπὸ σητός· ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἄγγελος τοὺς τὰς τοιαύτας ῥαβδούς ἐπιδεδωκότας χωρὶς ἰστάνεσθαι. 7. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουσαν ξηρὰς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦσαν βεβρωμένοι ὑπὸ σητός· καὶ τούτους

<sup>1</sup> λέγων . . . ἐστι om. L and probably P<sup>Berl</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> ἐὰν P<sup>Berl</sup>, ἀφ' ἧς A, LE paraphrases.

## PARABLE 8

## I

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

The  
parable  
of the  
willow-tree

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἐκέλευσε χωρὶς ἰστάνεσθαι.<sup>1</sup> 8. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν ἡμιξήρους· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἰστάνοντο. 9. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν ἡμιξήρους καὶ σχισμὰς ἐχούσας· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἴσταντο. 10. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν χλωρὰς καὶ σχισμὰς ἐχούσας· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἰστάνοντο.<sup>2</sup> 11. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν τὰς ῥάβδους τὸ ἥμισυ ξηρὸν καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος<sup>3</sup> χλωρόν· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἰστάνοντο. 12. ἕτεροι δὲ προσέφερον τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν τὰ δύο μέρη τῆς ῥάβδου χλωρά, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ξηρόν· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἰστάνοντο. 13. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν τὰ δύο μέρη ξηρά, τὸ δὲ τρίτον χλωρόν· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἰστάνοντο. 14. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν παρὰ μικρὸν ὅλας χλωράς, ἐλάχιστον δὲ τῶν ῥάβδων αὐτῶν ξηρὸν ἦν, αὐτὸ τὸ ἄκρον· σχισμὰς δὲ εἶχον ἐν αὐταῖς· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἴσταντο. 15. ἐτέρων δὲ ἦν ἐλάχιστον χλωρόν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῶν ῥάβδων ξηρά· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἰστάνοντο. 16. ἕτεροι δὲ ἦρχοντο τὰς ῥάβδους χλωρὰς φέροντες ὡς ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου· τὸ δὲ πλεῖον μέρος τοῦ ὄχλου τοιαύτας ῥάβδους ἐπεδίδουν. ὁ δὲ ἀγγελος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐχάρη λίαν· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἰστάνοντο. 17. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν χλωρὰς καὶ παραφυάδας ἐχούσας· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἴσταντο· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ ἀγγελος λίαν ἐχάρη.<sup>4</sup> 18. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν χλωρὰς καὶ παραφυάδας ἐχούσας· αἱ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> ἰστάνεσθαι P<sup>Berl</sup>, ἴστασθαι A and so throughout this section.

<sup>2</sup> ἕτεροι . . . ἴσταντο, om. AL<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>3</sup> μέρος P<sup>Berl</sup>, om. A.

<sup>4</sup> ἕτεροι . . . ἐχάρη, retranslated from LE, om. A.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

παραφυάδες αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ καρπὸν τινα εἶχον· καὶ λίαν ἱλαροὶ ἦσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐκεῖνοι, ὧν αἱ ῥάβδοι τοιαῦται εὐρέθησαν. καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἠγαλλιᾶτο, καὶ ὁ ποιμὴν λίαν ἱλαρὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τούτοις.

### II

1. Ἐκέλευσε δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου στεφάνους ἐνεχθῆναι. καὶ ἐνέχθησαν στέφανοι ὡσεὶ ἐκ φοινίκων γεγονότες, καὶ ἐστεφάνωσε τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐπιδεδωκότας τὰς ῥάβδους τὰς ἐχούσας τὰς παραφυάδας καὶ καρπὸν τινα καὶ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν πύργον. 2. καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὸν πύργον, τοὺς τὰς ῥάβδους τὰς χλωρὰς ἐπιδεδωκότας καὶ παραφυάδας ἐχούσας, καρπὸν δὲ μὴ ἐχούσας τὰς παραφυάδας, δούς αὐτοῖς σφραγίδας. 3. ἱματισμὸν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν πάντες εἶχον λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιόνα, οἱ πορευόμενοι εἰς τὸν πύργον. 4. καὶ τοὺς τὰς ῥάβδους ἐπιδεδωκότας χλωρὰς ὡς ἔλαβον ἀπέλυσε, δούς αὐτοῖς ἱματισμὸν καὶ σφραγίδας. 5. μετὰ τὸ ταῦτα τελέσαι τὸν ἄγγελον τῷ ποιμένι· Ἐγὼ ὑπάγω· σὺ δὲ τούτους ἀπολύσεις εἰς τὰ τείχη, καθὼς ἄξιός ἐστί τις κατοικεῖν. κατανόησον δὲ τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν ἐπιμελῶς καὶ οὕτως ἀπόλυσον· ἐπιμελῶς δὲ κατανόησον. βλέπε, μή τις σε παρέλθῃ, φησὶν, εἰ δὲ τις σε παρέλθῃ, ἐγὼ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον δοκιμάσω. ταῦτα εἰπὼν τῷ ποιμένι ἀπῆλθε. 6. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν τὸν ἄγγελον λέγει μοι ὁ ποιμὴν· Λάβωμεν πάντων τὰς ῥάβδους καὶ φυτεύσωμεν αὐτάς, εἴ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν δυνησονται ζῆσαι.

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

## II

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

The instructions of the angel to the Shepherd



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, τὰ ξηρὰ ταῦτα πῶς δύνανται ζῆσαι; 7. ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· Τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο ἰτέα ἐστὶ καὶ φιλόζωον τὸ γένος· ἐὰν οὖν φυτευθῶσι καὶ μικρὰν ἰκμάδα λαμβάνωσιν αἱ ῥάβδοι, ζήσονται πολλαὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν· εἶτα δὲ πειράσωμεν καὶ ὕδωρ αὐταῖς παραχέειν· ἐὰν τις αὐτῶν δυνηθῆ ζῆσαι, συγχαρήσομαι αὐταῖς· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ζήσῃ, οὐχ εὐρεθήσομαι ἐγὼ ἀμελής. 8. ἐκέλευσε δέ μοι ὁ ποιμὴν καλέσαι, καθὼς τις αὐτῶν ἐστάθη· ἦλθον τάγματα τάγματα καὶ ἐπεδίδουν τὰς ῥάβδους τῷ ποιμένι· ἐλάμβανε δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν τὰς ῥάβδους καὶ κατὰ τάγματα ἐφύτευσεν αὐτὰς καὶ μετὰ τὸ φυτεῦσαι ὕδωρ αὐταῖς πολὺ παρέχεεν, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος μὴ φαίνεσθαι τὰς ῥάβδους. 9. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ποτίσαι αὐτὸν τὰς ῥάβδους λέγει μοι· "Ἀγωμεν<sup>1</sup> καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐπανέλθωμεν καὶ ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὰς ῥάβδους πάσας· ὁ γὰρ κτίσας τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο θέλει πάντα ζῆν τοὺς λαβόντας ἐκ τοῦ δένδρου τούτου κλάδους· ἐλπίζω δὲ καὶ γώ, ὅτι λαβόντα τὰ ῥαβδία ταῦτα ἰκμάδα καὶ ποτισθέντα ὕδατι ζήσονται τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος αὐτῶν.

I Tim. 2, 4

### III

1. Λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο γνώρισόν μοι τί ἐστίν· ἀποροῦμαι γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τοσοῦτων κλάδων κοπέντων ὑγιές ἐστὶ τὸ δένδρον καὶ οὐδὲν φαίνεται κεκομμένον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ἐν τούτῳ οὖν ἀποροῦμαι. 2. "Ἄκουε, φησί· τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο τὸ μέγα τὸ σκεπάζον πεδία καὶ ὄρη καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἄγωμεν I.F., om. A.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν νόμος θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ ὁθεὶς εἰς ὅλον  
 τὸν κόσμον· ὁ δὲ νόμος οὗτος υἱὸς θεοῦ ἐστὶ  
 κηρυχθεὶς εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς  
 σκέπης λαοὶ ὄντες οἱ ἀκούσαντες τοῦ κηρύγματος  
 καὶ πιστεύσαντες εἰς αὐτόν· 3. ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος ο  
 μέγας καὶ ἔνδοξος Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἐξουσίαν  
 τούτου τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ διακυβερνῶν αὐτούς·<sup>1</sup>  
 οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ διδούς αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον εἰς τὰς  
 καρδίας τῶν πιστευόντων· ἐπισκέπτεται οὖν  
 αὐτούς, οἷς ἔδωκεν, εἰ ἄρα τηρήκασιν αὐτόν.  
 4. βλέπεις δὲ ἑνὸς ἐκάστου τὰς ῥάβδους· αἱ γὰρ  
 ῥάβδοι ὁ νόμος ἐστὶ· βλέπεις οὖν πολλὰς ῥάβ-  
 δους ἠχρειωμένας, γνώση δὲ αὐτοὺς πάντας τοὺς  
 μὴ τηρήσαντας τὸν νόμον· καὶ ὄψει ἑνὸς ἐκάστου  
 τὴν κατοικίαν· 5. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, διατί οὗς  
 μὲν ἀπέλυσεν εἰς τὸν πύργον, οὗς δὲ σοὶ κατέ-  
 λειψεν; "Ὅσοι, φησί, παρέβησαν τὸν νόμον, ὃν  
 ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἐξουσίαν  
 κατέλιπεν αὐτοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν· ὅσοι δὲ ἤδη  
 εὐηρέστησαν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τηρήκασιν αὐτόν, ὑπὸ  
 τὴν ἰδίαν ἐξουσίαν ἔχει αὐτούς· 6. Τίνες οὖν φημί,  
 κύριε, εἰσὶν οἱ ἐστεφανωμένοι καὶ εἰς τὸν πύργον  
 ὑπάγοντες; "Ὅσοι φησὶν, ἀντεπάλαισαν τῷ  
 διαβόλῳ καὶ ἐνίκησαν αὐτόν, ἐστεφανωμένοι  
 εἰσὶν·<sup>2</sup> οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου παθόντες·  
 7. οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι καὶ αὐτοὶ χλωρὰς τὰς ῥάβδους  
 ἐπιδεδωκότες καὶ παραφυάδας ἐχούσας, καρπὸν δὲ  
 μὴ ἐχούσας οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου θλιβέντες, μὴ

<sup>1</sup> αὐτούς om. A.

<sup>2</sup> ὅσοι . . . εἰσὶν retranslated from LE; instead of ἐνίκησαν editors usually read κατεπόλαισαν, but this is not justified by the Latin (colluctati . . . vicerunt).

THE SHEPHERD, SIM. VIII. iii. 2-7

all the earth, is God's law which was given to all the world. And this law is God's son preached to the ends of the earth. And those who are under its shade are nations which have heard the preaching and have believed in it. 3. And the great and glorious angel<sup>1</sup> is Michael, who has power over this people and governs them; for this is he who put the law into the hearts of those who believe. Therefore he looks after those to whom he gave it to see if they have really kept it. 4. But you see the sticks of each one, for the sticks are the law. Therefore, you see that many sticks have been made useless, and you will understand, that they are all the men who have not observed the law; and you will see the dwelling of each one of them." 5. I said to him: "Sir, why did he send some into the tower, and left some to you?" "All those who have transgressed against the law, which they received from him, he left to my authority for repentance. But as many as were already well-pleased with the law, and have observed it, he keeps them under his own authority." 6. "Who then, Sir," said I, "are they who were crowned and went into the tower?" "All those," said he, "who wrestled with the devil and conquered him, have been crowned. These are they who suffered for the law. 7. And the others who also gave up their sticks green and having buds, but without fruit, are they who were persecuted for the law, but

<sup>1</sup> But in Sim. ix. he is the Son of God. This together with the identification of the Son with the Spirit in Sim. ix. (cf. Sim. v. 5) makes it very hard to reconstruct the Christology of Hermas. On the question of Michael see W. Lueken's *Michael*, Göttingen, 1898.

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παθόντες δὲ μηδὲ ἀρνησάμενοι τὸν νόμον αὐτῶν.  
δ. οἱ δὲ χλωρὰς ἐπιδεδωκότες, οἷας ἔλαβον, σεμνοὶ  
καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ λίαν πορευθέντες ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ  
καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς κυρίου πεφυλακότες. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ  
γνώσῃ, ὅταν κατανοήσω τὰς ῥάβδους ταύτας τὰς  
πεφυτευμένας καὶ πεποτισμένας.

### IV

1. Καὶ μετὰ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἦλθομεν εἰς τὸν  
τόπον, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ὁ ποιμὴν εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ  
ἀγγέλου, καὶ γὰρ παρεστάθην αὐτῷ. καὶ λέγει μοι·  
Περίζωσαι ὠμόλινον καὶ<sup>1</sup> διακόνει μοι. περιεζω-  
σάμην ὠμόλινον ἐκ σάκκου γεγονὸς καθαρὸν.  
2. ἰδὼν δέ με περιεζωσμένον καὶ ἔτοιμον ὄντα τοῦ  
διακονεῖν αὐτῷ, Κάλει, φησί, τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὧν  
εἰσὶν αἱ ῥάβδοι πεφυτευμέναι, κατὰ τὸ τάγμα, ὡς  
τις ἔδωκε τὰς ῥάβδους. καὶ ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ πεδίου  
καὶ ἐκάλεσα πάντας· καὶ ἔστησαν πάντες τάγματα  
τάγματα.<sup>2</sup> 3. λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἐκαστος τὰς ἰδίας  
ῥάβδους ἐκτιλάτω καὶ φερέτω πρὸς με. 4. πρῶ-  
τοι ἐπέδωκαν οἱ τὰς ξηρὰς καὶ κεκομμένας  
ἐσχηκότες, καὶ ὡς αὐταὶ εὐρέθησαν ξηραὶ καὶ  
κεκομμέναι, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς χωρὶς σταθῆναι.  
5. εἶτα ἐπέδωκαν οἱ τὰς ξηρὰς καὶ μὴ κεκομμένας  
ἔχοντες· τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπέδωκαν τὰς ῥάβδους

<sup>1</sup> καὶ διακόνει . . . ὠμόλινον om. A.

<sup>2</sup> τάγματα τάγματα emended in accordance with Sim. VIII  
ii. 8. A reads πάντα τὰ τάγματα: Funk emends to κατὰ  
τάγματα.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

χλωράς, τινὲς δὲ ξηρὰς καὶ κεκομμένας ὡς ὑπὸ  
σητός. τοὺς ἐπιδεδωκότας οὖν χλωρὰς ἐκέλευσε  
χωρὶς σταθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ ξηρὰς καὶ κεκομμένας  
ἐπιδεδωκότας ἐκέλευσε μετὰ τῶν πρώτων σταθῆ-  
ναι. 6. εἶτα ἐπέδωκαν οἱ τὰς ἡμιξήρους καὶ  
σχισμὰς ἐχούσας· καὶ πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν χλωρὰς  
ἐπέδωκαν καὶ μὴ ἐχούσας σχισμὰς· τινὲς δὲ  
χλωρὰς καὶ παραφυάδας ἐχούσας καὶ εἰς τὰς  
παραφυάδας καρπούς, οἷους εἶχον οἱ εἰς τὸν πύργον  
πορευθέντες ἐστεφανωμένοι. τινὲς δὲ ἐπέδωκαν  
ξηρὰς καὶ βεβρωμένας, τινὲς δὲ ξηρὰς καὶ ἀβρώ-  
τους, τινὲς δὲ οἷαι ἦσαν ἡμίξηροι καὶ σχισμὰς  
ἔχουσαι. ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἕνα ἕκαστον χωρὶς  
σταθῆναι, τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἴδια τάγματα, τοὺς δὲ  
χωρὶς.

### V

1. Εἶτα ἐπεδίδουν οἱ τὰς ῥάβδους χλωρὰς μὲν  
ἔχοντες, σχισμὰς δὲ ἐχούσας· οὗτοι πάντες  
χλωρὰς ἐπέδωκαν καὶ ἔστησαν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τάγμα.  
ἔχάρη δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὅτι πάντες  
ἠλλοιώθησαν καὶ ἀπέθεντο τὰς σχισμὰς αὐτῶν.  
2· ἐπέδωκαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸ ἡμισυ χλωρόν, τὸ δὲ  
ἡμισυ ξηρόν ἔχοντες· τινῶν οὖν εὐρέθησαν αἱ  
ῥάβδοι ὀλοτελῶς χλωραὶ, τινῶν ἡμίξηροι, τινῶν  
ξηραὶ καὶ βεβρωμέναι, τινῶν δὲ χλωραὶ καὶ  
παραφυάδας ἔχουσαι· οὗτοι πάντες ἀπελύθησαν  
ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸ τάγμα αὐτοῦ. 3. εἶτα ἐπέδωκαν  
οἱ τὰ δύο μέρη χλωρὰ ἔχοντες, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ξηρόν.  
πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν χλωρὰς ἐπέδωκαν, πολλοὶ δὲ

THE SHEPHERD, SIM. VIII. iv. 5-v. 3

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

V

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

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



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ἡμιξήρους, ἕτεροι δὲ ξηρὰς καὶ βεβρωμένας· οὗτοι πάντες ἕστησαν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τάγμα. 4. εἶτα ἐπέδωκαν οἱ τὰ δύο μέρη ξηρὰ ἔχοντες, τὸ δὲ τρίτον χλωρόν· πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἡμιξήρους ἐπέδωκαν, τινὲς δὲ ξηρὰς καὶ βεβρωμένας, ἕτεροι δὲ ἡμιξήρους, καὶ σχισμὰς ἐχούσας, ὀλίγοι δὲ χλωρὰς· οὗτοι πάντες ἕστησαν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τάγμα.<sup>1</sup> 5. ἐπέδωκαν δὲ οἱ τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν χλωρὰς ἐσχηκότες, ἐλάχιστον δὲ ξηρόν<sup>2</sup> καὶ σχισμὰς ἐχούσας· ἐκ τούτων τινὲς χλωρὰς ἐπέδωκαν, τινὲς δὲ χλωρὰς καὶ παραφυάδας· ἀπῆλθον καὶ οὗτοι εἰς τὸ τάγμα αὐτῶν. 6. εἶτα ἐπέδωκαν οἱ ἐλάχιστον ἔχοντες χλωρόν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη ξηρὰ· τούτων αἱ ῥάβδοι εὐρέθησαν τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος χλωραὶ καὶ παραφυάδας ἔχουσαι καὶ καρπὸν ἐν ταῖς παραφυάσι, καὶ ἕτεραι χλωραὶ ὅλαι. ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ῥάβδοις ἐχάρη ὁ ποιμὴν λίαν μεγάλως, ὅτι οὕτως εὐρέθησαν. ἀπῆλθον δὲ οὗτοι ἕκαστος εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τάγμα.

### VI

1. Μετὰ τὸ πάντων κατανοῆσαι τὰς ῥάβδους τὸν ποιμένα λέγει μοι· Εἰπόν σοι, ὅτι τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο φιλόζωον ἐστὶ. βλέπεις, φησί, πόσοι μετενόησαν καὶ ἐσώθησαν; Βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. Ἴνα ἴδῃς, φησί, τὴν πολυευσπλαγχνίαν τοῦ κυρίου, ὅτι μεγάλη καὶ ἔνδοξός ἐστι, καὶ ἔδωκε πνεῦμα τοῖς ἀξίοις οὖσι μετανοίας. 2. Διατί οὖν, φημί, κύριε, πάντες οὐ μετενόησαν; Ὡν

<sup>1</sup> εἶτα . . . τάγμα retranslated from LE, om. A.

<sup>2</sup> ξηρόν LE, om. A.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

εἶδε, φησί, τὴν καρδίαν μέλλουσαν καθαρὰν γενέσθαι καὶ δουλεύειν αὐτῷ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας, τούτοις ἔδωκε τὴν μετάνοιαν· ὧν δὲ εἶδε τὴν δολιότητα καὶ πονηρίαν, μελλόντων ἐν ὑποκρίσει μετανοεῖν, ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἔδωκε μετάνοιαν, μήποτε πάλιν βεβηλώσωσι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. 3. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, νῦν οὖν μοι δήλωσον τοὺς τὰς ῥάβδους ἐπιδεδωκότας, ποταπὸς τις αὐτῶν ἐστί, καὶ τὴν τούτων κατοικίαν, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες οἱ πιστεύσαντες καὶ εἰληφότες τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ τεθλακότες αὐτὴν καὶ μὴ τηρήσαντες ὑγιῆ, ἐπιγνόντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔργα μετανοήσωσι, λαβόντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σφραγίδα, καὶ δοξάσωσι τὸν κύριον, ὅτι ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπέστειλέ σε τοῦ ἀνακαινίσει τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν. 4. Ἄκουε, φησὶν· ὧν αἱ ῥάβδοι ξηραὶ καὶ βεβρωμέναι ὑπὸ σπητὸς εὐρέθησαν, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀποστάται καὶ προδόται τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ βλασφημήσαντες ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις αὐτῶν τὸν κύριον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐπαισχυνθέντες τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐπ' αὐτούς. οὗτοι οὖν εἰς τέλος ἀπώλοντο τῷ θεῷ. βλέπεις δέ, ὅτι οὐδὲ εἷς αὐτῶν μετενόησε, καίπερ ἀκούσαντες τὰ ῥήματα, ἃ ἐλάλησας αὐτοῖς, ἃ σοι ἐνετειλάμην· ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἡ ζωὴ ἀπέστη. 5. οἱ δὲ τὰς ξηρὰς καὶ ἀσήπτους ἐπιδεδωκότες, καὶ οὗτοι ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν· ἦσαν γὰρ ὑποκριταὶ καὶ διδαχὰς ξένας εἰσφέροντες καὶ ἐκστρέφοντες τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας, μὴ ἀφιέντες μετανοεῖν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς διδαχαῖς ταῖς μωραῖς πείθοντες αὐτούς. οὗτοι οὖν ἔχουσιν ἐλπίδα τοῦ μετανοῆσαι. 6. βλέπεις δὲ πολλοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ μετανενοηκότας,

Jam. 2, 7 cf.  
Gen. 48, 16;  
etc.

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. VIII. vi. 2-6

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

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ἀφ' ἧς ἐλάλησα<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐντολάς μου· καὶ ἔτι μετανοήσουσιν. ὅσοι δὲ οὐ μετανοήσουσιν, ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν. ὅσοι δὲ μετενόησαν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ κατοικία αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ τείχη τὰ πρῶτα· τινὲς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν πύργον ἀνέβησαν. βλέπεις οὖν φησὶν, ὅτι ἡ μετάνοια τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ζωὴν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ μὴ μετανοῆσαι θάνατον.

### VII

1. "Ὅσοι δὲ ἡμιξήρους ἐπέδωκαν καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς σχισμὰς εἶχον, ἄκουε καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν. ὅσων ἦσαν αἱ ῥάβδοι ἡμίξηροι,<sup>2</sup> δίψυχοί εἰσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶσιν οὔτε τεθνήκασιν. 2. οἱ δὲ ἡμιξήρους ἔχοντες καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς σχισμὰς, οὔτοι καὶ δίψυχοι καὶ κατάλαλοί εἰσι καὶ μηδέποτε εἰρηνεύοντες εἰς ἑαυτούς, ἀλλὰ διχοστατοῦντες πάντοτε. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις, φησὶν, ἐπίκειται μετάνοια. βλέπεις, φησί, τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν μετανενοηκότας. καὶ ἔτι, φησὶν, ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπὶς μετανοίας.<sup>3</sup> 3. καὶ ὅσοι, φησὶν, ἐξ αὐτῶν μετανενοήκασιν, τὴν κατοικίαν εἰς τὸν πύργον ἔξουσιν.<sup>4</sup> ὅσοι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν βραδύτερον μετανενοήκασιν, εἰς τὰ τείχη κατοικήσουσιν· ὅσοι δὲ οὐ μετανοοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐμμένουσι ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, θανάτῳ ἀποθανοῦνται. 4. οἱ δὲ χλωρὰς ἐπίδε-

I Thess. 5,  
13

<sup>1</sup> ἐλάλησα A, ἐλάλησας L, 'nuntiatum est' E.

<sup>2</sup> ἡμίξηροι L<sub>2</sub>E<sub>1</sub> κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμίξηροι A, tantummodo semiaridae L<sub>1</sub>; κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ seems meaningless, and may be a misunderstood gloss taken into the text.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἔτι . . . μετανοίας om. L.      <sup>4</sup> ἔξουσιν A, ἔχουσιν LE.

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δωκότες τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν καὶ σχισμὰς ἐχούσας, πάντοτε οὗτοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο, ἔχοντες δὲ ζῆλόν τινα ἐν ἀλλήλοις περὶ πρωτείων καὶ περὶ δόξης τινός· ἀλλὰ πάντες οὗτοι μωροὶ εἰσιν, ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔχοντες ζῆλον περὶ πρωτείων. 5. ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι ἀκούσαντες τῶν ἐντολῶν μου, ἀγαθοὶ ὄντες, ἐκαθάρισαν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ μετενόησαν ταχύ. ἐγένετο οὖν ἡ κατοίκησις αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν πύργον· ἐὰν δέ τις πάλιν ἐπιστρέψῃ εἰς τὴν διχοστασίαν, ἐκβληθήσεται ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου καὶ ἀπολέσει τὴν ζωὴν αὐτοῦ. 6. ἡ ζωὴ πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ κυρίου φυλάσσόντων· ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς δὲ περὶ πρωτείων ἢ περὶ δόξης τινος οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ μακροθυμίας καὶ περὶ ταπεινοφρονήσεως ἀνδρός. ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις οὖν ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ κυρίου ἐν τοῖς διχοστάταις δὲ καὶ παρανόμοις θάνατος.

### VIII

1. Οἱ δὲ ἐπιδεδωκότες τὰς ῥάβδους ἡμισυ μὲν χλωράς, ἡμισυ δὲ ξηράς, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις ἐμπεφυρμένοι καὶ μὴ κολλώμενοι τοῖς ἀγίοις· διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἡμισυ αὐτῶν ζῆ, τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ νεκρόν ἐστι. 2. πολλοὶ οὖν ἀκούσαντές μου τῶν ἐντολῶν μετενόησαν. ὅσοι γοῦν μετενόησαν, ἡ κατοικία αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν πύργον. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς τέλος ἀπέστησαν. οὗτοι οὖν μετάνοιαν οὐκ ἔχουσιν· διὰ γὰρ τὰς πραγματείας αὐτῶν ἐβλασφήμησαν τὸν κύριον καὶ ἀπηρνήσαντο. ἀπώλεσαν οὖν τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν

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

### VIII

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



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πονηρίαν, ἣν ἔπραξαν. 3. πολλοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδιψύχησαν. οὗτοι ἔτι ἔχουσι μετάνοιαν, εἰ ταχὺ μετανοήσωσι, καὶ ἔσται αὐτῶν ἡ κατοικία εἰς τὸν πύργον· εἰ δὲ βραδύτερον μετανοήσωσι, κατοικήσουσιν εἰς τὰ τεῖχη· εἰ δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν. 4. οἱ δὲ τὰ δύο μέρη χλωρά, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ξηρὸν ἐπιδεδωκότες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀρνησάμενοι ποικίλαις ἀρνήσεσι. 5. πολλοὶ μὲν μετενόησαν ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸν πύργον κατοικεῖν· πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπέστησαν εἰς τέλος τοῦ θεοῦ· οὗτοι τὸ ζῆν εἰς τέλος ἀπώλεσαν. τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδιψύχησαν καὶ ἐδιχοστάτησαν. τούτοις οὖν ἐστὶ μετάνοια, εἰ ταχὺ μετανοήσωσι καὶ μὴ ἐπιμείνωσι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς αὐτῶν· εἰ δὲ ἐπιμείνωσι ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὗτοι θάνατον ἑαυτοῖς κατεργάζονται.

### IX

1. Οἱ δὲ ἐπιδεδωκότες τὰς ῥάβδους τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ξηρά, τὸ δὲ τρίτον χλωρόν, οὗτοί εἰσι πιστοὶ μὲν γεγονότες, πλουτήσαντες δὲ καὶ γενόμενοι ἔνδοξοι παρὰ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ὑπερηφανίαν μεγάλην ἐνεδύσαντο καὶ ὑψηλόφρονες ἐγένοντο καὶ κατέλιπον τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ οὐκ ἐκολλήθησαν τοῖς δικαίοις, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνέζησαν, καὶ αὕτη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡδυτέρα αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν, ἀλλ' ἐνέμειναν τῇ πίστει, μὴ ἐργαζόμενοι τὰ ἔργα τῆς πίστεως. 2. πολλοὶ οὖν ἐξ αὐτῶν μετενόησαν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ κατοίκησις αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πύργῳ. 3. ἕτεροι δὲ εἰς τέλος μετὰ

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## 'THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τῶν ἐθνῶν συζῶντες καὶ φθειρόμενοι ταῖς κενοδοξίαις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἔπραξαν τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἐθνῶν. οὗτοι μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐλογίσθησαν. 4. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδιψύχησαν μὴ ἐλπίζοντες σωθῆναι διὰ τὰς πράξεις, ἃς ἔπραξαν· ἕτεροι δὲ ἐδιψύχησαν καὶ σχίσματα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν. τούτοις οὖν τοῖς διψυχήσασιν διὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν μετάνοια ἔτι ἐστίν· ἀλλ' ἢ μετάνοια αὐτῶν ταχινὴ ὀφείλει εἶναι, ἵνα ἢ κατοικία αὐτῶν γένηται εἰς τὸν πύργον τῶν δὲ μὴ μετανοούντων, ἀλλ' ἐπιμενόντων ταῖς ἡδοναῖς, ὁ θάνατος ἐγγύς.

### X

1. Οἱ δὲ τὰς ῥάβδους ἐπιδεδωκότες χλωράς, αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ ἄκρα ξηρὰ καὶ σχισμὰς ἔχοντα, οὗτοι πάντοτε ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πιστοὶ καὶ ἔνδοξοι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐγένοντο, ἐλάχιστον δὲ ἐξήμαρτον διὰ μικρὰς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ μικρὰ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες· ἀλλ' ἀκούσαντές μου τῶν ῥημάτων τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος ταχὺ μετενόησαν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἢ κατοικία αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν πύργον. 2. τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδιψύχησαν, τινὲς δὲ διψυχήσαντες διχοστασίαν μείζονα ἐποίησαν. ἐν τούτοις οὖν ἔνεστι μετανοίας ἐλπίς, ὅτι ἀγαθοὶ πάντοτε ἐγένοντο· δυσκόλως δὲ τις αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖται. 3. οἱ δὲ τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν ξηρὰς ἐπιδεδωκότες, ἐλάχιστον δὲ χλωρὸν ἐχούσας, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ πιστεύσαντες μόνον, τὰ δὲ ἔργα τῆς ἀνομίας ἐργασάμενοι· οὐδέποτε δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπέστησαν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἡδέως ἐβάστασαν καὶ εἰς

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

## X

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

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τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν ἠδέως ὑπεδέξαντο τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀκούσαντες οὖν ταύτην τὴν μετάνοιαν ἀδιστάκτως μετενόησαν, καὶ ἐργάζονται πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην. 4. τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ φοβοῦνται,<sup>1</sup> γινώσκοντες τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν, ἃς ἔπραξαν. τούτων οὖν πάντων ἡ κατοικία εἰς τὸν πύργον ἔσται.

### XI

1. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ συντελέσαι αὐτὸν τὰς ἐπιλύσεις πασῶν τῶν ῥάβδων λέγει μοι. "Ἔπαγε καὶ πᾶσιν λέγε, ἵνα μετανοήσωσιν, καὶ ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ· ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἔπεμψέ με σπλαγχνισθεὶς πᾶσι δοῦναι τὴν μετάνοιαν, καίπερ τινῶν μὴ ὄντων ἀξίων διὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ μακρόθυμος ὢν ὁ κύριος θέλει τὴν κλήσιν τὴν γενομένην διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ σῶζεσθαι. 2. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, ἐλπίζω, ὅτι πάντες ἀκούσαντες αὐτὰ μετανοήσουσι· πείθομαι γάρ, ὅτι εἰς ἕκαστος τὰ ἴδια ἔργα ἐπιγνοὺς καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὸν θεὸν μετανοήσει. 3. ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· "Οσοὶ φησὶν, ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας αὐτῶν μετανοήσωσι καὶ<sup>2</sup> καθαρίσωσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν αὐτῶν τῶν προειρημένων καὶ μηκέτι μηδὲν προσθῶσι ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις αὐτῶν, λήψονται ἴασιν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῶν προτέρων ἀμαρτιῶν· εἰ μὴ διψυχήσωσιν ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ φοβοῦνται A, aliqui vero eorum morte obierunt et libenter patiuntur L<sub>1</sub>, alii vero compressi libenter patiuntur L<sub>2</sub>, et quidam ex iis seipsos afflixerunt E; it is probable that something has dropped out from the Greek. Funk suggests καὶ [παθεῖν οὐ] φοβοῦνται. <sup>2</sup> μετανοήσωσι καὶ LE, om. A.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ταῖς ἐντολαῖς ταύταις, καὶ ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ. ὅσοι δέ, φησὶν, προσθῶσι ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτῶν καὶ πορευθῶσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, θανάτῳ ἑαυτοὺς κατακρινούσιν.<sup>1</sup> 4. σὺ δὲ πορεύου ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς μου, καὶ ζήση τῷ θεῷ· καὶ ὅσοι ἂν πορευθῶσιν ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ ἐργάζωνται ὀρθῶς, ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ.<sup>2</sup> 5. ταῦτά μοι δείξας καὶ λαλήσας πάντα λέγει μοι· Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐπιδείξω μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας.

### Π α ρ α β ο λ ῆ θ'

#### I

1. Μετὰ τὸ γράψαι με τὰς ἐντολὰς καὶ παραβολὰς τοῦ ποιμένου, τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς μετανοίας, ἦλθε πρὸς με καὶ λέγει μοι· Θέλω σοι δεῖξαι, ὅσα σοι ἔδειξε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ λαλήσαν μετὰ σοῦ ἐν μορφῇ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας· ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν. 2· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀσθενέστερος τῇ σαρκὶ ἡς, οὐκ ἐδηλώθη σοι δι' ἀγγέλου. ὅτε οὖν ἐνεδυναμώθης διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ἰσχυσας τῇ ἰσχυρί σου, ὥστε δύνασθαί σε καὶ ἀγγελον ἰδεῖν, τότε μὲν οὖν ἐφανερώθη σοι διὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἢ οἰκοδομῆ τοῦ πύργου· καλῶς καὶ σεμνῶς πάντα ὡς ὑπὸ παρθένου ἐώρακας. νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου βλέπεις διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν πνεύματος· 3· δεῖ δέ σε παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀκριβέστερον

<sup>1</sup> ὅσοι . . . κατακρινούσιν, retranslated from LE, om. A (qui vero adiecerint, inquit, ad delicta sua et conversati fuerint in desideriiis saeculi huius, damnabunt se ad mortem L<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>2</sup> τῷ θεῷ . . . τῷ θεῷ, retranslated from LE, om. A (et vives deo, et quicumque ambulaverint in his, et ea recte exercuerint, vivent deo L<sub>2</sub>).

THE SHEPHERD, SIM. VIII. XI. 3-IV. I. 3

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

PARABLE 9

I

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

Intro-  
duction

<sup>1</sup> The point is that the form of the vision was accommodated to Hermas' powers. It was at first sent in the form of a human being (the emphasis is on the humanity, not on the Virginity) and afterwards when he was stronger spiritually in the form of an angel.



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πάντα μαθεῖν. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐδόθην ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ἀγγέλου εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου κατοικῆσαι, ἵνα δυνατῶς πάντα ἴδῃς, μηδὲν δειλαινόμενος καὶ ὡς τὸ πρότερον. 4. καὶ ἀπήγαγέ με εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, εἰς ὄρος τι μαστῶδες καὶ ἐκάθισέ με ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ ὄρους καὶ ἔδειξέ μοι πεδῖον μέγα, κύκλω δὲ τοῦ πεδίου ὄρη δώδεκα, ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην ἰδέαν ἔχοντα τὰ ὄρη. 5. τὸ πρῶτον ἦν μέλαν ὡς ἀσβόλη· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ψιλόν, βοτάνας μὴ ἔχον· τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἀκανθῶν καὶ τριβόλων πλήρες· 6. τὸ δὲ τέταρτον βοτάνας ἔχον ἡμιξήρους, τὰ μὲν ἐπάνω τῶν βοτανῶν χλωρά, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ῥίζαις ξηρά· τινὲς δὲ βοτάναι, ὅταν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπι-κεκαύκει, ξηραὶ ἐγίνοντο.<sup>1</sup> 7. τὸ δὲ πέμπτον ὄρος ἔχον βοτάνας χλωρὰς καὶ τραχὺ ὄν. τὸ δὲ ἕκτον ὄρος σχισμῶν ὅλως ἔγεμεν, ὧν μὲν μικρῶν, ὧν δὲ μεγάλων· εἶχον δὲ βοτάνας αἰ σχισμαί, οὐ λίαν δὲ ἦσαν εὐθαλεῖς αἰ βοτάναι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς μεμαραμμένα ἦσαν. 8. τὸ δὲ ἑβδομον ὄρος εἶχε βοτάνας ἰλαράς, καὶ ὅλον τὸ ὄρος εὐθηνοῦν ἦν, καὶ πᾶν γένος κτηνῶν καὶ ὀρνέων ἐνέμοντο εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο· καὶ ὅσον ἐβόσκοντο τὰ κτήνη καὶ τὰ πετεινά, μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον αἰ βοτάναι τοῦ ὄρους ἐκεῖνου ἔθαλλον. τὸ δὲ ὄγδοον ὄρος πηγῶν πλήρες ἦν, καὶ πᾶν γένος τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἐποτίζοντο ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ ὄρους ἐκεῖνου. 9. τὸ δὲ ἑννατον ὄρος ὅλως ὕδωρ οὐκ εἶχεν καὶ ὅλον ἐρημῶδες ἦν. εἶχε δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ θηρία καὶ ἔρπετὰ θανάσιμα διαφθείροντα ἀνθρώπους. τὸ δὲ δέκατον

<sup>1</sup> A adds τὸ δὲ ὄρος τραχὺ λίαν ἦν βοτάνας ἔχον ξηράς.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ὄρος εἶχε δένδρα μέγιστα καὶ ὄλον κατάσκιον ἦν, καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῶν δένδρων πρόβατα κατέκειντο ἀναπαυόμενα καὶ μαρυκώμενα. 10. τὸ δὲ ἐνδέκατον ὄρος λίαν σύνδενδρον ἦν, καὶ τὰ δένδρα ἐκεῖνα κατάκαρπα ἦν, ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις καρποῖς κεκοσμημένα, ἵνα ἰδὼν τις αὐτὰ ἐπιθυμήσῃ φαγεῖν ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν. τὸ δὲ δωδέκατον ὄρος ὄλον ἦν λευκόν, καὶ ἡ πρόσοψις αὐτοῦ ἴλαρὰ ἦν· καὶ εὐπρεπέστατον ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ το ὄρος.

### II

1. Εἰς μέσον δὲ τοῦ πεδίου ἔδειξέ μοι πέτραν μεγάλην λευκὴν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀναβεβηκυῖαν. ἡ δὲ πέτρα ὑψηλοτέρα ἦν τῶν ὀρέων, τετράγωνος, ὥστε δύνασθαι ὄλον τὸν κόσμον χωρῆσαι. 2. παλαιὰ δὲ ἦν ἡ πέτρα ἐκείνη, πύλην ἐκκεκομμένην ἔχουσα· ὡς πρόσφατος δὲ ἐδόκει μοι εἶναι ἡ ἐκκόλαψις τῆς πύλης. ἡ δὲ πύλη οὕτως ἔστιλβεν ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον, ὥστε με θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τῇ λαμπηδόνι τῆς πύλης. 3. κύκλῳ δὲ τῆς πύλης εἰστήκεισαν παρθένοι δώδεκα. αἱ οὖν τέσσαρες αἱ εἰς τὰς γωνίας ἑστηκυῖαι ἐνδοξότεραί μοι ἐδόκουν εἶναι· καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι δὲ ἐνδοξοὶ ἦσαν. εἰστήκεισαν δὲ εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη τῆς πύλης, ἀνὰ μέσον αὐτῶν ἀνὰ δύο παρθένοι. 4. ἐνδεδυμένοι δὲ

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

### II

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

The great  
stone in  
the plain

The  
Maidens

<sup>1</sup> The arrangement meant is  $\left. \begin{array}{cc} A & b & b & A \\ b & & & b \\ b & & & b \\ A & b & b & A \end{array} \right\}$ , so that the 'door'

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἦσαν λινοῦς χιτῶνας καὶ περιεζωσμένοι ἦσαν<sup>1</sup> εὐπρεπῶς, ἔξω τοὺς ὤμους ἔχουσαι τοὺς δεξιούς ὡς μέλλουσαι φορτίον τι βαστάζειν. οὕτως ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν· λίαν γὰρ ἰλαραὶ ἦσαν καὶ πρόθυμοι. 5. μετὰ τὸ ἰδεῖν με ταῦτα ἐθαύμαζον ἐν ἑμαυτῶ, ὅτι μεγάλα καὶ ἔνδοξα πράγματα βλέπω. καὶ πάλιν διηπόρουν ἐπὶ ταῖς παρθένοις, ὅτι τρυφεραὶ οὕτως οὔσαι ἀνδρείως εἰστήκεισαν ὡς μέλλουσαι ὅλον τὸν οὐρανὸν βαστάζειν. 6. καὶ λέγει μοι ὁ ποιμὴν· Τί ἐν σεαυτῶ διαλογίζῃ καὶ διαπορῇ καὶ σεαυτῶ λύπην ἐπισπάσαι; ὅσα γὰρ οὐ δύνασαι νοῆσαι, μὴ ἐπιχείρει, συνετὸς ὢν, ἀλλ' ἐρώτα τὸν κύριον, ἵνα λαβὼν σύνεσιν νοῆς αὐτά. 7. τὰ ὀπίσω σου ἰδεῖν οὐ δύνη, τὰ δὲ ἔμπροσθέν σου βλέπεις. ἂ οὖν ἰδεῖν οὐ δύνασαι, ἔασον, καὶ μὴ στρέβλου σεαυτόν· ἂ δὲ βλέπεις, ἐκείνων κατακυρίευε καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν μὴ περιεργάζου· πάντα δέ σοι ἐγὼ δηλώσω, ὅσα ἂν σοι δείξω. ἔμβλεπε οὖν τοῖς λοιποῖς.

### III

1. Εἶδον ἔξ ἄνδρας ἐληλυθότας ὑψηλοὺς καὶ ἐνδόξους καὶ ὁμοίους τῇ ιδέα· καὶ ἐκάλεσαν πλῆθος τι ἀνδρῶν. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ ἐληλυθότες ὑψηλοὶ ἦσαν ἄνδρες καὶ καλοὶ καὶ δυνατοί· καὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἔξ ἄνδρες οἰκοδομεῖν ἐπάνω τῆς πέτρας<sup>2</sup> πύργον τινά. ἦν δὲ θόρυβος τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων μέγας τῶν ἐληλυθόντων οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν πύργον ὧδε καὶ ἐκείσε περιτρε-

<sup>1</sup> ἦσαν P<sup>A</sup> III, οπι. A.

<sup>2</sup> πέτρας AF, πέτρας καὶ ἐπάνω τῆς πύλης L.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

χόντων κύκλω τῆς πύλης. 2. αἱ δὲ παρθένοι ἑστηκυῖαι κύκλω τῆς πύλης ἔλεγον τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπεύδειν τὸν πύργον οἰκοδομεῖσθαι· ἐκπεπετάκεισαν δὲ τὰς χεῖρας αἱ παρθένοι ὡς μέλλουσαί τι λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. 3. οἱ δὲ ἕξ ἄνδρες ἐκέλευον ἐκ βυθοῦ τινος λίθους ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ὑπάγειν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. ἀνέβησαν δὲ λίθοι δέκα τετράγωνοι λαμπροί, μὴ<sup>1</sup> λελατομημένοι. 4. οἱ δὲ ἕξ ἄνδρες ἐκάλουν τὰς παρθένας καὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὰς τοὺς λίθους πάντας τοὺς μέλλοντας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ὑπάγειν τοῦ πύργου βαστάζειν καὶ διαπυρεύεσθαι διὰ τῆς πύλης καὶ ἐπιδιδόναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς μέλλουσιν οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν πύργον. 5. αἱ δὲ παρθένοι τοὺς δέκα λίθους τοὺς πρώτους τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἀναβάντας ἐπετίθουν ἀλλήλαις καὶ κατὰ ἓνα λίθον ἐβάσταζον ὁμοῦ.

### IV

1. Καθὼς δὲ ἐστάθησαν ὁμοῦ κυκλω τῆς πύλης, οὕτως ἐβάσταζον αἱ δοκοῦσαι δυναταὶ εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς γωνίας τοῦ λίθου ὑποδεδυκυῖαι ἦσαν. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ἐκ τῶν πλευρῶν τοῦ λίθου ὑποδεδύκεισαν καὶ οὕτως ἐβάσταζον πάντας τοὺς λίθους· διὰ δὲ τῆς πύλης διέφερον αὐτούς, καθὼς ἐκελεύσθησαν, καὶ ἐπεδίδουν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἰς τὸν πύργον· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς λίθους ὠκοδόμουν. 2. ἢ

<sup>1</sup> μὴ om. AEL, but the addition seems to be made necessary by the reference in Sim. ix. 5, 3, where these stones are described as μὴ λελατομημένοι.

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. IX. iii. 1-iv. 2

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

### IV

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

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



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οἰκοδομὴ δὲ τοῦ πύργου ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπάνω τῆς πύλης. ἤρμόσθησαν οὖν οἱ δέκα λίθοι ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἐνέπλησαν ὅλην τὴν πετραν· καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐκεῖνοι<sup>1</sup> θεμέλιος τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ πύργου· ἡ δὲ πέτρα καὶ ἡ πύλη ἦν βαστάζουσα ὅλον τὸν πύργον· 3. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς δέκα λίθους ἄλλοι ἀνέβησαν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ εἴκοσι<sup>2</sup> λίθοι καὶ οὗτοι ἤρμόσθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου, βασταζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων καθὼς καὶ οἱ πρότεροι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἀνέβησαν λέ, καὶ οὗτοι ὁμοίως ἤρμόσθησαν εἰς τὸν πύργον. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἕτεροι ἀνέβησαν λίθοι μ', καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου· ἐγένοντο οὖν στοῖχοι τέσσαρες ἐν τοῖς θεμελίοις τοῦ πύργου.<sup>3</sup> 4. καὶ ἐπαύσαντο ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἀναβαίνοντες· ἐπαύσαντο δὲ καὶ οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες μικρόν. καὶ πάλιν ἐπέταξαν οἱ ἕξ ἄνδρες τῷ πλήθει τοῦ ὄχλου ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων παραφέρειν λίθους εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. 5. παρεφέροντο οὖν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ὀρέων χροαῖς ποικίλαις λελατομημένοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐπεδίδοντο ταῖς παρθένοις· αἱ δὲ παρθένοι διέφερον αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς πύλης καὶ ἐπεδίδουν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. καὶ ὅταν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἐτέθησαν οἱ λίθοι οἱ ποικίλοι, ὅμοιοι ἐγένοντο λευκοὶ καὶ τὰς χροὰς τὰς ποικίλας ἤλλασσον. 6. τινὲς δὲ λίθοι ἐπεδίδοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνοντο λαμπροί, ἀλλ' οἶοι ἐτέθησαν, τοιοῦτοι καὶ εὐρέθησαν· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐνέπλησαν . . . ἐκεῖνοι retranslated from LE, om. A.

<sup>2</sup> κ' A, viginti quinque L, quindecim E.

<sup>3</sup> ἐγένοντο . . . πύργου retranslated from LE, om. A.

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ἐπιδομένοι οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς πύλης παρενηνεγμένοι. οὗτοι οὖν οἱ λίθοι ἀπρεπεῖς ἦσαν ἐν τῇ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ πύργου. 7. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ ἕξ ἄνδρες τοὺς λίθους τοὺς ἀπρεπεῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκοδομῇ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς ἀρθῆναι καὶ ἀπαχθῆναι κάτω εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον, ὅθεν ἠνέχθησαν. 8. καὶ λέγουσι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς παρεμφέρουσι τοὺς λίθους· "Ὅπως ὑμεῖς μὴ ἐπιδίδοτε εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν λίθους· τίθετε δὲ αὐτοὺς παρὰ τὸν πύργον, ἵνα αἱ παρθένοι διὰ τῆς πύλης παρενέγκωσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιδιδῶσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν. ἔαν γάρ, φασί, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν παρθένων τούτων μὴ παρενεχθῶσι διὰ τῆς πύλης, τὰς χροῶς αὐτῶν ἀλλάξαι οὐ δύνανται· μὴ κοπιᾶτε οὖν, φασίν, εἰς μάτην.

### V

1. Καὶ ἐτελέσθη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἡ οἰκοδομὴ, οὐκ ἀπετελέσθη δὲ ὁ πύργος· ἔμελλε γὰρ πάλιν ἐποικοδομεῖσθαι· καὶ ἐγένετο ἀνοχὴ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς. ἐκέλευσαν δὲ οἱ ἕξ ἄνδρες τοὺς οἰκοδομοῦντας ἀναχωρῆσαι μικρὸν πάντας καὶ ἀναπαυθῆναι· ταῖς δὲ παρθένοις ἐπέταξαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου μὴ ἀναχωρῆσαι. ἐδόκει δέ μοι τὰς παρθέτους καταλελεῖφθαι τοῦ φυλάσσειν τὸν πύργον. 2. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναχωρῆσαι πάντας καὶ ἀναπαυθῆναι λέγω τῷ ποιμένι· Τί ὅτι, φημί, κύριε, οὐ συνετελέσθη ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου; Οὕπω, φησί, δύναται ἀποτελεσθῆναι ὁ πύργος, ἔαν μὴ ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ καὶ δοκιμάσῃ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ταύτην, ἵνα, ἔαν τινες λίθοι σαπροὶ

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. IX. iv. 6-v. 2

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

### V

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

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εὐρεθῶσιν, ἀλλάξῃ αὐτούς· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἐκείνου θέλημα οἰκοδομεῖται ὁ πύργος. 3. Ἦθελον, φημί, κύριε, τούτου τοῦ πύργου γνῶναι τί ἐστὶν ἡ οἰκοδομὴ αὕτη, καὶ περὶ τῆς πέτρας καὶ πύλης καὶ τῶν ὀρέων καὶ τῶν παρθένων καὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἀναβεβηκότων καὶ μὴ λελατομημένων, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀπελθόντων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν. 4. καὶ διατί πρῶτον εἰς τὰ θεμέλια ἰ λίθοι ἐτέθησαν, εἶτα κ', εἶτα λέ', εἶτα μ', καὶ περὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἀπεληλυθότων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν καὶ πάλιν ἠρμένων καὶ εἰς τόπον ἴδιον ἀποτεθειμένων· περὶ πάντων τούτων ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν μου, κύριε, καὶ γνώρισόν μοι αὐτά. 5. Ἐάν, φησί, κενόσπουδος μὴ εὐρεθῆς, πάντα γνώσῃ· μετ' ὀλίγας γὰρ ἡμέρας ἐλευσόμεθα ἐνθάδε, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὄψει τὰ ἐπερχόμενα τῷ πύργῳ τούτῳ καὶ πάσας τὰς παραβολὰς ἀκριβῶς γνώσῃ. 6. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας<sup>1</sup> ἦλθομεν εἰς τὸν τόπον, οὗ κεκαθήκαμεν, καὶ λέγει μοι· Ἄγωμεν πρὸς τὸν πύργον· ὁ γὰρ αὐθέντης τοῦ πύργου ἔρχεται κατανοῆσαι αὐτόν. καὶ ἦλθομεν πρὸς τὸν πύργον· καὶ ὅλως οὐδεὶς ἦν πρὸς αὐτόν εἰ μὴ αἱ παρθένοι μόναι. 7. καὶ ἐπερωτᾷ ὁ ποιμὴν τὰς παρθένας, εἰ ἄρα παρεγεγόνει ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ πύργου. αἱ δὲ ἔφησαν μέλλειν αὐτόν ἔρχεσθαι κατανοῆσαι τὴν οἰκοδομήν.

### VI

1. Καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ μικρὸν βλέπω παράταξιν πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐρχομένων· καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀνὴρ

<sup>1</sup> ἐλευσόμεθα . . . ἡμέρας retranslated from LE, om. A.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τις ὑψηλὸς τῷ μεγέθει, ὥστε τὸν πύργον ὑπερέχειν. 2. καὶ οἱ ἕξ ἄνδρες οἱ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἐφειστώτες ἐκ δεξιῶν τε καὶ ἀριστερῶν περιεπάτησαν μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντες οἱ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν<sup>1</sup> ἐργασάμενοι μετ' αὐτοῦ ἦσαν καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοὶ κύκλω αὐτοῦ ἔνδοξοι. αἱ δὲ παρθένοι αἱ τηροῦσαι τὸν πύργον προσδραμοῦσαι κατεφίλησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἤρξαντο ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ περιπατεῖν κύκλω τοῦ πύργου. 3. κατενόει δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀκριβῶς, ὥστε αὐτὸν καθ' ἓνα λίθον ψηλαφᾶν. κρατῶν δὲ τινα ῥάβδον τῇ χειρὶ κατὰ ἓνα λίθον τῶν ὠκοδομημένων ἔτυπτε.<sup>2</sup> 4. καὶ ὅταν ἐπάτασεν, ἐγένοντο αὐτῶν τινὲς μέλανες ὡσεὶ ἀσβόλη, τινὲς δὲ ἐψωριακότες, τινὲς δὲ σχισμὰς ἔχοντες, τινὲς δὲ κολοβοί, τινὲς δὲ οὔτε λευκοὶ οὔτε μέλανες, τινὲς δὲ τραχεῖς καὶ μὴ συμφωνοῦντες τοῖς ἑτέροις λίθοις, τινὲς δὲ σπίλους πολλοὺς ἔχοντες· αὗται ἦσαν αἱ ποικιλίαι τῶν λίθων τῶν σαπρῶν εὐρεθέντων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν. 5. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν πάντας τούτους ἐκ τοῦ πύργου μετενεχθῆναι καὶ τεθῆναι παρὰ τὸν πύργον καὶ ἑτέρους ἐνεχθῆναι λίθους καὶ ἐμβληθῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῶν. 6. καὶ ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, ἐκ τίνος ὄρους θέλη ἐνεχθῆναι λίθους καὶ ἐμβληθῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῶν.<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἐκ μὲν τῶν ὀρέων οὐκ ἐκέλευσεν ἐνεχθῆναι, ἐκ δὲ τίνος πεδίου ἐγγὺς οὗτος ἐκέλευσεν ἐνεχθῆναι.<sup>4</sup> 7. καὶ ὠρύγη τὸ

<sup>1</sup> Retranslated from EL, om. A.

<sup>2</sup> ἔτυπτε LE, τρις ἔτυπτε A.

<sup>3</sup> Retranslated from EL, om. A.

<sup>4</sup> Retranslated from EL, om. A.

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. IX. vi. 1-7

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



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πεδίου, καὶ εὐρέθησαν λίθοι λαμπροὶ τετράγωνοι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ στρογγύλοι. ὅσοι δὲ ποτε ἦσαν λίθοι ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐκείνῳ, πάντες ἠνέχθησαν καὶ διὰ τῆς πύλης ἐβαστάζοντο ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων. 8. καὶ ἐλατομήθησαν οἱ τετράγωνοι λίθοι καὶ ἐτέθησαν εἰς τὸν τόπον τῶν ἠρμένων· οἱ δὲ στρογγύλοι οὐκ ἐτέθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν, ὅτι σκληροὶ ἦσαν εἰς τὸ λατομηθῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ βραδέως ἐγένοντο. ἐτέθησαν δὲ παρὰ τὸν πύργον, ὡς μελλόντων αὐτῶν λατομείσθαι καὶ τίθεσθαι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν· λίαν γὰρ λαμπροὶ ἦσαν.

### VII -

1. Ταῦτα οὖν συντελέσας ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἔνδοξος καὶ κύριος ὅλου τοῦ πύργου προσεκαλέσατο τὸν ποιμένα καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ τοὺς λίθους πάντας τοὺς παρὰ τὸν πύργον κειμένους, τοὺς ἀποβεβλημένους ἐκ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· 2. Ἐπιμελῶς καθάρισον τοὺς λίθους τούτους καὶ θές αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν τοῦ πύργου, τοὺς δυναμένους ἀρμόσαι τοῖς λοιποῖς· τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἀρμόζοντας ῥίψον μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου. 3. ταῦτα κελεύσας τῷ ποιμένι ἀπήει ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου<sup>1</sup> μετὰ πάντων, μεθ' ὧν ἐληλύθει· αἱ δὲ παρθένοι κύκλω τοῦ πύργου εἰστήκεισαν τηροῦσαι αὐτόν. 4. λέγω τῷ ποιμένι· Πῶς οὗτοι οἱ λίθοι δύνανται εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν τοῦ πύργου ἀπελθεῖν ἀποδεδοκίμασμένοι; ἀποκριθεῖς μοι λέγει· Βλέπεις, φησί, τοὺς λίθους τούτους; Βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. Ἐγώ, φησί,

<sup>1</sup> Retranslated from LE, om. A.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τὸ πλείστον μέρος τῶν λίθων τούτων λατομήσω καὶ βαλῶ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν, καὶ ἀρμόσουσι μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν λίθων. 5. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, δύνανται περικοπέντες τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον πληρῶσαι; ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει μοι· "Ὅσοι μικροὶ εὐρεθήσονται, εἰς μέσσην τὴν οἰκοδομήν βληθήσονται, ὅσοι δὲ μείζονες, ἐξώτεροι τεθήσονται καὶ συγκρατήσουσιν αὐτούς. 6. ταῦτά μοι λαλήσας λέγει μοι· "Ἀγωμεν καὶ μετὰ ἡμέρας δύο ἔλθωμεν καὶ καθαρίσωμεν τοὺς λίθους τούτους καὶ βάλωμεν αὐτούς εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν· τὰ γὰρ κύκλω τοῦ πύργου πάντα καθαρισθῆναι δεῖ, μήποτε ὁ δεσπότης ἐξάπινα ἔλθῃ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν πύργον ῥυπαρὰ εὖρη καὶ προσοχθίση, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ λίθοι οὐκ ἀπελεύσονται εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν τοῦ πύργου, καὶ γὰρ ἀμελῆς δόξω εἶναι παρὰ τῷ δεσπότῃ. 7. καὶ μετὰ ἡμέρας δύο ἦλθομεν πρὸς τὸν πύργον καὶ λέγει μοι· Κατανοήσωμεν τοὺς λίθους πάντας καὶ ἴδωμεν τοὺς δυναμένους εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν ἀπελθεῖν. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, κατανοήσωμεν.

### VIII

1. Καὶ ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτον τοὺς μέλανας κατενοοῦμεν λίθους. καὶ οἱοὶ ἐκ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἐτέθησαν, τοιοῦτοι καὶ εὐρέθησαν. καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτούς ὁ ποιμὴν ἐκ τοῦ πύργου μετενεχθῆναι καὶ χωρισθῆναι. 2. εἶτα κατενόησε τοὺς ἐψωριακότας, καὶ λαβὼν ἐλατόμησε πολλοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκέλευσε τὰς παρθένοὺς ἄραι αὐτούς καὶ βαλεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν. καὶ ἦσαν αὐτοὺς αἱ παρθενοὶ καὶ ἔθηκαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν τοῦ πύργου μέσου. τοὺς

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. IX. vii. 4-viii. 2

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

### VIII

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

The  
Shepherd's  
treatment  
of the  
Stones

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δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκέλευσε μετὰ τῶν μελάνων τεθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι μέλανες εὐρέθησαν. 3. εἶτα κατενόει τοὺς τὰς σχισμὰς ἔχοντας· καὶ ἐκ τούτων πολλοὺς ἐλατόμησε καὶ ἐκέλευσε διὰ τῶν παρθένων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀπενεχθῆναι· ἐξώτεροι δὲ ἐτέθησαν, ὅτι ὑγιέστεροι εὐρέθησαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σχισμάτων οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν λατομηθῆναι· διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπεβλήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ πύργου. 4. εἶτα κατενόει τοὺς κολοβούς, καὶ εὐρέθησαν πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς μέλανες, τινὲς δὲ σχισμὰς μεγάλας πεποιηκότες· καὶ ἐκέλευσε καὶ τούτους τεθῆναι μετὰ τῶν ἀποβεβλημένων. τοὺς δὲ περισσεύοντας αὐτῶν καθάρισας καὶ λατομήσας ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τεθῆναι. αἱ δὲ παρθένοι αὐτοὺς ἄρασαι εἰς μέσσην τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου ἤρμοσαν· ἀσθενέστεροι γὰρ ἦσαν. 5. εἶτα κατενόει τοὺς ἡμίσεις λευκοὺς, ἡμίσεις δὲ μέλανας· καὶ πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐρέθησαν μέλανες. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τούτους ἀρθῆναι μετὰ τῶν ἀποβεβλημένων. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἤρθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων· λευκοὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἠρμόσθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν παρθένων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν· ἐξώτεροι δὲ ἐτέθησαν, ὅτι ὑγιεῖς εὐρέθησαν, ὥστε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς κρατεῖν τοὺς εἰς τὸ μέσον τεθέντας· ὅλως γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἐκολοβώθη. 6. εἶτα κατενόει τοὺς τραχεῖς, καὶ σκληροὺς καὶ ὀλίγοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπεβλήθησαν διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι λατομηθῆναι· σκληροὶ γὰρ λίαν εὐρέθησαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ αὐτῶν ἐλατομήθησαν καὶ ἤρθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων καὶ εἰς μέσσην τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου ἠρμόσθη-

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

σαν· ἀσθενέστεροι γὰρ ἦσαν. 7. εἶτα κατενόει τοὺς ἔχοντας τοὺς σπίλους, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐλίχιστοι ἐμελάνησαν καὶ ἀπεβλήθησαν πρὸς τοὺς λοιπούς. οἱ δὲ περισσεύοντες λαμπροὶ καὶ ὑγιεῖς<sup>1</sup> εὐρέθησαν· καὶ οὗτοι ἡρμόσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν, ἐξώτεροι δὲ ἐτέθησαν διὰ τὴν ἰσχυρότητα αὐτῶν.

### IX

1. Εἶτα ἦλθε κατανοῆσαι τοὺς λευκοὺς καὶ στρογγύλους λίθους καὶ λέγει μοι· Τί ποιῶμεν περὶ τούτων τῶν λίθων; Τί, φημί, ἐγὼ γινώσκω, κύριε; Οὐδὲν οὖν ἐπινοεῖς περὶ αὐτῶν; 2. Ἐγώ, φημί, κύριε, ταύτην τὴν τέχνην οὐκ ἔχω, οὐδὲ λατόμος εἰμὶ οὐδὲ δύναμαι νοῆσαι. Οὐ βλέπεις αὐτούς, φησί, λίαν στρογγύλους ὄντας; καὶ ἐὰν αὐτοὺς θελήσω τετραγώνους ποιῆσαι, πολὺ δεῖ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποκοπῆναι· δεῖ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τινὰς εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τεθῆναι. 3. Εἰ οὖν, φημί, κύριε, ἀνάγκη ἐστί, τί σεαυτὸν βασανίζεις καὶ οὐκ ἐκλέγεις εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν οὓς θέλεις καὶ ἀρμόζεις εἰς αὐτήν; ἐξελέξατο ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς μείζονας καὶ λαμπροὺς καὶ ἐλατόμησεν αὐτούς· αἱ δὲ παρθένοι ἄρασαι ἤρμωσαν εἰς τὰ ἐξώτερα μέρη τῆς οἰκοδομῆς. 4. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ οἱ περισσεύσαντες ἤρθησαν καὶ ἀπετέθησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίου, ὅθεν ἠνέχθησαν· οὐκ ἀπεβλήθησαν δέ, "Οτι, φησί, λείπει τῷ πύργῳ ἔτι μικρὸν οἰκοδομηθῆναι. πάντα<sup>2</sup> δὲ θέλει ὁ

<sup>1</sup> ὑγιεῖς L, ἐκεῖνοι A, om. E.

<sup>2</sup> πάντα A (probably, but it is difficult to read), 'forsitan' L which in Sim. vii. 4 seems to represent πάντως.

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

## IX

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



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

δεσπότης τοῦ πύργου τούτους ἀρμοσθῆναι τοὺς λίθους εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν, ὅτι λαμπροί εἰσι λίαν. 5. ἐκλήθησαν δὲ γυναῖκες δώδεκα, εὐειδέσταται τῷ χαρακτῆρι, μέλανα ἐνδεδυμένοι, περιεζωσμένοι καὶ ἔξω τοὺς ὤμους ἔχουσαι<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰς τρίχας λελυμένοι. ἔδοκοῦσαν δέ μοι αἱ γυναῖκες αὐταὶ ἄγριαι εἶναι. ἐκέλευσε δὲ αὐτὰς ὁ ποιμὴν ἄραι τοὺς λίθους τοὺς ἀποβεβλημένους ἐκ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς καὶ ἀπενεγκεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ ὄρη, ὅθεν καὶ ἠνέχθησαν. 6. αἱ δὲ ἰλαραὶ ἦσαν καὶ ἀπήνεγκαν πάντας τοὺς λίθους καὶ ἔθηκαν, ὅθεν ἐλήφθησαν. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀρθῆναι πάντας τοὺς λίθους καὶ μηκέτι κεῖσθαι λίθον κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου, λέγει μοι ὁ ποιμὴν· Κυκλώσωμεν τὸν πύργον καὶ ἴδωμεν, μή τι ἐλάττωμά ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἐκύκλευον ἐγὼ μετ' αὐτοῦ. 7. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν τὸν πύργον εὐπρεπῆ ὄντα τῇ οἰκοδομῇ λίαν ἰλαρὸς ἦν· ὁ γὰρ πύργος οὕτως ἦν ὠκοδομημένος, ὥστε με ἰδόντα ἐπιθυμεῖν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν αὐτοῦ· οὕτω γὰρ ἦν ὠκοδομημένος, ὡσὰν ἐξ ἑνὸς λίθου μὴ ἔχων μίαν ἀρμογὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ. ἐφαίνετο δὲ ὁ λίθος ὡς ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ἐκκεκολλημένος· μονόλιθος γάρ μοι ἐδόκει εἶναι.

### X

1. Καὶ γὰρ περιπατῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἰλαρὸς ἦμην τοιαῦτα ἀγαθὰ βλέπων. λέγει δέ μοι ὁ ποιμὴν· Ὑπαγε καὶ φέρε ἄσβεστον καὶ ὄστρακον λεπτόν, ἵνα τοὺς τύπους τῶν λίθων τῶν ἠρμένων καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Retranslated from LE, om. A.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν βεβλημένων<sup>1</sup> ἀναπληρώσω· δεῖ γὰρ τοῦ πύργου τὰ κύκλω πάντα ὁμαλὰ γενέσθαι. 2. καὶ ἐποίησα καθὼς ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἤνεγκα πρὸς αὐτόν. Ὑπηρέτει μοι, φησί, καὶ ἐγγὺς τὸ ἔργον τελεσθήσεται. ἐπλήρωσεν οὖν τοὺς τύπους τῶν λίθων τῶν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀπεληλυθόντων καὶ ἐκέλευσε σαρωθῆναι τὰ κύκλω τοῦ πύργου καὶ καθαρὰ γενέσθαι. 3. αἱ δὲ παρθένοι λαβοῦσαι σάρους ἐσάρωσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ κόπρια ἦραν ἐκ τοῦ πύργου καὶ ἔρραναν ὕδωρ, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ τόπος ἰλαρὸς καὶ εὐπρεπέστατος τοῦ πύργου. 4. λέγει μοι ὁ ποιμὴν· Πάντα, φησί, κεκαθάρται· ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος ἐπισκέψασθαι τὸν πύργον, οὐκ ἔχει ἡμῖν οὐδὲν μέμψασθαι. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἤθελεν ὑπάγειν. 5. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπελαβόμεν αὐτοῦ τῆς πῆρας καὶ ἠρξάμην αὐτὸν ὀρκίζειν κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα μοι ἐπιλύσῃ, ἃ ἔδειξέ μοι. λέγει μοι. Μικρὸν ἔχω ἀκαιρεθῆναι καὶ πάντα σοι ἐπιλύσω· ἔκδεξαί με ὧδε, ἕως ἔρχομαι. 6. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, μόνος ὢν ὧδε ἐγὼ τί ποιήσω; Οὐκ εἶ, φησί, μόνος· αἱ γὰρ παρθένοι αὗται μετὰ σοῦ εἰσί. Παράδος οὖν, φημί, αὐταῖς με. προσκαλεῖται αὐτὰς ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ λέγει αὐταῖς· Παρατίθεμαι ὑμῖν τοῦτον ἕως ἔρχομαι· καὶ ἀπῆλθεν. 7. ἐγὼ δὲ ἤμην μόνος μετὰ τῶν παρθένων· ἦσαν δὲ ἰλαρώτεραι καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ εὖ εἶχον· μάλιστα δὲ αἱ τέσσαρες αἱ ἐνδοξότεραι αὐτῶν.

<sup>1</sup> ἡρημένων . . . βεβλημένων LE, ἡρμυσμένων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν καὶ βεβλημένων A.

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. IX. X: 1-7

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

## XI

1. Λέγουσι μοι αἱ παρθένοι· Σήμερον ὁ ποιμὴν ὧδε οὐκ ἔρχεται. Τί οὖν, φημί, ποιήσω ἐγώ; Μέχρις ὀψέ, φασίν, περίμεινον αὐτόν· καὶ εἰ ἔλθῃ, λαλήσει μετὰ σοῦ, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔλθῃ, μενεῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν ὧδε ἕως ἔρχεται. 2. λέγω αὐταῖς· Ἐκδέξομαι αὐτόν ἕως ὀψέ· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔλθῃ, ἀπελεύσομαι εἰς τὸν οἶκον καὶ πρῶτ' ἐπανήξω. αἱ δὲ ἀκοκριθεῖσαι λέγουσί μοι· Ἡμῖν παρεδόθησ' οὐ δύνασαι ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀναχωρῆσαι. 3. Ποῦ οὖν, φημί, μενῶ; Μεθ' ἡμῶν, φασί, κοιμηθήσῃ ὡς ἀδελφός, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἀνὴρ· ἡμέτερος γὰρ ἀδελφός εἶ, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μέλλομεν μετὰ σοῦ κατοικεῖν· λίαν γὰρ σε ἀγαπῶμεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡσχυρόμην μετ' αὐτῶν μένειν. 4. καὶ ἡ δοκοῦσα πρώτη αὐτῶν εἶναι ἤρξατό με καταφιλεῖν καὶ περιπλέκεσθαι. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ὀρώσαι ἐκείνην περιπλεκομένην μοι καὶ αὐταὶ ἤρξαντό με καταφιλεῖν καὶ περιάγειν κύκλω τοῦ πύργου καὶ παίζειν μετ' ἐμοῦ. 5. καὶ γὰρ ὡσεὶ νεώτερος ἐγεγόνειν καὶ ἤρξάμην καὶ αὐτὸς παίζειν μετ' αὐτῶν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐχόρευον, αἱ δὲ ὄρχουντο, αἱ δὲ ἤδον· ἐγὼ δὲ σιγὴν ἔχων μετ' αὐτῶν κύκλω τοῦ πύργου περιεπάτουں καὶ ἰλαρὸς ἤμην μετ' αὐτῶν. 6. ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης ἤθελον εἰς τὸν οἶκον ὑπάγειν· αἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀφῆκαν, ἀλλὰ κατέσχον με. καὶ ἔμεινα μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν νύκτα καὶ ἐκοιμήθην παρὰ τὸν πύργον. 7. ἔστρωσαν γὰρ αἱ παρθένοι τοὺς λινοῦς χιτῶνας ἑαυτῶν χαμαὶ καὶ ἐμὲ ἀνέκλιναν εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὄλως ἐποίουν εἰ μὴ προσηύχοντο· καὶ γὰρ μετ' αὐτῶν

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἀδιαλείπτως προσηυχόμενῃ καὶ οὐκ ἔλασσον  
ἐκείνων. καὶ ἔχαιρον αἱ παρθένοι οὕτω μου  
προσευχομένου. καὶ ἔμεινα ἐκεῖ μέχρι τῆς αὐριου  
ἕως ὥρας δευτέρας μετὰ τῶν παρθένων. 8. εἶτα  
παρῆν ὁ ποιμὴν, καὶ λέγει ταῖς παρθένοις· Μή  
τινα αὐτῷ ὑβριν πεποιήκατε; Ἐρώτα, φασίν,  
αὐτόν. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, εὐφράνθη μετ'  
αὐτῶν μείνας. Τί, φησίν, ἐδείπνησας; Ἐδεί-  
πνησα, φημί, κύριε, ῥήματα κυρίου ὅλην τὴν  
νύκτα. Καλῶς, φησίν, ἔλαβόν σε; Ναί, φημί,  
κύριε. 9. Νῦν, φησί, τί θελεῖς πρῶτον ἀκοῦσαι;  
Καθῶς, φημί, κύριε, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔδειξας· ἐρωτῶ  
σε, κύριε, ἵνα, καθὼς ἂν σε ἐπερωτήσω, οὕτω μοι  
καὶ δηλώσης. Καθὼς βούλει, φησίν, οὕτω σοι  
καὶ ἐπιλύσω, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλως ἀποκρύψω ἀπὸ σοῦ.

## XII

1. Πρῶτον, φημί, πάντων, κύριε, τοῦτό μοι  
δήλωσον· ἡ πέτρα καὶ ἡ πύλη τίς ἐστίν; Ἡ  
πέτρα, φησίν, αὕτη καὶ ἡ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ  
ἐστί. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, ἡ πέτρα παλαιά ἐστίν,  
ἡ δὲ πύλη καινή; Ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ σύνιε, ἀσύνετε.  
2. ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ  
προγενέστερός ἐστιν, ὥστε σύμβουλον αὐτὸν  
γενέσθαι τῷ πατρὶ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ· διὰ τοῦτο  
καὶ παλαιά ἡ πέτρα.<sup>1</sup> Ἡ δὲ πύλη διατί καινή,  
φημί, κύριε; 3. Ὅτι, φησίν, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν  
ἡμερῶν τῆς συντελείας φανερὸς ἐγένετο, διὰ τοῦτο

Prov. 8,  
27-30

<sup>1</sup> παλαιά ἡ πέτρα P<sup>am</sup> παλαιός ἐστι A, um. L.

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. IX. xi. 7-xii. 3

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

## XII

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

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



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Jo. 3, 5 cf.  
Mc. 9, 47;  
10, 23-25;  
Mt. 5, 20;  
7, 21; 18, 3

καινή ἐγένετο ἡ πύλη, ἵνα οἱ μέλλοντες σῶζεσθαι δι' αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσέλθωσι τοῦ θεοῦ. 4. εἶδες, φησίν, τοὺς λίθους τοὺς διὰ τῆς πύλης εἰσεληλυθότας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου βεβλημένους,<sup>1</sup> τοὺς δὲ μὴ εἰσεληλυθότας πάλιν ἀποβεβλημένους εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον; Εἶδον, φημί, κύριε. Οὕτω, φησίν, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδεὶς<sup>2</sup> εἰσελεύσεται, εἰ μὴ λάβοι τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ. 5. ἐὰν γὰρ εἰς πόλιν θελήσης εἰσελθεῖν τινα κακείνη ἢ πόλις περιτετειχισμένη κύκλῳ καὶ μίαν ἔχει πύλην, μήτι δύνη εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῆς πύλης ἧς ἔχει; Πῶς γάρ, φημί, κύριε, δύναται γενέσθαι ἄλλως; Εἰ οὖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐ δύνη εἰσελθεῖν εἰ μὴ διὰ τῆς πύλης ἧς ἔχει, οὕτω, φησί, καὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄλλως εἰσελθεῖν οὐ δύναται ἄνθρωπος εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. 6. Εἶδες, φησί, τὸν ὄχλον τὸν οἰκοδομοῦντα τὸν πύργον; Εἶδον, φημί, κύριε. Ἐκεῖνοι, φησί, πάντες ἄγγελοι ἔνδοξοί εἰσι· τούτοις οὖν περιτετείχισται ὁ κύριος. ἡ δὲ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν· αὕτη μία εἴσοδος ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸν κύριον. ἄλλως οὖν οὐδεὶς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. 7. Εἶδες, φησί, τοὺς ἐξ ἄνδρας καὶ τὸν μέσον αὐτῶν ἔνδοξον καὶ μέγαν ἄνδρα τὸν περιπατοῦντα περὶ τὸν πύργον καὶ τοὺς λίθους ἀποδοκιμάσαντα ἐκ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς; Εἶδον, φημί, κύριε. 8. Ὁ ἔνδοξος, φησίν, ἀνὴρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶ, κακείνοι οἱ ἐξ οἱ ἔνδοξοι ἄγγελοί

Jo. 3, 5

Jo. 14, 6

<sup>1</sup> βεβλημένους om. A.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ ἅγιον A, τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ E, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ L.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

εἰσι δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα συγκρατοῦντες αὐτόν. τούτων, φησί, τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἐνδόξων οὐδεὶς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἄτερ αὐτοῦ· ὃς ἂν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μὴ λάβῃ, οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

### XIII

1. Ὁ δὲ πύργος, φημί, τίς ἐστίν; Ὁ πύργος, φησὶν<sup>1</sup> οὗτος ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐστίν. 2. Αἱ δὲ παρθένοι αὗται τίνες εἰσίν; Αὗται, φησὶν, ἅγια πνεύματά εἰσι· καὶ ἄλλως ἄνθρωπος οὐ δύναται εὔρεθῆναι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐὰν μὴ αὗται αὐτὸν ἐνδύσωσι τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτῶν· ἐὰν γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα μόνον λάβῃς, τὸ δὲ ἔνδυμα παρὰ τούτων μὴ λάβῃς, οὐδὲν ὠφελήσῃ· αὗται γὰρ αἱ παρθένοι δυνάμεις εἰσὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐὰν τὸ ὄνομα φορῆς, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν μὴ φορῆς αὐτοῦ, εἰς μάτην ἔσῃ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ φορῶν. 3. τοὺς δὲ λίθους, φησὶν, οὓς εἶδες ἀποβεβλημένους, οὗτοι τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἐφόρεσαν, τὸν δὲ ἱματισμὸν τῶν παρθένων οὐκ ἐνεδύσαντο. Ποῖος, φημί, ἱματισμὸς αὐτῶν ἐστί, κύριε; Αὐτὰ τὰ ὀνόματα, φησὶν, ἱματισμὸς ἐστίν αὐτῶν. ὃς ἂν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ φορῆ, καὶ τούτων ὀφείλει τὰ ὀνόματα φορεῖν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν παρθένων τούτων φορεῖ. 4. ὅσους, φησί, λίθους εἶδες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου εἰσεληλυθότας, ἐπιδεδομένους διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ μείναντας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν,<sup>1</sup> τούτων τῶν παρθένων τὴν δύνα-

<sup>1</sup> Retranslated from LE, om. A.

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

### XIII

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

<sup>1</sup> The explanation is given in Sim. ix. 15.

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Eph. 4, 4

Eph. 4, 4

II Cor. 13,  
11; Philipp  
2, 2; 3, 16;  
4, 2; Rom.  
12, 16

Ps. 14, 2;  
Acts 10, 35;  
Heb. 11, 33

μιν ἐνδεδυμένοι εἰσί. 5. διὰ τοῦτο βλέπεις τὸν πύργον μονόλιθον γεγονότα μετὰ τῆς πέτρας· οὕτω καὶ οἱ πιστεύσαντες τῷ κυρίῳ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνδιδυσκόμενοι τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα ἔσονται εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα, ἐν σῶμα, καὶ μία χροῶ τῶν ἱματίων αὐτῶν. τῶν τοιούτων δὲ τῶν φορούντων τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν παρθένων ἐστὶν ἡ κατοικία εἰς τὸν πύργον. 6. Οἱ οὖν, φημί, κύριε, ἀποβεβλημένοι λίθοι διατί ἀπεβλήθησαν; διήλθον γὰρ διὰ τῆς πύλης, καὶ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν παρθένων ἐτέθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. Ἐπειδὴ πάντα σοι, φησί, μέλει, καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζεις, ἄκουε περὶ τῶν ἀποβεβλημένων λίθων. 7. οὗτοι, φησί, πάντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλαβον, ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν παρθένων τούτων. λαβόντες οὖν τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα ἐνεδυναμώθησαν καὶ ἦσαν μετὰ τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν ἐν πνεῦμα καὶ ἐν σῶμα καὶ ἐν ἔνδυμα· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ ἐφρόνουν καὶ δικαιοσύνην εἰργάζοντο. 8. μετὰ οὖν χρόνον τινὰ ἀνεπίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ὧν εἶδες μέλανα ἱμάτια ἐνδεδυμένων, τοὺς ὤμους ἔξω ἔχουσῶν καὶ τὰς τρίχας λελυμένας καὶ εὐμόρφων· ταύτας ἰδόντες ἐπεθύμησαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐνεδύσαντο τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, τῶν δὲ παρθένων ἀπεδύσαντο τὸ ἔνδυμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν.<sup>1</sup> 9. οὗτοι οὖν ἀπεβλήθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκείναις παρεδόθησαν· οἱ δὲ μὴ ἀπατηθέντες τῷ κάλλει τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων ἔμειναν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔχεις, φησί, τὴν ἐπίλυσιν τῶν ἀποβεβλημένων.

<sup>1</sup> τὴν δύναμιν AL<sub>2</sub>, τὸ ἔνδυμα L<sub>1</sub> τὸ ἔνδυμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν A.

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## XIV

1. Τί οὖν φημί, κύριε, ἐὰν οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τοιοῦτοι ὄντες, μετανοήσωσι καὶ ἀποβάλωσι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων, καὶ ἐπανακάμψωσιν ἐπὶ τὰς παρθένας καὶ ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν πορευθῶσιν, οὐκ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ; 2. Εἰσελεύσονται, φησὶν, ἐὰν τούτων τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποβάλωσι τὰ ἔργα, τῶν δὲ παρθένων ἀναλάβωσι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν πορευθῶσι· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἀνοχὴ ἐγένετο, ἵνα ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν οὗτοι, ἀπέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσι, τότε ἄλλοι εἰσελεύσονται,<sup>1</sup> καὶ οὗτοι εἰς τέλος ἐκβληθήσονται. 3. ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν ηὐχαρίστησα τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξαπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς μετανοίας εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἁμαρτήσαντας εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνεκαίνισεν ἡμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἤδη κατεφθαρμένων ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ ἐχόντων ἐλπίδα τοῦ ζῆν ἀνεπέωσε τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν. 4. Νῦν, φημί, κύριε, δῆλωσόν μοι, διατί ὁ πύργος χαμαὶ οὐκ ὠκοδομεῖται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην. "Ἐτι, φησὶν, ἄφρων εἶ καὶ ἀσύνητος; "Ανάγκην ἔχω, φημί, κύριε, πάντα ἐπερωτᾶν σε, ὅτι οὐδ' ὅλως οὐδὲν δύναμαι νοῆσαι· τὰ γὰρ πάντα μεγάλα καὶ ἔνδοξά ἐστι καὶ δυσνόητα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. 5. "Ἄκουε, φησί· τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ μέγα ἐστὶ καὶ ἀχώρητον καὶ τὸν κόσμον ὅλον βαστάζει.

<sup>1</sup> εἰσελεύσονται LE, ἀπελεύσονται A.

XIV

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



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

εἰ οὖν πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ βαστάζεται, τί δοκεῖς τοὺς κεκλημένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα φοροῦντας τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πορευομένους ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ; 6. βλέπεις οὖν ποίους βαστάζει; τοὺς ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας φοροῦντας τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. αὐτὸς οὖν θεμέλιος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἠδέως αὐτοὺς βαστάζει, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπαισχύνονται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ φορεῖν.

### XV

1. Δήλωσόν μοι, φημί, κύριε, τῶν παρθένων τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν τὰ μέλανα ἱμάτια ἐνδεδυμένων. Ἄκουε, φησὶν, τῶν παρθένων<sup>1</sup> τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων, τῶν εἰς τὰς γωνίας σταθεισῶν. 2. ἡ μὲν πρώτη Πίστις, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα Ἐγκράτεια, ἡ δὲ τρίτη Δύναμις, ἡ δὲ τετάρτη Μακροθυμία· αἱ δὲ ἕτεραι ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων σταθεῖσαι ταῦτα ἔχουσι τὰ ὀνόματα· Ἀπλότης, Ἀκακία, Ἀγνεία, Ἰλαρότης, Ἀλήθεια, Σύνεσις, Ὁμόνοια, Ἀγάπη. ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ὁ φορῶν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ δυνήσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. 3. ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν τὰ ἱμάτια μέλανα ἔχουσῶν. καὶ ἐκ τούτων τέσσαρές εἰσι δυνατώτεραι. ἡ πρώτη Ἀπιστία, ἡ δευτέρα Ἀκρασία, ἡ δὲ τρίτη Ἀπείθεια, ἡ δὲ τετάρτη Ἀπάτη. αἱ δὲ ἀκόλουθοι αὐτῶν καλοῦνται Λύπη, Πονηρία, Ἀσέλγεια, Ὁξυχολία, Ψεῦδος, Ἀφροσύνη, Καταλαλιά, Μῖσος. ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ὁ φορῶν τοῦ

Jo. 3, 5 .

<sup>1</sup> τὰ ὀνόματα . . . παρθένων, retranslated from LE, om. A.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Deut. 34, 4

θεοῦ δούλος τὴν βασιλείαν μὲν ὄψεται τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς αὐτὴν δὲ οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται. 4. Οἱ λίθοι δέ, φημί, κύριε, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἠρμοσμένοι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τίνες εἰσίν; Οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι, φησίν, οἱ ἰοῖ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια τεθειμένοι, πρώτη γενεά· οἱ δὲ κέ<sup>1</sup> δευτέρα γενεὰ ἀνδρῶν δικαίων· οἱ δὲ λέ' προφῆται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διάκονοι αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ μ' ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. 5. Διατί οὖν, φημί, κύριε, αἱ παρθένοι καὶ τούτους τοὺς λίθους ἐπέδωκαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου, διενέγκασαι διὰ τῆς πύλης; 6. Οὗτοι γάρ, φησί, πρῶτοι ταῦτα τὰ πνεύματα ἐφόρεσαν καὶ ὅλως ἀπ' ἀλλήλων οὐκ ἀπέστησαν, οὔτε τὰ πνεύματα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὔτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων, ἀλλὰ παρέμειναν τὰ πνεύματα αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῆς κοιμήσεως αὐτῶν. καὶ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα τὰ πνεύματα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐσχήκεισαν, οὐκ ἂν εὐχρηστοὶ γεγονέισαν τῇ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ πύργου τούτου.

### XVI

Jo. 3, 5

1. Ἔτι μοι, φημί, κύριε, δήλωσον. Τί, φησίν, ἐπιζητεῖς; Διατί, φημί, κύριε, οἱ λίθοι ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἀνέβησαν καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου<sup>2</sup> ἐτέθησαν, πεφορηκότες τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα; 2. Ἀνάγκην, φησίν, εἶχον δι' ὕδατος ἀναβῆναι, ἵνα ζωοποιηθῶσιν· οὐκ ἠδύναντο γὰρ ἄλλως

<sup>1</sup> κέ' AL, xv E.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ πύργου LE, om. A.

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

The stones  
of the  
foundation

## XVI

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

The stones  
from the  
deep

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

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Jo. 3, 5

εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ μὴ τὴν νέκρωσιν ἀπέθεντο τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν τῆς προτέρας.<sup>1</sup> 3. ἔλαβον οὖν καὶ οὗτοι οἱ κεκοιμημένοι τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.<sup>2</sup> πρὶν γάρ, φησί, φορέσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, νεκρός ἐστιν· ὅταν δὲ λάβῃ τὴν σφραγίδα, ἀποτίθεται τὴν νέκρωσιν καὶ ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν ζωὴν.

Jo. 3, 5

4. ἡ σφραγὶς οὖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστίν· εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ οὖν καταβαίνουσι νεκροὶ καὶ ἀναβαίνουσι ζῶντες. κακείνοις οὖν ἐκηρύχθη ἡ σφραγὶς αὕτη καὶ ἐχρήσαντο αὐτῇ, ἵνα εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. 5. Διατί, φημί, κύριε, καὶ οἱ μὲν λίθοι μετ' αὐτῶν ἀνέβησαν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ, ἤδη ἐσχηκότες τὴν σφραγίδα; "Ὅτι, φησὶν, οὗτοι οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι οἱ κηρύξαντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, κοιμηθέντες ἐν δυνάμει καὶ πίστει τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκήρυξαν καὶ τοῖς προκεκοιμημένοις<sup>3</sup> καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ κηρύγματος. 6. κατέβησαν οὖν μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πάλιν ἀνέβησαν· ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ζῶντες κατέβησαν καὶ ζῶντες ἀνέβησαν· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ προκεκοιμημένοι νεκροὶ κατέβησαν, ζῶντες δὲ ἀνέβησαν.<sup>4</sup> 7. διὰ τούτων οὖν ἐζωοποιήθησαν καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνανέβησαν μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ συνηρμόσθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> τῆς προτέρας LE, om. A.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ . . . θεοῦ retranslated from LE, om. A.

<sup>3</sup> προκεκοιμημένοις Clem. L<sub>1</sub>E, κεκοιμημένοις AL<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> ἀλλ' οὗτοι . . . ἀνέβησαν Clem. (LE) . . ., om. A.

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# HISTORY

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

πύργου, καὶ ἀλατόμητοι συνωκοδομήθησαν· ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ γὰρ ἐκοιμήθησαν καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ ἀγνείᾳ· μόνον δὲ τὴν σφραγίδα ταύτην οὐκ εἶχον. ἔχεις οὖν καὶ τὴν τούτων ἐπίλυσιν. "Ἐχω, φημί, κύριε.

### XVII

1. Νῦν οὖν, κύριε, περὶ τῶν ὁρέων μοι δήλωσον· διατί ἄλλαι καὶ ἄλλαι εἰσὶν αἱ ἰδέαι καὶ ποικίλαι; "Ἀκουε, φησί· τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα τὰ δώδεκα φυλαί<sup>1</sup> εἰσὶν αἱ κατοικοῦσαι ὅλον τὸν κόσμον. ἐκηρύχθη οὖν εἰς ταύτας ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων. 2. Διατί δὲ ποικίλα καὶ ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἰδέα ἐστὶ τὰ ὄρη, δήλωσόν μοι, κύριε. "Ἀκουε, φησὶν· αἱ δώδεκα φυλαὶ αὗται αἱ κατοικοῦσαι ὅλον τὸν κόσμον δώδεκα ἔθνη εἰσὶ· ποικίλα δὲ εἰσι τῇ φρονήσει καὶ τῷ νοῖ· οἷα οὖν εἶδες τὰ ὄρη ποικίλα, τοιαῦταί εἰσι καὶ τούτων αἱ ποικιλίαι τοῦ νοῦς τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἡ φρόνησις. δηλώσω δέ σοι καὶ ἑνὸς ἐκάστου τὴν πράξιν. 3. Πρῶτον, φημί, κύριε, τοῦτο δήλωσον, διατί οὕτω ποικίλα ὄντα τὰ ὄρη, εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ὅταν ἐτέθησαν οἱ λίθοι αὐτῶν, μιᾷ χρόᾳ ἐγένοντο λαμπροί, ὡς καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἀναβεβηκότες λίθοι; 4. "Ὅτι, φησί, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν κατοικούντα, ἀκούσαντα καὶ πιστεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι ἐκλήθησαν τοῦ υἱοῦ<sup>2</sup> τοῦ θεοῦ. λαβόντες οὖν τὴν σφραγίδα μίαν φρόνησιν ἔσχον καὶ ἓνα

Eph. 4, 3-6

<sup>1</sup> φυλαί A, φυλαὶ δώδεκα L. E connects δώδεκα with φυλαί, but omits it with ὄρη. The original text may have been τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα δώδεκα φυλαί etc. <sup>2</sup> τοῦ υἱοῦ LE, om. A.

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. IX. XVI. 7-XVII. 4

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

### XVII

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



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νοῦν, καὶ μία πίστις αὐτῶν ἐγένετο καὶ μία ἀγάπη, καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τῶν παρθένων μετὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐφόρεσαν· διὰ τοῦτο ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου μιᾷ χρόῳ ἐγένετο λαμπρὰ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος. 5. μετὰ δὲ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ γενέσθαι ἐν σῶμα, τινὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐμίαναν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐξεβλήθησαν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων καὶ πάλιν ἐγένοντο, οἳ προτέρον ἦσαν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ χείρονες.

### XVIII

1. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, ἐγένοντο χείρονες, θεὸν ἐπεγνωκότες; Ὁ μὴ γινώσκων, φησί, θεὸν καὶ πονηρευόμενος ἔχει κόλασίν τινα τῆς πονηρίας αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ θεὸν ἐπιγνοὺς οὐκέτι ὀφείλει πονηρεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοποιεῖν. 2. εἰ οὖν ὁ ὀφείλων ἀγαθοποιεῖν πονηρεύηται, οὐ δοκεῖ πλείονα πονηρίαν ποιεῖν παρὰ τὸν μὴ γινώσκοντα τὸν θεόν; διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὴ ἐγνωκότες θεὸν καὶ πονηρευόμενοι κεκριμένοι εἰσὶν εἰς θάνατον, οἱ δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐγνωκότες καὶ τὰ μεγαλεῖα αὐτοῦ ἐωρακότες καὶ πονηρευόμενοι δισσῶς κολασθήσονται καὶ ἀποθανοῦνται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. οὕτως οὖν καθαρισθήσεται ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. ὡς δὲ εἶδες ἐκ τοῦ πύργου τοὺς λίθους ἠρμένους καὶ παραδεδομένους τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῖς πονηροῖς καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐκβληθέντας· (καὶ ἔσται ἐν σῶμα τῶν κεκαθαρμένων, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ πύργος ἐγένετο ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς λίθου γεγονὼς μετὰ τὸ καθαρισθῆναι αὐτόν·) οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τὸ καθαρισ-

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

θῆναι αὐτήν καὶ ἀποβληθῆναι τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ ὑποκριτὰς καὶ βλασφήμους καὶ διψύχους καὶ πονηρευομένους ποικίλαις πονηρίαις. 4. μετὰ τὸ τούτους ἀποβληθῆναι ἔσται ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν σῶμα, μία φρόνησις, εἷς νοῦς, μία πίστις, μία ἀγάπη· καὶ τότε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαλλιάσεται καὶ εὐφρανθήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπειληφῶς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καθαρὸν. Μεγάλως, φημί, κύριε, καὶ ἐνδόξως πάντα ἔχει. 5. Ἔτι, φημί, κύριε, τῶν ὀρέων ἐνὸς ἐκάστου δήλωσόν μοι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὰς πράξεις, ἵνα πᾶσα ψυχὴ πεποιθυῖα ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον ἀκούσασα δοξάσῃ τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ ἔνδοξον ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Ἄκουε, φησί, τῶν ὀρέων τὴν ποικιλίαν καὶ τῶν δώδεκα ἔθνων.

Ps. 9, 2 ;  
86, 9, 12 ;  
99, 3

### XIX

1. Ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου ὄρους τοῦ μέλανος οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν· ἀποστάται καὶ βλάσφημοι εἰς τὸν κύριον καὶ προδόται τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ. τούτοις δὲ μετάνοια οὐκ ἔστι, θάνατος δὲ ἔστι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μέλανές εἰσι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἄνομόν ἐστιν. 2. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου ὄρους τοῦ ψιλοῦ οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν· ὑποκριταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι πονηρίας. καὶ οὗτοι οὖν τοῖς προτέροις ὅμοιοί εἰσι, μὴ ἔχοντες καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης· ὡς γὰρ τὸ ὄρος αὐτῶν ἄκαρπον, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὄνομα μὲν ἔχουσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πίστεως κενοί εἰσι καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς καρπὸς ἀληθείας. τούτοις οὖν μετάνοια κείται, εἰὰν ταχὺ μετανοήσωσιν· εἰὰν δὲ βραδύνωσι, μετὰ τῶν

Philpp. 1,  
11 ; Heb 12,  
11 ; Jam. 3,  
18 ;

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. IX. xviii. 3-xix. 2

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

### XIX

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

The characteristics of the mountains  
The first mountain

The second mountain

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προτέρων ἔσται ὁ θάνατος αὐτῶν. 3. Διατί, φημί, κύριε, τούτοις μετάνοιά ἐστὶ, τοῖς δὲ πρώτοις οὐκ ἔστι; παρά τι γὰρ αἱ αὐταὶ αἱ πράξεις αὐτῶν εἰσί. Διὰ τοῦτο, φησί, τούτοις μετάνοια κεῖται, ὅτι οὐκ ἐβλασφήμησαν τὸν κύριον αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἐγένοντο προδόται τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ· διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ λήμματος ὑπεκρίθησαν καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἕκαστος κατὰ<sup>1</sup> τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων. ἀλλὰ τίσουσι δίκην τινά· κεῖται δὲ αὐτοῖς μετάνοια διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι αὐτοὺς βλασφήμους μηδὲ προδότας.

### XX

Mt. 13, 22 ;  
Mc. 4, 18. 19

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ τρίτου τοῦ ἔχοντος ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν. ἐξ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πλούσιοι, οἱ δὲ πραγματεῖαις πολλαῖς ἐμπεφυρμένοι. οἱ μὲν τρίβολοί εἰσιν οἱ πλούσιοι, αἱ δὲ ἀκάνθαι οἱ ἐν ταῖς πραγματεῖαις ταῖς ποικίλαις ἐμπεφυρμένοι. 2. οὗτοι οὖν οἱ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ ποικίλαις πραγματεῖαις ἐμπεφυρμένοι, οὐ<sup>2</sup> κολλῶνται τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλανῶνται πνιγόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν πράξεων αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι δυσκόλως κολλῶνται τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ, φοβούμενοι, μή τι αἰτισθῶσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν· οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὖν δυσκόλως εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τριβόλοις γυμνοῖς ποσὶ περιπατεῖν δύσκολόν ἐστίν, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις

Mt. 19, 23 ;  
Mc. 10, 23 ;  
Luk. 18, 24

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ LE, om. A.

<sup>2</sup> οὖν . . . οὐ retranslated from LE, om. A.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Mc. 10, 24

δύσκολόν ἐστιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. 4. ἀλλὰ τούτοις πᾶσι μετάνοιά ἐστι, ταχινὴ δέ, ἵν' ὁ τοῖς προτέροις χρόνοις οὐκ εἰργάσαντο νῦν ἀναδράμωσιν ταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ἀγαθόν τι ποιήσωσιν. ἐὰν οὖν μετανοήσωσι καὶ ἀγαθόν τι ποιήσωσι,<sup>1</sup> ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ. ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμείνωσι ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, παραδοθήσονται ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐκείναις, αἵτινες αὐτοὺς θανατώσουσιν.

### XXI

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου ὄρους τοῦ ἔχοντος βοτάνας πολλάς, τὰ μὲν ἐπάνω τῶν βοτανῶν χλωρά, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ρίζαις ξηρά, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ξηραινόμεναι, οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν· οἱ μὲν δίψυχοι, οἱ δὲ τὸν κύριον ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖλη, ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν δὲ μὴ ἔχοντες. 2. διὰ τοῦτο τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῶν ξηρά ἐστι καὶ δύναμιν μὴ ἔχοντα, καὶ τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν μόνα ζῶσι, τὰ δὲ ἔργα αὐτῶν νεκρά ἐστιν. οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὔτε ζῶσιν οὔτε<sup>2</sup> τεθνήκασιν. ὅμοιοι οὖν εἰσὶ τοῖς διψύχοις· καὶ γὰρ οἱ δίψυχοι οὔτε χλωροί εἰσιν οὔτε ξηροί· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶσιν οὔτε τεθνήκασιν. 3. ὥσπερ γὰρ αὐταὶ<sup>3</sup> αἱ βοτάναι ἡλίου ἰδοῦσαι ἐξηράνθησαν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ δίψυχοι, ὅταν θλιψῶν ἀκούσωσι, διὰ τὴν δειλίαν αὐτῶν εἰδωλολατροῦσι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπαισχύνονται τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῶν. 4. οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὖν οὔτε ζῶσιν<sup>4</sup> οὔτε

<sup>1</sup> ἐὰν . . . ποιήσωσι retranslated from LE, καὶ A.

<sup>2</sup> οὔτε ζῶσιν, οὔτε LE, om. A.

<sup>3</sup> αὐταὶ LE, αὐτῶν A.      <sup>4</sup> οὔτε ζῶσιν LE, om. A.

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. IX. XX. 3-XXI. 4

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

### XXI

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



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τεθνήκασιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι ἐὰν ταχὺ μετανοήσωσιν, δυνήσονται ζῆσαι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσιν,<sup>1</sup> ἤδη παραδεδομένοι εἰσὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἀποφερομέναις τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν.

### XXII

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ πέμπτου τοῦ ἔχοντος βοτάνας χλωρὰς καὶ τραχέος ὄντος οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσι· πιστοὶ μὲν, δυσμαθεῖς δὲ καὶ αὐθάδεις καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἀρέσκοντες, θέλοντες πάντα γινώσκειν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως γινώσκουσι. 2. διὰ τὴν αὐθάδειαν αὐτῶν ταύτην ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡ σύνεσις, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀφροσύνη μωρά. ἐπαινοῦσι δὲ ἑαυτοὺς ὡς σύνεσιν ἔχοντας καὶ θέλουσιν ἐθελουδιδάσκαλοι<sup>2</sup> εἶναι, ἀφρονες ὄντες. 3. διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν ὑψηλοφροσύνην πολλοὶ ἐκενώθησαν ὑψοῦντες ἑαυτούς· μέγα γὰρ δαιμόνιον ἐστὶν ἡ αὐθάδεια καὶ ἡ κενὴ πεποίθις· ἐκ τούτων οὖν πολλοὶ ἀπεβλήθησαν, τινὲς δὲ μετενόησαν καὶ ἐπίστευσαν καὶ ὑπέταξαν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἔχουσι σύνεσιν, γνόντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀφροσύνην. 4. καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς δὲ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις κεῖται μετάνοια· οὐκ ἐγένοντο γὰρ πονηροί, μᾶλλον δὲ μωροὶ καὶ ἀσύνητοι. οὗτοι οὖν ἐὰν<sup>3</sup> μετανοήσωσι, ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσι, κατοικήσουσι μετὰ<sup>4</sup> τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν πονηρευομένων εἰς αὐτούς.

<sup>1</sup> δυνήσονται . . . μετανοήσωσιν retranslated from LE, om. A.

<sup>2</sup> ἐθελουδιδάσκαλοι A, but LE seem to represent διδάσκαλοι.

<sup>3</sup> μωροὶ καὶ . . . ἐὰν retranslated from LE. A is illegible, but seems to read πονηρ(ότατοι ?) instead of μωροί.

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## XXIII

1. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ ἕκτου τοῦ ἔχοντος σχισμὰς μεγάλας καὶ μικρὰς καὶ ἐν ταῖς σχισμαῖς βοτάνας μεμαραμμένας πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν. 2. οἱ μὲν τὰς σχισμὰς τὰς μικρὰς ἔχοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καταλαλιῶν ἑαυτῶν μεμαραμμένοι εἰσιν ἐν τῇ πίστει· ἀλλὰ μετενόησαν ἐκ τούτων πολλοί· καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ μετανοήσουσιν, ὅταν ἀκούσωσί μου τὰς ἐντολάς· μικραὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰσιν αἱ καταλαλιαί, καὶ ταχὺ μετανοήσουσιν. 3. οἱ δὲ μεγάλας ἔχοντες σχισμὰς, οὗτοι παράμονοί εἰσι ταῖς καταλαλαιῖς αὐτῶν καὶ μνησικάκοι γίνονται μνησιῶντες ἀλλήλοις· οὗτοι οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου ἀπερρίφησαν καὶ ἀπεδοκιμάσθησαν τῆς οἰκοδομῆς αὐτοῦ. οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὖν δυσκόλως ζήσονται. 4. εἰ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ὁ πάντων κυριεύων καὶ ἔχων πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν οὐ μνησικακεῖ τοῖς ἐξομολογουμένοις τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἴλεως γίνεται, ἄνθρωπος φθαρτὸς ὢν καὶ πλήρης ἁμαρτιῶν ἀνθρώπῳ μνησικακεῖ ὡς δυνάμενος ἀπολέσαι ἢ σῶσαι αὐτόν; 5. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας· ὅσοι ταύτην ἔχετε τὴν αἵρεσιν ἀπόθεσθε αὐτὴν καὶ μετανήσατε, καὶ ὁ κύριος ἰάσεται ὑμῶν τὰ πρότερα ἁμαρτήματα, ἐὰν καθαρῶς ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ δαιμονίου· εἰ δὲ μή, παραδοθήσεσθε αὐτῷ εἰς θάνατον.

Jam. 4, 12

## XXIII

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

## XXIV

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἑβδόμου ὄρους, ἐν ᾧ βοτάναι χλωραὶ καὶ ἰλαραί, καὶ ὅλον τὸ ὄρος εὐθηνούν καὶ πᾶν γένος κτηνῶν καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐνέμοντο τὰς βοτάνας ἐκ τούτῳ τῷ ὄρει, καὶ αἱ βοτάναι, ἃς ἐνέμοντο, μᾶλλον εὐθαλεῖς ἐγίνοντο, οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσι. 2. πάντοτε ἀπλοῖ καὶ ἄκακοι καὶ μακάριοι ἐγίνοντο, μηδὲν κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ἀγαλλιωμένοι ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐνδεδυμένοι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τούτων τῶν παρθένων καὶ πάντοτε σπλάγχνον εχοντες ἐπὶ πάντα ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐχορήγησαν ἀνονειδίστως καὶ ἀδιστάκτως. 3. ὁ οὖν κύριος ἰδὼν τὴν ἀπλότητα αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσαν νηπιότητα ἐπλήθυνεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς κόποις τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐχαρίτωσεν αὐτοὺς ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτῶν. 4. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις οὖσιν ἐγὼ ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας· διαμείνατε τοιοῦτοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐξαλειφθήσεται τὸ σπέρμα ὑμῶν ἕως αἰῶνος· ἐδοκίμασε γὰρ ὑμᾶς ὁ κύριος καὶ ἐνέγραψεν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸν ἡμέτερον, καὶ ὅλον τὸ σπέρμα ὑμῶν κατοικήσει μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ ἐλάβετε.

## XXV

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ ὀγδόου, οὗ ἦσαν αἱ πολλαὶ πηγαὶ καὶ πασα ἡ κτίσις τοῦ κυρίου ἐποτίζετο ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν, οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

είσιν· 2. ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι οἱ κηρύ-  
ξαντες εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον καὶ οἱ διδάξαντες  
σεμνῶς καὶ ἀγνῶς τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ μηδὲν  
ἄλλως νοσφισάμενοι εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν πονηράν, ἀλλὰ  
πάντοτε ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ πορευθέντες,  
καθὼς καὶ παρέλαβον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. τῶν  
τοιούτων οὖν ἡ πάροδος μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστίν.

### XXVI

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ ἐνάτου τοῦ ἐρημώδους,  
τοῦ τὰ ἔρπετὰ καὶ θηρία ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχοντος τὰ  
διαφθείροντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οἱ πιστεύσαντες  
τοιούτοί εἰσιν· 2. οἱ μὲν τοὺς σπίλους ἔχοντες  
διάκονοί εἰσι κακῶς διακονήσαντες καὶ διαρπά-  
σαντες χηρῶν καὶ ὀρφανῶν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ ἑαυτοῖς  
περιποιησάμενοι ἐκ τῆς διακονίας ἧς ἔλαβον  
διακονῆσαι· ἐὰν οὖν ἐπιμείνωσι τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπι-  
θυμία, ἀπέθανον καὶ οὐδεμία αὐτοῖς ἐλπίς ζωῆς·  
ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιστρέψωσι καὶ ἀγνῶς τελειώσωσι τὴν  
διακονίαν αὐτῶν, δυναθήσονται ζῆσαι. 3. οἱ δὲ  
ἐψωριακότες, οὗτοι οἱ ἀρνησάμενοί εἰσι καὶ μὴ  
ἐπιστρέψαντες ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ  
χερσωθέντες καὶ γενόμενοι ἐρημώδεις· μὴ κολλώ-  
μενοι τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ μονάζοντες  
ἀπολλύουσι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς. 4. ὡς γὰρ  
ἄμπελος ἐν φραγμῷ τινι καταλειφθεῖσα ἀμελείας  
τυγχάνουσα καταφθείρεται καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βοτανῶν  
ἐρημοῦται καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀγρία γίνεται, καὶ οὐκέτι

Mt. 10, 39 ;  
Luk. 9, 24 ;  
17, 33 ; Joh.  
12, 25

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. IX. XXV. 1-XXVI. 4

believers as these: 2. Apostles and teachers who preached to all the world, and taught reverently and purely the word of the Lord, and kept nothing back for evil desire, but always walked in righteousness and truth, even as they had received the Holy Spirit. The passing of such is with the angels.<sup>1</sup>

### XXVI

1. "AND from the ninth mountain, which was desert, and had in it creeping things and wild beasts which devour men, are such believers as these: 2. Those with spots are ministers who ministered amiss, and devoured the living of widows and orphans, and made gain for themselves from the ministry which they had received to administer. If then they remain in the same covetousness they are dead and they have no hope of life. But if they turn and fulfil their ministry in holiness they shall be able to live. 3. And those with scabs, these are they who have denied and have not turned to their Lord, but have become barren and deserted; by not cleaving to the servants of God, but keeping alone, they are destroying their own souls. 4. For just as a vine left alone within a fence and neglected is spoilt and is wasted by weeds, and in time becomes wild and is no longer

The ninth  
mountain

<sup>1</sup> That is, after death they will be with the angels. Cf. notes on Herm. *Vis.* ii. 2, 7 and on Martyr. Polycarp. ii. 3.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

εὐχρηστός ἐστι τῷ δεσπότῃ ἑαυτῆς, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνθρωποι ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεγνώκασιν καὶ γίνονται ἄχρηστοι τῷ κυρίῳ ἑαυτῶν ἀγριωθέντες. 5. τούτοις οὖν μετάνοια γίνεται, εἰ μὴ ἐκ καρδίας εὐρεθῶσιν ἠρνημένοι· εἰ δὲ ἐκ καρδίας εὐρεθῆ ἠρνημένος τις, οὐκ οἶδα, εἰ δύναται ζηῆσαι. 6. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ εἰς ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας λέγω, ἵνα τις ἀρνησάμενος μετάνοιαν λάβῃ· ἀδύνατον γάρ ἐστι σωθῆναι τὸν μέλλοντα νῦν ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸν κύριον ἑαυτοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις τοῖς πάλαι ἠρνημένοις δοκεῖ κείσθαι μετάνοια. εἴ τις οὖν μέλλει μετανοεῖν, ταχινὸς γενέσθω πρὶν τὸν πύργον ἀποτελεσθῆναι· εἰ δὲ μή, ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν καταφθαρήσεται εἰς θάνατον. 7. καὶ οἱ κολοβοί, οὗτοι δόλιοί εἰσι καὶ κατάλαλοι· καὶ τὰ θηρία, ἃ εἶδες εἰς τὸ ὄρος, οὗτοί εἰσιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ θηρία διαφθείρει τῷ ἑαυτῶν ἰῶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀπολλύει, οὕτω καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων τὰ ῥήματα διαφθείρει τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀπολλύει. 8. οὗτοι οὖν κολοβοί εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἣν ἔχουσιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· τινὲς δὲ μετενόησαν καὶ ἐσώθησαν. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὄντες δύνανται σωθῆναι, εἰ μετανοήσωσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκείνων, ὧν τὴν δύναμιν ἔχουσιν, ἀποθανοῦνται.

## XXVII

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ δεκάτου, οὗ ἦσαν δένδρα σκεπάζοντα πρόβατά τινα, οἱ πιστεύσαντες

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τοιούτοί εἰσιν· 2. ἐπίσκοποι καὶ φιλόξενοι, οἵτινες ἠδέως εἰς τοὺς οἴκους ἑαυτῶν πάντοτε ὑπεδέξαντο τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἄτερ ὑποκρίσεως· οἱ δὲ ἐπίσκοποι πάντοτε τοὺς ὑστερημένους καὶ τὰς χήρας τῇ διακονίᾳ ἑαυτῶν ἀδιαλείπτως ἐσκέπασαν καὶ ἀγνῶς ἀνεστράφησαν πάντοτε. 3. οὗτοι οὖν πάντες σκεπασθήσονται ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου διαπαντός. οἱ οὖν ταῦτα ἐργασάμενοι ἔνδοξοί εἰσι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἤδη ὁ τόπος αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστίν, ἐ<sup>αν</sup> ἐπιμείνωσιν ἕως τέλους λειτουργοῦντες τῷ κυρίῳ.

### XXVIII

Acts 15, 26

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ ἐνδεκάτου, οὗ ἦσαν δένδρα καρπῶν πλήρη, ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις καρποῖς κεκοσμημένα, οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν. 2. οἱ παθόντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, οἱ καὶ προθύμως ἔπαθον ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας· καὶ παρέδωκαν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν. 3. Διατί οὖν, φημί, κύριε, πάντα μὲν τὰ δένδρα καρποῦς ἔχει, τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καρποὶ εὐειδέστεροί εἰσιν; Ἄκουε, φησὶν· ὅσοι ποτὲ ἔπαθον διὰ τὸ ὄνομα, ἔνδοξοί εἰσι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πάντων αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ἀφηρέθησαν, ὅτι ἔπαθον διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. διατί δὲ οἱ καρποὶ αὐτῶν ποικίλοι εἰσίν, τινὲς δὲ ὑπερέχοντες, ἄκουε. 4. ὅσοι, φησὶν, ἐπ' ἐξουσίαν ἀχθέντες ἐξητάσθησαν καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσαντο, ἀλλ' ἔπαθον προθύμως, οὗτοι μᾶλλον ἔνδοξότεροί εἰσι παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ· τούτων ὁ καρπὸς ἐστίν ὁ ὑπερέχων· ὅσοι δὲ δειλοὶ καὶ ἐν δισταγμῷ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐλογίσαντο ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν,

THE SHEPHERD, SIM. IX. xxvii. 2-xxviii. 4

2. Bishops and hospitable men who at all times received the servants of God into their houses gladly and without hypocrisy; and the bishops ever ceaselessly sheltered the destitute and the widows by their ministration, and ever behaved with holiness. 3. These then shall all be always sheltered by the Lord. They then who have done these things are glorious with God, and their place is already with the angels, if they continue serving the Lord unto the end.

XXVIII

1. "AND from the eleventh mountain, where were trees full of fruit, each adorned with different fruit, are such believers as these: 2. they who have suffered for the name of the Son of God, who also suffered readily with all their heart and 'gave up their lives.'" 3. "Why then, Sir," said I, "have all the trees fruit, but the fruit of some of them is more beautiful?" "Listen," said he, "as many as ever suffered for the name are glorious before God, and the sins of all these have been taken away because they suffered for the name of the Son of God. But listen why their fruits are different and some better than others. 4. As many," said he, "as were brought under authority and were questioned and did not deny, but suffered readily, these are especially glorious before the Lord; the fruit of these is excellent. But as many as were fearful, were in doubt, and considered

The  
eleventh  
mountain

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

πότερον ἀρνήσονται ἢ ὁμολογήσουσι, καὶ ἔπαθον, τούτων οἱ καρποὶ ἐλάττους εἰσίν, ὅτι ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν ἡ βουλή αὕτη· πονηρὰ γὰρ ἡ βουλή αὕτη, ἵνα δούλος κύριον ἴδιον ἀρνήσηται. 5. βλέπετε οὖν ὑμεῖς οἱ ταῦτα βουλευόμενοι, μήποτε ἡ βουλή αὕτη διαμείνη ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν καὶ ἀποθάνητε τῷ θεῷ. ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ πάσχοντες ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος δοξάζειν ὀφείλετε τὸν θεόν, ὅτι ἀξίους ὑμᾶς ἠγήσατο ὁ θεός, ἵνα τοῦτο<sup>1</sup> τὸ ὄνομα βαστάζητε καὶ πᾶσαι ὑμῶν αἰ ἁμαρτίαι ἰαθῶσιν. 6. οὐκοῦν μακαρίζετε ἑαυτούς· ἀλλὰ δοκεῖτε ἔργον μέγα πεποιηκέναι, εἴ τις ὑμῶν διὰ τὸν θεὸν πάθη. ζωὴν ὑμῖν ὁ κύριος χαρίζεται, καὶ οὐ νοεῖτε· αἱ γὰρ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν κατεβάρησαν, καὶ εἰ μὴ πεπόνθατε ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος κυρίου, διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν τεθνήκετε ἂν τῷ θεῷ. 7. ταῦτα ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς διστάζουσι περὶ ἀρνήσεως ἢ ὁμολογήσεως· ὁμολογεῖτε, ὅτι κύριον ἔχετε, μήποτε ἀρνούμενοι παραδοθήσησθε εἰς δεσμωτήριον. 8. εἰ τὰ ἔθνη τοὺς δούλους αὐτῶν κολάζουσιν, εἴ τις ἀρνήσηται τὸν κύριον ἑαυτοῦ, τί δοκεῖτε ποιήσει ὁ κύριος ὑμῖν, ὃς ἔχει πάντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν; ἄρατε τὰς βουλάς ταύτας ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν, ἵνα διαπαντὸς ζήσητε τῷ θεῷ.

I Pet. 4, 13.  
15, 16;

Mt. 5, 11. 12;  
Luk. 6, 22;  
I Pet. 4, 14

### XXIX

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ δωδεκάτου τοῦ λευκοῦ οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν· ὡς νήπια βρέφη

<sup>1</sup> τοῦτο L<sub>2</sub>, τούτου A, αὐτοῦ L<sub>1</sub>E.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

εἰσίν, οἷς οὐδεμία κακία ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν οὐδὲ ἔγνωσαν, τί ἐστὶ πονηρία, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ἐν νηπιότητι διέμειναν. 2. οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὖν ἀδιστακτως κατοικήσουσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐν οὐδενὶ πράγματι ἐμίαναν τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ νηπιότητος διέμειναν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ φρονήσει. 3. ὅσοι οὖν διαμενεῖτε, φησί, καὶ ἔσεσθε ὡς τὰ βρέφη, κακίαν μὴ ἔχοντες, πάντων τῶν προειρημένων ἐνδοξότεροι ἔσεσθε· πάντα γὰρ τὰ βρέφη ἐνδοξά ἐστι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πρῶτα παρ' αὐτῷ.<sup>1</sup> μακάριοι οὖν ὑμεῖς, ὅσοι ἂν ἄρητε ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν πονηρίαν, ἐνδύσησθε δὲ τὴν ἀκακίαν· πρῶτοι πάντων ζήσεσθε τῷ θεῷ. 4. μετὰ τὸ συντελέσαι αὐτὸν τὰς παραβολὰς τῶν ὁρέων λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, νῦν μοι δήλωσον περὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἠρμένων ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τεθειμένων ἀντὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἠρμένων ἐκ τοῦ πύργου, καὶ τῶν στρογγύλων τῶν τεθέντων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν, καὶ τῶν ἔτι στρογγύλων ὄντων.

Mt. 18, 3

### XXX

1. "Ἀκουε, φησί, καὶ περὶ τούτων πάντων. οἱ λίθοι οἱ τοῦ πεδίου ἠρμένοι καὶ τεθειμένοι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου ἀντὶ τῶν ἀποβεβλημένων, αἱ ῥίζαι εἰσὶ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ λευκοῦ.<sup>2</sup> 2. ἐπεὶ οὖν οἱ πιστεύσαντες, ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ λευκοῦ

<sup>1</sup> πάντα γὰρ . . . αὐτῷ AFL<sub>1</sub>, om. L<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> λευκοῦ P<sup>am</sup>, λευκοῦ τούτου AL.

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. IX. XXIX. I-XXX. 2

babes, and no evil enters into their heart; nor have they known what wickedness is, but have ever remained in innocence. 2. Such then shall live without doubt in the kingdom of God, because by no act did they defile the commandments of God, but remained in innocence all the days of their lives in the same mind. 3. All of you, then, as many as shall continue," said he, "and shall be as babes, with no wickedness, shall be more glorious than all those who have been mentioned before, for all babes are glorious before God, and are in the first place by him. Blessed then are you who put away evil from yourselves, and put on guiltlessness, for you shall be the first of all to live to God." 4. But after he had finished the parable of the mountains I said to him: "Sir, now explain to me about the stones which were taken out of the plain, and put into the building instead of the stones which were taken away from the tower, and the round stones which were put into the building, and those which are still round." The stones taken out of the plain

### XXX

1. "LISTEN also," he said, "concerning all these. The stones that are taken from the plain and put into the building of the tower instead of those which are rejected, are the roots of the white mountain. 2. Since then all the believers from the white



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

πάντες ἄκακοι εὐρέθησαν, ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος τοῦ πύργου τούτους ἐκ τῶν ῥιζῶν<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ὄρους τούτου βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου· ἔγνω γάρ, ὅτι, ἐὰν ἀπέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι, διαμενοῦσι λαμπροὶ καὶ οὐδείς αὐτῶν μελανήσει.<sup>2</sup> 3. Quodsi de ceteris montibus adiecisset, necesse habuisset rursus visitari eam turrem atque purgare. Hi autem omnes cardidi inventi sunt, πιστεύσαντες καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες πιστεύειν· ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γὰρ γένους εἰσίν. μακάριον τὸ γένος τοῦτο, ὅτι ἄκακόν ἐστιν. 4. ἄκουε νῦν καὶ περὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν στρογγύλων καὶ λαμπρῶν. καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ λευκοῦ εἰσίν. Audi autem, quare rotundi sunt reperti. Divitiae suae eos pusillum obscuraverunt a veritate atque obfuscaverunt, a deo vero nunquam recesserunt, nec ullum verbum malum processit de ore eorum, sed omnis aequitas et virtus veritatis. 5. Horum ergo mentem cum vidisset dominus posse eos veritati favere, bonos quoque permanere, iussit opes eorum circumcidi, non enim in totum eorum tolli, ut possint aliquid boni facere de eo, quod eis relictum est, et vivent deo, quoniam ex bono genere sunt. Ideo ergo pusillum circumcisi sunt et positi sunt in structuram turris huius.

<sup>1</sup> τῶν ῥιζῶν LE, om. A.

<sup>2</sup> At this point A ends, as the last leaf is missing. The Latin text which follows is that of L<sub>1</sub>. The few verses in Greek are from P<sup>am</sup>. Some words have been restored as the Papyrus is in bad condition, but the reconstructions are almost certain.

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## XXXI

1. Ceteri vero, qui adhuc rotundi remanserunt neque aptati sunt in eam structuram, quia nondum acceperunt sigillum, repositi sunt suo loco; valde enim rotundi reperti sunt. 2. Oportet autem circumcidi hoc saeculum ab illis et vanitates opum snarum, et tunc convenient in dei regnum. Necesse est enim eos intrare in dei regnum; hoc enim genus innocuum benedixit dominus. Ex hoc ergo genere non intercidet quisquam. Etenim licet quis eorum temptatus a nequissimo diabolo aliquid deliquerit, cito recurret ad dominum suum. 3. Felices vos iudico omnes, ego nuntius paenitentiae, quicumque estis innocentes sicut infantes, quoniam pars vestra bona est et honorata apud deum. 4. Dico autem omnibus, vobis, quicumque sigillum hoc accepistis, simplicitatem habere neque offensarum memores esse neque in malitia vestra permanere aut in memoria offensarum amaritudinis, in unum quemque spiritum fieri et has malas scissuras permediare ac tollere a vobis, ut dominus pecorum gaudeat de his.<sup>1</sup> 5. *χαρήσεται δέ, ἐὰν πάντα ὑγιῆ εὐρεθῆ, καὶ μὴ διαπεπτωκότα ἐξ αὐτῶν. ἐὰν δὲ εὐρεθῆ τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν διαπεπτωκότα, οὐαὶ τοῖς ποιμέσιν ἔσται.* 6. *ἐὰν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ποιμένες εὐρεθῶσι διαπεπτωκότες, τί ἐροῦσι τῷ δεσπότῃ τοῦ ποιμνίου; ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν προβάτων διέπεσαν; οὐ πιστευθήσονται· ἄπιστον γὰρ πρᾶγμα ἔστι ποιμένα ὑπὸ προβάτων παθεῖν τι· μᾶλλον δὲ κολασ-*

<sup>1</sup> The Greek which follows is a quotation preserved in Antiochus.

## XXXI.

1. "BUT the others which still remained round and were not fitted into the building, because they had not yet received the seal, were put back in their place, for they were found very round. 2. But this world and the vanities of their riches must be cut away from them, and then they will be meet for the kingdom of God. For they needs must 'enter into the kingdom of God'; for the Lord blessed this innocent kind. Therefore not one of this kind shall perish, for though one of them be tempted by the most wicked devil, and do some wrong, he will quickly return to his Lord. 3. I, the angel of repentance, judge you all happy who are innocent as babes, for your part is good and honourable with God. 4. But I say to you all, as many as have received the seal, keep simplicity and bear no malice, and do not remain in your guilt, or in remembrance of the bitterness of offences. Be of one spirit and put away these evil schisms, and take them away from yourselves that the lord of the sheep may rejoice over them. 5. But he will rejoice if all be found whole; but if he find some of them fallen away, it will be woe to the shepherds. 6. But if the shepherds themselves be found fallen away, what shall they answer to the Master of the flock? That they have fallen away because of the sheep? They will not be believed, for it is incredible that a shepherd should be harmed

The round  
stones

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*θήσονται διὰ τὸ ψεῦδος αὐτῶν.* Et ego sum pastor, et validissime oportet me de vobis reddere rationem.

### XXXII

1. Remediate ergo vos, dum adhuc turris aedificatur. 2. Dominus habitat in viris amantibus pacem; ei enimvero pax cara est; a litigiosis vero et perditis malitiae longe abest. Reddite igitur ei spiritum integrum, sicut accepistis. 3. Si enim dederis fulloni vestimentum novum integrum idque integrum iterum vis recipere, fullo autem scissum tibi illud reddet, recipies illud? Nonne statim scandesces<sup>1</sup> et eum convicio persequeris, dicens: Vestimentum integrum tibi dedi; quare scidisti illud et inutile redegisti? Et propter scissuram, quam in eo fecisti, in usu esse non potest. Nonne haec omnia verba dices fulloni ergo et de scissura, quam in vestimento tuo fecerit?<sup>2</sup> 4. Si sic igitur tu doles de vestimento tuo et quereris, quod non illud integrum recipias, quid putas dominum tibi facturum, qui spiritum integrum tibi dedit, et tu eum totum inutilem redegisti, ita ut in nullo usu esse possit domino suo? Inutilis enim esse coepit usus eius, cum sit corruptus a te. Nonne igitur dominus spiritus eius propter hoc factum tuum morte te adficiet? 5. Plane, inquam, omnes eos,

<sup>1</sup> Scandescis L<sub>1</sub>, irascaris L<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> A great part of this paragraph is found in Greek in Antiochus, but he seems here to abbreviate and perhaps to paraphrase too much to render it wise to follow his text.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

quoscumque invenerit in memoria offensarum permanere, adficiet. Clementiam, inquit, eius calcare nolite, sed potius honorificate eum, quod tam patiens est ad delicta vestra et non est sicut vos. Agite enim paenitentiam utilem vobis.

### XXXIII

1. Haec omnia, quae supra scripta sunt, ego pastor nuntius paenitentiae ostendi et locutus sum dei servis. Si credideritis ergo et audieritis verba mea et ambulaveritis in his et correxeritis itinera vestra, vivere poteritis. Sin autem permanseritis in malitia et memoria offensarum, nullus ex huiusmodi vivet deo. Haec omnia a me dicenda dicta sunt vobis.

2. Ait mihi ipse pastor: Omnia a me interrogasti? Et dixi: Ita, domine. Quare ergo non interrogasti me de forma lapidum in structura repositorum, quod explevimus formas? Et dixi: Oblitus sum, domine.

3. Audi nunc, inquit, de illis. Hi sunt qui nunc mandata mea audierunt et ex totis praecordiis egerunt paenitentiam. Cumque vidisset dominus bonam atque puram esse paenitentiam eorum et posse eos in ea permanere, iussit priora peccata eorum deleri. Hae enim formae peccata erant eorum, et exaequata sunt, ne apparerent.

all those whom he finds keeping the memory of offences.” “Do not then,” said he, “trample on his mercy, but rather honour him that he is so patient to your offences and is not as you are. Repent therefore with the repentance that avails you.

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### XXXIII

1. “ALL these things which have been written above I, the shepherd, the angel of repentance, have declared and spoken to the servants of God. If then you shall believe and shall listen to my words and shall walk in them, and shall correct your ways, you shall be able to live. But if you shall remain in malice and in the memory of offences, none of such kind shall live to God. All these things that I must tell have been told to you.” 2. The shepherd himself said to me, “Have you asked me about everything?” And I said: “Yes, Sir,” “Why then did you not ask me about the marks of the stones which were placed in the building, why we filled up the marks?” And I said: “I forgot, Sir.” 3. “Listen now,” said he, “about them. These are those who heard my commandments, and repented with all their hearts. And when the Lord saw that their repentance was good and pure, and that they could remain in it, he commanded their former sins to be blotted out. For these marks were their sins, and they were made level that they should not appear.”



# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

## SIMILITUDO X

### I

1. Postquam perscripseram librum hunc, venit nuntius ille, qui me tradiderat huic pastori, in domum, in qua eram, et consedit supra lectum, et adstitit ad dexteram hic pastor. Deinde vocavit me et haec mihi dixit: 2. Tradidi te, inquit, et domum tuam huic pastori, ut ab eo protegi possis. Ita, inquam, domine. Si vis ergo protegi, inquit, ab omni vexatione et ab omni saevitia, successum autem habere in omni opere bono atque verbo et omnem virtutem aequitatis, in mandatis huius ingredi, quae dedi tibi, et poteris dominari omni nequitiae. 3. Custodienti enim tibi mandata huius subiecta erit omnis cupiditas et dulcedo saeculi huius, successus vero in omni bono negotio te sequetur. Maturitatem huius et modestiam suscipe in te et dic omnibus, in magno honore esse eum et dignitate apud dominum et magnae potestatis eum praesidem esse et potentem in officio suo. Huic soli per totum orhem paenitentiae potestas tributa est. Potensne tibi videtur esse? Sed vos maturitatem huius et verecundiam, quam in vos habet, despicitis.

### II

1. Dico ei: Interroga ipsum, domine, ex quo in domo mea est, an aliquid extra ordinem fecerim, ex

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Acts 2, 11

quo eum offenderim. 2. Et ego, inquit, scio nihil extra ordinem fecisse te neque esse facturum. Et ideo haec loquor tecum, ut perseveres. Bene enim de te hic apud me existimavit. Tu autem ceteris haec verba dices, ut et illi, qui egerunt aut acturi sunt paenitentiam, eadem quae tu sentiant et hic apud me de his bene interpretetur et ego apud dominum. 3. Et ego, inquam, domine, omni homini indico magnalia domini; spero autem, quia omnes, qui antea peccaverunt, si haec audiant, libenter acturi sunt paenitentiam vitam recuperantes. 4. Permane ergo, inquit, in hoc ministerio et consumma illud. Quicumque autem mandata huius efficiunt, habebunt vitam, et hic apud dominum magnum honorem. Quicumque vero huius mandata non servant, fugiunt a sua vita et illum adversus<sup>1</sup>; nec mandata eius sequuntur, sed morti se tradunt et unusquisque eorum reus fit sanguinis sui. Tibi autem dico, ut servias mandatis his, et remedium peccatorum habebis.

### III

1. Misi autem tibi has virgines, ut habitent tecum; vidi enim eas affabiles tibi esse. Habes ergo eas adiutrices, quo magis possis huius mandata servare; non potest enim fieri, ut sine his virginibus haec mandata serventur. Video autem eas libenter esse tecum; sed ego praecipiam eis, ut omnino a domo

<sup>1</sup> Hilgenfeld emends to "aversantur illum."

## THE SHEPHERD, SIM. x. ii. 1-iii. 1

against his command, to offend against him?" 2. "I know myself," said he, "that you have done nothing and will do nothing against his command, and therefore I am speaking thus with you, that you may persevere; for he has given me a good account of you. But you shall tell these words to others, that they also who have repented, or shall repent, may have the same mind as you, and that he may give a good account to me of them, and I to the Lord." 3. "I myself, Sir," said I, "show the 'mighty acts' of the Lord to all men, but I hope that all who have sinned before, if they hear this, will willingly repent, and recover life." 4. "Remain then," said he, "in this ministry and carry it out. But whoever perform his commandments shall have life, and such a one has great honour with the Lord. But whoever do not keep his commands, are flying from their own life and against him, and they do not keep his commandments, but are delivering themselves to death, and each one of them is guilty of his own blood. But you I bid to keep these commandments, and you shall have healing for your sins.

### III

1. "But I sent these maidens to you to dwell with you, for I saw that they were courteous to you. You have them therefore to help you, in order to keep his commandments the better, for it is not possible that these commandments be kept without these maidens. I see moreover that they are with you willingly; but I will enjoin on them not to depart at all from your

Herms and  
the maidens

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

tua non discedant. 2. Tu tantum communda domum tuam; in munda enim domo libenter habitabunt; munda enim sunt atque castae et industriae et omnes habentes gratiam apud dominum. Igitur si habuerint domum tuam puram, tecum permanebunt. Sin autem pusillum aliquid iniquationis acciderit, protinus a domo tua recedent; hae enim virgines nullum omnino diligunt iniquationem. 3. Dico ei: Spero me, domine, placitum eis, ita ut in domo mea libenter habitent semper. καὶ ὡσπερ οὗτος ᾧ παρέδωκάς με, οὐ μέμφεταιί με, οὐδὲ αὐταὶ μέμψονταιί με. 4. λέγει τῷ ποιμένι. Οἶδα, ὅτι ὁ δούλος τοῦ θεοῦ θέλει ζῆν καὶ τηρήσει τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς παρθένοὺς ἐν καθαρότητι καταστήσει. 5. ταῦτα εἰπὼν τῷ ποιμένι πάλιν παρέδωκέν με καὶ τὰς παρθένοὺς καλέσας . . . λέγει αὐταῖς.<sup>1</sup> Quoniam video vos libenter in domo huius habitare, commendo eum vobis et domum eius, ut a domo eius non recedatis omnino. Illae vero haec verba libenter audierunt.

### IV

Acts 2, 1

1. Ait deinde mihi: Viriliter in ministerio hoc conversare, omni homini indica magnalia domini, et habebis gratiam in hoc ministerio. Quicumque ergo in his mandatis ambulaverit, vivet et felix erit in vita sua; quicumque vero neglexerit, non vivet et erit infelix in vita sua. 2. Dic omnibus, ut non

<sup>1</sup> The Greek is from P<sup>ox</sup> (Oxyrynchus Papyr. 404).

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

cessent, quicumque recte facere possunt; bona opera exercere utile est illis. Dico autem, omnem hominem de incommodis eripi oportere. Et is enim, qui eget et in cotidiana vita patitur incommoda, in magno tormento est ac necessitate. 3. Qui igitur huiusmodi animam eripit de necessitate, magnum gaudium sibi acquirit. Is enim, qui huiusmodi vexatur incommodo, pari tormento cruciatur atque torquet se qui in vincula est. Multi enim propter huiusmodi calamitates, cum eas sufferre non possunt, mortem sibi adducunt. Qui novit igitur calamitatem huiusmodi hominis et non eripit eum, magnum peccatum admittit et reus fit sanguinis eius. 4. Facite igitur opera bona, quicumque accepistis a domino, ne, dum tardatis facere, consummetur structura turris. Propter vos enim intermissum est opus aedificationis eius. Nisi festinetis igitur facere recte, consummabitur turris, et excludemini. 5. Postquam vero locutus est mecum, surrexit de lecto et apprehenso pastore et virginibus abiit, dicens autem mihi, remissurum se pastorem illum et virgines in domum meam.

able to do right,<sup>1</sup> that they cease not; the exercise of good deeds is profitable to them. But I say that every man ought to be taken out from distress, for he who is destitute and suffers distress in his daily life is in great anguish and necessity. 3. Whoever therefore rescues the soul of such a man from necessity gains great joy for himself. For he who is vexed by such distress is tortured with such anguish as he suffers who is in chains. For many bring death on themselves by reason of such calamities when they cannot bear them. Whoever therefore knows the distress of such a man, and does not rescue him, incurs great sin and becomes guilty of his blood. 4. Therefore do good deeds, all you who have learnt of the Lord, lest the building of the tower be finished while you delay to do them. For the work of the building has been broken off for your sake. Unless therefore you hasten to do right the tower will be finished and you will be shut out."

5. Now after he had spoken this he rose from the couch, and took the shepherd and the maidens and departed, but said to me that he would send back the shepherd and the maidens to my house.

<sup>1</sup> 'recte facere' can hardly be translated otherwise: but from the context it seems probably to represent εὖ ποιεῖν, or some such phrase, meaning to do good in the sense of charitable acts.





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## THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP

THIS obviously genuine and contemporary account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, in the form of a letter from the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium, is the earliest known history of a Christian martyrdom, the genuineness of which is unquestionable, and its value is enhanced by the fact that in the extant MSS. a short account is given of the history of the text. From this it appears that Gaius, a contemporary of Irenaeus who had himself seen Polycarp when he was a boy, copied the text from a manuscript in the possession of Irenaeus. Later on Socrates in Corinth copied the text of Gaius, and finally Pionius copied the text of Socrates. Pionius, who is supposed to have lived in the 4th century, says that the existence of the document was revealed to him in a vision by Polycarp, and that when he found it the MS. was old and in bad condition.

Of the text of Pionius, the following five Greek MSS. are available and further research among bagiological MSS. would probably reveal the existence of more, but there is no reason to suppose that such discovery would make any important addition to our knowledge of the text, which is quite good.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

- m, Codex Mosquensis 159 (13th century), now in the Library of the Holy Synod at Moscow.
- b, Codex Baroccianus 238 (11th century), now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.
- p, Codex Parisinus Gr. 1452 (10th century), now in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris.
- s, Codex Hierosolymitanus (10th century), now in the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.
- v, Codex Vindobonensis Gr. Eccl. iii. (11th century), at Vienna.

Of these MSS. b p s v form a group as opposed to m, which has often the better text.

We also have the greater part of the letter preserved by Eusebius in quotations in his Ecclesiastical History IV. 15, quoted as E.

Besides these authorities there exists a Latin version, quoted as L, and extracts from Eusebius in Syriac and Coptic which have obviously no independent value.

The date of the martyrdom of Polycarp is fixed by the chronicle of Eusebius as 166-7, but this date has now been almost universally abandoned, as according to the letter to the church at Smyrna, Polycarp's martyrdom was on Saturday, Xanthicus<sup>1</sup> 2, that is Feb. 23, in the proconsulship of Statius Quadratus, and from a reference in Aelius Aristides, Waddington (*Mémoire sur la chronologie de la vie du rhéteur, Aelius Aristide*, Paris, 1864) showed that Quadratus became proconsul of Asia in 153-4. Now, Feb. 23 fell on a Saturday in 155. It is therefore suggested

<sup>1</sup> The name of the spring month in the Macedonian Calendar which was commonly used in Smyrna.

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# ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΥ- ΚΑΡΠΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΣΜΥΡΝΗΣ<sup>1</sup>

Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν  
τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ ἐν  
Φιλομηλίῳ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον  
τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροι-  
κίαις· ἔλεος, εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη θεοῦ πατρὸς  
καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη.

Jude 2

## I

1. Ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς  
μαρτυρήσαντας καὶ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον,  
ὅστις ὡσπερ ἐπισφραγίσας διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας  
αὐτοῦ κατέπαυσεν τὸν διωγμὸν. σχεδὸν γὰρ  
πάντα τὰ προάγοντα ἐγένετο, ἵνα ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος  
ἄνωθεν ἐπιδείξῃ τὸ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μαρτύριον.  
2. περιέμενεν γάρ, ἵνα παραδοθῇ, ὡς καὶ ὁ κύριος,  
ἵνα μιμηταὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ γενώμεθα, μὴ μόνον  
σκοποῦντες τὸ καθ' ἑαυτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κατὰ  
τοὺς πέλας. ἀγάπης γὰρ ἀληθοῦς καὶ βεβαίας  
ἐστίν, μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν θέλειν σώζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς.

Phil. 2, 4

<sup>1</sup> This title has no special support. Each MS. gives its own title and though there is a general resemblance no two are the same.

# THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. POLY- CARP, BISHOP OF SMYRNA

THE Church of God which sojourns in Smyrna, to the Church of God which sojourns in Philomelium, and to all the sojournings of the Holy Catholic Church in every place. "Mercy, peace and love" of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied.

## I

1. WE write to you, brethren, the story of the martyrs and of the blessed Polycarp, who put an end to the persecution by his martyrdom as though adding the seal.<sup>1</sup> For one might almost say that all that had gone before happened in order that the Lord might show to us from above a martyrdom<sup>2</sup> in accordance with the Gospel. 2. For he waited to be betrayed as also the Lord had done, that we too might become his imitators, "not thinking of ourselves alone, but also of our neighbours." For it is the mark of true and steadfast love, not to wish that oneself may be saved alone, but all the brethren also.

Intro-  
duction

<sup>1</sup> He was the last to suffer and thus might be regarded as being the seal to the 'witness' or 'testimony' (*μαρτύριον*) of the Church. It is not clear whether *μαρτυρία* and *μαρτύριον* ought to be translated 'martyrdom' or 'witness': there is an untranslatable play on the words.

<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps "witness."



II

1. Μακάρια μὲν οὖν καὶ γενναῖα τὰ μαρτύρια πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονότα. δεῖ γὰρ εὐλαβεστέρους ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχοντας τῷ θεῷ τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἐξουσίαν ἀνατιθέναι. 2. τὸ γὰρ γενναῖον αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπομονητικὸν καὶ φιλοδέσποτον τίς οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειεν; οἱ μᾶστιξιν· μὲν καταξανθέντες, ὥστε μέχρι τῶν ἔσω φλεβῶν καὶ ἀρτηριῶν τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς οἰκονομίαν θεωρεῖσθαι, ὑπέμειναν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς περιστῶτας ἐλεεῖν καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον γενναιότητος ἐλθεῖν, ὥστε μήτε γρύξαι μήτε στενάξαι τινὰ αὐτῶν, ἐπιδεικνυμένους ἅπασιν ἡμῖν, ὅτι ἐκείνη τῇ ὥρᾳ βασανιζόμενοι τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπεδήμουν οἱ γενναιότατοι<sup>1</sup> μάρτυρες τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μᾶλλον δέ, ὅτι παρεστῶς ὁ κύριος ὠμίλει αὐτοῖς. 3. καὶ προσέχοντες τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι τῶν κοσμικῶν κατεφρόνουν βασάνων, διὰ μιᾶς ὥρας τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν<sup>2</sup> ἐξαγοραζόμενοι. καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ψυχρὸν τὸ τῶν ἀπηνῶν βασανιστῶν. πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ εἶχον φυγεῖν τὸ αἰώνιον καὶ μηδέποτε σβεννύμενον, καὶ τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀνέβλεπον τὰ τηρούμενα τῆς ὑπομείνασιν ἀγαθά, ἃ οὔτε οὖς ἤκουσεν οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη, ἐκείνοις δὲ ὑπεδείκνυτο ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, οἵπερ μηκέτι ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' ἤδη ἄγγελοι ἦσαν.

1 Cor. 2, 9  
(Is. 64, 4;  
65, 16)

<sup>1</sup> γενναιόταται mps, om. bv.

<sup>2</sup> ζωὴν m, κόλασιν bpsv. The reading of bpsv would have to be translated "buying off eternal punishment" and this rendering of ἐξαγοράζεσθαι is doubtful.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

4. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ εἰς τὰ θηρία κατακριθέντες ὑπέμειναν δεινὰς κολάσεις, κήρυκας ὑποστρωννύμενοι καὶ ἄλλαις ποικίλων βασάνων ἰδέαις κολαζόμενοι, ἵνα, εἰ δυνηθείη, ὁ τύραννος διὰ τῆς ἐπιμόνου κολάσεως εἰς ἄρνησιν αὐτοὺς τρέψῃ. πολλὰ γὰρ ἐμηχανᾶτο κατ' αὐτῶν ὁ διάβολος.

### III

1. Ἀλλὰ χάρις τῷ θεῷ· κατὰ πάντων γὰρ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν. ὁ γὰρ γενναιότατος Γερμανικὸς ἐπερρώννυεν αὐτῶν τὴν δειλίαν διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπομονῆς· ὃς καὶ ἐπισήμως ἐθηριομάχησεν. βουλομένου γὰρ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου πείθειν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγοντος, τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ κατοικτεῖραι, ἑαυτῷ ἐπεσπάσατο τὸ θηρίον προσβιασάμενος, τάχιον τοῦ ἀδίκου καὶ ἀνόμου βίου αὐτῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι βουλόμενος. 2. ἐκ τούτου οὖν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, θαυμάσαν τὴν γενναιότητα τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς καὶ θεοσεβοῦς γένους τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἐπεβόησεν· Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους· ζητείσθω Πολύκαρπος.

### IV

1. Εἰς δέ, ὀνόματι Κόϊντος, Φρύξ προσφάτως ἔληλυθὼς ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας, ἰδὼν τὰ θηρία ἐδειλίασεν. οὗτος δὲ ἦν ὁ παραβιασάμενος ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τινὰς προσελθεῖν ἐκόντας. τοῦτον ὁ ἀνθύπατος πολλὰ ἐκλιπαρήσας ἔπεισεν ὁμόσαι καὶ ἐπιθῆσαι. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς προδιδόντας ἑαυτούς, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, II. 4-IV. 1

4. And in the same way also those who were condemned to the beasts endured terrible torment, being stretched on sharp shells and buffeted with other kinds of various torments, that if it were possible the tyrant might bring them to a denial by continuous torture. For the devil used many wiles against them.

### III

1. BUT thanks be to God, for he had no power over Germanicus any. For the most noble Germanicus encouraged their fears by the endurance which was in him, and he fought gloriously with the wild beasts. For when the Pro-Consul wished to persuade him and bade him have pity on his youth, he violently dragged the beast towards himself, wishing to be released more quickly from their unrighteous and lawless life. 2. So after this all the crowd, wondering at the nobility of the God-loving and God-fearing people of the Christians, cried out: "Away with the Atheists; let Polycarp be searched for."

### IV

1. BUT one, named Quintus, a Phrygian lately come Quintus from Phrygia, when he saw the wild beasts played the coward. Now it was he who had forced himself and some others to come forward of their own accord. Him the Pro-Consul persuaded with many entreaties to take the oath and offer sacrifice. For this reason, therefore, brethren, we do not commend those who give themselves up, since the Gospel does not give this teaching.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### V

1. Ὁ δὲ θαυμασιώτατος Πολύκαρπος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀκούσας οὐκ ἔταράχθη, ἀλλ' ἐβούλετο κατὰ πόλιν μένειν· οἱ δὲ πλείους ἔπειθον αὐτὸν ὑπεξελθεῖν. καὶ ὑπεξῆλθεν εἰς ἀγρίδιον οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ διέτριβεν μετ' ὀλίγων, νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ποιῶν ἢ προσευχόμενος περὶ πάντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν ὅπερ ἦν σύνηθες αὐτῷ.  
2. καὶ ἄπροσευχόμενος ἐν ὀπτασίᾳ γέγονεν πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ συλληφθῆναι αὐτόν, καὶ εἶδεν τὸ προσκεφάλαιον αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ πυρὸς κατακαϊόμενον· καὶ στραφεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ· Δεῖ με ζῶντα καῆναι.<sup>1</sup>

### VI

Mt. 10, 26

1. Καὶ ἐπιμενόντων τῶν ζητούντων αὐτὸν μετέβη εἰς ἕτερον ἀγρίδιον, καὶ εὐθέως ἐπέστησαν οἱ ζητοῦντες αὐτόν· καὶ μὴ εὐρόντες συνελάβοντο παιδάρια δύο, ὧν τὸ ἕτερον βασανιζόμενον ὠμολόγησεν. 2. ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἀδύνατον λαθεῖν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ προδιδόντες αὐτὸν οἰκεῖοι ὑπῆρχον, καὶ ὁ εἰρήναρχος, ὁ κεκληρωμένος τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα, Ἡρώδης ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἔσπευδεν εἰς τὸ στάδιον αὐτόν εἰσαγαγεῖν, ἵνα ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὸν

<sup>1</sup> καῆναι m, καυθῆναι bpsv.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἴδιον κληῖρον ἀπαρτίση Χριστοῦ κοινωνὸς γενόμενος, οἱ δὲ προδόντες αὐτὸν τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰούδα ὑπόσχοιεν τιμωρίαν.

### VII

Mt. 26, 55

Acts 21, 14  
cf. Mt. 6, 10

1. Ἐχοντες οὖν τὸ παιδάριον, τῇ παρασκευῇ περὶ δείπνου ὥραν ἐξῆλθον διωγμῖται καὶ ἰππεῖς μετὰ τῶν συνήθων αὐτοῖς ὄπλων ὡς ἐπὶ ληστήν τρέχοντες. καὶ ὄψε τῆς ὥρας συνεπελθόντες ἐκεῖνον μὲν εὔρον ἐν ὑπερώῳ κατακείμενον.<sup>1</sup> καὶ κείθεν δὲ ἠδύνατο εἰς ἕτερον χωρίον ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠβουλήθη εἰπών· Τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθω. 2. ἀκούσας οὖν παρόντας αὐτούς, καταβὰς διελέχθη αὐτοῖς, θαυμαζόντων τῶν παρόντων τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐσταθές, καὶ εἰ τοσαύτη σπουδὴ ἦν τοῦ συλληφθῆναι τοιοῦτον πρεσβύτην ἄνδρα. εὐθέως οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσεν παρατεθῆναι φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, ὅσον ἂν βούλωνται, ἐξητήσατο δὲ αὐτούς, ἵνα δώσιν αὐτῷ ὥραν πρὸς τὸ προσεύξασθαι ἀδεῶς. 3. τῶν δὲ ἐπιτρεψάντων, σταθεῖς προσηύξατο πλήρης ὢν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ οὕτως ὥστε ἐπὶ δύο ὥρας μὴ δύνασθαι σιγήσαι καὶ ἐκπλήττεσθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας, πολλοὺς τε μετανοεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐληλυθέναι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον θεοπρεπῆ πρεσβύτην.

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ὑπερώῳ κατακείμενον E, ἐν τινι δωματίῳ ἐν ὑπερώῳ κατακείμενον M, ἐν τινι δωματίῳ κατακείμενον ἐν ὑπερώῳ bpsv.

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, VI. 2-VII. 3

that he might fulfil his appointed lot by becoming a partaker of Christ, while they who betrayed him should undergo the same punishment as Judas.

### VII

1. TAKING the slave then police and cavalry The arrival of the police went out on Friday<sup>1</sup> about supper-time, with their usual arms, as if they were advancing against a robber.<sup>2</sup> And late in the evening they came up together against him and found him lying in an upper room. And he might have departed to another place, but would not, saying, "the will of God be done." 2. So when he heard that they had Their reception by Polycarp arrived he went down and talked with them, while those who were present wondered at his age and courage, and whether there was so much haste for the arrest of an old man of such a kind. Therefore he ordered food and drink to be set before them at that hour, whatever they should wish, and he asked them to give him an hour to pray without hindrance. 3. To this they assented, and he stood His prayer and prayed—thus filled with the grace of God—so that for two hours he could not be silent, and those who listened were astounded, and many repented that they had come against such a venerable old man.

<sup>1</sup> παρασκευή is literally Preparation (i.e. for the Sabbath) and has always been used in the Greek Church for Friday.

<sup>2</sup> "robber" is the traditional translation: but "brigand" is nearer the real meaning.



## VIII

Jo. 19, 31

1. Ἐπεὶ δε ποτε κατέπαυσεν τὴν προσευχὴν, μνημονεύσας ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν πώποτε συμβεβληκότων αὐτῷ, μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων, ἐνδόξων τε καὶ ἀδόξων καὶ πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ὥρας ἐλθούσης τοῦ ἐξιέναι, ὄνῳ καθίσαντες αὐτὸν ἤγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὄντος σαββάτου μεγάλου. 2. καὶ ὑπήντα αὐτῷ ὁ εἰρήναρχος Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ Νικήτης, οἱ καὶ μεταθέντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν καρούχαν<sup>1</sup> ἔπειθον παρακαθεζόμενοι καὶ λέγοντες· Τί γὰρ κακόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν· Κύριος καῖσαρ, καὶ ἐπιθῦσαι καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα καὶ διασώζεσθαι; ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς, ἐπιμενόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔφη· Οὐ μέλλω ποιεῖν, ὃ συμβουλεύετε μοι. 3. οἱ δὲ ἀποτυχόντες τοῦ πείσαι αὐτὸν δεινὰ ῥήματα ἔλεγον αὐτῷ καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς καθήρουν αὐτόν, ὡς κατιόντα ἀπὸ τῆς καρούχας ἀποσῦραι τὸ ἀντικνήμιον. καὶ μὴ ἐπιστραφεῖς, ὡς οὐδὲν πεπονθῶς προθύμως μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐπορεύετο, ἀγόμενος εἰς τὸ στάδιον, θορύβου τηλικούτου ὄντος ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ, ὡς μηδὲ ἀκουσθῆναί τινα δύνασθαι.

## IX

Jos. 1, 6

1. Τῷ δὲ Πολυκάρπῳ εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸ στάδιον φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐγένετο· Ἴσχυε, Πολύκαρπε, καὶ ἀνδρίζου. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα οὐδεὶς εἶδεν,

<sup>1</sup> καρούχα (cf. *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* iii. p. 835) is the Latin 'carucca,' a closed carriage used by ladies and high officials.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ παρόντες ἤκουσαν. καὶ λοιπὸν προσαχθέντος αὐτοῦ, θόρυβος ἦν μέγας ἀκουσάντων, ὅτι Πολύκαρπος συνείληπται. 2. προσαχθέντα οὖν αὐτὸν ἀνηρώτα ὁ ἀνθύπατος, εἰ αὐτὸς εἶη Πολύκαρπος. τοῦ δὲ ὁμολογοῦντος, ἔπειθεν ἀρνεῖσθαι λέγων· Αἰδέσθητί σου τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ ἕτερα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς λέγειν· "Ὁμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην,<sup>1</sup> μετανόησον, εἶπον· Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος ἐμβριθεῖ τῷ προσώπῳ εἰς πάντα τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἀνόμων ἐθνῶν ἐμβλέψας καὶ ἐπισείσας αὐτοῖς τὴν χεῖρα, στενάξας τε καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους. 3. ἐγκειμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου καὶ λέγοντος· "Ὁμοσον, καὶ ἀπολύω σε, λοιδόρησον τὸν Χριστόν, ἔφη ὁ Πολύκαρπος· "Ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτη δουλεύω αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδέν με ἠδίκησεν· καὶ πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου τὸν σῶσαντά με;

### X

1. Ἐπιμένοντος δὲ πάλιν αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντος· "Ὁμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, ἀπεκρίνατο· Εἰ κενοδοξεῖς, ἵνα ὁμόσω τὴν καίσαρος τύχην, ὡς σὺ λέγεις, προσποιεῖ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν με, τίς εἰμι, μετὰ παρρησίας ἄκουε· Χριστιανός εἰμι. εἰ δὲ θέλεις τὸν τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ μαθεῖν λόγον, δὸς ἡμέραν

<sup>1</sup> The customary Greek for the oath 'per genium' (or sometimes 'fortunam,' hence τύχην) Caesaris which Christians rejected. Per salutem Caesaris (σωτηρίαν) they accepted. (Cf Tertullian *Apol.* 32.)

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, IX. 1-X. 1

speaker, but our friends who were there heard the voice. And next he was brought forward, and there was a great uproar of those who heard that Polycarp had been arrested. 2. Therefore when he was brought forward the Pro-Consul asked him if he were Polycarp, and when he admitted it he tried to persuade him to deny, saying: "Respect your age," and so forth, as they are accustomed to say: "Swear by the genius of Caesar, repent, say: 'Away with the Atheists'" ; but Polycarp, with a stern countenance looked on all the crowd of lawless heathen in the arena, and waving his hand at them, he groaned and looked up to heaven and said: "Away with the Atheists." 3. But when the Pro-Consul pressed him and said: "Take the oath and I let you go, revile Christ," Polycarp said: "For eighty and six years<sup>1</sup> have I been his servant, and he has done me no wrong, and how can I blaspheme my King<sup>2</sup> who saved me?"

### X

1. BUT when he persisted again, and said: "Swear by the genius of Caesar," he answered him: "If you vainly suppose that I will swear by the genius of Caesar, as you say, and pretend that you are ignorant who I am, listen plainly: I am a Christian. And if you wish to learn the doctrine of Christianity fix a

<sup>1</sup> He was therefore probably a Christian born, unless we ascribe to him a quite improbable age.

<sup>2</sup> *βασιλεύς* represents 'imperator' not 'rex,' and though it can hardly be translated 'Emperor,' the antithesis to Caesar is clearly implied.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Rom. 13, 1  
1 Pet. 2, 13

καὶ ἄκουσον. 2. ἔφη ὁ ἀνθύπατος· Πείσον τὸν δῆμον. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος εἶπεν· Σὲ μὲν καὶ λόγου ἠξίωσα· δεδιδάγμεθα γὰρ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τεταγμέναις τιμὴν κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον, τὴν μὴ βλάπτουσιν ἡμᾶς, ἀπονέμειν· ἐκείνους δὲ οὐχ ἠγοῦμαι ἀξίους τοῦ ἀπολογεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς.

### XI

1. Ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν· Θηρία ἔχω, τούτοις σε παραβαλῶ, εἰ μὴ μετανοήσης. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Κάλει, ἀμετάθετος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω μετάνοια· καλὸν δὲ μετατίθεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν χαλεπῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δίκαια. ὁ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτόν· Πυρί σε ποιήσω δαπανῆσαι εἰ τῶν θηρίων καταφρονεῖς, εἰ μὴ μετανοήσης. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος εἶπεν· Πῦρ ἀπειλεῖς τὸ πρὸς ὄραν καιόμενον καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον σβεννύμενον· ἀγνοεῖς γὰρ τὸ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως καὶ αἰωνίου κολάσεως τοῖς ἀσεβέσι τηρούμενον πῦρ. ἀλλὰ τί βραδύνεις; φέρε, ὃ βούλει.

### XII

1. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα λέγων θάρσους καὶ χαρᾶς ἐνεπίμπλατο, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ χάριτος ἐπληροῦτο, ὥστε οὐ μόνον μὴ συμπεσεῖν ταραχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐκστῆναι, πέμψαι τε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κήρυκα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ σταδίου κηρῦξαι

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τρῖς· Πολύκαρπος ὡμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν Χριστιανὸν εἶναι. 2. τούτου λεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος, ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἐθνῶν τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων τῶν τὴν Σμύρναν κατοικούντων ἀκατασχέτῳ θυμῷ καὶ μεγάλη φωνῇ ἐπεβόα· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὁ τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν καθαιρέτης, ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκων μὴ θύειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν. ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπεβόων καὶ ἡρώτων τὸν Ἀσιάρχην Φίλιππον, ἵνα ἐπαφῇ τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ λέοντα. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, μὴ εἶναι ἐξὸν αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ πεπληρώκει τὰ κυνηγέσια. 3. τότε ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπιβοῆσαι, ὥστε τὸν Πολύκαρπον ζῶντα κατακαῦσαι. ἔδει γὰρ τὸ τῆς φανερωθείσης αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκεφαλαίου ὀπτασίας πληρωθῆναι, ὅτε ἰδὼν αὐτὸ καιόμενον προσευχόμενος εἶπεν ἐπιστραφεὶς τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ πιστοῖς προφητικῶς· Δεῖ με ζῶντα καῆναι.

### XIII

1. Ταῦτα οὖν μετὰ τοσοῦτου τάχους ἐγένετο θάπτον ἢ ἐλέγετο, τῶν ὄχλων παραχρῆμα συναγόντων ἔκ τε τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ βαλανείων ξύλα καὶ φρύγανα, μάλιστα Ἰουδαίων προθύμως, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, εἰς ταῦτα ὑπουργούντων. 2. ὅτε δὲ ἡ πυρκαϊὰ ἠτοιμάσθη, ἀποθέμενος ἑαυτῷ πάντα τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ λύσας τὴν ζώνην ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ ὑπολύειν ἑαυτόν, μὴ πρότερον τοῦτο ποιῶν διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ ἕκαστον τῶν πιστῶν σπουδάζειν, ὅστις τάχιον τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτοῦ ἄψηται· παντὶ γὰρ καλῷ ἀγαθῆς ἔνεκεν πολιτείας καὶ πρὸ τῆς μαρτυρίας

times: "Polycarp has confessed that he is a Christian."

2. When this had been said by the herald, all the multitude of heathen and Jews living in Smyrna cried out with uncontrollable wrath and a loud shout: "This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the destroyer of our Gods, who teaches many neither to offer sacrifice nor to worship." And when they said this, they cried out and asked Philip the Asiarch to let loose a lion on Polycarp. But he said he could not legally do this, since he had closed the Sports.<sup>1</sup> 3. Then they found it good to cry out with one mind that he should burn Polycarp alive, for the vision which had appeared to him on his pillow must be fulfilled, when he saw it burning, while he was praying, and he turned and said prophetically to those of the faithful who were with him, "I must be burnt alive."

The anger  
of the Jews

### XIII

1. THESE things then happened with so great speed, quicker than it takes to tell, and the crowd came together immediately, and prepared wood and faggots from the work-shops and baths and the Jews were extremely zealous, as is their custom, in assisting at this. 2. Now when the fire was ready he put off all his clothes, and loosened his girdle and tried also to take off his shoes, though he did not do this before, because each of the faithful was always zealous, which of them might the more quickly touch his flesh. For he had been treated with all respect because of his

The pre-  
parations  
for burning  
him

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'hunting,' the Latin 'venatio.'



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἐκεκόσμητο. 3. εὐθέως οὖν αὐτῷ περιετίθετο τὰ πρὸς τὴν πυρὰν ἠρμοσμένα ὄργανα. μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ προσηλοῦν, εἶπεν· Ἄφετέ με οὕτως· ὁ γὰρ δούς ὑπομεῖναι τὸ πῦρ δώσει χωρὶς τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐκ τῶν ἡλῶν ἀσφαλείας ἄσκυλτον ἐπιμεῖναι τῇ πυρᾷ.

### XIV

1. Οἱ δὲ οὐ καθήλωσαν μὲν, προσέδησαν δὲ αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω τὰς χεῖρας ποιήσας καὶ προσδεθείς, ὥσπερ κριὸς ἐπίσημος ἐκ μεγάλου ποιμνίου εἰς προσφορὰν, ὀλοκαύτωμα δεκτὸν τῷ θεῷ ἠτοιμασμένον, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατήρ, δι' οὗ τὴν περὶ σοῦ ἐπίγνωσιν εἰλήφαμεν, ὁ θεὸς ἀγγέλων καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως παντός τε τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων, οἱ ζῶσιν ἐνώπιόν σου· 2. εὐλογῶ σε, ὅτι ἠξίωσάς με τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ταύτης, τοῦ λαβεῖν με μέρος ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν μαρτύρων ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου<sup>1</sup> εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ πνεύματος ἁγίου· ἐν οἷς προσδεχθείην ἐνώπιόν σου σήμερον ἐν θυσίᾳ πίονι καὶ προσδεκτῇ, καθὼς προητοίμασας

Joh. 5, 29

<sup>1</sup> σου mbvs, om. E p.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

καὶ προεφάνερωσας καὶ ἐπλήρωσας, ὁ ἀψευδὴς καὶ ἀληθινὸς θεός. 3. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ πάντων σὲ αἰνῶ, σὲ εὐλογῶ, σὲ δοξάζω διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἐπουρανίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός, δι' οὗ σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

### XV

1. Ἀναπέμφαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμήν καὶ πληρώσαντος τὴν εὐχήν, οἱ τοῦ πυρὸς ἄνθρωποι ἐξῆψαν τὸ πυρ. μεγάλης δὲ ἐκλαμψάσης φλογός, θαῦμα εἶδομεν, οἷς ἰδεῖν ἐδόθη· οἱ καὶ ἐτηρήθημεν εἰς τὸ ἀναγγεῖλαι τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰ γενόμενα. 2. τὸ γὰρ πῦρ καμάρας εἶδος ποιῆσαν, ὥσπερ ὀθόνη πλοίου ὑπὸ πνεύματος, πληρουμένη, κύκλῳ περιετείχισεν τὸ σῶμα του μάρτυρος· καὶ ἦν μέσον οὐχ ὡς σὰρξ καιομένη, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄρτος ὀπτώμενος ἢ ὡς χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν καμίνῳ πυρούμενος. καὶ γὰρ εὐωδίας τοσαύτης ἀντελαβόμεθα, ὡς λιβανωτοῦ πνέοντος ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τιμίων ἀρωμάτων.

### XVI

1. Πέρας γοῦν ἰδόντες οἱ ἄνομοι μὴ δυνάμενον αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς δαπανηθῆναι, ἐκέλευσαν προσελθόντα αὐτῷ κομφέκτορα παραβῦσαι ξιφίδιον. καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος, ἐξῆλθεν

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, XIV. 2—XVI. 1

as Thou, the God who lies not and is truth, hast prepared beforehand, and shown forth, and fulfilled. 3. For this reason I also praise Thee for all things, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee through the everlasting and heavenly high Priest, Jesus Christ, thy beloved Child, through whom be glory to Thee with him and the Holy Spirit, both now and for the ages that are to come, Amen.”

### XV

1. Now when he had uttered his Amen and finished his prayer, the men in charge of the fire lit it, and a great flame blazed up and we, to whom it was given to see, saw a marvel. And we have been preserved to report to others what befell. 2. For the fire made the likeness of a room, like the sail of a vessel filled with wind, and surrounded the body of the martyr as with a wall, and he was within it not as burning flesh, but as bread that is being baked, or as gold and silver being refined in a furnace. And we perceived such a fragrant smell as the scent of incense or other costly spices.

### XVI

1. At length the lawless men, seeing that his body could not be consumed by the fire, commanded an executioner to go up and stab him with a dagger, and when he did this, there came out a dove,<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> This no doubt points to the belief that the spirit appears at death in the form of a bird. Cf. Prudentius *Peristeph. Hymn.* iii. 33 (other references are also given by Lightfoot).

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

περιστερά καὶ<sup>1</sup> πλήθος αἵματος, ὥστε κατασβέσαι τὸ πῦρ καὶ θαυμάσαι πάντα τὸν ὄχλον, εἰ τοσαύτη τις διαφορά μεταξὺ τῶν τε ἀπίστων καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν· 2. ὧν εἷς καὶ οὗτος γηγόνει ὁ θαυμασιώτατος μάρτυς Πολύκαρπος, ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς γενόμενος, ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς<sup>2</sup> ἐκκλησίας. πᾶν γὰρ ῥῆμα, ὃ ἀφῆκεν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐτελειώθη καὶ τελειωθήσεται.

### XVII

1. Ὁ δὲ ἀντίζηλος καὶ βάσκανος καὶ πονηρός, ὁ ἀντικείμενος τῷ γένει τῶν δικαίων, ἰδὼν τὸ τε μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνεπίληπτον πολιτείαν, ἐστεφανωμένον τε τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον καὶ βραβεῖον ἀναντίρρητον ἀπενηνεγμένον, ἐπετήδευσεν, ὡς μηδὲ τὸ σωματίον αὐτοῦ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ληφθῆναι, καίπερ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμούντων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ σαρκίῳ. 2. ὑπέβαλεν γοῦν Νικήτην τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου πατέρα, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀλκης,<sup>3</sup> ἐντυχεῖν τῷ ἄρχοντι, ὥστε μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα· μή, φησὶν, ἀφέντες τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον τοῦτον ἄρξωνται σέβεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα εἶπον ὑποβαλλόντων καὶ ἐνισχυόντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οἳ καὶ ἐτήρησαν, μελλόντων ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν· ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι οὔτε τὸν Χριστὸν ποτε καταλιπεῖν δυνησόμεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου

<sup>1</sup> περιστερά καὶ om. E, Wordsworth emends to περὶ στύρακα (round the sword-haft).

<sup>2</sup> καθολικῆς E bs, ἁγίας (holy) m(L).

<sup>3</sup> Δάλκης E.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τῶν σωζομένων σωτηρίας παθόντα ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν, οὔτε ἕτερόν τινα σέβεσθαι. 3. τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ κυρίου ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως ἕνεκα εὐνοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα καὶ διδάσκαλον· ὧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς κοινωνοὺς τε καὶ συμμαθητὰς γενέσθαι.

### XVIII

1. Ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ κεντυρίων τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων γενομένην φιλονεικίαν, θεὸς αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, ἔκαυσεν. 2. οὕτως τε ἡμεῖς ὕστερον ἀνελόμενοι τὰ τιμιώτερα λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερα ὑπὲρ χρυσίου ὅστ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀπεθέμεθα, ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν. 3. ἔνθα ὡς δυνατὸν ἡμῖν συναγομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ παρέξει ὁ κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἰς τε τὴν τῶν προηθληκότων μνήμην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀσκησίν τε καὶ ἐτοιμασίαν.

### XIX

1. Τοιαῦτα τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, ὃς σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφίας δωδέκατος ἐν Σμύρνη μαρτυρήσας, μόνος ὑπὸ πάντων μᾶλλον μνημονεύεται, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ λαλεῖσθαι· οὐ μόνον διδάσκαλος γενόμενος ἐπίσημος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάρτυς ἔξοχος, οὗ τὸ μαρτύριον

saved in the whole world, the innocent for sinners, or to worship any other. 3. For him we worship as the Son of God, but the martyrs we love as disciples and imitators of the Lord; and rightly, because of their unsurpassable affection toward their own King and Teacher. God grant that we too may be their companions and fellow-disciples.

### XVIII

1. WHEN therefore the centurion saw the contentiousness caused by the Jews, he put the body in the midst, as was their custom, and burnt it. 2. Thus we, at last, took up his bones, more precious than precious stones, and finer than gold, and put them where it was meet. 3. There the Lord will permit us to come together according to our power in gladness and joy, and celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom, both in memory of those who have already contested,<sup>1</sup> and for the practice and training of those whose fate it shall be.

The Christians take the ashes

### XIX

1. SUCH was the lot of the blessed Polycarp, who though he was, together with those from Philadelphia, the twelfth martyr in Smyrna, is alone especially remembered by all, so that he is spoken of in every place, even by the heathen. He was not only a famous teacher, but also a notable martyr,

Conclusion

<sup>1</sup> This is almost a technical term for martyrdom, cf. Ignatius's epistle to Polycarp 1, 3.



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν μιμεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ γενόμενον. 2. διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καταγωνισάμενος τὸν ἄδικον ἄρχοντα καὶ οὕτως τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον ἀπολαβών, σὺν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ πᾶσιν δικαίοις ἀγαλλιώμενος δοξάζει τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ εὐλογεῖ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν<sup>1</sup> Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν σωτήρα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν καὶ κυβερνήτην τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν καὶ ποιμένα τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.

### XX

1. Ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἤξιώσατε διὰ πλειόνων δηλωθῆναι ὑμῖν τὰ γενόμενα, ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλαίῳ<sup>2</sup> μεμηνύκαμεν διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν Μαρκίωνος. μαθόντες οὖν ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἐπέκεινα ἀδελφοῖς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διαπέμψασθε, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δοξάζωσιν τὸν κύριον τὸν ἐκλογὰς ποιοῦντα ἀπὸ<sup>3</sup> τῶν ἰδίων δούλων.

2. Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι καὶ δωρεᾷ εἰς τὴν ἐπουράνιον<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς<sup>5</sup> παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δόξα,<sup>6</sup> τιμὴ, κράτος, μεγαλοσύνη εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. προσαγορεύετε πάντας

<sup>1</sup> ἡμῶν bps, om. m.

<sup>2</sup> Μαρκίωνος m, Μάρκου bps (v ends with chap. xix.), Marcianum L. Lightfoot prefers Μαρκιανοῦ

<sup>3</sup> ποιοῦντα ἀπὸ bps, ποιούμενον m.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπουράνιον m, αἰώνιον bps.

<sup>5</sup> τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ παιδὸς m, παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς b, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς ps.

<sup>6</sup> δόξα m, ᾧ ἢ δόξα bps.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τοὺς ἁγίους· ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν προσαγορεύουσιν  
καὶ Εὐάρεστος ὁ γράψας πανοικεῖ.<sup>1</sup>

### XXI

1. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος μηνὸς  
Ξανθικοῦ<sup>2</sup> δευτέρᾳ ἰσταμένου, πρὸ ἑπτὰ καλανδῶν  
Μαρτίων, σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ, ὥρα ὀγδόῃ. συνε-  
λήφθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Φιλίππου  
Τραλλιανοῦ, ἀνθυπατεύοντος Στατίου Κοδράτου,  
βασιλεύοντος δὲ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·  
ὧ ἡ δόξα, τιμὴ, μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος ἀπὸ  
γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν. ἀμήν.

### XXII

1. Ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχόμεθα, ἀδελφοί, στοι-  
χοῦντας τῷ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον λόγῳ Ἰησοῦ  
Χριστοῦ, μεθ' οὗ δόξα τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ  
πνεύματι, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκλεκτῶν,  
καθὼς ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος, οὗ  
γένοιτο ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς τὰ  
ἴχνη εὐρεθῆναι ἡμᾶς.<sup>3</sup>

2. Ταῦτα μετεγράψατο μὲν Γάϊος ἐκ τῶν  
Εἰρηναίου, μαθητοῦ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου, ὃς καὶ  
συνεπολιτεύσατο τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ. ἐγὼ δὲ Σωκράτης  
ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἐκ τῶν Γαίου ἀντιγράφων ἔγραψα.  
ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων.

<sup>1</sup> This is really the end of the book. What follows is a series of notes, which have been taken into the text.

<sup>2</sup> The more correct spelling, according to inscriptions, is Ξανδικοῦ.

<sup>3</sup> The whole of this paragraph is omitted by Lm.

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, xx. 2-xxii. 3

Evarestus, who wrote the letter, with his whole house, greet you.

### XXI

1. Now the blessed Polycarp was martyred on the The date second day of the first half of the month of Xanthicus, the seventh day before the kalends of March,<sup>1</sup> a great sabbath, at the eighth hour. And he was arrested by Herod, when Philip of Tralles was High Priest, when Statius Quadratus was Pro-Consul, but Jesus Christ was reigning<sup>2</sup> for ever, to whom be glory, honour, majesty and an eternal throne, from generation to generation, Amen.

### XXII.

1. WE bid you God-speed, brethren, who walk Notes by a later scribe according to the Gospel, in the word of Jesus Christ (with whom be glory to God and the Father and the Holy Spirit), for the salvation of the Holy Elect, even as the blessed Polycarp suffered martyrdom, in whose footsteps may it be granted us to be found in the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.

2. Gaius copied this from the writing of Irenaeus, a disciple of Polycarp, and he lived with Irenaeus, and I, Socrates, wrote it out in Corinth, from the copies of Gaius. Grace be with you all. 3. And I,

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* Feb. 23.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase is pointedly inserted instead of a reference to the reigning Emperor.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

3. Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν Πιόνιος ἐκ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου ἔγραψα ἀναζητήσας αὐτά, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν φανερώσαντός μοι τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου, καθὼς δηλώσω ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς, συναγαγὼν αὐτὰ ἤδη σχεδὸν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου κεκμηκότα, ἵνα καμὲ συναγάγη ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν οὐράνιον βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.<sup>1</sup>

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### EPILOGUS ALIUS

E CODICE MOSQUENSI DESCRIPTUS.

2. Ταῦτα μετεγράψατο μὲν Γάϊος ἐκ τῶν Εἰρηναίου συγγραμμάτων, ὃς καὶ συνεπολιτεύσατο τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ, μαθητῇ γεγονότι τοῦ ἀγίου Πολυκάρπου. 3. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Πολυκάρπου γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ, πολλοὺς ἐδίδαξεν· οὐ καὶ πολλὰ συγγράμματα κάλλιστα καὶ ὀρθότατα φέρεται, ἐν οἷς μέμνηται Πολυκάρπου, ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔμαθεν, ἱκανῶς τε πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἤλεγξεν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Instead of the two paragraphs ταῦτα μετεγράψατο—ἀμήν m has the alternative conclusion given below.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα καὶ καθολικόν, ὡς παρέλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ παρέδωκεν. 4. λέγει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· ὅτι συναντήσαντός ποτε τῷ ἁγίῳ Πολυκάρπῳ Μαρκίῳνος, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ λεγόμενοι Μαρκιωνισταί, καὶ εἰπόντος· Ἐπιγίνωσκε ἡμᾶς, Πολύκαρπε, εἶπεν αὐτὸς τῷ Μαρκίῳνι· Ἐπιγινώσκω, ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ σατανᾶ. 5. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ φέρεται ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Εἰρηναίου συγγράμμασιν, ὅτι ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ὥρα ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ Πολύκαρπος, ἤκουσεν φωνὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει ὑπάρχων ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ὡς σάλπιγγος λεγούσης· Πολύκαρπος ἐμαρτύρησεν.

6. Ἐκ τούτων οὖν, ὡς προλέλεκται, τῶν τοῦ Εἰρηναίου συγγραμμάτων Γαῖος μετεγράψατο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Γαίου ἀντιγράφων Ἴσοκράτης ἐν Κορίνθῳ. ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν Πιόνιος ἐκ τῶν Ἴσοκράτους ἀντιγράφων ἔγραψα κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυκάρπου ζητήσας αὐτά, συναγαγὼν αὐτὰ ἤδη σχεδὸν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου κεκμηκότα, ἵνα καμὲ συναγάγη ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐπουράνιον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν· ᾧ ἡ δόξα σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

## MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, 3-6

he also handed on the ecclesiastical and catholic rule, as he had received it from the saint. 4. And he also says this that once Marcion,<sup>1</sup> from whom come the so-called Marcionites, met the holy Polycarp and said: "Recognise us, Polycarp," and he said to Marcion, "I do recognise you, I recognise the first-born of Satan." 5. And this is also recorded in the writings of Irenaeus, that at the day and hour when Polycarp suffered in Smyrna Irenaeus, who was in the city of Rome, heard a voice like a trumpet saying: "Polycarp has suffered martyrdom."

6. From these papers of Irenaeus, then, as was stated above, Gaius made a copy, and Isocrates used in Corinth the copy of Gaius. And again I, Pionius, wrote from the copies of Isocrates, according to the revelation of the holy Polycarp, after searching for them, and gathering them together when they were almost worn out from age, that the Lord Jesus Christ may also gather me into his Heavenly Kingdom together with his Elect. To him be glory, with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever, Amen.

<sup>1</sup> Marcion was the most famous heretic of the second century. He was a native of Pontus and afterwards came to Rome. The main points of his teaching were the rejection of the Old Testament and a distinction between the Supreme God of goodness and an inferior God of justice, who was the Creator, and the God of the Jews. He regarded Christ as the messenger of the Supreme God.





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## THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS

THE epistle to Diognetus is an anonymous writing of uncertain date. The Diognetus to whom it is addressed is unknown, though some scholars have sought to identify him with a Diognetus who was a teacher of Marcus Aurelius. Its claim to be included among the apostolic fathers rests on custom rather than right, for it is probably later than any of the other writings in this group, and if it were judged by the character of its contents would more probably be placed among the works of the Apologists.

Like most early apologies for Christianity it begins by expounding the foolishness of the worship of idols, and the inadequacy of the Jewish religion and then proceeds to give a short sketch of Christian belief, a panegyric on Christian character and a description of the benefit which it offers to converts. In this respect it resembles the apology of Aristides, and somewhat less closely those of Justin and Tatian, and the suggestion has been made that it may have been written by Aristides. Its style is, however, rhetorical in the extreme and it may be doubted whether it was not an academic treatise or possibly the exercise of some young theologian rather than an actual apology sent to a living person. The general impression made by the document is unfavourable to any theory of an early date and quite decisive against the tradition which seems to have been preserved in the lost MS. in which the epistle was found, attributing it to Justin Martyr. Harnack thinks that it more probably belongs to the

## THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS

third than to the second century, but early tradition does not mention the epistle and there is nothing in the internal evidence to justify any certainty of opinion.

The concluding chapters (xi-xii) have clearly no connection with the preceding ones, and it is generally conceded that they belong to a different document, probably an Epiphany homily, though possibly, as Otto thought, an Easter homily. Bonwetsch has shown very strong reasons for thinking that Hippolytus was the author. (*Nachrichten d. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1902.)

The best authority for the text is the third edition of Otto's *Corpus Apologeticum*, vol. 3, published in 1879, as the unique MS. of the epistle in the library at Strasburg was twice collated for Otto's edition but was destroyed by fire in 1870. This MS., probably written in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, was formerly the property of Reuchlin, passed about 1560 to the Alsatian monastery of Maursmunster, and between 1793 and 1795 came to Strasburg. It was collated for the first edition of Otto by Cunitz and for the third edition by Reuss. Earlier copies were made by Stephanus in 1586 (now preserved in Leiden, Cod. Voss. Gr. 30) and about 1590 by Beurer and (a collation of this copy which is no longer extant was published by Stephanus at the end of his edition of 1592). A third copy was made by Hausius about 1580 for Martin Crucius and is now preserved in Tübingen (Cod. Misc. M.b. 17). The fullest account of these MSS. and the proof that none of them are more than copies of the Strasburg MS. is given in O. von Gebhardt's edition of the Apostolic Fathers, vol. i., part 2, published in 1878.

# ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΓΝΗΤΟΝ

## I

Ἐπειδὴ ὄρω, κράτιστε Διόγνητε, ὑπερ-  
εσπουδακότα σε τὴν θεοσέβειαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν  
μαθεῖν καὶ πάνυ σαφῶς καὶ ἐπιμελῶς πυνθανό-  
μενον περὶ αὐτῶν, τίνι τε θεῷ πεποιθότες καὶ πῶς  
θρησκεύοντες αὐτὸν τὸν τε κόσμον ὑπερορῶσι  
πάντες καὶ θανάτου καταφρονοῦσι καὶ οὔτε τοὺς  
νομιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς λογίζονται  
οὔτε τὴν Ἰουδαίων δεισιδαιμονίαν φυλάσσουσι,  
καὶ τίνα τὴν φιλοστοργίαν ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους,  
καὶ τί δὴ ποτε καινὸν τοῦτο γένος ἢ ἐπιτήδευμα  
εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον νῦν καὶ οὐ πρότερον· ἀποδέ-  
χομαί γε τῆς προθυμίας σε ταύτης καὶ παρὰ τοῦ  
θεοῦ, τοῦ καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν ἡμῖν χορη-  
γοῦντος, αἰτοῦμαι δοθῆναι ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰπεῖν οὕτως,  
ὡς μάλιστα ἂν ἀκούσαντά σε βελτίω γενέσθαι,  
σοί τε οὕτως ἀκούσαι, ὡς μὴ λυπηθῆναι τὸν  
εἰπόντα.

## II

1. "Ἄγε δὴ, καθάρας σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν  
προκατεχόντων σου τὴν διάνοιαν λογισμῶν καὶ τὴν  
ἀπατῶσάν σε συνήθειαν ἀποσκευασάμενος καὶ

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

γενόμενος ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, ὡς ἂν καὶ λόγου καινοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὠμολόγησας, ἀκροατῆς ἐσόμενος· ἴδε μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ φρονήσει, τίνος ὑποστάσεως ἢ τίνος εἴδους τυγχάνουσιν, οὓς ἐρεῖτε καὶ νομίζετε θεούς.

2. οὐχ ὁ μὲν τις λίθος ἐστίν· ὁμοῖος τῷ πατουμένῳ, ὁ δ' ἐστὶ χαλκός, οὐ κρείσσων τῶν εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν ἡμῖν κεχαλκευμένων σκευῶν, ὁ δὲ ξύλον, ἤδη καὶ σεσηπός, ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος, χρήζων ἀνθρώπου τοῦ φυλάξαντος, ἵνα μὴ κλαπῆ, ὁ δὲ σίδηρος, ὑπὸ ἰοῦ διεφθαρμένος, ὁ δὲ ὄστρακον, οὐδὲν τοῦ κατεσκευασμένου πρὸς τὴν ἀτιμοτάτην ὑπηρεσίαν εὐπρεπέστερον;

3. οὐ φθαρτῆς ὕλης ταῦτα πάντα; οὐχ ὑπὸ σιδήρου καὶ πυρὸς κεχαλκευμένα; οὐχ ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν λιθοξόος, ὁ δὲ χαλκεύς, ὁ δὲ ἀργυροκόπος, ὁ δὲ κεραμεὺς ἐπλασεν; οὐ πρὶν ἢ ταῖς τέχναις τούτων εἰς τὴν μορφήν τούτων ἐκτυπωθῆναι, ἢν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐκάστω, ἔτι καὶ νῦν, μεταμορφωμένον; οὐ τὰ νῦν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης ὄντα σκεύη γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ τύχοι τῶν αὐτῶν τεχνιτῶν, ὅμοια τοιούτοις;

4. οὐ ταῦτα πάλιν, τὰ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν προσκυνούμενα, δύναιτ' ἂν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων σκεύη ὅμοια γενέσθαι τοῖς λοιποῖς; οὐ κωφὰ πάντα; οὐ τυφλά; οὐκ ἄψυχα; οὐκ ἀναίσθητα; οὐκ ἀκίνητα; οὐ πάντα σηπόμενα; οὐ πάντα φθειρόμενα;

5. ταῦτα θεοὺς καλεῖτε; τούτοις δουλεύετε; τούτοις προσκυνεῖτε, τέλεον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐξομοιοῦσθε.

6. διὰ

## THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, II. 1-6

a new man from the beginning, as one, as you yourself also admitted, who is about to listen to a new story. Look, not only with your eyes, but also with your intelligence, what substance or form they chance to have whom you call gods and regard as such. 2. Is not one a stone, like that on which we walk, another bronze, no better than the vessels which have been forged for our use, another wood already rotten, another silver, needing a man to guard it against theft, another iron, eaten by rust, another earthenware, not a whit more comely than that which is supplied for the most ordinary service? 3. Are not all these of perishable material? Were they not forged by iron and fire? Did not the wood-carver make one, the brass-founder another, the silversmith another, the potter another. Before they were moulded by their arts, into the shapes which they have, was it not possible and does it not still remain possible, for each of them to have been given a different shape? Might not vessels made out of the same material, if they met with the same artificers, be still made similar to such as they?<sup>1</sup> 4. Again, would it not be possible, for these, which are now worshipped by you, to be made by men into vessels like any others? Are they not all dumb? Are they not blind? Are they not without souls? Are they not without feeling? Are they not without movement? Are not they all rotting? Are they not all decaying? 5. Do you call these things gods? Are these what you serve? Are these what you worship and in the end become like them? 6. Is this the reason

<sup>1</sup> The meaning is that, given the requisite workers, the material used for ordinary vessels of wood or brass or silver might at any moment be turned into a 'god.'



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τοῦτο μισεῖτε Χριστιανούς, ὅτι τούτους οὐχ ἡγοῦνται θεούς; 7. ὑμεῖς γὰρ αἰνεῖν νομίζοντες καὶ οἰόμενοι, οὐ πολὺ πλέον αὐτῶν καταφρονεῖτε; οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς χλευάζετε καὶ ὑβρίζετε, τοὺς μὲν λιθίνους καὶ ὄστρακίνους σέβοντες ἀφυλάκτους, τοὺς δὲ ἀργυρέους καὶ χρυσοῦς ἐγκλείοντες ταῖς νυξὶ καὶ ταῖς ἡμέραις φύλακας παρακαθιστάντες, ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν; 8. αἷς δὲ δοκεῖτε τιμαῖς προσφέρειν, εἰ μὲν αἰσθάνονται, κολάζετε μᾶλλον αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ ἀναισθητοῦσιν, ἐλέγχοντες αἵματι καὶ κνίσαις αὐτοὺς θρησκεύετε. 9. ταῦθ' ὑμῶν τις ὑπομεινάτω, ταῦτα ἀνασχέσθω τις ἑαυτῷ γενέσθαι. ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος μὲν οὐδὲ εἰς ταύτης τῆς κολάσεως ἐκὼν ἀνέξεται, αἰσθησιν γὰρ ἔχει καὶ λογισμόν· ὁ δὲ λίθος ἀνέχεται, ἀναισθητεῖ γάρ. οὐκ οὖν τὴν αἰσθησιν αὐτοῦ ἐλέγχετε; 10. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μὴ δεδουλῶσθαι Χριστιανούς τοιούτοις θεοῖς πολλὰ μὲν ἂν καὶ ἄλλα εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι· εἰ δέ τιμι μὴ δοκοίη κἂν ταῦτα ἱκανά, περισσὸν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τὸ πλείω λέγειν.

### III

1. Ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἰουδαίοις θεοσεβεῖν αὐτοὺς οἶμαι σε μάλιστα ποθεῖν ἀκοῦσαι. 2. Ἰουδαῖοι τοίνυν, εἰ μὲν ἀπέχονται ταύτης τῆς προειρημένης λατρείας, καλῶς θεὸν ἕνα τῶν πάντων σέβειν καὶ δεσπότην ἀξιούσι φρονεῖν· εἰ δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις ὁμοιοτρόπως τὴν θρησκείαν προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ ταύτην, διαμαρτάνουσιν. 3. ἂ γὰρ τοῖς ἀναισθήτοις καὶ κωφοῖς

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Exod. 20.  
11; Ps. 146,  
6; Acts 14,  
15

προσφέροντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφροσύνης δείγμα παρέχουσι, ταῦθ' οὗτοι καθάπερ προσδεομένῳ τῷ θεῷ λογιζόμενοι παρέχειν μωρίαν εἰκὸς μᾶλλον ἡγοῖντ' ἄν, οὐ θεοσέβειαν. 4. ὁ γὰρ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν χορηγῶν, ὧν προσδεόμεθα, οὐδενὸς ἄν αὐτὸς προσδέοιτο τούτων ὧν τοῖς οἰομένοις διδόναι παρέχει αὐτός. 5. οἱ δέ γε θυσίας αὐτῷ δι' αἵματος καὶ κνίσης καὶ ὀλοκαυτωμάτων ἐπιτελεῖν οἰόμενοι καὶ ταύταις ταῖς τιμαῖς αὐτὸν γεραίρειν, οὐδέν μοι δοκοῦσι διαφέρειν τῶν εἰς τὰ κωφὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνδεικνυμένων φιλοτιμίαν· τῶν μὲν μὴ δυναμένοις τῆς τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνειν, τῶν δὲ δοκούντων παρέχειν τῷ μηδενὸς προσδεομένῳ.

### IV

1. Ἄλλὰ μὴν τό γε περὶ τὰς βρώσεις αὐτῶν ψοφοδεές καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ σάββατα δεισιδαιμονίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τὴν τῆς νηστείας καὶ νουμηνίας εἰρωνείαν, καταγέλαστα καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξια λόγου, οὐ νομίζω σε χρῆζειν παρ' ἐμοῦ μαθεῖν. 2. τό τε γὰρ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κτισθέντων εἰς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώπων ἃ μὲν ὡς καλῶς κτισθέντα παραδέχεσθαι, ἃ δ' ὡς ἄχρηστα καὶ περισσὰ παραιτεῖσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἀθέμιστον; 3. τὸ δὲ καταψεύδεσθαι θεοῦ ὡς κωλύοντος ἐν τῇ τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέρᾳ καλὸν τι ποιεῖν, πῶς οὐκ ἀσεβές; 4. τὸ δὲ καὶ τὴν μείωσιν τῆς σαρκὸς μαρτύριον ἐκλογῆς ἀλαζονεύεσθαι ὡς

## THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, III. 3-IV. 4

by making offerings to senseless and deaf images, so the Jews ought rather to consider that they are showing foolishness, not reverence, by regarding God as in need of these things. 4. For "He who made heaven and earth and all that is in them," and bestows on all of us that which we need, would not himself have need of any of these things which he himself supplies to those who think that they are giving them. 5. For after all, those who think that they are consecrating sacrifices to him by blood and burnt fat, and whole burnt offerings, and that they are reverencing him by these honours, seem to me to be in no way better than those who show the same respect to deaf images. For it seems that the one offer to those who cannot partake of the honour, the others to him who is in need of nothing.

### IV

1. MOREOVER I do not suppose that you need to learn from me that, after all, their scruples about food and superstition about the Sabbath, and their pride in circumcision and the sham of their fasting and feast of the new moon, are ridiculous and unworthy of any argument. 2. For how can it be anything but unlawful to receive some of the things created by God for the use of man as if well created, and to reject others as if useless and superfluous? 3. And what can it be but impious falsely to accuse God of forbidding that a good deed should be done on the Sabbath day? 4. And what does it deserve but ridicule to be proud of the mutilation of the flesh as a proof of election, as if

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

διὰ τοῦτο ἐξαιρέτως ἠγαπημένους ὑπὸ θεοῦ, πῶς οὐ χλεύης ἄξιον; 5. τὸ δὲ παρεδρεύοντας αὐτοὺς ἄστροις καὶ σελήνῃ τὴν παρατήρησιν τῶν μηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας θεοῦ καὶ τὰς τῶν καιρῶν ἀλλαγὰς καταδιαιρεῖν πρὸς τὰς αὐτῶν ὀρμάς, ἃς μὲν εἰς ἑορτάς, ἃς δὲ εἰς πένθη· τίς ἂν θεοσεβείας καὶ οὐκ ἀφροσύνης πολὺ πλεόν ἠγήσαιτο δεῖγμα; 6. τῆς μὲν οὖν κοινῆς εἰκαιότητος καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων πολυπραγμοσύνης καὶ ἀλαζονείας ὡς ὀρθῶς ἀπέχονται Χριστιανοί, ἀρκούντως σε νομίζω μεμαθηκένοι· τὸ δὲ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῶν θεοσεβείας μυστήριον μὴ προσδοκῆσης δύνασθαι παρὰ ἀνθρώπου μαθεῖν.

### V

1. Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ οὔτε γῆ οὔτε φωνῇ οὔτε ἔθεσι διακεκριμένοι τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων. 2. οὔτε γάρ που πόλεις ἰδίας κατοικοῦσιν οὔτε διαλέκτῳ τινὶ παρηλλαγμένη χρῶνται οὔτε βίον παράσημον ἀσκοῦσιν. 3. οὐ μὲν ἐπινοία τινὶ καὶ φροντίδι πολυπραγμόνων ἀνθρώπων μάθημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν εὐρημένον, οὐδὲ δόγματος ἀνθρωπίνου προεστᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι. 4. κατοικοῦντες δὲ πόλεις ἑλληνίδας τε καὶ βαρβάρους, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐκκληρώθη, καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἔθεσιν ἀκολουθοῦντες ἔν τε ἐσθῆτι καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ θαυμαστήν καὶ ὁμολογουμένως παράδοξον ἐνδείκνυνται τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν πολιτείας. 5. πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίας, ἀλλ' ὡς πάροικοι μετέχουσι

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

πάντων ὡς πολῖται, καὶ πάνθ' ὑπομένουσιν ὡς  
 ξένοι· πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσα  
 πατρίς ξένη. 6. γαμοῦσιν ὡς πάντες, τεκνογον-  
 οῦσιν· ἀλλ' οὐ ῥίπτουσι τὰ γεννώμενα. 7. τράπε-  
 ζαν κοινὴν παρατίθενται, ἀλλ' οὐ κοίτην. 8. ἐν  
 σαρκὶ τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ σάρκα ζῶσιν.  
 9. ἐπὶ γῆς διατρίβουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐρανῷ πολι-  
 τεύονται. 10. πείθονται τοῖς ὠρισμένοις νόμοις,  
 καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις νικῶσι τοὺς νόμους. 11. ἀγα-  
 πῶσι πάντας, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων διώκονται.  
 12. ἀγνοοῦνται, καὶ κατακρίνονται· θανατοῦνται,  
 καὶ ζωοποιοῦνται. 13. πτωχεύουσι, καὶ πλουτί-  
 ζουσι πολλούς· πάντων ὑστεροῦνται, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι  
 περισσεύουσιν. 14. ἀτιμοῦνται, καὶ ἐν ταῖς  
 ἀτιμίαις δοξάζονται. βλασφημοῦνται, καὶ δικαιοῦ-  
 νται. 15. λοιδοροῦνται, καὶ εὐλογοῦσιν· ὑβρί-  
 ζονται, καὶ τιμῶσιν. 16. ἀγαθοποιοῦντες ὡς  
 κακοὶ κολάζονται· κολαζόμενοι χαίρουσιν ὡς  
 ζωοποιούμενοι. 17. ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ὡς ἀλλόφυλοι  
 πολεμοῦνται καὶ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων διώκονται· καὶ  
 τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐχθρας εἰπεῖν οἱ μισοῦντες οὐκ  
 ἔχουσιν.

II Cor. 10,  
3; Rom. 8,  
12, 13

Philipp. 3,  
18-20

II Cor. 6, 9

II Cor. 6, 10

I Cor. 4, 12

II Cor. 6, 10

Jo. 17, 11.  
14. 16

## VI

1. Ἀπλῶς δ' εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν σώματι ψυχή,  
 τοῦτ' εἰσὶν ἐν κόσμῳ Χριστιανοί. 2. ἔσπαρται  
 κατὰ πάντων τῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν ἢ ψυχῆ,  
 καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κατὰ τὰς τοῦ κόσμου πόλεις.  
 3. οἰκεῖ μὲν ἐν τῷ σώματι ψυχῆ, οὐκ ἐστὶ δὲ ἐκ  
 τοῦ σώματος· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ ἐν κόσμῳ οἰκοῦσιν,

## THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, v. 5-vi. 3

all things as strangers. Every foreign country is their fatherland, and every fatherland is a foreign country. 6. They marry as all men, they bear children, but they do not expose their offspring. 7. They offer free hospitality, but guard their purity. 8. Their lot is cast "in the flesh," but they do not live "after the flesh." 9. They pass their time upon the earth, but they have their citizenship in heaven. 10. They obey the appointed laws, and they surpass the laws in their own lives. 11. They love all men and are persecuted by all men. 12. They are unknown and they are condemned. They are put to death and they gain life. 13. "They are poor and make many rich"; they lack all things and have all things in abundance. 14. They are dishonoured, and are glorified in their dishonour, they are spoken evil of and are justified. 15. "They are abused and give blessing," they are insulted and render honour. 16. When they do good they are buffeted as evil-doers, when they are buffeted they rejoice as men who receive life. 17. They are warred upon by the Jews as foreigners and are persecuted by the Greeks, and those who hate them cannot state the cause of their enmity.

### VI.

1. To put it shortly what the soul is in the body, that the Christians are in the world. 2. The soul is spread through all members of the body, and Christians throughout the cities of the world. 3. The soul dwells in the body, but is not of the body, and Christians dwell in the world, but are not of the

The world  
and  
Christians



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

οὐκ εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου. 4. ἀόρατος ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν ὄρατῷ φρουρεῖται τῷ σώματι· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ γινώσκονται μὲν ὄντες ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἀόρατος δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ θεοσέβεια μένει. 5. μισεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ σὰρξ καὶ πολεμεῖ μηδὲν ἀδικουμένη, διότι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς κωλύεται χρῆσθαι· μισεῖ καὶ Χριστιανούς ὁ κόσμος μηδὲν ἀδικούμενος, ὅτι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἀντιτάσσονται. 6. ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν μισοῦσαν ἀγαπᾷ σάρκα καὶ τὰ μέλη· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ἀγαπῶσιν. 7. ἐγκέκλεισται μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ σώματι, συνέχει δὲ αὐτὴ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κατέχονται μὲν ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ τῷ κόσμῳ, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνέχουσι τὸν κόσμον. 8. ἀθάνατος ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν θνητῷ σκηνώματι κατοικεῖ· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παροικοῦσιν ἐν φθαρτοῖς, τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀφθαρσίαν προσδεχόμενοι. 9. κακουργουμένη σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς ἡ ψυχὴ βελτιοῦται· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κολαζόμενοι καθ' ἡμέραν πλεονάζουσι μᾶλλον. 10. εἰς τοσαύτην αὐτοὺς τάξιν ἔθετο ὁ θεός, ἣν οὐ θεμιτὸν αὐτοῖς παραιτήσασθαι.

Gal. 5, 17

Jo. 15, 18.  
19

Mt. 5, 44;  
Luk. 6, 27

## VII

1. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπιγειον, ὡς ἔφην, εὔρημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς παρεδόθη, οὐδὲ θνητὴν ἐπίνοιαν φυλάσσειν οὕτως ἀξιοῦσιν ἐπιμελῶς, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνων οἰκονομίαν μυστηρίων πεπίστευνται. 2. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀληθῶς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καὶ παντοκτίστης καὶ

I Cor. 9, 17

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἀόρατος θεός, αὐτὸς ἀπ' οὐρανῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
 καὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἀπερινόητον ἀνθρώ-  
 ποις, ἐνίδρυσε καὶ ἐγκατεστήριξε ταῖς καρδίαις  
 αὐτῶν· οὐ, καθάπερ ἂν τις εἰκάσειεν, ἀνθρώποις  
 ὑπηρέτην τινὰ πέμψας ἢ ἄγγελον ἢ ἄρχοντα ἢ  
 τινα τῶν διεπόντων τὰ ἐπίγεια ἢ τινα τῶν  
 πεπιστευμένων τὰς ἐν οὐρανοῖς διοικήσεις, ἀλλ'  
 αὐτὸν τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὄλων,  
 ᾧ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἔκτισεν, ᾧ τὴν θάλασσαν  
 ἰδίῳ ἐνέκλεισεν, οὗ τὰ μυστήρια πιστῶς πάντα  
 φυλάσσει τὰ στοιχεῖα, παρ' οὗ τὰ μέτρα τῶν  
 τῆς ἡμέρας δρόμων ὁ ἥλιος εἴληφε φυλάσσειν, ᾧ  
 πειθαρχεῖ σελήνη νυκτὶ φαίνειν κελεύοντι, ᾧ  
 πειθαρχεῖ τὰ ἄστρα· τῷ τῆς σελήνης ἀκολου-  
 θοῦντα δρόμῳ· ᾧ πάντα διατέτακται καὶ διώ-  
 ρισται καὶ ὑποτέτακται, οὐρανοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρα-  
 νοῖς, γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, θάλασσα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ  
 θαλάσῃ, πῦρ, ἀήρ, ἄβυσσος, τὰ ἐν ὕψει, τὰ ἐν  
 βάθει, τὰ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ· τοῦτον πρὸς αὐτοὺς  
 ἀπέστειλεν. 3. ἄρα γε, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἂν τις  
 λογίσαιτο, ἐπὶ τυραννίδι καὶ φόβῳ καὶ κατα-  
 πλήξει; 4. οὐ μὲν οὖν· ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ  
 πραΰτητι ὡς βασιλεὺς πέμπων υἱὸν βασιλέα  
 ἔπεμψεν, ὡς θεὸν ἔπεμψεν, ὡς ἄνθρωπον πρὸς  
 ἀνθρώπους ἔπεμψεν, ὡς σώζων ἔπεμψεν, ὡς  
 πείθων, οὐ βιαζόμενος· βία γὰρ οὐ πρόσεστι τῷ  
 θεῷ. 5. ἔπεμψεν ὡς καλῶν, οὐ διώκων· ἔπεμψεν  
 ὡς ἀγαπῶν, οὐ κρίνων. 6. πέμψει γὰρ αὐτὸν  
 κρίνοντα· καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν ὑποστή-  
 σεται; . . . 7. . . . παραβαλλομένους θηρίοις,

Zech. 9, 9

Jo. 3, 17

Jo. 3, 17

Malach. 3, 2

men the truth from heaven, and the holy and incomprehensible word, and established it in their hearts, not, as one might suppose, by sending some minister to men, or an angel, or ruler, or one of those who direct earthly things, or one of those who are entrusted with the dispensations in heaven, but the very artificer and Creator of the universe himself, by whom he made the heavens, by whom he enclosed the sea in its own bounds, whose mysteries all the elements guard faithfully; from whom the sun received the measure of the courses of the day, to whose command the moon is obedient to give light by night, whom the stars obey, following the course of the moon, by whom all things were ordered, and ordained, and placed in subjection, the heavens and the things in the heavens, the earth and the things in the earth, the sea and the things in the sea, fire, air, abyss, the things in the heights, the things in the depths, the things between them—him he sent to them. 3. Yes, but did he send him, as a man might suppose, in sovereignty and fear and terror? 4. Not so, but in gentleness and meekness, as a king sending a son, he sent him as King, he sent him as God, he sent him as Man to men, he was saving and persuading when he sent him, not compelling, for compulsion is not an attribute of God. 5. When he sent him he was calling, not pursuing; when he sent him he was loving, not judging. 6. For he will send him as  
and who shall endure his coming? <sup>1</sup> \* \*judge\*

\* \* \* 7. . . . they are thrown to wild beasts

<sup>1</sup> There is here a lacuna in the MS. Probably the next sentence may be completed by prefixing "Do you not see that" before "they are thrown."

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἵνα ἀρνήσωνται τὸν κύριον, καὶ μὴ νικωμένους;  
8. οὐχ ὄρας, ὅσῳ πλείονες κολάζονται, τοσοῦτῳ  
πλεονάζοντας ἄλλους; 9. ταῦτα ἀνθρώπου οὐ  
δοκεῖ τὰ ἔργα· ταῦτα δύνამίς ἐστι θεοῦ· ταῦτα  
τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ δείγματα.

### VIII

1. Τίς γὰρ ὅλως ἀνθρώπων ἠπίστατο, τί ποτ'  
ἐστὶ θεὸς πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν; 2. ἢ τοὺς κενοὺς καὶ  
ληρώδεις ἐκείνων λόγους ἀποδέχῃ, τῶν ἀξιοπίστων  
φιλοσόφων, ὧν οἱ μὲν τινες πῦρ εἶπαν εἶναι τὸν  
θεὸν (οὐ μέλλουσι χωρήσειν αὐτοί, τοῦτο καλοῦσι  
θεόν), οἱ δὲ ὕδωρ, οἱ δ' ἄλλο τι τῶν στοιχείων τῶν  
ἐκτισμένων ὑπὸ θεοῦ; 3. καίτοι γε, εἴ τις τούτων  
τῶν λόγων ἀποδεκτός ἐστι, δύναιτ' ἂν καὶ τῶν  
λοιπῶν κτισμάτων ἐν ἑκαστον ὁμοίως ἀποφαί-  
νεσθαι θεόν. 4. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τερατεία καὶ  
πλάνη τῶν γοήτων ἐστίν· 5. ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐδεὶς  
οὔτε εἶδεν οὔτε ἐγνώρισεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἐπέδει-  
ξεν. 6. ἐπέδειξε δὲ διὰ πίστεως, ἣ μόνη θεὸν ἰδεῖν  
συγκεχώρηται. 7. ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης καὶ δημιουργὸς  
τῶν ὅλων θεός, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα καὶ κατὰ τάξιν  
διακρίνας, οὐ μόνον φιλόανθρωπος ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ μακρόθυμος. 8. ἀλλ' οὗτος ἦν μὲν αἰεὶ τοι-  
οῦτος καὶ ἐστὶ καὶ ἔσται, χρηστὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς  
καὶ ἀόργητος καὶ ἀληθής, καὶ μόνος ἀγαθός, ἐστίν·  
9. ἐννοήσας δὲ μεγάλην καὶ ἀφραστον εὐνοϊαν  
ἀνεκοινώσατο μόνῳ τῷ παιδί. 10. ἐν ὅσῳ μὲν  
οὖν κατεῖχεν ἐν μυστηρίῳ καὶ διετήρει τὴν σοφὴν  
αὐτοῦ βουλήν, ἀμελεῖν ἡμῶν καὶ ἀφροντιστεῖν

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ἔδόκει· 11. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκάλυψε διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἐφάνέρωσε τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠτοιμασμένα, πάνθ' ἅμα παρέσχεν ἡμῖν καὶ μετασχεῖν τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ νοῆσαι, ἃ τίς ἂν πώποτε προσεδόκησεν ἡμῶν;

### IX

1. Πάντ' οὖν ἤδη παρ' ἑαυτῷ σὺν τῷ παιδί οἰκονομηκῶς, μέχρι μὲν τοῦ πρόσθεν χρόνου εἶασεν ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἐβουλόμεθα, ἀτάκτοις φοραῖς φέρεσθαι, ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις ἀπαγομένους. οὐ πάντως ἐφηδόμενος τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχόμενος, οὐδὲ τῷ τότε τῆς ἀδικίας καιρῷ συνευδοκῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν νῦν τῆς δικαιοσύνης δημιουργῶν, ἵνα ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἐλεγχθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων ἀνάξιοι ζωῆς νῦν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστότητος ἀξιωθῶμεν, καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς φανερώσαντες ἀδύνατον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ δυνατοὶ γενηθῶμεν. 2. ἐπεὶ δὲ πεπλήρωτο μὲν ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀδικία καὶ τελείως πεφάνέρωτο, ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς αὐτῆς κόλασις καὶ θάνατος προσεδοκᾶτο, ἦλθε δὲ ὁ καιρὸς, ὃν θεὸς προέθετο λοιπὸν φανερῶσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χρηστότητα καὶ δύναμιν, (ὡ τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ), οὐκ ἐμίσησεν ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ ἀπώσατο οὐδὲ ἐμνησικακήσεν, ἀλλὰ ἐμακροθύμησεν, ἠνέσχετο, ἐλεῶν αὐτὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀμαρτίας ἀνεδέξατο, αὐτὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν ἀπέδοτο λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τὸν ἅγιον ὑπὲρ ἀνόμων, τὸν ἄκακον ὑπὲρ τῶν κακῶν, τὸν δίκαιον

Rom. 3,  
21-26

Tit. 3, 3

Jo. 3, 5

Tit. 3, 4. 5

Rom. 8, 32  
Eph. 1, 7;  
I Tim. 2, 6  
I Pet. 3, 18

when he revealed it through his beloved Child, and manifested the things prepared from the beginning, he gave us all things at once, both to share in his benefits and to see and understand, and which of us would ever have expected these things?

IX

1. HAVING thus planned everything by himself with his Child he suffered us up to the former time to be borne along by unruly impulses as we willed, carried away by pleasures and lust. Not at all because he delighted in our sins, but in forbearance; not in approval of the time of iniquity which was then, but fashioning the time of righteousness which is now, that we, who at that time were proved by our own deeds to be unworthy of life, may now be granted it by the goodness of God, and that when we had made it plain that it was impossible for us by ourselves to enter into the kingdom of God, we might be made able by the power of God. 2. But when our iniquity was fulfilled and it had become fully manifest, that its reward of punishment and death waited for it, and the time came which God had appointed to manifest henceforth his kindness and power (O the excellence of the kindness and the love of God!) he did not hate us nor reject us nor remember us for evil, but was long-suffering, endured us, himself in pity took our sin, himself gave his own Son as ransom for us, the Holy for the wicked, the innocent for the

The plan of  
Salvation



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκων, τὸν ἄφθαρτον ὑπὲρ τῶν φθαρτῶν, τὸν ἀθάνατον ὑπὲρ τῶν θνητῶν. 3. τί γὰρ ἄλλο τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἠδυνήθη καλύψαι ἢ ἐκείνου δικαιοσύνη; 4. ἐν τίνι δικαιωθῆναι δυνατὸν τοὺς ἀνόμους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἢ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ; 5. ὦ τῆς γλυκείας ἀνταλλαγῆς, ὦ τῆς ἀνεξιχνιάστου δημιουργίας, ὦ τῶν ἀπροσδοκῆτων εὐεργεσιῶν· ἵνα ἀνομία μὲν πολλῶν ἐν δικαίῳ ἐνὶ κρυβῆ, δικαιοσύνη δὲ ἐνὸς πολλοὺς ἀνόμους δικαιώσῃ. 6. ἐλέγξας οὖν ἐν μὲν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ τὸ ἀδύνατον τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν ζωῆς, νῦν δὲ τὸν σωτήρα δείξας δυνατὸν σώζειν καὶ τὰ ἀδύνατα, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐβουλήθη πιστεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ χρηστότητι αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν ἠγεῖσθαι τροφέα, πατέρα, διδάσκαλον, σύμβουλον, ἰατρόν, νοῦν, φῶς, τιμὴν, δόξαν, ἰσχύν, ζωὴν, περὶ ἐνδύσεως καὶ τροφῆς μὴ μεριμνᾶν.

Mt. 6, 25-31

### X

1. Ταύτην καὶ σὺ τὴν πίστιν εἰς ποθέσης, καὶ λάβῃς πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίγνωσιν πατρός. . . . 2. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠγάπησε, δι' οὓς ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον, οἷς ὑπέταξε πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ, οἷς λόγον ἔδωκεν, οἷς νοῦν, οἷς μόνοις ἄνω πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄραν ἐπέτρεψεν, οὓς ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας εἰκόνας ἔπλασε, πρὸς οὓς ἀπέστειλε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, οἷς τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλείαν ἐπηγγείλατο, καὶ δώσει τοῖς ἀγαπήσασιν αὐτόν. 3. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ τίνος οἶει

Jo. 3, 16;  
I Jo. 4, 9

Gen. 1, 26.  
27

I Jo. 4, 9

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

I Jo. 4, 19 πληρωθήσεσθαι χαρᾶς; ἢ πῶς ἀγαπήσεις τὸ οὕτως προαγαπήσαντά σε; 4. ἀγαπήσας δὲ μιμητῆς ἔσῃ αὐτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητος. καὶ μὴ θαυμάση· εἰ δύναται μιμητῆς ἄνθρωπος γενέσθαι θεοῦ, δύναται θέλοντος αὐτοῦ. 5. οὐ γὰρ τὸ καταδυνάστεύειν τῶν πλησίων οὐδὲ τὸ πλεονέχειν βούλεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων οὐδὲ τὸ πλουτεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐστίν, οὐδὲ ἐν τούτοις δύναται τις μιμήσασθαι θεόν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλειότητος. 6. ἀλλ' ὅστις τὸ τοῦ πλησίου ἀναδέχεται βάρος, ὃς ἐν ᾧ κρείσσων ἐστίν ἕτερον τὸν ἐλαττούμενον εὐεργετεῖν ἐθέλει, ὃς ἂν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν ἔχει, ταῦτα τοῖς ἐπιδομένοις χορηγῶν θεὸς γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων, οὗτος μιμητῆς ἐστὶ θεοῦ. 7. τότε θεάσῃ τυγχάνων ἐπὶ γῆς, ὅτι θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς πολιτεύεται, τότε μυστήρια θεοῦ λαλεῖν ἄρξῃ, τότε τοὺς κολαζομένους ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ θέλειν ἀρνήσασθαι θεὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσεις καὶ θαυμάσεις· τότε τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς πλάνης καταγνώση, ὅταν τὸ ἀληθῶς ἐν οὐρανῷ ζῆν ἐπιγνῶς, ὅταν τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἐνθάδε θανάτου καταφρονήσης, ὅταν τὸν ὄντως θάνατον φοβηθῆς, ὃς φυλάσσεται τοῖς κατακριθσομένοις εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, ὃ τοὺς παραδοθέντας αὐτῷ μέχρι τέλους κολάσει. 8. τότε τοὺς ὑπομένοντας ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης θαυμάσεις τὸ πῦρ τὸ πρόσκαιρον καὶ μακαρίσεις, ὅταν ἐκεῖνο τὸ πῦρ ἐπιγνῶς.

Gal. 6. 2

Eph. 6, 9  
Col. 4, 1

## THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, x. 3-8

Have this full knowledge, with that joy do you think that you will be filled, or how greatly will you love him who thus first loved you? 4. But by your love you will imitate the example of his goodness. And do not wonder that it is possible for man to be the imitator of God; it is possible when he will. 5. For happiness consists not in domination over neighbours, nor in wishing to have more than the weak, nor in wealth, and power to compel those who are poorer, nor can anyone be an imitator of God in doing these things, but these things are outside his majesty. 6. But whoever takes up the burden of his neighbour, and wishes to help another, who is worse off in that in which he is the stronger, and by ministering to those in need the things which he has received and holds from God becomes a god to those who receive them,—this man is an imitator of God. 7. Then, though your lot be placed on earth you will see that God lives in heaven, then you will begin to speak of the mysteries of God, then you will both love and admire those who are being punished because they will not deny God, then you will condemn the deceit and error of the world, when you know what is the true life of heaven, when you despise the apparent death of this world, when you fear the death which is real, which is kept for those that shall be condemned to the everlasting fire, which shall punish up to the end those that were delivered to it. 8. Then you will marvel at those who endure for the sake of righteousness the fire which is for a season, and you will count them blessed when you know that other fire.

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

### XI

1. Οὐ ξένα ὁμιλῶ οὐδὲ παραλόγως ζητῶ, ἀλλὰ ἀποστόλων γενόμενος μαθητῆς γίνομαι διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν· τὰ παραδοθέντα ἀξίως ὑπηρετῶ γινομένοις ἀληθείας μαθηταῖς. 2. τίς γὰρ ὀρθῶς διδαχθεὶς καὶ λόγῳ προσφιλεῖς γενηθεὶς οὐκ ἐπιζητεῖ σαφῶς μαθεῖν τὰ διὰ λόγου δειχθέντα φανερώς μαθηταῖς, οἷς ἐφάνερωσεν ὁ λόγος φανείς, παρρησία λαλῶν, ὑπὸ ἀπίστων μὴ νοούμενος, μαθηταῖς δὲ διηγούμενος, οἱ πιστοὶ λογισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔγνωσαν πατρὸς μυστήρια; 3. οὗ χάριν ἀπέστειλε λόγον, ἵνα κόσμῳ φανῆ, ὃς ὑπὸ λαοῦ ἀτιμασθεὶς, διὰ ἀποστόλων κηρυχθεὶς, ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν ἐπιστεύθη. 4. οὗτος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὁ καινὸς φανείς καὶ παλαιὸς εὐρεθεὶς καὶ πάντοτε νέος ἐν ἀγίων καρδίαις γεννώμενος. 5. οὗτος ὁ αἰεὶ, ὁ σήμερον υἱὸς λογισθεὶς, δι' οὗ πλουτίζεται ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ χάρις ἀπλουμένη ἐν ἀγίοις πληθύνεται, παρέχουσα νοῦν, φανεροῦσα μυστήρια, διαγγέλλουσα καιρούς, χαίρουσα ἐπὶ πιστοῖς, ἐπιζητοῦσι δωρουμένη, οἷς ὄρκια

Jo. 1, 9

I Tim. 3, 16

I Jo. 1, 1;

Ps. 2, 7;  
Mt. 3, 17

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## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

πίστεως οὐ θραύεται οὐδὲ ὄρια πατέρων παρορίζεται. 6. εἶτα φόβος νόμου ἄδεται, καὶ προφητῶν χάρις γινώσκειται, καὶ εὐαγγελίων πίστις ἴδρυται, καὶ ἀποστόλων παράδοσις φυλάσσεται, καὶ ἐκκλησίας χάρις σκιρτᾷ. 7. ἦν χάριν μὴ λυπῶν ἐπιγνώση, ἃ λόγος ὁμιλεῖ δι' ὧν βούλεται, ὅτε θέλει. 8. ὅσα γὰρ θελήματι τοῦ κελεύοντος λόγου ἐκινήθημεν ἐξειπεῖν μετὰ πόνου, ἐξ ἀγάπης τῶν ἀποκαλυφθέντων ἡμῖν γινόμεθα ὑμῖν κοινωνοί.

## XII

Gen. 2, 15 ;  
3, 24

Gen. 2, 9

1. Οἷς ἐντυχόντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες μετὰ σπουδῆς εἴσεσθε, ὅσα παρέχει ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν ὀρθῶς, οἱ γινόμενοι παράδεισος τρυφῆς, πάγκαρπον ξύλον εὐθαλοῦν ἀνατείλαντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ποικίλοις καρποῖς κεκοσμημένοι. 2. ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ ξύλον γνώσεως καὶ ξύλον ζωῆς πεφύτευται· ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως ἀναιρεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ παρακοὴ ἀναιρεῖ. 3. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄσημα τὰ γεγραμμένα, ὡς θεὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ξύλον γνώσεως καὶ ξύλον ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ παραδείσου ἐφύτευσε, διὰ γνώσεως ζωὴν ἐπιδεικνύς· ἢ μὴ καθαρῶς χρησάμενοι οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πλάνη τοῦ ὄψεως γεγύμνωνται. 4. οὐδὲ γὰρ ζωὴ ἄνευ γνώσεως οὐδὲ γνώσις ἀσφαλῆς ἄνευ ζωῆς ἀληθοῦς· διὸ πλησίον ἐκάτερον πεφύτευται. 5. ἦν δύναμιν ἐνιδῶν ὁ ἀπόστολος τήν τε ἄνευ ἀληθείας

## THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, XI. 5-XII. 5

not broken, nor the decrees of the Fathers transgressed. 6. Then is the fear of the Law sung, and the grace of the Prophets known, the faith of the Gospels is established, and the tradition of apostles is guarded, and the grace of the Church exults. 7. And if you do not grieve this grace you will understand what the word says through the agents of his choice, when he will. 8. For in all things which we were moved by the will of him who commands us to speak with pain, we become sharers with you through love of the things revealed to us.

## XII

1. **I**F you consider and listen with zeal to these truths you will know what things God bestows on those that love him rightly, who are become "a Paradise of delight," raising up in themselves a fertile tree with all manner of fruits, and are adorned with divers fruits. 2. For in this garden has been planted "the tree of knowledge and the tree of life," but the tree of knowledge does not kill, but disobedience kills. 3. For that which was written is quite plain, that God in the beginning planted "a tree of knowledge and a tree of life in the midst of Paradise," and showed that life is through knowledge. But those who did not use it in purity were in the beginning deprived of it by the deceit of the serpent; 4. for neither is there life without knowledge, nor sound knowledge without true life; wherefore both are planted together. 5. And when the apostle saw the force of this, he blamed the



## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

I Cor. 8, 1 προστάγματος εἰς ζωὴν ἀσκουμένην γνῶσιν μεμφόμενος λέγει· Ἡ γνῶσις φυσιοῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη οἰκοδομεῖ. 6. ὁ γὰρ νομίζων εἰδέναί τι ἄνευ γνώσεως ἀληθοῦς καὶ μαρτυρουμένης ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς οὐκ ἔγνω, ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄψεως πλανᾶται, μὴ ἀγαπήσας τὸ ζῆν. ὁ δὲ μετὰ φόβου ἐπιγνοῦς καὶ ζωὴν ἐπιζητῶν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι φυτεύει, καρπὸν προσδοκῶν.

I Cor. 9, 10 7. ἦτω σοὶ καρδία γνῶσις, ζωὴ δὲ λόγος ἀληθῆς, χωρούμενος. 8. οὗ ξύλον φέρων καὶ καρπὸν αἱρῶν τρυγήσεις αἰεὶ τὰ παρὰ θεῷ ποθούμενα, ὧν ὄφεις οὐχ ἄπτεται οὐδὲ πλάνη συγχρωτίζεται· οὐδὲ εὐα φθείρεται, ἀλλὰ παρθένος πιστεύεται. 9. καὶ σωτήριον δείκνυται, καὶ ἀπόστολοι συνετίζονται, καὶ τὸ κυρίου πάσχα προέρχεται, καὶ καιροὶ συνάγονται καὶ μετὰ κόσμου ἀρμόζονται, καὶ διδάσκων ἀγίους ὁ λόγος εὐφραίνεται, δι' οὗ πατὴρ δοξάζεται· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

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