

THE  
NEW TESTAMENT IN THE  
APOSTOLIC FATHERS

BY

A COMMITTEE OF THE OXFORD SOCIETY  
OF HISTORICAL THEOLOGY

OXFORD  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1905

Ⓔ

• •  
HENRY FROWDE, M.A.  
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD  
LONDON, EDINBURGH  
NEW YORK AND TORONTO

## ERRATA

- Page 51, line 11, *for passage read Epistle*  
" 54, " 25, *for (48) read (49)*  
" 60, " 15, *insert Polycarp before (75)*  
" 73, " 32, *for Symrn. read Smyrn.*  
" 80, " 24, *omit Luke 9<sup>26</sup>; as also*  
" 81, " 2, *for ἦν read ἦ*  
" 81, " 7, *this sentence should follow on (97)*  
" 83, " 4 *from bottom, for (93) read (92)*  
" 137, " 2 *from bottom, for 123 read 125*



## PREFACE

THIS work had its origin in a resolution passed by the Society of Historical Theology, in Oxford, appointing a small Committee to prepare a volume exhibiting those passages of early Christian writers which indicate, or have been thought to indicate, acquaintance with any of the books of the New Testament. Beyond the appointment of the Committee, the Society has no responsibility whatever for the work, and the judgements which are expressed belong to the Committee alone. The present volume deals with the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, in which information is scanty, and traces of dependence on the Scriptures of the New Testament are most open to doubt. The editors are quite aware that their judgements may not command universal assent; but they may claim at least that these judgements have been carefully formed, sometimes after considerable hesitation, by men who are not without practice in this kind of investigation. It is hoped that the book will not only provide the student with useful material, but afford him some helpful direction in reaching his own conclusions.

The first duty of the Committee was to agree upon a plan. It was decided to arrange the books of the New Testament in four classes, distinguished by the letters A, B, C, and D, according to the degree of probability of their use by the several authors. Class A includes those books about which there can be no reasonable doubt, either because they are expressly mentioned, or because there are other certain indications of their use. Class B comprises those books the use of which, in the judgement of the editors, reaches a high degree of probability. With class C we come to a lower degree of probability; and in class D are placed those books which may possibly be referred to, but in regard to which the evidence appeared too uncertain to allow any reliance to be placed upon it. Under each author the books of the New Testament are

arranged in accordance with these four classes, except that the Gospels are reserved for a section by themselves after the other writings. In dealing with the Gospels the following division has been observed:—First are presented references to the Synoptical Gospels severally; secondly, references to Synoptical material, where the individual Gospel cannot be distinguished—cases to which the above classification seems inapplicable; thirdly, references to the Fourth Gospel; and lastly, references to apocryphal Gospels. Under each class (A, B, C, D) the books follow one another in the present canonical order; and the passages cited under each head are arranged in the order of probability, according to the editors' judgement, and marked a, b, c, d—symbols to which an explanation will apply similar to that which has been given in connexion with the capital letters.

The quotations are printed in parallel columns. The first presents the quotation containing the supposed reference. The second exhibits the corresponding passage, or passages, in the New Testament, quoted from the text approved by our English Revisers, with references, when necessary, to various readings. A third column, when required, contains illustrative passages from the LXX (the text of Dr. Swete's edition being used) or from other writings. Underneath the several quotations are comments, calling attention to special points, or indicating briefly the grounds of the editors' judgement. In class D references are given without the text in several instances, because, though they have been cited in evidence, they did not appear to deserve serious recognition. In addition to these a great many passages were examined by the Committee, but are not mentioned because the Committee came to the conclusion that there was no serious ground for arguing that they showed the influence of the New Testament.

In the execution of the foregoing plan, books were in the first instance allotted to the several members of the Committee, in order that each might make a preliminary list of passages, with his own judgements and comments. These were carefully revised, passage by passage, at meetings of the Committee. They were then arranged in what was intended to be their

permanent form. Finally, they were once more revised by the Committee; and in many cases previous judgements were again brought under consideration. It is obvious that the distinction of classes, especially between b and c, must often have involved delicate and doubtful deliberation; for it is extremely difficult, where several are collaborating, to retain at all times the same standard of judgement. But even if in many cases other scholars may arrive at different conclusions, the Committee hope that their labours will not be wholly without fruit in this important field of Biblical study.

The task of final redaction and the furnishing of special introductions were in each case left to the member of Committee to whom the preliminary work had fallen; so that the full consensus of the Committee must be taken to apply only to the degrees of probability assigned to the apparent traces of given New Testament books in the authors examined.

A list of the Committee is appended, in which is indicated the particular work for which each member is specially responsible—

Barnabas: J. V. Bartlet, M.A., D.D., Senior Tutor of Mansfield College.

Didache: K. Lake, M.A., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Leyden.

I Clement: A. J. Carlyle, M.A., Lecturer in Theology of University College.

Ignatius: W. R. Inge, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Hertford College.

Polycarp: P. V. M. Benecke, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College.

Hermas: J. Drummond, M.A., LL.D., Principal of Manchester College.

II Clement: (Gospels) J. V. Bartlet; (St. Paul's Epistles) A. J. Carlyle; (Catholic Epistles) P. V. M. Benecke.





## CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	iii
BARNABAS . . . . .	I
DIDACHE . . . . .	24
I CLEMENT . . . . .	37
IGNATIUS . . . . .	63
POLYCARP . . . . .	84
HERMAS . . . . .	105
II CLEMENT . . . . .	124
TABLES OF RESULTS . . . . .	137
INDEX I (Passages from the New Testament) . . . . .	139
INDEX II (Passages from the Apostolic Fathers) . . . . .	142



# THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

## INTRODUCTION.

*Standard of Accuracy in quotation.* Our author shares the Alexandrinism so widely diffused in the first century A.D. throughout the eastern Mediterranean. This has its effect on his methods in dealing with the O. T., which he uses through the LXX, known to him in a text which approximates to our *Codex Alexandrinus* (but reads also at times as if revised from the Hebrew)<sup>1</sup>. In general 'the O. T. is quoted even more profusely than in the Epistle of Clement, but with less precision. The writer is fairly exact in well-known contexts belonging to the Psalter or the Book of Isaiah; but elsewhere he appears to trust to memory, and not to concern himself greatly about the words of his author. Even when preceded by a *formula citandi* his citations often wander far from the LXX, although they are clearly based upon it (e. g. Exod. 33<sup>1-3</sup> = Barn. vi. 8<sup>2</sup>). Similar liberties are taken even where the writer mentions the book which he is quoting,' e. g. *πέρας γέ τοι λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ, Καὶ διαθήσομαι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον τὰ δικαιώματά μου*—'a sentence which, though it has all the notes of a strict quotation, proves to be a mere summary of Deut. 4<sup>1-23</sup>.' The following comparison of Exod. 33<sup>1-3</sup> and Barn. vi. 8 may give some measure of the freedom<sup>3</sup> for which we must allow in considering possible N. T. citations or echoes.

### Exodus.

καὶ εἶπεν Κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν,  
Πορεύου ἀνάβηθι ἐντεῦθεν σὺ καὶ ὁ  
λαός σου . . . εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ὤμοσα  
τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ,  
λέγων . . . καὶ εἰσάξω σε εἰς γῆν  
ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι.

### Barnabas.

ἰδοῦ, τάδε λέγει Κύριος ὁ Θεός·  
Εἰσελθατε εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν, ἣν  
ὤμοσεν Κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ  
καὶ Ἰακώβ, καὶ κατακληρονομήσατε  
αὐτήν, γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι.

(See also Nos. (1) (40) below.)

<sup>1</sup> Swete, *Introd. to the O. T. in Greek*, 411-413, for this and what follows.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. vi. 1, where he substitutes the correct gloss τῷ παιδί Κυρίου in the phrase ἐγγιστάω μοι, in Isa. 50<sup>8</sup>; and xii. 9, where he boldly adds ὁ νῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν to Exod. 17<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Sanday, *Gospels in the Second Century*, 31 ff., reckons 16 exact, 23 slightly variant, and 47 variant citations of the O. T.

Further we must remember that he freely blends passages from different quarters: e. g. ii. 7 f. = Jer. 7<sup>22</sup> f. + Zech. 7<sup>10</sup>, 8<sup>17</sup>; iv. 7 = Deut. 34<sup>28</sup> + 31<sup>18</sup>; iv. 8 = Exod. 32<sup>7</sup> + Deut. 9<sup>12</sup>; cf. ix. 8, xv. 1. The same applies to his quotations from apocryphal books like Enoch and 4 Ezra, which he also cites with the same phrases as introduce Scriptural allusions generally.

The formulae of citation are: λέγει, with ὁ Θεός or ὁ Κύριος, ἡ γραφή, ὁ προφήτης, expressed or understood; or again with the name of the prophet in question, Moses, David, Isaiah, Daniel, and even Enoch; or most fully λέγει Κύριος (ὁ Θεός) ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ, ὁρίζει (Κύριος) ἐν ἄλλῳ προφήτῃ λέγοντι. Synonymous for λέγει are εἶπε, ἐλάλησε, ἐνετείλατο. Similarly γέγραπται, used even in citing Enoch (iv. 3, xvi. 6), and γεγραμμένης ἐντολῆς (vii. 3). The general result is an absolute doctrine of inspiration, which equates the Divine and the human speaker or writer, and which neglects distinctions between canonical and apocryphal sources. In this connexion reference may be made to vi. 13 λέγει δὲ Κύριος, Ἴδού, ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα (see *Didascalia Apost.* ed. Hauler, 75 'Ecce facio prima sicut novissima et novissima sicut prima': cf. Apoc. 21<sup>5</sup> Ἴδού, καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα, Hipp. in Dan. 4<sup>37</sup> ἔσονται γὰρ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα): also to vii. 4, where τί οὖν λέγει ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ is followed by words not found in any other extant writing, though our author has Lev. 16<sup>7</sup> ff. in mind in the context. Here the citation seems too definite (ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ coming in between γεγραμμένης ἐντολῆς and πῶς οὖν ἐνετείλατο) to be other than due to some written source, whether apocryphal or a passage that has crept from the margin into the text of a canonical book. The former view is supported by the analogous case in xi. 9 f., see below (40). So in ii. 10 θυσία τῷ Κυρίῳ καρδία συντετριμμένη, ὁσμὴ εὐωδίας τῷ Κυρίῳ καρδία δοξάζουσα τὸν πεπλακότα αὐτήν, Barnabas has been quoting certain O. T. prophets, and continues in a way which suggests that he has his mind on them still, ἡμῖν οὖν οὕτως λέγει. But while the opening words are substantially those of Ps. 51<sup>17</sup> (θυσία τῷ Θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον, καρδίαν συντετριμμένην, κτλ.), the whole quotation actually comes from the Apocalypse of Adam (cf. Iren. iv. 17. 2). Thus confusion of memory may explain

the case in which *γέγραπται* introduces words found also in our Matthew (see below).

On the whole, then, we have reason to expect that, if Barnabas alludes to any N. T. writings, it will be in a free and glossing way, and that sympathy with its methods and style will be needful to appraise the likelihood attaching to alleged cases of dependence<sup>1</sup>. The phenomena in the section on the 'Two ways' are dealt with under the *Didache*.

## EPISTLES AND APOCALYPSE

## B

*Romans*

## b

(1) Barn. xiii. 7.

τί οὖν λέγει τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ὅτε μόνος πιστευσάς ἐτέθη εἰς δικαιοσύνην; Ἴδου τέθεικά σε, Ἀβραάμ, πατέρα ἐθνῶν τῶν πιστευόντων δι' ἀκροβυστίας τῷ Κυρίῳ (GL, Θεῶ NC).

Rom. 4<sup>s</sup>. 10 f. (17 f.).

τί γὰρ ἡ γραφή λέγει; Ἐπίστευσε δὲ Ἀβραάμ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην . . . πῶς οὖν ἐλογίσθη; . . . οὐκ ἐν περιτομῇ ἀλλ' ἐν ἀκροβυστία . . . εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πατέρα πάντων τῶν πιστευόντων δι' ἀκροβυστίας.

LXX. Gen. 15<sup>b</sup> καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραάμ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

17<sup>4 f.</sup> καὶ ἐγώ, ἰδού ἡ διαθήκη μου μετὰ σοῦ καὶ ἔση πατήρ πλήθους ἐθνῶν καὶ οὐ κληθήσεται ἔτι τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἀβραάμ, ἀλλ' ἔσται Ἀβραάμ τὸ ὄνομά σου ὅτι πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τέθεικά σε.

In our author's memory the O. T. passages have become

<sup>1</sup> The final estimate of the literary dependence of our epistle cannot be separated from one's theory of its date, and this again involves that of its religious standpoint. In the view of the member of committee specially responsible for its work on Barnabas, it is most probable that the epistle was written under Vespasian (iv. 4 f.), within a very few years of the destruction of the Jewish Temple, the spiritual substitute for which, the Christian Church, is alluded to as in process of being built up (xvi. 10; cf. vii. 11). The standpoint is essentially that of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as distinct from other known types of primitive Christianity. For though they differ in their attitude to O. T. ritual, both interpret the 'new Law' and its people under the categories of the old, in such wise that the literal observances of Judaism are regarded as at once fulfilled in essence and superseded by the purely spiritual worship realized in and through Christ. To both, O. T. worthies like Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and David were in the line of heirship of the Promise, but not Israel at large (cf. Heb. 3-4, 11).—J. V. B.

conflated with the comments in Rom. 4; for the phrase τῶν πιστευόντων δι' ἀκροβυστίας (by no means an obvious one), especially as qualifying ἐθνῶν in Barnabas, can hardly be explained otherwise.

## d

(2) Barn. xiii. 2-3.

Rom. 9<sup>7-13</sup>.

ἀκούσατε σὺν περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή. . . Δύο ἔθνη ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ σου . . . καὶ ἡ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι· αἰσθάνεσθαι ἄφείλετε . . . ἐπὶ τίνων δέδειχεν ὅτι μείζων ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἢ ἐκείνος.

οὐδ' ὅτι εἰσὶ σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ, πάντες τέκνα, ἀλλ' Ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα . . . ἐρρήθη αὐτῇ ὅτι ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι· καθὼς γέγραπται, Τὸν Ἰακώβ ἠγάπησα, τὸν δὲ Ἰησαὺ ἐμίσησα.

Though the passages both turn on the phrase common to them, they use it differently, Barnabas seeing in it a prophecy of the Christian people, Paul citing it simply for the principle of sovereign election. Yet Barnabas often twists what he borrows, and his knowledge of Romans is otherwise probable.

## C

*Ephesians*

## c

(3) Barn. vi. 11 ff.

Eph. 2<sup>10, 21 f.</sup>, 3<sup>17</sup>,  
4<sup>22 ff.</sup>2 Cor. 5<sup>17</sup>, 1 Cor.  
3<sup>16 f.</sup>

11 ἐπεὶ σὺν ἀνακαινίσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐπαίησεν ἡμᾶς ἄλλον τύπον, ὡς παιδίων ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν, ὡς ἂν δι' ἀναπλάσσοντας αὐτοῦ ἡμᾶς. . . δευτέραν πλάσιν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἐποίησεν· λέγει δὲ Κύριος Ἰδοῦ, ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα.

Comp. xvi. 8 λαβόντες τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ἐλπίσαντες εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου ἐγενόμεθα καινὰ, πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κτιζόμενοι (continued below).

14 ἴδε σὺν, ἡμεῖς ἀναπεπλάσμεθα, καθὼς

2<sup>10</sup> αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἐσμεν ποίημα, κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

4<sup>22 ff.</sup> ἀπαθέσθαι ὑμᾶς . . . τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . , ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοῦς ὑμῶν καὶ ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν κατὰ Θεὸν κτισθέντα (cf. 2<sup>15</sup>).

Cf. Col. 3<sup>9 f.</sup> ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . , καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν.

2 Cor. 5<sup>17</sup> ὥστε εἶ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν ἰδοῦ, γέγονε καινὰ (cf. Gal. 6<sup>15</sup>).

3<sup>17</sup> κατοικῆσαι τὸν

... λέγει Ἰδού, λέγει Κύριος, ἐξελῶ τούτων... τὰς λιθίνας καρδίας καὶ ἐμβαλῶ σαρκίνας· ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐν σαρκὶ ἔμελλεν φανεροῦσθαι καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικεῖν.

15 ναὸς γὰρ ἅγιος, ἀδελφοί μου, τῷ Κυρίῳ τὸ κατοικητήριον ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας.

Comp. xvi. 8 (continued)—10 διὸ ἐν τῷ κατοικητηρίῳ ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὁ Θεὸς κατοικεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν· πῶς; ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ τῆς πίστεως, . . . αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν προφητεύων, αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικῶν . . . τοῦτό ἐστιν πνευματικὸς ναὸς οἰκοδομούμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ (see also iv. 11).

Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν.

2<sup>21</sup> f. (Χρ. Ἰησ.) ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα οἰκοδομὴ συν-αρμολογουμένη αὐξεῖ εἰς ναὸν ἅγιον ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς συνοικοδομεῖσθε εἰς κατοικητήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν Πνεύματι.

1 Cor 3<sup>16</sup> f. οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐστέ, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν;

ὁ γὰρ ναὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἅγιος ἐστίν, οἵτινές ἐστε ὑμεῖς.

Here the phenomena are most complex, but Ephesians has the advantage over 1 and 2 Corinthians in several ways. (1) The idea of re-creation in Ephesians is really the nearer. The context of 2 Cor. 5<sup>17</sup> (and of Gal. 6<sup>15</sup>) gives the phrases a rather specific reference; while dependence on Ephesians explains *both* Barnabas's passages. (2) Ephesians has *κατοικητήριον* in close conjunction with *ναὸν ἅγιον*, as well as *κατοικῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν . . . ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν* (not God, as in 2 Cor. 5<sup>16</sup>)—the idea from which Barnabas starts (*ἔμελλεν . . . ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικεῖν*)—and the notion of the spiritual temple as in process of building (cf. Barn. xvi. 10). (3) The mystical idea of Christ indwelling the Saints, or the Church, which Barnabas expands in an emphatic way in §§ 14–16, is most marked in Ephesians (and Colossians), in close connexion with the idea of the Church as the body or *πλήρωμα* of Christ (Eph. 1<sup>23</sup>). This latter thought may even determine the strange turn Barnabas gives to the words of Ps. 41<sup>3</sup>, viz. *ἐν τίνι ὀφθήσομαι τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ μου καὶ δοξασθήσομαι* (LXX, *πότε ἤξω καὶ ὀφθήσομαι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ*), as if the Son were *bodied* forth in the Church and so *fulfilled* as to His glory

(cf. Eph. 1<sup>18</sup> *τίς ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις*), even if αὐτοῦ refers strictly to God.

That the ideas underlying these sections of Barnabas are so subtle and inward, points to a source beyond common Christian tradition, and to a knowledge of the Pauline writings themselves.

## d

(4) Barn. ii. 1.

ἡμερῶν οὖν οὐσῶν πονηρῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνεργούτου ἔχοντος τὴν ἐξουσίαν.

Eph. 5<sup>16</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>.

ὅτι αἱ ἡμέραι πονηραὶ εἰσιν, κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργούτου ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας.

The first of these parallels is a commonplace of early Christian thought; the latter has parallels in Jewish Apocalyptic, e.g. *Test. Benj.* iii τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος τοῦ Βελίαρ, cf. *Secrets of Enoch*, xxix. 5. Moreover in Ephesians it is the aerial power or spirit (collectively), not its ruler, to which ἐνεργεῖν belongs.

(5) Barn. iii. 6.

ὁ μακρόθυμος προβλέψας ὡς ἐν ἀκραυσύνη πιστεύσει ὁ λαὸς ὃν ἠτοίμασεν ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ αὐτοῦ, προεφάνερωσεν ἡμῖν περὶ πάντων.

Eph. 1<sup>4-6</sup>.

καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου . . ., προορίσας ἡμᾶς εἰς υἰοθεσίαν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς αὐτόν . . ., εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, ἧς ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ.

Here the resemblances, turning on *προβλέψας* and *ἠτοίμασεν ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ*, seem really striking. They can only partly be paralleled from Jewish Apocalyptic<sup>1</sup>, which taught that God made the world with a view to His Beloved (People), i.e. faithful Israel. Yet probably 'the Beloved' was sometimes applied to Messiah in particular, even in pre-Christian usage (see Charles's note on *Asc. Isaiaie*, i. 4): and so Barnabas uses it himself again in iv. 3, 8.

## Hebrews

## c

(6) Barn. v. 5 ff. (xiv. 4, xvi. 9).

5 εἰ ὁ Κύριος ὑπέμεινεν παθεῖν περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν, ὧν παντὸς τοῦ

Heb. 1<sup>2</sup> ff., 2<sup>9</sup> ff. (12<sup>2</sup>, 13<sup>12</sup>).

12<sup>2</sup> ὑπέμεινε σταυρόν.

13<sup>12</sup> ἔξω τῆς πύλης ἔπαθε.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. 4 Ezra 6<sup>58</sup> 'But we thy people, whom thou has called thy First-born, thy Only-begotten, and thy fervent Lover [? Beloved], are given into their hands.' Comp. Apoc. of Baruch xiv. 18, with Charles's note.



κόσμου Κύριος, ᾧ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, Ποιήσωμεν κτλ. . . . πὼς οὖν ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὸ χειρὸς ἀνθρώπων παθεῖν;

6 αὐτὸς δέ, ἵνα καταργήσῃ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν δείξῃ (ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν φανερωθῆναι), ὑπέμεινεν, ἵνα ταῖς πατράσιν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀποδῶ, κτλ.

xiv. 4 δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνας.

xvi. 9 αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικῶν, τοῖς τῷ θανάτῳ δεδουλωμένοις, κτλ.

1<sup>2-13</sup>, e. g. σὺ κατ' ἀρχάς, Κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας, κτλ.

2<sup>9</sup> τὸν δὲ βραχὺ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἡλαττωμένον βλέπομεν, Ἰησοῦν, διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου . . . ὅπως . . . ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσῃται θανάτου.

14 ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ παιδία κεκοινώνηκεν αἵματος καὶ σαρκός, καὶ αὐτὸς πλησιῶς μετέσχε τῶν αὐτῶν, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου . . .

18 σὺ γὰρ δήπου ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται . . .

17 ὅθεν ὤφειλε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμοιωθῆναι.

18 (ἵνα) καὶ ἀπαλλάξῃ τούτους, ὅσοι φόβῳ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ζῆν ἔνοχοι ἦσαν δουλείας.

Apart from the actual phrasing of ἵνα καταργήσῃ . . . δείξῃ, which recalls also 2 Tim. 1<sup>10</sup> (see (19), below), the points of contact between Barnabas and Heb. 2 in particular seem too important to be accidental. The probability of literary dependence on the side of Barnabas becomes enhanced when we consider the relation of Barn. vi. 17-19 also to Heb. 2<sup>5-9</sup> (see below), as well as the similar use of the same O. T. quotation, Ps. 21<sup>23</sup>, in Barn. vi. 16 and Heb. 2<sup>12</sup> (though the wording differs). Further, Heb. 9<sup>9, 13, 39</sup> may well suggest Barnabas's ἵνα τοῖς πατράσιν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀποδῶ.

(7) Barn. vi. 17-19 (xiv. 5).

ζήσομεν κατακυριεύοντες τῆς γῆς . . . εἰ οὖν αὐ γίνεται τοῦτο νῦν, ἄρα ἡμῖν εἴρηκεν πότε· ὅταν καὶ αὐτοὶ τελειωθῶμεν κληρονόμοι τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου γενέσθαι.

Cf. xiv. 5 ἐφανερῶθῃ δὲ (sc. ὁ Κύριος) ἵνα κάκεινοι (the Jews) τελειωθῶσιν τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦ κληρονομοῦντος διαθήκης Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ λάβωμεν.

Heb. 2<sup>5-9</sup>.

. . . πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ (sc. ἀνθρώπου) . . . νῦν δὲ οὐπω ὀρώμεν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ὑποταγμένα· τὸν δὲ . . . Ἰησοῦν . . .

Here note the ideas of (1) lordship over things earthly as the destiny of man, (2) its delayed but certain realization, (3) when union with the archetypal Heritor (ὃν ἔθηκε κληρονόμον πάντων, Heb. 1<sup>2</sup>, cf. Barn. xiv) shall reach its consummation (the

τέλος of the type, x. 11 fin.); and elsewhere the idea that all this was the *rationale* of the Divine Heritor's own 'manifestation' and especially His sufferings: see (6). Nothing short of literary dependence seems to explain the appearance in Barnabas, alone in its age, of so much distinctive of Hebrews, especially as this state of lordship is also conceived as the true Sabbatic Rest in a new world (ch. xv, cf. x. 11; Heb. 3<sup>11, 18</sup>, 4<sup>1, 9-11</sup>), on which Jesus has already entered (xv. 9). This idea of ἄλλος κόσμος (xv. 8) was a current Jewish one<sup>1</sup>, but seems to come to Barnabas through Hebrews with its *οικουμένη μέλλουσα* (ii. 5) and *αἰὼν μέλλων* (vi. 5). Further the prominence of the ideas in *κληρονόμοι τῆς διαθήκης Κυρίου* and *διὰ τοῦ κληρονομοῦντος διαθήκην Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ* seems to point to Hebrews, which contains more on these lines than all the rest of the N. T.: e.g. Heb. 1<sup>2</sup> *ὃν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων* (cf. 1<sup>4</sup>), Barn. iv. 3 *ἵνα ταχύνη ὁ ἡγαπημένος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν ἤξη*; Heb. 7<sup>22</sup> *κρείττονος διαθήκης γέγονεν ἕγγυος Ἰησοῦς (μεσίτης, 8<sup>6</sup>, 9<sup>15</sup>, 12<sup>24</sup>)*, Barn. iv. 8 *ἵνα ἡ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Ἰησοῦ (διαθήκη) ἐγκατασφραγισθῆ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἡμῶν* (cf. xiii. 1), xiv. 5 *ὃς εἰς τοῦτο ἠτοιμάσθη, ἵνα αὐτὸς φανεῖς . . . διαθήχῃ ἐν ἡμῖν διαθήκην λόγῳ*; Heb. 6<sup>17</sup> *τοῖς κληρονόμοις τῆς ἐπαγγελίας (1<sup>14</sup>)*, 9<sup>15</sup> *ὅπως . . . τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν<sup>2</sup> λάβωσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας*, Barn. xiii. 6 *τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον . . . τῆς διαθήκης κληρονόμον*, xiv. 4 *αὐτὸς δὲ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἔδωκεν (τὴν διαθήκην) εἰς λαὸν κληρονομίας*. Indeed Heb. 9<sup>11-15</sup> seems to underlie Barnabas's whole soteriology: cf. (11).

## d

(8) Barn. iv. 9-10, 13.

διὸ προσέχωμεν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὠφελήσει ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ νῦν . . ., ὡς πρέπει υἱοῖς Θεοῦ, ἀντιστῶμεν . . . Μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοῦς ἐνδύοντες μονάζετε ὡς ἦδη δεδικαιωμένοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνερχόμενοι συζητεῖτε περὶ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος . . .

Heb. 4<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>24</sup> f.

φοβηθῶμεν οὐδὲν μὴ ποτε, καταλειπομένης ἐπαγγελίας εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ, δοκῆ τις ἐξ ὑμῶν ὑστερηκέναι.

10<sup>24</sup> f. κατανοῶμεν ἀλλήλους εἰς παροξυσμὸν ἀγάπης καὶ καλῶν ἔργων, μὴ ἐγκαταλείποντες τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν ἑαυτῶν, καθὼς ἔθος τισίν, ἀλλὰ παρα-

<sup>1</sup> Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, 177 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπαγγελία very frequent in Hebrews, also in Barn. v. 6, vi. 17, xv. 7, xvi. 9 (conjoined with *κλησις*, cf. iv. 14). Observe too the similar use of *τέλειος* (iv. 3, 11, v. 11, viii. 1, xiii. 7), *τελειῶν* (vi. 19, xiv. 5), to express the final or absolute stage of a thing.

13 ἵνα μήποτε ἐπαναπαυόμενοι ὡς κλητοὶ ἐπικαθηνώσωμεν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἡμῶν. καλοῦντες, καὶ τοσαύτῳ μᾶλλον ὄσφ βλέπετε ἐγγίζουσαν τὴν ἡμέραν.

Note the points in common: (1) the danger of a false sense of security amid temptations against which strenuous vigilance alone can prevail, (2) the value of frequent fellowship and stimulus to good works.

(9) Barn. v. 1.

εἰς ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπέμεινον ὁ Κύριος παραδόναι τὴν σάρκα εἰς καταφθοράν, ἵνα τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἀγισθώμεν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ βαντίσματος αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup>. γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ (Isa. 53<sup>5, 7</sup>) . . .

Heb. 12<sup>24</sup>, 13<sup>12</sup> (1 Pet. 1<sup>2</sup>).

καὶ αἵματι βαντισμοῦ κρείττον λαλοῦντι παρὰ τὸν Ἄβελ.

13<sup>12</sup> διὸ καὶ Ἰησοῦς, ἵνα ἀγίασῃ διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος τὸν λαόν, ἕξω τῆς πύλης ἔπαθε.

Cf. 1<sup>3</sup> καθαρισμόν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος, also 9<sup>15</sup>.

1 Pet. 1<sup>2</sup> ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμας . . . ἐν ἀγιασμῷ Πνεύματος, εἰς ὑπακαὴν καὶ βαντισμόν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Here as regards 1 Pet. 1<sup>2</sup> all depends on the reading adopted; and as  $\aleph$  is quite as likely to be right as C and a version, we must leave the phrase in question out of account. On the other hand the idea of 'sanctification' τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν (see also viii. 1 βαντίζειν . . . τὸν λαόν, ἵνα ἀγνίζονται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν; cf. Heb. 1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>11</sup>, 9<sup>22</sup>, 10<sup>18</sup>), achieved by blood of sprinkling (13<sup>11</sup> f., cf. 9<sup>13</sup>, 19, 21, 10<sup>22</sup>), is far more characteristic of Hebrews than of 1 Peter. Hence this passage also must be added to those suggesting the influence of Hebrews (cf. Barn. v. 5 f., 10 f., viii. 1, 3).

(10) Barn. vi. 19.

ὅταν καὶ αὐτοὶ τελειωθῶμεν κληρονόμοι τῆς διαθήκης κυρίαν γενέσθαι.

Heb. 6<sup>1</sup>.

ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερόμεθα.

Cf. 12<sup>25</sup> πνεύμασι δικαίων τετελειωμένων.

The idea of τελειότης underlying these passages is similar, and is one highly characteristic of Hebrews; see 2<sup>10</sup> διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι, 5<sup>9</sup>, 7<sup>28</sup> υἱὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετελειωμένον, 9<sup>9</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 14, 11<sup>40</sup>. It corresponds to δικαιωθῆναι in Barn. iv. 10, xv. 7.

<sup>1</sup> v. l. ἐν τῷ βαντίσματι αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἵματος, C, cf. Lat. 'sparsione sanguinis illius.'

(11) Barn. viii. 1 ff., xiv. 4-6.

τίνα δὲ δοκεῖτε τύπον εἶναι, ὅτι ἐντέταλται τῷ Ἰσραὴλ προσφέρειν δάμαλιν . . . καὶ οὕτως βαντίζεω τὰ παῖδια καθ' ἕνα τὸν λαόν, ἵνα ἀγνίζωται ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν . . . ὁ μόσχος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐστίν . . . οἱ βαντίζοντες παῖδες οἱ εὐαγγελιστάμενοι ἡμῖν τὴν ἀφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τὸν ἀγνισμόν τῆς καρδίας.

xiv. 5-6 ἐφανερῶθη δέ, ἵνα . . . ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦ κληρονομοῦντος διαθήκης Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ λάβωμεν, ὅς εἰς τοῦτο ἠτοιμάσθη ἵνα αὐτὸς φανεί . . . διάθῃται ἐν ἡμῖν διαθήκην λόγῳ.

xiv. 4. Μωϋσῆς θεράπων ὦν ἔλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν εἰς λαὸν κληρονομίας, δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνας.

Heb. 9<sup>18</sup> ff., 3<sup>5</sup> f.

εἰ γὰρ τὸ αἷμα τράγων καὶ ταύρων καὶ σποδὸς δαμάλεως . . . βαντίζουσα . . . ἀγιάζει . . . πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . καθαριεὶ τὴν συνείδησιν ὑμῶν ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων . . .

<sup>15</sup> καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης ἐστίν, ὅπως, θανάτου γενομένου εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων, τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν λάβωσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας.

Cf. 12<sup>24</sup> διαθήκης νέας μεσίτη Ἰησοῦ.

3<sup>5</sup> f. καὶ Μωϋσῆς μὲν πιστὸς ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Θεοῦ) ὡς θεράπων . . . Χριστὸς δὲ ὡς υἱὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ· σὺ οἰκὸς ἐσμεν ἡμεῖς.

Here, no doubt, there are elements peculiar to Barnabas, especially certain ritual details in viii. 1. Still he lays emphasis on the very points of contact between the Old and New Covenants which Hebrews also sets in relief, i.e. the ritual of the Heifer and the Covenant bequeathed by Jesus as the Son and Heir, as distinct from Moses who was only God's θεράπων in all his action (quite another turn being given to the idea 'servant of God' than that in Exod. 14<sup>31</sup>, Num. 12<sup>3</sup>, Joshua 1<sup>2</sup>). The probability of dependence on Hebrews is moreover increased by a like emphasis on the Rest of God (see below).

(12) Barn. xv.

Heb. 4<sup>1-11</sup>.

Barnabas is concerned primarily with the *hallowing* of the Sabbath, as something to find fulfilment in Christianity, as distinct from Judaism, in the Messianic Age soon to dawn. But he may have got his idea of its rest, e.g. τότε καλῶς καταπαυόμενοι ἀγιάσομεν αὐτήν . . . αὐτοὶ δικαιοθέντες καὶ ἀπολαβόντες τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν . . . αὐτοὶ ἀγιασθέντες πρῶτον, from the treatment of σαββατισμὸς τῷ λαῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ in Heb. 4, e.g. 10<sup>f</sup>. See further (7).

[Barn. i. 8, iv. 9 a, xxi. 2, 7 and Heb. 12<sup>22</sup>, 18<sup>f</sup>, present some similarities in the writer's attitude to his readers.]

On the whole, then, the passages severally marked as *d* seem to amount cumulatively to *c*, as suggesting that Hebrews influenced Barnabas's thinking and language in various ways. Even Barnabas's *ἐν σαρκὶ φανεροῦσθαι* and its relation to Christ's Passion has its parallel in Heb. 9<sup>26</sup> *εἰς ἀθέτησιν ἁμαρτίας διὰ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῦ πεφανέρωται*, read in the light of 2<sup>14</sup>, 5<sup>7</sup> *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ*, and 10<sup>20</sup>.

## D

1 *Corinthians*

## d

(13) Barn. iv. 11.

λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· Οὐαὶ οἱ συνει-  
τοὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐνώπιον ἑαυτῶν ἐπιστή-  
μονες. γενώμεθα πνευματικοί, γενώ-  
μεθα ναὸς τέλειος τῷ θεῷ.

1 Cor. 3<sup>1, 16, 18</sup> ff.

οὐκ ἠδυνήθητε λαλῆσαι ὑμῖν ὡς  
πνευματικοῖς . . . οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι  
ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐστε . . . εἴ τις δοκεῖ σοφὸς  
εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν . . . μαρὸς γενέσθω,  
ἵνα γένηται σοφός . . . γέγραπται  
γάρ (Job 5<sup>13</sup>; Ps. 94<sup>11</sup>).

Here the conjunction of ideas at first seems striking, because self-sufficiency, unspirituality, and God's true temple, do not obviously suggest each other; and the citation of very similar passages from the O. T. perhaps adds to the appearance of dependence. Yet on closer examination it appears that Barnabas means by *πνευματικός* that obedience to God's *ἐντολαί* as a whole which he goes on to demand, the opposite of drowsing in sins; so that in fact it is the same as *ἀγαθός* in § 12.

2 *Corinthians*

## d

(14) Barn. iv. 11 f.

μελετῶμεν τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ  
. . . 'Ο Κύριος ἀπροσωπολήπτως  
κρινεῖ τὸν κόσμον· ἕκαστος καθὼς  
ἐποίησεν κομίεται· ἐὰν ᾗ ἀγαθός, ἡ  
δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ προηγήσεται αὐτοῦ·  
ἐὰν ᾗ πονηρός, ὁ μισθὸς τῆς πονηρίας  
ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ.

2 Cor. 5<sup>10</sup> (1 Pet. 1<sup>17</sup>).

ταὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι  
δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ  
Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κομισθῆται ἕκαστος τὰ  
διὰ τοῦ σώματος, πρὸς ᾧ ἔπριξεν, εἴτε  
ἀγαθόν, εἴτε φαῦλον. εἰδότες οὖν τὸν  
φόβον τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνθρώπους πείθομεν.

1 Pet. 1<sup>17</sup> καὶ εἰ πατέρα ἐπι-  
καλῆσθε τὸν ἀπροσωπολήπτως κρί-  
νοντα κατὰ τὸ ἐκάστου ἔργον, ἐν  
φόβῳ . . . ἀναστράφητε.

Against the obvious resemblance in word and idea to 2 Corinthians must be set the reference to a man's recompense becoming patent before his eyes (cf. Isa. 58<sup>8</sup>, cited in iii. 4),

which rather suggests some other source, possibly known to both. This view gains some support from 1 Pet. 1<sup>17</sup>, which affords a close parallel to Barnabas's ὁ Κύριος ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρῶει, a sentiment echoed in Rom. 2<sup>11</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ προσωποληψία παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ. It is to be noted, too, that in the context of all these writers 'fear' of God is present (as in a similar passage in Hipp. *περὶ τῆς συντελείας*, 39).

## Colossians

## d

(15) Barn. vi. 12 f.

Col. 3<sup>9</sup> f.

ὡς λέγει τῷ υἱῷ Ποιήσωμεν κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἡμῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . Δευτέραν πλάσιν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἐποίησεν' λέγει δὲ Κύριος Ἰδοῦ, ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα.

ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν.

The common reference to renewal κατ' εἰκόνα can count for little in view of the different contextual ideas: see also (3).

(16) Barn. xii. 7.

Col. 1<sup>16</sup> f.

ἔχεις πάλιν καὶ ἐν ταύτοις (sc. the Brazen Serpent) τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ εἰς αὐτόν.

τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται· καὶ αὐτός ἐστι πρὸ πάντων καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε.

It is to be observed that the scope of the words common to the two is in Barnabas much narrower, viz. typological, ὅτι πάντα ὁ πατὴρ φανεροὶ περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰησοῦ, as he says just below. Yet he may be echoing a striking phrase, for all that.

## 1 Timothy

## d

(17) Barn. v. 9.

1 Tim. 1<sup>15</sup> f.

τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους . . . ὄντας ὑπὲρ πάντων ἁμαρτιῶν ἀνομωτέρους, ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθεν καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοῦς.

πιστὸς ὁ λόγος . . ., ὅτι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι—ὄν πρῶτός εἰμι ἐγώ· ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο ἠλεήθην, ἵνα ἐν ἐμοὶ πρῶτον ἐνδείξηται Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τὴν ἄπασαν μακροθυμίαν . . .

The relation of Barnabas's οὐκ ἦλθον, κτλ., to our Synoptics is discussed under (31). But the application of this principle to Apostles in particular, as palmary proof (ἐνδειξις) of the Saviour's grace—a bold idea—is so parallel to 1 Tim. 1<sup>15</sup> f. as to suggest that the latter prompted Barnabas's thought.

(18) Barn. v. 6.

—ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν φανερωθῆναι—

1 Tim. 3<sup>16</sup>.

ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον—ὅς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί . . .

1 Tim. 3<sup>16</sup> certainly affords the most striking N. T. parallel to the recurring phrase in Barnabas. But as it is itself probably quoting a current liturgical form, literary dependence cannot be pressed either way: see also (19).

## 2 Timothy

## d

(19) Barn. v. 6.

αὐτὸς δέ, ἵνα καταργήσῃ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν δείξῃ—ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν φανερωθῆναι—ὑπέμεινεν.

2 Tim. 1<sup>10</sup>.

(χάριν τὴν . . .) φανερωθεῖσαν δὲ νῦν διὰ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καταργήσαντος μὲν τὸν θάνατον φωτίσαντος δὲ ζωῆν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

Comp. 1 Tim. 3<sup>16</sup> ὅς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί.1 Pet. 1<sup>20</sup>.

φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς εἰς Θεὸν τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

In both 2 Timothy and 1 Peter we have the conjunction of two ideas prominent in Barn. v. 6. The degree of likeness, however, to 2 Timothy is greater, and is supported by 1 Timothy, though there is some additional evidence that Barnabas used 1 Peter; see (23), (24). As regards the phrase ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθῆναι in Barnabas, its frequency (see vi. 7, 9, 14, xii. 10, cf. xiv. 5) calls for special notice. Its occurrence in 1 Tim. 3<sup>16</sup>, in what looks like a rhythmical hymn (Eph. 5<sup>19 f.</sup>; Col. 3<sup>16 f.</sup>) or liturgical form, implies that the idea of the incarnation as a 'manifestation' (ἐπιφάνεια) of a Divine Saviour was fairly general (see Heb. 5<sup>7</sup>, 9<sup>26</sup>, cf. 1 Pet. 1<sup>20</sup>; 2 Tim. 1<sup>10</sup>; Titus 2<sup>11</sup>) in the later apostolic age, long before the Fourth Gospel appeared. Such a usage in Barnabas's region may explain the hold the idea has on him. But the conjunction in Barnabas of the two ideas blended in the latter half of 2 Tim. 1<sup>10</sup> is striking, and suggests literary connexion, unless here also the same holds as is probable in ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθῆναι.

(20) Barn. vii. 2.

εἰ οὖν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃν Κύριος  
καὶ μέλλων κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,  
ἔπαθεν, κτλ.

2 Tim. 4<sup>1</sup>.

διαμαρτύρομαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ  
καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ μέλλοντος κρί-  
νειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.

Here in both cases a common formula of Christian faith seems to be cited; cf. 1 Pet. 4<sup>5</sup>; Acts 10<sup>42</sup>; Polyc. *ad Phil.* ii. 1; 2 Clem. i. 1.

*Titus*

(21) Barn. i. 3, 4, 6.

ἀληθῶς βλέπω ἐν ὑμῖν ἐκκεχυμένον  
ἀπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου τῆς πηγῆς Κυρίου  
πνεύμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς . . . ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αὐτοῦ  
(C ἐπ' ἐλπίδι) . . . ζωῆς ἐλπίς, ἀρχὴ  
καὶ τέλος πίστεως ἡμῶν.

d

Titus 3<sup>5</sup> ff., 1<sup>2</sup>.

ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγ-  
γενεσίας καὶ ἀνακανώσεως Πνεύματος  
ἀγίου, οὗ ἐξέχεεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πλουσίως  
διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν,  
ἵνα δικαιοθέντες τῇ ἐκείνου χάριτι  
κληρονόμοι γενηθῶμεν κατ' ἐλπίδα  
ζωῆς αἰωνίου.

1<sup>2</sup> ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αἰωνίου.

The parallelism of language is considerable, as also of thought. To Barnabas the presence of salvation as evidenced by the effusion of the Spirit; while, just below, he refers to 'hope of life' eternal, in the phrase ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αὐτοῦ—a phrase characteristic of Titus (here, and in 1<sup>2</sup> ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αἰωνίου, to which C seems assimilated in Barn. i. 4). Yet this may well be part of his own way of thinking, in view of i. 6, cf. iv. 8 ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ.

(22) Barn. xiv. 5 f.

ὃς εἰς τοῦτο ἡτοιμάσθη, ἵνα αὐτὸς  
φανείῃ τὰς ἥδη δεδαπανημένας ἡμῶν  
καρδίας τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ παραδομέναις  
τῇ τῆς πλάνης ἀνομίᾳ λυτρωσάμενος  
. . . λυτρωσάμενος ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ σκό-  
τους ἐτοιμάσαι ἐαυτῷ λαὸν ἄγιον.

Titus 2<sup>14</sup>.

ὃς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα  
λυτρώσῃται ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀνομίας  
καὶ καθαρῶσιν ἑαυτῷ λαὸν περιούσιον,  
ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων.

Cf. v. 7 αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὸν λαὸν τὸν  
καινὸν ἐτοιμάζων.

Here the idea of Christ preparing *for Himself* a special people, by redeeming it from ἀνομία, is present in both writings in rather similar language, and so far strengthens the presumption created by (21).

1 *Peter*

(23) Barn. v. 5, 6, vi. 7.

πῶς οὖν ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὸ χειρὸς  
ἀνθρώπων παθεῖν; μάθετε. οἱ προ-

d

1 Pet. 1<sup>10</sup> f.

περὶ ἧς σωτηρίας ἐξέζητησαν καὶ  
ἐξηρεύνησαν προφητῶν οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰς



φῆται, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες τὴν χάριν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπροφήτευσαν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἵνα καταργήσῃ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν δείξῃ, ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν φανερωθῆναι, ὑπέμεινεν, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς πατράσιν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀποδοῖ, κτλ.

Cf. vi. 7 ἐν σαρκὶ οὖν αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος φανεροῦσθαι καὶ πάσχειν, προσφανερώθη τὸ πάθος. Cf. vii. 7, xii. 8, 10.

ὑμᾶς χάριτος προφητεύσαντες, ἐρευνῶντες εἰς τίνα ἢ ποῖον καιρὸν ἐδήλου τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, προμαρτυρόμενον τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας.

In Barn. v. 5, 6 the parallelism with 1 Peter is twofold; (1) prophecy foreshadows Christ's passion and its sequel, and (2) this is due to grace proceeding from Christ Himself. (1) is an idea native to Barnabas's own thought (see the parallels); but (2) is noteworthy.

(24) Barn. vi. 2-4.

1 Pet. 2<sup>6-8</sup>.

καὶ πάλιν λέγει ὁ προφήτης [Isa. 50<sup>8 f.</sup> has been quoted], ἐπεὶ ὡς λίθος ἰσχυρὸς ἐτέθη εἰς συντριβήν Ἰδοῦ, ἐμβαλῶ κτλ. (Isa. 28<sup>16</sup>).

διότι περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ, Ἰδοῦ, τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον ἀκρογωνιαίον κτλ. (Isa. 28<sup>16</sup>).

Though Barnabas and 1 Peter cite the same passage from Isaiah (with textual variation) and Psalm 118<sup>22</sup>, they use them rather differently, as is shown by Barnabas's εἰς συντριβήν, probably suggested by Isa. 8<sup>15</sup> καὶ συντριβήσονται. Comp. Rom. 9<sup>33</sup> for the idea of Jesus as ὁ λίθος τοῦ προσκόμματος of Isa. 28<sup>16</sup>.

Other seeming parallels have been treated in other connexions: 1 Pet. 1<sup>2</sup> under (9), 1<sup>17</sup> under (14), 1<sup>20</sup> under (19).

*Considered, but set aside.*

1 Cor. 3<sup>16 f.</sup>, cf. 6<sup>19</sup>; see (3).

Gal. 4<sup>21 ff.</sup>; Barn. xiii (where Isaac's sons, not Abraham's, are the types).

1 Tim. 5<sup>24 f.</sup>; Barn. iv. 12.

2 Pet. 3<sup>8</sup> cannot be cited as affecting Barn. xv. 4 αὐτὸς δέ μοι μαρτυρεῖ Ἰδοῦ, ἡμέρα Κυρίου (v. l. σήμερον ἡμέρα) ἔσται ὡς χίλια ἔτη; for such exegesis of Ps. 90<sup>4</sup> seems to have become a commonplace of Judaism (cf. Charles's note on *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, xxxiii. 1, 2).

1 John 4<sup>2</sup>, cf. 2 John 7, cannot be treated as influencing

Barn. v. 10 f. *ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί*, especially in view of what is said under (19): see also (41).

The greeting in Barn. xxi. 9 recalls several N. T. epistles. 'Ο Κύριος τῆς δόξης (see 1 Cor. 2<sup>8</sup>; James 2<sup>1</sup>, also Acts 7<sup>2</sup> ὁ Θεὸς τῆς δόξης, cf. Ps. 28<sup>3</sup>) καὶ πάσης χάριτος finds its most striking parallel in 1 Pet. 5<sup>10</sup> ὁ δὲ Θεὸς πάσης χάριτος, ὁ καλέσας ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν Χριστῷ. But the similar thought in 2 Cor. 1<sup>3</sup> suggests that here too it is a common fund that is being drawn on by all; while the *μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν*, found also in Gal. 6<sup>18</sup>; Phil. 4<sup>23</sup>; Philem. 2<sup>5</sup>, may be a recognized epistolary phrase.

## UNCLASSED

*Apocalypse*

(25) Barn. vi. 13.

λέγει δὲ Κύριος· Ἴδού, ποιῶ τὰ καὶ εἶπεν ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῷ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα. θρόνῳ, Ἴδού, καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα.

Apoc. 21<sup>5</sup>.Isa. 43<sup>19</sup> Ἴδού ἐγὼ ποιῶ καινὰ ἃ νῦν ἀνατελεῖ.

That Barnabas, at least, cites an apocryphal source is made highly probable by the *Didascalia* (ed. Hauler, p. 75), 'Nam id dictum est, Ecce facio prima sicut novissima et novissima sicut prima.'

(26) Barn. vii. 9.

ἐπειδὴ ὄψονται αὐτὸν τότε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν ποδῆρη ἔχοντα τὸν κόκκινον περὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ ἐροῦσιν· Οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν ποτε ἡμεῖς ἐσταυρώσαμεν . . . κατακεντήσαντες . . . ;

Apoc. 1<sup>7, 18</sup>.

Ἴδού, ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν, καὶ ὄψεται αὐτὸν πᾶς ὀφθαλμὸς, καὶ οἵτινες αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν . . . καὶ ἐπιστρέψας εἶδον . . . ὅμοιον υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου, ἐνδεδυμένον ποδῆρη . . .

The main reference in Barnabas is certainly to the situation described in our Gospels; see (37). Moreover common knowledge of Zech. 12<sup>10</sup> (Heb. and LXX cod. Γ) and the reference seen in it by early Christians (cf. John 19<sup>37</sup> καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρα γραφὴ λέγει, Ὅψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν) will serve to explain other features common to our two passages. But the substantial use of *ποδῆρη*, found in the N. T. only in Apoc. 1<sup>18</sup>, might suggest that Barnabas's language was unconsciously influenced by this passage also. Yet see Ecclus. 27<sup>8</sup> καὶ ἐνδύσει αὐτὸ (τὸ δίκαιον) ὡς ποδῆρη δόξης, a passage which also implies that *ποδῆρης* was a word of dignified associations, fitting it for Barnabas's purpose.

(27) Barn. xxi. 3.

Apoc. 22<sup>10, 12</sup>.

ἐγγύς ὁ Κύριος καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ.

ὁ καιρὸς γὰρ ἐγγύς ἐστιν . . . ἰδοὺ  
ἔρχομαι ταχὺ καὶ ὁ μισθὸς μου μετ' ἐμοῦ.

LXX Isa. 40<sup>10</sup> ἰδοὺ Κύριος, Κύριος (om. κς 2° Ν\*ΑQΓ) μετὰ ἰσχύος ἔρχεται . . . ἰδοὺ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ. Here Barnabas, while not intending an exact quotation, seems to have Isa. 40 in mind. Perhaps his use of ἐγγύς is due to its presence in the line before, ἐγγύς γὰρ ἡ ἡμέρα κτλ. Comp. 1 Clem. xxxiv. 3 προλέγει γὰρ ἡμῖν Ἰδοὺ ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, κτλ., and see 1 Clem. (54).

## GOSPELS.

## (I) The Synoptic Gospels.

Against Barnabas's knowledge of our Synoptic Gospels (and Acts) there is one piece of negative evidence which deserves attention. In xv. 9 he argues, against the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, that the Christian day of glad festival is 'the eighth day,' ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανοῦς. Here, quite apart from all disputes as to whether Barnabas's words must needs imply that the Ascension of Jesus, after an act of self-manifestation (φανερωθεὶς), was on the self-same Sunday as the Resurrection, we have to consider whether Barnabas would even have used language so ambiguous (to say the least), if he had known any of our Synoptics—unless it were Luke, before Acts (see 1<sup>3</sup>) had come into his hands. This difficulty must be borne in mind in estimating the final effect of the positive evidence adduced below: see also (31), (33) for other negative indications<sup>1</sup>. It tells specially against the view that any Gospel whose authority counted for so little, would be cited with ὡς γέγραπται (29).

## Matthew

## D

(28) Barn. vii. 3.

Matt. 27<sup>14</sup>.ἀλλὰ καὶ σταυρωθεὶς ἐποτίζετο ὄξει  
καὶ χολῇ.ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ πιεῖν οἶνον μετὰ χολῆς  
μεμιγμένον.

Ps. 68<sup>22</sup> καὶ ἔδωκαν εἰς τὸ βρῶμά μου χολήν, καὶ εἰς τὴν δίψαν μου ἐπότισάν με ὄξος.

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *Epistle of Barnabas*, xciii, cites also the discussion of the Sabbath in ch. xv, where 'we find not the most distant allusion to the narratives of Matt. 12, or the emphatic declarations of vv. 8, 12, of that chapter.'

Matthew alone of the Gospels refers to *χολή*: but it and Barnabas seem to represent independent traditions influenced by Ps. 68, Barnabas being nearest to its wording (*ποτίζω, ὄξος*). Further Barnabas must have in view the Synoptic incident in Matt. 27<sup>43</sup>; Mark 15<sup>36</sup>; (John 19<sup>29 f.</sup>), not that of Matt. 27<sup>34</sup>, which preceded the Crucifixion. And in general, Barnabas's handling of the Passion in terms of O. T. types, especially from the Psalms, seems parallel to, rather than dependent on, Matthew's narrative (cf. Luke 23<sup>11</sup>; Barn. vii. 9 *ἐξουθενεῖν*): see further under John<sup>1</sup>.

(29) Barn. iv. 14.

Matt. 22<sup>14</sup>.

*προσέχωμεν μήποτε, ὡς γέγραπται, πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσι κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ πολλοὶ κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοὶ ἐκλεκτοί. εὐρέθωμεν.*

Here we may set aside the idea of direct dependence on 4 Ezra 8<sup>3</sup> *πολλοὶ μὲν ἐκτίσθησαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ σωθήσονται* (or Greek to that effect). But taken along with 10<sup>57</sup> *σὺ γὰρ μακάριος εἶ ὑπὲρ πολλούς, καὶ κατ' ὄνομα ἐκλήθης παρὰ τῷ Ὑψίστῳ καθὼς καὶ ὀλίγοι*, this passage points to a familiar maxim, akin to Barnabas's quotation, as lying behind both 8<sup>3</sup> and 10<sup>57</sup>. In 8<sup>3</sup> it would naturally be adapted to its context, which speaks of God's creative action, cf. 8<sup>1</sup> 'The Most High hath made this world for many, but the world to come for few'—where the same antithesis is implied. In this light, Barnabas and Matthew probably draw on a common source for the saying, whose proverbial character seems proved by its addition to Matt. 20<sup>16</sup> in some copies (CDN Latt. Syrr. Arm. Aeth. Orig.). There, too, Syr. Sin. and Pesh. omit the *γάρ* found in Matt. 22<sup>14</sup>, as if it were no part of the familiar maxim. Where it was 'written' we cannot now say. But *ὡς γέγραπται* in Barnabas by no means excludes an apocryphal work; witness *λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή*, of *Enoch* in xvi. 5 (cf. vi. 13). So in xii. 1 an apocryphal dictum, somewhat akin to 4 Ezra 5<sup>5</sup>, is cited with *ὀρίζει ἐν ἄλλῃ προφήτῃ*. Of course the improbability of *ὡς γέγραπται* being used to cite one of our Gospels (a narrative,

<sup>1</sup> Compare Sanday, *Gospels in the Second Century*, 272: 'We know that types and prophecies were eagerly sought out by the early Christians, and were soon collected in a kind of common stock from which every one drew at his pleasure.'

not a 'prophetic,' writing), varies in degree as we put Barnabas early or late. On the other hand, Barnabas may have known the maxim in connexion with the parable of the Wedding Feast, and thence derive its exact wording, while yet thinking of it as occurring in a prophetic 'scripture.'

## UNCLASSED

## Luke

(30) Barn. v. 9.

ὅτε δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους  
τοὺς μέλλοντας κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον  
αὐτοῦ ἐξελέξατο, ὄντας ὑπὲρ  
πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους . . .

Luke 5<sup>a</sup>.

ἔξελθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἁμαρτωλὸς εἰμι, Κύριε.

Peter's exclamation might possibly contribute, like 1 Tim. 1<sup>15</sup> f., to suggest Barnabas's turn of thought; see (17), (31).

## (II) The Synoptic Tradition.

(31) Barn. v. 9.

ὅτε δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους τοὺς  
μέλλοντας κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον  
αὐτοῦ ἐξελέξατο, ὄντας ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν  
ἁμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους, ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι  
οὐκ ἦλθεν καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ  
ἁμαρτωλοὺς, τότε ἐφάνερωσεν ἐναντὸν  
εἶναι νῖδν Θεοῦ.

Matt. 9<sup>11, 13</sup>; Mark 2<sup>16</sup> f.  
(Luke 5<sup>32</sup>).

ἔλεγον τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, Διὰ τί  
(ὅτι) μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν  
ἐσθίει . . . ; ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας εἶπεν . . . οὐ  
(γὰρ) ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ  
ἁμαρτωλοὺς.

This points to knowledge of a Logian tradition only partly parallel to the tradition common to our Synoptics; for the inference as to the sinful character of *the Apostles* is excluded by the context of all three Synoptists (including Luke, who adds *εἰς μετάνοιαν*), as well as by the general impression which they convey. That the saying, in a more or less detached form, was a familiar λόγος among Christians, is both likely and is implied by 1 Tim. 1<sup>15</sup> πιστὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος, ὅτι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι (see further under (17)): compare the way Barnabas continues, εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί, πῶς ἂν ἐσώθησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι βλέποντες αὐτόν. That there was no basis for Barnabas's idea in any apocryphal writing is so far proved by Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 63, where he traces a similar suggestion to the passage in Barnabas.

(32) Barn. v. 11.

οὐκοῦν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τοῦτο ἐν σαρκὶ ἦλθεν, ἵνα τὸ τέλειον τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἀνακεφαλαιώσῃ τοῖς διώξασιν ἐν θανάτῳ τοὺς προφήτας αὐτοῦ. οὐκοῦν εἰς τοῦτο ὑπέμεινε.

Matt. 23<sup>34</sup> f. (Luke 11<sup>49</sup> f.).

διὰ τοῦτο, ἰδοῦ, ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω πρὸς ὑμᾶς προφήτας . . . ὅπως ἔλθῃ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πᾶν αἷμα δίκαιον ἐκχυνόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . .

The general idea is the same, though not its exact application.

(33) Barn. v. 12.

λέγει γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τὴν πληγὴν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅταν πατάξωσιν τὸν ποιμένα ἑαυτῶν, τότε ἀπολείται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμνῆς.

Matt. 26<sup>31</sup>; Mark 14<sup>27</sup>.

γέγραπται γάρ, Πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα καὶ διασκορπισθήσεται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμνῆς.

Cod. A of LXX has all the textual agreements here presented. As the application in Barnabas (ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν, sc. the Jews) is quite foreign to Matthew and Mark, it looks as if he were unaware of any setting such as theirs.

(34) Barn. vi. 6.

Matt. 27<sup>35</sup>; Mark 15<sup>24</sup>;  
Luke 23<sup>34</sup>.

The casting of lots on Christ's garments is common to all our Gospels (including John 19<sup>24</sup>). Barnabas quotes Ps. 21 for it and further Messianic touches.

(35) Barn. vi. 11.

ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀνακαινίσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ἄλλον τύπον, ὡς παιδίων ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν, ὡς ἂν δι' ἀναπλάσσοτος αὐτοῦ ἡμᾶς . . .

Is the clause ὡς παιδίων ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν due merely to the 'parable' which Barnabas sees in the promise as to entrance into 'a land of milk and honey'; or is it only in the light of the idea of Christians as childlike in heart (cf. viii. 1, 3) that he perceives the parable as latent in this phrase? If the latter, then one of Christ's *logia* seems presupposed, e.g. ἄφετε τὰ παῖδια . . . τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ (Mark 10<sup>14</sup>; Luke 18<sup>16</sup>, cf. Matt. 19<sup>14</sup>), which gains special emphasis in Mark and Luke by the added words, Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὃς ἐὰν μὴ δέξηται τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς παιδίου, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν (cf. also Matt. 18<sup>3</sup>).

(36) Barn. vii. 3: see (37).

(37) Barn. vii. 9.

. . . ἐπειδὴ ὄψονται αὐτὸν τότε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν ποδήρη ἔχοντα τὸν κόκκινον περὶ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ ἐροῦσιν, Οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν ποτε ἡμεῖς ἐσταυρώσαμεν ἐξουθενήσαντες καὶ κατακευθήσαντες καὶ ἐμπτύσαντες; ἀληθῶς οὗτος ἦν ὁ τότε λέγων ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν Θεοῦ εἶναι.

Matt. 27<sup>28</sup>; Mark 15<sup>17</sup>.Matt. 26<sup>68</sup> f.; Mark 14<sup>61</sup> f.;  
Luke 22<sup>69</sup> f.

As to the incident of the 'red robe,' it forms part of the Synoptic tradition (see also John 19<sup>2</sup>): the agreement between Barnabas and Matthew in the use of κόκκινος (Mark πορφύραν, John ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν) is due to Barnabas's reference to τὸ ξριον τὸ κόκκινον just above. As to the assertion of Divine Sonship, the reference to the Synoptic incident at the hearing before the Sanhedrin is manifest; note the τότε and the implicit reference to the prophecy of a regal Return (Matt. 26<sup>64</sup>, ||). The descriptive participles ἐξουθενήσαντες (= ἐμπαίζαντες: see Matt. 27<sup>29, 31, 41</sup>; Mark 15<sup>20, 31</sup>; Luke 22<sup>63, 23<sup>36</sup></sup>, in the light of Luke 23<sup>11</sup>), κατακευθήσαντες, ἐμπτύσαντες, refer simply to the type of occurrence seen in Matt. 27<sup>28-30</sup>; Mark 15<sup>17-20</sup>, prior to the crucifixion and so without reference to John 19<sup>34-37</sup>: see also (41).

(38) Barn. vii. 11.

οὐτω, φησὶν (sc. ὁ Ἰησοῦς), οἱ θέλοντές με ἰδεῖν καὶ ἄψασθαί μου τῆς βασιλείας, δφείλουσιν θλιβόντες καὶ παθόντες λαβεῖν με.

These words simply state in a dramatic form (cf. vii. 5) the moral of what goes before, viz. the allegory of the Red Wool amid the Thorns. They are no traditional *logion* of Jesus, falling outside our Synoptic tradition: cf. Matt. 16<sup>24</sup>, ||. For φησὶν = 'He means,' see x. 3 ff., 7 f., xi. 11, cf. vi. 9, xi. 8.

(39) Barn. xii. 10.

ἐπεὶ οὖν μέλλουσιν λέγειν ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς υἱὸς ἐστὶν Δαυὶδ, αὐτὸς προφητεύει Δ., φοβούμενος καὶ συνίων τὴν πλάνην τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν. Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος . . . Καὶ πάλιν λέγει οὕτως Ἡσαΐας (45<sup>1</sup>) . . . Ἴδε πῶς Δ. λέγει αὐτὸν κύριον καὶ υἱὸν οὗ λέγει.

Matt. 22<sup>41-45</sup>; Mark 12<sup>35-37</sup>;  
Luke 20<sup>41-44</sup>.

τίνας υἱὸς ἐστι; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, τοῦ Δαβὶδ. λέγει αὐτοῖς, Πῶς οὖν Δαβὶδ ἐν Πνεύματι κύριον αὐτὸν καλεῖ, λέγων, Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος . . . ὑποκάτω<sup>1</sup> τῶν ποδῶν σου; εἰ οὖν Δ. καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον, πῶς υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστι;

<sup>1</sup> ὑποπόδιον Luke (Mark 8AL)

Here the use of Ps. 110<sup>1</sup> is quite parallel, down to the application which concludes the argument. Textually Barnabas agrees with the LXX (Alexandrine: B *deest*) in *ὑποπόδιον*, where Matthew and Mark (BD) have *ὑποκάτω*.

## (III) The Fourth Gospel.

## UNCLASSIFIED

(40) Barn. vi. 3.

John 6<sup>51</sup>, cf. 58.

εἶτα τί λέγει; Καὶ ὃς ἐλπίζει ἐπ' αὐτὸν ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. εἰάν τις φάγη ἐκ ταύτου τοῦ ἄρτου, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

v. 1. ὁ πιστεύων εἰς, cf. LXX.

Isa. 28<sup>16</sup> καὶ ὁ πιστεύων (ἐπ' αὐτῷ, SAQ) οὐ μὴ κατασχυνοθῆ.

Barn. viii. 5 ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἔριον ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον; ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ ξύλω, καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ζήσονται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

ix. 2 τίς ἐστὶν ὁ θέλων ζῆσαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα; Ps. 33<sup>13</sup> ὁ θέλων ζωῆν.

xi. 10 καὶ ὃς ἂν φάγη ἐξ αὐτῶν (sc. δένδρων), ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (as from a 'prophet' influenced by Ezek. 47<sup>1-12</sup>), interpreted in § 11 as meaning ὃς ἂν ἀκούσῃ τούτων λαλουμένων [the words connected with Baptism] καὶ πιστεύσῃ, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

Compare Gen. 3<sup>22</sup> καὶ νῦν μὴ ποτε . . . λάβῃ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς καὶ φάγῃ, καὶ ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

Apoc. 2<sup>7</sup> τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς . . . 22<sup>2</sup> ξύλον ζωῆς ποιοῦν καρποὺς δώδεκα, also <sup>14</sup>, <sup>19</sup>.

Barnabas is clearly haunted by the phrase *ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, which he uses to gloss other phrases of the LXX in vi. 3, ix. 2, (xi. 10). But whether he got it from Gen. 3<sup>22</sup>, the *Psalms of Solomon*, xiv. 2, or rather from the apocryphal 'prophet' seemingly cited in xi. 9-11 (as his use of it in connexion with *ξύλον*, especially in xi. 6 f. and 10, rather suggests: cf. Apoc. 2<sup>7</sup>, &c.), or again from current Christian usage (see Ecclus. 37<sup>26</sup>, cf. Wisd. 5<sup>15</sup>), is obscure. In any case he seems independent of John; for he makes no allusion to Jesus as ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς.



(41) Barn. xi. 1 ff., 8.

ζητήσωμεν δὲ εἰ ἐμέλησεν τῷ Κυρίῳ  
προφανερῶσαι περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ  
περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ (then quota-  
tions, especially Ps. 1<sup>3-6</sup>) . . . αἰ-  
σθάνασθε πῶς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν  
ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ὄρισεν· τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει,  
μακάριοι αἱ ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐλπί-  
σαντες κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, ὅτι τὸν  
μὲν μισθὸν λέγει 'ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ' . . .

John 19<sup>34</sup>.

καὶ ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ.

Barnabas's treatment of the Water and the Cross (not Blood, as in John) is quite independent, being connected in his own mind with the *ξύλον* and *ὑδατα* in Ps. 1. Indeed the treatment of the Blood and the Water in John 19<sup>34</sup>, 1 John 5<sup>6-8</sup> ὁ ἐλθὼν δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἵματος, is so different that, had Barnabas known the Johannine writings, he could hardly have written as he does.

(42) Barn. xii. 7.

John 3<sup>14</sup>f.

The handling of the type of the Brazen Serpent is so different that, taken by itself, it 'makes against rather than for the theory of acquaintance with the Fourth Gospel' (Rendall, ad loc.).

---

On the whole, in spite of their affinities in 'the deeper order of conceptions,' to which Keim in particular has called attention (cf. Sanday, *Gospels in the Second Century*, 270 ff.), we must regard Barnabas as unacquainted with the Fourth Gospel. Its Logos conception is one upon which he would be almost sure to seize, with much else to his anti-Judaic purpose. Rather it looks as if Barnabas and this Gospel shared to some degree in a common mode of thought touching Eternal Life and feeding upon words of Life—a mode of thought visible also in the Eucharistic prayers of the *Didache*.

# THE DIDACHE

## INTRODUCTION.

THE treatment of apparent quotations from Scripture in the *Didache* is rendered difficult by the composite character of the document. It is impossible to treat it as an homogeneous whole, but it is hard to decide what strata are to be recognized in its composition.

It has been thought best to adopt the following arrangement, while admitting that the classification is uncertain in several respects.

1. The *Two Ways*, i-vi. In this section no attempt has been made to reconstruct the primitive text from a comparison of the Greek MS. found by Bryennios, the Latin version and the text used in Barnabas—except in the omission of the section *εὐλογεῖτε . . . τῆς διδαχῆς* (i. 3-ii. 1). This is treated separately, as manifestly secondary.

2. The ecclesiastical section, vii. 1-xv. 3.

3. The eschatological section in xvi.

4. The interpolation in the 'Two Ways,' i. 3-ii. 1.

The *formulae* which appear to introduce quotations are as follows:—

1. In the *Two Ways*.

Except in the interpolated section (see below) no formulae are used.

2. In the *Ecclesiastical section*.

(1) Did. viii. 2 *ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ . . .*  
cf. xv. 3, 4.

(2) Did. ix. 5 *εἶρηκεν ὁ Κύριος . . .*

3. In the *Eschatological section*.

(1) Did. xvi. 7 *ὡς ἐρρέθη . . .*

4. In the *Interpolation* in the *Two Ways* (i. 3-ii. 1).

(1) Did. i. 6 *εἶρηται . . .* [introducing the saying 'Ἰδρωσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γυῖς τίνι δῶς, which cannot be traced to any known source].

## 1. THE TWO WAYS, I-VI.

There are no certain quotations from or allusions to the Old Testament or to any other documents which can serve as a standard of accuracy in quotation.

## ACTS AND EPISTLES.

D

*Acts*

d

(1) Did. iv. 8.

Acts 4<sup>32</sup>.

συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ  
σου καὶ οὐκ ἔρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι.

οὐδὲ εἰς τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ  
ἔλεγεν ἴδιον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτοῖς  
ἅπαντα κοινά.

The resemblance is such as might be due to similarity of circle or of conditions of life, and is not sufficiently close to prove literary dependence, on one side or the other.

*Romans*

d

(2) Did. v. 2.

Rom. 12<sup>9</sup>.

οὐ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῷ.

ἀποστυγούντες τὸ πονηρὸν, κολλώ-  
μενοι τῷ ἀγαθῷ.

The verbal coincidence is close, but the phrase is not remarkable (cf. iii. 9), and seems like an ethical commonplace. In the absence of other signs of any use of the epistle, it cannot prove literary dependence on either side.

## UNCLASSSED

*Hebrews*

(3) Did. iv. 1.

Heb. 13<sup>7</sup>.

τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ  
Θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας.

μνημονεύετε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν, οἵ-  
τινες ἐλάλησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

There is some similarity of thought, but the distinctive ἡγουμένων is not in *Didache*, and the phrase λαλεῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ is a natural one.

*Jude*

(4) Did. ii. 7.

Jude 22 f.

οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον [ἀλλὰ  
οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, περὶ δὲ ὧν προσ-  
εύξῃ, om. Lat.], οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ  
τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

Text very uncertain.

See Lev. 19<sup>17</sup> f. for wording of  
Did.

## GOSPELS.

## (I) The Synoptic Gospels.

## UNCLASSED

(5) Did. iii. 7, cf. Matt. 5<sup>b</sup> (due to Ps. 36<sup>11</sup>).

## (II) The Synoptic Tradition.

(6) Did. i. 2.

πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν Θεὸν τὸν  
ποιήσαντά σε, δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον  
σου ὡς σεαυτὸν.

Matt. 22<sup>37-39</sup>.

ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου ἐν ὄλῃ  
τῇ καρδίᾳ σου . . . αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη  
καὶ πρώτη ἐντολή. δευτέρα δὲ ὁμοία  
αὕτη, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς  
σεαυτὸν : cf. Mark 12<sup>29</sup> f.

Here there is juxtaposition of the two principles associated in the Gospels and with like emphasis on their order; but the addition τὸν ποιήσαντά σε suggests direct Jewish influence. See Ecclus. 7<sup>30</sup>, and cf. (5).

(7) Did. i. 2.

πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνε-  
σθαί σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλω μὴ ποίει.

Matt. 7<sup>12</sup>.

πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν θέλῃτε ἵνα παιῶ-  
σιν ὑμῖν αἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς  
παιεῖτε αὐτοῖς (cf. Luke 6<sup>31</sup>).

Tobit 4<sup>16</sup>.

ὁ μισεῖς, μηδενὶ ποιήσῃς.

Acts 15<sup>20, 29</sup>.

καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλετε ἐαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι  
ἐτέροις (-ω) μὴ παιεῖτε. c. D min.  
pauc. syr<sup>hl</sup> c.\* sah. aeth. Iren.<sup>lat</sup>  
Cyprian.

The evidence seems to show that the form preserved in Tobit re-emerges in the Jewish saying ascribed to Hillel, 'What is hateful to thyself, do not to thy fellow'; and the negative form in the *Didache* may be due to such influence. On the other hand the wording ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ κτλ., instead of ὁ μισεῖς (found also in Greek, attributed e.g. to Cleobulus), seems due to the influence of the evangelical form of the saying (cf. Lampridius, in *Vita Alex. Severi*, 51, 7 quod a quibusdam sive Iudaeis sive Christianis audierat . . . 'Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris'; so *Didascalica*, i. 1, adding 'ab alio'). If the saying be part of the true text of the Acts, it would here most naturally be attributed to the use of the Acts. If it be regarded as a gloss in Acts, the *Didache* may have originated such a gloss.

## 2. THE ECCLESIASTICAL SECTION, VII-XV.

There are no certain quotations or allusions to the Old Testament or to any other documents which can serve as a standard of accuracy in quotation, save the free quotation from Mal. 1<sup>11 ff.</sup> in xiv. 3, where *καὶ χρόνῳ* (added to *ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ*) finds a parallel in the Targum ad loc.

## EPISTLES.

- |     |                                    |   |                                  |
|-----|------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
|     |                                    | D |                                  |
|     |                                    | d |                                  |
| (8) | <i>1 Corinthians</i><br>Did. x. 6. |   | <i>1 Cor.</i> 16 <sup>22</sup> . |
|     | <i>μαρὰν ἀθά.</i>                  |   | <i>μαρὰν ἀθά.</i>                |

The Aramaic words would seem, from the sudden way in which they are introduced in *1 Corinthians*, to have been in common use. But it may be noted that in each case they are used to enforce a warning. In the *Didache*, *εἴ τις οὐκ ἐστιν* [*ἄγιος*], *μετανοεῖτω*. In *1 Corinthians*, *εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν Κύριον, ἤτω ἀνάθεμα*.

## GOSPELS.

## (I) The Synoptic Gospels.

- |     |  |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|
|     |  | C |   |
|     |  | c |   |
| (9) | <i>Matthew</i><br>Did. vii. 1.   |   | <i>Matt.</i> 28 <sup>19</sup> .   |
|     | <i>βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.</i> |   | <i>βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.</i> |

The Trinitarian baptismal formula is not found in the Canonical New Testament except in *Matthew*; but on account of its liturgical use, its presence here cannot prove literary dependence on the Gospel. Further, it cannot be held certain that these words stood originally either in this section of the *Didache* or in the original text of *Matthew* (*om. codd. ap. Euseb.*).

- |      |  |   |                                    |
|------|--|---|------------------------------------|
|      |  | d |                                    |
| (10) | Did. ix. 5.  |   | <i>Matt.</i> 7 <sup>6</sup> .      |
|      | <i>καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἶρηκεν ὁ Κύριος, μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.</i> |   | <i>μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.</i> |

The verbal resemblance is exact, but the passage in *Matthew* contains no reference to the Eucharist, and the proverbial character of the saying reduces the weight which must be attached to verbal similarity, cf. (13). It is cited as a *saying* of the Lord.

(11) Did. viii. 1 f.

αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἕστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν· νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρα σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτη· ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν. 2 μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτως προσεύχεσθε.

πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον, καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Matt. 6<sup>16</sup>.

ὅταν δὲ νηστεύητε μὴ γίνεσθε, ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, σκυθρωποί· ἀφανίζουσι γὰρ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν, ὅπως φανῶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύοντες. ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἀπέχουσι τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν· σὺ δὲ νηστεύων ἀλειψαί σου τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν σου νύψαι.

Matt. 6<sup>5</sup>, 9-13.

καὶ ὅταν προσεύχησθε οὐκ ἔσεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί . . . οὕτως οὖν προσεύχεσθε ὑμεῖς· πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον, καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

Matt. v. 5 *om. syr<sup>al</sup>*. ἀφήκαμεν] ἀφίεμεν DELΔΠ<sup>3</sup> al., ἀφίεμεν N<sup>o</sup>GKMSUΠ\* *codd. recent.* πονηροῦ] *ad.* ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν. *codd. recent.*; *add.* ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν. *syr<sup>cur</sup>* (*syr<sup>al</sup>* *deest*); *add.* quoniam tuum est robur et potentia in aevum aevi amen. *sah.*; *add.* quoniam est tibi virtus in saecula saeculorum. *k.*

In the section about fasting the only point in common is the connexion of fasting with hypocrisy; there is also in the *Didache* a complete perversion of the spirit of Christ's teaching about fasting, and the specific reference to Pharisees is wanting.

In the sections touching prayer the writer seems clearly familiar with a definite statement of Christ's teaching, though hardly a written one, cf. αὐτοῦ after ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. There is also a superficial point of connexion with Matt. 6<sup>5</sup>, inasmuch as both there and in the *Didache* the true method of prayer is contrasted with a false one. But Matthew distinguishes (cf. v. 7) between the false methods of the ὑποκριταί (a class of Jews) and the ἐθνικοί, while the *Didache* makes no mention of ἐθνικοί. It must however be remembered that the text of Matthew is doubtful on this point, as B *syr<sup>cur</sup>* read ὑποκριταί instead of ἐθνικοί. It would also appear probable from what precedes and follows that the *Didache* makes the

falsity of method on the part of the *ὑποκριταί* lie not so much in the spirit as in the form of their prayers.

The Lord's Prayer in the *Didache* agrees with the Matthaean version as against the Lucan, in the number of clauses which it contains, in the introduction by the words *οὕτω προσεύχεσθε*, and in its verbal similarity. There are no divergences from Matt. 6<sup>9 ff.</sup> except in four points:—

- (1) τῷ οὐρανῷ for τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.
- (2) ὀφειλήν for ὀφειλήματα.
- (3) ἀφίεμεν for ἀφήκαμεν.
- (4) The doxology.

(3) may be dismissed on the ground of possible assimilation in the text of our MS. of the *Didache* to the later text of the Lord's Prayer. As to (1) and (2) the differences would be insignificant, were it not that they come in a liturgical passage, where the text is apt to be strictly fixed by use, and that the whole quotation seems to come directly from a local liturgical usage. (4) The peculiar form of the doxology does not agree exactly with any of the forms known to occur in the authorities for the text of Matthew.

These three sections, on fasting, on prayer, on the Lord's Prayer, cannot be separated from each other. They point at least to similar local conditions; but the two former rather weaken the probability that the Lord's Prayer is a direct quotation from our Matthew.

(12) Did. xi. 7.  
 πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται, αὕτη  
 δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται.

Matt. 12<sup>31</sup>.  
 πᾶσα ἁμαρτία καὶ βλασφημία ἀφε-  
 θήσεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἡ δὲ τοῦ  
 Πνεύματος βλασφημία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται.

Mark 3<sup>28</sup>.  
 πάντα ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀν-  
 θρώπων τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, καὶ αἱ βλασ-  
 φημῖαι ὅσα ἂν βλασφημήσωσιν· ὁ δ'  
 ἂν βλασφημήσῃ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον,  
 οὐκ ἔχει ἄφεσιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλ'  
 ἔνοχός ἐστιν αἰωνίου ἁμαρτήματος, cf.  
 Luke 12<sup>10</sup>.

The form of the quotation is closer to Matthew than to Mark or Luke, and a similar context for the saying is obviously implied. Yet what is true of (10) applies here also.

(13) Did. xiii. 1.

*pās de prophētēs alēthinos, θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ, ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτὸς ὡσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.*

Matt. 10<sup>10</sup>.

*ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.*

Luke 10<sup>7</sup>.

*ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.*

1 Tim. 5<sup>18</sup>.

*ἄξιος ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.*

The verbal coincidence is exact, and is made the more noticeable by the fact that in Luke and 1 Timothy *τροφῆς* is replaced by *μισθοῦ*. But 1 Timothy seems to show that the saying was one in common Christian use, while the *Didache* does not refer it to 'the Lord,' as in clear Gospel citations.

D

*Luke*

d

(14) Did. ix. 2.

*πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου.*

Luke 22<sup>17-19</sup>.

*καὶ δεξιόμενος ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας εἶπε, λάβετε τοῦτο καὶ διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτοὺς . . . καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον κτλ.*

The R. V. goes on to give an account of another *ποτήριον*. But D omits, and so does the Syriac, though it inverts the order. If, then, we regard this as a 'Western non-interpolation,' the order in the *Didache* is the same as that found in what would be the earliest text of Luke. But the specific associations of the Last Supper in Luke are ignored; therefore it does not seem that the resemblance is to be explained by any literary dependence, but rather by a common traditional usage.

## (II) The Synoptic Tradition.

(15) This, as implied in the *Didache*, corresponds closely to what is found in our Synoptics, particularly Matthew, and is alluded to under the phrase *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, which apparently means the Message itself rather than any special record.

Thus we have in xi. 3 the phrase *κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*. Here the closest point of connexion in the context is to be found in xi. 4 *pās de ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς Κύριος*, which suggests Matt. 10<sup>40</sup>, but can scarcely be regarded as a quotation; see also (12) for xi. 7. So in viii. 2, the tense *ἐκέλευσεν* supports the view that the *εὐαγγέλιον* is thought of as uttered by the Lord, and not as written down. In view of these passages, it is not certain



that the phrase *ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ (τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν)*, in xv. 3, 4, has any other sense.

### (III) The Fourth Gospel.

#### UNCLASSED

Under this heading it will be proper to mention the passages in ix-x which seem reminiscent of Johannine ideas and terminology. Three are especially noticeable:—

(16) Did. ix. 2 *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβίδ τοῦ παιδός σου.*

This must refer primarily at least to the Church regarded as the Messianic kingdom, and not to Christ personally (which is excluded by *ἐγνώρισας διὰ Ἰησοῦ*). It may also refer secondarily to the Davidic Messianic king, who in Jewish thought is almost interchangeable with the nation in its ideal aspect. Cf. the Targum on Ps. 80<sup>14, 15</sup>, *The vine-shoot which thy right hand hath planted and the king Messiah whom thou hast established for thyself*, and Apoc. Baruch 39 *‘Tunc revelabitur Messiae mei principatus qui similis est fonti et viti.’* It is relative to this mystical idea of the Church that the Cup is to be understood (cf. *πνευματικὸς ποτὸς* in x. 3). The resemblance to John 15<sup>1</sup> rests on little more than the figure of the vine for the Messianic Kingdom.

(17) Did. ix. 3 *εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι . . . ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου.* Cf. John 17<sup>3</sup>.

(18) Did. x. 3 *ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου.* Cf. John 6<sup>45-55</sup>.

It is noticeable that the distinctive ideas of the manna and the identification of the bread with the body of Christ, are not found in the *Didache*. The point of closest resemblance is that the *Didache*, like the Fourth Gospel, does not connect the spiritual food with the specific ideas of the institution, as is done in the Synoptic narrative.

### 3. THE ESCHATOLOGICAL CHAPTER.

#### GOSPELS.

##### The Synoptic Tradition.

(19) Did. xvi. 1.

Matt. 24<sup>42, 44</sup>.

*γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθῆτωσαν κοὶ οἱ δσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλνέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ γρηγορεῖτε ὄν, ὅτι οὐκ οἶδατε ποία ἡμέρα ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται . . . καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἑτοιμοὶ ὅτι ἡ ὥρα οὐ*

γίνεσθε ἔτοιμοι· οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν  
ἐν ἧ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται.

δοκεῖτε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται.  
Cf. 25<sup>13</sup>.

Luke 12<sup>35</sup>.

ἔστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζω-  
μέναί καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καίόμενοι. Cf. 12<sup>40</sup>.

Matt. 24<sup>42</sup> ἡμέρα] ὥρα LΓΚΠ al. pler. lat-vet. syr<sup>sin</sup> pesh. Tat<sup>ar</sup>.  
Orig. Ath.

There is a marked parallel to Luke 12<sup>35</sup>, where alone ὀσφύες and λύχνοι occur in the same combination; but it is in Matt. that γρηγορεῖτε goes with οὐκ οἴδατε ποία ἡμέρα [ὥρα] ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται, and with ἡμέραν οὐδὲ τὴν ὥραν in 25<sup>13</sup>.

(20) Did. xvi. 3-5.

ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυν-  
θήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθα-  
ρεῖς καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς  
λύκους καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς  
μῖσος. αὐξανοῦσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας μισή-  
σουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσι καὶ παρα-  
δώσουσι, καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμο-  
πλάνος ὡς υἱὸς Θεοῦ καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα  
καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς  
χεῖρας αὐτοῦ καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέματα ἃ  
οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος· τότε ἦξει  
ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν  
τῆς δοκιμασίας καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται  
πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται οἱ δὲ ὑπομεί-  
ναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται  
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.

Matt. 24<sup>10-13</sup>.

καὶ τότε σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοί,  
καὶ ἀλλήλους παραδώσουσι, καὶ μισή-  
σουσιν ἀλλήλους· καὶ πολλοὶ ψευδο-  
προφῆται ἐγερθήσονται καὶ πλανήσουσι  
πολλούς· καὶ διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν  
ἀνομίαν ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολ-  
λῶν· ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος  
σωθήσεται. Cf. Matt. 7<sup>15</sup>, 24<sup>24</sup> and  
Mark 13<sup>13</sup>.

There are several points of connexion with Matt. 24<sup>10-13</sup>, but this may not represent more than a common oral basis containing a good many conventional Apocalyptic ideas. It is to be noted that there is nothing in Matthew analogous to ὁ κοσμοπλάνος κτλ. and to ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος, parallels to which are rather to be found in *Ascensio Isaiae*, iv. 2 ff.

(21) Did. xvi. 6.

καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς  
ἀληθείας· πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν  
οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος,  
καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν.

Matt. 24<sup>30</sup> f.

καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ  
υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ . . . καὶ  
ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ μετὰ  
σάλπιγγος φωνῆς μεγάλης.

The parallelism is insufficient to warrant any sure inference. The scheme in the *Didache* is rather that of 1 Thess. 4<sup>14-16</sup>, where we have (1) the revelation of the Lord from Heaven

with angels of power, (2) the archangel's trumpet call, (3) the resurrection. Cf. too the *σήματα τρισσά* of the *Sibylline Oracles*, ii. 188 (*ῥομφαία, σάλπιγξ, ἀνάστασις*, cf. iv. 173 ff.), and the description of the *παρουσία* in the *Ascensio Isaiaë*, chap. iv. For heavenly portents, cf. Josephus's account of signs before the war; and for the meaning of *ἐκπέτασις*, cf. *Sib. Orac.* viii. 302 and Isa. 65<sup>3</sup> (in which Barnabas sees a reference to the Crucifixion). Apparently this idea was a more specific form given to 'the sign of the Son of Man,' which originally pointed simply to Dan. 7<sup>13</sup> and its imagery.

On the whole, we notice that this section (1) contains features not found in our Synoptic tradition, and represents a more specific and personal doctrine of Antichrist, more closely resembling that found in 2 Thess. 2; Barn. iv; *Asc. Isaiaë*, iv: (2) agrees far more fully with Matthew than with any other single Synoptic, though it has certain points peculiar to Luke, cf. (19): but (3) cannot be said to prove its author's knowledge of our Matthew, as distinct from the tradition lying behind it, which may well have been that of the region in which the *Didache* itself was compiled. While, then, use of our Synoptic tradition is highly probable, the verdict in relation to the individual gospels must remain doubtful.

#### 4. THE INTERPOLATION IN THE 'TWO WAYS'

(i. 3—ii. 1).

##### EPISTLES.

D

1 *Peter*

d

(22) Did. i. 4.

1 Pet. 2<sup>11</sup>.

ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν.

ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν.

The text of the *Didache*, as it stands, recalls 1 Pet. 2<sup>11</sup>. The sentiment, however, is a natural one, and it is worth noticing that the conjunction of *σωματικῶν* and *σαρκικῶν* seems rather tautologous, and that *σωματικῶν* has been replaced in A. C. vii. 1 by *κοσμικῶν*. For the possibility that *σωματικῶν*

originally stood alone, cf. 4 Macc. 1<sup>32</sup> τῶν δὲ ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσι ψυχικαὶ αἱ δὲ σωματικαί. If this suggestion be right, σαρκικῶν would be a later gloss derived from 1 Peter and due to the same feeling as that which led to the substitution of κοσμικῶν in A. C. vii. 1 (possibly from Titus 2<sup>12</sup>). The context suggests that *Didache* has in view ἐπιθυμίαι that wrong one's neighbour, as in Matt. 5<sup>27-30</sup>.

## (I) The Synoptic Gospels.

## D

*Matthew*

(23) Did. i. 5.

οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκείθεν μέχρῃς αὐτῶν ἀποδοῦ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην.

Matt. 5<sup>26</sup>.

οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκείθεν ἕως ἂν ἀποδοῦς τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην. Cf. Luke 12<sup>59</sup>, which has λεπτὸν ἀποδοῦς.

The wording of the *Didache* is closer to Matthew than it is to Luke, especially in the use of κοδράντην and not λεπτόν. But the context is quite different, and it would be hazardous to lay much stress on a phrase which must have been a familiar one. See further under (25), (26).

*Luke*

(24) See under the next section.

## (II) The Synoptic Tradition.

(25) Did. i. 3.

εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν δικούντων ὑμᾶς. ποία γὰρ χάρις εἴαν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισούντας ὑμᾶς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξέετε ἐχθρόν.

Matt. 5<sup>44-47</sup>.

ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς . . . εἴαν γὰρ ἀγαπήσητε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε; οὐχὶ καὶ αἱ τελῶναι τὰ αὐτὸ παιοῦσι κτλ.

Luke 6<sup>27-32</sup>.

ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καλῶς παιεῖτε τοῖς μισούντων ὑμᾶς, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν, προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεάζοντων ὑμᾶς . . . καὶ εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστί; . . . καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ παιοῦσι.

In Matt. *post* ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν *add.* εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς DLKΠ e f h pesh et mss. vss. pp. recen. *ante* καὶ προσεύχ. *add.* καλῶς παιεῖτε τοὺς μισούντας ὑμᾶς D lat. pler. (non k) pesh. mss. vss. pp. recen. *ante* διωκόντων *add.* ἐπηρεάζοντων ὑμᾶς καὶ D lat. pler. (non k) pesh. mss. vss. pp. recen.

It seems impossible to decide whether the occurrence of Matthaean and Lucan features, e. g. *ποία χάρις* (cf. Luke 6<sup>32</sup>) and *τὰ ἔθνη* (cf. Matt. 5<sup>47</sup>), be due (1) to a blending of the two Gospels, (2) or to the knowledge of another Greek source nearer to the *Λόγια*, which are generally supposed to be the source of this section of the matter common to the first and third evangelists, (3) or to oral tradition, (4) or to an early harmony (e. g. the Diatessaron).

With regard to the second possibility, it may be noted that the emphasis on fasting, which seems to be represented as a climax, is in keeping with a tendency discernible in later Jewish literature (cf. Tobit 12<sup>8</sup>) and which assumes prominence in 2 Clement 16<sup>4</sup>, but it is not found in the N. T.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore unlikely that it appeared in a source earlier than the Canonical Gospels. *οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν* at the end of a paragraph, if an addition of a redactor, cannot be very late, see *Didasc.* i. 1, and cf. *Apol. Aristidis* 15, Justin, *Apol.* i. 14.

(26) Did. i. 4-6.

(1) *ἐάν τις σοι δῶ ράπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιάν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην καὶ ἔσῃ τέλειος.* (2) *ἐὰν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σε τις μίλιον ἔν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο.* (3) *ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὰ ἱμάτιόν σου, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα.* (4) *ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὰ σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει, οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι.* (5) *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει.*

Matt. 5<sup>39-42</sup>.

*ὅστις σε ραπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιάν σου σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην καὶ τῷ θέλαντί σοι κριθῆναι καὶ τὰν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἱμάτιον καὶ ἄστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἔν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο· τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, καὶ τὸν θέλанта ἀπὸ σοῦ δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆς.*

Luke 6<sup>29-30</sup>.

*τῷ τύποντί σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰροντός σου τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσης· παντὶ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, καὶ ἀπὸ ταῦ αἰροντος τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαίτει.*

The resemblance of this passage to Matthew and Luke is obvious. It should however be observed that, if we take the five cases as arranged and numbered above in the *Didache*, Matthew has 1, 3, 2, 5, omitting 4, while Luke has 1, 3, 5, 4, omitting 2. Going outside the Canonical Gospels, Tatian's *Diatessaron* (according to the reconstruction made by Zahn in

<sup>1</sup> But notice in this connexion the quite early addition in Mark 9<sup>29</sup> of *καὶ νηστεία* to *προσευχῆ*, which is found in syr<sup>al</sup> and almost all late authorities.

his *Forschungen*, i. 17) had 1, 2, 3, 4, omitting 5, and Justin's *Apology*, i. 16, cites only 1, 3, and 2 a line later. It is hard to draw any more definite conclusion from these facts, than that the resemblance to our Gospels may be explained in any one of the four ways mentioned in the preceding note. It should be added that the addition of the phrases *καὶ ἕστη τέλειος* and *οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι* shows the freedom with which the redactor is handling his material, whencesoever derived. It is useless to analyse closely the exact verbal correspondences with Matthew and Luke; for in a passage in which so many possibilities are open, only the closest verbal resemblances would be sufficient to prove literary dependence.

# CLEMENT OF ROME

## INTRODUCTION.

*Standard of Accuracy in quotations.* The quotations from the Old Testament seem for the most part to be made with great exactness, especially in the case of the citation of longer passages. Occasional variations from the text of the Septuagint occur; but these are usually very slight, and may possibly represent readings of the text differing from those in the principal MSS.: see also p. 124.

The quotations from the N. T. are clearly made in a different way. Even in the case of N. T. works which as it appears to us were certainly known and used by Clement, such as Romans and 1 Corinthians, the citations are loose and inexact. This is not the place to discuss the causes of this difference in method; it is sufficient to point out that this fact makes it in the highest degree precarious to argue from the inexactness of possible quotations of other works in the N. T., that Clement did not know, and was not using these works.

*Formulae of Citation.* Passages from the O. T. are frequently introduced by the phrases *γέγραπται, τὸ γεγραμμένον, ἢ γραφή.*

## EPISTLES, ACTS, AND APOCALYPSE.

### A

#### *Romans*

(1) Clem. xxxv. 5, 6.

ἀπαρρίψαντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν καὶ ἀνομίαν, πλεονεξίαν, ἔρεις, κακοηθείας τε καὶ δόλους, ψιθυρισμούς τε καὶ καταλαλίās, θεοστυγίαν, ὑπερηφανίαν τε καὶ ἀλαζονείαν, κενοδοξίαν τε καὶ ἀφιλοξενίαν.

### a

Rom. 1<sup>29-32</sup>.

πεπληρωμένους πάση ἀδικίᾳ, πονηρίᾳ, πλεονεξίᾳ, κακίᾳ, μεστοῦς φθόνου, φόνου, ἔριδος, δόλου, κακοηθείας, ψιθυριστάς, καταλάλους, θεοστυγεῖς, ἕβριστάς, ὑπερηφάνους, ἀλαζόνας, ἐφευρετὰς κακῶν, γονεῦσιν ἀπειθεῖς,

ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ πράσσοντες στυγη-  
τοὶ τῷ Θεῷ ὑπάρχουσιν· οὐ μόνον δὲ  
οἱ πράσσοντες αὐτά, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ συν-  
ευδοκοῦντες αὐτοῖς.

ἀσυνέτους, ἀσυνθέτους, ἀστόργους,  
ἀνελεήμονας, ὅτινες τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ  
Θεοῦ ἐπιγόντες, ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσ-  
σοντες ἄξιοι θανάτου εἰσὶν, οὐ μόνον  
αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσι  
τοῖς πράσσοσι.

An examination of this passage makes it practically certain that Clement is influenced by the recollection of the passage in the Epistle to the Romans. This judgement is founded upon—

1. The remarkable coincidence of the vices which are mentioned: this seems too detailed to have occurred by chance.

2. The character of the concluding sentences in the two passages: it would be very difficult to imagine that Clement is here independent of St. Paul.

## b

(2) Clem. xxxiii. 1.

τί οὖν ποιήσωμεν, ἀδελφοί; ἀργή-  
σωμεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγαθοποιίας καὶ ἐγ-  
καταλίπωμεν τὴν ἀγάπην; μηθαμῶς  
τοῦτο εἶσαι ὁ δεσπότης ἐφ' ἡμῖν γε  
γενηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ σπεύσωμεν μετὰ  
ἐκτενείας καὶ προθυμίας πᾶν ἔργον  
ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελεῖν.

Rom. 6<sup>1</sup>.

τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; ἐπιμένωμεν τῇ  
ἁμαρτίᾳ, ἵνα ἡ χάρις πλεονάσῃ; μὴ  
γένουτο.

It seems most probable that Clement is here writing under the impression of the passage in the Romans. It is true that there is little verbal coincidence between the passages, but their thought is closely related. The impression produced by this is very much strengthened when the context of the two passages is observed. In the last section of the previous chapter Clement has stated that we are justified by means of faith.

## c

(3) Clem. xxxii. 2.

ἐξ αὐτοῦ (Ἰακώβ) ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς  
τὸ κατὰ σάρκα.

Rom. 9<sup>5</sup>.

ἐξ ὧν (τῶν πατέρων) ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ  
κατὰ σάρκα.

It seems probable that the sentence in Clement was



suggested by that in Romans. The phrase τὸ κατὰ σάρκα is not a very obvious one.

(4) Clem. 1. 6, 7.

γέγραπται γάρ' Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι· μακάριος ἀνὴρ ᾧ οὐ μὴ λογίσηται Κύριος ἁμαρτίαν, οὐδέ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ δόλος, οὗτος ὁ μακαρισμὸς ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐκλελεγμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.

Rom. 4<sup>7-9</sup>.

μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι, καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι· μακάριος ἀνὴρ ᾧ οὐ μὴ λογίσηται Κύριος ἁμαρτίαν, οὐδ' οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν περιτομήν; ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν;

Ps. 31 (32)<sup>1, 2</sup>.

μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι, καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. μακάριος ἀνὴρ οὗ οὐ μὴ λογίσηται Κύριος ἁμαρτίαν, οὐδέ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ δόλος.

It is clear that Clement intends to quote the Psalm; he introduces the quotation with the word γέγραπται, and we have not found any clear case where he has done this in the case of a passage from the N. T. This seems also evident from his concluding the quotation with words which are in the Psalm, but not in Romans. But it must also be recognized that the words οὗτος ὁ μακαρισμὸς suggest strongly that he was influenced by his recollection of the same words in the Romans.

### d

(5) Clem. xxxvi. 2.

ἡ ἀσύνετος καὶ ἐσκοτωμένη διάνοια ἡμῶν.

Clem. li. 5.

τὰς ἀσυνέτους καρδίας.

Rom. 1<sup>21</sup>.

καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία.

Eph. 4<sup>18</sup>.

ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ.

The phrases in Clement may have been suggested by the Romans, but there is a similar phrase in Eph. 4<sup>18</sup>: see (37).

(6) Clem. xxxviii. 1.

σωξέσθω οὖν ἡμῶν ὄλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ὑποτασέσθω ἕκαστος τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ.

Clem. xli. 7.

ἰνατί διέλκομεν καὶ διασπῶμεν τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ στασιάζομεν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἴδιον.

Rom. 12<sup>4</sup>.

καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι πολλὰ μέλη ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ μέλη πάντα οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει πρᾶξιν· οὕτως οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν σώμα ἔσμεν ἐν Χριστῷ.

I Cor. 6<sup>15</sup>.

τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν μέλη Χριστοῦ ἐστίν.

I Cor. 12<sup>12</sup>.

καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἓν ἐστὶ, καὶ μέλη πολλά ἔχει, πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος πολλά ὄντα ἓν ἐστὶ σῶμα, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστός.

Eph. 4<sup>4</sup>.

ἐν σῶμα καὶ ἐν πνεῦμα.

Eph. 4<sup>25</sup>.

ὅτι ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλων μέλη.

Eph. 5<sup>30</sup>.

ὅτι μέλη ἐσμὲν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ.

It is hardly possible to say here whether Clement is influenced by the Romans or the other Epistles.

## I Corinthians

a

(7) Clem. xxxvii. 5.

λάβωμεν τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν ἢ κεφαλὴ δίχα τῶν ποδῶν οὐδὲν ἐστὶν, οὕτως οὐδὲ οἱ πόδες δίχα τῆς κεφαλῆς· τὰ δὲ ἐλάχιστα μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ εὐχρηστά εἰσιν ὄλω τῷ σώματι· ἀλλὰ πάντα συννπνεί καὶ ὑποταγῆ μιᾷ χρῆται εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι ὅλον τὸ σῶμα.

xxxviii. 1.

σωζέσθω οὖν ἡμῶν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ὑποτασσέσθω ἕκαστος τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ ἐτέθη ἐν τῷ χαρίσματι αὐτοῦ.

I Cor. 12<sup>12</sup> ff.

καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἓν ἐστὶ, καὶ μέλη πολλά ἔχει, πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος πολλά ὄντα ἓν ἐστὶ σῶμα, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστός . . .

<sup>14</sup> καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν μέλος, ἀλλὰ πολλά . . .

<sup>21</sup> οὐ δύναται δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς εἰπεῖν τῇ χειρὶ, Χρείαν σου οὐκ ἔχω· ἢ πάλιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῖς ποσί, Χρείαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχω. ἀλλὰ πολλῶ μᾶλλον τὰ δακοῦντα μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενέστερα ὑπάρχειν ἀναγκαῖα ἐστὶ.

Cf. I Clem. xlvi. 7 and I Cor. 6<sup>15</sup>.

It would appear to be certain that Clement is here influenced by the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The metaphor of the body and its members is indeed found also in Romans and Ephesians, but the details are taken from the passage in Corinthians.

(8) Clem. xlvii. 1.

ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. 2 τί πρώτων ὑμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔγραψεν; 3 ἐπ' ἀληθείας πνευμα-

I Cor. 11<sup>11-13</sup>.

ἐδηλώθη γὰρ μοι περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί μου, ὑπὸ τῶν Κλόης, ὅτι ἔριδες ἐν ὑμῖν εἰσι. λέγω δὲ τούτο, ὅτι ἕκαστος ὑμῶν λέγει, Ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παύλου,

τικῶς ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ Κηφᾶ τε καὶ Ἀπολλῶ, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προσκλίσεις ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι Ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, Ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ, Ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ.

It cannot be doubted that this passage refers to the First Epistle to the Corinthians; the references to Cephas and Apollos and the trouble in the Church seem to make this plain, and the conclusion is borne out by actual quotations from the Epistle.

It is important to ask whether the mode of referring to this letter implies that Clement had no knowledge of our second letter. Dr. Lightfoot, in his note on the passage, cites parallels which seem to make it plain that such a conclusion would be unwarranted.

(9) Clem. xlix. 5.

ἀγάπη πάντα ἀνέχεται, πάντα μικροθυμεῖ· οὐδὲν βάνανσον ἐν ἀγάπῃ, οὐδὲν ὑπερήφανον· ἀγάπη σχίσμα οὐκ ἔχει, ἀγάπη οὐ στασιάζει, ἀγάπη πάντα παιεῖ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ·

1 Cor. 13<sup>4-7</sup>.

ἡ ἀγάπη μακροθυμεῖ, χρηστεύεται· ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ ζηλοῖ· ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ περπερεύεται, οὐ φυσιοῦται, οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ, οὐ ζητεῖ τὰ ἑαυτῆς, οὐ παροξύνεται, οὐ λογιζεται τὸ κακόν, οὐ χαίρει ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, συγχαίρει δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, πάντα στέγει, πάντα πιστεύει, πάντα ἐλπίζει, πάντα ὑπομένει.

It can hardly be doubted that many of the phrases in Clement were suggested by the recollection of the passage in Corinthians.

## b

(10) Clem. xxiv. 1,

κατανοήσωμεν, ἀγαπητοί, πῶς ὁ δεσπότης ἐπιδεικνύται διηλεκτῶς ἡμῖν τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀνάστασιν ἔσεσθαι, ἥς τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ἐποιήσατο τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστήσας.

1 Cor. 15<sup>20</sup>.

νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων.

1 Cor. 15<sup>23</sup>.

ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός.

This would appear to be almost certainly a reminiscence. The word ἀπαρχή, used in this sense of our Lord, in reference to the resurrection, seems to make this plain.

(11) Clem. xxiv. 4, 5.

λάβωμεν τοὺς καρπούς· ὁ σπόρος πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον γίνεται; ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν γῆν

1 Cor. 15<sup>36, 37</sup>.

ἄφρων, σὺ δὲ σπείρεις οὐ ζωοποιεῖται, ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· καὶ ὁ σπείρεις, οὐ τὸ σῶμα τὸ γενησόμενον σπείρεις

ἕκαστον τῶν σπερμάτων ἄνω πε-  
 σόντα εἰς τὴν γῆν ξηρὰ καὶ γυμνὰ  
 διαλύεται, εἴτ' ἐκ τῆς διολύσεως ἡ  
 μεγαλειότης τῆς προνοίας τοῦ δεσπότου  
 ἀνίστησιν αὐτά, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς πλείονα  
 αὔξει καὶ ἐκφέρει καρπὸν.

ἀλλὰ γυμνὸν κόκκον, εἰ τύχοι, σίτου, ἢ  
 τινος τῶν λοιπῶν ὁ δὲ Θεὸς δίδωσιν  
 αὐτῷ σῶμα καθὼς ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἐκάστω  
 τῶν σπερμάτων ἴδιον σῶμα.

It seems most probable that the thought of this passage is suggested by that in Corinthians. It is true that the development of the conception is different, but there is nothing surprising in this, if, as seems probable, Clement's references to the N. T. are usually made from memory.

## C

(12) Clem. xlviii. 5.

ἦτω τις πιστός, ἦτω δυνατὸς γνῶσιν  
 ἐξεπείν, ἦτω σοφὸς ἐν διακρίσει  
 λόγων, ἦτω ἀγνὸς ἐν ἔργοις.

1 Cor. 12<sup>9</sup>.

ᾧ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος δίδο-  
 ται λόγος σοφίας, ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγος  
 γνώσεως κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα, ἐτέρῳ  
 πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Πνεύματι.

It is noticeable that though the form of Clement's phrase is quite different from that of St. Paul, he groups together the same three qualities or gifts, πιστός—πίστις, γνῶσις—λογός γνώσεως, σοφὸς ἐν διακρίσει λόγων—λόγος σοφίας. In view of this it would seem probable that we have here a reminiscence of St. Paul's words.

## d

(13) Clem. v. 1, 5.

ἀθλητάς . . . βραβεῖον.

1 Cor. 9<sup>24</sup>.

οὐκ οἴδατε, ὅτι, οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέ-  
 χοντες πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν, εἰς δὲ  
 λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον ;

Cf. Phil. 3<sup>14</sup>.

(14) Clem. xxxiv. 8.

λέγει γὰρ ἰδὲ φθαλμὸς  
 οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὖς οὐκ  
 ἤκουσεν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν  
 ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ὅσα  
<sup>2</sup> ἠτοίμασεν τοῖς ὑπομέ-  
 νουσιν <sup>3</sup> αὐτόν.

1 Cor. 2<sup>9</sup>.

ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται,  
<sup>1</sup> Ἄ φθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε,  
 καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ  
 ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου  
 οὐκ ἀνέβη, ὅσα ἠτοίμα-  
 σεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶ-  
 σιν αὐτόν.

Isa. 64<sup>4</sup>.

ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ  
 ἠκούσαμεν οὐδὲ οἱ ἰ-  
 φθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν εἶδον θεὸν  
 πλὴν σοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἔργα  
 σου ἂ ποιήσεις τοῖς ὑπο-  
 μένουσιν ἔλεον. Cf. 65<sup>16</sup>  
 οὐκ ἀναβήσεται αὐτῶν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν.

<sup>1</sup> Syr. Lat. and Constant. insert ἄ.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. Lat. and Constant. insert ὁ κύριος. <sup>3</sup> Constant. reads ἀγαπῶσιν, and Syr. supports this ; Lat. reads sustinentibus, with Alexand.

The passages in Clement and 1 Corinthians are almost

verbally agreed, and it would at first sight seem natural to conclude that Clement is quoting from 1 Corinthians, while the relation of St. Paul's phrase to that of Isaiah is a difficult question. But a more careful examination of the passages shows clearly that the phenomena are very complex.

1. The context, and therefore the meaning of the passage in Clement, is entirely different from that in St. Paul. In Clement the things which eye hath not seen nor ear heard are the rewards promised to the servants of God. This is evident from the whole character of the chapter, and especially of the preceding sentence, *εἰς τὸ μετόχους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων ἐπαγγελιῶν αὐτοῦ*. In 1 Corinthians the things which eye hath not seen nor ear heard are the hidden mysteries which are revealed to the believers by the Spirit of God. In Isaiah the meaning of the passage is like that of Clement, but the phrases are very different.

2. A. Resch (*Agrapha*, p. 102) has collected a great number of cases where the same phrase is quoted or referred to—

Hegesippus in Stephen Gobarus ap. Photium, cod. 232, col. 893; Hom. Clem. ii. 13; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* x. 94; Origen, *in Ierem. Hom.* xviii. 15; *Apost. Const.* vii. 32; Athanasius, *De Virginitate*, 18; Epiph. *Haer.* lxiv. 69. We may add *Actus Petri*, 10, *Acts of Thomas*, Syriac, ed. Wright, p. 205, and 2 Clem. xi. 7.

In all these passages the phrase seems to be used in the same sense as in Clem. xxxiv. 8, that is as referring to the future rewards promised to the righteous.

3. Resch also points out that St. Jerome, *Comm. on Isaiah*, lib. xvii, says that the apocryphal *Ascension of Isaiah* contained this phrase, and (Ep. 57) that it was also contained in the *Apocalypse of Elias*; while Origen, *Comm. on Matt.* xxvii. 9, says that the phrase occurs 'in nullo regulari libro,' but 'in secretis Eliae prophetae.' The *Testamentum Iesu Christi*, xxviii (ed. Rahmani, Mainz, 1899), cites the passage as a saying of the Lord, but adds 'as Moses and other holy men have said.'

It seems then most probable that Clement and the other authors mentioned are not taking the phrase from St. Paul. It is impossible to think that they take it from Isaiah; the form

in which they cite the saying is wholly different from his, while it corresponds almost exactly with that of St. Paul. Accordingly it is probable that St. Paul, Clement, and the other writers are quoting from some unknown source, a pre-Christian work, to judge from Paul's use of it (with καθὼς γέγραπται).

(15) Clem. xxxvii. 3.

ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι—

I Cor. 15<sup>23</sup>.

ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι—

There is here an exact correspondence of words, but the phrase in Clement arises quite naturally from the context, and is of too obvious a character to demand explanation.

(16) Clem. xxxviii. 2,

ὁ δὲ πτωχὸς εὐχαριστεῖτω τῷ Θεῷ ὅτι ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δι' οὗ ἀναπληρωθῆναι αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑστέρημα.

I Cor. 16<sup>17</sup>.

χαίρω δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ Στεφανᾶ καὶ Φορτουνάτου καὶ Ἀχαικοῦ, ὅτι τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα οὗτοι ἀνεπλήρωσαν.

Phil. 2<sup>30</sup>.

παραβουλευσάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ, ἵνα ἀναπληρώσῃ τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα τῆς πρός με λειτουργίας.

Cf. also 2 Cor. 9<sup>12</sup>, 11<sup>9</sup>, and Col. 1<sup>24</sup>.

(17) Clem. xl. 1,

προδήλων οὖν ἡμῖν ὄντων τούτων, καὶ ἐγκεκυφότες εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς θείας γνώσεως.

I Cor. 2<sup>10</sup>.

τὸ γὰρ Πνεῦμα πάντα ἐρευνᾷ, καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Rom. 11<sup>33</sup>.

ὁ βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως Θεοῦ.

(18) Clem. xlviii. 6.

I Cor. 10<sup>24, 33</sup>.

Cf. Phil. 2<sup>4</sup>.

### Hebrews

### a

(19) Clem. xxxvi. 2-5.

διὰ τούτου (Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) ἠθέλησεν ὁ δεσπότης τῆς ἀθανάτου γνώσεως ἡμᾶς γεύσασθαι· ὅς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτ' αὖ μείζων ἐστὶν ἀγγέλων ὅσφ' διαφορότερον

Heb. 1.

πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι Ἰ ὁ Θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν υἱῷ, ὃν ἔθηκε κληρονόμον πάντων, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησε

ὄνομα κεκληρονόμηκεν<sup>1</sup>. γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως· Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ οὕτως εἶπεν ὁ δεσπότης· Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε· αἴτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς. καὶ πάλιν λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

τοὺς αἰῶνας· ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς 3  
δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως  
αὐτοῦ, φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι  
τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, καθαρισμὸν τῶν  
ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ  
τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, τοσοῦτ' 4  
κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων ὅσα  
διαφορώτερον παρ' αὐτοὺς κεκληρονό-  
μηκεν ὄνομα. τίμι γὰρ εἶπέ ποτε τῶν 5  
ἀγγέλων, Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον  
γεγέννηκά σε ; Καὶ πάλιν, Ἐγὼ ἔσομαι  
αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι  
εἰς υἱόν ; ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ τὸν 6  
πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην λέγει,  
Καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες  
ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ. Καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς 7  
ἀγγέλους λέγει, Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους  
αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς  
αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα· πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱόν, 8  
Ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ Θεός, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα  
τοῦ αἰῶνος, καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος τῆς εὐθύτητος  
ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου· ἠγάπησας 9  
δικαιοσύνην, καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν·  
διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέ σε ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός σου,  
ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετό-  
χους σου. καί, Σὺ κατ' ἀρχάς, Κύριε, 10  
τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν  
χειρῶν σου εἰσὶν οἱ οὐρανοί· αὐτοὶ 11  
ἀπολοῦνται, σὺ δὲ διαμένεις· καὶ  
πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται, καὶ 12  
ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον ἐλίξεις αὐτούς, ὡς  
ἱμάτιον, καὶ ἀλλαγῆσονται· σὺ δὲ ὁ  
αὐτὸς εἶ, καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσι. 13  
πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἴρηκέ ποτε,  
Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς  
ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν  
σου ; οὐχὶ πάντες εἰσὶ λειτουργικὰ 14  
πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα  
διὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν σω-  
τηρίαν ;

Ps. 2<sup>7</sup>, <sup>8</sup> υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. αἴτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς.

Ps. 103 (104)<sup>4</sup> ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον<sup>2</sup>.

Ps. 109 (110)<sup>1</sup> κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

<sup>1</sup> C. reads κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα.

<sup>2</sup> A<sup>a</sup> read πυρὸς φλέγα.

There can be practically no doubt that in this passage we have a reminiscence of the first chapter of the Hebrews. The following are the most important points:—

1. Clement quotes the first words of Heb. 1<sup>3</sup>, and then Heb. 1<sup>4</sup>, omitting the intervening words, and with the following changes. Clement reads *μεγαλωσύνης* for *δόξης, μείζων ἐστίν* for *κρείττων γενόμενος*: he omits *παρ' αὐτούς*, and in the best texts transposes *κεκληρονόμηκεν* and *ὄνομα*. The substitution of *μεγαλωσύνη* for *δόξα* might easily be accounted for by the occurrence of the former at the end of Heb. 1<sup>3</sup>.

2. Clement then quotes, with the formula *γέγραπται*, Ps. 104<sup>4</sup>, in a form which corresponds exactly with Heb. 1<sup>7</sup>. It can hardly be doubted that Clement intends to quote the Psalm, but the form in which he does it is exactly the same as that in Hebrews, while it differs from the best text of the LXX in one particular. Clement reads *πυρός φλόγα*, while the LXX reads *πῦρ φλέγον* (A<sup>a</sup> *πυρός φλέγα*).

3. Clement then quotes Ps. 2<sup>7</sup> and <sup>8</sup>, while in Heb. 1<sup>5</sup> only Ps. 2<sup>7</sup> is quoted.

4. Clement then quotes Ps. 110<sup>1</sup>, which is quoted in Heb. 1<sup>13</sup>.

We have then an almost verbal citation from the Hebrews, and the citation of a group of passages from the Psalms which would be difficult to explain except as suggested by the Hebrews. It may, indeed, be objected that the latter phenomenon might be explained as being due to the citation of some collection of Messianic passages in common use; but against this it must be observed that the passage quoted from Ps. 104<sup>4</sup>, which occurs naturally in the context in Heb. 1<sup>7</sup>, would not naturally be included in any collection of Messianic passages.

## C

(20) Clem. xvii. 5.

Μωϋσῆς πιστός ἐν  
ὄλω τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἐ-  
κλήθη.

Heb. 3<sup>2</sup>.

Ἰησοῦν, πιστὸν ὄντα  
τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτόν, ὡς  
καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἐν ὄλω τῷ  
οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.

Num. 12<sup>7</sup>.

ὁ θεράπων μου  
Μωϋσῆς ἐν ὄλω τῷ  
οἴκῳ μου πιστός ἐστιν.

The passage might be based on Num. 12<sup>7</sup>, but the



substitution of αὐτοῦ for μου suggests the influence of the Hebrews.

Cf. Clem. xliii. 1 and Heb. 3<sup>5</sup>.

(21) Clem. xxxvi. 1.

Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν προσφορῶν ἡμῶν, τὸν προστάτην καὶ βοηθὸν τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν.

Heb. 2<sup>18</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>.

ἐν ᾧ γὰρ πέπαυθεν αὐτὸς πειρασθεῖς, δύναται τοῖς πειραζομένοις βοηθῆσαι . . . κατανοήσατε τὸν ἀποστολὸν καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν.

It seems probable that we have in this passage a reminiscence of the Hebrews. Cf. Clem. lxi. 3 and lxiv.

### d

(22) Clem. xvii. 1.

μιμηταὶ γενώμεθα κακίων οἴτινες ἐν δέρμασιν αἰγείοις καὶ μηλωταῖς περιεπάτησαν κηρύσσοντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· λέγωμεν δὲ Ἡλίαν καὶ Ἐλισαίε, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰεζεκιήλ, τοὺς προφήτας, πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τοὺς μαρτυρημένους.

Heb. 11<sup>37</sup>, <sup>39</sup>.

περιῆλθον ἐν μηλωταῖς, ἐν αἰγείοις δέρμασι, ὑστεροῦμενοι, θλιβόμενοι, κακουχούμενοι . . . καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες, μαρτυρηθέντες διὰ τῆς πίστεως, οὐκ ἔκομίσαντο τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν.

It would at first sight appear that we have in the passage of Clement a probable reminiscence of the passage in the Hebrews, but against this it must be observed:—

1. That the author of the Hebrews is very possibly using some uncanonical source.

2. That it is, therefore, quite possible that the passage in Clement is founded upon this source rather than on Hebrews, and that the reference to Elijah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel points in this direction.

(23) Clem. xix. 2.

πολλῶν οὖν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων μετεilhφότες πράξεων ἀπαναδράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδεδομένον ἡμῖν τῆς εἰρήνης σκοπὸν, καὶ ἀνεύσιωμεν εἰς τὸν πατέρα καὶ κτίστην τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, καὶ ταῖς μεγαλαυρεσίαις καὶ ὑπερβαλλούσαις αὐτοῦ δωρεαῖς τῆς εἰρήνης εὐεργεσίας τε κολληθώμεν.

Heb. 12<sup>1</sup>.

ταυραῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς, τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες περιεκείμενον ἡμῖν νέφος μαρτύρων, ὄγκον ἀποθέμενοι πάντα καὶ τὴν ἐνπερίστατον ἀμαρτίαν δι' ὑπαμονῆς τρέχωμεν τὸν προκειμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα, ἀφορώντες εἰς τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτὴν Ἰησοῦν.

There is little correspondence in phrase, but a strong similarity in general conception. But if the preceding passage is founded upon some uncanonical document, the influence of the document might also extend to the present one.

(24) Clem. xxi. 9.

Heb. 4<sup>12</sup>.

ἐρευνητῆς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐννοιῶν καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων· οὐ ἢ πνοὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστίν, καὶ ὅταν θέλῃ ἀνελεῖ αὐτήν.

ζῶν γὰρ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐνεργῆς . . . καὶ κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας.

It seems possible that we have here a reminiscence of the Hebrews, but it must be noticed :—

1. We have ἐρευνητῆς instead of κριτικός.

2. The subject of the sentence is not the same ; in Hebrews it is the Word of God, in Clement it seems to be the Fear of God.

3. The conception is found also in Philo 'Quis rer. div. heres,' 26, 27.

(25) Clem. xxvii. 1.

Heb. 10<sup>23</sup>.

ταύτη οὖν τῇ ἐλπίδι προσδεδῶσθωσαν αἱ ψυχαὶ ἡμῶν τῷ πιστῷ ἐν ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἐν τοῖς κρίμασι.

πιστὸς γὰρ ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος.

Heb. 11<sup>11</sup>.

ἐπεὶ πιστὸν ἠγήσατο τὸν ἐπαγγειλάμενον.

(26) Clem. xxvii. 2.

Heb. 6<sup>18</sup>.

οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀδύνατον παρὰ τῷ θεῷ εἰ μὴ τὸ ψεύσασθαι.

ἐν οἷς ἀδύνατον ψεύσασθαι Θεόν.

(27) Clem. lvi. 4.

Heb. 12<sup>6</sup>.

Prov. 3<sup>12</sup>.

ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται . . .

ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται.

ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος ἐλέγχει<sup>1</sup> μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται.

<sup>1</sup> NA read παιδεύει.

C

Acts

C

(28) Clem. xviii. 1.

Acts 13<sup>22</sup>.

τί δὲ εἶπωμεν ἐπὶ τῷ μεμαρτυρημένῳ Δαυίδ ; πρὸς ὃν εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Εὗρον ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, Δαυίδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσοῦ· ἐν ἐλέει αἰωνίῳ ἔχρισα αὐτόν.

ἤγειρε τὸν Δαβὶδ αὐτοῖς εἰς βασιλείαν, ᾧ καὶ εἶπε μαρτυρήσας, Εὗρον Δαβὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσοῦ, ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ βελήματά μου.

Ps. 88 (89)<sup>21</sup>.

εὗραν Δαυεὶδ τὸν δούλον μου, ἐν  
ἐλλεί<sup>1</sup> ἀγίῳ ἔχρισα αὐτόν.

1 Sam. 13<sup>14</sup>.

καὶ ζητήσῃ Κύριος ἑαυτῷ ἄνθρωπον  
κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> B<sup>a</sup> ελεω (R?), B<sup>b</sup>NA(R?)T ελαιω.

It is to be noticed in the passages that:—

1. Clement and the author of the Acts combine phrases from the Psalm and from 1 Samuel.

2. Clement and the Acts both insert the words τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, which are not read either in the Psalm or in 1 Samuel.

3. Clement and Acts agree in reading ἄνδρα, Ps. 88<sup>21</sup> reads δούλον, and 1 Sam. 13<sup>14</sup> reads ἄνθρωπον.

There are, however, certain differences between Clement and the Acts:—

1. Clement finishes the quotation with the words ἐν ἐλλεί αἰωνίῳ ἔχρισα αὐτόν, agreeing with the Psalm.

2. Acts concludes the quotation with ὃς ποιήσῃ πάντα τὰ θελήματα μου (cf. Isa. 44<sup>28</sup>), for which there is no authority either in the LXX, or in the Hebrew of the Psalm, or of 1 Sam. 13<sup>14</sup>.

The phenomena of the passages are thus somewhat complicated; the conclusion to which we incline is that Clement intended to quote Ps. 88<sup>21</sup>—this would seem to be indicated by the conclusion of the passage—but that he has possibly been influenced by a recollection of the passage as it is quoted in Acts 13<sup>22</sup>. It seems difficult otherwise to account for the combination of the passages from the Psalm and from 1 Samuel, and for the addition of the words τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, which is found both in Acts and in Clement.

It must, however, be observed that these suggestions do not account for the conclusion of the quotation in the Acts. It may be suggested that this is simply an example of the inaccuracy which may be due to quotation from memory. But it may also be suggested that the form of the quotation in Acts may be due to some other cause, e.g. the possible influence of some collection of Davidic or Messianic passages. It is possible that such collections of O. T. passages may have been current in Apostolic times. Such a collection might explain the phenomena presented by the passages in Clement

and in the Acts without requiring any direct dependence of the one upon the other.

## d

(29) Clem. ii. 1.

πάντες τε ἐταπειωσφρονεῖτε μηδὲν ἀλαζονεύομενοι, ὑποτασσόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑποτάσσοντες, ἥδιον διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες, τοῖς ἐφοδίοις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀρκούμενοι.

Acts 20<sup>35</sup>.

μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὰς εἶπε, Μακάριόν ἐστι μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν.

The phrase in Clement finds a parallel in the words of our Lord quoted by St. Paul, but we do not feel that the circumstances are such that we are compelled to think that Clement has the passage in the Acts in his mind.

1. St. Paul is quoting an otherwise unrecorded saying of our Lord's, which may have been known to Clement simply as a saying of our Lord current among Christian men.

2. It is possible that the phrase in Clement has no direct relation to any particular saying of our Lord, but represents a conception current among Christians.

(30) Clem. lix. 2.

ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ σκοτόυς εἰς φῶς.

Acts 26<sup>18</sup>.

ἐπιστρέψαι ἀπὸ σκοτόυς εἰς φῶς.

Cf. Col. 1<sup>13</sup> and 1 Peter 2<sup>9</sup>, under (42) and (49).

## Titus

## c

(31) Clem. i. 3.

γυναῖξιν τε ἐν ἀμώμφῳ καὶ σεμνῇ καὶ ἀγνῇ συνειδῆσει πάντα ἐπιμελεῖν παρηγγέλλετε, στεργούσας καθηκόντως τοὺς ἄνδρας ἑαυτῶν· ἐν τε τῷ κανόνι τῆς ὑποταγῆς ὑπαρχούσας τὰ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον σεμνῶς οἰκουργεῖν<sup>1</sup> ἐδιδάσκετε, πάντῃ σωφρονούσας.

Titus 2<sup>4</sup>, 5.

ἵνα σωφρονίζωσι τὰς νέας φιλάνδρους εἶναι, φιλατέκνους, σώφρονας, ἀγνάς, οἰκουργούσας<sup>2</sup>, ἀγαθάς, ὑποτασσομένας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ βλασφημηταί·

<sup>1</sup> L. regere; S. curam gerentes; C. (e rasura) οἰκουρεῖν. <sup>2</sup> N<sup>o</sup>D οἰκουρούς.

The passage in Clement contains a number of phrases which correspond with those of Titus.

ἀγνῇ συνειδῆσει.  
στεργούσας καθηκόντως τοὺς ἄνδρας  
ἑαυτῶν.

ἀγνάς.  
φιλάνδρους.

ἐν τε τῷ κανόνι τῆς ὑποταγῆς ὑπαρ- χοῦσας. οἰκουργεῖν. πάνυ σωφρονούσας.	ὑποτασσομένας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν. οἰκουργούς. σώφρονας.
---	---

There is a parallel list in Philo, *De Eæocr. γυναῖκας σώφρονας οἰκουροὺς καὶ φιλόανδρους.*

The Committee is inclined to think that the correspondence of phrases, and especially of *οἰκουργεῖν* and *οἰκουργούς*, cannot well be accounted for by chance, and makes it probable that the one writer is dependent on the other: they have, therefore, with some hesitation, decided to place the passage in Class C.

(I am inclined to think that the correspondence of the two passages may be accounted for by the conjecture that the author of Titus and Clement are both using some manual of directions for the moral life.—A. J. C.)

(32)	Clem. ii. 7. ἐτοιμοὶ εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν. Clem. xxiv. 4. μὴ ἀργοὺς μηδὲ παρειμένους εἶναι ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν.	d	Titus 3 <sup>1</sup> . πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐτοιμοὺς εἶναι. 2 Tim. 2 <sup>21</sup> . εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἠτοιμασμένον. 2 Tim. 3 <sup>17</sup> . πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐξηρτισ- μένος. 2 Cor. 9 <sup>8</sup> . ἵνα . . . περισσεύητε εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν.
------	--	---	---

	2 <i>Corinthians</i>	D	
(33)	Clem. xxxvi. 2. διὰ τούτου ἀτενίζομεν εἰς τὰ ὕψη τῶν οὐρανῶν· διὰ τούτου ἐνοπτριζό- μεθα τὴν ἄμωμον καὶ ὑπερτάτην ὄψιν αὐτοῦ.	d	2 Cor. 3 <sup>18</sup> . ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀνακαλυμμένω προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου κατοπτρι- ζόμενοι τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφού- μεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, καθάπερ ἀπὸ Κυρίου Πνεύματος.

The form of the two passages is very different, and there is little correspondence between the conceptions; but the phrases *ἐνοπτριζόμεθα* and *κατοπτριζόμενοι* might seem to suggest some connexion.

Dr. Lightfoot has, however, pointed out in his note that there is a parallel phrase in Philo, *Leg. Alleg.* iii. 33 *μηδὲ κατοπτρισαίμην ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὴν σὴν ἰδέαν ἢ ἐν σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ*. It would appear that the phrase is not distinctive enough to enable us to infer that Clement knew this Epistle.

## UNCLASSED

(34) Clem. v. 5, 6.

2 Cor. 11<sup>23-27</sup>.

Clement's enumeration of St. Paul's sufferings might at first sight seem to suggest this Epistle; but these would probably be known to Clement apart from the account in the Epistle, and one of his statements, *ἐπάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας*, is obviously not derived from the Epistle.

*Galatians*

## d

(35) Clem. ii. 1.

Gal. 3<sup>1</sup>.Deut. 28<sup>66</sup>.

*καὶ τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ  
ἦν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν.*

*οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς  
Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προ-  
εγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος.*

*καὶ ἔσται ἡ ζωὴ σου  
κρεμαμένη ἀπέναντι τῶν  
ὀφθαλμῶν σου.*

It has been suggested that St. Paul has been influenced by Deuteronomy, and that Clement is affected both by Deuteronomy and by St. Paul.

But the coincidence appears to be too uncertain to serve as the foundation for the conclusion that Clement was acquainted with Galatians.

(36) Clem. v. 2.

Gal. 2<sup>9</sup>.

The word *στῦλοι* is used in both passages in connexion with the Apostles and leading men in the Church.

Dr. Lightfoot, however, has pointed out in his note that the use of the word seems to have been very common in this sense in Jewish writers.

*Ephesians*

## d

(37) Clem. xxxvi. 2.

Eph. 4<sup>18</sup>.

These passages have already been considered in connexion with Rom. 1<sup>21</sup>, see (5). It should be observed that Clement's *ἐσκοτωμένη διάνοια* corresponds with Ephesians *ἐσκοτισμένοι* (NAB, W. & H. *ἐσκοτωμένοι*) *τῇ διανοίᾳ*.

(38) Clem. xlv. 6.

ἡ οὐχὶ ἓνα θεὸν ἔχομεν καὶ ἓνα Χριστὸν καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς; καὶ μία κλήσις ἐν Χριστῷ;

Eph. 4<sup>4-6</sup>.

ἐν σῶμα καὶ ἐν Πνεῦμα, καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ἡμῶν, εἰς Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα, εἰς Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν. ἐνὶ δὲ ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

It is noticeable that there is not only a general resemblance between these two passages, but a close correspondence in phrase—

Clem.	Eph.
1. ἓνα Θεόν.	1. εἰς Θεός.
2. ἓνα Χριστόν.	2. εἰς Κύριος.
3. ἐν πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.	3. ἐν Πνεῦμα and ἐνὶ δὲ ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
4. μία κλήσις ἐν Χριστῷ.	4. ἐκλήθητε ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως.

Cf. *Hermas, Sim.* ix. 13, 5, and 18, 4.

At first sight it would appear probable that Clement has the passage in Ephesians in his mind; but we must remember that the passages both in Ephesians and in Clement are very possibly founded upon some liturgical forms, and it thus seems impossible to establish any dependence of Clement upon Ephesians.

(39) Clem. lix. 3.

ἀνοίξεις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν.

Eph. 1<sup>18</sup>.

πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν.

Cf. Clem. xxxvi. 2.

The phrase is noticeable, and it should be observed that the preceding sentences in Clement have considerable affinity with Eph. 1<sup>4-6</sup>, 17.

*Philippians*

d

(40) Clem. iii. 4.

μηδὲ . . . πορεύεσθαι μηδὲ πολιτεύεσθαι κατὰ τὸ καθήκον τῷ Χριστῷ.

Phil. 1<sup>27</sup>.

μόνον ἀξίως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ πολιτεύεσθε.

Clem. xxi. 1.

ἐὰν μὴ ἀξίως αὐτοῦ πολιτευόμενοι . . .

A possible reminiscence, but the metaphorical use of the

phrases of citizenship in connexion with the moral and spiritual life was probably common.

(41) Clem. xlvii. 1, 2.

Phil. 4<sup>15</sup>.

Ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. τί πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔγραψεν;

οἴδατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς Φιλιππησίοι ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας.

The phrase ἐν ἀρχῇ, &c., is peculiar, and it seems clear that Clement is using it in the same sense as St. Paul.

But it would scarcely appear that this is enough to prove that Clement takes the phrase from Philippians.

### Colossians

### d

(42) Clem. lix. 2.

Col. 1<sup>12, 13</sup>.

δι' οὗ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς, ἀπὸ ἀγνωσίας εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν δόξης ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ.

εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἰκανώσαντι ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ φωτί· ὃς ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκότους, καὶ μετέστησεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ.

Cf. also Col. 1<sup>9</sup>.

ἵνα πληρωθῆτε τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ . . .

The metaphor of transference from darkness to light is worth observing, but it is also found in Acts 26<sup>18</sup> and 1 Peter 2<sup>9</sup>, see (30) and (48).

We cannot, therefore, assert that Clement is dependent upon Colossians.

### UNCLASSSED

(43) Clem. ii. 4.

Col. 2<sup>1</sup>.

ἀγὼν ἦν ὑμῖν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος—

θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ἡλικὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχω ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν—

### 1 Timothy

### d

(44) Clem. lxi. 2.

1 Tim. 1<sup>17</sup>.

σὺ γάρ, δέσποτα ἐπουράνιε, βασιλεῦ τῶν αἰώνων.

τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων, ἀφθάρτῳ, ἀοράτῳ, μόνῳ Θεῷ . . .

The phrase is striking, but Dr. Lightfoot has pointed out in his notes on the passage, that it is probably based upon



Jewish liturgical forms, and the phrase itself occurs in Tobit 13<sup>6</sup>, 10, and in Apoc. 15<sup>3</sup> (S and C read αἰώνων; S<sup>c</sup>A and B read ἐθνῶν).

## UNCLASSED

(45) Clem. xxix. 1.

1 Tim. 2<sup>8</sup>.

προσέλθωμεν οὖν αὐτῷ ἐν οὐσιότητι ψυχῆς, ἀγνάς καὶ ἀμάντους χεῖρας αἴροντες πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χεῖρας χωρὶς ὀργῆς καὶ διαλογισμοῦ.

The phrase appears to be used by many writers. Cf. Dr. Lightfoot's note.

1 Peter

d

(46) Clem. vii. 2, 4.

1 Pet. 1<sup>18</sup>, 19.

διὸ ἀπολίπωμεν τὰς κενὰς καὶ ματαίας φροντίδας, καὶ ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐκλεῆ καὶ σεμνὸν τῆς παραδόσεως ἡμῶν κανόνα, . . . ἀνερίσωμεν εἰς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ γινώμεν ὡς ἔστιν τίμιον τῷ θεῷ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκχυθὲν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ μετανοίας χάριν ἐπήνεγκεν.

εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ φθαρταίς, ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ, ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου, ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ . . .

These passages present many points of correspondence of phrase and thought, but the conception of redemption through the blood of Christ is not peculiar to St. Peter's Epistles in the N. T., and may well be supposed to have been current among all Christians.

(47) Clem. xxx. 1, 2.

1 Pet. 2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>5</sup>.

Ἁγίου οὖν μερὶς ὑπάρχοντες ποιήσωμεν τὰ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ πάντα, φεύγοντες καταλαλίαν, μιανὰς τε καὶ ἀνάγνους συμπλοκάς, μέβας τε καὶ νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ βδελυκτὰς ἐπιθυμίας, μυσερὰν μοιχείαν βδελυκτὴν ὑπερηφάναν. Θεὸς γάρ, φησὶν, ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν.

ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν κακίαν καὶ πάντα δόλον καὶ ὑποκρίσεις καὶ φθόνους καὶ πάσας καταλαλίαν ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη τὰ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα ἐπιποθήσατε.

1 Pet. 5<sup>5</sup> ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν.

Cf. Jas. 4<sup>6</sup> διὰ λέγει, ὁ Θεὸς κτλ.

Prov. 3<sup>34</sup>.

Κύριος ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν.

The correspondence of thought with 1 Peter is interesting, but the last words are probably quoted from Prov. 3<sup>34</sup>, and

the subject of Clement's passage is probably suggested by the quotation from Deuteronomy, contained in the previous chapter.

(48) Clem. xlix. 5.

ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν.

Prov. 10<sup>12</sup> LXX.

πάντας δὲ τοὺς μὴ φιλονεικοῦντας καλύπτει φιλία.

1 Pet. 4<sup>8</sup>.

ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν.

Prov. 10<sup>12</sup>, Heb.

'But love covereth all transgressions.'

Jas. 5<sup>20</sup>.

ὁ ἐπιστρέψας ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐκ πλάνης ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ σώσει ψυχὴν ἐκ θανάτου, καὶ καλύψει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν.

1. Clement and 1 Peter agree exactly in the terms of the passage; they differ from the Hebrew text of Proverbs in reading 'a multitude' instead of 'all,' and they differ entirely from the LXX text of Proverbs. It would, therefore, at first sight seem probable that Clement is quoting the phrase from 1 Peter.

2. A. Resch (*Agrapha*, p. 248) has argued that this phrase was originally a saying of our Lord, and brings forward the following parallels.

Didasc. ii. 3.

ὅτι λέγει Κύριος· ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν.

Clem. Alex. *Paedagog.* iii. 12.

ναὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ ἀγάπης· ἀγάπη, φησί, καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν· καὶ περὶ πολιτείας· ἀπόδοτε τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.

2 Clem. xvi. 4.

ἀγάπη δὲ καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν.

Resch urges that the author of the *Didascalia* clearly regards the phrase as a saying of our Lord's, but an examination of the context shows plainly that the author cites with the same formula, 'the Lord saith,' passages from the O. T. He also argues that the fact that Clement of Alexandria sets this phrase beside a well-known saying of our Lord, shows that he looked upon it as having been spoken by Him; but again an examination of the context makes it plain that Clement is citing indifferently phrases from the Old and New Testaments as embodying the instruction of the *Paedagogus*.

It appears, therefore, that these parallels do not justify the

conclusion that 1 Peter and Clement are quoting a traditional saying of our Lord.

3. It may, however, be suggested that Clement and 1 Peter are both quoting from some unknown source, i. e. another Greek version of the passage in Proverbs, or some Apocryphal writing, and it does not seem therefore that we can say more than that it is possible that Clement is quoting the passage from 1 Peter.

- (49) Clem. lix. 2. 1 Pet. 2<sup>o</sup>.  
See under Colossians (42).

## UNCLASSIFIED

- (50) Clem. Introduction. 1 Pet. 1<sup>1, 2</sup>.

There are some parallel phrases, but they are not sufficiently important or distinctive to require special discussion.

- (51) Clem. ii. 2. 1 Pet. 4<sup>19</sup>.  
*ἀγαθοποιῶν.* *ἐν ἀγαθοποιίᾳ.*

The word occurs in the N. T. only in 1 Peter, and is not found in the LXX or other Greek versions of the O. T. and Apocrypha; and apparently it does not occur in classical literature.

- (52) Clem. ii. 4. 1 Pet. 2<sup>17</sup>.  
*τῆς ἀδελφότητος.* *τὴν ἀδελφότητα.*  
1 Pet. 5<sup>o</sup>.  
*τῇ ἀδελφότητι.*

The word occurs in the N. T. only in 1 Peter; it is found in the LXX of 1 Macc. 12<sup>10, 17</sup>, but in the sense of 'brotherly affection.' It does not apparently occur in classical literature.

## 1 John

## d

- (53) Clem. xlix. 5. 1 John 4<sup>18</sup>.  
*ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἐτελειώθησαν πάντες οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ.* *ὁ δὲ φαρβύμενος οὐ τετελείωται ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ.*

Clem. i. 3.

*ἀλλ' οἱ ἐν ἀγάπῃ τελειωθέντες . . .*

There is a verbal similarity between the first passage in Clement and that in John, but the meaning is different; the

meaning in the second passage may perhaps be the same as in John.

*Apocalypse*

(54) Clem. xxxiv. 3.

προλέγει γὰρ ἡμῖν  
'Ἰδού ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ὁ  
μισθὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσ-  
ώπου αὐτοῦ, ἀποδοῦναι  
ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον  
αὐτοῦ.

**d**

Apoc. 22<sup>12</sup>.

ἰδού, ἔρχομαι ταχύ,  
καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ'  
ἐμοῦ, ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ  
ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ.

Isa. 40<sup>10</sup>.

ἰδοὺ Κύριος, Κύριος  
μετὰ ἰσχύος ἔρχεται . . .  
ἰδοὺ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ'  
αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐναν-  
τίον αὐτοῦ.

Isa. 62<sup>11</sup>.

ἰδοὺ ὁ σωτήρ σοι  
παραγέγονεν ἔχων τὸν  
ἑαυτοῦ μισθόν, καὶ τὸ  
ἔργον αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσ-  
ώπου αὐτοῦ.

Prov. 24<sup>12</sup>.

καὶ ὁ πλάσας πνοὴν  
πᾶσιν αὐτὸς οἶδεν πάντα,  
ὅς ἀποδίδωσιν ἐκάστῳ  
κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

The passages in Clement and the Apocalypse seem to be made up of a combination of phrases from Isaiah and Proverbs. The combination is noticeable, but may perhaps be accounted for by the hypothesis that it may have been made in some earlier Apocalyptic work. Cf. Barnabas (27).

GOSPELS.

The Synoptic Tradition.

(55) Clem. xiii. 1 f.

μάλιστα μεμνημένοι  
τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου  
'Ἰησοῦ, οὓς ἐλάλησεν  
διδάσκων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ  
μακροθυμίαν. οὕτως γὰρ  
1 εἶπεν 'Ἐλεᾶτε ἵνα ἐλεη-  
2 θῆτε, ἀφίετε ἵνα ἀφεθῆ  
3 ὑμῖν ὡς ποιεῖτε, οὕτω  
4 ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν ὡς  
δίδοτε, οὕτως δοθήσεται  
5 ὑμῖν ὡς κρίνετε, οὕτως

Matt. 5<sup>7</sup>, &c.

5<sup>7</sup> μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεή-  
μονες· ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθή-  
σονται.

6<sup>12</sup> καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν  
τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς  
καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς  
ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν.

6<sup>14</sup> εἰς γὰρ ἀφήτε  
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρα-  
πτώματα αὐτῶν, ἀφήσει  
καὶ ὑμῖν ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ

Luke 6<sup>31</sup>, 36-38.

6<sup>31</sup> καὶ καθὼς θέλετε  
ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄν-  
θρωποι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε  
αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως.

6<sup>36</sup> γίνεσθε οἰκτίρ-  
μονες, καθὼς ὁ πατὴρ  
ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστί.  
καὶ μὴ κρίνετε καὶ οὐ μὴ  
κριθῆτε; καὶ μὴ κατα-  
δικάζετε, καὶ οὐ μὴ κατα-  
δικασθῆτε· ἀπολύετε, καὶ

6 κριθήσεσθε ὡς χρη-  
στεύεσθε, οὕτως χρη-  
7 στευθήσεται ὑμῖν<sup>1</sup>. ᾧ  
μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἐν αὐτῷ  
μετρηθήσεται<sup>2</sup> ὑμῖν.

<sup>1</sup> Lat. omits the clause.

<sup>2</sup> Lat. reads *remetietur*.

οὐράνιος, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀφήτε  
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρα-  
πτώματα αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ὁ  
πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἀφήσει τὰ  
παραπτώματα ὑμῶν.

7<sup>1</sup> μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα  
μὴ κριθῆτε· ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρί-  
ματι κρίνετε κριθήσεσθε,  
καὶ ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε  
μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.

7<sup>12</sup> πάντα οὖν ὅσα  
ἂν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶ-  
σιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι,  
οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε  
αὐτοῖς· οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν  
ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται.

ἀπαλυθήσεσθε· δίδοτε καὶ  
δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· μέτρον  
καλόν, πεπιεσμένον, σε-  
σαλευμένον ὑπερεκχυνό-  
μενον, δώσουσιν εἰς τὸν  
κόλπον ὑμῶν. ᾧ γὰρ  
μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἀντι-  
μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.

Clem. Alex.

*Stromata*, ii. 18, 91.

ἐλεᾶτε, φησὶν ὁ Κύριος,  
ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε· ἀφίετε, ἵνα  
ἀφεθῆ ὑμῖν· ὡς ποιεῖτε,  
οὕτως ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν·  
ὅς δίδοτε οὕτως δοθή-  
σεται ὑμῖν· ὡς κρίνετε,  
οὕτως κριθήσεσθε· ὡς  
χρηστεύεσθε, οὕτως χρη-  
στευθήσεται ὑμῖν· ᾧ μέ-  
τρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρη-  
θήσεται ὑμῖν.

Polycarp ii. 3.

μνημονεύοντες δὲ ὧν  
εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος διδάσκων  
μὴ κρίνετε ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε·  
ἀφίετε, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται  
ὑμῖν· ἐλεᾶτε, ἵνα<sup>1</sup> ἐλεη-  
θῆτε, ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε,  
ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.

<sup>1</sup> Lat. *et*.

Didasc. ii. 21.

ὁδὸς δὲ εἰρήνης ἐστὶν  
ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν [Ἰησοῦς ὁ  
Χριστός], ὃς καὶ εἶπεν·  
ἄφετε καὶ ἀφεθήσεται  
ὑμῖν [δίδοτε καὶ δοθή-  
σεται ὑμῖν]<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. Lat. omit *δίδοτε*  
... ὑμῖν.

Didasc. ii. 42.

ὅτι λέγει ὁ Κύριος· ᾧ κρίματι κρί-  
νετε, κριθήσεσθε, καὶ ὡς καταδικά-  
ζετε, καταδικασθήσεσθε.

Macarius Aegypt., Hom.

xxxvii. 3.

καθὼς ἐνετείλατο, ἄφετε καὶ ἀφεθή-  
σεται ὑμῖν.

The phenomena of the passage are very complex.

I. The passage numbered 1 has no phrase directly corresponding to it in any of our Gospels, but might be founded on Matt. 5<sup>7</sup>.

The passage numbered 2 has no proper parallel in St. Matthew, but is near Luke ἀπολύετε, &c.

No. 3 has no proper parallel in our Gospels, but may be compared with Matt. 7<sup>12</sup> and Luke 6<sup>31</sup>.

No. 4 has no parallel in Matthew, but is very near Luke 6<sup>38</sup>, only Clement has ὡς and οὕτως, while Luke has καί.

No. 5 is parallel to Matt. 7<sup>1</sup> and Luke 6<sup>37</sup>, but Clement has *ὡς* and *οὕτως*, while Matthew has *μή* and *ἵνα μή κριθῆτε*, and Luke *μή* and *καὶ οὐ μὴ κριθῆτε*.

No. 6 has no parallel in either Gospel.

No. 7 is parallel to Matt. 7<sup>1</sup> and Luke 6<sup>36</sup>, but Matthew has *ἐν*  $\phi$  for  $\phi$ , and Luke inserts *γάρ* after  $\phi$ , and reads *ἀντιμετρηθήσεται*.

II. Resch (*Agrapha*, p. 136) has collected a number of parallels.

Clement of Alexandria has the passage exactly as in Clement with a few unimportant variations.

Clement of Alexandria's use of Clement of Rome is well established, and this fact, therefore, requires no special explanation.

In Polycarp some of Clement's phrases recur, cf. (75).

No. 1 is exactly the same, but Lat. reads *et*.

No. 2 is in Polycarp, but he reads *καὶ ἀφελήσεται* instead of *ἵνα ἀφελῆ*.

Nos. 3 and 4 are not in Polycarp.

No. 5 is found in Polycarp, but in the same form as in St. Matthew, not in Clement's form.

No. 6 is not in Polycarp.

No. 7 is found in Polycarp, but he omits Clement's *ἐν αὐτῷ*, and reads *ἀντιμετρηθήσεται* like Luke, yet he omits Luke's *γάρ*.

Didasc. ii. 21.

No. 2 is in the same form as in Polycarp.

No. 4 reads exactly as in Luke (but see critical note to text), omitting Clement's *ὡς* and *οὕτως*.

Didasc. ii. 42.

No. 5 occurs in the form of Matthew, while the clause *καὶ ὡς καταδικάζετε*, &c., is parallel to Luke.

Macarius, Hom. xxxvii. 3.

No. 2 reads as Polycarp.

III. To sum up these phenomena—

No. 1 is found in Clem. Alex. and Polycarp.

No. 2 is in Clem. Alex., Polycarp, Didasc., and Macarius.

No. 3 is found only in Clem. Alex.

No. 4 is found in Clem. Alex. and Didasc., but in the latter in the form of Luke.

No. 5 is found in Clem. Alex. and Polycarp, but in the latter in the form of Matthew.

No. 6 is found only in Clem. Alex.

No. 7 is found in Clem. Alex. and Polycarp, but in the latter in a form which approaches nearer to that of Matthew and Luke than that of Clem. Rom.

It must also be observed that except by Clem. Alex. the passage of Clem. Rom. is only partially reproduced, and so far as it is reproduced by Polycarp, it is in a totally different order.

IV. The Committee concludes that in the circumstances it is impossible to say with any confidence what is the source of Clement's quotations. It may be urged that they represent an inaccurate quotation of Matthew and Luke made from memory, but the recurrence in Polycarp of the phrase marked 1, and in Polycarp, Didasc., and Macarius of that marked 2, makes this less probable. On the other hand, the fact that the series of phrases as it is found in Polycarp and the Didasc. is incomplete, and not in the same order as in Clem. Rom., seems to show that there is no one documentary source common to all these writers.

We incline to think that we have in Clem. Rom. a citation from some written or unwritten form of 'Catechesis' as to our Lord's teaching, current in the Roman Church, perhaps a local form which may go back to a time before our Gospels existed.

(56) Clem. xlvii.	Matt. 26 <sup>24</sup> .	Mark 14 <sup>21</sup> .	Luke 17 <sup>1, 2</sup> .
7, 8.	οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀν-	ὅτι ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ	Ἄνευδεκτόν ἐστι
μνήσθητε τῶν λό-	θρώπων ἐκείνων δι' οὗ	ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει, κα-	τοῦ τὰ σκάνδαλα μὴ
γων Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυ-	ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου	θῶς γέγραπται περὶ	ἐλθεῖν· πλὴν οὐαὶ δι'
ρίου ἡμῶν·	παραδίδονται· καλὸν	αὐτοῦ· οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀν-	οὐ ἔρχεται. λυσι-
εἶπεν γάρ· Οὐαὶ	ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἐγεν-	θρώπων ἐκείνων, δι' οὗ	τελεῖ αὐτῷ εἰ λίθος
τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ·	νήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐ-	ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου	μυλικὸς περίκειται
καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ	κείνος.	παραδίδονται· καλὸν	περὶ τὸν τράχηλον
ἐγεννήθη, ἢ ἕνα τῶν	18 <sup>6</sup> f.	ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἐγεν-	αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔρριπται
ἐκλεκτῶν μου σκαν-	ὅς δ' ἂν σκανδα-	νήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖ-	εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν,
δαλίσαι· κρείττον ἦν	λίση ἕνα τῶν μι-	νος.	ἢ ἕνα σκανδαλίση

<p>αὐτῷ περιτεθῆναι μύ- λον καὶ καταποντι- σθῆναι εἰς τὴν θά- λασσαν, ἢ ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν μου σκανδα- λίσαι<sup>1</sup>.</p> <p><sup>1</sup> ἐκλεκτῶν μου δια- στρέψαι, Clem. Alex., Syr., Lat.</p>	<p>κρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ, συμφέρει αὐτῷ, ἵνα κρεμασθῆ μύλος ὀνικός περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταπον- τισθῆ ἐν τῷ πελά- γει τῆς θαλάσσης. . . . πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ, δι- οὐ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρ- χεται.</p>	<p>9<sup>42</sup>. καὶ ὅς ἂν σκανδα- λίσῃ ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευ- όντων εἰς ἐμέ, καλόν ἔστω αὐτῷ μᾶλλον εἰ περὶκειται μύλος ὀνικός περὶ τὸν τρά- χηλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ βέ- βληται εἰς τὴν θά- λασσαν.</p>	<p>τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ἓνα.</p>
--	--	--	-----------------------------------

We have here the combination of the words spoken by our Lord with regard to Judas, recorded by Matthew and Mark, with a saying which is recorded in another connexion in the three Synoptic Gospels. It is not impossible that Clement, quoting from memory, might have combined some words from the one context with the more general saying, and that he may thus be quoting from one or other of the Gospels. But it is just as probable that we have here, as in Clem. xiii, a quotation from some form of catechetical instruction in our Lord's doctrine.

(57) Clem. xxiv. 5.  
ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων.

Matt. 13<sup>3</sup>; Mark 4<sup>3</sup>; Luke 8<sup>5</sup>.  
ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων.

(58) Clem. xv. 2.  
λέγει γάρ που; οὗτος  
ὁ λαὸς τοῖς χεῖλεσίν με  
τιμᾶ, ἢ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν  
πόρρω ἄπεστιν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

Matt. 15<sup>8</sup>.  
καλῶς προεφήτευσε  
περὶ ὑμῶν Ἡσαΐας  
λέγων, ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς  
χεῖλεσί με τιμᾶ, ἢ δὲ  
καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω  
ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

Isa. 29<sup>13</sup>.  
καὶ εἶπεν Κύριος, ἐγ-  
γίξει μοι ὁ λαὸς οὗτος  
ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, καὶ  
ἐν τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αὐτῶν  
τιμᾶσίν με, ἢ δὲ καρδία  
αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ'  
ἐμοῦ.

Mark 7<sup>6</sup>.

Practically the  
same.

The quotation is probably from Isaiah, but the form of the quotation in Clement is the same as that in the Gospels: cf. 2 Clem. (33).



# IGNATIUS

## INTRODUCTION.

BESIDES his references to books of N. T., none of which stands as a direct quotation, Ignatius occasionally quotes from, or refers to, books of O. T. The passages are these:—

(a) Eph. v. 3. Prov. 3<sup>34</sup>.  
γέγραπται γάρ Ὑπερηφάνοις ὁ Κύριος ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται.  
Θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται.

This quotation is discussed below (76). Ignatius deviates from the order of the words, besides substituting Θεός for Κύριος.

(b) Eph. xv. 1. Ps. 33<sup>9</sup>.  
εἶπεν καὶ ἐγένετο. εἶπεν καὶ ἐγεννήθησαν.

Here ἐγένετο is a better translation of the original than ἐγεννήθησαν; but we need not suppose that Ignatius had access to the Hebrew text.

(c) Magn. x. 3. Isa. 66<sup>18</sup>.  
ᾧ πάντα γλώσσα πιστεύσασα εἰς συναγαγεῖν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς  
Θεὸν συνήχθη. γλώσσας.

A loose reference.

(d) Magn. xii. 1. Prov. 18<sup>17</sup>.  
ὁ δίκαιος ἑαυτοῦ κατήγορος. δίκαιος ἑαυτοῦ κατήγορος.

Ignatius here follows the LXX. The Hebrew gives quite a different sense: 'the first man is upright in his suit; his neighbour then cometh and searcheth him out' (Lightfoot).

(e) Magn. xiii. 1. Ps. 1<sup>3</sup>.  
ἵνα πάντα ὅσα ποιεῖτε κατενοδά- πάντα ὅσα ἂν ποιῆ κατενοδά-  
θῆτε. θήσεται.

(f) Trall. viii. 2. Isa. 52<sup>5</sup>.  
οὐαὶ γὰρ δι' οὗ ἐπὶ ματαιότητι τὸ ὀλολύζετε· τάδε λέγει ὁ Κύριος,  
ὄνομά μου ἐπὶ τινῶν βλασφημεῖται. δι' ὑμᾶς διὰ παντὸς τὸ ὄνομά μου  
βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

The words are also quoted indirectly by St. Paul (Rom. 2<sup>24</sup>).

Polycarp (Phil. x. 3) quotes them similarly to Ignatius, and so do the Apostolical Constitutions in two places. Both these last are probably borrowing directly from Ignatius.

(g) Smyrn. i. 2. Isa. 49<sup>22</sup>, 62<sup>10</sup>.  
*ἵνα ἄρη σύσσημον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.*

Cf. also Isa. 5<sup>26</sup>. LXX has *ἄρειν σύσσημον*.

A comparison of these references, and of those in Class B from N. T., will show that Ignatius always quotes from memory; that he is inexact even as compared with his contemporaries; and that he appears sometimes to have a vague recollection of a phrase when he is not thinking of, or wishing to remind his readers of, the original context.

## EPISTLES AND ACTS.

### A

#### 1 Corinthians

### b

(1) Eph. xvi. 1. 1 Cor. 6<sup>9</sup>, 10.

*μη̄ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου· οἱ οἰκοφθόροι βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν.* *μη̄ πλανᾶσθε· οὔτε πόρνοι, . . . οὔτε μοιχοί . . . βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσι.*

Cf. also Philad. iii *Μη̄ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου· εἴ τις σχίζοντι ἀκολουθεῖ, βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομεῖ*. These passages also resemble Gal. 5<sup>21</sup> (43), where *διχοστασίαι* and *αἰρέσεις* are mentioned (cf. *σχίζοντι* in Philad. iii). *οἰκοφθόροι* in Ignatius probably means ‘seducers,’ especially *μοιχοί*: if, however, we understand the ‘house’ to be the *Church* (so Hilgenfeld), we may also compare 1 Cor. 3<sup>17</sup> *εἴ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φθείρει, φθερεῖ τούτον ὁ Θεός*.

(2) Eph. xviii. 1. 1 Cor. 1<sup>18</sup>, 20.

*σταυροῦ, ὃ ἐστι σκάνδαλον τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν, ἡμῶν δὲ σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰῶνος. ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ συζητητῆς; ποῦ καύχῃσις τῶν λεγομένων συνετῶν;* *ὁ λόγος γὰρ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρία ἐστίν, τοῖς δὲ σωζομένοις ἡμῶν δύναμις Θεοῦ ἐστίν . . . ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεὺς; ποῦ συζητητῆς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου;*

St. Paul’s words (*ποῦ σοφός*, &c.) are a paraphrase of Isa. 33<sup>18</sup>; cf. also 19<sup>11</sup> sq. That Ignatius is quoting St. Paul is made more certain by the echo of 1 Cor. 1<sup>18</sup> in the preceding sentence. The phrase *σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ* occurs Gal. 5<sup>11</sup> (44).

(3) Magn. x. 3.

I Cor. 5<sup>7</sup>.

ὑπέρθεσθε οὖν τὴν κακὴν ζύμην  
τὴν παλαιωθεῖσαν καὶ ἐναξίσασαν, καὶ  
μεταβάλεσθε εἰς νέαν ζύμην, ὅς ἐστιν  
Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, ἵνα  
ἦτε νέον φύραμα.

A free quotation; but there can be little doubt that Ignatius had this passage in his mind.

(4) Rom. v. 1.

I Cor. 4<sup>4</sup>.

ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ ταῦτα δεδικαίωμαι.

ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ δεδικαίωμαι.

Ignatius quotes from memory; there is no difference in meaning between *παρὰ τοῦτο* and *ἐν τούτῳ*.

(5) Rom. ix. 2.

I Cor. 15<sup>8-10</sup>.

ἐγὼ γὰρ αἰσχύνομαι ἐξ αὐτῶν  
λέγεσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄξιός εἰμι, ὃν  
ἔσχατος αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκτραυμα, ἀλλ'  
ἠλέηματι τις εἶναι, ἣν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω.

ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων, ὡσπερὶ τῷ  
ἐκτρώματι, ᾤφθη καί μοι. ἐγὼ γὰρ . . .  
οὐκ εἰμι ἱκανὸς καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος  
. . . χάριτι δὲ Θεοῦ εἰμι ὃ εἰμι.

## G

(6) Eph. xv. 3.

I Cor. 3<sup>16</sup>.

πάντα οὖν ποιῶμεν, ὡς αὐτοῦ ἐν  
ἡμῖν κατοικοῦντος, ἵνα ᾧμεν αὐτοῦ  
ναοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν Θεός.

ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐστε, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ  
Θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν.

Cf. also I Cor. 6<sup>19</sup> and 2 Cor. 6<sup>16</sup>. See (39). Zahn without reason compares Apoc. 21<sup>3</sup>.

(7) Trall. ii. 3.

I Cor. 4<sup>1</sup>.

δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὄντας  
μυστηρίων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ πάντα  
τρόπον πᾶσιν ἀρέσκειν.

οὕτως ἡμᾶς λογιζέσθω ἄνθρωπος,  
ὡς ὑπηρετάς Χριστοῦ καὶ οἰκονόμους  
μυστηρίων Θεοῦ.

Cf. also I Cor. 10<sup>33</sup> ἐγὼ πάντα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκω.

(8) Trall. v. 1.

I Cor. 3<sup>1, 2</sup>.

φοβοῦμαι μὴ νηπίους οὖσιν ὑμῖν  
βλάβην παραθῶ.

ὡς νηπίους ἐν Χριστῷ . . . οὕτω  
γὰρ ἠδύνασθε.

In the next sentence *οὐ δυνηθέντες χωρῆσαι* is suggested by the same passage.

(9) Trall. xii. 3.

I Cor. 9<sup>27</sup>.

ἵνα μὴ ἀδόκιμος εὑρεθῶ.

μήπως . . . αὐτὸς ἀδόκιμος γένωμαι.

The idea of a *race* seems to be present in Ignatius as well as in St. Paul.

(10) Rom. iv. 3.

I Cor. 7<sup>22</sup>.

ἀπελεύθερος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ἀπελεύθερος Κυρίου.

Cf. also I Cor. 9<sup>1</sup>.

- (11) Rom. vi. 1. 1 Cor. 9<sup>16</sup>.  
καλὸν μοι ἀποθανεῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦν καλὸν γάρ μοι μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν  
Χριστὸν (v. 1. εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν), ἢ ἢ τὸ καύχημά μου οὐδεὶς κενώσει.  
βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς.
- (12) Philad. iv. 1. 1 Cor. 10<sup>18, 17</sup>.  
μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν τὸ ποτήριον . . . οὐχὶ κοινωνία ἐστὶν  
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐν ποτήριον εἰς τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ; τὸν ἄρτον  
ἐνώσωμ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ. ὃν κλώμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος  
τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστὶν; ὅτι εἰς ἄρτος, ἐν  
σῶμα οἱ πολλοὶ ἐσμεν.
- (13) Philad. vii. 1. 1 Cor. 2<sup>10</sup>.  
τὸ πνεῦμα . . . τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει. τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα πάντα ἐρευνᾷ.  
Cf. also 1 Cor. 14<sup>25</sup> and Eph. 5<sup>12, 13</sup>.
- (14) Smyrn. Inscript. 1 Cor. 1<sup>7</sup>.  
ἀνυστερήτω ὄση πάντος χαρί- ὥστε ὑμᾶς μὴ ὑστερεῖσθαι ἐν  
σματος. μηδενὶ χάρισματι.

## d

- (15) Eph. ii. 2. 1 Cor. 16<sup>18</sup>.  
κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν.
- (16) Eph. ii. 3. 1 Cor. 1<sup>10</sup>.  
κατηρτισμένοι.  
In both passages the idea of *unity* is prominent.
- (17) Eph. iv. 2. 1 Cor. 6<sup>15</sup>.  
μέλη ὄντας, &c.  
Cf. also Trall. xi. 2 ὄντας μέλη αὐτοῦ, and with these compare  
Rom. 12<sup>4, 5</sup> and Eph. 5<sup>30</sup>.
- (18) Eph. viii. 2. 1 Cor. 2<sup>14</sup>.  
οἱ σαρκικοί, &c.  
The resemblance is closer to Rom. 8<sup>5, 8</sup>. See below (35).
- (19) Eph. ix. 1. 1 Cor. 3<sup>10-17</sup>.  
ὡς ὄντες λίθοι ναοῦ, &c.  
Cf. also Eph. 2<sup>20 f.</sup>, and possibly 1 Pet. 2<sup>5</sup>.
- (20) Eph. x. 2 and xx. 1. 1 Cor. 15<sup>58</sup>.  
ἐδραῖοι τῇ πίστει.  
Cf. also Col. 1<sup>23</sup>, (64) a possible allusion.
- (21) Eph. xi. 1. 1 Cor. 7<sup>29</sup>.  
ἔσχατοι καιροί, &c.  
There is probably no reference to 1 John 1<sup>18</sup>.

- (22) Eph. xvii. 2. I Cor. I<sup>24</sup>, 30.  
διὰ τί . . . ὁ Κύριος.
- (23) Eph. xx. I. I Cor. I 5<sup>45</sup>, 47.  
τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον.  
See below on Eph. 2<sup>15</sup>, 4<sup>24</sup> (28).
- (24) Trall. vi. I. I Cor. 7<sup>10</sup>.  
οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλ' ἡ ἀγάπη, &c.
- (25) Trall. xi. 2. I Cor. I 2<sup>12</sup>.  
ζῆτας μέλη αὐτοῦ.  
See above (17).

Ignatius must have known this Epistle almost by heart. Although there are no *quotations* (in the strictest sense, with mention of the source), echoes of its language and thought pervade the whole of his writings in such a manner as to leave no doubt whatever that he was acquainted with the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

## B

*Ephesians*

## b

- (26) Eph. Inscript.

Eph. I<sup>3</sup> ff.

τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέθει, Θεοῦ πατρὸς πληρώματι, τῇ προσωρισμένη πρὸ αἰώνων εἶναι διὰ παντὸς εἰς δόξαν παράμονον ἄτρεπτον, ἡνωμένη καὶ ἐκλελεγμένη ἐν πάθει ἀληθινῶ ἐν θελήματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀξιομακαρίστῳ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, πλεῖστα ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ καὶ ἐν ἀμώμφω χαρᾷ χაίρειω.

εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατήρ . . . ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ . . . καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς . . . πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, εἶναι ἡμᾶς . . . ἀμώμους . . . προορίσας κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θελήματος . . . διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ . . . τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν . . . προσωρισθέντες . . . κατὰ τὴν βουλήν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ . . . εἰς τὰ εἶναι ἡμᾶς εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης αὐτοῦ.

A comparison of these two passages will show a very large number of correspondences, which Zahn undervalues when he calls them 'not very certain echoes.' The evidence is cumulative, and is not impaired by the fact that Ignatius applies to the Church collectively expressions which St. Paul applies to individual Christians, such adaptations being common to our author.

- (27) Polyc. v. I.

Eph. 5<sup>25</sup>.

παράγγελε . . . ἀγαπᾶν τὰς συμβίους, ὡς ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἡγάπησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

Cf. also (29).

## C

- (28) Eph. xx. 1. Eph. 2<sup>15</sup> and 4<sup>24</sup>.  
 τὸν καιὸν ἄνθρωπον Ἰησοῦν καιὸν ἄνθρωπον.  
 Χριστόν.

St. Paul uses the phrase in a slightly different sense; but, as Lightfoot suggests, Ignatius may have taken 'to put on the new man' as meaning 'to put on Christ,' an explanation, we may add, which St. Paul would not have repudiated. Cf. also 1 Cor. 15<sup>45</sup> ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος.

- (29) Smyrn. i. 1. Eph. 2<sup>16</sup>.  
 ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ. ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι.

The context in both passages contains a reference to Isaiah, as well as the common idea of Jew and Gentile as one body. Cf. also Eph. 1<sup>23</sup> and Col. 1<sup>18</sup>.

- (30) Polyc. i. 2. Eph. 4<sup>2</sup>.  
 πάντων ἀνέχου ἐν ἀγάπῃ. ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων ἐν ἀγάπῃ.

This correspondence is strengthened by the preceding words in Ignatius, τῆς ἐνώσεως φρόντιζε, ἧς οὐδὲν ἄμεινον, which should be compared with the following verse in Ephesians, σπουδάζοντες τηρεῖν τὴν ἐνότητα τοῦ πνεύματος.

## d

- (31) Eph. i. 1. Eph. 5<sup>1</sup>.  
 μιμηταὶ ὄντες Θεοῦ.

Cf. also Eph. x. 3, μιμηταὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, where the context is the same (forgiveness of injuries, &c.).

- (32) Eph. ix. 1. Eph. 2<sup>20-22</sup>.  
 λίθοι ναοῦ.

This may well be accounted for by 1 Cor. 3<sup>10-17</sup>; see (19). Compare also Col. 2<sup>7</sup> and 1 Pet. 2<sup>5</sup>.

- (33) Eph. xix. Eph. 3<sup>0</sup>.  
 πῶς οὖν ἐφανερώθη τοῖς αἰώσιν. τίς ἡ οἰκονομία τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων . . . ἵνα γνωρισθῇ.

Cf. also Col. 1<sup>26</sup> (66).

- (34) Polyc. vi. 2. Eph. 6<sup>13-17</sup>.  
 ὡς ὄπλα, &c.

The parts in the armour are differently assigned, and the metaphor was doubtless a favourite one in Christian preaching. Cf. too 1 Thess. 5<sup>8</sup>, where the resemblance is still slighter.

Though the correspondences between Ignatius and this Epistle are not nearly so numerous as in the case of 1 Corinthians, it may be considered almost certain that they are not accidental. Ignatius mentions St. Paul by name in Eph. xii, calling the Ephesians *συμμύσται Παύλου τοῦ ἡγιασμένου*, a phrase which reminds us of St. Paul's frequent use of *μυστήριον* for the Gospel dispensation in this Epistle (Eph. 1<sup>9</sup>, 3<sup>3, 4, 9</sup>, 5<sup>32</sup>, 6<sup>19</sup>). The words of Ignatius (Eph. xii) *ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστόλῃ* doubtless mean 'in every letter,' and are a pardonable exaggeration of the fact that the Apostle makes mention of the Ephesians in *five* of his Epistles besides that which bears their name.

Von der Goltz considers the literary dependence doubtful, in view of the difference in form of most of the supposed echoes, and of the fact that several of them have parallels also in Colossians, the Pastoral Epistles, or 1 Peter. The strength of the argument must rest mainly on the first passage quoted (26), in which the resemblances are numerous and striking; but even without it a strong case might be made out for the use of the Epistle by Ignatius.

## C

*Romans*

## c

(35) Eph. viii. 2.

οἱ σαρκικοί τὰ πνευματικὰ πρόσσειν οὐ δύνανται οὐδὲ οἱ πνευματικοὶ τὰ σαρκικά.

Rom. 8<sup>5, 8</sup>.

οἱ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ὄντες τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς φρονοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα τὰ πνεύματος . . . οἱ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ὄντες Θεῷ ἀρέσαι οὐ δύνανται.

This passage may be from 1 Cor. 2<sup>14</sup> (18), but the resemblance to Rom. 8<sup>5, 8</sup> is rather closer: cf. also Gal. 5<sup>16, 17</sup>. The use of the word *σάρξ* in an ethical sense is Pauline; in Ignatius it generally has an anti-docetic force.

(36) Eph. xix. 3.

καθηρέϊτο παλαιὰ βασιλεία, Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερούμενου εἰς καινότητα αἰδίου ζωῆς.

Rom. 6<sup>4</sup>.

ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν.

The phrase *καινότης ζωῆς* (= 'the new state which is life') is probably from St. Paul.

(37) Smyrn. i. 1.

ἐκ γένους Δαυεὶδ κατὰ σάρκα,  
υἶόν Θεοῦ κατὰ θέλημα καὶ δύναμιν.Rom. 1<sup>3</sup>, 4.περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου  
ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, τοῦ  
ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ  
πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης.Cf. also Eph. xviii. 2 ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαυεὶδ πνεύματος  
δὲ ἁγίου.

d

(38) Eph. Inscript.

τῇ εὐλογημένῃ . . . πληρώματι.

Rom. 15<sup>29</sup>.

ἐν πληρώματι εὐλογίας.

2 Corinthians

d

(39) Eph. xv. 3.

αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικοῦντος, ἵνα  
ᾤμεν ναοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν θεός.2 Cor. 6<sup>16</sup>.

ἡμεῖς γὰρ ναὸς Θεοῦ ἔσμεν ζῶντος.

The resemblance here is close, but may be sufficiently  
accounted for by 1 Cor. 3<sup>16, 27</sup> and 6<sup>19</sup>: see (6).

(40) Trall. ix. 2.

ἐγείραντος, &amp;c.

2 Cor. 4<sup>14</sup>.

'Apparently a reminiscence' (Lightfoot).

(41) Philad. vi. 3.

εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ μου ὅτι εὐσυν-  
εἰδητός εἰμι ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἔχει τις  
καυχῆσασθαι . . . ὅτι ἐβάρησά τινα,  
&c.2 Cor. 1<sup>12</sup>, 11<sup>9</sup>, 12<sup>16</sup>. Cf. 2<sup>6</sup>.A cumulative case, which is slightly strengthened by *καυχῆ-  
σασθαι*; cf. *καύχησις* 2 Cor. 11<sup>10</sup>. Cf. also 1 Thess. 2<sup>9</sup>. None  
of the above, taken singly, is more than a possible allusion;  
but taken together they make the use of the Epistle by  
Ignatius fairly probable.

Galatians

c

(42) Philad. i. 1.

ὃν ἐπίσκοπον ἔγνωον οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ  
οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων.Gal. 1<sup>1</sup>.οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώ-  
που.

d

(43) Eph. xvi. 1.

βασιλείαν . . . κληρονομήσουσιν.

Gal. 5<sup>21</sup>.οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες βασιλείαν  
Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν.See above (1) on 1 Cor. 6<sup>9, 10</sup>.



- (44) Eph. xviii. 1. Gal. 5<sup>11</sup>.  
 σταυροῦ ὃ ἐστὶ σκάνδαλον. σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ.
- (45) Trall. x. 1. Gal. 2<sup>21</sup>.  
 δωρεὰν ἀποθήσκα. ἄρα Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν.
- (46) Rom. vii. 2. Gal. 6<sup>14</sup>.  
 ὃ ἐμὸς ἔρωσ ἐσταύρωται. ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται καὶ γὰρ τῷ  
 κόσμῳ.

The passage in Philad. is the only one which strongly indicates knowledge of this Epistle by Ignatius; and as it stands almost alone, we cannot claim a very high degree of probability for the reference.

*Philippians*

c

- (47) Smyrn. iv. 2. Phil. 4<sup>13</sup>.  
 πάντα ὑπομένω αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυνα- πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί  
 μόντος. με.
- Cf. Eph. 6<sup>13</sup>; 1 Tim. 1<sup>12</sup> (54).
- (48) Smyrn. xi. 3. Phil. 3<sup>15</sup>.  
 τέλειοι ὄντες τέλεια καὶ φρονεῖτε. ὅσοι οὖν τέλειοι, τοῦτο φρονῶμεν.

d

- (49) Rom. ii and iv. Phil. 2<sup>17</sup>.  
 σπονδισθῆναι and θυσία.  
 Cf. also 2 Tim. 4<sup>6</sup> (59).
- (50) Philad. i. 1. Phil. 2<sup>3, 5</sup>.  
 οὐδὲ κατὰ κενοδοξίαν. μηδὲν κατ' ἐριθίαν μηδὲ κατὰ κeno-  
 δοξίαν . . . ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

*1 Timothy*

c

- (51) Eph. xiv. 1. 1 Tim. 1<sup>3-5</sup>.  
 ἀρχὴ μὲν πίστις, τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη. ἵνα παραγγελίης τισὶ μὴ ἑτεροδιδα-  
 σκαλεῖν, μηδὲ προσέχειν μύθοις καὶ  
 Eph. xx. 1. γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις αἵτινες ἐκζητή-  
 σεως παρέχουσι μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκονομίαν  
 προσδηλώσω ὑμῖν ἧς ἠρξάμην οἰκο- Θεοῦ τὴν ἐν πίστει. τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς  
 νομίας. παραγγελίας ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἐκ καθαρᾶς  
 Magn. viii. 1. καρδίας καὶ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ  
 μὴ πλανᾶσθε ταῖς ἑτεροδοξίαις μηδὲ πίστεως ἀνποκρίτου.
- μυθεύμασιν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀνωφελῶσιν  
 οὐσιν· εἰ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ Ἰουδαϊ-  
 σμὸν ζῶμεν, ὁμολογοῦμεν χάριν μὴ  
 εἰληφέναι.

If these three passages from Ignatius are compared with the opening sentences of 1 Timothy, it will be seen that the resemblance is very close, and that it lies in words and expressions which are not commonplaces. (See, however, *Hermas, Vis.* iii. 8. 3-5, for a list of virtues beginning with *πίστις* and ending with *ἀγάπη*.) It is also clear that, if literary dependence be admitted, it is on the side of Ignatius. See also (60).

(52) Polyc. iv. 3.

δούλους καὶ δούλας μὴ ὑπερηφάνει·  
ἀλλὰ μηδὲ αὐτοὶ φουσιώσθωσαν, ἀλλ'  
εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πλέον δουλευέτωσαν.

1 Tim. 6<sup>2</sup>.

μὴ καταφρονεῖτωσαν, ὅτι ἀδελφοί  
εἰσιν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δουλευέτωσαν.

d

(53) Rom. ix. 2.

ἀλλ' ἠλέημαί τις εἶναι ἐὰν Θεοῦ  
ἐπιτύχω.

1 Tim. 1<sup>13</sup>.

ἀλλὰ ἠλεήθην, ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα.

Cf. above, on 1 Cor. 7<sup>25</sup>, 15<sup>9</sup>, 10 (5).

(54) Smyrn. iv. 2.

αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυναμοῦντος τοῦ τελείου  
ἀνθρώπου γενομένου.

1 Tim. 1<sup>12</sup>.

Cf. also 2 Tim. 2<sup>1</sup> and 4<sup>17</sup>.

### 2 Timothy

c

(55) Eph. ii. 1.

κατὰ πάντα με ἀνεπαυσεν, ὡς καὶ  
αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνα-  
ψύξαι.

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

δῶφ ἔλεος ὁ Κύριος τῷ Ὁνησιφόρου  
οἴκῳ· ὅτι παλλάκις με ἀνέψυξε, καὶ  
τὴν αἰυσίν μου οὐκ ἐπησχύνθη.

Smyrn. x. 2.

ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμά μου,  
καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου ἃ οὐκ . . . ἐπησχύν-  
θητε.

These two passages seem to be reminiscences of the same context in 2 Timothy. The following words in Smyrn. x resemble Mark 8<sup>38</sup> and Luke 9<sup>26</sup>: see (90).

(56) Polyc. vi. 2.

ἀρέσκετε ᾧ στρατεύεσθε.

2 Tim. 2<sup>3</sup>.

ἵνα τῷ στρατολογήσῃσιν ἀρέσῃ.

d

(57) Eph. xvii. 1.

μὴ αἰχμαλωτίσῃ ὑμᾶς.

Cf. also Rom. 7<sup>23</sup>.

2 Tim. 3<sup>6</sup>.

- (58) Trall. vii. 2. 2 Tim 1<sup>3</sup>.  
καθαρός ἐστιν τῆ συνειδήσει. ἐν καθαρῇ συνειδήσει.
- (59) Rom. ii. 2. 2 Tim. 4<sup>6</sup>.  
μὴ πλέον παράσχησθε ταῦ σπανδισθῆναι Θεῷ. ἤδη σπένδομαι.
- Cf. Phil. 2<sup>17</sup>.

The reminiscences of 2 Timothy, as of 1 Timothy, are tolerably clear. Both Epistles are nearly in Class B.

*Titus*

## c

- (60) Magn. viii. 1. Titus 1<sup>14</sup>.  
μὴ πλανᾶσθε ταῖς ἑτεροδοξίαις μηδὲ μυθεύμασιν ταῖς παλαιαῖς ἀνωφελέσιν οὖσιν· εἰ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμόν ζῶμεν, ἀμολογοῦμεν χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι. μὴ προσέχοντες Ἰουδαϊκαῖς μύθοις καὶ ἐντολαῖς ἀνθρώπων.
- Titus 3<sup>9</sup>.  
μωρὰς δὲ ζητήσεις καὶ γενεαλογίας . . . περιύστασο· εἰσι γὰρ ἀνωφελεῖς καὶ μάταιοι.

See (51) on 1 Tim. 1<sup>4</sup>. The word ἀνωφελής and the reference to 'Judaism' occur in Titus and not in 1 Timothy.

## d

- (61) Polyc. vi. 1. Titus 1<sup>7</sup>.  
Θεοῦ οἰκάνομοι. ὡς Θεοῦ αἰκονόμον.

See (7) for 1 Cor. 4<sup>1</sup>; cf. 1 Pet. 4<sup>10</sup>.

The evidence in the case of Titus is weaker than in that of 1 Timothy or 2 Timothy.

## D

*Acts*

## d

- (62) Magn. v. 1. Acts 1<sup>25</sup>.  
ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον μέλλει χαρεῖν. ἀφ' ἧς παρέβη Ἰούδας πορευθῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον.

These phenomena must be taken along with those in relation to Luke's Gospel.

- (63) Symrn. iii. 3. Acts 10<sup>41</sup>.  
μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν. συνεφάγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

These look like allusions; but the words are common and obvious ones, and may be only the result of coincidence.

*Colossians***d**

- (63\*) Eph. ii. 1. Col. 1<sup>7</sup>, 4<sup>7</sup>.  
 τοῦ συνδούλου.  
 Cf. Magn. 2 ; Philad. 4 ; and see Lightfoot's note on Col. 4<sup>7</sup>.
- (64) Eph. x. 2. Col. 1<sup>23</sup>.  
 ἔδραϊοι τῇ πίστει.  
 See on 1 Cor. 15<sup>58</sup> (20).
- (65) Eph. xvii. 2. Col. 2<sup>2</sup>.  
 Θεοῦ γνώσει.

In the passage of Colossians, St. Paul, according to the best reading, identifies 'the knowledge of God' with 'Christ.'

- (66) Eph. xix. 2. Col. 1<sup>26</sup>.  
 πῶς οὖν ἐφανερώθη τοῖς αἰώσιν ;  
 Cf. also Eph. 3<sup>9</sup> (33).
- (67) Trall. v. 2. Col. 1<sup>16</sup>.  
 ὄρατὰ καὶ ἀόρατα. τὰ ὄρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα.
- (68) Smyrn. i. 2. Col. 2<sup>14</sup>.  
 καθηλωμένους ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ. προσηλώσας αὐτὸ τῷ σταυρῷ.  
 The metaphor is the same, but the application is different.
- (69) Smyrn. i. 2. Col. 1<sup>18</sup>.  
 ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι.

Cf. on Eph. 2<sup>16</sup> (29).

There is thus a considerable number of possible allusions to Colossians in Ignatius, but none of them is at all certain.

*1 Thessalonians***d**

- (70) Eph. x. 1. 1 Thess. 5<sup>17</sup>.  
 ἀδιάλειπτος προσεύχεσθε. The same.

The reading in Ignatius is doubtful (see Lightfoot); the adverb may have been inserted from the passage in 1 Thessalonians. The adjective ἀδιάλειπτος occurs in Polyc. i, but there also it is suspect.

- (71) Rom. ii. 1. 1 Thess. 2<sup>4</sup>.  
 οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀνθρωπαρεσκῆσαι, οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκοντες, ἀλλὰ  
 ἀλλὰ Θεῷ. Θεῷ.

The evidence that Ignatius knew 1 Thessalonians is almost *nil*.

- 2 *Thessalonians* d  
 (72) Rom. x. 3. 2 Thess. 3<sup>5</sup>.  
 ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. εἰς τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

- Philemon* d  
 (73) Eph. ii. 2. Philem. 20.  
 ἀναίμην ὑμῶν. ναί, ἀδελφέ, ἐγὼ σου ἀναίμην ἐν  
Κυρίῳ.

In spite of the fact that the name Onesimus occurs in this sentence of Ignatius, the allusion is very doubtful. The Pauline phrase *ἀναίμην* occurs in this sense several times in Ignatius.

- Hebrews* d  
 (74) Magn. iii. 2. Heb. 4<sup>13</sup>.  
 τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐ πρὸς σάρκα ὁ πάντα δὲ γυμνά καὶ τετραχλιωμένα  
 λόγος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Θεὸν τὸν τὰ κρύφια τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ πρὸς ὃν ἡμῶν ὁ  
 εἶδῶτα. λόγος.

We have here a double resemblance, in the *idea* of nothing being hidden from the knowledge of God, and in the *expression* ὁ λόγος [ἡμῶν ἐστι] πρὸς [τινα].

- (75) Philad. ix. 1. Heb. 7<sup>7</sup>, 19, 22, 23, 26.  
 καλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς κρεῖσσον δὲ ὁ  
 ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὰ ἅγια τῶν  
 ἁγίων, ὃς μόνος πεπίστευται τὰ κρυπτά  
 τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Lightfoot also compares Heb. 2<sup>17</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>14</sup>, 5<sup>5, 10</sup>, 6<sup>20</sup>, 7<sup>26</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>11</sup>. He adds: 'The reference (in ὁ πεπιστευμένος, &c.) is to the special privilege of the High Priest (Heb. 9<sup>7-12</sup>, 10<sup>19 sq.</sup>) of entering into the Holy Place. This coincidence, combined with those noticed above, shows, I think, that Ignatius must have had the Epistle to the Hebrews in his mind.' It is no doubt true that no other book in N. T. develops the idea of Christ as High Priest, and that Clement of Rome, who also uses it, e. g. (21), shows knowledge of Hebrews; but the comparison may well have been suggested to Ignatius from other sources, and the resemblance does not seem close enough to justify the degree of confidence which Lightfoot expresses. Cf. also Polycarp (65).

- 1 *Peter* d  
 (76) Eph. v. 3. 1 Pet. 5<sup>6</sup>.  
 γέγραπται γάρ Ὑπερηφάνους ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὑπερηφάνους ἀντιτάσσεται.  
 ἀντιτάσσεται.

The quotation is from Prov. 3<sup>34</sup>. The words are quoted not only in 1 Peter, but in James 4<sup>6</sup> and in Clement of Rome (47). In all alike Θεὸς or ὁ Θεός takes the place of the Κύριος of the LXX; but Ignatius alone puts ὑπερηφάνους first in the sentence.

- (77) Rom. v. 1. 1 Pet. 2<sup>25</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>.  
 The connexion of ποιμήν with ἐπίσκοπος is considered by Lightfoot to present 'a close parallel' with 1 Peter; but the resemblance must not be pressed. See also (19).

## GOSPELS.

### (I) The Synoptic Gospels.

The much closer parallels with Matthew than with Mark or Luke are a remarkable phenomenon, but one which frequently meets us in the earliest sub-Apostolic literature.

- B
- Matthew* b  
 (78) Trall. xi. 1. Matt. 15<sup>13</sup>.  
 οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ εἰσιν φυτεία πατρὸς. πᾶσα φυτεία ἦν οὐκ ἐφύτευεν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος, ἐκριζωθήσεται.  
 Philad. iii. 1.  
 ἀπέχεσθε τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν, ἄστινας οὐ γεωργεῖ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοὺς φυτεῖαν πατρὸς.
- (79) Smyrn. i. 1. Matt. 3<sup>15</sup>.  
 βεβαπτισμένον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου ἵνα οὕτω γὰρ πρέπειν ἐστὶν ἡμῶν πληρωθῆ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. πῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην.

Matthew alone of the Evangelists gives this *motive* for our Lord's Baptism. 'The use of the phrase πληρ. πᾶσ. δ. is so peculiar, and falls in so entirely with the characteristic Christian Judaizing of our first Evangelist, that it seems unreasonable to refer it to any one else' (Sanday). The fact that Ignatius elsewhere (Eph. xviii. 2) ascribes a different

motive for the Baptism, viz. *ἵνα τῷ πάθει τὸ ὕδωρ καθαρῶς*, perhaps strengthens the case.

(80) Smyrn. vi. 1.

Matt. 19<sup>12</sup>.

*ὁ χωρῶν χωρεῖτω.*

*ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν χωρεῖτω.*

The meaning of the phrase is the same in the two passages; it stamps the doctrine just stated as a difficult and mysterious one.

(81) Polyc. ii. 2.

Matt. 10<sup>16</sup>.

*φρόνιμος γίνου ὡς ὁ ὄφις ἐν πᾶσιν, καὶ ἀκέραιος εἰσαεὶ ὡς ἡ περιστέρα.*

*γίνεσθε οὖν φρόνιμοι ὡς αἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί.*

This sentence is wanting in the parallel passage of Luke (10<sup>3</sup>).

**C**

(82) Eph. v. 2.

Matt. 18<sup>19, 20</sup>.

*εἰ γὰρ ἑνὸς καὶ δευτέρου προσευχῆ τοσαύτην ἰσχύον ἔχει.*

*ἐὰν δύο ἡμῶν συμφωνήσωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . . γενήσεται αὐτοῖς. οὐ γὰρ εἰσι δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἔμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.*

Here Ignatius's *ἑνὸς καὶ δευτέρου* = *δυοῖν*. The reference is clearly to the *saying* recorded in Matthew—'probably a well-known saying' of Christ (Zahn). Cf. also James 5<sup>16</sup>.

(83) Eph. vi. 1.

Matt. 10<sup>40</sup>.

*πάντα γὰρ ὃν πέμπει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν, οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμψαντα.*

*ὁ δεχόμενος ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ δέχεται, καὶ ὁ ἐμὲ δεχόμενος δέχεται τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.*

It is possible that Ignatius may also be alluding to the parable narrated in Matt. 21<sup>33-39</sup> (where *οἰκοδεσπότης* occurs, not in Mark or Luke). There is also a resemblance to John 13<sup>20</sup> (see below (102)), which is perhaps as close as the resemblance to Matthew (John uses *πέμπειν*). Luke 10<sup>16</sup> is much less similar in language than either.

(84) Polyc. i. 2, 3.

Matt. 8<sup>17</sup>.

*πάντας βάσταξε ὡς καὶ σε ὁ Κύριος . . . πάντων τὰς νόσους βάσταξε, ὡς τέλειος ἀθλήτης.*

*αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν.*

The idea is found in Isa. 53<sup>4</sup>; but it is probable that Ignatius borrows from Matthew and not direct from O. T.; for the LXX reading is different, viz. *οὗτος τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν*

φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται. Ignatius, however, translates the Hebrew correctly, and the possibility that he is using a translation other than the LXX cannot be excluded.

## d

(85) Eph. xvii. 1.

Matt. 26<sup>7</sup>.

διὰ τοῦτο μύρον ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὁ Κύριος, ἵνα πνέῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀφθαρσίαν. προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ γυνή . . . καὶ κατέχευεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνακειμένον.

Cf. also Mark 14<sup>3 ff.</sup>; John 12<sup>3 ff.</sup>. If there is literary dependence on any of our Gospels, the preference must be given to Matthew rather than Mark, who has κατέχευεν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς, while the reference to the *head* as anointed, and (seemingly) as the quarter from which the fragrance of incorruptibility is shed upon the Church, favours Matthew rather than John.

(86) Magn. v. 2.

Matt. 22<sup>19</sup>.

ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐστί νομίσματα δύο, &c.

(87) Magn. ix. 3.

Matt. 27<sup>52</sup>.

παρὼν ἤγειρεν αὐτούς.

Lightfoot shows that the belief in a *descensus ad inferos* was prominent in the early Church. Here Christ is supposed to have *visited* the souls of patriarchs and prophets, and to have *raised* (ἤγειρεν) them either to paradise or heaven. Cf. also Philad. ix; and 1 Pet. 3<sup>19</sup>, 4<sup>6</sup> for parallel views of the descent into Hades. The belief appears also in Justin, who quotes Jeremiah in confirmation, and asserts that the passage in question, which does not appear in the Hebrew Bible, had been wilfully excised by the Jews. Irenaeus also quotes it more than once, ascribing it both to Jeremiah and to Isaiah.

(88) Rom. ix. 3.

Matt. 10<sup>40, 41</sup>.

τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν δεξαμένων με εἰς ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

The phrase εἰς ὄνομα, as well as the similarity of thought, should be noticed, especially as there may be another echo of this passage in Eph. vi: see (83).



Ignatius was certainly acquainted either with our Matthew, or with the source of our Matthew, or with a Gospel very closely akin to it. In the present uncertain state of the Synoptic Problem, it would be rash to express any confident opinion; but the indications on the whole favour the hypothesis that he used our Greek Matthew in something like its present shape.

D

*Mark*

d

(89) Eph. xvi. 1.  
*εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον.*

Mark 9<sup>48</sup>.

The phrase, though in quite a different context, occurs in Matt. 3<sup>12</sup> and Luke 3<sup>17</sup>.

(90) Smyrn. x. 2.

Mark 8<sup>98</sup>.

*οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς ἐπαισχυνθήσεται ἡ τελεία  
πίστις, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.*

Cf. also Luke 9<sup>26</sup> (93), and see (55).

Scarcely anything can be built on these very doubtful allusions.

*Luke*

d

(91) Smyrn. i. 2.

Luke 23<sup>7-12</sup>.

*ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ  
Ἡρώδου τετράρχου καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ  
ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκί.*

'The part taken by Herod is mentioned by Luke alone in the Canonical writings' (Lightfoot).

(92) Smyrn. iii. 2.

Luke 24<sup>39</sup>.

*καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον  
ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· Δάβετε, ψηλαφήσα-  
τέ με, καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι δαιμόνιον  
ἀσώματον.*

*ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι πνεῦ-  
μα σάρκα καὶ ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς  
ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα.*

Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 36) says of this passage of Ignatius, *οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπόθεν ῥητοῖς συγκέχρηται*. Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 2) says that it is taken from the 'evangelium quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos,' which he had lately translated into Greek and

Latin, and which at the time he was disposed to regard as the original Matthew, though afterwards he spoke less confidently on this point. In another place (*Comm. in Isai. xviii. praeef.*) he repeats his statement that 'incorporale daemonium' comes from this source. On the other hand, Eusebius, who was well acquainted with this Gospel, cannot verify the quotation; and Origen, who also knew it well, ascribes the words to another apocryphal writing, viz. the *Petri Doctrina* (*de Princ. praeef. 8*), which he pronounces to be the work neither of Peter nor of any other inspired writer. The contradiction cannot be explained. Lightfoot suggests that either Jerome's memory failed him, or that his copy of the Gospel according to the Hebrews contained a different recension from that which was known to Origen and Eusebius. As regards Ignatius, he thinks it impossible to say whether he got the story from oral tradition or from some written source. Considering the carelessness of Ignatius in quotation, it is strange that Eusebius should not have suggested that he took the story from Luke; and but for these Patristic comments, we should probably have formed that opinion. Ignatius mentions the incident as if it were already well-known to his readers.

(93) Smyrn. x. 2.

Luke 9<sup>26</sup>.

Ὀὐδὲ ὑμᾶς ἐπαισχυθησεται . . . Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. Cf. Luke 9<sup>26</sup>; as also Mark 8<sup>38</sup>, see on (90).

---

The balance of probability seems to be slightly in favour of a knowledge of the Third Gospel by Ignatius: cf. Acts (62).

## (II) The Synoptic Tradition.

(94) Eph. xiv. 2.

Matt. 12<sup>35</sup>.

φανερὸν τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ.

ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται.

Luke 6<sup>44</sup>.

ἕκαστον γὰρ δένδρον ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου καρποῦ γινώσκεται.

The words have the look of a current saying of Christ.

(95) Eph. xi. 1.

ἦν γὰρ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὀργὴν φοβη-  
θῶμεν, ἢ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν χάριν ἀγαπή-  
σωμεν.

Matt. 3<sup>7</sup>.

γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, τίς ὑπέδειξεν  
ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς ;  
Luke 3<sup>7</sup> (the same words).

(96) Magn. x. 2.

ἀλισθήτε ἐν αὐτῷ.

Matt. 5<sup>13</sup>; Mark 9<sup>50</sup>; Luke  
14<sup>34</sup>.

The mention of the 'kingdoms of the world' may be a reminiscence of the narrative of the Temptation in Matt. 4<sup>8</sup>; Luke 4<sup>5</sup>.

(97) Rom. vi. 1.

οὐδέν με ὠφελήσει . . . τούτου.

Matt. 16<sup>26</sup>.

Also in Mark and Luke.

This is at best a very doubtful allusion.

## (III) The Fourth Gospel.

B

John

b

(98) Rom. vii. 2.

οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ φίλῶλον,  
ὔδωρ δὲ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί,  
ἔσωθέν μοι λέγον· Δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν  
πατέρα.

John 4<sup>10, 14</sup>.

σὺ ἂν ᾔτησας αὐτόν, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἄν  
σοι ὔδωρ ζῶν . . . τὸ ὔδωρ ὃ ἐγὼ δώσω  
αὐτῷ γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος  
ἀλλομένου εἰς ζῶν αἰώνιον.

Lightfoot's assertion that 'the whole passage is inspired by the Fourth Gospel' seems to be justified, especially in view of John 4<sup>23</sup> καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ τοιούτους ζητεῖ τοὺς προσκυνούοντας αὐτόν. Besides the close parallel quoted above, τροφή φθορᾶς just below is probably suggested by John 6<sup>27</sup> τὴν βρῶσιν τὴν ἀπολλυμένην, and ἄρτον Θεοῦ by John 6<sup>33</sup>; cf. also 7<sup>38</sup>. If we adopt the reading ζῶν ἀλλόμενον from the interpolator's text, we have another striking parallel with John 4<sup>14</sup>: πηγὴ ὕδατος ζῶντος occurs in Justin, *Dial.* 69. On the other side (against the Johannine reference) it might be urged that the words about the 'living water' may have been a well-known saying of Christ, with which Ignatius may have been acquainted from other sources. The words of Ignatius about the 'pleasures of this life' have a Synoptic ring, and there is nothing corresponding to them, nor to the remarkable phrase about ἀγάπη ἄφθαρτος as 'the blood of Christ,' in John. Moreover, the passage in John speaks of present advantage, Ignatius of future reward. This

last objection is not serious; and on the whole direct literary dependence seems much the most probable hypothesis.

(99) Philad. vii. 1.

John 3<sup>8</sup>.

τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ πλανᾶται, ἀπὸ Θεοῦ  
ὄν· οἶδεν γὰρ πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ  
ὑπάγει, καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει.

τὸ πνεῦμα ὅπου θέλει πνεῖ, καὶ τὴν  
φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἀκούεις, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδας  
πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει.

The passage reads like an echo of the words in the Gospel, though the thought is quite different. This, however, is in Ignatius's manner. The idea in τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει has nothing corresponding to it in the discourse to Nicodemus. The phrase πόθεν ἔρχεται recurs John 8<sup>14</sup> and 1 John 2<sup>11</sup>, in a different connexion. John 8<sup>14</sup> (οἶδα πόθεν ἦλθον καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγω) is in some ways nearer to Ignatius than 3<sup>8</sup>. Both passages may have been floating in his mind.

### C

(100) Magn. vii. 1.

John 8<sup>28, 29</sup>.

ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πα-  
τρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν, . . . οὕτως μηδὲ  
ὑμεῖς, &c.

ἀπ' ἑμαυτοῦ ποιῶ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ  
καθὼς ἐδίδαξέ με ὁ πατήρ, ταῦτα  
λολῶ. καὶ ὁ πέμψας με μετ' ἐμοῦ  
ἐστίν· οὐκ ἀφῆκέ με μόνον, ὅτι τὰ  
ἄρεστὰ αὐτῷ ποιῶ πάντοτε.

Magn. viii. 2.

[Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς] κατὰ πάντα εὐηρέ-  
στησεν τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν.

This parallel is much strengthened by the *double* reminiscence.

### d

(101) Eph. v. 2 and Rom. 7<sup>3</sup>.

John 6<sup>38</sup>.

ἄρτος τοῦ Θεοῦ.

ἄρτος τοῦ Θεοῦ.

(102) Eph. vi. 1.

John 13<sup>20</sup>.

πάντα γὰρ ὅν πέμπει, &c.

See above on Matt. 10<sup>40</sup> (83).

(103) Eph. xvii. 1.

John 12<sup>ff.</sup>

μύρον ἔλαβεν, &c.

Some commentators (e.g. Zahn and Lightfoot) have argued that this passage shows knowledge of John's Gospel as well as of Matthew's, because of the mention of the *fragrance* of the ointment (ἡ δὲ οἶκία ἐπληρώθη, &c.); but this can hardly be pressed: see (85). Similarly, τοῦ ἀρχοντος τοῦ

*αἰῶνος τούτου* need not imply knowledge of John 16<sup>11</sup>, for St. Paul (1 Cor. 2<sup>6, 8</sup>) has the same phrase. The dominant thought in Ignatius is that the Church, as the Body of Christ, has a share in the anointing of the Head. Cf. Origen, *c. Celsum*, vi. 79, for the same idea.

(104) Philad. ix. 1.

John 10<sup>9</sup>.

*ἀπὸς ὧν θύρα τοῦ πατρὸς.*

Cf. also John 14<sup>6</sup> and Apoc. 3<sup>8</sup>. The Johannine doctrine of the pre-incarnate activity of the Logos is emphasized by Ignatius in this sentence. Compare his words about Abraham, &c., with John 8<sup>56</sup>. Besides the word *θύρα*, compare Ignatius's *εἰσέρχονται* and *σωτήριος* with John's *εἰσέλθῃ* and *σωθήσεται*. But the metaphor of the Door occurs also in Hermas; and in John 10<sup>9</sup> there is no reference to 'drawing' to the Father, nor to the Old Testament saints (as in Ignatius's next line). John 14<sup>6</sup> would have been more to the purpose, if Ignatius had wished to quote the Fourth Gospel here.

---

Ignatius's use of the Fourth Gospel is highly probable, but falls some way short of certainty. The objections to accepting it are mainly (1) our ignorance how far some of the Logia of Christ recorded by John may have been current in Asia Minor before the publication of the Gospel. If they formed part of the Apostle's oral teaching, they must have been familiar to his disciples, and may have been collected and written down long before our Gospel was composed. (2) The paucity of phrases which recall the language of the Gospel, and the absence of direct appeals to it; phenomena which are certainly remarkable when we consider the close resemblance between the theology of Ignatius and that of the Fourth Gospel. It is difficult, for example, to think of any reason why Ignatius did not quote John 20 in *Smyrn.* iii. 2 (93).

#### (IV) Apocryphal Gospels.

See under (92), for possible use of *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.

# THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP

## INTRODUCTION.

*Standard of Accuracy in Quotation.* Very little help can be gained from Polycarp's use of O. T., as the number of cases in which he can be proved to have made use of O. T. is small. The clearest case of a quotation is from Tobit 12<sup>9</sup> ἐλεημοσύνη ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται (Polycarp. x. 2 'eleemosyna de morte liberat'). In Polycarp xi. 2 ('qui ignorant iudicium domini') there seems undoubtedly to be a reference to Jer. 5<sup>4</sup> (οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ὁδὸν Κυρίου καὶ κρίσω Θεοῦ), and the freedom of the quotation deserves notice. There are many places where the language of O. T. may have influenced Polycarp, but the quotations, if they are such, are generally allusive and worked into the structure of the writer's sentences. Polycarp's use of O. T. is in fact very similar in its general phenomena to his use of those parts of N. T. on which he relies most frequently.

In his undoubted quotations from N. T. we find that, while short collections of words are sometimes repeated exactly, in longer passages the order is treated very freely, omissions occur for which no reason can be assigned, and the spirit rather than the actual words is sometimes reproduced. The quotations have the appearance of having been made from memory; rarely, if ever, from a book.

The following *formulae of citation* may be mentioned:—

- (i) εἰδότες ὅτι: see Galatians (31), Ephesians (36), 1 Timothy (48), Gospels (82).
- (ii) καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος: see Gospels (77).
- (iii) μνημονεύοντες ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος διδάσκων: see Gospels (75).
- (iv) 'sicut Paulus docet': see 1 Corinthians (2).
- (v) 'ut his scripturis dictum est': see Ephesians (37).

## A

## I Corinthians

## a

(1) Pol. v. 3.

οὔτε πόρνοι οὔτε μαλακοὶ οὔτε ἀρσενοκοῖται βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν, οὔτε οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἄτοπα.

I Cor. 6<sup>9</sup>.

οὔτε πόρνοι, οὔτε εἰδωλόλατραι, οὔτε μοιχοί, οὔτε μαλακοί, οὔτε ἀρσενοκοῖται, οὔτε κλέπται, οὔτε πλεονέκται, οὐ μέθυσοι, οὐ λοιδοροὶ, οὐχ ἄρπαγες, βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν.

These passages agree verbally, except for omissions in Polycarp. The last words cited from Polycarp suggest that he may have been conscious of making omissions in his quotation, but these omissions do not appear to proceed on any fixed principle, and the quotation was probably therefore made from memory. On the other hand, it seems impossible to doubt that the passage in I Corinthians is the source of Polycarp's words.

(2) Pol. xi. 2.

‘aut nescimus quia sancti mundum iudicabunt? sicut Paulus docet.’

I Cor. 6<sup>2</sup>.

ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἅγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρινούσιν;

The reference to St. Paul by name makes Polycarp's use of I Corinthians practically certain, though it occurs in a part of the letter for which the Latin version alone is extant.

(3) Pol. iii. 2, 3.

τὴν δοθείσαν ἡμῖν πίστιν . . . ἐπακολουθούσης τῆς ἐλπίδος, προαγούσης τῆς ἀγάπης.

## C

I Cor. 13<sup>13</sup>.

νυνὶ δὲ μένει πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη, τὰ τρία ταῦτα· μείζων δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀγάπη.

The collocation of ‘faith, hope, love,’ occurs elsewhere in St. Paul (I Thess. 1<sup>3</sup>; Col. 1<sup>4, 5</sup>), but I Cor. 13 is the chief passage, and the order there is the same as in Polycarp.

(4) Pol. iii. 2.

οἰκοδομεῖσθαι εἰς τὴν δοθείσαν ἡμῖν πίστιν.

## d

I Cor. 8<sup>10</sup>.

οἰκοδομηθήσεται εἰς τὸ τὰ εἰδωλόβυτα ἐσθίειν.

Pol. xi. 4.

‘hoc enim agentes, vos ipsos aedificatis.’

I Cor. 14<sup>10</sup>.

ὁ λαλῶν γλώσση ἑαυτὸν οἰκοδομεῖ.

Pol. xii. 2.

‘aedificet vos infideet veritate.’

οἰκοδομεῖν is a commoner word in I Corinthians than elsewhere in N. T.; outside Polycarp, on the other hand, it does not occur in the Apostolic Fathers.

- (5) Pol. iv. 3. 1 Cor. 14<sup>25</sup>.  
 οὔτε τι τῶν κρυπτῶν τῆς καρδίας. τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας cf. 4<sup>5</sup>.  
 See also Rom. 2<sup>15, 16</sup>.
- (6) Pol. x. 1. 1 Cor. 15<sup>58</sup>. Col. 1<sup>23</sup>.  
 ‘firmi in fide et ἑδραῖαι γίνεσθε, ἀμε- εἷ γε ἐπιμένετε τῇ  
 immutabiles.’ τακίητοι. πίστει τεθεμελιωμένοι  
καὶ ἑδραῖαι καὶ μὴ μετα-  
κινούμενοι.

The parallel with Colossians is verbally stronger, as τῇ πίστει does not occur in 1 Corinthians; but the order is that of 1 Corinthians, and the evidence for Polycarp's use of Colossians is weak (see under Colossians).

- (7) Pol. xi. 4. 1 Cor. 12<sup>28</sup>.  
 ‘sicut passibilia membra et εἶτε πάσχει ἐν μέλος, συμπάσχει  
 errantia eos revocate.’ πάντα τὰ μέλη.

It is possible that *passibilia* contains an allusion to the metaphor of 1 Corinthians. See also 1 Peter (17).

- (8) Pol. ii. 1. 1 Cor. 15<sup>28</sup>.  
 ᾧ ὑπετάγη τὰ πάντα ἐπουράνια ὅταν δὲ ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.  
 καὶ ἐπίγεια.

This parallelism is too weak to be classed. See also Philippians (42).

In view of the fact that Polycarp's use of 1 Corinthians may be regarded as certain, the small amount of verifiable influence from 1 Corinthians is worthy of notice.

## 1 Peter

## a

- (9) Pol. i. 3. 1 Pet. 1<sup>9</sup>.  
 εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε χαρᾷ ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες ἀγαπάτε, εἰς ὃν ἄρτι  
 ἀνεκκλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῳ. μὴ ὄρωντες πιστεύοντες δὲ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε  
χαρᾷ ἀνεκκλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῳ.

1 Peter is almost certainly presupposed by Polycarp here, but the points of difference between the passages are instructive for Polycarp's method of quotation.

- (10) Pol. viii. 1, 2. 1 Pet. 2<sup>21</sup>. Isa. 53<sup>9</sup>.  
 ὃς ἀπήνεγκεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίη-  
 ἀμαρτίας τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ὑμῖν ὑπαλιμπάνων ὑπο- σεν οὐδὲ δόλον [v. l.  
 ἐπὶ τὰ ξύλον, ὃς ἀμαρ- γραμμὸν . . . ὃς ἀμαρτίαν εὐρέθη δόλος] ἐν τῷ  
 τίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὔτε οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὐρέθη στόματι αὐτοῦ.  
 εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι  
 στόματι αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτοῦ . . . ὃς τὰς  
 ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ζήσωμεν ἐν ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς



αὐτῷ, πάντα ὑπέμεινεν.  
 . . . καὶ ἐὰν πάσχωμεν  
 διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, δοξ-  
 ἀζώμεν αὐτόν. ταῦτον  
 γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν  
 ἔθηκε.

ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι  
 αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ἵνα  
 ταῖς ἁμαρτίας ἀπογενώ-  
 μενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζή-  
 σωμεν.

4<sup>16</sup> εἰ δὲ ὡς Χριστι-  
 ανὰς, μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω,  
 δοξαζέτω δὲ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν  
 τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ.

The whole of this passage is very strongly Petrine, and it will be noticed that all the parallel passages in 1 Peter (except one) come from the same context. In the place where 1 Peter is dependent on Isaiah (as quoted above), Polycarp seems clearly to be dependent on 1 Peter. At the same time, the variations of order and the occasional verbal differences should be noticed; but there is a striking identity of thought, even where the form is different.

(11) Pol. x. 2.

'omnes vobis invicem subiecti  
 estote, conversationem vestram  
 irreprehensibilem habentes in  
 gentibus, ut ex bonis operibus  
 vestris et vos laudem accipiat  
 et Dominus in vobis non bla-  
 sphemetur.'

1 Pet. 2<sup>12</sup>.

τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς  
 ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλὴν, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καταλα-  
 λούσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν, ἐκ τῶν καλῶν  
 ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάσωσιν τῷ Θεῷ  
 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς. ὑπατάγητε πάσῃ  
 ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν Κύριον.

5<sup>5</sup> πάντες δὲ ἀλλήλοις [ὑποτάγητε].

The second clause in the passage quoted from Polycarp seems to be a certain quotation from 1 Peter, and the unconscious change implied by the word *irreprehensibilem* is therefore to be noticed.

These three passages (9) (10) (11), taken together, strengthen each other, and justify the inclusion of all three in the first class.

(12) Pol. ii. 1.

διὸ ἀναξωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας δου-  
 λεύσατε τῷ Θεῷ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ,  
 . . . πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν ἐγείραντα  
 τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ  
 νεκρῶν καὶ δόντα αὐτῷ δόξαν.

b

1 Pet. 1<sup>13</sup>.

διὸ ἀναξωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας τῆς  
 διανοίας ὑμῶν, νήφοντες, τελείως  
 ἐπίστατε κτλ.

1 Pet. 1<sup>21</sup>.

τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς εἰς Θεὸν  
 τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ  
 δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα.

It may be noticed that these two pairs of passages, which agree closely, follow each other in the same order in Polycarp

and 1 Peter. In the first passage, Polycarp appears to conflate a passage from 1 Peter with Ps. 2<sup>11</sup>: see Lightfoot, ad loc.

- (13) Pol. ii. 2. 1 Peter. 3<sup>9</sup>.  
*μη ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ μη ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἢ ἢ λαιδορίαν ἀντὶ λαιδορίας ἢ γρόνθον λαιδορίαν ἀντὶ λαιδορίας. ἀντὶ γρόνθου ἢ κατάραν ἀντὶ κατάρας.*

This is almost certainly a quotation from 1 Peter, but the possibility cannot be excluded that both Polycarp and 1 Peter are quoting a proverb in the part common to them. Polycarp's method of continuing the quotation by additions of his own is worth notice.

- (14) Pol. v. 3. 1 Peter. 2<sup>11</sup>.  
*καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀνακόπτεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι πᾶσα ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος στρατεύεται. αἴτινες στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς. Gal. 5<sup>17</sup>. ἢ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος.*

It is highly probable that this is a quotation from 1 Peter, in view of the use of *στρατεύεται*, a word of strong colouring. A fusion with Gal. 5<sup>17</sup> (34) may be responsible for *κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος*.

- (15) Pol. vii. 2. 1 Peter. 4<sup>7</sup>.  
*νήφοντες πρὸς τὰς εὐχάς. νήψατε εἰς προσευχάς.*  
 Pol. xi. 4.  
 'sobrii ergo estote.'

The expression in vii. 2 is so striking, that it is very probably a quotation.

### d

- (16) Pol. i. 3. 1 Peter. 1<sup>12</sup>.  
*εἰς ἣν πολλοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν εἰσελθεῖν. εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι.*

Polycarp may possibly be influenced by 1 Peter here, as his words follow immediately the certain quotation (9), while the words in 1 Peter follow the words cited from that Epistle under (9) after a short interval.

- (17) Pol. vi. 1. 1 Peter. 2<sup>25</sup>. Ezek. 34<sup>4</sup>.  
*ἐπιστρέφοντες τὰ ἀποπεπλανημένα. ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπεστράφητε νῦν. τὸ πλανώμενον οὐκ ἐπεστρέψατε (v. l. ἀπεστρέψατε).*  
 Pol. xi. 4.  
 'sicut passibilia membra et errantia eos revocate.'

As Polycarp cannot be proved to have made much use of O. T., it is possible that 1 Peter has influenced these passages. The word *passibilia* may be due to 1 Cor. 12<sup>26</sup>; see 1 Corinthians (7).

(18) Pol. vi. 3.                      1 Pet. 3<sup>15</sup>.                      Titus 2<sup>14</sup>.  
 ζηλωταὶ περὶ τὸ καλόν.      τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ζηλωταί.      ζηλωτῆν καλῶν ἔργων.

This is a possible case of influence, but the expression is not striking or distinctive enough to make the inference necessary.

(19) Pol. xii. 2.                      1 Pet. 1<sup>21</sup>.                      Rom. 4<sup>24</sup>, 10<sup>9</sup>;  
 'qui credituri sunt      quoted under (12).      Gal. 1<sup>1</sup>; Col. 2<sup>12</sup>; &c.  
 in Dominum nos-  
 trum et Deum Iesum  
 Christum et in ipsius  
 patrem qui resusci-  
 tavit eum a mortuis.'

The idea is too common in early Christian literature to be assigned to any one source; but as this passage of 1 Peter has almost certainly influenced Polycarp in another place (12), it may also have influenced him here.

(20) Pol. v. 2, vi. 1.                      1 Pet. 3<sup>8</sup>.                      Eph. 4<sup>82</sup>.  
 εὐσπλαγχοὶ.                      εὐσπλαγχοὶ.

In these passages the word means 'tender-hearted,' whereas its classical sense is 'brave'; but no inference can be drawn from this, as the meaning 'tender-hearted' seems to be fairly common in later Greek (cf., e.g., Test. xii Patr. *Zeb.* 5, 8, 9).

## B

*Romans***b**

(21) Pol. vi. 2.                      Rom. 14<sup>10, 12</sup>.                      2 Cor. 5<sup>10</sup>.  
 πάντας δεῖ παραστήναι      πάντες γὰρ παραστή-      τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς  
 τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ,      σόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ      φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπρο-  
 καὶ ἕκαστον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ      Θεοῦ (v. 1. Χριστοῦ)      σθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ  
 λόγον δοῦναι.      . . . ἄρα οὖν ἕκαστος      Χριστοῦ ἵνα κομίσῃται  
    ἡμῶν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον      ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώ-  
    δώσει τῷ Θεῷ.      ματος πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν,  
        εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον.

This passage is very probably influenced by Romans, but there may be unconscious conflation with 2 Corinthians. The chief points of connexion between Polycarp and 2 Corinthians are in the word δεῖ and in τοῦ Χριστοῦ (which is not found in

any early text of this passage in Romans). But the latter alteration might have been introduced by Polycarp himself, and the case for Romans is decidedly stronger than that for 2 Corinthians.

## d

- (22) Pol. iv. 1. Rom. 13<sup>12</sup>. 2 Cor. 6<sup>7</sup>.  
*ὄπλιώμεθα τοῖς ὀπλοῖς τῆς δικαιοσύνης.* ἐνδυσώμεθα δὲ τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ φωτός.  
 6<sup>13</sup> ὄπλα δικαιοσύνης. διὰ τῶν ὄπλων τῆς δικαιοσύνης. Cf. also Eph. 6<sup>13</sup>.

This passage is certainly influenced by Pauline metaphors. It suggests the reference to Romans, but not much stress can be laid upon this.

- (23) Pol. iii. 3. Rom. 13<sup>8</sup>.  
*προαγούσης τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς εἰς Θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν πλησίον. ἔὰν γὰρ τις τούτων ἐντὸς ἡ, πεπλήρωκεν ἐντολὴν δικαιοσύνης.* μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλετε, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους. ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἕτερον νόμον πεπλήρωκε. τὸ γὰρ . . . ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ἀνακεφαλοῦνται, ἐν τῷ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἐαυτόν. ἡ ἀγάπη τῷ πλησίον κακὸν οὐκ ἐργάζεται· πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη.

Gal. 5<sup>14</sup> ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ πεπλήρωται, ἐν τῷ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

Possibly a reminiscence of Rom. 13<sup>8</sup>, which, as being a more fully developed passage than Gal. 5<sup>14</sup>, is more probably the source of Polycarp's words than the latter.

- (24) Pol. ix. 2. Rom. 8<sup>17</sup>.  
*εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον εἰς παρὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ, ᾧ καὶ συνέπαθον.* εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν, ἵνα καὶ συναδοξασθῶμεν.

In view of the context, this should rather be treated as dependent on 2 Tim. 2<sup>11</sup>, see (56).

- (25) Pol. x. 1. Rom. 12<sup>10</sup>.  
 'fraternitatis amatores, diligentes invicem . . . mansuetudine Domini alterutri praestolantes.' τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι, τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι.

Lightfoot's reconstruction of the Greek (see his note) gives the best explanation of the passage in Polycarp yet brought forward; this reconstruction involves a reference to Romans, but too much stress ought not to be laid on what after all remains a conjecture.

2 Corinthians  
(26) Pol. ii. 2.

ὁ δὲ ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ  
ἡμᾶς ἐγερεῖ.

b

2 Cor. 4<sup>14</sup>.

εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν Κύριον  
Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σὺν Ἰησοῦ ἐγερεῖ.

The resemblance between these two passages is not verbally exact, and the idea contained in them may have become a Christian commonplace. The fact that God is described as ὁ ἐγείρας might be accounted for by the previous section in Polycarp, but the most noticeable connexion is contained in καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγερεῖ. On the whole, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that we have here a reminiscence of 2 Corinthians.

(27) Pol. vi. 2.

c

2 Cor. 5<sup>10</sup>.

See Romans (21) where the passages are quoted. Probably Polycarp is thinking primarily of Rom. 14<sup>10</sup>, but has unconsciously been influenced by 2 Cor. 5<sup>10</sup> also.

(28) Pol. v. 1.

2 Cor. 8<sup>21</sup>.

d

Prov. 3<sup>4</sup>.Rom. 12<sup>17</sup>.

προνοοῦντες αἰεὶ προνοοῦμεν γὰρ καὶ προνοοῦ καλὰ προνοοῦμενοι καλὰ  
τοῦ καλοῦ ἐνώπιον κολὰ οὐ μόνον ἐνώ- ἐνώπιον Κυρίου καὶ ἐνώπιον πάντων ἀν-  
Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων. πιον Κυρίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπων. θρώπων.  
ἐνώπιον ἀνθρώπων.

The parallel to 2 Corinthians is closer than that to Romans, as the latter omits the characteristic words Θεοῦ (Κυρίου) καί. But as the passage in St. Paul is dependent on Proverbs, no stress can be laid on the resemblance, for Polycarp may be also thinking of Proverbs, though the number of passages in which he can be proved to have made use of O. T. is small.

(29) Pol. xi. 3.

2 Cor. 3<sup>2</sup>.

‘qui estis in principio epi- ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡμῶν ὑμεῖς ἐστε.  
stulae eius.’

If Lightfoot's interpretation of the Latin version is correct (see his note), the reference to 2 Corinthians seems certain; but the interpretation cannot be regarded as probable (see Harnack in *T. u. U.* xx. 2. 91).

(30) Pol. iii. 2 Παύλου, ὃς γενόμενος ἐν ὑμῖν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐδίδαξεν, . . . ὃς καὶ ἀπὸν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς.

No stress can be laid on the very slight resemblance of this passage to 2 Cor. 10<sup>1</sup>.

*Galatians***b**

(31) Pol. v. 1.

Gal. 6<sup>7</sup>.

εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι Θεὸς οὐ μκκτηρίζεται. μὴ πλανᾶσθε. Θεὸς οὐ μκκτηρίζεται.

There is no doubt that the words in Polycarp are a quotation, especially in view of the formula εἰδότες ὅτι which introduces them. They also occur in a very Pauline context. No real parallel for Θεὸς οὐ μκκτηρίζεται appears to be known, and it is therefore highly probable that Polycarp is dependent on Galatians. But the possibility cannot be excluded that the words may be a quotation in Galatians also (μὴ πλανᾶσθε perhaps suggests this inference), and that Polycarp may be dependent on the lost source.

(32) Pol. iii. 3.

Gal. 4<sup>26</sup>.

πίστων ἧτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν. ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ ἐλευθέρη ἐστίν, ἧτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ [πάντων] ἡμῶν.

It is highly probable that this is a quotation, though the word πάντων appears to have been inserted in the later texts of Galatians through the influence of the passage in Polycarp. The application in Polycarp may well have been suggested by the thought that the Jerusalem that is above corresponds in Galatians to the dispensation of faith.

**d**

(33) Pol. iii. 3.

Gal. 5<sup>14</sup>.

See under Romans (23), which is more likely to be the source of the common matter.

(34) Pol. v. 3.

Gal. 5<sup>17</sup>.

πᾶσα ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος στρατεύεται. ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος.

See under 1 Peter (14). The passage in Galatians may have influenced the quotation.

(35) Pol. ix. 2.

Gal. 2<sup>2</sup>.

οἱ πάντες οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον. μὴ πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον.

See under Philippians (41).

*Ephesians***b**

(36) Pol. i. 3.

Eph. 2<sup>8</sup>.

εἰδότες ὅτι χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι, τῇ γὰρ χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι διὰ πίστεως· καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐξ ὑμῶν, Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον· οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, ἵνα μὴ τις καυχῆσθαι.

The words *εἰδότες ὅτι* seem to imply a consciousness in Polycarp that he is making a quotation; the two passages agree verbally, except for the absence in Polycarp of some unessential words; and it is to be noted that the sharp Pauline antithesis of faith and works is not characteristic of the Apostolic Fathers generally.

(37) Pol. xii. 1.	Eph. 4 <sup>26</sup> .	Ps. 4 <sup>5</sup> .
'modo, ut his scripturis dictum est, Irascimini et nolite peccare, et Sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram.'	ὀργίξεσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε· ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδύνετω ἐπὶ παροργισμῶ ὑμῶν.	ὀργίξεσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε.

Except for the insertion of *et* between the two clauses, Polycarp agrees verbally (if the Latin version can be trusted) with Ephesians. The passage in Ephesians consists in a quotation from Ps. 4<sup>5</sup> and a comment on it by St. Paul (cf. Deut. 24<sup>13</sup> ἀποδώσεις τὸ ἐνέχυρον αὐτοῦ πρὸς δυσμὰς ἡλίου, 24<sup>15</sup> οὐκ ἐπιδύσεται ὁ ἥλιος ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Jer. 15<sup>9</sup>). Even if St. Paul's comment is influenced by these passages in Deuteronomy, the collocation of the two passages in Polycarp is almost certainly due to Ephesians. The words *his scripturis* and *et* may imply that Polycarp regards himself as making two separate quotations, but the second of the two can hardly be other than from Ephesians. The supposition that St. Paul and Polycarp are quoting a common proverb (e. g. Plut. *Mor.* 488 b, as quoted by Lightfoot) seems to be excluded by *his scripturis*.

## C

(38) Pol. xi. 2.	Eph. 5 <sup>5</sup> .	Col. 3 <sup>5</sup> .
'si quis non se abstinerit ab avaritia, ab idololatria coinquinabitur.'	πλεονέκτης, ὃ ἐστὶν εἰδωλολάτρης.	τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ἣτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρεία.

There certainly seems to be a reference in Polycarp to one of these two passages, although ideas of this kind may have been Christian commonplaces. The words in Colossians are nearer to those in Polycarp, but as the evidence is inadequate for Polycarp's use of Colossians elsewhere, the passage in Ephesians ought probably to be preferred here.

- (39) Pol. xii. 3. **d** Eph. 6<sup>18</sup>.  
 'pro omnibus sanctis orate.' προσευχόμενοι ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν  
 ἁγίων.

The idea here is very obvious, but there may be a reminiscence of language.

*Philippians*

- (40) Pol. iii. 2 ὅς καὶ ἀπὸν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς.

This passage shows that Polycarp knew that St. Paul had written letters to the Philippians (or possibly, a letter: see Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 138). It is highly probable that he knew the extant letter; but the amount of evidence of his use of it is not large, though it must be added that the general impression in favour of his acquaintance with it is stronger than can be fairly estimated from the isolated examination of single passages.

- (41) Pol. ix. 2. **b** Phil. 2<sup>16</sup>. Gal. 2<sup>2</sup>.  
 ὅτι οὗτοι πάντες οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον. ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κενὸν μὴ πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχώ  
 κενὸν ἔδραμον. ἔδραμον. ἢ ἔδραμον.

Besides the verbal parallel, the context in Polycarp, referring to life in the prospect of death, suggests the context in Philippians, while the general meaning of Galatians is different.

- (42) Pol. ii. 1. **c** Phil. 2<sup>10</sup>.  
 ᾧ ὑπετάγη τὰ πάντα ἐπουράνια καὶ ἕρως ἐπίγεια, . . . οὐδὲ τὸ αἷμα ἐκζητήσει ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπειθοῦντων αὐτῷ.  
 ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων.  
 3<sup>21</sup> ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.

As the context in Polycarp shows clearly that the passage refers to Christ, it is likely that he is dependent on Philippians.

- (43) Pol. xii. 3. **d** Phil. 3<sup>18</sup>.  
 'et pro inimicis crucis.' τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

The expression is sufficiently striking to make it probable that Polycarp is thinking of the passage in Philippians.

- (44) Pol. i. 1. **d** Phil. 2<sup>17</sup>.  
 συνεχάρην ὑμῖν μεγάλως ἐν Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.  
 χαίρω καὶ συγχαίρω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν.  
 4<sup>10</sup> ἔχάρην δὲ ἐν Κυρίῳ μεγάλως ὅτι . . .  
 Compare 2 Thessalonians (46).



(45) Pol. v. 2.

ἐὼν πολιτευσόμεθα  
ἀξίως αὐτοῦ.Phil. 1<sup>27</sup>.μόνον ἀξίως τοῦ  
εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
πολιτεύεσθε.

1 Clem. xxi. 1.

ἐὰν μὴ ἀξίως αὐτοῦ  
πολιτευόμενοι τὰ καλά  
καὶ εὐάρεστα ἐνώπιον  
αὐτοῦ ποιῶμεν.

Polycarp may here be thinking of the passage in Clement.  
Cf. Clement (40).

2 Thessalonians.

b

(46) Pol. xi. 3.

‘ego autem nihil tale sensi  
in vobis vel audivi, in quibus  
laboravit beatus Paulus, qui  
estis in principio epistulae eius:  
de vobis etenim gloriatur in  
omnibus ecclesiis.’2 Thess. 1<sup>4</sup>.ὅστε αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐγκαι-  
χᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ.

The context shows that Polycarp supposes himself to be quoting words addressed to the Philippians (cf. *etenim*). Similar words actually occur only in 2 Thessalonians, an Epistle addressed to another Macedonian Church, which Polycarp might easily have thought of, by a lapse of memory, as sent to the Philippians. The present tense of *gloriatur* also suggests that he is quoting.

c

(47) Pol. xi. 4.

‘et non sicut inimicos tales  
existimetis.’2 Thess. 3<sup>15</sup>.καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἡγήσθε, ἀλλὰ  
νουθετεῖτε ὡς ἀδελφόν.

Polycarp's words sound as though he had purposely adapted the expression of 2 Thessalonians for his own object.

In spite of the fact that both these passages occur in the part of Polycarp for which the Latin version alone is extant, his use of 2 Thessalonians appears to be very probable.

1 Timothy

b

(48) Pol. iv. 1.

ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων χαλεπῶν φιλαρ-  
γυρία. εἰδότες ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰσηνέ-  
καμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ  
ἐξενεγκεῖν τι ἔχομεν.1 Tim. 6<sup>7</sup>.οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰσηνέκαμεν εἰς τὸν  
κόσμον, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι δυνάμεθα.1 Tim. 6<sup>10</sup>.ρίζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶν ἡ  
φιλαργυρία.

It is almost impossible to believe that these passages are independent. The formula (*εἰδότες ὅτι*) with which Polycarp introduces the second of the two sentences, indicates that he

is conscious of quoting and points to the priority of 1 Timothy. The word *οὖν* may perhaps show that reference is being made to a well-known source, and that the one quotation has suggested the other. It may further be noted that *ἀρχή* is less vivid than *ρίζα*; this also points to the priority of 1 Timothy.

## C

(49) Pol. iv. 3.

τὰς χήρας σωφρονοῦσας περὶ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου πίστιν, ἐντυγχανούσας ἀδιαλείπτως περὶ πάντων, μακρὰν οὐσας πάσης διαβολῆς.

1 Tim. 5<sup>b</sup>.

ἡ δὲ ὄντως χήρα καὶ μεμονωμένη ἤλπιεν ἐπὶ θεὸν καὶ προσμένει ταῖς δεήσεσιν καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας.

(50) Pol. v. 2.

ὁμοίως διάκονοι ἀμεμπτοὶ κατενόπιον αὐτοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης. . . μὴ διάβολοι, μὴ δῖλογοι, ἀφιλάργυροι, ἐγκρατεῖς περὶ πάντα, εὐσπλαγχνοὶ, ἐπιμελεῖς, πορευόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Κυρίου.

1 Tim. 3<sup>b</sup>.

διάκονους ὡσαύτως σεμνοῦς, μὴ διλόγους, μὴ οἶνφ πολλῶν προσέχοντας, μὴ αἰσχροκερδεῖς, ἔχοντας τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει. . . εἶτα διακονείτωσαν ἀνέγκλητοι ὄντες. γυναῖκας ὡσαύτως σεμνάς, μὴ διαβόλους, νηφάλιους, πιστὰς ἐν πάντων.

In these passages the general character of thought and treatment is very similar, and there are a considerable number of verbal parallels.

(51) Pol. viii. 1.

προσκαρτερῶμεν τῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ ἀραβῶνι τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡμῶν, ὅς ἐστι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς.

1 Tim. 1<sup>a</sup>.

Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν.

The unusual order *Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς* is to be noted: it does not seem to occur elsewhere in Polycarp, and is not found in the passages of Ignatius which are general parallels (*Magn.* 11; *Trall.* Inscr., 2).

(52) Pol. xii. 3.

‘orate pro regibus.’

1 Tim. 2<sup>a</sup>.

ποιεῖσθαι δεήσεις. . . ὑπὲρ βασιλέων.

That kings and rulers were mentioned in the praises of the Church is clear from 1 Clem. lxi. The plural *regibus* is strange as applied to the Emperor, and has even suggested to some critics an argument in favour of the spuriousness of Polycarp's Epistle (Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp*, i. 592). But the later date suggested is impossible on other grounds, and the plural is most easily explained by a reference to 1 Timothy.

## d

(53) Pol. xi. 2.

1 Tim. 3<sup>6</sup>.

‘qui autem non potest se in his gubernare, quomodo alii pronuntiat hoc?’

εἰ δέ τις τοῦ ἰδίου αἵκου προσῆναι οὐκ οἶδεν, πῶς ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ἐπιμελήσεται;

The language in Polycarp may be suggested by a rather weakened reminiscence of 1 Timothy.

(54) Pol. xii. 3.

1 Tim. 4<sup>15</sup>.

‘ut fructus vester manifestus sit in omnibus.’

ἵνα σου ἡ προκοπή φανερά ᾖ πᾶσιν.

Possibly a reminiscence.

2 Timothy

## b

(55) Pol. ix. 2.

2 Tim. 4<sup>10</sup>.

οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἠγάπησαν αἰῶνα.

ἀγαπήσας τὸν νῦν αἰῶνα.

The dependence on 2 Timothy seems almost certain, especially as *ὁ νῦν αἰὼν* occurs only in the Pastoral Epistles among the books of N. T. (cf. 1 Tim. 6<sup>17</sup>; Titus 2<sup>12</sup>). Besides the similarity of language, the reference in both cases is to loyalty in face of danger.

## c

(56) Pol. v. 2.

2 Tim. 2<sup>11</sup>.

καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγείραι ἡμᾶς ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν πολιτευσώμεθα ἀξίως αὐτοῦ, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν, εἴγε πιστεύομεν.

πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, εἰ γὰρ συναπεθάναμεν καὶ συζήσομεν, εἰ ὑπομένομεν καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν.

Whatever may be the case with the first part of the promise referred to, the latter seems to be connected with some current *λόγος* (cf. *ὅτι* in Polycarp) like that quoted in 2 Timothy, whether directly or indirectly through that passage. The word *συμβασιλεύειν* is unique in the Apostolic Fathers, nor does the simple *βασιλεύειν* occur with the meaning here implied. The notion of continuance in the present *πιστεύομεν* brings it nearer in meaning to *ὑπομένομεν* than might at first appear, especially when taken in connexion with *πολιτευσώμεθα* that has preceded.

(57) Pol. xi. 4.

2 Tim. 2<sup>25</sup>.

‘quibus det Dominus poenitentiam veram.’

μήποτε δῶψή αὐταῖς ὁ Θεὸς μετάνοιαν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας.

The words of Polycarp certainly recall 2 Timothy: in view

of the other evidence this should probably be regarded as a reminiscence.

- (58) Pol. xii. 1. d 2 Tim. 1<sup>5</sup>.  
 'quod ego credo esse in vobis.' πέπεισμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐν σοί.  
 Possibly a reminiscence of language.

- C
- (59) Acts Pol. i. 2. c Acts 2<sup>24</sup>.  
 ὃν ἤγειρεν ὁ Θεὸς λύσας τὰς ᾠδῖνας ὃν ὁ Θεὸς ἀνέστησεν, λύσας τὰς  
 τοῦ ἄδου. ᾠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου (ἄδου is an early  
Western variant).

ὠδῖνες θανάτου occurs in 2 Kings 22<sup>6</sup> (Ps. 17<sup>5</sup>), Ps. 114<sup>3</sup>, and ὠδῖνες ἄδου in Ps. 17<sup>6</sup>; but the expression λύσας τὰς ᾠδῖνας depends upon a mistranslation of לְבַב (= 'pains' or 'fettors'). It is difficult to account for the same mistake being made wholly independently, and so it seems probable that Polycarp is dependent on Acts. But the mistake may also be due to an earlier writer followed both by the author of Acts and by Polycarp, especially as we have no particular reason for supposing the author of Acts to have been acquainted with Hebrew.

- (60) Pol. ii. 1. d Acts 10<sup>42</sup>.  
 κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν.  
 Acts 10<sup>42</sup> is the only passage in N.T. where these exact words occur, but 2 Tim. 4<sup>1</sup>, 1 Pet. 4<sup>5</sup> are closely parallel; cf. also 2 Clem. i. 1.

- (61) Pol. ii. 3. Acts 20<sup>36</sup>.  
 μνημονεύοντες ὃν εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυ-  
 διδάσκων. ρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπε . . .

No stress can be laid on the use of this formula of introduction, as the words are in themselves very natural, and 1 Clem. xiii. 1 has a very similar expression (see below, under (75)).

- (62) Pol. vi. 3. Acts 7<sup>52</sup>.  
 οἱ προφήται οἱ προκηρύξαντες τὴν τίνα τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἐδίωξαν  
 ἔλευσιν τοῦ Κυρίου. οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν; καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς  
προκαταγγέιλαντας περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως  
τοῦ δικαίου.

Possibly a reminiscence of the language of Acts.

(63) Pol. xii. 2.

'det vobis sortem et partem inter sanctos suos, et nobis vobiscum, et omnibus qui sunt sub caelo.'

Acts 26<sup>18</sup>.

κληῆρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις.  
8<sup>21</sup> οὐκ ἐστίν σοι μερίς οὐδὲ κλήρος.  
2<sup>5</sup> ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν.

There seems some possibility that Polycarp is here unconsciously influenced by various expressions in Acts, though no certainty can be felt in regard to the matter. μερίς οὐδὲ κλήρος occurs in Deut. 12<sup>12</sup>, 14<sup>26</sup>, 28; while the order of these words in Acts and Deuteronomy is the same, Polycarp, if the Latin version can be trusted, adopted the opposite order. For the first clause quoted from Polycarp there is a further parallel in Col. 1<sup>12</sup> (εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ φωτί), which is, however, less close than the parallel in Acts: in connexion with the last clause, Col. 1<sup>23</sup> (ἐν πάσῃ κτίσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν) may also be noted, but the phrase 'omnibus qui sunt sub caelo' is a very obvious one.

## Hebrews

(64) Pol. vi. 3.

δουλεύσωμεν αὐτῷ μετὰ φόβου καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο καὶ οἱ εὐαγγελιστάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ προφῆται οἱ προκηρύξαντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.

## C

Heb. 12<sup>28</sup>.

ἔχωμεν χάριν, δι' ἧς λατρεύωμεν εὐαρέστως τῷ Θεῷ μετὰ εὐλαβείας καὶ δέους.

Ps. 2<sup>11</sup>.

δουλεύσατε τῷ Θεῷ ἐν φόβῳ.

Though the reference seems to be a general one to the tenour of O. T. as well as the Gospel, yet the phrase may very possibly be coloured by Hebrews; for εὐλαβεία, which is not found in the parallel passage of Psalms, occurs in N. T. only in Hebrews, and Polycarp refers to οἱ εὐαγγελιστάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἀπόστολοι.

(65) Pol. xii. 2.

'et ipse sempiternus pontifex, Dei filius.'

Heb. 6<sup>20</sup>.

ἀρχιερεὺς γενόμενος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

Heb. 7<sup>3</sup>.

ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

The occurrence of *sempiternus pontifex* and *Dei filius* in the same context, both in Polycarp and Hebrews, render it not improbable that Polycarp is directly dependent on Hebrews

here. If we may trust the prayer in *Mart. Polyc.* xiv as giving his actual words (διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἐπουρανίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός), we may suppose that the idea was one which had a strong hold on his mind. The conception of Christ as ἀρχιερεύς occurs prominently in 1 Clement (see 1 Clement (21)) which, however, may also be dependent on Hebrews; cf. Ignatius (75); but in none of these passages is there anything corresponding to *sempiternus* or to *Dei filius*.

## d

(66) Pol. ix. 1.

παρακαλῶ οὖν πάντας ὑμᾶς πει-  
θαρχεῖν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης.

Heb. 5<sup>13</sup>.

πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μετέχων γάλακτος ἄπειρος  
λόγου δικαιοσύνης.

The phrase λόγος δικαιοσύνης occurs only here in N. T.; but the context is widely different from that of Polycarp.

## 1 John

## c

(67) Pol. vii. 1.

πᾶς γάρ, ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν  
Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντί-  
χριστός ἐστιν. καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ  
τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ  
διαβόλου ἐστίν.

1 John 4<sup>2</sup>.

πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ ὁμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν  
Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα ἐκ τοῦ  
Θεοῦ ἐστίν· καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ  
ὁμολογεῖ (γ. l. λυεί) τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ  
τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν.

3<sup>8</sup> ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐκ τοῦ  
διαβόλου ἐστίν.

Cf. 2 John 7 ὅτι πολλοὶ πλάνοι  
ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, οἱ μὴ ὁμολο-  
γούντες Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον  
ἐν σαρκί. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πλάνος καὶ ὁ  
ἀντίχριστος.

Notice especially ὁμολογεῖν, ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστος, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου, which are all characteristic of 1 John throughout. The numerous coincidences of language render it probable that Polycarp either used 1 John or was personally acquainted with its author. [See also Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, i. 20, notes 3 and 4; and in *Hibbert Journal*, ii. 805.]

## d

(68) Pol. i. 1.

τὰ μμήματα τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης.

1 John 4<sup>8, 16</sup>.

ὁ Θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν.

The expression of Polycarp has an Ignatian rather than a Johannine sound; cf. for instance Ign. *Magn.* vii. 1.

## D

*Colossians*

## d

(69) Pol. i. 2.

Col. 1<sup>5</sup>, 5.

These passages are parallel in thought, but except for the one word *καρποφορεῖ* there is no verbal connexion between them.

(70) Pol. x. 1.

Col. 1<sup>23</sup>.

See under 1 Corinthians (6).

(71) Pol. xi. 2.

Col. 3<sup>5</sup>.

See under Ephesians (38).

(72) Pol. xii. 2.

Col. 1<sup>12</sup>.

See under Acts (63).

## GOSPELS.

## (I) The Synoptic Gospels.

## UNCLASSSED

(73) Pol. v. 2.

Mark 9<sup>35</sup>.Matt. 20<sup>28</sup>.

κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Κυρίου, ὃς ἐγένετο διά-  
κονος πάντων.  
εἶ τις θέλει πρῶτος εἶναι, ἔσται πάντων ἑ-  
σχατος, καὶ πάντων διά-  
κονος.  
ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἤλθεν διακονηθῆναι ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι.

The sentence in Polycarp reads like a homiletic application of the saying in Mark, suggested by the mention of *διάκονοι* on the one hand, and by the example of Christ, as the great fulfiller of His own precept, on the other. The actual words *πάντων διάκονος* are only found in Mark, but the conception is applied to Christ in Matthew, and the application is so natural as to make it impossible to treat the passage as serious evidence for Polycarp's use of Mark.

(74) Pol. xi. 2.

Matt. 18<sup>17</sup>.

'tanquam inter gentes.'

ὥσπερ ὁ ἔθνικός.

## (II) The Synoptic Tradition.

(75) Pol. ii. 3.

Matt. 7<sup>1</sup>.Luke 6<sup>36</sup>.

1 Clem. xiii. 1 f.

μνημονεύοντες δὲ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος διδάσκων· μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθήτε· ἀφί-  
ετε, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν.  
μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθήτε· ἐν ᾧ γὰρ μέ-  
τρῳ μετρεῖτε, μετρη-  
θήσεται ὑμῖν.  
καὶ μὴ κρίνετε, καὶ οὐ μὴ κριθήτε . . . ᾧ γὰρ μέτρῳ μετρεῖ-  
τε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.  
μάλιστα μεμνημένοι τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, οὓς ἐλάλησεν διδάσκων ἐπιείκεια καὶ μακροθυμίαν· οὐ-

<p>ὑμῖν ἐλεᾶτε, ἵνα πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ἐλεηθῆτε ᾧ μέτρῳ ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ μετρείτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν καὶ ὅτι</p> <p>μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ.</p>	<p>6<sup>20</sup> μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί, ὅτι ὑμετέρα ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ.</p>	<p>τῶς γὰρ εἶπεν· ἐλεᾶτε ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε, ἀφίετε ἵνα ἀφεθῆ ὑμῖν ὡς ποιεῖτε, οὕτως ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν ὡς δίδοτε οὕτως δοθήσεται ὑμῖν ὡς κρίνετε, οὕτως κριθήσεσθε ὡς χρηστεύεσθε, οὕτως χρηστευθήσεται ὑμῖν ὡς μέτρῳ μετρείτε, ἐὰν αὐτῷ μετρηθῆσεται ὑμῖν.</p>
---	--	--

Polycarp assumes that a body of teaching, oral or written, similar to the Sermon on the Mount, was familiar to the Philippian Church. It is possible that his language, including the form of citation [cf. Acts (61)], may have been influenced by Clement. Polycarp does not, however, quote Clement directly, as he omits some of Clement's most characteristic phrases. In detail he agrees almost equally with Matthew and Luke, but not completely with either. Compare the discussion on 1 Clem. (55).

(76) Pol. vi. 1, 2.

μὴ ταχέως πιστεύοντες κατὰ τινος, μὴ ἀπόστομοι ἐν κρίσει, εἰδότες ὅτι πάντες ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν ἁμαρτίας. εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα τοῦ Κυρίου ἵνα ἡμῖν ἀφῆ, ὀφειλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφιέναι.

Matt. 6<sup>12</sup>.

καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν.

Cf. 6<sup>14, 15</sup>, 18<sup>35</sup>.

Luke 11<sup>4</sup>.

καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίεμεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν.

The words *δεόμεθα τοῦ Κυρίου* evidently introduce a reference to the Lord's Prayer. But no quotation from the Lord's Prayer can be used as evidence for acquaintance with our Gospels, as there are clear signs of its early ecclesiastical use as current elsewhere (see e. g. *Didache* (11)). Possibly, the context here, emphasizing a large charity in judgement, points to the context of the Sermon on the Mount as colouring Polycarp's thoughts (see Matt. 6<sup>14</sup>, 7<sup>1-5</sup>). But even if Polycarp were inclined to treat the Lord's Prayer as belonging to the Sermon on the Mount, this would not necessarily imply a knowledge of our Matthew.



- (77) Pol. vii. 2. Matt. 6<sup>13</sup> (= Luke 11<sup>4</sup>). Mark 14<sup>38</sup>.  
 δεήσασιν αἰτούμενοι καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς γρηγορεῖτε κοὶ προσ-  
 τὸν παντεπόπτην Θεὸν ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν. εὐχέσθε, ἵνα μὴ ἔλθῃτε  
 μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, καθὼς εἶπεν εἰς πειρασμόν τὸ μὲν  
 ὁ Κύριος· τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρὸθυμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς πειρασμόν. πνεῦμα πρὸθυμον, ἡ δὲ  
 πρὸθυμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής. τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρὸθυμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής.

For the quotation from the Lord's Prayer (Polycarp's words are identical with those of Matthew and Luke), see the note to the preceding passage. The quotation introduced by *καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος* agrees *verbatim* with Matthew and Mark, and appears in a very similar context to that in the Gospels. But this quotation might well be due to oral tradition; or it might be from a document akin to our Gospels, though not necessarily those Gospels themselves.

- (78) Pol. xii. 3. Matt. 5<sup>44</sup>. Luke 6<sup>27</sup>.  
 'orate etiam . . . ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς  
 pro persequentibus ὑμῶν, καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς  
 et odientibus vos.' ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, εὐλο-  
 γεῖτε τοὺς καταραμένους ὑμᾶς, προσεύχεσθε περὶ  
 τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς.

Here again the language of Polycarp seems to be influenced by teaching like that of the Sermon on the Mount, but the passage affords no evidence for the use of either of our Gospels in its present form.

- (79) Pol. i. 3. Matt. 13<sup>17</sup>.  
 εἰς ἣν πολλοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν εἰσελθεῖν. Luke 10<sup>24</sup>.

There is no reason to suppose that the parallel here is more than accidental.

### (III) The Fourth Gospel.

#### C

- (80) Pol. v. 2. John 5<sup>21</sup>.  
 καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγείραι ἡμᾶς ἕκ νεκρῶν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγείρει τοὺς  
 νεκροὺς καὶ ζωοποιεῖ, οὕτω καὶ ὁ υἱὸς  
 οὗς θέλει ζωοποιεῖ.  
 5<sup>25</sup> οἱ νεκροὶ ἀκούσονται τῆς φωνῆς  
 τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἀκούσαντες  
 ζήσονται.  
 6<sup>44</sup> καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ  
 ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

No such promise is given in the Synoptic Gospels, whereas it is put plainly in John. The reference seems certainly to be to a Johannine tradition, though it need not necessarily be to our Fourth Gospel.

## UNCLASSED

(81) Pol. xii. 3

John 15<sup>16</sup>.

'ut fructus vester manifestus sit in omnibus.'

ἵνα ὑμεῖς ὑπάγητε καὶ καρπὸν φέρετε, καὶ ὁ καρπὸς ὑμῶν μένη.

The sentence in Polycarp sounds like a reminiscence of 1 Tim. 4<sup>15</sup>, see (54); the only point of contact with John is in the word *fructus*, and this might be accounted for, e. g. by Gal. 5<sup>22</sup>, if so natural an expression requires any assignable source.

## (IV) Apocryphal Gospels.

The passages resembling the Sermon on the Mount, (75)–(78), have appeared to some to suggest a use by Polycarp of some non-canonical source; but, in view of the inexactness of some of his other quotations, this inference does not seem to be justified.

## UNCLASSED

(82) In vi. 1 the formula εἰδότες ὅτι introduces the words πάντες ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν ἁμαρτίας, which, in view of their style, are probably a quotation; there is, however, nothing to indicate the source from which the quotation (if such it be) is derived.

# SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

## INTRODUCTION.

THE author of the Shepherd of Hermas nowhere supplies us with a direct quotation from the Old or New Testament, and we are therefore obliged to fall back upon allusions which always admit of some degree of doubt. He may sometimes be consciously borrowing ideas from N. T. writers when the reference is veiled by an intentional change of words; and sometimes he may use identical words, and yet have derived them from some other source, oral or written. In these circumstances it is clear that references which might reasonably be assumed if we knew that the author was familiar with our canonical books, cannot be used to establish his familiarity with them in opposition to critics who dispute it. The following arrangement of passages, therefore, does not represent what the editors may consider historically probable, but what they think may be reasonably deduced from a mere comparison of texts.

## EPISTLES, ACTS.

B

I *Corinthians*

b

(1) Mand. IV. iv. 1, 2.

I Cor. 7<sup>39, 40</sup>.

Ἐὰν γυνή, . . . ἡ πάλιν ἀνὴρ τις κοιμηθῆ, καὶ γαμήση τις ἐξ αὐτῶν, μήτι ἀμαρτάνει ὁ γαμῶν; Οὐχ ἀμαρτάνει, φησὶν ἔὰν δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μείνη τις, περισσοτέρων ἑαυτῷ τιμῆν . . . περιποιεῖται πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ἔὰν δὲ καὶ γαμήση, οὐχ ἀμαρτάνει.

ἔὰν δὲ κοιμηθῆ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν ᾧ θέλει γαμηθῆναι . . . μακαριωτέρα δὲ ἐστὶν ἔὰν οὕτω μείνη, . . . δοκῶ δὲ κατὰ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἔχειν. vs. <sup>28</sup> ἔὰν δὲ καὶ γήμησ\*, οὐχ ἡμαρτες.

\* γαμήσης, Tisch., W. H.

d

(2) Sim. IX. xii. 1.

I Cor. 10<sup>4</sup>.

Ἡ πέτρα . . . αὕτη καὶ ἡ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστί.

ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός.

The resemblance here seems purely accidental, the rock being quite different in the two cases.

*Ephesians***b**

(3) Mand. X. ii. 1, 2, 4, 5.

ἡ λύπη ἐκτρίβει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον  
καὶ πάλιν σώζει . . . ἡ λύπη αὕτη  
εἰσπορεύεται εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ  
λυπεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐκτρίβει  
αὐτὸ . . . ἡ μὲν διψυχία . . . ἡ δὲ  
δξυχολία λυπεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα . . . μὴ  
θλίβε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

See also iii. 2, and Mand.  
III. 4.

Eph. 4<sup>30</sup>.

μὴ λυπεῖτε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον  
τοῦ Θεοῦ.  
5<sup>18, 19</sup> πληροῦσθε ἐν Πνεύματι, . . .  
ψάλλοντες.

In view of the originality and boldness of the phrase in Ephesians, it seems likely that Hermas is developing in his own way a phrase that has lodged in his mind. On the other hand, it is to be noticed that his conception of the Holy Spirit as essentially joyous might have led him up to the idea in a way suggested by the expression, 'grief enters and grieves.' Nevertheless, this does not seem to explain fully so remarkable a phrase.

(4) Sim. IX. xiii. 5.

οἱ πιστεύσαντες . . . ἔσονται εἰς ἐν  
πνεῦμα, καὶ ἐν σῶμα, μιᾷ χροῆ τῶν  
ιματίων αὐτῶν. 7 ἐν πνεῦμα καὶ ἐν  
σῶμα. XVII. 4 λαβάντες αὐτὴν τὴν  
σφραγίδα [= baptism] μίαν φρόνησιν  
ἔσχον καὶ ἓνα νοῦν, καὶ μία πίστις αὐτῶν  
ἐγένετο καὶ [μία] ἀγάπη. XVIII. 4  
ἔσται ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν σῶμα,  
μία φρόνησις, εἰς νοῦς, μία πίστις, μία  
ἀγάπη. καὶ τότε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ  
ἀγαλλιάσεται . . . ἀπειληφῶς τὸν λαὸν  
αὐτοῦ καθαρὸν.

Eph. 4<sup>3-6</sup>.

ἐν ἀγάπῃ . . . ἐν σῶμα καὶ ἐν Πνεῦμα,  
. . . ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι . . . εἰς Κύριος, μία  
πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα, εἰς Θεός.  
5<sup>25, 26</sup> ὁ Χριστὸς ἠγάπησε τὴν ἐκ-  
κλησίαν . . . ἵνα αὐτὴν ἀγάσῃ καθα-  
ρίσας.

1<sup>13</sup>, 4<sup>30</sup> ἐσφραγίσθητε.

These passages have all the appearance of being imitated from Ephesians. It is the way of Hermas not to quote, but to take suggestions, and alter to suit his own purposes.

**d**

(5) Mand. III. i.

Ἀλήθειαν ἀγάπα, καὶ πᾶσα ἀλήθεια  
ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου ἐκπορευέσθω.

Eph. 4<sup>25</sup>.

λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν. 25 πᾶς λόγος  
σαπρὸς ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ὑμῶν μὴ  
ἐκπορευέσθω.

Both the language and the sentiment are too common to

afford evidence of borrowing. Cf. Matt. 4<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος Θεοῦ.

(6) Sim. IX. iv. 3.

οἱ πάντες ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου· ἐγένοντο οὖν στοιχοὶ τέσσαρες ἐν τοῖς θεμελίοις τοῦ πύργου. XV. 4 οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα πέντε προφήται . . . οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι.

Eph. 2<sup>20</sup>.

ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν.  
4<sup>11,12</sup> ἀποστόλους . . . διδασκάλους . . . εἰς οἰκοδομὴν.

There may be here a reminiscence of Ephesians, and indeed the whole figure of the tower may have been suggested by Eph. 2<sup>10-22</sup>.

(7) Sim. IX. xvi. 2, 3.

ἵνα ζωοποιηθῶσιν . . . πρὶν γάρ, φησί, φορέσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸ ὄνομα [τοῦ υἱοῦ] τοῦ Θεοῦ, νεκρός ἐστιν.

Eph. 2<sup>1</sup>.

ἡμᾶς ὄντας νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι.  
vs. 5 συνεζωοποίησε.

C

Hebrews

c

(8) Vis. II. iii. 2.

σώξει σε τὸ μὴ ἀποστήναί σε ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ζῶντος.

Heb. 3<sup>12</sup>.

καρδία πονηρὰ ἀπιστίας ἐν τῷ ἀποστήναι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ζῶντος.

Vis. III. vii. 2.

οἱ εἰς τέλος ἀποστάντες τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος.

(9) Sim. I. i, ii.

οἴδατε, φησίν, ὅτι ἐπὶ ξένης κατοικεῖτε ὑμεῖς . . . ἡ γὰρ πόλις ὑμῶν μακρὰν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης . . . τί ᾧδε ὑμεῖς ἐτοιμάζετε ἀγροὺς . . . ; ταῦτα οὖν ὁ ἐτοιμάζων εἰς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν οὐ προσδοκᾷ ἐπανακάμψαι εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν.

Heb. 11<sup>13</sup>.

πόρρωθεν . . . ἰδόντες . . . ξένοι . . .  
15 εἶχον ἂν καιρὸν ἀνακάμψαι . . .  
16 ἠτοίμασεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς πόλιν.  
13<sup>14</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ᾧδε μένουσαν πόλιν.

Both the ideas and the words in these passages seem to indicate dependence.

d

(10) Mand. IV. iii. 1, 2.

ἤκουσα . . . παρά τινων διδασκάλων, ὅτι ἑτέρα μετάνοια οὐκ ἔστιν εἰ μὴ ἐκείνη, ὅτε εἰς ὕδωρ κατέβημεν . . . καλῶς ἤκουσας· οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει.

Heb. 6<sup>4-6</sup>.

ἀδύνατον γὰρ τοὺς ἀπαξ φωτισθέντας . . . πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν.

Sim. IX. xxvi. 6.

ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐστὶ σωθῆναι τὸν μέλλοντα νῦν ἀρνείσθαι τὸν Κύριον.

The allusion to teachers, showing that the question was a subject of discussion, and the want of verbal correspondence, make the reference to Hebrews doubtful.

## James

## C

## (11) Mand. IX. i.

ἄρον ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ τὴν διψυχίαν καὶ μηδὲν ὄλωσ διψυχῆσης αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. 2 μὴ διαλογίζου ταῦτα, ἀλλ' . . . αὐτοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀδιστάκτως. 4 ἐὰν ἀδιστάκτως αἰτήσης. 5 ἐὰν δὲ διστάσης . . . οἱ γὰρ διστάζοντες εἰς τὸν Θεόν, οὗτοι εἰσι οἱ δίψυχοι, καὶ οὐδὲν ὄλωσ ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τῶν αἰτημάτων αὐτῶν. There are several other references to διψυχία in the same passage: see also Herm. (39).

## Sim. I. iii.

ἄφρον καὶ δίψυχε καὶ ταλαίπωρε ἄνθρωπε.

## Mand. IX. vi.

οἱ δὲ ὀλοτελεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῇ πίστει πάντα αἰτοῦνται.

## Mand. IX. i.

μηδὲν ὄλωσ διψυχῆσης αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. 2 αἰτοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ [4 and 7, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου]. 3 οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ὡς οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ μνησικακοῦντες.

## Sim. IX. xxiv. 1, 2.

οἱ πιστεύσαντες . . . πάντοτε ἀπλοῖ καὶ ἄκακοι, . . . καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐχορήγησαν ἀνονειδίστως καὶ ἀδιστάκτως.

Jas. 1<sup>6-8</sup>.

αἰτείτω δὲ ἐν πίστει μηδὲν διακρινόμενος . . . μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθω ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκείνος ὅτι λήψεται τι παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀνὴρ δίψυχος, ἀκατάστατος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ.

## Clem. Rom. I. xxiii. 3.

ἡ γραφὴ αὕτη, ὅπου λέγει· Ταλαίπωροί εἰσι οἱ δίψυχοι, οἱ διστάζοντες τὴν ψυχὴν [τῇ καρδίᾳ in Clem. II. xi. 2, where it is quoted as ὁ προφητικός λόγος].

## Did. iv. 4.

οὐ διψυχῆσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ.

## Barn. xix. 5.

οὐ μὴ διψυχῆσης.

Jas. 1<sup>4</sup>.

τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως καταργάζεται ὑπομονήν. ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ ἔργον τέλειον ἐχέτω, ὥσα ἦτε τέλειοι καὶ ὁλόκληροι.

Jas. 1<sup>5</sup>.

αἰτείτω παρὰ τοῦ δίδοντος Θεοῦ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς καὶ μὴ ὀνειδίζοντες.

## Mand. IX. ii.

αἰτοῦ . . . καὶ γνώση τὴν πολυευ-  
σπλαγχνίαν αὐτοῦ.

## Mand. IX. xi.

ἡ πίστις ἄνωθεν ἐστὶ παρὰ τοῦ  
Κυρίου.

## Mand. XI. v.

πᾶν γὰρ πνεῦμα ἀπὰ Θεοῦ δοθὲν  
. . . ἄνωθεν ἐστίν. 8 πρῶτον μὲν ὁ  
ἔχων τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄνωθεν πραῦς  
ἐστὶ καὶ ἡσύχιος.

## Mand. IX. xi.

ἡ δὲ διψυχία ἐπίγειον πνεῦμά ἐστι  
παρὰ τοῦ διαβάλου.

## Mand. XI. vi.

τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα . . . κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυ-  
μίας . . . ἐπίγειόν ἐστι. xi περὶ τοῦ  
πνεύματος τοῦ ἐπιγείου.

In the foregoing passages there is sufficient similarity of thought and language to suggest a literary connexion with James; but some of the most striking expressions in James are absent from *Hermas*, and where the language is similar, the connexion of thought is sometimes quite different. The resemblance, therefore, is not sufficient to prove direct dependence, and may perhaps be explained by the use of a common source, such as is actually quoted by Clement in regard to the *δίψυχοι*. A *προφητικὸς λόγος* was likely to be used by *Hermas*; e. g. *Eldad and Modat*, cited below (16).

## (12) Sim. IX. xxiii. 2-4.

ἀπὸ τῶν καταλαλιῶν ἑαυτῶν μεμα-  
ρασμένοι εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ πίστει . . . αἱ  
καταλαλιαὶ . . . ταῖς καταλαλαις αὐτῶν  
. . . εἰ ὁ Θεὸς . . . ἴλεως γίνεται,  
ἄνθρωπος . . . ἀνθρώπων μνησικακεῖ ὡς  
δυναμένους ἀπολέσαι ἢ σῶσαι αὐτόν;

## Mand. XII. vi. 3.

φοβήθητε τὸν πάντα δυναμένον  
σῶσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι.

Here both the identity of expression and the resemblance in the context are strongly suggestive of literary dependence. It is possible that both writers used a common document; but there is no evidence of this in the present case.

Jas. 5<sup>11</sup>.

πολύσπλαγχνός ἐστιν ὁ Κύριος καὶ  
οἰκτίρμων.

Jas. 1<sup>17</sup>.

πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δῶρημα  
τέλειον ἄνωθεν ἐστὶ, καταβαίνον ἀπὸ  
τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν φώτων. 3<sup>17</sup> ἡ δὲ  
ἄνωθεν σοφία πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνή ἐστίν,  
ἔπειτα εἰρημική.

Jas. 3<sup>15</sup>.

οὐκ ἐστὶν αὕτη ἡ σοφία ἄνωθεν  
κατερχομένη, ἀλλ' ἐπίγειος, ψυχικὴ,  
δαμονιώδης.

Jas. 4<sup>11, 12</sup>.

μὴ καταλαλεῖτε ἀλλήλων, ἀδελφοί.  
ὁ καταλαλῶν ἀδελφοῦ . . . καταλαλεῖ  
νόμον . . . εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ νομοθέτης καὶ  
κριτὴς, ὁ δυνάμενος σῶσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι·  
σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ ὁ κρίνων τὸν πλησίον;

Cf. Matt. 10<sup>28</sup> φοβήθητε . . .  
τὸν δυναμένον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα  
ἀπολέσαι.

## d

(13) Vis. II. ii. 7.

μακάριοι ὑμεῖς ὅσοι ὑπομένετε τὴν θλίψιν τὴν ἐρχομένην τὴν μεγάλην, καὶ ὅσοι οὐκ ἀρνῆσονται τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν.

Jas. 1<sup>12</sup>.

Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς ὑπομένει πειρασμόν' . . . λήψεται τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς.

Rev. 7<sup>14</sup>.

οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης.  
Matt. 10<sup>22</sup> and 24<sup>13</sup>.  
ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται.

There is some verbal resemblance; but the words are very common, the deviations are strongly marked, and the sentiment is quite different.

(14) Vis. III. ix. 4-6.

αὕτη οὖν ἡ ἀσυνκрасία βλαβερὰ ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔχουσιν καὶ μὴ μεταδιδοῦσιν τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις. βλέπετε τὴν κρίσιν τὴν ἐπερχομένην . . . μήποτε στενάξουσιν οἱ ὑστερούμενοι, καὶ ὁ στεναγμὸς αὐτῶν ἀναβῆσεται πρὸς τὸν Κύριον.

Jas. 5<sup>1,4</sup>.

οἱ πλούσιοι, . . . κλαύσατε ὀλολύζοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς ταλαιπωρίαις ὑμῶν ταῖς ἐπερχομέναις . . . ὁ μισθὸς τῶν ἐργατῶν . . . ὁ ἀπεστερημένος ἀφ' ὑμῶν κράζει· καὶ αἱ βοαὶ τῶν θερισάντων εἰς τὰ ὄτα Κυρίου Σαβαώθ εἰσεληλύθασιν.

Lev. 19<sup>13</sup>.

οὐ μὴ κοιμηθήσεται ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ μισθωτοῦ παρὰ σοὶ ἕως πρωῒ.

Deut. 24<sup>15</sup>.

πένης . . . καταβοήσεται κατὰ σοῦ πρὸς Κύριον.

Ps. 11<sup>6</sup>.

τοῦ στεναγμοῦ τῶν πενήτων.

Ps. 17<sup>7</sup>.

ἡ κραυγὴ μου . . . εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὰ ὄτα αὐτοῦ.

Cf. Enoch xciv.

7-10.

With a resemblance of sentiment and expression, the differences are considerable, and both may be explained from the O. T.

(15) Mand. II. ii. iii.

μηδενὸς καταλάλει . . . πονηρὰ ἢ καταλαλιά, ἀκατάστατον δαιμόνιον.

V. ii. 7 ἀκασταταίῃ ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτοῦ.

Sim. VI. iii. 4, 5.

τιμωροῦνται . . . ἀκαταστασία . . . ἀκαστατοῦντες ταῖς βουλαῖς αὐτῶν.

Jas. 4<sup>11</sup>.

μὴ καταλαίετε ἀλλήλων.

3<sup>8</sup> τὴν δὲ γλώσσαν

. . . ἀκατάστατον κακόν.

1<sup>8</sup> ἀκατάστατος ἐν

πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ.

Prov. 26<sup>28</sup>.

στόμα δὲ ἄστεγον ποιεῖ ἀκαταστασίας.

20<sup>16</sup> μὴ ἀγάπα καταλαλεῖν.

Wisdom. 11<sup>1</sup>.

ἀπὸ καταλαλιᾶς φείσασθε γλώσσης.

See also Ps. 49<sup>20</sup>, 100<sup>6</sup>.

Isa. 54<sup>11</sup>.

ἀκατάστατος οὐ παρεκλήθης.

See also Tobit 4<sup>13</sup>.



The sentiment and the words are sufficiently common. 'Ακατάστατον δαιμόνιον reminds one of James; but with the change from κακόν, the connexion is too slight to be relied on.

(16) Mand. III. i.

τὸ πνεῦμα ὃ ὁ Θεὸς  
κατόκισεν ἐν τῇ σαρκί  
ταύτῃ . . . ὁ Κύριος ὃ ἐν  
σοὶ κατοικῶν.

Mand. V. ii. 5-7.

οὐδὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ  
ἅγιον κατοικεῖ . . . κατοικεῖν  
. . . ζητεῖ κατοικεῖν  
. . . οὐ κατοικεῖ.

Sim. V. vi. 5, 7.

τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον . . .  
κατόκισεν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς  
σάρκα . . . ἐν ἧ κατόκισεν  
τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ  
ἅγιον . . . ἐν ἧ τὸ πνεῦμα  
τὸ ἅγιον κατόκισεν.

Jas. 4<sup>5</sup>.

ἢ δοκεῖτε ὅτι κενῶς  
ἢ γραφῆ λέγει; πρὸς  
φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ τὸ πνεῦ-  
μα ὃ κατόκισεν ἐν ἡμῖν;

Test. of Twelve

Patriarchs, Simeon 4  
ἔχων πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐν  
αὐτῷ. Joseph 10 Κύ-  
ριος κατοικῆσει ἐν ὑμῖν  
. . . κατοικεῖ . . . ὃ ἐν  
αὐτῷ κατοικῶν. Benj. 6  
Κύριος γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ  
κατοικεῖ.

Though the parallels in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* show that the idea of a Divine indwelling, expressed by the word κατοικεῖν is not unusual, nevertheless the words of Hermas are sufficiently close to those of James to indicate some kind of literary connexion; but as the latter is avowedly quoting an unknown scripture, Hermas and he may be dependent on a common source, possibly *Eldad and Modat*, which is quoted in Vision II. iii. 4 'Εγγὺς Κύριος τοῖς ἐπιστρεφομένοις, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ 'Ελδὰδ καὶ Μωδάτ. We should note that the striking expression in James, πρὸς φθόνου ἐπιποθεῖ, is wanting in Hermas.

(17) Mand. XII. i. 1.

μισήσεις τὴν πονηρὰν  
ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ χαλινα-  
γωγῆσεις αὐτὴν καθὼς  
βαῦλει.

2 δυσκόλως ἡμεροῦται.

Jas. 1<sup>26</sup>.

μὴ χαλιναγωγῶν  
γλώσσαν αὐτοῦ.

3<sup>2</sup> δυνατὸς χαλινα-  
γωγῆσαι καὶ ὄλον τὸ  
σῶμα. vs. 4 ὅπου . . .  
βαῦλεται. vs. 8 τὴν  
δὲ γλῶσσαν οὐδεὶς δύ-  
ναται . . . δαμάσαι.

Polycarp v. 3.

χαλιναγωγούντες ἑαυ-  
τοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ.

The metaphorical use of 'bridling' is not uncommon, but the word is of rare occurrence. It is found, however, in

Lucian, applied to τὰς τῶν ἡδονῶν ὀρέξεις, which shows how unsafe it is to infer literary connexion from a mere resemblance of words and thought. Here, however, we must notice the presence of the ideas of willing and taming, which occur also in the context of James.

(18) Mand. XII. ii. 4.

ἡ ἐπιθυμία . . . φεύ-  
ζεται ἀπὸ σοῦ.

iv. 7 ὁ διάβολος μόνον  
φόνον ἔχει . . . μὴ φραβή-  
θητε οὖν αὐτόν, καὶ φεύ-  
ζεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν.

v. 2 εἰν οὖν ἀντι-  
σταθῆτε αὐτῷ, νικηθεὶς  
φεύζεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν.

4 ἀνθεστήκασιν αὐτῷ . . .  
κάκεινος ἀποχωρεῖ ἀπ'  
αὐτῶν.

Jas. 4<sup>7</sup>.

ἀντίστητε δὲ τῷ δια-  
βόλῳ, καὶ φεύζεται ἀφ'  
ὑμῶν.

Tobit 6<sup>18</sup>.

ὁσφρανθήσεται τὸ δαι-  
μόνιον καὶ φεύζεται.

Test. of Twelve  
Patr., Simeon 3.

ἀποτρέχει τὸ πονηρὸν  
πνεῦμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

Isachar 7.

πᾶν πνεῦμα τοῦ Βε-  
λιάρ φεύζεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν.

Napht. 8.

ὁ διάβολος φεύζεται  
ἀφ' ὑμῶν.

1 Pet. 5<sup>9</sup>.

ᾧ ἀντίστητε στερεοὶ τῇ  
πίστει.

The words and the thought in the above passages are sufficiently close to James to justify the conclusion that they are probably based on the Epistle. But a doubt is permissible because the words are few and in regular use, and the sentiment may have been common in Christian circles.

(19) Sim. I. viii.

χήρας καὶ ὀρφανούς ἐπισκέπτεσθε.

Mand. VIII. x.

χήραις ὑπηρετεῖν, ὀρφανούς καὶ  
ὑστερονμένους ἐπισκέπτεσθαι.

Vis. III. ix. 2.

ἐπισκέπτεσθε ἀλλήλους.

Jas. 1<sup>27</sup>.

ἐπισκέπτεσθαι ὀρφανούς καὶ χήρας  
ἐν τῇ θλίψει αὐτῶν.

The verbal resemblance in the first passage is striking; but ἐπισκέπτεσθαι is a common word in this kind of connexion, being very frequent in the LXX, and the union of orphans and widows as specially entitled to kindness is met with several times in the O. T. (see in the LXX Exod. 22<sup>22</sup>; Deut. 10<sup>18</sup>; Job 22<sup>9</sup>; Ps. 93<sup>6</sup>, 145<sup>9</sup>; Isa. 1<sup>17</sup>, 9<sup>17</sup>; Jer. 7<sup>6</sup>, 22<sup>3</sup>; Ezek. 22<sup>7</sup>; Zech. 7<sup>10</sup>). Moreover, the parallel passages in

Hermas deviate much more widely from James. It is therefore impossible to feel confident that there is dependence.

(20) Sim. II. v.

Jas. 2<sup>5</sup>.

ὁ μὲν πλούσιος ἔχει χρήματα πολλά,  
τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κύριον πτωχεύει . . .  
ὁ πένης πλούσιός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ἐντεύξει,  
καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχει ἢ ἐντευξίς  
αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ.

ὁ Θεὸς ἐξελέξατο τοὺς πτωχοὺς . . .  
πλουσίους ἐν πίστει.  
5<sup>16</sup> πολὺ ἰσχύει δέησις δικαίου  
ἐνεργουμένη.

The idea of the poor man as richer in spiritual life is common to the two works; but this is suggested also by Luke 6<sup>20</sup>, 12<sup>21</sup>, 16<sup>19-31</sup>; 2 Cor. 6<sup>10</sup>, 8<sup>9</sup>. The idea of the power of prayer is differently connected and applied; and there is no verbal resemblance that can suggest literary dependence.

(21) Sim. VIII. vi. 4.

Jas. 5<sup>2</sup>.

ὧν αἱ ῥάβδοι ξηραὶ καὶ βεβρωμέναι  
ὑπὸ σπητὸς εὐρέθησαν, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀπο-  
στάται . . . καὶ βλασφημήσαντες ἐν  
ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτῶν τὸν Κύριον, ἔτι  
δὲ καὶ ἐπαισχυνθέντες τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου  
τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐπ' αὐτούς.

ὁ πλοῦτος ὑμῶν σέσηπε, καὶ τὰ  
ἰμάτια ὑμῶν σπητόβρωτα γέγονεν.  
2<sup>7</sup> οὐκ αὐτοὶ (sc. οἱ πλούσιοι)  
βλασφημοῦσι τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα τὸ ἐπι-  
κληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς;  
See also 1 Pet. 4<sup>16</sup> (31).

(22) The following passages may also be compared; but it is not necessary to present them, as the language which is used in common by the two writers is not sufficiently characteristic to require remark. The context is quite different, and the use of the same words or figures may be explained from the O. T., or from general literary usage.

Vis. I. i. 8, ii. 1. Cf. Mand. IV. i. 2. Jas. 1<sup>14, 15</sup>.

Mand. II. iv. Sim. II. vii. 1<sup>5, 17</sup>.

Mand. XII. vi. 5. 1<sup>27</sup>, 4<sup>8</sup>.

Sim. VI. i. 1. 1<sup>21</sup>.

Sim. VI. i. 2. Vis. IV. i. 8. 2<sup>1, 4</sup>.

Sim. VI. i. 6, ii. 4. 5<sup>5</sup>.

Sim. VIII. ix. 1. 2<sup>14</sup>.

Sim. IX. xix. 2. 3<sup>1, 14, 18</sup>, 2<sup>14, 17, 20</sup>.

Sim. IX. xxi (especially 3). 1<sup>11, 18</sup>, 2<sup>7</sup>.

Sim. IX. xxvi. 7. 3<sup>8</sup>.

Although the passages which point to dependence on James fail to reach, when taken one by one, a high degree of probability, yet collectively they present a fairly strong case, but we should be hardly justified in placing the Epistle higher than Class C.

## D

## d

## Acts

(23) *VIS.* IV. ii. 4.

ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν . . . πρὸς  
τὸν Κύριον, πιστεύσας  
ὅτι δι' οὐδενὸς δύνῃ σω-  
θῆναι εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ  
μεγάλου καὶ ἐνδόξου  
ὀνόματος.

*Acts* 4<sup>12</sup>.

οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄνομά ἐστιν  
ἕτερον ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν  
τὸ δεδομένον ἐν ἀνθρώ-  
ποις, ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι  
ἡμᾶς.

*Isa.* 24<sup>15</sup>.

τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου ἐνδο-  
ξόν.

43<sup>11</sup> οὐκ ἔστιν παρέξ  
ἐμοῦ σώζων.

*Ps.* 53<sup>3</sup>.

Ὁ Θεός, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι  
σου σωσόν με.

11<sup>2</sup> Σωσόν με, Κύριε.

19<sup>2</sup> ὑπερασπίσαι σου  
τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ.

See also *Ps.* 32<sup>21</sup>,  
78<sup>9</sup>, 105<sup>8</sup>, 123<sup>8</sup>, &c.

It seems doubtful whether 'the Lord' and 'the name' refer to God or to Christ. In III. i. 9 and ii. 1, where suffering for the sake of the name (in v. 2 'the name of the Lord') is alluded to, the name is most naturally understood as that of Christ. But in III. iv. 3 'the name of God' is expressly mentioned; and in IV. i. 3 'his great and glorious name' seems most probably to refer to God. The same may be said of 'the almighty and glorious name' in III. iii. 5. In III. vii. 3 *Κύριος* seems to be used of Christ. This ambiguity qualifies the first impression of resemblance. In any case the usage of the O. T. may furnish a sufficient basis for the passage; and even the negative form of the sentence, which particularly reminds us of Acts, has a parallel in *Isa.* 43<sup>11</sup>. The context is totally different from that in Acts.

(24) *Mand.* IV. iii. 4.

καρδιογνώστης γὰρ ὦν ὁ Κύριος.

*Acts* 1<sup>24</sup>.

Κύριε, καρδιογνώστα πάντων.

15<sup>8</sup> ὁ καρδιογνώστης Θεός.

The only appearance of dependence here is in the use of an uncommon word. But even if that word originated with the author of Acts, it may have passed into Christian use, so as to be familiar to many who had not read Acts. If we suppose a direct connexion, there is nothing to show on which side the priority lies.

## Romans

## d

(25) Mand. X. ii. 5.

μη θλίβε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ἐν  
σοὶ κατοικοῦν, μήποτε ἐντεύξηται [κατὰ  
σοῦ] τῷ Θεῷ.

Rom. 8<sup>26</sup>, 27.

αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερευχαίνει . . .  
ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἁγίων.

## I Thessalonians

(26) Vis. III. ix. 10.

παιδεύετε ὁὖν ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰρη-  
νεύετε ἐν αὐτοῖς.

I Thess. 5<sup>13</sup> f.

εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· παρακαλοῦμεν  
δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, νουθετεῖτε τοὺς  
ἀτάκτους . . .

These passages use the same phrase in rather similar contexts dealing with mutual exhortation.

## I Peter

## d

(27) Vis. III. iii. 5.

ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν διὰ ὕδατος ἐσώθη καὶ  
σωθήσεται.

I Pet. 3<sup>20</sup>, 21.

ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε, κατασκευαζομένης  
κιβωτοῦ, εἰς ἣν ὀλίγοι . . . διεσώθησαν  
δι' ὕδατος . . . σώζει βάπτισμα.

The context is quite different, the reference to Noah and the ark being absent from Hermas. The idea of salvation through water springs directly from the practice of baptism, and would readily suggest the figure of founding the tower ἐπὶ ὑδάτων.

(28) Vis. III. xi. 3.

οὐκ ἐπερίψατε ἑαυτῶν  
τὰς μερίμνας ἐπὶ τὸν  
Κύριον.

IV. ii. 4 ἐξέφυγε  
. . . ὅτι τὴν μερίμνάν σου  
ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐπέριψας.  
. . . 5 ἐπερίψατε τὰς  
μερίμνας ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν  
Κύριον, καὶ αὐτὸς κατορ-  
θώσει αὐτάς.

I Pet. 5<sup>7</sup>.

πᾶσαν τὴν μερίμναν  
ὑμῶν ἐπιρίψαντες ἐπ'  
αὐτόν [τὸν Θεόν], ὅτι  
αὐτῷ μέλει περὶ ὑμῶν.

Ps. 54<sup>23</sup>.

ἐπίρριπον ἐπὶ Κύριον τὴν  
μερίμνάν σου, καὶ αὐτός  
σε διαθρέψει.

The quotation seems taken independently from the Psalm ; for, though the latter part differs from the LXX, it differs more widely from Peter. The huge beast, introduced as a type of the great tribulation, might be suggested by the 'roaring lion' of Peter ; but the figure, as used by Hermas, is too obvious to require such an explanation.

(29) Vis. IV. iii. 4.

ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ χρυσίον δοκιμάζεται  
διὰ τοῦ πυρός, . . . οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς  
δοκιμάζεσθε.

1 Pet. 1<sup>7</sup>.

τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολυ-  
τιμότερον χρυσίου τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου  
διὰ πυρός δὲ δοκιμαζομένου.

The words are not sufficiently close, and the comparison is far too obvious and common, to prove literary dependence.

(30) Sim. IX. xii. 2, 3.

ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ  
πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ  
προγενέστερός \* ἐστίν  
. . . ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν  
ἡμερῶν τῆς συντελείας  
φανερὸς ἐγένετο.

1 Pet. 1<sup>20</sup>.

Χριστοῦ προεγνωσμέ-  
νου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς  
κόσμου φανερωθέντος δὲ  
ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων.

Heb. 1<sup>2</sup>.

ἐπ' ἐσχάτου [α. ἐσχά-  
των] τῶν ἡμερῶν.

1 John 3<sup>5</sup>.

ἐκεῖνος ἐφανερώθη.

Also 3<sup>8</sup>.1<sup>2</sup> ἢ ζωὴ ἐφανερώθη.Col. 1<sup>15</sup>.

πρωτότοκος πάσης κτί-  
σεως.

\* Not used in N. T.

The antithesis which is here expressed reminds one of the Epistle; but the thought is somewhat different, and the phraseology, as the parallels show, is not necessarily connected with Peter. If we suppose that there is a literary connexion, we may observe that the doctrine is rather more developed in Hermas, and so may indicate that the dependence is on that side.

(31) Sim. IX. xiv. 6.

οὐκ ἐπαισχύνονται τὸ  
ὄνομα αὐτοῦ φορεῖν.  
xxi. 3 ὅταν θλίψιν  
ἀκούσωσι, . . . τὸ ὄνομα  
ἐπαισχύνονται τοῦ Κυρίου  
αὐτῶν. xxviii. 5, 6  
οἱ πάσχοντες ἔνεκεν τοῦ  
ὀνόματος δοξάζειν ὀφεί-  
λετε τὸν Θεόν, ὅτι ἀξίους  
ὑμᾶς ἠγάγησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἵνα  
τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα βαστά-  
ζητε . . . πεπόνθατε ἔνε-  
κεν τοῦ ὀνόματος Κυρίου.

1 Pet. 4<sup>14-16</sup>.

εἰ ὀνειδίξεσθε ἐν ὀνό-  
ματι Χριστοῦ . . . πα-  
σχέτω . . . εἰ δὲ ὡς  
Χριστιανός, μὴ αἰσχυ-  
νέσθω, δοξαζέτω δὲ τὸν  
Θεὸν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τού-  
τῳ.

Polycarp viii. 2.

ἐὰν πάσχωμεν διὰ τὸ  
ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, δοξάζωμεν  
αὐτόν. τοῦτον γὰρ ἡμῖν  
τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἔθηκε  
δι' ἑαυτοῦ.

Mark 8<sup>38</sup>; Luke 9<sup>36</sup>.

ὁς γὰρ ἂν ἐπαισχυνθῇ  
με.

Cf. Acts 5<sup>41</sup>: see  
(46).

VIII. vi. 4 ἐπαι-  
σχυνθέντες τὸ ὄνομα  
Κυρίου τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐπ'  
αὐτοῦς. See (21).

The probability that there is here a reminiscence of 1 Peter is confirmed by the parallel from Polycarp; for the latter has just quoted 1 Peter, and that he still has the Epistle in mind is indicated by the last clause: see 1 Pet. 2<sup>21</sup>. But the citation is not sufficiently close to make us feel confident that there is direct literary dependence.

(32) Sim. IX. xxix.

I, 3.  
ὡς νήπια βρέφη εἰσίν,  
οἷς οὐδεμία κακία ἀνα-  
βαίνει ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν . . .  
ὄσοι οὖν, κτλ.

1 Pet. 2<sup>1, 2</sup>.

ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν  
κακίαν . . . ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα  
βρέφη.

Matt. 18<sup>3</sup>.

γένησθε ὡς τὰ παιδιά.  
1 Cor. 14<sup>20</sup>.  
τῇ κακίᾳ νηπιάζετε.

The comparison is too obvious to require borrowing; and if Hermas uses the βρέφη of 1 Peter, he fails to use the more striking ἀρτιγέννητα.

On the whole, then, the evidence seems to place 1 Peter on the border line between C and D.

## GOSPELS.

Dr. C. Taylor has elaborated a striking argument in support of the thesis that Hermas based the Church upon four Gospels<sup>1</sup>. It is impossible to do justice to this in a meagre summary, and the reader ought to consult the work for himself. The important passages are the following:—

Vis. III. xiii. 3 ὅτι ἐπὶ συμψέλίου εἶδες καθημένην, ἰσχυρὰ ἢ θέσις· ὅτι τέσσαρας πόδας ἔχει τὸ συμψέλιον καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἔστηκεν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόσμος διὰ τεσσάρων στοιχείων κρατεῖται.

Sim. IX. iv. 3 ἐγένοντο οὖν στοῖχοι τέσσαρες ἐν τοῖς θεμελίοις τοῦ πύργου. xv. 4 οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι [λίθοι], φησίν, οἱ δέκα οἱ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια τεθειμένοι, πρώτη γενεά· οἱ δὲ εἴκοσι πέντε δευτέρα γενεὰ ἀνδρῶν δικαίων· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα πέντε προφῆται τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ διάκονοι αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Dr. Taylor finds the key to this allusion to the four elements in the well-known passage of Irenaeus<sup>2</sup>, in which

<sup>1</sup> *The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels*, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> III. xi. 8, 9 Stieren; 11, 12 Harvey.

he tries to prove that there must be neither more nor fewer than four Gospels. He connects the four *στοῖχοι* in the foundation of the tower with the *στοιχεῖα*. The four generations have their parallel in the four covenants of Irenaeus. 'The numbers of the stones in the four rows are 10, 25, 35, and 40 respectively, of which the decades are expressed in Greek by the initials of John, Cephas, Luke, and Matthew. St. Peter was the traditional authority for St. Mark's Gospel.' The bench, with its four feet, represents the four Gospels united in the one Gospel.

The argument is certainly plausible, and if we knew that Hermas had four and only four Gospels, the explanation of his imagery would be probable. But on the hypothesis that the Church had not yet definitely selected the Four Canonical Gospels, it may be that Hermas had other reasons for his use of the number four, and that nevertheless his use of that number may have helped to guide the decision of the Church, and to furnish Irenaeus with arguments. It is curious that Irenaeus, though referring to four regions of the world and four catholic winds, makes no mention of elements even when he speaks of the world as 'compounded and fitted together.' Moreover, the mere correspondence of numbers is not to be depended upon. Thus twelve mountains represent the twelve tribes or nations of the world. The twelve virgins at the gates of the tower, of whom four were more glorious than the rest, do not stand for Apostles and Evangelists, but for the virtues, of which the first four are faith, temperance, power, and long-suffering. Dr. Taylor, however, makes them represent the Holy Spirit as distributed to the twelve Apostles. While we fully recognize the value of Dr. Taylor's interpretations, we cannot place much confidence in them as an independent proof of the use of our four Gospels by Hermas.

Dr. Taylor supports his principal argument by pointing out several apparent allusions to special features in our Gospels; but here again, though the references are probable on the assumption that Hermas had our Gospels, they are not of a kind to prove that he had them to any one who is disposed to deny their currency at that time.



## (I) The Synoptic Gospels.

C

*Matthew*

c

(33) Mand. XII. i. 2.

τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας ἔνδυμα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀγαθῆς.

Sim. IX. xiii. 2.

ἄνθρωπος οὐ δύναται εὐρεθῆναι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐὰν μὴ αὐταί [αἱ παρθέναι = ἅγια πνεύματα, οἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ νιοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ] αὐτὸν ἐνδύσωσι τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτῶν.

This might have been suggested by the parable of the marriage feast; but the resemblance is not very close.

(34) Sim. III. iii.

ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ οὐ φαίνονται οὔτε οἱ δίκαιοι οὔτε οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὅμοιοί εἰσι.

IV. 2 ὁ γὰρ αἰὼν ὁ ἐρχόμενος θέρος ἐστὶ τοῖς δίκαιοις, τοῖς δὲ ἁμαρτωλοῖς χειμῶν. 4 ὡς ξύλα κατακαυθήσονται.

V. v. 2 ὁ ἀγρὸς ὁ κόσμος οὗτός ἐστιν.

This might certainly have been suggested by the parable of the tares, the general idea being similar, and the last-quoted words being almost identical. It is the custom of Hermas to transform ideas of which he avails himself, and adapt them to his own composition.

(35) Sim. V. vi. 4.

ἐξουσίαν πᾶσαν λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

Matt. 22<sup>11</sup>.

εἶδεν ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἐνδεδυμένον ἔνδυμα γάμου.

<sup>12</sup> πῶς εἰσηλθες ὧδε;<sup>13</sup> ἐκβάλετε αὐτάν.Matt. 13<sup>30</sup>.

ἄφετε συναυξάνεσθαι ἀμφότερα μέχρι τοῦ θερισμοῦ . . . συλλέξατε πρῶτον τὰ ζιζάνια . . . σίτου συναγάγετε.

<sup>40</sup> πυρὶ κατακαίεται.<sup>38</sup> ὁ δὲ ἀγρὸς ἐστὼν ὁ κόσμος.Matt. 28<sup>18</sup>.

ἐδόθη μοι πᾶσα ἐξουσία.

II<sup>27</sup> πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

The words are sufficiently related to suggest dependence, but are too few to admit of a confident inference.

d

(36) Vis. III. ix. 8.

παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου.

Matt. 5<sup>35</sup>.

τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.

The expression is a fairly common one (see Ps. 46<sup>3</sup>, 47<sup>3</sup>, 94<sup>3</sup>; also Tobit 13<sup>15</sup>), and the context is quite different.

(37) Mand. XI. xvi.

Matt. 7<sup>15, 16</sup>.

δοκίμαζε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν . . . ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ζωῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν λέγοντα καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσασθε αὐτούς. ἐαυτὸν πνευματοφόρον εἶναι.

The resemblance here is solely in the sentiment, and that is not sufficiently characteristic to be of weight apart from verbal coincidence.

*Mark*

C

(38) Mand. IV. ii. 1.

Mark 6<sup>62</sup>.

οὐ συνίω οὐδέν, καὶ ἡ καρδιά μου οὐ γὰρ συνῆκαν . . . ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ καρδιά πεπώρωται. αὐτῶν πεπωρωμένη [see also 8<sup>17</sup>].

The combination of words is confined to Mark, where it occurs twice, and the verbal agreement is sufficient to suggest dependence. It is as if Hermas said, 'I am like those men who are reproached in the Gospel.' Nevertheless, we cannot, on the strength of this single passage, assign a very high degree of probability to the use of Mark by Hermas. See also (43) and the references in (46), which exclude Matthew, as that Gospel does not use *ἐπαισχύνεσθαι*.

*Luke*

D

(39) Mand. IX. viii.

Luke 18<sup>1</sup>.

σὺ οὖν μὴ διαλίπῃς αἰτούμενος . . . πρὸς τὸ δεῖν πάντοτε προσεύχεσθαι εἴαν δὲ ἐκκακήσῃς. αὐτούς καὶ μὴ ἐγκακεῖν [al. ἐκ-].

This connexion of ideas is confined to Luke in the N. T., and the expression is sufficiently close to suggest dependence. The last word is used by Paul, 2 Cor. 4<sup>1, 16</sup>; Gal. 6<sup>9</sup>; Eph. 3<sup>13</sup>; 2 Thess. 3<sup>13</sup>, but not in reference to prayer, as it is in 2 Clem. ii. 2. See also (11).

## (II) The Synoptic Tradition.

(40) Vis. III. vi. 5.

Matt. 13<sup>20, 21</sup>.

ἔχοντες μὲν πίστιν, ἔχοντες δὲ καὶ πλοῦτον τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. ὅταν γένηται θλίψις, διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τὰς πραγματείας ἀπαρνοῦνται τὸν Κύριον αὐτῶν.

ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνων αὐτόν . . . γενομένης δὲ θλίψεως . . . σκανδαλίζεται.

Mark 4<sup>18, 19</sup>.

Sim. IX. xx. 1, 2.

οἱ μὲν τρίβολοὶ εἰσιν οἱ πλούσιοι, αἱ δὲ ἄκανθαι οἱ ἐν ταῖς πραγματείας

οἱ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπειρόμενοι . . . αἱ μέριμναι τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλοῦτου καὶ αἱ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιθυμίας . . . συμπνίγουσιν τὸν λόγον.

ταῖς ποικίλαις ἐμπεφυρμένοι . . . πνιγόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν πράξεων αὐτῶν.

Luke 8<sup>14</sup>.

αὐτοὶ . . . συμπνίγονται.

See also xxi. 3.

The resemblance here may very well indicate acquaintance with the parable of the sower, though it is impossible to connect this acquaintance with a particular Gospel.

(41) Vis. IV. ii. 6. Matt. 26<sup>24</sup>; Mark 14<sup>21</sup>. I Clem. xlii. 8.

οὐαὶ τοῖς . . . παρακού- καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ εἶπεν γάρ· Οὐαὶ τῷ  
σασιν' αἰρετώτερον ἦν ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀθρόπων ἐκείνῳ· καλὸν  
αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ γεννηθῆναι. ἐκείνος. ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη.

This might certainly be borrowed from the Synoptic saying, the change being no greater than we may expect when there is no express quotation. The quotation in Clement (56) proves that the saying was known in Rome, but does not attach it to a particular Gospel.

(42) Mand. IV. i. 1.

Matt. 5<sup>28</sup>.

μὴ ἀναβαινέτω σου ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν  
περὶ γυναικὸς ἀλλοτρίας.

πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυ-  
μῆσαι αὐτῆς ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν  
τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

Mand. IV. i. 6.

Matt. 19<sup>9</sup>; Mark 10<sup>11</sup>.

ἐὰν δὲ ἀπολύσας τὴν γυναῖκα ἐτέραν  
γαμήσῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς μοιχᾶται.

ὃς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, εἰ  
μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ [Mk. om.], καὶ γαμήσῃ  
ἄλλην, μοιχᾶται [Mk. add. ἐπ' αὐτήν].

The first of these passages is similar in sentiment, though not in words, to Matthew. The second resembles the Gospels both in thought and language. It goes beyond 1 Cor. 7<sup>10, 11</sup>, and, with Mark, omits the qualification in Matthew. Paul's reference shows there was a Christian doctrine on the subject apart from a written Gospel; but the words here are so much closer to the Gospels than are Paul's that we may reasonably infer some kind of literary dependence. At all events, the passages indicate acquaintance with the Synoptic tradition.

(43) Sim. IX. xx. 2.

Matt. 19<sup>23</sup>.

οἱ πλούσιοι . . . δυσκόλως εἰσελεύ-  
σονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

δυσκόλως πλούσιος [Tisch. πλ.  
δυσ.] εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν  
τῶν οὐρανῶν. Mark 10<sup>23</sup> πῶς δυσκό-  
λως οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες εἰς τὴν βασι-  
λείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσελεύσονται. Luke  
18<sup>24</sup> nearly the same as Mark.

We can hardly doubt that this is a quotation.

(44) Sim. V. ii. 1.  
τὴν παραβολὴν. 2 ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπε-  
λῶνα . . . δούλον . . . παρεκαλέσατο  
αὐτὸν . . . ἐξῆλθε δὲ ὁ δεσπότης . . .  
εἰς τὴν ἀποδημίαν. 5 μετὰ χρόνον ἦλθεν  
ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ δούλου. 7 θέλω αὐτὸν  
συγκληροῦν μετὰ υἱῶ μου ποιῆσαι.

Matt. 21<sup>33</sup>; Mark 12<sup>1</sup>; Luke 20<sup>9</sup>.  
παραβολὴν [Mk. ἐν παραβολαῖς]  
. . . ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα [Mk. ἀμπ.  
ἐφύτ.] . . . ἀπεδήμησεν.

Matt. 25<sup>14</sup>.  
ἐκάλεσεν . . . δούλους [Lk. 19<sup>13</sup>].  
<sup>19</sup> μετὰ δὲ πολὺν χρόνον ἔρχεται  
ὁ κύριος τῶν δούλων.

Mark 12<sup>7</sup>; Luke 20<sup>14</sup>.  
ὁ κληρονόμος [ὁ υἱός].

This may possibly have been suggested by the Gospels; and the whole parable seems framed on the model of the evangelical parables.

(45) Sim. IX. xxix. 1, 2, 3.  
ὡς νῆπια βρέφη . . . οἱ τοιοῦτοι . . .  
κατοικήσουσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ  
Θεοῦ . . . πάντα γὰρ τὰ βρέφη ἐνδοξά  
ἐστι παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πρῶτα παρ'  
αὐτῷ.

See also xxxi. 3 'felices vos iudicio omnes . . . quicumque estis innocentes sicut infantes, quoniam pars vestra bona est et honorata apud Deum.'

It is not improbable that this is derived from some such saying as we find in the Gospels.

(46) Sim. VIII. vi. 4.  
ἐπαισχυνθέντες τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου.  
Sim. IX. xiv. 6.  
ὅτι οὐκ ἐπαισχύνονται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ  
φορεῖν.

Sim. IX. xxi. 3.  
τὸ ὄνομα ἐπαισχύνονται τοῦ Κυρίου.

Matt. 18<sup>3</sup>.  
ἐὰν μὴ . . . γένησθε ὡς τὰ παιδία,  
οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν  
οὐρανῶν. <sup>10</sup> οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτῶν . . .  
βλέπουσι τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρὸς  
μου. <sup>4</sup> ὁ μείζων ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν  
οὐρανῶν. 19<sup>14</sup>; Mark 10<sup>14</sup> τῶν γὰρ  
τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν  
[Mark τοῦ Θεοῦ]. Cf. Matt. 20<sup>27</sup>  
πρῶτος.

Mark 8<sup>38</sup>; Luke 9<sup>26</sup>.  
ὅς γὰρ ἂν ἐπαισχυνθῇ με καὶ τοὺς  
ἐμούς λόγους.  
Comp. (31).

### (III) The Fourth Gospel.

D

John

d

(47) Vis. II. ii. 8.  
τοὺς ἀρνησαμένους τὸν  
Κύριον αὐτῶν ἀπεγνω-  
ρίσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς  
αὐτῶν.

John 11<sup>26</sup>, 14<sup>6</sup>.  
Ἐγὼ εἰμι . . . ἡ ζωή.

Col. 3<sup>4</sup>.  
ὁ Χριστὸς . . . ἡ ζωὴ  
ἡμῶν.

Matt. 10<sup>33</sup>.  
ὅστις δ' ἂν ἀρνήσῃται  
με ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
πων, ἀρνήσομαι αὐτὸν  
καθώς. Also Luke 12<sup>9</sup>,  
somewhat varied.

The only connexion is in the word ζωή, and it is by no means certain that it refers to Christ in Hermas; in any case, the verse in Colossians is sufficient to show that the expression need not be borrowed from John. The sentiment of the passage is closer to the Synoptics.

(48) Sim. V. vi. 3.

δοὺς αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον ὃν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

John 10<sup>16</sup>.

ταύτην τὴν ἐντολὴν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου. Cf. 12<sup>49</sup>, 14<sup>31</sup>, 15<sup>10</sup>.

The identity of expression may be accidental, for it is sufficiently explained by the context.

(49) Sim. IX. xii. 1.

ἡ πύλη ὃ νῖὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶ. 5 εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄλλως εἰσελθεῖν οὐ δύναται ἄνθρωπος εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. 6 ἡ δὲ πύλη ὃ νῖὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστίν· αὕτη μία εἰσοδὸς ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸν Κύριον. ἄλλως οὖν οὐδεὶς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.

John 10<sup>7, 9</sup>.

ἐγὼ εἶμι ἡ θύρα. vs. <sup>17</sup> διὰ τοῦτό με ὃ πατὴρ ἀγαπᾷ.

14<sup>6</sup> οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, εἰ μὴ δι' ἐμοῦ.

The figure of a gate admitting to the tower which represents the Church is a natural one, and need not be borrowed. Nevertheless, the passage has a Johannine colouring; but whether this is sufficient to prove a literary connexion may be reasonably questioned. Such sentiments must have spread among Christians apart from direct literary influence.

(50) Sim. IX. xv. 3.

ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα [of various vices] ὃ φορῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος τὴν βασιλείαν μὲν ὄψεται τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰς αὐτὴν δὲ οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται.

John 3<sup>3-5</sup>.

οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

The two expressions remind one of the passage in John; but in the latter they are synonymous, whereas in Hermas they are contrasted. The idea of *entering* into the kingdom of God is too common to be an indication of any particular passage; and the *idea* of seeing it, though not so frequently expressed, occurs in Mark 9<sup>1</sup>, with the parallel in Luke 9<sup>27</sup>, and the notion of seeing it without entering it is suggested by Matthew 26<sup>64</sup>, with the parallel in Mark 14<sup>62</sup>, where the word ὄψεσθε is used. See also Luke 21<sup>27</sup>.

## II CLEMENT

### INTRODUCTION.

PHOTIUS (Biblioth. Cod. 126) says of 2 Clement, *ρήτά τινα ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς ξενίζοντα παρεισάγει, ὧν οὐδ' ἡ πρώτη ἀπῆλλακτο παντελῶς*. A case of such alien 'scripture' quotation common to 1 and 2 Clement is that found most fully in 2 Clem. xi. 2-4 (1 Clem. xxiii. 3 f.) λέγει γὰρ καὶ ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος, Ταλαίπωροί εἰσιν οἱ δίσυχοι, κτλ. 'The prophetic discourse' in question may or may not be 'Eldad and Modat': but at any rate it shows that our homilist's quotations of divinely authoritative words are not controlled by any strict canonical idea, even in relation to O. T. writings. Yet we must beware of mistaking free citations for verbal quotations from unknown Gospels. For what follows the words λέγει ἡ γραφή ἐν τῷ Ἰεζεκιήλ, in vi. 8, is in fact a free paraphrase; and he is apt to use *φησίν* with words which merely give the effect of a passage (e. g. xii. 6 with allusion to xii. 2; cf. vii. 6 where words of Isa. 66<sup>24</sup> are adapted). In v. 2, however, he certainly cites a non-canonical Gospel with λέγει ὁ Κύριος, as also in viii. 5, with the addition ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.

In xiv. 2 our author appeals, for teaching about the Church, to 'The Books (τὰ βιβλία + *prophetarum*, Syriac) and the Apostles.' Thus, on the one hand, he co-ordinates the apostolic writings with the O. T. as to authority; but, on the other, he does not include them under the same term, 'the Books,' i. e. his Bible. Whether, again, he reckons Gospel narratives under 'the Apostles' must be held doubtful, in view of his free use of at least one apocryphal Gospel, possibly that 'According to (the) Egyptians'—which he can hardly have believed Apostolic in origin (assuming that he cites it at all). This suggests that he thought only of the sayings of the Lord in such narratives as the authoritative element; just as he refers (xiii. 3) to 'the Oracles of God' on the lips of Christians, and cites the substance of words found in Luke 6<sup>32, 35</sup>, as embodying a divine oracle (λέγει ὁ Θεός). Here God is con-

ceived as speaking in Christ, who elsewhere is Himself cited as the authority behind the Gospel, e. g. 'For the Lord saith in the Gospel' (viii. 5), where an Evangelic source distinct from any of our Gospels seems to be cited. All this prevents any very strict inference from the fact that words found in Matt. 9<sup>13</sup>, Mark 2<sup>17</sup> (cf. Luke 5<sup>32</sup>) are cited (ii. 4), after an O. T. passage, with *καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ γραφὴ λέγει*. Thus the book in question is 'a scripture' primarily because of what it embodies, viz. part of the Gospel spoken by the Lord; and elsewhere he can quote with equal deference matter certainly not found in any of our Gospels. Indeed, all the facts would be fairly satisfied by the hypothesis that our homilist quotes throughout from a single Evangelic source, if we were at liberty to imagine it a sort of combined recension of two or more of our Synoptists, embodying such additions as made it correspond more completely to the notion of Christ's 'Gospel' prevalent in the non-Jewish part of the Alexandrine Church. In that case it would be an earlier local type of harmony<sup>1</sup> than Tatian's *Diatessaron*, which so largely superseded our Gospels, even at a later date, among Syriac-speaking Christians. As regards the N. T. Epistles, the phrase 'The Books and the Apostles' prepares us to find pretty free use of them, even though they are not formally quoted.

## EPISTLES.

C

*Hebrews*

c

(1) 2 Clem. xi. 6.

Heb. 10<sup>23</sup>.

*πιστὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπαγγελιάμενος.*      *πιστὸς γὰρ ὁ ἐπαγγελιάμενος.*

The context of the two passages is similar, referring to the need of hope in the presence of grounds for doubt.

d

(2) 2 Clem. i. 6.

Heb. 12<sup>1</sup>.

*ἀποθέμενοι ἐκεῖνο ὃ περικείμεθα*      *τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες περικείμενον ἡμῖν*  
*νέφος τῆ αὐτοῦ θελήσει.*      *νέφος μαρτύρων, ὃγον ἀποθέμενοι*  
*πάντα . . .*

<sup>1</sup> On such a view we should of course have to treat the phenomena pointing to Clement's use of any of our Synoptists as evidence of indirect or second-hand use—so pushing back the origin of such a Gospel to a period prior to that of the immediate source.

Although the thought of these two passages is so different, it seems difficult, in view of the verbal coincidences, to resist the conclusion that the language of 2 Clement is unconsciously influenced by that of Hebrews.

The following points of similarity may be added, though they cannot be classed.

- (a) 2 Clem. xvi. 4. Heb. 13<sup>18</sup>.  
*προσευχῇ . . . ἐκ καλῆς συνειδή-* *προσεύχεσθε περὶ ἡμῶν' πειθόμεθα*  
*σεως.* *γὰρ ὅτι καλὴν συνείδησιν ἔχομεν.*

The expression *καλὴ συνείδησις* does not occur elsewhere in N. T.

(b) xx. 2 has a general similarity with Heb. 10<sup>32-39</sup>; and the expression *Θεοῦ ζῶντος* occurs in 2 Clem. xx. 2 and Heb. 10<sup>31</sup> (cf. 3<sup>12</sup>).

## D

## 1 Corinthians

## d

- (3) 2 Clem. ix. 3. 1 Cor. 6<sup>19</sup>.  
*δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ φυλάσ-* *ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς*  
*σειν τὴν σάρκα.* *τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐστιν,*  
*οὐ ἔχετε ἀπὸ Θεοῦ;*  
 1 Cor. 3<sup>16</sup>.  
*οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐστε . . . ;*  
 Cf. Eph. 2<sup>20-22</sup>.

The phrase in 2 Clement has the same meaning as that of 1 Cor. 6<sup>19</sup>, and it is very possible that it is derived from St. Paul; but the conception had probably become a commonplace among Christians, and we cannot assert a necessary dependence upon any particular passage.

## UNCLASSED

- (4) 2 Clem. vii. 1. 1 Cor. 9<sup>24, 25</sup>.  
 The metaphor of the games is very common in ancient literature. Cf. Lightfoot, *ad loc.*
- (5) 2 Clem. xi. 7, xiv. 5. 1 Cor. 2<sup>9</sup>.  
 See note on the passage in relation to 1 Clem. (14).

## Ephesians

## d

- (6) 2 Clem. xiv. 2. Eph. 1<sup>22</sup>.  
*οὐκ οἶομαι δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι* *καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδωκε κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ*  
*ἐκκλησία ζῶσα σῶμά ἐστι Χριστοῦ* *πάντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἣτις ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα*  
*(λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ) Ἐποίησεν ἁ θεὸς* *αὐτοῦ, τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν*  
*τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ· τὸ* *πάσι πληρουμένου.*



ἄρσεν ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, τὸ θῆλυ ἡ ἐκκλησία), καὶ ὅτι τὰ βιβλία καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οὐ νῦν εἶναι ἀλλὰ ἄνωθεν [φασίν].

Eph. 5<sup>23</sup>.

ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ τῆς γυναικός, ὡς καὶ ὁ Χριστός κεφαλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, κτλ.

Eph. 1<sup>4</sup>.

καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.

We have to notice here :—

1. The treatment of the Church as the body of Christ.
2. The comparison of the union of Christ and the Church to the union of man and woman.
3. The conception of the Church as pre-existing, which possibly corresponds in some degree with St. Paul's conception of the election before the foundation of the world.

#### UNCLASSED

(7) 2 Clem. xix. 2.  
ἐσκοτισμεθα τὴν διάνοιαν. Cf. (17).

Eph. 4<sup>18</sup>.

(8) 2 Clem. xiii. 1.  
ἀνθρωπάρεσκαί.

Eph. 6<sup>e</sup>.  
Cf. Col. 3<sup>22</sup>.

#### James

#### d

(9) 2 Clem. vi. 3, 5.  
ἔστιν δὲ αὐτος ὁ αἰὼν καὶ ὁ μέλλων  
δύο ἔχθροί. . . οὐ δυνάμεθα οὖν τῶν  
δύο φίλοι εἶναι· δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς τούτῳ  
ἀποταξαμένους ἐκείνῳ χρᾶσθαι.

Jas. 4<sup>4</sup>.

οὐκ αἰδате ὅτι ἡ φιλία τοῦ κόσμου  
ἔχθρα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστίν; ὃς ἂν οὖν  
βουληθῆ φίλος εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου,  
ἔχθρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καθίσταται.

There is a similarity of feeling between these passages, but no verbal parallel, except in the occurrence of φίλοι and φίλια.

(10) 2 Clem. xv. 1.  
μισθὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν μικρὸς πλανω-  
μένην ψυχὴν καὶ ἀπολλυμένην ἀπα-  
στρέψαι εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι.

Jas. 5<sup>16</sup>.

εὐχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων, ὅπως ἰαθῆτε.  
πολὺ ἰσχύει δέησις δικαίου ἐνεργου-  
μένη.

(11) 2 Clem. xvi. 4.  
κρείσων νηστεία προσευχῆς, ἐλεη-  
μοσύνη δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἀγάπῃ δὲ  
καλύπτει πλήθος ἁμαρτιῶν· προσευχὴ  
δὲ ἐκ καλῆς συνειδήσεως ἐκ θανάτου  
ρύεται.

Jas. 5<sup>20</sup>.

ὁ ἐπιστρέψας ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐκ πλάνης  
ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ σώσει ψυχὴν ἐκ θανάτου,  
καὶ καλύψει πλήθος ἁμαρτιῶν.

The occurrence in 2 Clement of so many points similar to those in Jas. 5<sup>16, 20</sup> is worthy of notice, although none of the resemblances may be very striking in themselves.

(12) 2 Clem. xx. 2-4.

πιστεύωμεν οὖν, ἀδελφοί καὶ ἀδελ-  
φαί· Θεοῦ ζῶντος πείραν ἀθλοῦμεν,  
καὶ γυμναζόμεθα τῷ νῦν βίῳ ἵνα τῷ  
μέλλοντι στεφανωθῶμεν. οὐδεὶς τῶν  
δικαίων ταχὺν καρπὸν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ'  
ἐκδέχεται αὐτῶν. εἰ γὰρ τὸν μισθὸν  
τῶν δικαίων ὁ θεὸς συντόμως ἀπεδίδου,  
εὐθέως ἐμπορίαν ἡσκοῦμεν καὶ οὐ  
θεοσέβειαν.

There is a general similarity between these passages in the spirit of their teaching, but these parallels, like the others cited with passages in James, are insufficient to give positive evidence in favour of literary dependence.

I Peter

d

(13) 2 Clem. xiv. 2.

ἐφανερῶθη δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν  
ἡμερῶν ἵνα ἡμᾶς σώσῃ.

Cf. also ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ζῶης and ἐκκλησία ζῶσα (occurring in the same section of 2 Clement) with λίθοι ζῶντες (1 Pet. 2<sup>4</sup>).

(14) 2 Clem. xvi. 4.

ἀγάπη δὲ καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν.

See note on 1 Clement (48).

Jas. 5<sup>7, 8, 10</sup>.

μακροθυμήσατε οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἕως  
τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου. ἰδοὺ, ὁ  
γεωργὸς ἐκδέχεται τὸν τίμιον καρπὸν  
τῆς γῆς, μακροθυμῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἕως  
λάβῃ ὑετὸν πρόϊμον καὶ ὄψιμον.  
μακροθυμήσατε καὶ ὑμεῖς . . . ὑπό-  
δειγμα λάβετε, ἀδελφοί, τῆς κακο-  
παθείας καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας τοῦς  
προφήτας.

1 Pet. 1<sup>20</sup>.

φανερῶθέντος δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν  
χρόνων δι' ὑμᾶς.

1 Pet. 4<sup>8</sup>.

ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν.

## UNCLASSED

Romans

(15) 2 Clem. i. 8.

ἐκάλεσεν γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ὄντος καὶ  
ἠθέλησεν ἐκ μὴ ὄντος εἶναι ἡμᾶς.

The correspondence is superficial, and the phrase in some sense is not uncommon. Cf. Lightfoot, ad loc.

(16) 2 Clem. viii. 2.

The metaphor of the clay and the potter is used by Jeremiah (18<sup>4ff.</sup>), and it would therefore be unsafe to assert the dependence of 2 Clement on Romans.

(17) 2 Clem. xix. 2.

ἐσκοτίσμεθα τὴν διάνοιαν.

Rom. 1<sup>21</sup>.

καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν  
καρδιά.

Eph. 4<sup>18</sup>.

ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ.

The phrase is parallel to that of Romans and Ephesians, but closer to the latter. Cf. (7).

1 *Timothy*

(18) 2 Clem. xx. 5.

1 Tim. 1<sup>17</sup>.

There is considerable resemblance between these doxologies, but it seems to us impossible to lay much stress upon this, as it is very possible that they are both based upon liturgical forms.

(19) 2 Clem. xv. 1.

1 Tim. 4<sup>10</sup>.

Cf. Jas. 5<sup>19, 20</sup> (11).

2 *Peter*

(20) 2 Clem. xvi. 3.

γινώσκετε δὲ ὅτι ἔρχεται ἤδη ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως ὡς κλίβανος καιόμενος, καὶ τακῆσονται τινες τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ὡς μόλιβος ἐπὶ πυρὶ τηκόμενος, καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ κρύφια καὶ φανερὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Mal. 4<sup>1</sup> ἰδοὺ ἡμέρα ἔρχεται καιομένη ὡς κλίβανος.

Isa. 34<sup>4</sup> τακῆσονται πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν.

This affords parallels to 2 Pet. 3<sup>5-7, 10</sup>; notice also the variant *εὐρεθήσεται* in 2 Pet. 3<sup>10</sup>, which is near to *φανήσεται* in 2 Clem. xvi. 3.

[Lightfoot thinks the agreement of 2 Clem. xi. 2 with 2 Pet. 1<sup>19</sup> in *ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος*, and with 2<sup>8</sup> in *ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας*, worthy of notice.]

*Jude*

(21) 2 Clem. xx. 4.

Jude 6.

διὰ τοῦτο θεία κρίσις ἔβλαψεν πνεῦμα μὴ ὂν δίκαιον, καὶ ἐβάρυνεν δεσμοῖς.

ἀγγέλους τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν . . . εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας δεσμοῖς αἰδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφου τετήρηκεν.

These passages seem parallel, but it is to be remembered that the interpretation of 2 Clem. xx. 4 is very doubtful, that the variant *δεσμός* (C) is found for *δεσμοῖς* (S, considerably weakening the parallel), and that changes of the text have also been proposed.

## GOSPELS.

## (I) The Synoptic Gospels.

C

*Matthew*

C

(22) 2 Clem. v. 5, vi. 7  
(viii. 4).Matt. 11<sup>28</sup> f., 25<sup>45</sup> f.

ἡ δὲ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστή ἐστίν, καὶ [ + ἡ, C ] ἀνάπαυσις τῆς μελλούσης βασιλείας καὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου.

δεῦτε πρὸς με, . . . καγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς· ἄρατε τὸν ζυγὸν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, . . . καὶ εὐρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν.

ποιῶντες γὰρ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐρήσομεν ἀνάπαυσιν· εἰ δὲ μήγε, οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ῥύσεται ἐκ τῆς αἰωνίου κατὰσεως, ἐὰν παρακούσωμεν τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ.

ἐφ' ὅσον οὐκ ἐποιήσατε . . . Καὶ ἀπελεύσονται οὗτοι εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

τὰς ἐντολάς τοῦ Κυρίου φυλάξαντες ληψόμεθα ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Matthew alone has (1) Christ's promise of rest to those who do His will—such persons 'finding rest'; (2) the warning as to *κόλασις αἰώνιος* (only here in N. T.) for those who do not His commands, as set forth in the Judgement Scene, while the prize is ἡ (μέλλουσα) βασιλεία and ζωὴ αἰώνιος. Hence it is hard to escape the impression that our homilist is using this Gospel directly or indirectly.

d

(23) 2 Clem. iii. 2.

Matt. 10<sup>32</sup> (Luke 12<sup>8</sup>).

λέγει δὲ καὶ αὐτός· Τὸν ὁμολογήσαντά με [ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, om. Syr.], ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσω καγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς.

Clement's quotation is nearer Matthew than Luke (who has *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* . . . ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ Θεοῦ). But even retaining *ἐνώπιον* κτλ. (Matthew and Luke have *ἔμπροσθεν* κτλ.), Clement's wording is sufficiently different to suggest the direct use of another source altogether, whether oral or written. See the next note.

(24) 2 Clem. iv. 2.

Matt. 7<sup>21</sup>.

λέγει γάρ· Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι, Κύριε, Κύριε, σωθήσεται, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην.

οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι, Κύριε, Κύριε, εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς.

Σωθήσεται may simply echo οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο σώσει ἡμᾶς, just before (cf. iii. 3, also i. 1, 4, ii. 2, 4, 7), especially as Matthew's phrase is rather Jewish; and δικαιοσύνην may be a paraphrase to suit the context, which has *Christ's* will directly in view (cf. xi. 7, xix. 3 for Clement's use of the phrase). Or the quotation may have stood in this form in the same source from which iv. 5, v. 2-4 seem to come, the subject being akin. Or, again, it may come from oral tradition.

(25) 2 Clem. vi. 9.

Matt. 22<sup>11</sup> f.

ἡμεῖς, ἐὰν μὴ τηρήσωμεν τὸ βάπτισμα ἄγρον καὶ ἀμίαντον, πᾶσι πεποιθήσει εἰσελευσόμεθα εἰς τὸ βασιλεῖον τοῦ Θεοῦ; . . . ἐὰν μὴ εὐρεθῶμεν ἔργα ἔχοντες ὅσια καὶ δίκαια;

. . . ὁ βασιλεὺς . . . λέγει αὐτῷ, Ἐταίρε, πῶς εἰσήλθες ὧδε μὴ ἔχων ἔνδυμα γάμου;

Here resemblance turns on the meaning of τὸ βασιλεῖον. It is true that it can mean 'kingdom,' but rather in the abstract sense of 'sovereignty,' as in xvii. 5 ἰδόντες τὸ βασιλεῖον τοῦ κόσμου ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ—a sense which ill suits the contrast here, where it is a matter of 'entering into' τὸ βασιλεῖον 'with assurance.' Elsewhere βασιλεία is used of the Kingdom men hope to enter, see xi. 7 εἰσῆξομεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ. Hence βασιλεῖον may well have the usual sense of 'royal palace,' and so allude to the situation in Matthew's parable of the Wedding Garment, here represented by the baptismal garment kept pure by a holy life (ἔργα ἔχοντες ὅσια καὶ δίκαια), cf. *Acta Barnabae*, 12 τὸ ἔνδυμα ἐκείνο, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀφθαρτον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

#### UNCLASSSED

(26) 2 Clem. xvii. 1.

Matt. 28<sup>19</sup> f.

εἰ γὰρ ἐντολὰς ἔχομεν [ἴνα, Syr.] καὶ τοῦτα πράσσομεν (-ωμεν, Syr.), ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων ἀποσπᾶν καὶ κατηχεῖν, κτλ.

παρευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς κτλ. . . . διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν.

Just a possible allusion, in view of the reference to missionary ἐντολὰς: yet ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων ἀποσπᾶν καὶ κατηχεῖν rather recalls the gist of the *Kerygma Petri*.

D

Luke

d

(27) 2 Clem. ii. 5, 7.

τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ἀπολυμένους σώζειν . . . οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠθέλησεν σώσαι τὰ ἀπολύμενα, καὶ ἔσωσεν πολλούς, ἐλθὼν καὶ καλέσας ἡμᾶς ἤδη ἀπολυμένους.

Luke 19<sup>10</sup>.

ἦλθε γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ζητῆσαι καὶ σώσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός.

Here, in spite of certain echoes (e.g. ἐλθὼν καὶ καλέσας) of ii. 4, discussed below (30), there might be good reason to suspect allusion to the passage in Luke, but for the fact that Clement certainly uses at least one non-canonical Gospel.

(28) 2 Clem. xiii. 4.

Luke 6<sup>32, 35</sup>.

Didache i. 3.

ὅταν γὰρ ἀκούσωσιν παρ' ἡμῶν ὅτι λέγει ὁ Θεός, Οὐ χάρις ὑμῖν εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ χάρις ὑμῖν εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθρούς καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς.

καὶ εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστί; . . . πλὴν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθρούς ὑμῶν . . . καὶ ἔσται ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς.

ποία γὰρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς; . . . ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν.

No sure argument for the use of Luke can be based on this passage. It departs considerably from Luke's wording; while it is simply as one of 'God's oracles' (τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ) found on Christian lips that it is cited. The addition of καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς finds parallels in *Did.* i. 3 and Justin, *Apol.* i. 15 ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς. Such a variant for τοὺς ἐχθρούς would arise naturally in common use as a more exact antithesis to ἀγαπᾶτε. Possibly, however, 2 Clement quotes the whole saying as known to him in an apocryphal Gospel.

## UNCLASSSED

(29) 2 Clem. viii. 5.

Luke 16<sup>10 f.</sup>

λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· Εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστὸς ἐστί.

ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστὸς ἐστί . . . εἰ οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀδίκῳ μαμωνᾷ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει;

Iren. *Adv. Haer.* ii. 34, 3 'Et ideo Dominus dicebat ingratis existentibus in eum: *Si in modico fideles non fuistis, quod magnum est vobis dabit vobis?* significans quoniam qui in modica temporali vita ingrati exstiterunt ei qui eam praestitit, iuste non percipient ab eo in saeculum saeculi longitudinem dierum.

Cf. Hippol. *Refut.* x. 33 ὑπάκουε τῷ πεποιθότι καὶ μὴ ἀντίβαινε νῦν, ἵνα ἐπὶ τῷ μικρῷ πιστὸς εὑρεθῆις καὶ τὸ μέγα πιστευθῆναι δυνηθῆις.

While the latter part of Clement's citation of Christ's words 'in the Gospel' agrees exactly with the beginning of the passage in Luke, its former part differs so widely that it is best to regard the whole as quoted from another source altogether. For Irenaeus, followed by Hippolytus, discountenances the idea that the deviation of form is accidental (or represents a glossing of Matt. 25<sup>21, 23</sup>). That Irenaeus is not quoting Luke 16<sup>11</sup> seems clear from the way in which he introduces the words, viz. 'Dominus dicebat ingratis existentibus in eum,' which (a) does not suit Luke's context [rather that of Matt. 25<sup>14-30</sup>], while (b) *dicebat* is not his usual phrase in citing a definite passage in our Gospels, but points rather to some *logion* handed down as characteristic of his attitude to a class of hearers. Thus, whatever the exact relation of the saying in our two witnesses, they point to its currency outside our Gospels; and if we may argue from the divergence in form—*οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε* (which must stand, in view of what follows) and *fideles non fuistis*—it was not confined to one circle before Irenaeus's day. Cf. (31), which relates to the same context in Luke (16<sup>13</sup>), also (34).

## (II) The Synoptic Tradition.

(30) 2 Clem. ii. 4.

καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ γραφὴ λέγει ὅτι Οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλούς.

Matt. 9<sup>13</sup>; Mark 2<sup>17</sup>

(Luke 5<sup>32</sup>).

οὐ (γάρ, Matt.) ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλούς.

Cf. Barn. v. 9 ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθεν καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλούς.

The parallelism with our two first Synoptics (Luke has *οὐκ ἐλήλυθα . . . εἰς μετάνοιαν*) is exact; and Clement, unlike Barnabas, cites it as 'a scripture.' But what the Gospel writing referred to may be, is a question complicated by Clement's known use of some source distinct from our Gospels; see Introduction ad fin.

(31) 2 Clem. vi. 1 f.

λέγει δὲ ὁ Κύριος· Οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης δύναται δυοῖ κυρίους δουλεύειν· ἐὰν ἡμεῖς θέλωμεν καὶ Θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ

Luke 16<sup>13</sup>; Matt. 16<sup>26</sup>.

Verbally as Luke 16<sup>13</sup>; Matt. 6<sup>24</sup> lacks οἰκέτης.

μαμωνᾶ, ἀσύμφορον ἡμῖν ἐστίν. Τί γὰρ τὸ ὄφελος, εἰάν τις τὸν κόσμον ἅλων κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιωθῇ ; Nearer Matt. 16<sup>26</sup> (cf. Mark 8<sup>16</sup>) than Luke 9<sup>25</sup>; neither has τί τὸ ὄφελος ;

It looks as if Clement knew both Matthew and Luke, or a document based on them (cf. *Introd. ad fin.*).

(32) 2 Clem. ix. 11.

καὶ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· Ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσιν, οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

Luke 8<sup>21</sup>.

μήτηρ μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀκούοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες.

Matt. 12<sup>49</sup> f. (Mark 3<sup>35</sup>).

ἰδοὺ, ἡ μήτηρ μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου· ὅστις γὰρ ἂν ποιῆσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, αὐτός μου ἀδελφός, κτλ.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxx. 14 οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί μου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ, οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ θελήματα τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

Clem. Alex. *Ecl. Proph.* 20 ἄγει οὖν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς συγκληρονόμους υἱοὺς καὶ φίλους· Ἀδελφοί μου γάρ, φησὶν ὁ Κύριος, καὶ συγκληρονόμοι οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

Here we seem to have a fusion of the structure of Luke with the phrasing of Matthew. Yet the resemblance between 2 Clement and the *Ecl. Proph.* suggests that these both knew the saying in the same form, whether written or in traditional use. Epiphanius seems to be citing the Ebionite Gospel, or our Gospels loosely in his own words. See also (35).

(33) 2 Clem. iii. 4 (cf. 5).

ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας.

Mark 12<sup>30</sup>, cf. Matt. 22<sup>37</sup>; Luke 10<sup>27</sup>.

‘A reference ultimately to Deut. 6<sup>5</sup>; but as both words *διανοίας* and *καρδίας* do not seem to occur in that passage in any one text of the LXX, we must suppose that the writer had in mind the saying rather as it is quoted in the Gospels, especially Mark xii. 30 ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου . . . καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου . . . (comp. Matt. 22<sup>37</sup>; Luke 10<sup>27</sup>).’ So Lightfoot *ad loc.* Yet Mark may follow a current LXX text. The same may be said of Clement’s deviation from Cod. B of the LXX in the quotation from Isa. 29<sup>13</sup> which immediately follows. This appears in a form found also in 1 Clem. xv. 2 and closely related to NAQ of the LXX. See p. 62.



## (III) Apocryphal Gospels.

(34) 2 Clem. iv. 5.

διὰ τοῦτο . . . εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος [Ἰησοῦς, Syg., cf. v. 4]: Ἐὰν ἦτε μετ' ἐμοῦ συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου, καὶ μὴ ποιῆτε τὰς ἐντολάς μου, ἀποβαλῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἔρῳ ὑμῖν, ὑπάγετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἐστέ, ἐργάται ἀνομίας.

Ps. 6<sup>9</sup> ἀπόσθητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.

Justin, *Apol.* i. 16 καὶ τότε ἔρῳ αὐτοῖς ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐργάται τῆς ἀνομίας, cf. *Dial.* 76 καὶ ἔρῳ αὐτοῖς ἀναχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

The points in common with Luke, ὑμῖν, οὐκ οἶδα . . . πόθεν ἐστέ, ἐργάται, point to knowledge of the saying in his form rather than Matthew's. Nor need the setting be different from Luke's, as would be the case if its imagery were that of sheep and their shepherd, as in Isa. 40<sup>11</sup>. This, indeed, would suit the thought of the whole section iii. 2 (or iv. 2)—v. 4. But another interpretation of *συνηγμένοι* is possible, which would make it continue the imagery of Luke 13<sup>27</sup> ἐφάγομεν ἐνώπιόν σου, κτλ. Yet compare (29), (35).

(35) 2 Clem. v. 2-4.

λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος, Ἔσεσθε ὡς ἄρνια ἐν μέσῳ λύκων ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει Ἐὰν οὖν διασπαράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἄρνια; εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ Μὴ φοβείσθωσαν τὰ ἄρνια τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά· καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβείσθε τοὺς ἀποκτείνοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν δυναμένους ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ φοβείσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν πυρός.

Justin, *Apol.* i. 19 μὴ φοβείσθε τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ δυναμένους τι ποιῆσαι, εἶπε, φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα εἰς γέενναν ἐμβαλεῖν.

Here the phenomena of 2 Clem. (34), (29) recur, viz. closer verbal resemblance (in the parts common) to Luke than to

Luke 13<sup>27</sup>.

καὶ ἐρεῖ, Λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν ἐστέ ἀπόσθητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες ἐργάται ἀδικίας.

Matt. 7<sup>23</sup>.

καὶ τότε ὁμολογήσω αὐτοῖς ὅτι Οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.

Luke 10<sup>3</sup>; Matt. 10<sup>16</sup>.

ἰδοῦ, ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄρνας (πρόβατα, Matt.) ἐν μέσῳ λύκων.

Luke 12<sup>4</sup> f.

μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτείνοντων τὸ σῶμα καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἐχόντων περισσώτερον τι ποιῆσαι . . . φοβήθητε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν.

Matt. 10<sup>28</sup>.

καὶ μὴ φοβηθῆτε (ἀπὸ) . . . τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτεῖναι φοβήθητε δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν γέεννῃ.

Matthew, though the reference to *ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα* is found only in Matthew—where moreover both passages occur in the same discourse. The like is true of Justin's citation, which also shows the change of construction from *φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τοῦ φοβεῖσθε* with accusative. All this points to the use by Clement of a source fusing the forms found in Luke and Matthew (as Justin does), and adding fresh matter, in the form of question and answer, tending to connect two *logia* not thus connected even in Matthew, where they are in the same address. In this same source (*ut vid.*) the idea of Christ's lambs is perhaps also introduced to give a context to another *logion* (see above). [Whether this source be identical with that used in xii. 2, which was probably the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, may be considered an open question. Its character corresponds more nearly to what we know of the Oxyrhynchus *Sayings of Jesus*, than to that Gospel as usually conceived. But it is quite likely that the Egyptian Gospel embodied much matter from earlier Gospels, including the Oxyrhynchus 'Sayings' or Gospel (? cited by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 9. 45 as the local Gospel κατ' Ἑβραίων); in which case the *Gospel according to the Egyptians* may be the one source cited by 2 Clem. throughout.—J. V. B.]

(36) 2 Clem. xii. 2.

ἐπερωτηθεῖς γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ὑπό τινος, πότε ἦξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία, εἶπεν· Ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἓν, καὶ τὸ ἕξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ.

Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 13, 92.

διὰ τοῦτό τοι, ὁ Κασσιανὸς φησι, πυνθανομένης τῆς Σαλώμης πότε γνωσθήσεται τὰ περὶ ὧν ἤρετο, ἔφη ὁ Κύριος· Ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσῃτε καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἓν, καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ.

Clem. Alex. vouches that what Cassian cites occurs in the Gospel κατ' Ἀλυπτίους, and it looks as if 2 Clement quotes from the same passage. Only 2 Clement omits its opening clause, as not to his purpose (perhaps as liable to Encratite exegesis); while Cassian omits the third clause, καὶ τὸ ἕξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, as not to his purpose.

## TABLES OF RESULTS

TABLE I

	Barnabas.	Didache.		1 Clement.	Ignatius.	Polycarp.	Hermas.	2 Clement.	Author affording first marked trace.
		'Two Ways.'	Rest.						
Synoptic Tra- dition }	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	{ Barnabas Didache
Matthew	D	...	C ? [D]	...	B	...	C	C*	Didache
Mark	...	...	...	...	D?	...	C	...	Hermas
Luke	?	...	D [D]	...	D	...	D	D*	Didache
John	?	...	?	...	B	C	D	...	Ignatius
Acts	...	D ?	...	C	D	C	D	...	1 Clement
Romans	B	D ?	...	A	C	B	D	?	{ Barnabas 1 Clement
1 Corinthians	D	...	D	A	A	A	B	D	1 Clement
2 Corinthians	D	...	...	D	C ?	B	...	...	Polycarp
Galatians	...	...	...	D	C	B	...	...	Ignatius
Ephesians	C	...	...	D	B	B	B	D	{ Barnabas Ignatius
Philippians	...	...	...	D	C	B	...	...	Ignatius
Colossians	D	...	...	D	D	D	...	...	? Barnabas
1 Thessalonians	...	...	...	...	D?	...	D	...	? Hermas
2 Thessalonians	...	...	...	...	D?	B	...	...	Polycarp
1 Timothy	D	...	...	D	C	B	...	?	Ignatius
2 Timothy	D	...	...	...	C	B	...	...	Ignatius
Titus	D	...	...	C	C	...	...	...	1 Clement
Philemon	...	...	...	...	D?	...	...	...	
Hebrews	C	?	...	A	D	C	C	C	{ Barnabas 1 Clement
James	...	...	...	...	...	...	C	D	Hermas
1 Peter	D	...	[D]	D	D	A	D	D	Polycarp
2 Peter	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	?	
1 John	...	...	...	D	...	C	...	...	Polycarp
2 John	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
3 John	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Jude	...	?	...	...	...	...	...	?	
Apocalypse	?	...	...	D	...	...	...	...	? 1 Clement

? = 'Unclassed,' or to qualify the value of the letter which it follows.

[ ] = Did. i. 3-ii. 1, not witnessed to by other early documents.

\* To be taken in connexion with the suggestion on p. 123, note, that the apocryphal source known to 2 Clement itself used Matt. and Luke.

## TABLE II

The following classification is not in all cases to be taken strictly, but in the light of the qualifications indicated in the body of the work itself. References to 'Synoptic Tradition' have been omitted altogether, as not seeming to admit of any such classification.

- Barnabas.* B Rom.  
C Eph. Heb.  
D Matt. 1 Cor. 2 Cor. Col. 1 Tim. 2 Tim. Titus, 1 Pet.  
Unclassed: Luke, John, Apoc.
- Didache.* (i) 'Two Ways': D ? Acts, Rom.  
Unclassed: Heb. Jude.  
(ii) Rest: B Synop. Trad.  
C? Matthew.  
D Luke, 1 Cor. 1 Pet.  
Unclassed: John.
- 1 Clement.* A Rom. 1 Cor. Heb.  
C Acts, Titus.  
D 2 Cor. Gal. Phil. Col. 1 Tim. 1 Pet. 1 John, Apoc.
- Ignatius.* A 1 Cor.  
B Matt. John, Eph.  
C Rom. 2 Cor. (?), Gal. Phil. 1 Tim. 2 Tim. Titus.  
D Mark (?), Luke, Acts, Col. 1 Thess. (?), 2 Thess. (?),  
Philem. (?), Heb. 1 Pet.
- Polycarp.* A 1 Cor. 1 Pet.  
B Rom. 2 Cor. Gal. Eph. Phil. 2 Thess. 1 Tim. 2 Tim.  
C John, Acts, Heb. 1 John.  
D Col.
- Hermas.* B 1 Cor. Eph.  
C Matt. Mark, Heb. Jas.  
D Luke, John, Acts, Rom. 1 Thess. 1 Pet.
- 2 Clement.* C Matt. Heb.  
D Luke, 1 Cor. Eph. Jas. 1 Pet.  
Unclassed: Rom. 1 Tim. 2 Pet. Jude.

## I

## INDEX OF NEW TESTAMENT PASSAGES EXAMINED

MATTHEW	Page	MATTHEW	Page	MARK	Page
3 <sup>7</sup>	81	20 <sup>28</sup>	101	14 <sup>27</sup>	20
3 <sup>16</sup>	76	21 <sup>33</sup>	122	14 <sup>38</sup>	103
5 <sup>6</sup>	26	22 <sup>11, 12, 13</sup>	119, 131	14 <sup>31 f</sup>	21
5 <sup>7</sup>	58	22 <sup>14</sup>	18	15 <sup>17</sup>	21
5 <sup>13</sup>	81	22 <sup>19</sup>	78	15 <sup>24</sup>	20
5 <sup>28</sup>	34	22 <sup>27</sup>	134		
5 <sup>28</sup>	121	22 <sup>27-30</sup>	26	LUKE	
5 <sup>36</sup>	119	22 <sup>41-48</sup>	21	5 <sup>8</sup>	19
5 <sup>39-42</sup>	35	23 <sup>34 f</sup>	20	5 <sup>32</sup>	19, 133
5 <sup>44</sup>	34, 103	24 <sup>10-13</sup>	32	5 <sup>40</sup>	32
5 <sup>47</sup>	34	24 <sup>18</sup>	110	6 <sup>27</sup>	34, 103
6 <sup>6, 8-13</sup>	28	24 <sup>24</sup>	32	6 <sup>27-33</sup>	34
6 <sup>12</sup>	102	24 <sup>30 f</sup>	32	6 <sup>29, 30</sup>	35
6 <sup>18</sup>	28	24 <sup>42</sup>	31, 32	6 <sup>31, 36</sup>	58
6 <sup>24</sup>	133	25 <sup>14</sup>	122	6 <sup>32, 36</sup>	132
7 <sup>1</sup>	101	25 <sup>45 f</sup>	130	6 <sup>36</sup>	58, 101
7 <sup>12</sup>	26	26 <sup>7</sup>	78	6 <sup>44</sup>	80
7 <sup>15</sup>	32	26 <sup>24</sup>	61, 121	8 <sup>6</sup>	62
7 <sup>16, 18</sup>	120	26 <sup>31</sup>	20	8 <sup>14</sup>	121
7 <sup>21</sup>	130	26 <sup>33 f</sup>	21	8 <sup>21</sup>	134
7 <sup>23</sup>	135	27 <sup>14</sup>	17	9 <sup>25</sup>	134
8 <sup>17</sup>	77	27 <sup>28</sup>	21	9 <sup>28</sup>	80, 116, 122
9 <sup>11, 18</sup>	19	27 <sup>26</sup>	20	10 <sup>3</sup>	135
9 <sup>13</sup>	19-133	27 <sup>52</sup>	78	10 <sup>5</sup>	30
9 <sup>50</sup>	81	28 <sup>18</sup>	119	10 <sup>24</sup>	103
10 <sup>8</sup>	135	28 <sup>19 f</sup>	131	10 <sup>27</sup>	134
10 <sup>10</sup>	30			11 <sup>4</sup>	102, 103
10 <sup>18</sup>	77, 135	MARK		11 <sup>49 f</sup>	20
10 <sup>22</sup>	110	2 <sup>18 f</sup>	19	11 <sup>38</sup>	130
10 <sup>28</sup>	109	2 <sup>17</sup>	133	12 <sup>36</sup>	32
10 <sup>32</sup>	130	3 <sup>28</sup>	29	13 <sup>27</sup>	135
10 <sup>33</sup>	122	3 <sup>36</sup>	134	14 <sup>34</sup>	81
10 <sup>40</sup>	77, 78	4 <sup>3</sup>	62	16 <sup>10 f</sup>	132
10 <sup>41</sup>	78	4 <sup>18, 19</sup>	120	16 <sup>13</sup>	133
11 <sup>28 f</sup>	130	6 <sup>52</sup>	120	17 <sup>1</sup>	61
12 <sup>4 f</sup>	134	7 <sup>8</sup>	62	18 <sup>1</sup>	120
12 <sup>31</sup>	29	8 <sup>18</sup>	134	19 <sup>10</sup>	132
12 <sup>33</sup>	80	8 <sup>38</sup>	122	19 <sup>18</sup>	122
13 <sup>3</sup>	62	9 <sup>36</sup>	101	20 <sup>9</sup>	122
13 <sup>17</sup>	103	9 <sup>42</sup>	61	20 <sup>14</sup>	122
13 <sup>20, 21</sup>	120	9 <sup>48</sup>	79	20 <sup>41, 42</sup>	21
15 <sup>8</sup>	62	9 <sup>50</sup>	81	22 <sup>17-19</sup>	30
15 <sup>13</sup>	76	10 <sup>11</sup>	121	22 <sup>39 f</sup>	21
16 <sup>28</sup>	81, 133	12 <sup>1</sup>	122	23 <sup>7-12</sup>	79
18 <sup>3</sup>	117, 122	12 <sup>8-37</sup>	21	23 <sup>34</sup>	20
18 <sup>17</sup>	101	12 <sup>7</sup>	122	24 <sup>39</sup>	79
18 <sup>19, 20</sup>	77	12 <sup>30</sup>	134		
19 <sup>9</sup>	121	12 <sup>37</sup>	21	JOHN	
19 <sup>12</sup>	77	13 <sup>13</sup>	32	3 <sup>3-5</sup>	123
19 <sup>23</sup>	121	14 <sup>21</sup>	121	3 <sup>8</sup>	82

	Page	I CORINTHIANS	Page	GALATIANS	Page
JOHN		3 <sup>15</sup>	126	2 <sup>2</sup>	92, 94
3 <sup>14</sup> f.	23	3 <sup>18</sup>	4, 11, 15, 65	2 <sup>9</sup>	52
4 <sup>10, 14</sup>	81	4 <sup>1</sup>	65	2 <sup>21</sup>	71
5 <sup>21</sup>	103	4 <sup>4</sup>	65	3 <sup>1</sup>	52
6 <sup>38</sup>	82	5 <sup>7</sup>	65	4 <sup>21</sup> ff.	15
6 <sup>61</sup>	22	6 <sup>2</sup>	85	4 <sup>26</sup>	92
6 <sup>58</sup>	22	6 <sup>9</sup>	64, 85	5 <sup>21</sup>	71
8 <sup>28, 29</sup>	82	6 <sup>10</sup>	64	5 <sup>14</sup>	90, 92
10 <sup>7, 9</sup>	123	6 <sup>16</sup>	39, 66	5 <sup>17</sup>	88, 92
10 <sup>18</sup>	123	6 <sup>19</sup>	15, 126	5 <sup>21</sup>	70
11 <sup>26</sup>	122	7 <sup>10</sup>	67	6 <sup>7</sup>	92
12 <sup>8</sup>	82	7 <sup>29</sup>	66	6 <sup>14</sup>	71
13 <sup>20</sup>	82	7 <sup>39, 40</sup>	105		
14 <sup>8</sup>	122	8 <sup>10</sup>	85	EPHESIANS	
15 <sup>16</sup>	104	9 <sup>15</sup>	66	1 <sup>3</sup> f.	67
16 <sup>34</sup>	23	9 <sup>24</sup>	42, 126	1 <sup>4</sup>	127
ACTS		9 <sup>25</sup>	126	1 <sup>4-8</sup>	6
1 <sup>24</sup>	114	9 <sup>27</sup>	65	1 <sup>18</sup>	53
1 <sup>25</sup>	73	10 <sup>4</sup>	105	1 <sup>22</sup>	126
2 <sup>24</sup>	98	10 <sup>18, 17</sup>	66	2 <sup>1</sup>	107
4 <sup>12</sup>	114	10 <sup>24</sup>	44	2 <sup>2</sup>	6
4 <sup>32</sup>	25	10 <sup>38</sup>	44	2 <sup>8</sup>	92
5 <sup>41</sup>	116	12 <sup>8, 9</sup>	42	2 <sup>10, 21</sup> f.	4
7 <sup>52</sup>	98	12 <sup>12</sup>	40, 67	2 <sup>15</sup>	68
10 <sup>41</sup>	73	12 <sup>14</sup>	40	2 <sup>18</sup>	68
10 <sup>42</sup>	98	12 <sup>11</sup>	40	2 <sup>20</sup>	68, 107
13 <sup>22</sup>	48	12 <sup>26</sup>	86	2 <sup>20-22</sup>	68, 126
15 <sup>20, 29</sup>	26	13 <sup>4-7</sup>	41	2 <sup>21</sup>	4
20 <sup>35</sup>	50, 98	13 <sup>13</sup>	85	3 <sup>9</sup>	68
26 <sup>18</sup>	50, 99	14 <sup>10</sup>	85	3 <sup>17</sup>	4
ROMANS		14 <sup>20</sup>	117	4 <sup>2</sup>	68
1 <sup>3, 4</sup>	70	14 <sup>25</sup>	86	4 <sup>3-6</sup>	106
1 <sup>21</sup>	39, 128	15 <sup>8-10</sup>	65	4 <sup>4</sup>	40, 53
1 <sup>29-32</sup>	37	15 <sup>20</sup>	41	4 <sup>4-6</sup>	53
4 <sup>3, 10</sup> f.	3	15 <sup>23</sup>	41, 44	4 <sup>18</sup>	39, 127, 128
4 <sup>17</sup>	3, 128	15 <sup>28</sup>	86	4 <sup>22</sup> ff.	4
6 <sup>1</sup>	38	15 <sup>36, 37</sup>	41	4 <sup>24</sup>	68
6 <sup>4</sup>	69	15 <sup>45, 47</sup>	67	4 <sup>25</sup>	40, 106
8 <sup>28, 27</sup>	115	15 <sup>68</sup>	66, 86	4 <sup>26</sup>	93
9 <sup>5</sup>	38	16 <sup>17</sup>	44	4 <sup>30</sup>	106
9 <sup>7-18</sup>	4	16 <sup>18</sup>	66	4 <sup>32</sup>	89
9 <sup>31</sup>	128	16 <sup>22</sup>	27	5 <sup>1</sup>	68
11 <sup>38</sup>	44	2 CORINTHIANS		5 <sup>16</sup>	6
12 <sup>4</sup>	39	3 <sup>2</sup>	91	5 <sup>23</sup>	127
12 <sup>9</sup>	25	3 <sup>18</sup>	51	5 <sup>26</sup>	67
12 <sup>17</sup>	91	4 <sup>14</sup>	70, 91	6 <sup>6</sup>	127
15 <sup>29</sup>	70	5 <sup>10</sup>	11, 89, 91	6 <sup>13-17</sup>	68
I CORINTHIANS		5 <sup>17</sup>	4		
1 <sup>7</sup>	66	6 <sup>7</sup>	90	PHILIPPIANS	
1 <sup>10</sup>	66	6 <sup>18</sup>	70	1 <sup>27</sup>	53, 95
1 <sup>11-13</sup>	40	8 <sup>21</sup>	91	2 <sup>3, 5</sup>	71
1 <sup>18, 20</sup>	64	9 <sup>8</sup>	51	2 <sup>10</sup>	94
1 <sup>24, 30</sup>	67	9 <sup>12</sup>	44	2 <sup>16</sup>	94
2 <sup>9</sup>	42, 126	11 <sup>9</sup>	44, 70	2 <sup>17</sup>	71, 94
2 <sup>10</sup>	44, 66	11 <sup>23-27</sup>	52	2 <sup>80</sup>	44
2 <sup>14</sup>	66	12 <sup>16</sup>	70	3 <sup>14</sup>	42
3 <sup>1</sup>	11, 65	GALATIANS		3 <sup>15</sup>	71
3 <sup>2</sup>	65	1 <sup>1</sup>	70, 89	3 <sup>18</sup>	94

PHILIPPIANS	Page	2 TIMOTHY	Page	HEBREWS	Page
4 <sup>18</sup>	71	1 <sup>10</sup>	13	13 <sup>12</sup>	6, 9
4 <sup>15</sup>	54	1 <sup>16</sup>	72	13 <sup>18</sup>	126
		2 <sup>3</sup>	72		
		2 <sup>11</sup>	97		
<b>COLOSSIANS</b>		2 <sup>21</sup>	51	<b>JAMES</b>	
1 <sup>3, 6</sup>	101	2 <sup>25</sup>	97	1 <sup>4, 5</sup>	108
1 <sup>7</sup>	74	3 <sup>6</sup>	72	1 <sup>5-8</sup>	108
1 <sup>9</sup>	54	3 <sup>17</sup>	51	1 <sup>12</sup>	110
1 <sup>12</sup>	54, 101	4 <sup>1</sup>	14	1 <sup>17</sup>	109
1 <sup>18</sup>	54	4 <sup>6</sup>	73	1 <sup>26</sup>	111
1 <sup>15</sup>	116	4 <sup>10</sup>	97	1 <sup>27</sup>	112
1 <sup>16</sup>	12, 74			2 <sup>5</sup>	113
1 <sup>18</sup>	74	<b>TITUS</b>		3 <sup>15</sup>	109
1 <sup>23</sup>	74, 86, 101	1 <sup>2</sup>	14	4 <sup>4</sup>	127
1 <sup>24</sup>	44	1 <sup>7</sup>	73	4 <sup>5</sup>	111
1 <sup>26</sup>	74	1 <sup>14</sup>	73	4 <sup>7</sup>	112
2 <sup>1</sup>	54	2 <sup>1, 5</sup>	50	4 <sup>11</sup>	109, 110
2 <sup>2</sup>	74	2 <sup>14</sup>	14, 89	4 <sup>12</sup>	109
2 <sup>12</sup>	89	3 <sup>1</sup>	51	5 <sup>1</sup>	110
2 <sup>14</sup>	74	3 <sup>5 ff</sup>	14	5 <sup>2</sup>	113
3 <sup>4</sup>	122	3 <sup>9</sup>	73	5 <sup>4</sup>	110
3 <sup>5</sup>	93, 101			5 <sup>7, 8</sup>	128
3 <sup>9 f</sup>	12	<b>PHILEMON</b>		5 <sup>10</sup>	128
3 <sup>22</sup>	127	2 <sup>0</sup>	75	5 <sup>11</sup>	109
4 <sup>7</sup>	74			5 <sup>16</sup>	127
				5 <sup>20</sup>	56, 127
<b>I THESSALONIANS</b>		<b>HEBREWS</b>			
2 <sup>4</sup>	74	1	6, 44, 45, 116	1 <sup>1, 2</sup>	57
5 <sup>13 f</sup>	115	2 <sup>5-9</sup>	7	1 <sup>3</sup>	9, 57
5 <sup>17</sup>	74	2 <sup>9</sup>	6, 7	1 <sup>7</sup>	116
		2 <sup>18</sup>	47	1 <sup>8</sup>	86
<b>2 THESSALONIANS</b>		3 <sup>1</sup>	47	1 <sup>10 f</sup>	14
1 <sup>4</sup>	95	3 <sup>2</sup>	46	1 <sup>12</sup>	88
3 <sup>5</sup>	75	3 <sup>12</sup>	107	1 <sup>13</sup>	87
3 <sup>15</sup>	95	4 <sup>1</sup>	8	1 <sup>17</sup>	11
		4 <sup>1-11</sup>	10	1 <sup>18, 19</sup>	55
<b>I TIMOTHY</b>		4 <sup>12</sup>	48	1 <sup>20</sup>	13, 116, 128
1 <sup>1</sup>	96	5 <sup>13</sup>	100	1 <sup>21</sup>	87, 89
1 <sup>3-5</sup>	71	6 <sup>1</sup>	9	2 <sup>1, 2</sup>	115
1 <sup>12</sup>	72	6 <sup>4-6</sup>	107	2 <sup>5-8</sup>	15
1 <sup>13</sup>	72	6 <sup>18</sup>	48	2 <sup>9</sup>	57
1 <sup>15 f</sup>	12	6 <sup>20</sup>	99	2 <sup>11</sup>	33, 88
1 <sup>17</sup>	54, 129	7 <sup>3</sup>	99	2 <sup>12</sup>	87
2 <sup>1</sup>	96	7 <sup>7</sup>	75	2 <sup>17</sup>	57
2 <sup>8</sup>	55	7 <sup>19</sup>	75	2 <sup>21</sup>	86
3 <sup>6</sup>	97	7 <sup>22, 23, 28</sup>	75	2 <sup>25</sup>	76, 88
3 <sup>8</sup>	96	9 <sup>18 ff</sup>	10	3 <sup>8</sup>	89
3 <sup>16</sup>	13	10 <sup>23</sup>	48, 125	3 <sup>9</sup>	88
4 <sup>15</sup>	97	10 <sup>24</sup>	8	3 <sup>13</sup>	89
4 <sup>18</sup>	129	10 <sup>32-39</sup>	126	3 <sup>18</sup>	115
5 <sup>5</sup>	96	11 <sup>11</sup>	48	3 <sup>20, 21</sup>	88
5 <sup>18</sup>	30	11 <sup>13</sup>	107	4 <sup>7</sup>	88
5 <sup>24 f</sup>	15	11 <sup>18</sup>	47	4 <sup>8</sup>	56, 128
6 <sup>2</sup>	72	11 <sup>37, 39</sup>	47	4 <sup>13</sup>	75
6 <sup>7</sup>	95	12 <sup>1</sup>	47, 125	4 <sup>14-16</sup>	116
6 <sup>10</sup>	95	12 <sup>2</sup>	6	4 <sup>16</sup>	113, 116
		12 <sup>5, 7, 8</sup>	48	4 <sup>19</sup>	57
		12 <sup>24</sup>	9	5 <sup>2</sup>	76
		12 <sup>28</sup>	99	5 <sup>5</sup>	55, 76
				5 <sup>7</sup>	115
				5 <sup>9</sup>	57, 112

2 PETER	Page	2 JOHN	Page	APOCALYPSE	Page
3 <sup>8</sup>	15	7	15	1 <sup>7, 13</sup>	16
				7 <sup>14</sup>	110
1 JOHN				21 <sup>5</sup>	16
4 <sup>2</sup>	15	JUDE		22 <sup>10</sup>	17
4 <sup>18</sup>	57	22 <sup>f</sup>	25	22 <sup>12</sup>	17, 58

## II

INDEX TO PASSAGES OF THE APOSTOLIC  
FATHERS EXAMINED

BARNABAS	Page	BARNABAS	Page	CLEMENT OF ROME	Page
i. 3, 4, 6	14	xvi. 8	4, 5	xiii. 1	58
ii. 1	6	xvi. 9	7	xv. 2	62
iii. 6	6	xxi. 2	10	xvii. 1	47
iv. 9, 10	8	xxi. 3	17	xvii. 5	46
iv. 11 ff	11	xxi. 7	10	xviii. 1	48
iv. 12	15	xxi. 9	16	xix. 2	47
iv. 13	8			xxi. 1	53
iv. 14	18			xxi. 9	48
v. 1	9, 22	Didache		xxiv. 1	41
v. 5	14	i. 2	26	xxiv. 4	41, 51
v. 6	13, 14	i. 3	34	xxiv. 5	41, 62
v. 7	14	i. 4	33	xxvii. 1, 2	48
v. 9	12, 19	i. 4-6	35	xxix. 1	55
v. 10 ff	16	i. 5	34	xxx. 1, 2	55
v. 11, 12	20	ii. 7	25	xxxiii. 1	38
vi. 2-4	15	iii. 7	26	xxxiv. 3	58
vi. 3	22	iv. 1	25	xxxiv. 8	42
vi. 6	20	iv. 8	25	xxxv. 5, 6	37
vi. 7	14	v. 2	25	xxxvi. 1	47
vi. 11	4, 20	vii. 1	27	xxxvi. 2	39, 51, 52
vi. 12 ff	12	viii. 1	28	xxxvi. 2-5	44
vi. 13	16	ix. 2	30	xxxvii. 3	44
vi. 17-19	7	x. 6	27	xxxvii. 5	40
vi. 19	9	xi. 7	29	xxxviii. 1	39, 40
vii. 3	17	xiii. 1	30	xxxviii. 2	44
vii. 9	16, 21	xvi. 1	31	xl. 1	44
vii. 11	21	xvi. 3-5	32	xlvi. 6	53
viii. 1 ff	10	xvi. 6	32	xlvi. 7	39, 61
viii. 5	22			xlvi. 7, 8	61
ix. 2	22	Clement of Rome		xlvi. 1	40
xi. 1 ff	23	Introduction	57	xlvi. 1, 2	54
xi. 10	22	i. 3	50	xlvi. 5	42
xii. 7	12, 23	ii. 1	50, 52	xlvi. 6	44
xii. 10	21	ii. 2	57	xlvi. 7	44
xiii. 2, 3	4	ii. 4	54, 57	xlvi. 7, 8	39, 56, 57
xiii. 7	3	ii. 7	51	l. 3	57
xiv. 4	10	iii. 4	53	l. 6, 7	39
xiv. 4-6	10	v. 1, 5	42	li. 5	39
xiv. 5	7, 14	v. 2	52	lvi. 4	48
xv.	10	v. 5, 6	52	lix. 2	50, 54, 57
xv. 4	15	vii. 2, 4	55	lix. 3	53
				lxi. 2	54



IGNATIUS	Page	IGNATIUS	Page	SHEPHERD OF HERMAS	Page
Eph. i. 1 . . . . .	68	Philad. iii. 1 . . . . .	76	Mand. III. 1 . . . . .	106, 111
ii. 1 . . . . .	72, 74	iv. 1 . . . . .	66	IV. i. 1, 6 . . . . .	121
ii. 2 . . . . .	66, 75	vi. 3 . . . . .	70	IV. ii. 1 . . . . .	120
ii. 3 . . . . .	66	vii. 1 . . . . .	66, 82	IV. iii. 1, 2 . . . . .	107
iv. 2 . . . . .	66	viii. 2 . . . . .	71	IV. iii. 4 . . . . .	114
v. 2 . . . . .	63, 77, 82	ix. 1 . . . . .	75, 83	IV. iv. 1, 2 . . . . .	105
v. 3 . . . . .	76	Smyrn. i. 1 . . . . .	68, 70	V. ii. 5-7 . . . . .	111
vi. 1 . . . . .	77, 82	i. 2 . . . . .	64, 74, 79	V. ii. 7 . . . . .	110, 111
viii. 2 . . . . .	66, 69	iii. 2 . . . . .	79	VIII. 10 . . . . .	112
ix. 1 . . . . .	66, 68	iii. 3 . . . . .	73	IX. 1 . . . . .	108
x. 1 . . . . .	74	iv. 2 . . . . .	71, 72	IX. 2 . . . . .	109
x. 2 . . . . .	66, 74	vi. 1 . . . . .	77	IX. 6 . . . . .	108
xi. 1 . . . . .	81	x. 2 . . . . .	72, 79, 80	IX. 8 . . . . .	120
xiv. 1 . . . . .	71	xi. 3 . . . . .	71	IX. 11 . . . . .	109
xiv. 2 . . . . .	80	Smyrn. Inscrp. . . . .	66	X. ii. 1, 2, 4, 5 . . . . .	106
xv. 1 . . . . .	63	Polyc. i. 2 . . . . .	68	X. ii. 5 . . . . .	106, 115
xv. 3 . . . . .	65, 70	i. 2, 3 . . . . .	77	XI. 5, 6 . . . . .	109
xvi. 1 . . . . .	64, 70, 79	ii. 2 . . . . .	77	XII. i. 1 . . . . .	111
xvii. 1 . . . . .	78, 82	iv. 3 . . . . .	72	XII. i. 2 . . . . .	119
xvii. 2 . . . . .	67, 74	v. 1 . . . . .	67	XII. ii. 4 . . . . .	112
xviii. 1 . . . . .	64, 71	vi. 1 . . . . .	73	XII. iv. 7 . . . . .	112
xix. . . . .	68	vi. 2 . . . . .	68, 72	XII. vi. 3 . . . . .	109
xix. 2 . . . . .	74			Sim. I. i. 2 . . . . .	107
xix. 3 . . . . .	69			I. 3 . . . . .	108
xx. 1 . . . . .	67, 68, 71			I. 8 . . . . .	112
Eph. Inscrp. . . . .	67, 70			II. 5 . . . . .	113
Magn. iii. 2 . . . . .	75			III. 3 . . . . .	119
v. 1 . . . . .	73			IV. 2 . . . . .	119
v. 2 . . . . .	78			V. ii. 1 . . . . .	122
vii. 1 . . . . .	82			V. v. 2 . . . . .	119
viii. 1 . . . . .	71, 73			V. vi. 3 . . . . .	123
viii. 2 . . . . .	82			V. vi. 4 . . . . .	119
ix. 3 . . . . .	78			V. vi. 5, 7 . . . . .	111
x. 2 . . . . .	63, 81			VI. iii. 4, 5 . . . . .	110
x. 3 . . . . .	65			VIII. vi. 4 . . . . .	113, 116, 122
xii. 1 . . . . .	63			IX. iv. 3 . . . . .	107, 117
xiii. 1 . . . . .	63			IX. xii. 1 . . . . .	105, 123
Trall. ii. 3 . . . . .	65			IX. xii. 2, 3 . . . . .	116
v. 1 . . . . .	65			IX. xiii. 2 . . . . .	119
v. 2 . . . . .	74			IX. xiii. 5 . . . . .	106
vi. 1 . . . . .	67			IX. xiv. 6 . . . . .	116, 122
vi. 2 . . . . .	73			IX. xv. 3 . . . . .	123
viii. 2 . . . . .	63			IX. xvi. 2, 3 . . . . .	107
ix. 2 . . . . .	70			IX. xx. 1, 2 . . . . .	120
x. 1 . . . . .	71			IX. xx. 2 . . . . .	120, 121
xi. 1 . . . . .	76			IX. xxi. 3 . . . . .	122
xi. 2 . . . . .	67			IX. xxiii. 2-4 . . . . .	109
xii. 3 . . . . .	65			IX. xxiv. 1, 2 . . . . .	108
Rom. ii. 1 . . . . .	74			IX. xxvi. 6 . . . . .	107
ii. 2 . . . . .	73			IX. xxix. 1, 2, 3 . . . . .	122
ii. and iv. . . . .	71			Vis. II. ii. 7 . . . . .	110
iv. 3 . . . . .	65			II. ii. 8 . . . . .	122
v. 1 . . . . .	65, 76			II. iii. 2 . . . . .	107
vi. 1 . . . . .	66, 81			III. iii. 5 . . . . .	115
vii. 2 . . . . .	71, 81			III. vi. 5 . . . . .	120
vii. 3 . . . . .	82			III. vii. 2 . . . . .	107
ix. 2 . . . . .	65, 72			III. ix. 2 . . . . .	112
ix. 3 . . . . .	78			III. ix. 4-6 . . . . .	110
x. 3 . . . . .	75				
Philad. i. 1 . . . . .	70, 71				

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS  
Mand. II. 2, 3 . . . . . 110

	<i>Page</i>	II CLEMENT	<i>Page</i>	II CLEMENT	<i>Page</i>
<b>SHEPHERD OF HERMAS</b>					
Vis. III. ix. 8 . . .	119	iii. 4 . . .	134	xi. 6 . . .	125
III. ix. 10 . . .	115	iv. 2 . . .	130	xi. 7 . . .	126
III. xi. 3 . . .	115	iv. 5 . . .	135	xii. 2 . . .	136
III. xiii. 3 . . .	117	v. 2-4 . . .	135	xiii. 1 . . .	127
IV. ii. 4 . . .	114, 115	v. 5 . . .	130	xiii. 4 . . .	132
IV. ii. 6 . . .	121	vi. 1 f . . .	133	xiv. 2 . . .	126, 128
IV. iii. 4 . . .	116	vi. 3, 5 . . .	127	xiv. 5 . . .	126
<b>II CLEMENT</b>					
i. 6 . . .	125	vi. 7 . . .	130	xv. 1 . . .	127, 129
i. 8 . . .	128	vi. 9 . . .	131	xvi. 3 . . .	129
ii. 4 . . .	133	vii. 1 . . .	126	xvi. 4 . . .	126, 127, 128
ii. 5, 7 . . .	132	viii. 2 . . .	128	xvii. 1 . . .	131
iii. 2 . . .	130	viii. 4 . . .	130	xix. 2 . . .	127, 128
		viii. 5 . . .	132	xx. 2-4 . . .	128
		ix. 3 . . .	126	xx. 4, 5 . . .	129
		ix. 11 . . .	134		