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**VOL. V.**

**THE APOLOGIES OF JUSTIN MARTYR**  
**AND**  
**THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.**

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## NOTICE.

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THE APOLOGIES  
OF  
JUSTIN MARTYR.

TO WHICH IS APPENDED  
THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES  
BY BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE, Ph.D. (Gött.), LL.D.,  
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## P R E F A C E.

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THE notes in this edition of Justin Martyr's Apologies are chiefly grammatical and historical. Theological questions I have touched as lightly as possible, and always, I trust, with due reserve.

To my predecessors, Thirlby, Maran, Braun, Trollope, and Otto, I owe much; not a little to various special treatises on Justin; but I have not deemed it superfluous to examine for myself the original sources of our knowledge of Justin's times, and my citations are all at first-hand, unless distinctly credited. The grammatical notes are mainly syntactical, and I will not apologize for employing formulæ, which I have found useful in the class-room, instead of referring to grammars, which the fewest will take the trouble to consult.

In the constitution of the text I have proceeded according to my best judgment; and I would state here as an act of simple justice to myself that the text of the Apologies was electrotyped before I had access to Otto's third edition, and, except in some minute points, my critical work is independent of his recent labors, by which many of my conclusions have been anticipated.

The plan of marking variations from the MSS. by spaced type has not been carried out quite so consistently as might have been desired, but the occasional failures have been made good in the commentary.

The Introduction is constructed on the lines of Semisch's standard work, which I have abridged, recast or translated closely as suited my purposes, freely incorporating the results of my own reading and research, and availing myself without scruple of any apt expression that I might happen to find on the track of my studies.

To the two Apologies of Justin I have added the celebrated Epistle to Diognetus. For the final establishment of the text of this remarkable document I owe a few suggestions and many confirmations to the recent edition of Von Gebhardt in the new *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*. The notes consist in good measure of extracts from Otto's elaborate commentary, although I have consulted with profit Bunsen, Hefele, Hollenberg, and Krenkel, and have not been content merely to copy others.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, }  
BALTIMORE, Dec. 5th, 1876. }

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## INTRODUCTION.

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JUSTIN, philosopher and martyr, was born at Flavia Neapolis, in Samaria, near the ancient Sichem, the modern Nablûs, at the close of the first or the beginning of the second century. His father was Priscus, his grandfather Bacchius. The names indicate that they belonged to the stock of the Greek colony sent to Sichem by Flavius Vespasianus, the Emperor Vespasian, after whom the place was named. It is sufficiently evident that he was not a Samaritan in any other sense than that he was a native of that region, and, according to his own statement, he was an uncircumcised heathen at the time of his conversion. Of this conversion we have an interesting account in the opening of his Dialogue with Trypho. Careless as Justin is in his style, His quest of the true philosophy. for once we recognize a faint approach to conscious literary art; and as he tells us how he bade Plato farewell forever, he reminds us for the first time and the last of his master. In this passage he describes his weary journey through the perplexing round of the various philosophic schools and his final rest in the system of revealed truth. Philosophy is to him as grand and as precious as ever. He has not renounced her, but he has found her truest form in Christianity. If men only knew what Philosophy is, and why she has been sent down to earth, they would not be Platonists or Stoics, Peripatetics or Pythagoreans, for knowledge is one, philosophy is one—one, and not a many-headed creature, as she is supposed

to be. But the great thinkers have overawed their followers by their fortitude, their self-mastery, their novel discourse, and, under the spell of this reverence and in-  
curious of the actual truth, the disciples have caught up what their masters taught, and have stamped their body of doctrine with the name of a Plato, an Aristotle. And Justin, at the outset of his career, resorted to these

He tries the half-philosophers. First he tried a professor of Stoa. the Stoa, and after a brief apprenticeship turned

away in bitter disappointment from a teacher who could teach him nothing about God, from one who did not even consider the subject an important matter of philosophic research. Still more bitter was his disappointment when

The Peripatetic he put himself under the care of a Peripatetic, and found in a few days that his master

thought more of his fees than of his philosophy, and belonged to the large class of mercenary sages who, to use the expressive language of Tatian, would not even grow their beards for nothing. Still faithful to his ideal, still

The Pythagorean. athirst for the truth, Justin next entered the lecture-room of a Pythagorean, a man of high

repute and high self-esteem. But when Justin made his request known, the Pythagorean indulged himself in a long eulogy of music, geometry, and astronomy. Without a knowledge of these, he said, the soul was not ready for the high abstractions of true philosophy; and Justin, acknowledging his insufficient preparation, withdrew, exceeding sorrowful, for this teacher really seemed to know

Becomes a something. At last Justin sought refuge and Platonist. light in the Platonic school. A famous teacher

of that sect—a random guess identifies him with Maximus of Tyre—began to lecture in the place of Justin's sojourn, and in his instructions Justin fancied that he had found the object of his long quest. The doctrine of ideas

was especially attractive to the enthusiastic student, who took in with eagerness the wealth of new thought that lay in the Platonic system. Every day was marked by a decided progress. In a short time he had become wise; yet a little while and he should see God, the goal of Platonic philosophy. But an accident, as men count accidents, was to change the whole course of his life. The brooding Platonist was to become an active Christian.

The mysterious stranger at the sea-side. One day, as he was going to a quiet spot by the sea-side for undisturbed meditation, his solitude was broken by the appearance of a venerable stranger, and the conversation which ensued determined Justin's future career. The old man had come to the shore for the simple purpose of looking out in the offing for some expected friends. Justin, with some little self-complacency, declared his nobler object. To Justin's amazement, instead of being complimented by the stranger on his lofty aims, he was charged with being a lover of words, not a lover of deed and truth; a professor of rhetoric, not a man of effective work. Step by step Justin yields with all the docility of one of the adversaries of the Platonic Socrates, with all the docility of his own Trypho, to the pitiless advance of his interlocutor. Phi-

The stranger's discourse. losophy is the science of God and the knowledge of God. This divine knowledge is not to be acquired by study nor by practice. No lecturer, no drill-master can impart it. To understand God, you must see Him. But to see God is the gift of God Himself. Man has no claim to this privilege by reason of his kindred to his Maker, nor does the soul gain any thing by release from the body; for the soul is not necessarily immortal, as philosophers dream. That it does not die is not by virtue of its own nature, but by the will and power of God, who keeps the souls of men alive in order to re-

A 2

cf. Gal. 3: 21-22. ἡ ἐλευθερία ἡμετέρα ἐστὶν ἡ ἐλευθερία τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ ἐλευθερία ἡμετέρα ἐστὶν ἡ ἐλευθερία τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ward the good and punish the wicked. The fancies of your wise men, Plato and Pythagoras, are naught. The soul is not life itself, but is merely a partaker of life. The life is in God. He gave and He can take away. If you desire to know of this doctrine, you may learn it of the prophets, who lived long before the time of your vaunted philosophers, just men on whom rested the blessing of God, men who spake by the spirit of God and foretold the future. These alone saw and declared the truth to man without fear or favor. No respecters of persons, no slaves of ambition, they proclaimed what they saw and heard, being filled with the Holy Ghost. These writings still exist, and whoso reads and believes will learn what philosophers ought to know. They needed no arguments to establish their message; their words are above arguments. Their proofs are to be sought in the history of the past and the present, in the fulfilment of their prophecies. To all this add the miracles that attested their divine mission, add the character of their message, the glorification of the Maker of the universe, Father and God, the announcement of His Son, the Christ. False prophets, filled with a lying and unclean spirit, never delivered such a message; their wonders are wrought to dismay men; the beings they glorify are spirits of error, are demons. Pray, above all, that the gates of light be opened to you, for none can understand these things unless it be given to him of God and His Christ.

After much discourse the mysterious stranger vanished, and Justin saw him no more; but, to use Justin's own language, a fire was kindled in the heart of the philosopher, and the love of the prophets and of the friends of Christ animated him to his martyr's end. The instructions of the strange old man, the study of the prophets, the association with the followers of Christ, led

The fire is  
kindled.

Justin from the shades of the Academy into the dust and sun of Christian warfare.

The conversion seems electric, but most conversions, ancient and modern, are so represented; and we learn from another passage that Justin had long felt the power of the Christian life as shown in the steadfastness of Christian confessors, the holy boldness and holy joy of Christian martyrs. As after his conversion he did not trample on the philosopher's mantle, and cherished all that was good in the philosophic creed of his Platonic master, so before his conversion his liberal spirit refused to sneer at the senseless obstinacy of the Galileans, or admit the charge of nameless crimes against such heroic sufferers. His heart had been unconsciously prepared for communion with the Christian Church, and as soon as the intellectual bond that connected him with the Platonic school was severed he became a fervent and uncompromising disciple of Christ.

This whole interview has been considered in recent times a mere dramatic fiction. The question is almost of as little importance as the identification of the venerable stranger, with which editors have sometimes amused themselves. Was he an angel? A saint? St. John risen from the dead? Polycarp? An Ebionite preacher? The most important thing is the substantial accord of the statements in this account with what we know of Justin's views and Justin's history. In this account, as in Justin's writings, the Old Testament prophets bulk most largely. In this account we find distinctly asserted, what we might have gathered for ourselves, that Justin was a Platonist before he became a Christian. Nor is his prolonged quest any thing strange. Tatian, the disciple of Justin himself, tells us how he had travelled over many lands, had explored all

the wisdom of the Greeks, had tried many forms of heathen worship, and had sought admittance to all the mysteries, before the light of Christianity broke upon him. We find a similar search sketched in the Hermotimus of Justin's contemporary Lucian as well as in the Clementine Homilies. The age was full of 'seekers after God.'

The year of Justin's conversion is uncertain. As uncertain is the scene of the Dialogue. It cannot have been Time and place of Justin's conversion? Flavia Neapolis, as is shown by the mention of the sea, to say nothing of the unlikelihood that a celebrated teacher should have taken up his abode in so insignificant a place. Ephesus is a mere guess, and so is Alexandria.

'Freely ye have received, freely give.' In the true apostolic spirit Justin devoted his life thenceforth to the service of his Master. A woe was on him if he Justin's mission. preached not the Gospel. 'Every one,' he says, 'who can proclaim the truth and does not proclaim it will be judged of God.' Everywhere he shows a deep sense of the responsibility resting on him toward Jew and Gentile, whether he addresses the Antonines or argues with Trypho.

Free from all affectation of singularity, Justin did not placard the change in his views by a change in his manner of living. He retained his philosophic Justin's mode of life. garb, the mantle which had long been the uniform of the lover of wisdom, but the wisdom he now served was the wisdom of God and not the wisdom of man. The rough cassock gained him ready access where access might else have been denied, and the example was followed by others, notably by Tertullian, who defended his course in the famous tract *De Pallio*. He was a wanderer all his life, an evangelist, like his predecessor Quadratus, and it is not at all probable that he was aught

besides a layman. At all events there is not a breath of sacerdotalism in his writings; and while the student of the Christian eloquence of the fourth century, as he goes back to the rugged apologist of the second, misses the perfume, half incense, half attar of roses, that breathes from the pages of Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus and Chrysostom, he is more than compensated by the fresher air, the intenser reality of Justin. His knowledge of the Christian religion is drawn from immediate contact with the Christian life, not at this point and that, but over a wide range of travel; and his description of Christian worship is of priceless value, for the worship he describes was the worship of the Church Universal. Direct evidence for his sojourn at Alexandria depends on the genuineness of the *Cohortatio ad Graecos*. Eusebius tells us that he met Trypho at Ephesus, and we learn from the Apologies that he resided for some time at Rome.

It is impossible for us to form an adequate conception of Justin's work. We can only gather that it was mainly polemic and apologetic. His time is known as the time of the Apologists. In his school at Rome he doubtless gave instructions to all who wished to know further of this way, but, so far as we can judge by the titles of his works and the drift of his remaining treatises, the defence of Christianity, and the necessary warfare against Judaism, Paganism, and heresy formed his chief occupation.

In the time of Justin the Jewish reaction against Christianity had reached its height, and found its expression in the formal curses of the synagogue, in the dissemination of the vilest slanders against the Christian life, and in the bloody persecution of the Christians by the ringleader of the Jewish revolt under Hadrian. The Jews were bitter and dangerous antagonists, and the

Justin's work  
mainly po-  
lemic and  
apologetic.

1. Against the  
Jews.

harder to reach as their rabbis forbade all discussion of religious topics with Christians; but here and there one might be found like Justin's Trypho, whose ear could not be stopped against a man who approached him in the garb of a philosopher, and fascinated him by a marvellous familiarity with the Scriptures of the Old Covenant.

But the dangers to which the infant Church was exposed from the wrath of the Jews were of far less significance than the dangers which threatened from the antagonism of heathendom.

Up to the time of Trajan the Christian religion had no recognized existence except as an obscure sect of Judaism, and there was no definite conflict between the Church and the State; for the persecutions which bear the names of Nero and Domitian were freaks of imperial wantonness, not systematic efforts to suppress an abhorred sect. But in the reign of Trajan the Christian religion made itself felt as a power, and in one notorious instance, in the province of Bithynia, the deserted temples and the neglected worship of the gods showed that the state could no longer pass over this new faith in silent contempt, and from this time on we find the power of the throne combined with the passion of the people in opposition to the religion of Christ. Indeed, it is no new observation that the best emperors were, as a rule, hostile to Christianity. Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, all opposed the spread of the new faith, and not the less resolutely because they were careful to keep the warfare within the strict bounds of legality. To define the weapons, to mark the limits of the arena, was to sanction the struggle. After the death of Marcus Aurelius there was a pause of more than fifty years in the conflict, and when it was renewed the state stood alone in its antagonism to the Christians, and as in the first period

2. Against the  
heathen.

The Christian  
religion and  
the State.



the emperors merely sported with the popular prejudice against the Christians, in the third they endeavored to stir up the people in order to further their systematic plans for the annihilation of the Christian name. The reasons of this hostility are not far to seek, and belong to the commonplaces of history. Christianity was incompatible with the life of the Roman state. The peculiar mission of Christianity, as openly proclaimed by its followers, was the overthrow of all religions consecrated by antiquity. It was not satisfied with toleration—it aimed at nothing less than universal dominion. No matter how earnestly the apologists might repeat the words of our Saviour, ‘Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar’s,’ what Caesar claimed as his own the Christian maintained to be God’s, and no Christian could be a loyal subject to the state when the very profession of allegiance was an abomination in his eyes.

At first, as we have seen, this *superstitio externa* was not sharply distinguished from other foreign forms of worship, and foreign religions were not excluded so far as foreigners themselves were incorporated into the Roman state, but every religion had to be licensed, had to be naturalized, if its professors were not to be exposed to punishment. But the Christians had no country except the country which they sought, and the only visible bond was a name, a watch-word, a pass-word, a by-word. It was this mysterious character of Christian society, of this *latebrosa et lucifugax natio*, that excited the jealousy of the statesman of the imperial time, and roused the suspicions of the rabble. For the common people, on whom the national faith had a much stronger hold than is ordinarily conceived, looked upon Christians as atheists; and in their eyes a religion that had no temples, no altars, no images,

Christian religion  
not tolerated.

Hatred of the  
populace.

no sacrifices, was a godless worship, and the popular cry was 'Away with the atheists.' The most abominable reports were circulated and believed: reports of human sacrifices, of cannibalism, such as fill mediæval chronicles concerning the Jews; reports of promiscuous lust and wild debauchery; and among the various heresies which divided the body of Christ, there were some that lent countenance to the charges which were brought against the Christians as a class.

But the rabble was not more hostile to Christianity than those who affected to despise the rabble.

Philosophers might share the Christian's contempt for the superstition of the masses, but an academy of philosophers that was open to slaves and artisans, to women and children, was a cage of unclean birds to those supercilious sages, and by a natural reaction the myths which they once ridiculed were revived and refreshed, and made to yield a deeper spiritual sense. In later times concessions were made to the Master himself, and the Neoplatonists tried to incorporate Him into their systems. 'If not a god, Christ was a man dear to God;' and it was in this spirit that Alexander Severus gave his statue a place in the imperial chapel in such company as Apollonius of Tyana, Orpheus, and Abraham. But even then the Neoplatonists had little indulgence for the followers of Christ; and at this time—for Celsus is of this time—the philosophic mind was full of malignity and rancor toward the Master, of bitter scorn toward the disciples.

Nor, in taking account of the elements of opposition to Christianity, must we overlook the professional antagonism, the hostility of vested interests.

Priests, artists, tradesmen found their position and their income endangered by a faith which did away with the worship of the gods. Ephesus in the

days of Paul was but one sample of a formidable trades' union arrayed against the new doctrine, and any one who has looked into the social life of the empire knows what vast pecuniary interests were at stake.

Add to these enemies the religious impostors, who per-  
Enmity of religious impostors. vaded the empire and made merchandise of magic and sorcery, men who, like Alexander of Abonoteichos, regarded the Christians as in some sort rivals, and we can readily imagine that even in the second century, before the full significance of the revolutionary character of the Christian religion was revealed to its opponents, there was a formidable array of spiritual forces to call out all the energies of a man like Justin. It is this struggle that makes the study of these documents of the earlier Christian life so important and so fascinating. At times our author may linger too long over the prophecies, at times he may lose himself in parentheses, and quote page after page of more or less irrelevant matter from the Septuagint, but we feel that this is a real battle, and Justin is a real warrior—now facing the emperors with all their power, now rebuking the false philosophers with all their rattling declamation, now silencing the hisses of popular hatred by a calm exposition of Christian life, and now wrestling with the arch-enemy himself and his host of evil angels. For the devil was a personal reality to Justin, as he is to every man at some time in his life, and in no part of the battle-field did Justin see the enginery of Satan more plainly than in the heresies of the time.

The third line of defence faced the heretics. Some of  
s. Against the heretics. the most dangerous heresies of the early Church culminated in the lifetime of Justin, and neither personal nor local incitement was lacking. Samaria, the native country of the Christian philosopher, was the home

of Simon Magus and Menander; and Justin most probably came into personal contact with Marcion and Valentinus, two of the heresiarchs of the age. The blending of heathen and Christian elements in the Gnostic system, the evaporation of Christian doctrine into misty speculation, and the substitution of the liberation of the spirit for the salvation of the soul, the falsification or wresting of the Scriptures in furtherance of the new views, the practical manifestation of these principles in the extremes of asceticism and lust—all this must have been abhorrent to the candid, straightforward mind of Justin. But apart from these considerations, the speculative pride and the moral degradation of the Gnostic direction aggravated the bitterness of the heathen against the Christians, as is shown in the True Word of Celsus, and the spread of this idealistic tendency threatened to annihilate historical Christianity or to break up the Church into a variety of jangling sects, so that it is not surprising that Justin should have opposed the efforts of these heretics with all the apostolic fervor of his character, that he should have interrupted his argument with the heathen emperors in order to express his indignation against these traducers of the truth as it is in Jesus. In the brief memoir known as the Lesser Apology, he utters a manly protest against the government as represented by the prefect Urbicus, he defies the machinations of the Cynic Crescens, but almost his last word is a declaration of sovereign contempt for the impious and lying doctrine of the Simonians. Two of his lost works were directed against the heretics: one against the heretics in general, another against Marcion in particular, for Marcion was by far the most consistent and influential of the Gnostics, brought out into boldest relief the anti-Judaic character of the movement, and attacked what Justin considered the foundation of the

Christian system, or, at all events, the most cogent proof of its truth.

The question has been asked, What was the immediate result of Justin's work? Little that we can discover. A Christian of his fervent spirit, his manly earnestness, could not have labored in vain, and in his work as an evangelist he must have done much to strengthen the faith of the wavering and to win new disciples to the Christian doctrine. But he founded no school of Christian thought, and, though he was so active against the heretics, his solitary disciple, Tatian, became the leader of a feeble heretical sect. His effort to reconcile the old world with the new failed, and in the progress of doctrine his liberal views were narrowed, his loose opinions crystallized into sharper dogmatic forms.

Nor does he seem to have succeeded in impressing the emperors in favor of Christianity. The rude freedom with which he addressed them was not so strange to imperial ears as has been supposed. The philosopher's cloth had protected others in the reign of the philosophic emperors, and to their equanimity there could not have been much difference between the vulgar abuse of the notorious Peregrinus Proteus and the prophetic warnings of Justin Martyr; and although the language of Justin is not so impassioned as that of Minucius Felix or Tertullian, not so sarcastic as that of Tatian nor so insolent as that of Hermias, it knows nothing of the courtly moderation of Athenagoras, and was hardly suited to win the good-will of the head of the state. Orosius, indeed, tells us that Antoninus Pius was moved by Justin's representations to take kindlier views of Christianity; but there seems to be no sufficient warrant for such a statement.

In view of this immediate failure, it has been suggested that Justin's great influence on following generations was due more to his martyr's death than to the intrinsic value of his writings. No doubt that noble end enhanced his power, but it was only one manifestation, though the crowning manifestation of his spirit.

The fact of his martyrdom is beyond dispute. Irenaeus, a younger contemporary, bears witness to it, and from the time of Tertullian on Justin has always been known as the martyr. An account of Justin's end is found in the Martyrologium, an account of much later date than the event which it commemorates; but the absence of dramatic detail, the quiet tone of the narrative, the general coincidence with what we know of Justin's views, combined with minute discrepancies in less important matters—all these points give the stamp of truth to the record.

It is not improbable that the Cynic philosopher Crescens, whom we know from the Second Apology as a bitter personal enemy of Justin, was the direct or indirect cause of his death, although we have no distinct evidence of the statement so confidently given by later writers. No philosophic sect was more bitterly opposed to the Christian religion than was the Cynic.

It is unnecessary to copy from Lucian the familiar figure of these mendicant friars of Paganism—the long beard, the rough cassock, the knotty staff, the ragged wallet, the shameless mien; it is unnecessary to give examples of their sycophancy, their vanity, their scurrility, their insatiate greed of money, their unblushing indulgence in every lust of the flesh. Such men must have been irritated to the last degree by the demeanor and by the doctrine of the Christians. The Christian creed contained many of the elements of the Cynic system in a higher

form—the Cynic system, I mean, as understood by an Epictetus, a Marcus Aurelius, a Maximus Tyrius; and the life of the Christian must have been a perpetual rebuke to the degraded followers of Antisthenes, who moved in much the same circles and addressed much the same audiences with the Christians. Justin has himself given an outline of his discussions with Crescens, and triumphs without disguise over his silenced adversary, who was ‘either ignorant of the religion which he reviled, or, if he knew it, could not understand it; or, if he knew it and understood it, did not have the courage to acknowledge its excellence.’

The mortified Cynic was the very man to bring the *argumentum baculinum* to bear on his scornful opponent. Justin himself declares his expectation of falling a victim to the machinations of Crescens, and Tatian, the disciple of Justin, informs us that Crescens made the effort to put his mortal enemy out of the way.

The martyrdom of Justin took place in the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, under the Date of martyrdom. prefect Rusticus. The date commonly given is 166. Aubé puts it, where Baronius puts it, in the first months of 163, and in this he is sustained by Borghesi, ‘the greatest master of Roman epigraphy,’ and by the distinguished archæologist Cavedoni. According to Eusebius, Justin suffered shortly after having written his Second Apology; his Second Apology was written not long after the condemnations pronounced by Urbicus; Urbicus was prefect in the closing years of the reign of Antoninus Pius, and was succeeded by Salvius Julianus, who, in his turn, was followed in January, 163, by Junius Rusticus. By putting the Second Apology in 160, or before March, 161, and the martyrdom of Justin in the early part of 163, Aubé claims that all the data are satisfied.

*qui primus in epigraphia litteris communis consensum defauit — Ritche*

The great name of Justin has been made to do service for a number of works which are not his, and the bulk of the doubtful and spurious productions is more than equal to that of the genuine.

In the front rank of Justin's works stand the two Apologies, the genuineness of which has never been seriously questioned; and even if the historical allusions and the doctrinal positions did not fix the origin of the First or Greater Apology in the second century, the influence of it is to be traced in the writings of Tatian, Irenaeus, Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and Theophilus, who transcribe, translate, and imitate passage after passage. And the Second or Lesser Apology is clearly by the same hand as the First, with which it shares every peculiarity of style and thought. Add to these internal evidences the express testimony of Eusebius and Photius, and we may safely say that no writings of the Christian Church have a more certain warrant than these two.

The First Apology is a noble appeal for liberty of conscience, a manly protest against the punishment of Christians as Christians, a lofty vindication of the character of the Christian religion. The Second Apology, which is much shorter and bears more evident marks of hasty composition, repels the mockery of the heathen enemies of Christianity, and gives the reasons why Christians complained of persecution, why God did not interfere to deliver His people.

The bold, as some might think, the audacious tone of the Apologies has led some to fancy that they are not, what they claim to be, actual documents intended for the eye of the emperor and senate; but Justin was no holiday Christian, and it is incon-



ceivable that a man who vindicated his faith with his blood should have shrunk from utterances which, after all, did not go beyond the boldness of a Peregrinus, to say nothing of the imaginary speeches of Apollonius of Tyana. To suppose that these Apologies are mere academic performances is to overlook the license accorded to the philosopher; is to shut the eyes to the earnestness of the Christian life of the century.

According to Eusebius, the Apologies were written in Rome, and this statement is not in the least unlikely. The time has always been a matter of dispute, and is discussed elsewhere in this volume.

The Dialogue with Trypho bears on its face the evidence of its genuineness, and it is wholly unnecessary to mention the more or less frivolous grounds on which the Justinian authorship has been attacked. Apart from the historical allusions to the second century, apart from the testimony of Eusebius, apart from the general agreement with the Apologies in doctrine and thought and want of method, the language is evidently the same, and, though there are slight variations in vocabulary, as might be expected from the difference of theme, these have little weight in comparison with the remarkable coincidences in tricks of speech and irregularities of syntax.

In the Dialogue with Trypho the prejudices of the Jews against Christianity are corrected, the doctrines of Christ's incarnation and redemption through His blood are proved by reference to prophecy, and the Christians are shown to be the true spiritual Israel and the true people of God.

As our immediate concern is with the relation of the Dialogue to the Apologies, we may pass over the questions as to the reality of the discussion, the personality of

Trypho—identified by some with the Rabbi Tarphon—and the place where the Dialogue is supposed to have been held.

In time, the Dialogue with Trypho may be put after the First Apology, to which there is a definite allusion, and more safely under Antoninus Pius than under Marcus Aurelius.

The genuineness of the *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, or *Hortatory Address to the Greeks*, has been much questioned. There is no such title in the list of Justin's writings as preserved by Eusebius, Jerome, and Photius.

The personal relations of the author seem to have been different from those of Justin, there is a different attitude toward Paganism, and the absence of the characteristic doctrine of the Logos is hardly to be accounted for.

The language alone is well-nigh a satisfactory evidence that the *Cohortatio* is not by Justin. From a stylistic point of view, the *Cohortatio* is a better performance than the Apologies, better than the Dialogue with Trypho; and those who have attempted to account for the superior finish of the *Cohortatio* on the ground of the leisurely preparation of the tract in the early period of Justin's conversion, have not sufficiently observed that the Dialogue with Trypho, the opening of which is Justin's best piece of composition, shows all the peculiarities of the more urgent and passionate Apologies. Semisch himself, after as elaborate a defence as the thesis admitted, has finally abandoned the case.

Similar arguments have been brought to bear against the genuineness of the fragment on the Resurrection. External evidence is lacking, there are discrepancies in statement, discrepancies in dogma, and the style varies widely from the style of the Apologies and the Dialogue.

A tract of the compass of a few pages On the Sole Government of God (*περὶ μοναρχίας*) is open to grave suspicion by reason of style and contents, and seems to be unsupported by documentary evidence.

It is hardly worth while to mention the *Expositio Recitae Fidei*, the *Epistola ad Zenam et Serenum*, the *Confutatio dogmatum quorundam Aristotelis*, the *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*, the *Quaestiones Christianorum ad Gentiles*, the *Quaestiones Gentilium ad Christianos*. These productions have long since been pronounced spurious by competent judges, and I have been content to leave them unexamined.

Two works remain, to most minds clearly not Justinian, and yet to some minds not so clearly as to make the mention of them superfluous, even if the works themselves were not of great intrinsic interest.

The *Oratio ad Graecos*—*λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας*—is evidently by a different hand. Justin is negligent and prolix, his language is marked by the *laissez-aller* of every-day life, while the author of the *Oratio ad Graecos* has a rapid, pungent, incisive, rhetorical style. The author of the *Oratio ad Graecos* takes the popular view of Paganism, and attacks the mythology of the Greeks as the incarnation of immorality. Justin's philosophic training in the schools of Greek thought had given him a far deeper insight into the nature of Hellenism; and the man whose great aim in life before he became a Christian was to see God must have been as incapable of the superficial mockery as he was of the brilliant rhetoric of the author of the *Oratio*, who, in my judgment, bears a strong family likeness to Hermias. But it is hardly necessary to dwell on the internal evidence, as the discovery of a Syriac translation, in which this piece is

attributed to one Ambrosius, has set the question at rest, so far as questions ever rest.

In the Prolegomena to his elaborate edition of the Epistle to Diognetus Otto has undertaken the hopeless task of vindicating the Justinian origin of this famous letter, of which Bunsen says that it 'is indisputably, after Scripture, the finest monument we know of sound Christian feeling, noble courage, and manly eloquence.' Otto's argument seems to have made little impression on the students of early Christian literature, and it might suffice to say with the great scholar just quoted, 'I will not lose my time by proving over and over again that it cannot be Justin's.' But, as I have not been able to withstand the temptation to add this famous piece as an appendix to the Apologies, the reader is entitled to a statement of some of the grounds on which the Justinian origin is usually rejected.

The historical allusions in the Epistle are so vague that little can be made out of them for or against the time of Justin. This vagueness has been used by one school to bring the composition down to a late period, by others the authorship has been pushed back to an earlier generation than Justin's; while a recent writer of eminence recognizes in c. 7 an allusion to two emperors, father and son, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, and assigns the letter to the time between 177 and 180.

The coincidences of thought between Justin and the author of the Epistle are found in all the Fathers; they are the common property of the primitive Church.

But the author of the Epistle looks upon heathen idolatry as mere fetichism, as incomprehensible absurdity. To Justin the Greek gods are real beings—demons, not gods, but still real. The author of

the Epistle views with equal contempt Jewish and heathen sacrifices. Justin recognizes the hand of God in this provisional form of worship.

And the same observation holds with regard to other points of the Jewish ritual, the Jewish ceremonial law. The author of the Epistle has only a sneer for meats and drinks and circumcision. Justin had a deeper and truer conception of the relations of Judaism to Christianity. According to the author of the Epistle, Christ was hidden until his incarnation. According to Justin, the Logos was revealed in the theophanies of the Old Testament. According to the author of the Epistle, the execution of God's counsel was delayed in order to show that God's grace and favor alone could save, while Justin defends the postponement of the revelation on the ground that God had given man the power to choose between the good and the evil, and had strengthened his natural ability by the presence of the Logos, which was with Socrates as well as with David. Besides, it is especially worthy of note that in the whole Epistle there is no express citation of any passage of Scripture, and that no use is made of the Old Testament: for it is utterly incredible that Justin should have written a work of this tenor without a solitary citation from the Septuagint, which elsewhere he quotes in season and out of season; without a solitary argument drawn from prophecy, which was to Justin the most cogent of all the proofs of the truth of the Christian system.

But, if all this is not enough, the style of the Epistle constitutes the argument which it is hardest to invalidate by any hypothesis of youthful elegance and senile slovenliness. Justin's style is the every-day Greek of the educated man of his century, the Epistle aims at classic expression; Justin writes negligently, though not

so incorrectly as is sometimes represented. The language of the Epistle is carefully polished. Except under the pressure of especial excitement, Justin keeps to the speech of his time. As a former Platonist, his diction is here and there colored by reminiscences of his master. As a diligent student of the Septuagint, his language shows occasional traces of that idolized version; but as he seldom sinks into sheer solecism, so he seldom rises above the level of the common dialect. There are many effective thoughts in Justin, few effective phrases, and the only rhetorically effective period is borrowed. The author of the Epistle reached whatever height was to be reached in that time, and is as determined an antithesis-monger as Maximus Tyrius.

In the development of his theme Justin lacks logical arrangement, and interrupts his discourse by all manner of parentheses. The author of the Epistle pursues his subject with strict method. Finally, Justin's pet expressions are lacking in the Epistle, and there are many peculiarities of diction in the Epistle which we should seek in vain in the genuine works of Justin.

A positive decision has not been reached as to author or century. In the opening of the Notes I have given some brief account of recent views on this interesting subject.

To return to Justin himself.

The ancient Church always speaks of the Martyr with unconditional praise; Tatian calls him ὁ Σαυ-  
Justin's stand-  
ing. μαρίωρατος, Tertullian counts him among the *virī sanctitate et praestantia insignes*, and Methodius puts him not far below the apostles. Soon after his death he received the surnames of 'Philosopher and Martyr,' because he declared that he had found the only true philosophy in the Christian faith, because he had sealed his tes-

timony with his blood. The Fathers of the next generation, such as Irenaeus and Tertullian, borrow largely from his writings; and Eusebius expresses his admiration in no measured terms. Nor has he been less esteemed in modern times, though in more recent days Justin has not always met with the same reverence; and while all concede the importance of his writings for the history of the early Church, some have denied him all pretensions to philosophic thought, have sneered at his inaccurate statements, his 'weak and inconclusive arguments, his trifling applications and erroneous interpretations of Scripture.' True, many of the Fathers stand above him in solid learning, in natural endowments, in creative force, in lofty spirituality. But, for all that, he was a man of earnest thought, of apostolic zeal, of immovable faith, of liberal nature, and if he had not the tongues of angels nor even the golden mouth of Chrysostom, his message falls from lips that have been touched with a live coal from off the altar of God.

It must always be borne in mind that Justin's whole direction was practical rather than theoretical. As a thinker. 'Not for the school, but for life,' was more truly his motto than Seneca's, yet his title of 'philosopher' is not undeserved. Bunsen calls him 'a decidedly speculative thinker,' and Ritter, after making every possible deduction, concedes his important influence on the progress of Christian philosophy.

Nor should it be forgotten that he was a pioneer, that Justin a pioneer. he was the first to make a path from philosophy to Christianity; and it is no wonder that in his earnest advance he brushed aside all the flowers of rhetoric, and disregarded the thorns and burs of grammar. To the Greek scholar, familiar with the subtleties of Attic diction, the roughness of Justin is at first repellent, and

the bulk of the Dialogue with Trypho is peculiarly arid to a reader who has not a professional interest in the study; but touch on the Christian life, and the eloquence of true feeling lights up the homely style, and as one learns to appreciate the thoroughness of Justin's conviction and the wide reach of the views which he is laboring to express, the honest carelessness of his Greek garb is not less welcome than the studied costume of the fourth century.

Granted that he is not to be measured as a mere writer with Chrysostom or Basil or Gregory of Nazianzum; granted that he falls short of Athenagoras in elegance, of Tatian in point; granted that he is not to be reckoned with the great master-thinkers of the patristic time—with Tertullian, who borrowed, be it remembered, with all the audacity of genius, with Origen, with Athanasius, with Augustin; granted the vagueness of his views, the looseness of his terminology, the want of logical development of his theme—grant all this, and there still remains a man of no ordinary mind—a man much greater than his books, a man whose lead apologists of far more brilliant talents have been content to follow.

Justin's theology was the theology of the heart. His faith was no mere intellectual faith; it was no dogmatic craze, no day-dream of quietism. It was the principle of moral regeneration. Christ's test was his test. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' To him Christianity consisted not in word, but in deed. 'Without holiness no man shall see the Lord;' or, as he phrases it, no man shall reach a blessed immortality.

The love of the Gospel is the love of the truth. To Justin this life is not worth a lie; and Bansen well remarks that his best epitaph may be said to be the words about truth which are quoted from

Plenty of company in this unassuming position  
any other God is his photo 23 d.



one of his lost writings, 'There is Truth, and nothing is stronger than Truth.'

But there is no real love of truth without courage, and the courage of Justin reminds us now of Socrates, now of Paul. It is not the courage of an Ignatius, of a Polycarp, which is almost ecstatic, almost feverish in its joy. It is based broad upon solid conviction, and rests with massive squareness on God's Word. The language which he holds toward the emperors in his Greater Apology is the language of one 'that fears God, and has no other fear;' and De Pressensé admires—as who would not?—'its manly courage, its simple dignity, its noble frankness.' He lived as seeing Him who is invisible, as in the immediate presence of his Lord and Judge, and did not hesitate to warn his earthly rulers of the penalties of unrighteousness. The emperors were of more importance to him simply because of their greater responsibility.

To this noble spirit we might forgive many inaccuracies of composition and not a little slovenliness of style. But let us look more narrowly into this charge which has been so often brought against Justin.

In the first centuries, if we except Athenagoras and Minucius Felix, logic and rhetoric are negligently treated by the Fathers. Photius himself says that the Apostolic Fathers wrote in a simple, inartistic, ordinary style. Even those who went from the schools of the philosophers to the school of Christ are said to have renounced deliberately whatever charm of diction they might have acquired from converse with the literary heroes of classical antiquity. In Justin's day we are still far from the times when Julian's interdict, which forbade Christian teachers to interpret the masterpieces of Pagan letters, was felt as a cruel blow by the Fathers of the Church; and his

sneering allusions to the eloquence of Matthew and Luke would have fallen harmless on their ears. Christ was no sophist, no rhetorician, says Justin himself. Still I do not agree with those who suppose that Justin was one of that number who deliberately renounced style, nor do I attach much importance to the declamations of the Fathers against the meretricious charms of human discourse. They say that art is a hindrance rather than a help; that eloquence is a delusion and a snare; that the simple and naked truth is sufficient to prosper in the thing whereto it was sent. But the Fathers were men as well as Fathers, and the excellency of man's speech is generally at its best when that excellency is most depreciated. However, Justin is an exceptionally honest man, and it is tolerably evident that he was too full of his message to elaborate his composition. Of this composition few critics have much to say that is favorable. True, Winer remarks that Justin's diction is unusually pure for his time, and Bunsen terms him a good Hellenistic writer, and calls the thirteenth chapter of the First Apology 'sublime;' but the great majority of critics, from Photius down, notice the lack of grace in his expression, and the awkwardness of his periodology. It would be easy enough to join the cry against Justin's style; to call it incorrect, lumbering, colorless; to point out the long digressions, the frequent repetitions, the indigestible parentheses, the dragging clauses, the coupled synonyms. But Winer is right in the main as to Justin's vocabulary, and the percentage of post-classical words in the Apologies is far from large—indeed marvellously small—when we remember how Justin was steeped in the study of the Septuagint, and how imperatively new relations call for new expressions. Most of the negligences of his syntax may be defended by classic warrant, many of its diver-

gences are common to the whole century, and may be found in such authors as Plutarch and Lucian, who are not excluded from the range of text-books. At all events, lamentations over the decadence of the Greek language of this period come with an ill grace from those who emend a corrupt text by impossible forms and unheard-of syntax; and while a Cobet may be permitted to declaim against the depravation of post-Aristotelian Greek, it requires something more than mere declamation to make a man a Cobet; and it was to reduce the margin of false and superficial criticism, such as one hears from persons who ought to be more modest, that I have been at the pains to bring the peculiarities of Justin's language to the test of classic usage. No author, who is worth studying at all, should be negligently handled in any direction, stylistic or other, and Justin's message is sufficiently important to justify an attentive consideration.

Perhaps it may not be out of place here to say that, so far from regretting the time consumed by my occasional excursions into patristic territory, I have only learned to appreciate more fully, as I go back to my special work, the wisdom of Niebuhr's advice, when he says, 'The Fathers of the Church ought to be read more by philologists than they are; . . . and the example of such great men as Scaliger, Hemsterhuys, and Valckenaer should light the way, and show us that we cannot become thoroughly acquainted with the history of those times unless we take into account the writings of a Justin Martyr, a Clement of Alexandria, an Athenagoras.' And in the preface to his excellent Outline of Roman Literature, Prof. Hübner, one of the foremost epigraphists of our day, has said with emphasis, 'I have never been able to understand how Roman literature from the third to the sixth century

could be taught without a detailed account of such men as Tertullian, Prudentius, Jerome, and Augustin.'

A more serious charge than inelegance of language has been brought against Justin, and it is not to be denied that in the heat of composition he has made many awkward slips; that he miscalls the prophets, puts Zephaniah for Zechariah, Jeremiah for Daniel, Isaiah for Jeremiah, Hosea for Zechariah, Zechariah for Malachi; that he dovetails verses from different parts of the Scriptures, and shows a sovereign disregard of chronology. He makes Jethro the uncle of Moses, and Herod a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus. He implies that Heraclitus was a Stoic—and so he was by anticipation—and puts both Heraclitus and Musonius to death without good warrant; and his confusion of Simon Magnus with Semo Sancus is a stock example of uncritical identification. But who is so devoid of historical vision as to blame Justin for believing in the Sibyl and Hystaspes, or for deriving the wisdom of the Greeks from the books of Moses? And what does the whole bead-roll of blunders amount to after all in view of Justin's testimony on matters of vital importance for the history of Christianity? Rude he may be in speech, inaccurate in statement, but about him revolve some of the most momentous problems of Christian tradition.

Among these problems may be mentioned the doctrine of the Trinity, the nature of the sacraments, the order of the Christian Church, and the establishment of the canonical Gospels, and so nicely poised is the testimony of Justin on all these points that his authority is invoked by partisans of the most diverse views. To enter into these questions at all would be to overstep the line which circumscribes the present undertaking; but it may be allowable, for the sake of illustrating the importance

of Justin's evidence, to give the student some hints as to the controversy on the topic last mentioned—on Justin's use of our canonical Gospels. The battle over the question whether Justin's *Memoirs of the Apostles* are identical with our canonical Gospels has lasted nearly a century. Begun by Stroth in 1777, it is safe to say that the fight is going on at this very moment in the powder-magazine of some theological review. It is the Homeric question of the canon. Eichhorn and Paulus and Gieseler have each had his word to say on the subject, and Credner, whose entrance upon the field marks a recrudescence of the controversy, has gained great reputation by his acute and vigorous discussion of the subject. An English bishop, Marsh, has taken the negative side, an American ~~clergyman~~, Norton, the affirmative. The number of pages consumed is appalling. Bindemann is content with 128, but Hilgenfeld does not sum up his complex result until he reaches page 304, and Semisch's book takes up no less than 409 pages. And yet these are only a few of the names that might be cited, only a few of the pages to be studied by those who would master the bearings of the controversy; and the mere statement of the history of the question would take up more space than could be occupied with profit by the introduction to a school-book. Suffice it to say that Justin's citations from the *Memoirs of the Apostles* do not tally exactly, save in a few instances, with the parallel passages in our Gospels, and, though the differences are not considerable to the uncritical eye, some theory is demanded to account for the discrepancy; and much stress has been laid on the fact that these divergent texts recur with the same divergences, not only in Justin, but in other writers who are known to have used uncanonical Gospels. Then there are certain statements, certain reports of sayings of our Lord, which

*theory.*

do not occur in our Gospels, and these also are made much of or made light of by the debaters according to the side which they have espoused. The extreme positions are occupied by those who deny that Justin made any use of our canonical Gospels, and by those who maintain that Justin made little use of any other. The former either reconstruct for him a lost Gospel, or refer his citations to a number of archetypal or apocryphal Gospels, such as the Gospel according to Peter, the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The latter account for the variations mainly by Justin's careless quotations from memory—for which curious parallels might be adduced from the popular treatment of our own authorized version—and also by Justin's use of other recensions of the synoptics. Between the two extremes are those who admit only the subordinate use of one or more of the synoptics in connection with one or more gospels of the Petrine type.

One great objective point in this whole struggle is the date of the Fourth Gospel. If Justin was acquainted with the Fourth Gospel, the whole fabric of a great historical school falls to the ground, and we can readily understand why the controversy assumes an almost personal tone when it approaches the subject, and, like all other personal controversies, becomes more or less disingenuous.

Certainly confidence is not lacking to the leaders on either side, and trophies are erected with great intrepidity by conservatives and destructives alike. In such battles no truce is ever made for burying dead arguments, and in this war there is no immediate prospect of a discharge; for while Keim, no mean authority, declares that the long struggle has ended in favor of the conservatives, the author of 'Supernatural Religion' has demolished, to his own satisfaction, the last defence of those who maintain

that the Memoirs of the Apostles are identical with our Gospels.

But though this 'burning question' has blazed more  
Other contro-  
versies. fiercely than any other connected with Justin,  
 a formidable array of disputants might be cited

for either side of the other controversies that have been indicated, and Justin has been claimed for widely diverse

Justin a Plato-  
nist? schools of Christian thought. Although he  
 forsook Plato, he is considered a Platonist,

and to his influence the supposed infiltration of the body of Christian doctrine with Platonic elements has been freely attributed. Although he reprobates those extreme Jewish Christians who insisted on the observance of the Mosaic law by Jew and Gentile alike, the mildness of his

An Ebionite? tone toward those weaker Jewish brethren  
 who adhered to the ancient ritual has caused

him to be considered an Ebionite. Although his conception of Christian doctrine is not unlike that of Paul, and although his phraseology reminds us now and then of the

An antagonist  
of Paul? Pauline Epistles, the *argumentum ex silentio*

has been racked to prove his hostility to the Apostle to the Gentiles; and the man who, of all the Fathers, seems to have least brooked any compromise with falsehood, is supposed to have kept back his real convictions out of regard for a respectable party in the Church, and to have relieved his mind by girding at Paul under the name of Simon Magus. Upon this debatable ground, thick-planted with caltrops for unwary hobbyriders and lurid with the glare of an undying *odium theologicum*, I have neither inclination nor vocation to enter.

Doctrine of the  
λόγος σπέρμα-  
τικός. But there is one point so peculiarly Justinian  
 that it cannot be passed over in silence, the doctrine of the *λόγος σπέρματικός*, or germinant word, for this doctrine is Justin's chief claim to a place among the

thinkers of the Christian Church, and, I may add, his strongest hold on the sympathies of those whose studies have made them more familiar with the world of classic thought than with the progress of Christian doctrine.

We have already seen that Justin did not cease to be a philosopher in becoming a Christian. To him the The Logos. Christian system was the higher philosophy, the full-orbed perfection, of which other systems had only a few scintillations. Christianity is the pure and complete manifestation of Reason in humanity—Reason being at the same time the Divine Word. So far as other philosophies conform with the Christian philosophy they are true, they are emanations of the Divine. But they are only faint and troubled and broken images of the True. Their language is self-contradictory, their knowledge is not the ultimate, the irrefutable knowledge. What have they that they have not received? Every truth that they proclaim is of God. Every good utterance belongs to the Christians, no matter who has uttered it; and all those who lived in conformity with reason are Christians, even though they have been accounted atheists. Socrates was a Christian, Heraclitus was a Christian—Abraham, the three holy children, Elias, and many others. God has never left himself without a witness, and, on the other hand, the demons have never ceased to persecute the men who have endeavored to enlighten their fellows with the partial light which had been vouchsafed to them. Socrates was persecuted in his day, as were the Christians in Justin's time; accused, as were the Christians, of introducing new divinities, of not believing in the gods. He taught men to renounce the evil demons by casting out of his republic the poets who had sung their praises, and he urged them to seek after the Unknown God. But this man, who knew Christ only in part, found none to die for



this doctrine, whereas Christ was followed to the death, not by philosophers and men of culture only, but by artisans and untutored people. For Christ is the power of the Ineffable Father, not the mere recipient of a seed of the Divine, which God has sown throughout the world. This Divine Logos came to earth complete in the person of Christ, and all the jangling contradictions of partial systems are harmonized in Him.

The name Spermatic Word, or Reason, *λόγος σπερματικός*, is a Stoic term, but it was used by the Stoics in a different sense.

According to the Stoics, 'the *λόγος σπερματικός* is that part of the Deity which goes forth from him for the formation of the world, and is resolved into a plurality of *λόγοι σπερματικοί*' (Ueberweg). But Justin's doctrine is much nearer the doctrine of Philo, with its

*λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* and its *λόγος προφορικός*, the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* being the Word united with the Divine Essence and resting in the bosom of God, the *λόγος προφορικός* being the Word begotten, produced, separated from the Divine Substance to create and organize the world. Of this doctrine the *λόγος σπερματικός* is a further development. In Philo the Word is but the 'shadow of God.' To Justin as to John the Word is God. In Philo the Word is the type of humanity, in so far as humanity participates in reason, and hence all men are the children of God and bear His image, the image of His Word. Justin considers the Word as spread abroad in the world, and, so to speak, 'incarnate in humanity' (Aubé). There is a particle of the Divine Word in every soul of man, but the seed does not germinate in all alike. Truth and virtue are the fruits which witness its presence. The search for truth and the practice of virtue show the active indwelling of the Word. Hence Christianity is no new thing, as its detractors allege; it is as old as humanity. The Word had its saints, its martyrs,

before the coming of Christ ; and all that is true, all that is noble in the instructions of Greek philosophers as well as of Hebrew prophets, is Christian.

The thought is audacious, and it is not strange that much has been written to explain away this short method of harmonizing the history of the world, for it would seem as if Justin did not simply recognize the hand of God in the preparation of the way for the coming of Christ. This the other Fathers have done, but according to him the footsteps of the Logos are to be traced throughout the ages, faintly luminous among the Greeks, brighter among the Hebrews, shining with full effulgence only at the advent of our Saviour.

Whatever may be thought of this conception, it could not have entered into any mind but a mind of broad views, could never have been cherished except by a heart of wide sympathies. But Justin is none the less ardent a Christian for this generous fellow-feeling with an Heraclitus, a Socrates, a Plato, a Musonius. He is none the less a firm believer in the necessity of the revelation of God in His written Word.

While he accords to the great heathen thinkers glimpses of the truth, he expressly declares that the resemblance of the Platonic doctrines to the teachings of the Old Testament is due to Plato's direct acquaintance with the Scriptures. The doctrine of free moral agency was taken from Moses; and all that philosophers and poets have said of the immortality of the soul, of punishment after death, of the contemplation of heavenly things, was borrowed originally from Jewish sources. But even if we leave out these indications of dependence, we must not forget that Justin insists with the most earnest iteration on the completeness of the Christian system, its adaptation to all sorts and conditions of men, the marvellous attestation of

Direct obligations  
of the heathen  
philosophers to  
revelation.

its divinity by the holy life and triumphant death of its confessors.

For all this the philosophy of the pre-Christian time was not sufficient. But, as Justin saw the powers of darkness in the worship of the heathen deities, so he saw the gleams of divine light in the words of heathen philosophers, and if he failed in the attempt to span the chasm—*magnis tamen excidit ausis*; and the heart of every classical scholar will warm toward the rugged apologist for his generous recognition of Socrates and Plato as fellow-Christians.

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There are two manuscripts of the Apologies, the *Codex Regius*, in the National Library at Paris, written in the year 1364, and the *Codex Claromontanus* (*Mediomontanus*), now at Cheltenham, of the late date 1541, which agrees closely with the *Codex Regius*—so closely that it would seem to be a copy of it. ‘We must never forget,’ says Bunsen, ‘that we have only one manuscript, twice copied, and a very indifferent one, as will appear from a comparison of the passages which have been preserved by Eusebius.’ Otto leaves it an open question whether both MSS. come from a common source, or the younger is a copy of the elder.

σεται. Οὐ γὰρ κολακεύσοντες ὑμᾶς διὰ τῶνδε τῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲ πρὸς χάριν ὑμιλήσοντες, ἀλλ' ἀπαιτήσοντες κατὰ τὸν ἀκριβῆ καὶ ἐξεταστικὸν λόγον τὴν κρίσιν ποιήσασθαι προσεληλύθειμεν, μὴ προλήψῃ μηδ' ἀνδρωπαρεσκεῖα  
 15 τῇ διδασκαλίας κατεχομένους ἢ ἀλόγῳ ὕμῳ καὶ χρονίᾳ προκατεσχηκίᾳ φήμῃ κακῇ τὴν καθ' ἑαυτῶν ψῆφον φέροντας. Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς οὐδενὸς πείσεσθαι τι κακὸν δύνασθαι λελογίσμεθα, ἢ μὴ κακίας ἐργάται ἐλεγχώμεθα ἢ πονηροὶ διεγνώσμεθα· ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν δύνασθε,  
 20 βλάψαι δ' οὐ.

3. Ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἄλογον φωνὴν καὶ τολμηρὰν δόξῃ τις  
 Right to a fair trial. ταῦτα εἶναι, ἀξιούμεν τὰ κατηγορούμενα αὐτῶν ἐξετάζεσθαι, καὶ ἐὰν οὕτως ἔχοντα ἀποδεικνύονται, κολάζεσθαι ὡς πρέπει ἐστὶν ἄλλον γε κολάζειν· εἰ  
 5 δὲ μηδὲν ἔχοι τις ἐλέγχειν, οὐχ ὑπαγορεύει ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος διὰ φήμην πονηρὰν ἀναιτίους ἀνθρώπους ἀδικεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑαυτούς, οἳ οὐ κρίσει, ἀλλὰ πάθει τὰ πρῶγματα ἐπάγειν ἀξιούτε. Καλὴν δὲ καὶ μόνην δικαίαν πρόκλησιν ταύτην πᾶς ὁ σωφρονῶν ἀποφανεῖται, τὸ τοὺς ἀρχομένους τὴν εὐ-  
 10 θύνην τοῦ ἑαυτῶν βίου καὶ λόγου ἄληπτον παρέχειν, ὁμοίως δ' αὖ καὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας μὴ βίᾳ μηδὲ τυραννίδι, ἀλλ' εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἀκολουθοῦντας τὴν ψῆφον τίξεσθαι. Οὕτως γὰρ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀρχοντες καὶ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἀπολαύοιεν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. Ἔφη γάρ που καὶ τις τῶν παλαιῶν· Ἄν  
 15 μὴ οἱ ἀρχοντες φιλοσοφήσωσι καὶ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι, οὐκ ἂν εἴη τὰς πόλεις εὐδαιμονῆσαι. Ἡμέτερον οὖν ἔργον, καὶ βίου καὶ μαθημάτων τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν πᾶσι παρέχειν, μήπως ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγνοεῖν τὰ ἡμέτερα νομιζόντων τὴν τιμωρίαν, ὧν ἂν πλημμελῶσι τυφλώττοντες, [αὐτῶν] αὐτοὶ ὀφλήσωμεν·

ὑμέτερον δέ, ὡς αἰρεῖ λόγος, ἀκούοντας ἀγαθούς εὐρίσκει- 20  
σθαι κριτάς. Ἀναπολόγητον γὰρ λοιπὸν μαζοῦσιν, ἣν  
μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιήσῃτε, ὑπάρξει πρὸς θεόν.

4. Ὄνόματος μὲν οὖν προσωνυμία οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κα-  
Why condemn κὺν κρίνεται ἄνευ τῶν ὑποπιπτουσῶν τῇ ὀνό-  
a name? ματι πρῦξεων· ἐπεὶ, ὅσον γε ἐκ τοῦ κατηγο-  
ρουμένου ἡμῶν ὀνόματος, χρηστότατοι ὑπάρχομεν. Ἄλλ'  
ἐπεὶ οὐ τοῦτο δίκαιον ἡγοῦμεθα, διὰ τὸ ὄνομα, ἐὰν κακοὶ 5  
ἐλεγχώμεθα, αἰτεῖν ἀφίσσθαι, πάλιν, εἰ μηδὲν διὰ τε τὴν  
προσηγορίαν τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ διὰ τὴν πολιτείαν εὐρίσκó-  
μεθα ἀδικοῦντες, ὑμέτερον ἀγωνιάσαι ἐστὶ μὴ ἀδίκως κο-  
λάζοντες τοὺς μὴ ἐλεγχομένους τῇ δίκῃ κύλασιν ὀφλήσῃτε.  
Ἐξ ὀνόματος μὲν γὰρ ἢ ἔπαινος ἢ κόλασις οὐκ ἂν εὐλύγως 10  
γένοιτο, ἣν μὴ τι ἐνάρετον ἢ φαῦλον δι' ἔργων ἀποδείκνυ-  
σθαι δύνηται. Καὶ γὰρ τοὺς κατηγορουμένους ἐφ' ὑμῶν  
πάντας πρὶν ἐλεγχθῆναι οὐ τιμωρεῖτε, ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα  
ὡς ἐλεγχον λαμβάνετε, καίπερ, ὅσον γε ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος,  
τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας μᾶλλον κολάζειν ὀφείλετε. Χριστι- 15  
ανοὶ γὰρ εἶναι κατηγορούμεθα· τὸ δὲ χρηστὸν μισείσθαι  
οὐ δίκαιον. Καὶ πάλιν ἐὰν μὲν τις τῶν κατηγορουμένων  
ἐξαρνος γένηται τῇ φωνῇ μὴ εἶναι φήσας, ἀφίετε αὐτὸν ὡς  
μηδὲν ἐλέγχειν ἔχοντες ἀμαρτάνοντα, ἐὰν δέ τις ὁμολογή-  
σῃ εἶναι, διὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν κολάζετε· δέον καὶ τὸν τοῦ 20  
ὁμολογοῦντος βίον εὐθύνειν καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀρνούμενου, ὅπως  
διὰ τῶν πράξεων ὑποϊός ἐστιν ἕκαστος φαίνηται. Ὅν γὰρ  
τρύπον παραλαβόντες τινὲς παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου Χριστοῦ  
μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι ἐξεταζόμενοι παρακελεύονται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρό-  
πον κακῶς ζῶντες ἴσως ἀφορμὰς παρέχουσι τοῖς ἄλλως 25  
καταλέγειν τῶν πάντων Χριστιανῶν ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν

αἰρουμένοις. Οὐκ ὁρῶς μὲν οὐδὲ τοῦτο πράττεται. Καὶ γάρ τοι φιλοσοφίας ὄνομα καὶ σχῆμα ἐπιγράφονται τινες, οἱ οὐδὲν ἄξιον τῆς ὑποσχέσεως πράττουσι· γινώσκετε δ' ὅτι καὶ οἱ τὰ ἐναντία δοξάσαντες καὶ δογματίσαντες τῶν παλαιῶν τῷ ἐνὶ ὀνόματι προσαγορεύονται φιλόσοφοι. Καὶ τούτων τινὲς ἀξιώματα ἐδίδαξαν, καὶ τὸν Δία ἀσελγῇ ἅμα τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶν οἱ γενόμενοι ποιηταὶ καταγγέλλουσι· κακείνων τὰ διδάγματα οἱ μετερχόμενοι οὐκ εἰργονται πρὸς τοὺς υἱῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμὰς τοῖς εὐφώνως ὑβρίζουσι τούτους τίξετε.

5. Τί δὴ οὖν τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη; Ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ὑπισχνουμένων  
Christians no μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν μηδὲ τὰ ἄξια ταῦτα δοξάζειν, οὐ  
atheists. κρίσεις ἐξετάζετε, ἀλλ' ἀλόγῳ πάθει καὶ μάλιστα  
 δαιμόνων φαύλων ἐξελαυνόμενοι ἀκρίτως κολάζετε μὴ  
 5 σφροντίζοντες. Εἰρήσεται γὰρ ἀληθές· ἐπεὶ τὸ παλαιὸν  
 δαίμονες φαῦλοι, ἐπιφανείας ποιησάμενοι, καὶ γυναῖκας  
 ἐμοίχευσαν καὶ παῖδας διέφθειραν καὶ φόβητρα ἀνθρώποις  
 ἔδειξαν, ὡς καταπλαγῆναι τοὺς οἱ λόγῳ τὰς γινομένας  
 πράξεις οὐκ ἔκρινον, ἀλλὰ δέει συνηρπασμένοι καὶ μὴ ἐπι-  
 10 στάμενοι δαίμονας εἶναι φαύλους, θεοὺς προσωνόμαζον  
 καὶ ὀνόματι ἕκαστον προσηγύρευον, ὑπὲρ ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ  
 τῶν δαιμόνων ἐτίξετο. Ὅτε δὲ Σωκράτης λόγῳ ἀληθεῖ  
 καὶ ἐξεταστικῶς ταῦτα εἰς φανερὸν ἐπειράτο φέρειν καὶ  
 ἀπάγειν τῶν δαιμόνων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ δαι-  
 15 μονες διὰ τῶν χαϊρόντων τῇ κακίᾳ ἀνθρώπων ἐνήργησαν  
 ὡς ἄξιον καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἀποκτείνειν, λέγοντες καινὰ εἰσφέρειν  
 αὐτὸν δαιμόνια. Καὶ ὁμοίως ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνεργοῦσιν·  
 οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν Ἑλλήσι διὰ Σωκράτους ὑπὸ λόγου ἡλέγ-  
 χθη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν βαρβάροις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου

μορφωθέντος καὶ ἀνθρώπου γενομένου καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ <sup>20</sup>  
κληθέντος, ὃ πεισθέντες ἡμεῖς τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας δαί-  
 μονας οὐ μόνον μὴ ὁρῶς θεοὺς εἶναι φάμεν, ἀλλὰ κα-  
 κούς καὶ ἀνοσίους δαίμονας, οἳ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀρετὴν ποιοῦσιν  
 ἀνθρώποις τὰς πράξεις ὁμοίας ἔχουσιν.

6. Ἐνθενδε καὶ ἄθεοι κεκλήμεθα. Καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν τῶν  
 τοιούτων νομιζομένων θεῶν ἄθεοι εἶναι, ἀλλ'  
 οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀληθεστάτου καὶ πατρὸς δικαιοσύνης  
 καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ἀνεπιμίκτου τε  
 κακίας θεοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐκείνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλ-  
 θύντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπο-  
 μένων καὶ ἱσομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν, πνεῦ-  
 μά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, λόγῳ  
 καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες καὶ παντὶ βουλομένη μαθεῖν, ὡς ἐδι-  
 δάχθημεν, ἀφθύνως παραδιδόντες. 10

7. Ἀλλὰ φήσει τις· Ἦδη τινὲς ληφθέντες ἡλέγχθησαν  
<sup>The life the true test.</sup> κακοῦργοι. Καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς πολλάκις, ὅταν  
 ἐκάστοτε τῶν κατηγορουμένων τὸν βίον ἐξετά-  
 ζητε, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοὺς προελεχθέντας καταδικάζετε. Κα-  
 ζόλου μὲν οὖν κακίῃν ὁμολογοῦμεν, ὅτι δὴ τρόπον οἱ ἐν <sup>5</sup>  
 Ἑλλήσι τὰ αὐτοῖς ἀρεστὰ δογματίσαντες ἐκ παντὸς τῇ ἐνὶ  
 ὀνόματι φιλοσοφίας προσαγορεύονται, καίπερ τῶν δογμα-  
 των ἐναντίων ὄντων, οὕτως καὶ τῶν ἐν βαρβάρους γενομέ-  
 νων καὶ δοξάντων συμφῶν τὸ ἐπικατηγορούμενον ὄνομα  
κοινόν ἐστι· Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ πάντες <sup>10</sup>  
 Ὅθεν πάντων τῶν καταγγελλομένων ὑμῖν τὰς πράξεις  
κρίνεσθαι ἀξιούμεν, ἵνα ὁ ἐλεγχθεὶς ὡς ἄδικος κολάζεται,  
 ἀλλὰ μὴ ὡς Χριστιανός, ἐὰν δέ τις ἀνέλεγκτος φάνηται,  
 ἀπολύηται ὡς Χριστιανὸς οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν. Οὐ γὰρ τοὺς

15 κατηγοροῦντας κολάζειν ὑμᾶς ἀξιόσομεν· ἀρκοῦνται γὰρ τῇ προσούσῃ πονηρίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν καλῶν ἀγνοίᾳ.

8. Δογίσασθε δ' ὅτι ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ταῦτα ἔφημεν, ἐκ τοῦ ἐφ'  
This life is not worth a life. We aspire while we expire. ἡμῖν εἶναι ἀρνεῖσθαι ἐξεταζομένους. Ἄλλ' οὐ  
 βουλούμεθα ζῆν ψευδολογοῦντες· τοῦ γὰρ αἰω-  
 νίου καὶ καζαροῦ βίου ἐπιθυμοῦντες τη μετὰ  
 5 Θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων πατρὸς καὶ δημιουργοῦ διαγωγῆς ἀντι-  
 ποιούμεθα, καὶ σπεύδομεν ἐπὶ τὸ ὁμολογεῖν οἱ πεπεισμένοι  
 καὶ πιστεύοντες τυχεῖν τούτων δύνασθαι τοὺς τὸν Θεὸν δι'  
 ἔργων πείσαντας ὅτι αὐτῷ εἶποντο καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτῷ δια-  
 γωγῆς ἤρων, ἔνθα κακία οὐκ ἀντιτυπεῖ. Ὡς μὲν οὖν διὰ  
 10 βραχέων εἰπεῖν, ἃ τε προσδοκῶμεν καὶ μεμαθήκαμεν διὰ  
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ διδάσκομεν, ταῦτά ἐστι. Πλάτων δὲ  
 ὁμοίως ἔφη Ῥαδάμανθυν καὶ Μίνω κολάσειν τοὺς ἀδίκους  
 παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντας· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμά φαμεν  
 γενήσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, κὰν τοῖς αὐτοῖς σώ-  
 15 μασι μετὰ τῶν ψυχῶν γινομένων καὶ αἰωνίαν κύλασιν κο-  
 λασθῆσομένων, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ χιλιονταετῇ περίοδον, ὡς ἐκεῖνος  
 ἔφη, μόνον. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄπιστον ἢ ἀδύνατον τοῦτο φήσῃ  
 τις, πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἤδε ἢ πλάνη ἐστὶν ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς ἕτερον,  
 μέχρις οὗ ἔργῳ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντες ἐλεγχόμεθα.

9. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ θυσίαις πολλαῖς καὶ πλοκαῖς ἀνθῶν τιμῶ-  
Idol-worship is idle worship. μεν, οὗς ἄνθρωποι μορφώσαντες καὶ ἐν ναοῖς  
 ἰδρύσαντες Θεοὺς προσωνόμασαν, ἐπεὶ ἄψυχα  
 καὶ νεκρὰ ταῦτα γινώσκουμεν καὶ Θεοῦ μορφήν μὴ ἔχοντα  
 5 (οὐ γὰρ τοιαύτην ἡγοῦμεθα τὸν Θεὸν ἔχειν τὴν μορφήν, ἣν  
 φασὶ τινες εἰς τιμὴν μεμμησθαι), ἀλλ' ἐκείνων τῶν φανέν-  
 των κακῶν δαιμόνων καὶ ὀνόματα καὶ σχήματα ἔχειν. Τί  
 γὰρ δεῖ εἰδύσειν ὑμῖν λέγειν, ἃ τὴν ὕλην οἱ τεχνῖται διατι-



θείαςι ζήοντες καὶ τέμνοντες καὶ χωνεύοντες καὶ τύπτοντες ;  
 Καὶ ἐξ ἀτίμων πολλάκις σκευῶν διὰ τέχνης τὸ σχῆμα 10  
 μόνον ἀλλάξαντες καὶ μορφοποιήσαντες θεοὺς ἐπονομά-  
 ζουσιν. "Οπερ οὐ μόνον ἄλογον ἡγοῦμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφ'  
 ὕβρει τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεσθαι, ὅς ἄρρητον δύξαν καὶ μορφήν  
 ἔχων ἐπὶ φθαρτοῖς καὶ δεομένοις θεραπείας πράγμασιν  
 ἐπονομάζεται. Καὶ ὅτι οἱ τούτων τεχνίται ἀσελγείς τε καὶ 15  
 πᾶσαν κακίαν, ἵνα μὴ καταριζώμεν, ἔχουσιν, ἀκριβῶς ἐπί-  
 στασθε· καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν παιδίσκας συνεργαζομένας φθεί-  
 ρουσιν. Ὡς τῆς ἐμβροντησίας, ἀνθρώπους ἀκολάστους  
 θεοὺς εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι πλάσσειν λέγεσθαι καὶ μετα-  
 ποιεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, ἔνθα ἀνατίθενται, φύλακας τοιού- 20  
 τους κατιστάναι, μὴ συνορῶντας ἀδέμιτον καὶ τὸ νοεῖν ἢ  
 λέγειν ἀνθρώπους θεῶν εἶναι φύλακας.

10. 'Αλλ' οὐ δέεσθαι τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώπων ὑλικῆς προσ-  
 Proper worship of God. φορᾶς παρειλήφαμεν τὸν θεόν, αὐτὸν παρέ-  
 χοντα πάντα ὁρῶντες· ἐκείνους δὲ προσδέ-  
 χεσθαι αὐτὸν μόνον δεδιδάγμεθα καὶ πεπεῖσμεθα καὶ πι-  
 στεύομεν, τοὺς τὰ προσύντα αὐτῷ ἀγαθὰ μιμουμένους, 5  
 σωφροσύνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, καὶ ὅσα  
 οἰκεῖα θεῷ ἐστί, τῷ μηδενὶ ὀνόματι θεῷ καλούμεν. Καὶ  
 πάντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀγαθὸν ὄντα δημιουργῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐξ  
 ἀμόρφου ὕλης δι' ἀνθρώπους δεδιδάγμεθα· οἱ ἐὰν ἀξίους  
 τῷ ἐκείνου βουλευμάτι ἑαυτοὺς δι' ἔργων δείξωσι, τῆς μετ' 10  
 αὐτοῦ ἀναστροφῆς καταξιωθῆναι παρειλήφαμεν συμβασι-  
 λεύοντας, ἀφθάρτους καὶ ἀπαθείς γενομένους. "Ον τρό-  
 πον γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ὄντας ἐποίησε, τὸν αὐτὸν ἡγοῦ-  
 μεθα τρόπον διὰ τὸ ἐλέεσθαι τοὺς αἰρουμένους τὰ αὐτῷ  
 ἀριστὰ καὶ ἀφθαρσίας καὶ συνουσίας καταξιωθῆναι· τὸ 15

καταξίωσις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκείνου τεχνί-  
 τας. 20, 37

μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, οὐχ ἡμέτερον ἦν, τὸ δ' ἐξα-  
 κολουθῆσαι οἷς φίλον αὐτῷ αἰρουμένους δι' ὧν αὐτὸς  
 ἐδωρήσατο λογικῶν δυνάμεων πείθει τε καὶ εἰς πίστιν ἄγει  
 ἡμᾶς. Καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡγούμεθα εἶναι τὸ  
 20 μὴ εἶργεσθαι ταῦτα μανθάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προτρέπεσθαι ἐπὶ  
 ταῦτα. "Οπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν οἱ ἀνθρώπειοι νόμοι  
 πρᾶξαι, ταῦτα ὁ λόγος θεῖος ὧν εἰργάσατο, εἰ μὴ οἱ φαῦλοι  
 δαίμονες κατεσκεδάσαν πολλὰ ψευδῆ καὶ ἄθια κατηγορή-  
 ματα, σύμμαχον λαβύντες τὴν ἐν ἐκάστῳ κακὴν πρὸς  
 25 πάντα καὶ ποικίλην φύσει ἐπιθυμίαν, ὧν οὐδὲν πρόσεστιν  
 ἡμῖν.

11. Καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀκούσαντες βασιλείαν προσδοκῶντας  
 'My kingdom  
 is not of this  
 world.' ἡμᾶς, ἀκρίτως ἀνθρώπινον λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὑπει-  
 λήφατε, ἡμῶν τὴν μετὰ θεοῦ λεγόντων, ὡς καὶ  
 ἐκ τοῦ ἀνεταζομένους ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι Χριστι-  
 5 ανούς, γινώσκοντας τῷ ὁμολογοῦντι θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν  
κεῖσθαι, φαίνεται. Εἰ γὰρ ἀνθρώπινον βασιλείαν προσε-  
 δοκῶμεν, κἂν ἡρνούμεθα ὅπως μὴ ἀναιρώμεθα, καὶ λανθάνειν  
 ἐπειρώμεθα ὅπως τῶν προσδοκωμένων τύχωμεν· ἀλλ'  
 ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ νῦν τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχομεν, ἀναιρούντων οὐ  
 10 πεφροντίκαμεν, τοῦ καὶ πάντως ἀποθανεῖν ὀφειλομένου.

12. Ἄρωγοι δ' ὑμῖν καὶ σύμμαχοι πρὸς εἰρήνην ἐσμέν  
 'As ever in our  
 great Task-  
 master's eye.' πάντων μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ταῦτα δοξάζο-  
 μεν, ὡς λαθεῖν θεὸν κακοεργὸν ἢ πλεονέκτην  
 ἢ ἐπίβουλον ἢ ἐνάρητον ἀδύνατον εἶναι, καὶ ἕκαστον ἐπ'  
 5 αἰωνίαν κόλασιν ἢ σωτηρίαν κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων πο-  
 ρεύεσθαι. Εἰ γὰρ οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον,  
 οὐκ ἂν τις τὴν κακίαν πρὸς ὀλίγον ἤρεϊτο, γινώσκων πο-  
 ρεύεσθαι ἐπ' αἰωνίαν διὰ πυρὸς καταδίκην, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς

τρόπου ἑαυτὸν συνέιχε καὶ ἐκύσκει ἀρετῇ, ὥπως τῶν παρὰ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ τύχοι ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κολαστηρίων ἀπηλλαγμέ- 10  
 νος εἴη. Οἱ γὰρ διὰ τοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν κειμένους νόμους καὶ  
 κολάσεις πειρῶνται λανθάνειν ἀδικούντες—ἀνθρώπους δ'  
 ὄντας λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς δυνατὸν ἐπιστάμενοι ἀδικοῦσιν—εἰ  
 ἔμαθον καὶ ἐπέσθηναν θεὸν ἀδύνατον εἶναι λαθεῖν τι οὐ  
 μόνον πραττόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλευόμενον, καὶ διὰ τὰ 15  
 ἐπικείμενα ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου κύσμιον ἦσαν, ὡς καὶ ὑμεῖς  
 συμφήσετε. Ἄλλ' εἰόκατε διεδέναι μὴ πάντες δικαιοπρα-  
 γήσωσι καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐκ κολάσετε ἔτι οὐχ ἔξετε· δημίων δ' ἂν  
 εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔργον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀρχόντων ἀγαθῶν. Πε-  
 πείσμεθα δ' ἐκ δαιμόνων φαύλων, οἱ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀλόγως 20  
 βιούντων αἰτοῦσι θύματα καὶ θεραπείας, καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς  
 προέφημεν, ἐνεργεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑμᾶς, οἳ γε εὐσεβείας  
καὶ φιλοσοφίας ὁρέγεσθε, ἄλογόν τι πράξει ὑπελήφαμεν.  
 Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀνοήτοις τὰ ἔζη πρὸ τῆς ἀλη-  
 θείας τιμᾶτε, πράττετε ὁ δύνασθε. Τοσοῦτον δὲ δύνανται 25  
 καὶ ἄρχοντες πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας δύξαν τιμῶντες, ὅσον καὶ  
 λησταὶ ἐν ἔρημῳ. Ὅτι δ' οὐ καλλιερήσετε, ὁ λόγος ἀπο-  
 δείκνυσιν, οὗ βασιλικώτατον καὶ δικαϊώτατον ἄρχοντα μετὰ  
 τὸν γεννήσαντα θεὸν οὐδένα οἶδαμεν ὄντα. Ὅν γὰρ τρό-  
 πον διαδέχεσθαι πενίας ἢ πᾶσι ἢ ἀδοξίας πατρικὰς ὑφαι- 30  
 ροῦνται πάντες, οὕτως καί, ὅσα ἂν ὑπαγορεύσῃ ὁ λόγος  
 μὴ δεῖν αἰρεῖσθαι, ὁ νουνεχῆς οὐχ αἰρήσεται. Γενήσεσθαι  
 ταῦτα πάντα προεῖπε, φημί, ὁ ἡμέτερος διδάσκαλος καὶ τοῦ  
 πατρὸς πάντων καὶ δεσπύτου θεοῦ υἱὸς καὶ ἀπόστολος ὢν  
 Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ Χριστιανοὶ ἐπονομάζεσθαι 35  
 ἐσχήκαμεν. Ὅθεν καὶ βέβαιοι γινόμεθα πρὸς τὰ δεδιδαγ-  
 μένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα, ἐπειδὴ ἔργῳ φαίνεται γινόμενα, ὅσα

φθάσας γενέσθαι προείπεν· ὑπερ Θεοῦ ἔργον ἐστί, πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι εἰπεῖν καὶ οὕτως δειχθῆναι γινόμενον ὡς προεί-  
 40 ρηται. Ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις παυσαμένους μηδὲν προστιθέναι, λογισαμένους ὅτι δικαία τε καὶ ἀληθεῖ ἀξιού-  
 μεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ γνωρίζομεν οὐ ῥᾶον ἀγνοίᾳ κατεχομένην  
 ψυχὴν συντόμως μεταβάλλειν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πείσαι τοὺς φιλα-  
 λήθεις μικρὰ προσθεῖναι προεβυμήθημεν, εἰδότες ὅτι οὐκ  
 45 ἀδύνατον ἀληθείας παρατεθείσης ἄγνοιαν φυγεῖν.

13. Ἄθεοι μὲν οὖν ὡς οὐκ ἐσμέν, τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦδε  
 Our reasonable τοῦ παντὸς σεβόμενοι, ἀνεκδοῇ αἱμάτων καὶ  
 service. σπονδῶν καὶ θυσιῶν, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, λέ-  
 γοντες, λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας ἐφ' οἷς προσφερόμεθα  
 5 πᾶσιν, ὅση δύναμις, αἰνοῦντες, μόνῃ ἀξίαν αὐτοῦ τιμὴν  
 ταύτην παραλαβόντες, τὸ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου εἰς διατροφήν γε-  
 νόμενα οὐ πυρὶ δαπανᾶν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις  
 προσφέρειν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ εὐχαρίστους ὄντας διὰ λόγου πομπὰς  
 καὶ ὕμνους πέμπειν ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ γεγονέναι καὶ τῶν εἰς εὐ-  
 10 ρωστίαν πύρων πάντων, ποιότητων μὲν γονῶν καὶ μετα-  
 βολῶν ὥρων, καὶ τοῦ πάλιν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ γενέσθαι διὰ  
 πίστιν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ αἰτήσεις πέμποντες, τίς σωφρονῶν οὐχ  
 ὁμολογήσει; Τὸν διδάσκαλόν τε τούτων γενόμενον ἡμῖν  
 καὶ εἰς τοῦτο γεννηθέντα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν σταυρωθέντα  
 15 ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐπὶ χρό-  
 νοις Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐπιτρόπου, υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντως  
 Θεοῦ μαζύοντες καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἔχοντες, πνεῦμά τε  
 προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει ὅτι μετὰ λόγου τιμῶμεν, ἀποδεί-  
 20 ξομεν. Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ μανίαν ἡμῶν καταφαίνονται, δευτέ-  
 ραν χώραν μετὰ τὸν ἄτρεπτον καὶ αἰὶ ὄντα Θεὸν καὶ γεννή-  
 τορα τὸν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων σταυρωθέντι διδύναι ἡμᾶς λέ-

γοντες, ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ ἐν τούτῳ μυστήριον, ᾧ προσέχιν  
 ὑμᾶς ἐξηγουμένων ἡμῶν προτρεπόμεθα.

14. Προλέγομεν γὰρ ὑμῖν φυλάσασθαι, μὴ οἱ προδιαβε-  
 The demons βλημένοι ὑφ' ἡμῶν δαίμονες ἐξαπατήσωσιν ὑμᾶς  
 malign Christians. καὶ ἀποτρέψωσι τοῦ ὕλως ἐντυχεῖν καὶ συνεῖναι  
 τὰ λεγόμενα (ἀγωνίζονται γὰρ ἔχειν ὑμᾶς δούλους καὶ  
 ὑπηρέτας, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν δι' ὀνείρων ἐπιφανείας, ποτὲ δ' αὖ  
 5 διὰ μαγικῶν στροφῶν χειροῦνται πάντας τοὺς οὐκ ἔσθ'  
 ὕπως ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἀγωνιζομένους), ὃν τρύ-  
 πον καὶ ἡμεῖς μετὰ τὸ τῇ λόγῳ πεισθῆναι ἐκείνων μὲν ἀπέ-  
 στημεν, θεῷ δὲ μόνῳ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐπούμεθα.  
 οἱ πάλοι μὲν πορνείαις χαίροντες, νῦν δὲ σωφροσύνην μό-  
 νην ἀσπαζόμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ μαγικαῖς τέχναις χρώμενοι,  
 ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ ἑαυτοὺς ἀνατεθεικότες. χρημά-  
 των δὲ καὶ κτημάτων οἱ πόρους παντὸς μᾶλλον στέργοντες,  
 νῦν καὶ ἃ ἔχομεν εἰς κοινὸν φέροντες καὶ παντὶ δεομένῳ  
 κοινωνοῦντες. οἱ μισάλληλοι δὲ καὶ ἀλληλοφύνοι καὶ πρὸς 15  
 τοὺς οὐχ ὁμοφύλους διὰ τὰ ἔξη καὶ ἐστίας κοινὰς μὴ ποι-  
 ούμενοι, νῦν μετὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁμοδίατοι  
 γινόμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐχόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἀδίκως  
 μισοῦντας πείθουν πειρώμενοι, ὅπως οἱ κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Χρι-  
 στοῦ καλὰς ὑποθημοσύνας βιώσαντες εὐέλπιδες ὥσι σὺν 20  
 ἡμῖν τῶν αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ πάντων δεσπόζοντος θεοῦ τυ-  
 χεῖν. Ἵνα δὲ μὴ σοφίζεσθαι ὑμᾶς δόξωμεν, ὀλίγων τινῶν  
 τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδαγμάτων ἐπιμνησθῆναι κα-  
 λῶς ἔχειν πρὸ τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἡγησόμεθα, καὶ ὑμέτερον  
 ἔστω ὡς δυνατῶν βασιλείων ἐξετάσαι εἰ ἀληθῶς ταῦτα δε- 25  
 διδάγμεθα καὶ διδάσκομεν. Βραχεῖς δὲ καὶ σύντομοι παρ'  
 αὐτοῦ λόγοι γεγόνασιν. οὐ γὰρ σοφιστὴς ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλὰ  
 δύναμις θεοῦ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἦν.

15. Περὶ μὲν οὖν σωφροσύνης τοσοῦτον εἶπεν· Ὅς ἐν  
 Christ's own  
 teachings. ἐμβλέψῃ γυναικὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς, ἥδη  
 ἐμοίχευσε τῇ καρδίᾳ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. Καί· Εἰ  
 ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ὁ δεξιὸς σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔκκοψον αὐτόν·  
 5 συμφέρει γάρ σοι μονόφθαλμον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν  
 τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἢ μετὰ τῶν δύο πεμφθῆναι εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον  
 πῦρ. Καί· Ὅς γαμεῖ ἀπολελυμένην ἀφ' ἑτέρου ἀνδρός  
 μοιχᾶται. Καί· Εἰσὶ τινες οἵτινες εὐνουχίσθησαν ὑπὸ  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐγεννήθησαν εὐνοῦχοι, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ  
 10 εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· πλὴν  
 οὐ πάντες τοῦτο χωροῦσιν. Ὡστε καὶ οἱ νόμῳ ἀνθρω-  
 πίνῃ διγαμίας ποιούμενοι ἁμαρτωλοὶ παρὰ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δι-  
 δασκάλῳ εἰσὶ, καὶ οἱ προσβλέποντες γυναικὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπι-  
 θυμῆσαι αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὁ μοιχεύων ἔργῳ ἐκβέβληται  
 15 παρ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μοιχεῦσαι βουλούμενος, ὡς οὐ τῶν  
 ἔργων φανερῶν μόνον τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων.  
 Καὶ πολλοὶ τινες καὶ πολλαὶ ἐξηκοντοῦται καὶ ἐβδομηκον-  
 τοῦται, οἱ ἐκ παίδων ἐμαζητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἄφθοροι  
 διαμένουσι· καὶ εὐχομαι κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων τοιού-  
 20 τους δεῖξαι. Τί γὰρ καὶ λέγομεν τὸ ἀναρίστητον πληθὺς  
 τῶν ἐξ ἀκολασίας μεταβαλόντων καὶ ταῦτα μαζόντων; Οὐ  
 γὰρ τοὺς δικαίους οὐδὲ τοὺς σώφρονας εἰς μετάνοιαν ἐκάλε-  
 σεν ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀκολάστους καὶ ἀδί-  
 κους. Εἶπε δὲ οὕτως· Οὐκ ἤλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ  
 25 ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν. Θέλει γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ οὐράνιος  
 τὴν μετάνοιαν τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ἢ τὴν κύλασιν αὐτοῦ. Περὶ  
 δὲ τοῦ στέργειν ἅπαντας ταῦτα ἐδίδαξεν· Εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς  
 ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τί καινὸν ποιεῖτε; Καὶ γὰρ οἱ πόρνοι  
 τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν. Ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω· Εὐχισθε ὑπὲρ τῶν

ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐὺλο- 30  
 γείτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ εὐχέσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρε-  
 αζόντων ὑμᾶς. Εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ  
 μηδὲν πρὸς δόξαν ποιεῖν ταῦτα ἔφη· Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι  
 δίδοτε καὶ τὸν βουλούμενον δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆτε·  
 εἰ γὰρ δανείζετε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε λαβεῖν, τί καινὸν ποι- 35  
 εῖτε; Τοῦτο καὶ οἱ τελῶναι ποιοῦσιν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ Ξη-  
 σαυρίζετε ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρώσις ἀφα-  
 νίζει καὶ λησται διορύσσουσι· Ξησαυρίζετε δὲ ἑαυτοῖς ἐν  
 τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅπου οὔτε σῆς οὔτε βρώσις ἀφανίζει. Τί  
 γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος, ἂν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν 40  
 δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσῃ; Ἡ τί δώσει αὐτῆς ἀντάλλαγμα;  
 Ξησαυρίζετε οὖν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅπου οὔτε σῆς οὔτε βρώ-  
 σις ἀφανίζει. Καί· Γίνεσθε δὲ χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες, ὥς  
 καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν χρηστός ἐστι καὶ οἰκτίρμων, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον  
 αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ ἁμαρτωλοὺς καὶ δικαίους καὶ πονη- 45  
 ρούς. Μὴ μεριμνᾶτε δὲ τί φάγητε ἢ τί ἐνδύσασθε. Οὐχ  
 ὑμεῖς τῶν πετεινῶν καὶ τῶν ζῴων διαφέρετε; Καὶ ὁ Θεὸς  
 τρέφει αὐτά. Μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε τί φάγητε ἢ τί ἐνδύ-  
 σασθε· οἶδε γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ὅτι τούτων  
 χρεῖαν ἔχετε. Ζητεῖτε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ 50  
 ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν. Ὅπου γὰρ ὁ Ξησαυρὸς  
 ἐστίν, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Καί· Μὴ ποιεῖτε  
 ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ ζεαθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἰ δὲ μή γε,  
 μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρα-  
 νοῖς.

55

16. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀνεξικάκους εἶναι καὶ ὑπηρετικούς πᾶσι

καὶ ἀοργήτους ἃ ἔφη ταῦτά ἐστι· Τῷ τύπτοντί  
 Bear all things. σου τὴν σιαγὸνα, πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ  
 Swear not at all.

τὸν αἶροντά σου τὸν χιτῶνα ἢ τὸ ἱμάτιον μὴ κωλύσης.  
 5 Ὅς δ' ἂν ὀργισθῇ, ἐνοχός ἐστιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ. Παντὶ δὲ ἀγ-  
 γαρεύοντί σε μίλιον, ἀκολουθήσον δύο. Λαμψάτω δὲ ὑμῶν  
 τὰ καλὰ ἔργα ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα βλέποντες  
 θαυμάζωσι τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Οὐ  
 γὰρ ἀνταίρειν δεῖ· οὐδὲ μμητὰς εἶναι τῶν φαύλων βε-  
 10 βούληται ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ πραύτητος ἐξ  
 αἰσχύνης καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τῶν κακῶν ἄγειν πάντας προετρέ-  
 ψατο. Ὁ γε καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν γεγεννημένων  
 ἀποδείξει ἔχομεν· ἐκ βιαίων καὶ τυράννων μετίβαλον, ἡτ-  
 τηθέντες ἢ γειτύνων καρτερίαν βίου παρακολουθήσαντες  
 15 ἢ συνοδοιπύρων πλεονεκτουμένων ὑπομονὴν ξένην κατανο-  
 ήσαντες ἢ συμπραγματευομένων πειραζέντες. Περὶ δὲ  
 τοῦ μὴ ὀμνύναι ὅλως, τάλησιν δὲ λέγειν αἰεὶ, οὕτως παρεκε-  
 λεύσατο· Μὴ ὀμόσητε ὅλως. Ἔστω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναί,  
 καὶ τὸ οὐ οὐ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ.  
 20 Ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸν θεὸν μόνον δεῖ προσκυνεῖν, οὕτως ἔπεισεν  
 εἰπών· Μεγίστη ἐντολὴ ἐστὶ· Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσ-  
 κυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας  
 σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου, κύριον τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποι-  
 ήσαντά σε. Καί· Προσελθόντος αὐτῷ τινος καὶ εἰπόντος·  
 25 Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων· Οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός, εἰ  
 μὴ ὁ μόνος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα. Οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ εὐρί-  
 σκωνται βιοῦντες ὡς ἐδίδαξε, γνωριζέσθωσαν μὴ ὄντες  
 Χριστιανοί, κἂν λέγωσιν διὰ γλώττης τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δι-  
 δάγματα· οὐ γὰρ τοὺς μόνον λέγοντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καὶ τὰ  
 30 ἔργα πράττοντας σωθήσεσθαι ἔφη. Εἶπε γὰρ οὕτως·  
 Οὐχὶ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι Κύριε κύριε εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν  
 βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θελημα τοῦ πα-



τρός μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Ὃς γὰρ ἀκούει μου καὶ ποιεῖ ἃ λέγω, ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστείλαντός με. Πολλοὶ δὲ ἐροῦσί μοι· Κύριε κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι ἐφάγομεν καὶ 35 ἐπίομεν καὶ δυνάμεις ἐποιήσαμεν; Καὶ τότε ἐρῶ αὐτοῖς· Ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐργάται τῆς ἀνομίας. Τότε κλαυθμὸς ἔσται καὶ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων, ὅταν οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι λάμπωσιν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι πέμπωνται εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ. Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἤξουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἔξω- 40 ζεν μὲν ἐνδιδυνμένοι δέρματα προβάτων, ἔσωζεν δὲ ὄντες λύκοι ἄρπαγες· ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεται αὐτούς. Πᾶν δὲ δένδρον, μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλόν, ἐκκύπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται. Κολάζεσθαι ἔτι τοὺς οὐκ ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς διδάγμασιν αὐτοῦ βιοῦντας, λεγομένους δὲ μόνον Χρι- 45 στιανούς, καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀξιῶμεν.

17. Φύρους δὲ καὶ εἰσφορὰς τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν τεταγμένοις πανταχοῦ πρὸ πάντων πειρώμεθα φέρειν, ὥς  
 'Render unto Caesar.' ἐδιδάχθημεν παρ' αὐτοῦ. Κατ' ἐκείνο γὰρ τοῦ καιροῦ προσελθόντες τινὲς ἡρώτων αὐτόν, εἰ δεῖ Καίσαρι φύρους τελεῖν. Καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο· Εἵπατέ μοι, τίνας εἰκόνα 5 τὸ νόμισμα ἔχει; Οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν· Καίσαρος. Καὶ πάλιν ἀνταπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς· Ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ Καίσαρος τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ. Ὅθεν Θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν, ὑμῖν ἔτι πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα χαίροντες ὑπηρετοῦμεν, βασιλεῖς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἀνθρώπων ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ εὐχό- 10 μνοι μετὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐνδύμεως καὶ σώφρονα τὸν λογισμὸν ἔχοντας ὑμᾶς εὐρεσῆναι. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν εὐχομένων καὶ πάντα εἰς φανερόν τιζέντων ἀφροντιστήσετε, οὐδὲν ἡμεῖς βλαβησόμεθα, πιστεύοντες, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πεπεισμένοι, κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων ἕκαστον τίσειν διὰ πυρὸς αἰώ- 15

νίου δίκας καὶ πρὸς ἀναλογίαν ὧν ἔλαβε δυνάμειν παρὰ Θεοῦ, τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτηθήσεσθαι, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐμήνυσεν εἰπὼν· Ὡς πλέον ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεός, πλέον καὶ ἀπαιτηθήσεται παρ' αὐτοῦ.

18. Ἀποβλέψατε γὰρ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἐκάστου τῶν γενο-  
Proofs of μένων βασιλείων, ὅτι τὸν κοινὸν πᾶσι θάνατον  
immortality. ἀπέθανον· ὅπερ εἰ εἰς ἀναισθησίαν ἐχώρει, ἔρ-  
 μαιον ἂν ἦν τοῖς ἀδίκους πᾶσιν. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ καὶ αἰσθησις  
 5 πᾶσι γενομένοις μένει καὶ κόλασις αἰωνία ἀπόκειται, μὴ  
 ἀμελήσητε πεισθῆναι τε καὶ πιστεῦσαι ὅτι ἀληθῆ ταῦτά  
 ἐστί. Νεκρομαντεῖαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ αἱ ἀδιαφθόρων παίδων  
 ἱποπτεύσεις καὶ ψυχῶν ἀνθρωπίνων κλήσεις καὶ οἱ λεγό-  
 μενοι παρὰ τοῖς μάγοις ὄνειροπομποὶ καὶ πάρεδροι καὶ τὰ  
 10 γινόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ταῦτα εἰδύτων πεισάτωσαν ὑμᾶς ὅτι καὶ  
 μετὰ θάνατον ἐν αἰσθήσει εἰσὶν αἱ ψυχαί, καὶ οἱ ψυχαῖς  
 ἀποθανόντων λαμβανόμενοι καὶ ῥιπτούμενοι ἄνθρωποι,  
 οὓς δαιμονιολήπτους καὶ μαινομένους καλοῦσι πάντες, καὶ  
 τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν λεγόμενα μαντεῖα Ἀμφιλόχου καὶ Δωδώνης  
 15 καὶ Πυθούσης, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτά ἐστί, καὶ τὰ τῶν συγ-  
 γραφῶν διδάγματα, Ἐμπεδοκλείους καὶ Πυθαγόρου, Πλά-  
 τωνός τε καὶ Σωκράτους, καὶ ὁ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ βόξρος καὶ  
 ἡ κάθοδος Ὀδυσσεὺς εἰς τὴν τούτων ἐπίσκεψιν, καὶ τῶν  
 τὰ αὐτὰ τούτοις εἰπόντων· οἷς κἂν ὁμοίως ἡμᾶς ἀποδέξα-  
 20 σθε οὐχ ἥττον ἐκείνων θεῶι πιστεύοντας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, οἱ  
 καὶ τὰ νεκρούμενα καὶ εἰς γῆν βαλλόμενα πάλιν ἀπολήψε-  
 σθαι ἑαυτῶν σώματα προσδοκῶμεν, ἀδύνατον μὴδὲν εἶναι  
 θεῶι λέγοντες.

19. Καὶ κατανοοῦντι τί ἀπιστότερον ἂν μᾶλλον δοῖται,  
 ἢ εἰ ἐν σώματι μὴ ὑπάρχομεν καὶ τις ἔλεγεν ἐκ μικρᾶς τινοῦς

ῥανίδος τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σπέρματος δυνατόν  
 ὅστιά τε καὶ νεῦρα καὶ σάρκας εἰκονοποιηθέντα,  
 οἷα ὑρῶμεν, γενέσθαι; Ἐστω γὰρ νῦν ἐφ' ὑπο- 5  
 θέσεως λεγόμενον. Εἴ τις ὑμῖν μὴ οὐσι τοιού-  
 τοις μηδὲ τοιούτων ἔλεγε, τὸ σπέρμα τὸ ἀνθρώπου δεικνύς  
 καὶ εἰκόνα γραπτὴν, ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦδε οἶόν τε γενέσθαι δια-  
 ββαιούμενος, πρὶν ἰδεῖν γενόμενον ἐπιστεύσατε; Οὐκ ἂν  
 τις τολμήσειεν ἀντειπεῖν. Τὸν αὐτὸν οὖν τρόπον διὰ τὸ 10  
 μήπω ἑωρακέναι ὑμᾶς ἀναστάντα νεκρὸν ἀπιστία ἔχει.  
 Ἄλλ' ὃν τρόπον τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἂν ἐπιστεύσατε ἐκ τῆς  
 μικρᾶς ῥανίδος δυνατόν τοιούτους γενέσθαι, καὶ ὁρᾶτε γι-  
 νομένους, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον λογίσασθε ὅτι διαλυθέντα καὶ  
δίκην σπερμάτων εἰς γῆν ἀναλυθέντα τὰ ἀνθρώπεια σώ- 15  
ματα κατὰ καιρὸν προστάξει θεοῦ ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν  
 ἐνδύσασθαι οὐκ ἀδύνατον. Ποίαν γὰρ ἀξίαν θεοῦ δύνα-  
 μιν λέγουσιν οἱ φάσκοντες εἰς ἐκεῖνο χωρεῖν ἕκαστον, ἐξ  
 οὐπὲρ ἐγένετο, καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα μηδὲν ἄλλο δύνασθαι μηδὲ  
 τὸν θεόν, οὐκ ἔχομεν λέγειν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο συνορῶμεν, ὅτι 20  
 οὐκ ἂν ἐπίστευσαν δυνατόν εἶναι τοιούτους ποτὲ γενέσθαι,  
 ὑποίους καὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον καὶ ἐξ ὑποί-  
 ων γεγενημένα ὁρῶσι. Κρεῖττον δὲ πιστεύειν καὶ τὰ τῇ  
 ἑαυτῶν φύσει καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατα, ἢ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλ-  
 λοις ἀπιστεῖν, παρειλήφμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον διδά- 25  
 σκαλον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐγνωμεν εἰπόντα· Τὰ ἀδύνατα  
 παρὰ ἀνθρώποις δυνατὰ παρὰ θεῶν. Καί· Μὴ φοβείσθε  
 τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ δυναμένους τι  
 ποιῆσαι, εἶπε, φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν δυνά-  
 μενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα εἰς γένναν ἐμβαλεῖν. Ἡ δὲ 30  
 γέννᾳ ἐστὶ τύπος, ἐνθα κολάζεσθαι μέλλουσιν οἱ ἀδίκως

βιώσαντες καὶ μὴ πιστεύοντες ταῦτα γενήσεσθαι, ὅσα ὁ  
 θεὸς διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδίδαξε.

20. Καὶ Σίβυλλα δὲ καὶ Ὑστάσπης γενήσεσθαι τῶν  
 φαρτῶν ἀνάλωσιν διὰ πυρὸς ἔφασαν. Οἱ λε-  
<sup>Heathen anal-</sup> <sup>ogies. These</sup>  
<sup>David cum</sup> <sup>Sibylla.</sup> γόμενοι δὲ Στωϊκοὶ φιλόσοφοι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν  
 θεὸν εἰς πῦρ ἀναλύεσθαι δογματίζουσι καὶ αὐ-  
 5 πάλιν κατὰ μεταβολὴν τὸν κόσμον γενέσθαι λέγουσιν·  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ κρεῖττόν τι τῶν μεταβαλλομένων νοοῦμεν τὸν  
 πάντων ποιητὴν θεόν. Εἰ οὖν καὶ ὁμοίως τινὰ τοῖς παρ'  
 ὑμῖν τιμωμένοις ποιηταῖς καὶ φιλοσόφοις λέγομεν, ἕνια δὲ  
 καὶ μειζύνως καὶ θείως καὶ μύνοι μετὰ ἀποδείξεως, τί παρὰ  
 10 πάντας ἀδίκως μισούμεθα; Τῇ γὰρ λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ  
 πάντα κεκοσμηῆσθαι καὶ γεγενῆσθαι Πλάτωνος δόξομεν λέ-  
 γειν δόγμα· τῇ δὲ ἐκπύρωσιν γενέσθαι Στωϊκῶν· τῇ δὲ  
 κολάζεσθαι ἐν αἰσθήσει καὶ μετὰ θάνατον οὕσας τὰς τῶν  
 ἀδίκων ψυχάς, τὰς δὲ τῶν σπουδαίων ἀπηλλαγμένους τῶν  
 15 τιμωριῶν εὖ διάγειν, ποιηταῖς καὶ φιλοσόφοις τὰ αὐτὰ λέ-  
 γειν δόξομεν· τῇ δὲ καὶ μὴ δεῖν χειρῶν ἔργα ἀνθρώπων  
 προσκυνεῖν, Μενάνδρῳ τῇ κωμικῇ καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα φήσασι  
 ταῦτ' ἀφράζομεν· μέζονα γὰρ τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦ σκευα-  
 ζομένου ἀπεφάναντο.

21. Τῷ δὲ καὶ τὸν λόγον, ὃ ἐστὶ πρῶτον γέννημα τοῦ  
<sup>Analogies to</sup> <sup>the history</sup> <sup>of Christ.</sup> θεοῦ, ἄνευ ἐπιμιξίας φάσκειν ἡμᾶς γεγενῆσθαι,  
 Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν διδάσκαλον ἡμῶν, καὶ τοῦ-  
 5 τον σταυρωθέντα καὶ ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα ἀνεληλυ-  
 θέναι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, οὐ παρὰ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν λεγόμενους  
 υἱοὺς τῷ Διὶ καινόν τι φέρομεν. Πόσους γὰρ υἱοὺς φά-  
 σκουσι τοῦ Διὸς οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν τιμώμενοι συγγραφεῖς, ἐπί-  
 στασθε· Ἑρμῆν μὲν, λόγον τὸν ἐρμηνευτικὸν καὶ πάντων

διδάσκαλον, Ἀσκληπιὸν δὲ καὶ Ξεραπευτὴν γενόμενον, κεραυνωζέοντα ἀνελλυζέοντα εἰς οὐρανόν, Διόνυσον δὲ δια-  
 σπαραχζέοντα, Ἡρακλέα δὲ φυγῇ πύων ἑαυτὸν πυρὶ δύντα,  
 τοὺς ἐκ Λήδας δὲ Διοσκόρους, καὶ τὸν ἐκ Δανύης Περσέα,  
 καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δὲ ἐφ' ἵππου Πηγάσου Βελλεροφόν-  
 την. Τί γὰρ λέγομεν τὴν Ἀριάδνην καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους αὐτῇ  
 κατηστερίσθαι λεγομένους; Καὶ τί γὰρ τοὺς ἀποκνήσκον-  
 τας παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοκράτορας, οὓς αἱ ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι ἐξι-  
 ούντες καὶ ὑμνύοντα τινὰ προάγετε ἐωρακέναι ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς  
 ἀνερχόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸν κατακαίοντα Καίσαρα;  
 Καὶ ὅποῖαι ἐκάστου τῶν λεγομένων νύων τοῦ Διὸς ἰστο-  
 ροῦνται αἱ πράξεις, πρὸς εἰδύτας λέγειν οὐκ ἀνάγκη, πλὴν 20  
 ὅτι εἰς διαφορὰν καὶ προτροπὴν τῶν ἐκπαιδευομένων ταῦτα  
 γέγραπται· μιμητὰς γὰρ θεῶν καλὸν εἶναι πάντες ἡγοῦν-  
 ται. Ἀπεῖν δὲ σωφρονούσης ψυχῆς ἔννοια τοιαύτη περὶ  
 θεῶν, ὥς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ γεννήτορα πάντων  
 κατ' αὐτοὺς Δία πατροφύοντην τε καὶ πατρὸς τοιούτου γε-  
 γονέναι, ἔρωτί τε κακῶν καὶ αἰσchrῶν ἡδονῶν ἥττω γενό-  
 μενον ἐπὶ Γανυμήδην καὶ τὰς πολλὰς μοιχευθείσας γυναῖ-  
 κας ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας τὰ ὅμοια πράξαντας  
 παραδέξασθαι. Ἄλλ', ὥς προέφημεν, οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες  
 ταῦτα ἔπραξαν. Ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι δὲ ἡμεῖς μόνους δεδι-  
 δάγμεθα τοὺς ὁσίως καὶ ἐναρίτως ἐγγὺς θεῶν βιοῦντας,  
 κυλάζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἀδίκως καὶ μὴ μεταβιάλλοντας ἐν αἰ-  
 νίῃ πυρὶ πιστεύομεν.

22. Υἱὸς δὲ Θεοῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λεγόμενος, εἰ καὶ κοινῶς μό-  
 χον ἄνθρωπος, διὰ σοφίαν ἄξιος υἱὸς Θεοῦ λέ-  
 γεσθαι· πατέρα γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε πάντες  
 συγγραφεῖς τὸν Θεὸν καλοῦσιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδίως παρὰ τὴν

Christ's son-  
 ship and its  
 analogies.

5 κοινήν γένεσιν γεγεννησθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ λέγομεν λόγον  
 Θεοῦ, ὡς προέφημεν, κοινὸν τοῦτο ἔστω ὑμῖν τοῖς τὸν Ἑρ-  
μῆν λόγον τὸν παρὰ Θεοῦ ἀγγελτικὸν λέγουσιν. Εἰ δὲ  
 αἰτιάσαιτό τις ἐσταυρῶσθαι αὐτόν, καὶ τοῦτο κοινὸν τοῖς  
προκατηριζημένοις παζοῦσιν υἱοῖς καὶ ὑμᾶς τοῦ Διὸς  
 10 ὑπάρχει. Ἐκείνων τε γὰρ οὐχ ὅμοια τὰ πάθη τοῦ θανά-  
 του, ἀλλὰ διάφορα ἰστορεῖται, ὥστε μηδὲ τὸ ἴδιον τοῦ πά-  
 ζους ἤττονα δοκεῖν εἶναι τοῦτον, ἀλλ', ὡς ὑπεσχόμεθα,  
 προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου καὶ κρείττονα ἀποδείξομεν, μᾶλλον  
 δὲ καὶ ἀποδείκναι· ὁ γὰρ κρείττων ἐκ τῶν πράξεων φαί-  
 15 νεται. Εἰ δὲ καὶ διὰ παρθένου γεγεννησθαι φέρομεν, κοι-  
 νὸν καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν Περσέα ἔστω ὑμῖν. Ὅτι δὲ λέγο-  
 μεν χωλοὺς καὶ παραλυτικοὺς καὶ ἐκ γινετῆς ἀναπήρους  
 ὑγιαῖναι πεποιηκέναι αὐτόν καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνεγείραι, ὅμοια τοῖς  
 ὑπ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ γεγεννησθαι λεγόμενοις καὶ ταῦτα φάσκειν  
 20 δοξομεν.

23. Ἵνα δὲ ἤδη καὶ τοῦτο φανερόν ὑμῖν γένηται, ὅτι,  
 ὑπόστα λέγομεν μαζόντες παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ  
Statement of  
the argument. τῶν προελθόντων αὐτοῦ προφητῶν, μόνα ἀλη-  
 5 θῆ ἴσθι καὶ πρεσβύτερα πάντων τῶν γεγεννημένων συγγρα-  
 φέων, καὶ οὐχὶ διὰ τὸ ταῦτα λέγειν αὐτοῖς παραδεχθῆναι  
 ἀξιοῦμεν ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ ἀληθὲς λέγομεν· καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς  
 μόνος ἰδίως υἱὸς τῷ Θεῷ γεγέννηται, λόγος αὐτοῦ ὑπάρ-  
 χων καὶ πρωτότοκος καὶ δύναμις, καὶ τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοῦ γε-  
 νόμενος ἄνθρωπος ταῦτα ἡμᾶς ἐξίδαξεν ἐπ' ἀλλαγῇ καὶ  
 10 ἐπαναγωγῇ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους· καὶ πρὶν ἢ ἐν ἀν-  
 θρώποις αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον φθάσαντές τινες διὰ  
 τοὺς προειρημένους κακοὺς δαίμονας διὰ τῶν ποιητῶν ὡς  
 γεγόμενα εἶπον ἃ μυθοποιήσαντες ἔφησαν, δὴν τρόπον καὶ

τὰ καὶ ἡμῶν λεγόμενα δύσφημα καὶ ὑσεβῆ ἔργα ἐνήργησαν, ὧν οὐδεὶς μάρτυς οὐδὲ ἀπόδειξις ἔστι, τοῦτον ἔλεγχον 15 ποιησόμεθα.

24. Πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς Ἑλλήσι λέγοντες μοι Variations of  
Heathenism. νομίζετε δι' ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντες ὡς ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀναιρούμεθα, ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ δένδρα σεβομένων καὶ ποταμοῦς καὶ μῦς καὶ αἰλούρους καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τὰ 5 πολλά, καὶ οὐ τῶν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πάντων τιμωμένων, ἀλλ' ἄλλων ἀλλαχόσε, ὥστ' εἶναι ἀσεβεῖς ἀλλήλοις πάντας διὰ τὸ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ σέβειν. Ὅπερ μόνον ἐγκαλεῖν ἡμῖν ἔχετε, ὅτι μὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὑμῖν σέβομεν θεοὺς, μηδὲ τοῖς ἀποθανούσι χοὰς καὶ κνίσας καὶ ἐν γραφαῖς στεφάνους καὶ θυσίας 10 φέρομεν. Ὅτι γὰρ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ παρ' οἷς μὲν θεοί, παρ' οἷς δὲ θηρία, παρ' οἷς δὲ ἱερεῖα νενομισμένα ἔστιν, ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστασθε.

25. Δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων οἱ πάλαι Christians abandon the world  
of false gods. σεβόμενοι Διόνυσον τὸν Σεμέλης καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Λητοΐδην, οἱ δὲ ἔρωτας ἀρσένων ὅσα ἔπραξαν αἷσχος καὶ λέγειν, καὶ οἱ Περσεφόνην καὶ Ἀφροδίτην, τὰς διὰ τὸν Ἄδωνιν οἰστρηθείσας, ὧν καὶ τὰ μυστή- 5 ρια ἄγετε, ἢ Ἀσκληπιὸν ἢ τινα τῶν ἄλλων ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν, καίπερ θανάτου ἀπειλουμένου διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τούτων μὲν κατεφρονήσαμεν, θεῶ δὲ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ καὶ ἀπαθεί ἑαυτοὺς ἀνεθήκαμεν, οὐ οὔτε ἐπ' Ἀντιόπην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὁμοίως, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ Γανυμήδην δι' οἷστρον ἐληλυθῆναι 10 πεισόμεθα, οὐδὲ λυθῆναι βοηθείας τυχόντα διὰ Θέτιδος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑκατοντάχειρος ἐκείνου, οὐδὲ μεριμνῶντα διὰ τοῦτο τὸν τῆς Θέτιδος Ἀχιλλεῖα διὰ τὴν παλλακίδα Βρισηΐδα

ὀλέσαι πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Καὶ τοὺς πειζομένους  
 15 ἔλεοῦμεν· τοὺς δὲ τούτων αἰτίους δαίμονας γνωρίζομεν.

26. Τρίτον δὲ ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνέλευσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 ἡμῶν εἰς οὐρανὸν προεβάλλοντο οἱ δαίμονες ἀνθρώ-  
 20 <sup>Human agents</sup><sub>of the demon.</sub> πους τινὰς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι θεοὺς, οἱ  
 οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐδιώχθησαν ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν κατ-  
 5 ἠξιώθησαν· Σίμωνα μὲν τινα Σαμαρέα τὸν ἀπὸ κώμης  
 λεγομένης Γιττῶν, ὃς ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος διὰ τῆς τῶν  
 ἐνεργούντων δαιμόνων τέχνης δυνάμεις ποιήσας μαγικὰς  
 ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ θεὸς ἐνομίσθη καὶ ἀνδρι-  
 10 ἀντιπαρ' ὑμῶν ὡς θεὸς τετίμηται, ὃς ἀνδριάς ἀνεγίγερται  
 ἐν τῷ Τίβερι ποταμῷ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο γεφυρῶν, ἔχων ἐπι-  
 γράφην ῥωμαϊκὴν ταύτην· ΣΙΜΩΝΙ ΔΕΩ ΣΑΓΚΤΩ.  
 Καὶ σχεδὸν πάντες μὲν Σαμαρεῖς, ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις  
 ἔθνεσιν, ὡς τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν ἐκείνον ὁμολογοῦντες, ἐκείνον  
 καὶ προσκυνοῦσι· καὶ Ἑλένην τινά, τὴν συμπερινοστήσα-  
 15 σαν αὐτῷ κατ' ἐκείνο τοῦ καιροῦ, πρότερον ἐπὶ τέγους στα-  
 θεῖσαν, τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔννοιαν πρώτην γενομένην λέγουσι.  
 Μένανδρον δὲ τινα, καὶ αὐτὸν Σαμαρέα τὸν ἀπὸ κώμης  
 Καππαρεταίας, γενόμενον μαθητὴν τοῦ Σίμωνος, ἐνεργη-  
 20 ζέοντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων καὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ γενόμενον  
 πολλοὺς ἑξαπατῆσαι διὰ μαγικῆς τέχνης οἶδαμεν· ὃς καὶ  
 τοὺς αὐτῷ ἐπομένους ὡς μηδὲ ἀποθνήσκοιεν ἔπεισε, καὶ νῦν  
 εἰσὶ τινες ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦτο ὁμολογοῦντες. Μαρκίωνα δὲ  
 25 τινα Ποντικόν, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐστὶ διδάσκων τοὺς πειζομέ-  
 νους, ἄλλον τινὰ νομίζειν μίζονα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ θεοῦ,  
 30 ὃς κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων συλ-  
 λήψεως πολλοὺς πεποίηκε βλασφημίας λέγειν καὶ ἀρνεί-  
 σθαι τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς θεοῦ, ἄλλον δὲ τινα, ὡς



ὄντα μίζονα, τὰ μίζονα παρὰ τούτον ὁμολογεῖν πεποιθ-  
 κέναι. Πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ τούτων ὀρμώμενοι, ὡς ἔφημεν, Χρι-  
 στιανοὶ καλοῦνται, ὃν τρόπον καὶ οἱ οὐ κοινωνοῦντες τῶν αὐ-  
 τῶν δογμάτων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις τὸ ἐπικατηγορούμενον  
 ὄνομα τῆς φιλοσοφίας κοινὸν ἔχουσιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ δύσ-  
 φημα ἐκείνα μυθολογούμενα ἔργα πράττουσι, λυχνίας μὲν  
 ἀνατροπὴν καὶ τὰς ἀνέδην μίξεις καὶ ἀνθρωπείων σαρκῶν  
 βοράς, οὐ γινώσκωμεν· ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ διώκονται μηδὲ φονεύ-  
 ονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν καὶ διὰ τὰ δόγματα, ἐπιστάμεθα. Ἔστι δὲ  
 ἡμῖν καὶ σύνταγμα κατὰ πασῶν τῶν γεγεννημένων αἱρέσεων  
 συντεταγμένον· ὃ εἰ βούλεσθε ἐντυχεῖν, δώσωμεν.

27. Ἡμεῖς δέ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀδικῶμεν μηδὲ ἀσεβῶμεν, ἐκτι-  
 ζέναι καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα πονηρῶν εἶναι δεδιδάγ-  
 μεθα· Gallit of expos- ing children. πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι τοὺς πάντας σχεδὸν  
 ὀρῶμεν ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ προάγοντας οὐ μόνον τὰς κόρας, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τοὺς ἄρσενας, καὶ ὃν τρόπον λέγονται οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀγέ-  
 λας βοῶν ἢ αἰγῶν ἢ προβάτων τρέφειν ἢ ἵππων φορβά-  
 δων, οὕτω νῦν καὶ παῖδας εἰς τὸ αἰσχροῦς χρῆσθαι μόνον·  
 καὶ ὁμοίως ζηλειῶν καὶ ἀνδρογύνων καὶ ἄρρητοποιῶν  
 πληθεύς κατὰ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους ἔστηκε.  
 Καὶ τούτων μισθοὺς καὶ εἰσφορὰς καὶ τέλη λαμβάνετε,<sup>10</sup>  
 δέον ἐκκόψαι ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας οἰκουμένης. Καὶ τῶν τού-  
 τοις χρωμένων τις πρὸς τῇ ἀξίᾳ καὶ ἀσεβεῖ καὶ ἄκρατεϊ  
 μίξει, εἰ τύχοι, τέκνῳ ἢ συγγενεῖ ἢ ἀδελφῷ μίγνυται. Οἱ  
 δὲ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν τέκνα καὶ τὰς ὁμοζύγους προαγωγέου-  
 νται, καὶ φανερώς εἰς κιναιδίαν ἀποκόπτονται τινες καὶ εἰς<sup>15</sup>  
 μητέρα ζειῶν τὰ μυστήρια ἀναφέρουσι, καὶ παρὰ παντὶ τῶν  
 νομιζομένων παρ' ὑμῖν ζειῶν ὕψις σύμβολον μέγα καὶ μυ-  
 στήριον ἀναγράφεται. Καὶ τὰ φανερῶς ὑμῖν πραττόμενα

καὶ τιμώμενα ὡς ἀνατετραμμένου καὶ οὐ παρόντος φωτὸς  
 20 τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῖν προσγράφετε, ὅπερ ἀπηλλαγμένοις ἡμῖν τοῦ  
 πράττειν τι τούτων οὐ βλάβην φέρει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πράττουσι  
 καὶ ψευδομαρτυροῦσι μᾶλλον.

28. Παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀρχηγέτης τῶν κακῶν δαιμό-  
 νων ὄφρις καλεῖται καὶ σατανᾶς καὶ διάβολος,  
 ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων συγγραμμάτων ἐρευνή-  
 σαντες μαθεῖν δύνασθε, ὃν εἰς τὸ πῦρ πεμφθήσεσθαι μετὰ  
 5 τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων ἀνθρώπων κολασθη-  
 σομένους τὸν ἀπέραντον αἰῶνα, προεμήνυσεν ὁ Χριστός.  
 Καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιμονὴ τοῦ μηδέπω τοῦτο πράξαι τὸν Θεὸν διὰ  
 τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος γεγένηται· προγινώσκει γὰρ τινὰς  
 ἐκ μετανοίας σωθήσεσθαι μέλλοντας καὶ τινὰς μηδέπω ἴσως  
 10 γεννηθέντας. Καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν νοερὸν καὶ δυνάμενον αἰρεῖ-  
 σθαι τὰ ληθῆ καὶ εὖ πράττειν τὸ γένος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον πε-  
 ποίηκεν, ὥστ' ἀναπολόγητον εἶναι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις  
 παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ· λογικοὶ γὰρ καὶ θεωρητικοὶ γεγέννηται. Εἰ  
 δέ τις ἀπιστεῖ μέλειν τούτων τῷ Θεῷ, ἢ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν διὰ  
 15 τέχνης ὁμολογήσει, ἢ ὄντα χαίρειν κακίᾳ φήσει ἢ λίθῳ  
 ὀικούτα μένειν, καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι ἀρετὴν μηδὲ κακίαν, δόξῃ δὲ  
 μόνον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἢ ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ ταῦτα ἡγεῖσθαι,  
 ἢ περ μεγίστη ἀσίβεια καὶ ἀδικία ἐστί.

29. Καὶ πάλιν, μὴ τῶν ἐκτεθέντων τις μὴ ἀναληφθεὶς  
 τοῦ βλάσφημοῦ, καὶ ὤμεν ἀνδροφόνοι. Ἄλλ' ἢ τὴν  
 20 ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐγαμοῦμεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ παίδων ἀνα-  
 τροφῇ, ἢ παραιτούμενοι τὸ γίμνασθαι τέλεον ἐν ἐκρατεού-  
 μεθα. Καὶ ἤδη τις τῶν ἡμετέρων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πείσαι ὑμᾶς  
 ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν μυστήριον ἢ ἀνέδην μῖξις, βιβλίδιον  
 ἀνέδωκεν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Φήλικι ἡγεμονεύοντι, ἀξίων ἐπι-

τρέψαι ἰατρῷ τοὺς διδύμους αὐτοῦ ἀφελεῖν· ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦτο πράττειν ἀπειρησάσι οἱ ἐκεῖ ἰατροὶ ἔλεγον. Καὶ μηδύλως βουλευθέντος Φήλικος ὑπογράψαι, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μείνας ὁ νεανίσκος ἠρκέσθη τῇ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁμογνωμόνων συνειδήσει. Οὐκ ἄτοπον δὲ ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἐν τούτοις ἡγησάμεθα καὶ Ἀντινύου τοῦ νῦν γεγενημένου, ὃν καὶ πάντες ὡς θεὸν διὰ φόβον σέβειν ὥρμητο, ἐπιστάμενοι τίς τε ἦν καὶ πόθεν ὑπῆρχεν. 15

30. Ὅπως δὲ μή τις εἴπῃ ἀντιθεὶς ἡμῖν, τί κωλύει καὶ But was not  
Christ a ma-  
gician? τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν λεγόμενον Χριστόν, ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὄντα, μαγικῇ τέχνῃ ἥς λέγομεν δυνάμεις πεποιθῆναι καὶ δύξαι διὰ τοῦτο υἱὸν θεοῦ εἶναι, τὴν ἀπύδειξιν ἥδη ποιησόμεθα, οὐ τοῖς λέγουσι πιστεύοντες, ὅ ἀλλὰ τοῖς προφητεύουσι πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι κατ' ἀνάγκην περὶ δόμενοι διὰ τὸ καὶ ὅψαι ὡς προεφητεύθη ὁρᾶν γενόμενα καὶ γινόμενα· ἥπερ μεγίστη καὶ ἀληθεστάτη ἀπύδειξις καὶ ὑμῖν, ὡς νομίζομεν, φανήσεται.

31. Ἄνθρωποι οὖν τινες ἐν Ἰουδαίοις γεγέννηται θεοῦ Of the Hebrew  
prophets. προφηῆται, δι' ὧν τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα προεκήρυξε τὰ γενήσεσθαι μέλλοντα πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι· καὶ τούτων οἱ ἐν Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ καιροὺς γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς τὰς προφητείας, ὡς ἐλέχθησαν ὅτε προεφητεύοντο, τῇ ἰδίᾳ ὅ αὐτῶν ἰβραῖδι φωνῇ ἐν βιβλίοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν προφητῶν συντεταγμένας κτῶμενοι περιείπον. Ὅτε δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς βιβλιοθήκην κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων συγγράμματα συνάγειν ἐπειράθη, πρὸς δόμενος καὶ περὶ τῶν προφητειῶν τούτων, προσέπεμψε τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τότε βασιλεύοντι Ἡρώδῃ, ἄξιόν διαπεμφθῆναι αὐτῷ τὰς βίβλους τῶν προφητειῶν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς

Ἡρώδης τῇ προειρημένη ἐβραΐδι αὐτῶν φωνῇ γεγραμμέ-  
 νας διεπέμψατο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἦν γνώριμα τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς  
 15 γεγραμμένα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, πάλιν αὐτὸν ἠξίωσε πέμψας  
 τοὺς μεταβαλοῦντας αὐτὰς εἰς τὴν ἐλλάδα φωνὴν ἀν-  
 θρώπους ἀποστέλλαι. Καὶ τούτου γενομένου ἔμειναν αἱ  
 βίβλοι καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο, καὶ πανταχοῦ  
 παρὰ πᾶσιν εἰσιν Ἰουδαίοις, οἱ καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντες οὐ συν-  
 20 ιᾶσι τὰ εἰρημένα, ἀλλ' ἐχθροὺς ἡμᾶς καὶ πολεμίους ἡγοῦν-  
 ται, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ἀναιροῦντες καὶ κολάζοντες ἡμᾶς ὑπόταν  
 δύνωνται, ὡς καὶ πεισθῆναι δύνασθε· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν  
 γεγενημένῳ Ἰουδαϊκῷ πολέμῳ Βαρχαχέβας, ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίων  
 ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγέτης, Χριστιανοὺς μόνους εἰς τιμωρίας  
 25 θεινάς, εἰ μὴ ἄρνοίντο Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ βλασφη-  
 μοῖεν, ἐκέλευεν ἀπάγεσθαι. Ἐν δὴ ταῖς τῶν προφητῶν  
 βίβλοις εὗρομεν προκηρυσσόμενον παραγινόμενον, γεννώ-  
 μενον διὰ παρθένου, καὶ ἀνδρούμενον καὶ θεραπεύοντα πᾶ-  
 σαν νύσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνεγείροντα,  
 30 καὶ φθονούμενον καὶ ἀγνοούμενόν καὶ σταυρούμενον Ἰη-  
 σοῦν τὸν ἡμέτερον Χριστόν, καὶ ἀποθνήσκοντα καὶ ἀνε-  
 γειρόμενον καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνερχόμενον καὶ νύδον θεοῦ  
 ὄντα καὶ κεκλημένον, καὶ τινὰς πεμπομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς  
 πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων κηρύζοντας ταῦτα, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ  
 35 ἑθνῶν ἀνθρώπους μᾶλλον αὐτῷ πιστεύειν. Προεφητεύῃ  
 δέ, πρὶν ἢ φανῆναι αὐτόν, ἔτεσι ποτὲ μὲν πεντακισχιλίοις,  
 ποτὲ δὲ τρισχιλίοις, ποτὲ δὲ δισχιλίοις, καὶ πάλιν χιλίοις  
 καὶ ἄλλοτε ὅκτακοσίοις· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς διαδοχὰς τῶν γενῶν  
 ἕτεροι καὶ ἕτεροι ἐγένοντο προφῆται.

32. Μωϋσῆς μὲν οὖν, πρῶτος τῶν προφητῶν γενόμενος,  
 εἶπεν αὐτολεῖξί οὕτως· Οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα

οὐδὲ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν  
Christ foretold of Moses. ἔλθῃ ᾧ ἀπύκειται· καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται προσδοκία  
 ἔθνων, δεσμεύων πρὸς ἄμπελον τὸν πῶλον αὐτοῦ, πλύνων  
 ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ. Ὑμέτερον οὖν ἔστιν  
 ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσαι καὶ μαθεῖν, μέχρι τίνος ἦν ἄρχων καὶ  
 βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἰουδαίοις ἴδιος αὐτῶν· μέχρι τῆς φανερώσεως  
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἡμετέρου διδασκάλου καὶ τῶν ἀγνοου-  
 μένων προφητειῶν ἐξηγητοῦ, ὡς προεργάσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ  
 ἀγίου προφητικοῦ πνεύματος διὰ τοῦ Μωϋσέως μὴ ἐκλεί-  
 ψειν ἄρχοντα ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ᾧ ἀπύκειται τὸ  
 βασίλειον. Ἰούδας γὰρ προπάτωρ Ἰουδαίων, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ  
 τὸ Ἰουδαῖοι καλεῖσθαι ἐσχήκασιν· καὶ ὑμεῖς μετὰ τὴν γενομέ-  
 νην αὐτοῦ φανέρωσιν καὶ Ἰουδαίων ἐβασιλεύσατε καὶ τῆς  
 ἐκείνων πάσης γῆς ἐκρατήσατε. Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸς ἔσται προσ-  
 δοκία ἔθνων μηνυτικὸν ἦν ὅτι ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἔθνων προσ-  
 δοκήσουσιν αὐτὸν πάλιν παραγεννησόμενον, ὕπερ ὅψει ὑμῖν  
 πάρεστιν ἰδεῖν καὶ ἔργῳ πεισθῆναι· ἐκ πάντων γὰρ γενῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων προσδοκῶσι τὸν ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ σταυρωθέντα, μετ' οὗ  
 ὃν εὐθὺς δοριάλωτος ὑμῖν ἡ γῆ Ἰουδαίων παρεδύθη. Τὸ  
 δὲ Δεσμεύων πρὸς ἄμπελον τὸν πῶλον αὐτοῦ καὶ πλύνων  
 τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς σύμβολον δηλωτι-  
 κὸν ἦν τῶν γενησομένων τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 πραχθησομένων. Πῶλος γάρ τις ὄνου εἰστήκει ἐν τινι  
 εἰσὶν κώμῃ πρὸς ἄμπελον δεδεμένος, ὃν ἐκέλευσεν ἀγα-  
 γεῖν αὐτῷ τότε τοὺς γνωρίμους αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀχθέντος ἐπιβάς  
 ἐκάθισεν καὶ εἰσελήλυθεν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἔνθα τὸ μέγι-  
 στον ἱερὸν ἦν Ἰουδαίων, ὃ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὕστερον κατεστράφη.  
 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐσταυρώθη, ὅπως τὸ λεῖπον τῆς προφητείας  
 συντελεσθῇ. Τὸ γὰρ Πλύνων τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν αἵματι

σταφυλῆς, προαγγελτικὸν ἦν τοῦ πάθους οὐ πάσχειν ἐμελ-  
 λε, δι' αἵματος καθαίρων τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ. Ἡ γὰρ  
 κεκλημένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Θείου πνεύματος διὰ τοῦ προφήτου  
 85 στολῇ οἱ πιστεύοντες αὐτῷ εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι, ἐν οἷς οἰκεῖ τὸ  
 παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ σπέρμα, ὁ λόγος. Τὸ δὲ εἰρημένον αἷμα  
 τῆς σταφυλῆς σημαντικὸν τοῦ ἔχειν μὲν αἷμα τὸν φανησό-  
 μενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπείου σπέρματος, ἀλλ' ἐκ Θείας  
 δυνάμεως. Ἡ δὲ πρώτη δύναμις μετὰ τὸν πατέρα πάντων  
 90 καὶ δεσπύτην Θεὸν καὶ υἱὸς ὁ λόγος ἐστίν, δς τίνα τρόπον  
 σαρκοποιηθεὶς ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν, ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐροῦμεν.  
 Ὃν τρόπον γὰρ τὸ τῆς ἀμπέλου αἷμα οὐκ ἄνθρωπος πε-  
 ποίηκεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Θεός, οὕτως καὶ τοῦτο ἐμνηύετο οὐκ ἐξ ἀν-  
 θρωπείου σπέρματος γενήσεσθαι τὸ αἷμα, ἀλλ' ἐκ δυνάμεως  
 95 Θεοῦ, ὡς προέφημεν. Καὶ Ἡσαΐας δέ, ἄλλος προφήτης,  
 τὰ αὐτὰ δι' ἄλλων ῥήσεων προφητεύων, οὕτως εἶπεν·  
 Ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ἰακώβ, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀναβήσεται ἀπὸ  
 τῆς ρίζης Ἰεσσαί· καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα αὐτοῦ ἔσθνη ἐλπι-  
 οῦσιν. Ἄστρον δὲ φωτεινὸν ἀνέτειλε, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀνέβη  
 100 ἀπὸ τῆς ρίζης Ἰεσσαί, οὗτος ὁ Χριστός. Διὰ γὰρ παρθέ-  
 νου τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος Ἰακώβ, τοῦ γενομένου πατρὸς  
 Ἰούδα, τοῦ δεδηλωμένου Ἰουδαίων πατρός, διὰ δυνάμεως  
 Θεοῦ ἀπεκυήθη· καὶ Ἰεσσαί προπάτωρ μὲν κατὰ τὸ λόγιον  
 γηγένηται, τοῦ δὲ Ἰακώβ καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα κατὰ γένους δια-  
 105 δοχὴν υἱὸς ὑπῆρχεν.

33. Καὶ πάλιν ὡς αὐτολεξεὶ διὰ παρθένου μὲν τεχνησό-  
 110 μενος διὰ τοῦ Ἡσαίου προφητεύθη, ἀκούσατε.  
 Ἐλέχθη δὲ οὕτως· Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ  
 ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ ἐροῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ  
 115 Μεσδ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός. Ἄ γὰρ ἦν ἄπιστα καὶ ἀδύνατα νομι-

Manner of  
 Christ's birth  
 foretold.

ζύμενα παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γενήσεσθαι, ταῦτα ὁ Θεὸς προεμήνυσε διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος μέλλειν γίνεσθαι, ἵν' ὕταν γένηται μὴ ἀπιστησῇ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ προειρησθαι πιστευσῇ. Ὅπως δὲ μή τινες, μὴ νοήσαντες τὴν δεδηλωμένην προφητείαν, ἐγκαλέσωσιν ἡμῖν, ἅπερ ἐνεκαλέσαμεν<sup>10</sup> τοῖς ποιηταῖς εἰποῦσιν ἀφροδισίων χάριν ἐληλυθέναι ἐπὶ γυναῖκας τὸν Δία, διασαφῆσαι τοὺς λόγους πειρασόμεθα. Τὸ οὖν Ἰδοῦ ἢ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει, σημαίνει οὐ συνουσιασθεῖσαν τὴν παρθένον συλλαβεῖν. Εἰ γὰρ ἐσυνουσιάσθῃ ὑπὸ ὕτου οὖν, οὐκ ἔτι ἦν παρθένος· ἀλλὰ δύναμις<sup>15</sup> Θεοῦ ἐπελθοῦσα τῇ παρθένῳ ἐπισκίασεν αὐτήν, καὶ κυοφορῆσαι παρθένον οὔσαν πεποίηκε. Καὶ ὁ ἀποσταλεὶς δὲ πρὸς αὐτήν τὴν παρθένον κατ' ἐκείνο τοῦ καιροῦ ἄγγελος Θεοῦ εὐηγγελίσατο αὐτήν εἰπών· Ἰδοῦ συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ τέξῃ υἱόν, καὶ υἱὸς ὑψίστου κλησθήσεται καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν, αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδίδαξαν, οἷς ἐπιστεύσαμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προδεδηλωμένου τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ-<sup>20</sup> τον γενησόμενον ὡς προεμνηνόμεν ἔφη. Τὸ πνεῦμα οὖν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο νοῆσαι θέμις ἢ τὸν λόγον, ὃς καὶ πρωτότοκος τῷ Θεῷ ἐστι, ὡς Μωϋσῆς ὁ προδεδηλωμένος προφήτης ἐμήνυσε. Καὶ τοῦτο ἔλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον καὶ ἐπισκίασαν οὐ διὰ συνουσίας, ὡς ἀλλὰ διὰ δυνάμεως ἐγκύμονα κατέστησε. Τὸ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ὄνομα τῇ ἑβραϊδὶ φωνῇ σωτὴρ τῇ ἑλληνίδι διαλέκτῳ δηλοῖ. Ὅθεν καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος πρὸς τὴν παρθένον εἶπε· Καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει

35 τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. "Οτι δὲ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ξεφοροῦνται οἱ προφητεύοντες εἰ μὴ λόγῳ ξείῳ, καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνω, φήσετε.

34. "Οπου δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς γεννᾶσθαι ἐμελλεν, ὡς προ-  
Place of Christ's birth foretold. εἶπεν ἕτερος προφήτης ὁ Μιχαίας, ἀκούσατε.  
 "Ἐφη δὲ οὕτως· Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεέμ, γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ  
 5 ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου. Κώμη δὲ τίς ἐστιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἰουδαίων, ἀπέχουσα σταδίου τρι-  
 ἄκοντα πέντε Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐν ᾗ ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὡς καὶ μαθεῖν δύνασθε ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν τῶν γενομένων ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ πρώτου γενομένου  
 10 ἐπιτρόπου.

35. "Ως δὲ καὶ λήσειν ἐμελλε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους  
Other prophecies that have come to pass. γεννηθεῖς ὁ Χριστός, ἄχρως ἀνδρωθῆ, ὅπερ καὶ  
 γέγονεν, ἀκούσατε τῶν προειρημένων εἰς τοῦτο.  
 "Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα· Παιδίον ἐγεννήθη ἡμῖν, καὶ  
 5 νεανίσκος ἡμῖν ἀπέδύθη, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, μηνυτι-  
 κὸν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ σταυροῦ, ᾧ προσέθηκε τοὺς ὤμους σταυρωθεῖς, ὡς προΐοντος τοῦ λόγου σαφέστερον δειχθήσε-  
 ται. Καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης Ἡσαίας ξεφορούμενος  
 τῷ πνεύματι τῷ προφητικῷ ἔφη· Ἐγὼ ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖ-  
 10 ράς μου ἐπὶ λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα, ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 πορευομένους ἐν ὁδῷ οὐ καλῇ. Αἰτοῦσί με νῦν κρίσιν καὶ ἐγγίξουσιν ξείνους τολμῶσιν. Καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλοις λόγοις δι'  
 ἑτέρου προφήτου λέγει· Αὐτοὶ ὠρυξάν μου πόδας καὶ χεῖ-  
 ρας, καὶ ἔβαλον κλῆρον ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου. Καὶ ὁ  
 15 μὲν Δαυὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ προφήτης, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ταῦτα, οὐδὲν  
 τούτων ἔπαθεν· Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστός ἐξετάθη τὰς χεῖρας,



σταυρωθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀντιλεγόντων αὐτῷ καὶ φασκύντων μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν Χριστόν. Καὶ γάρ, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης, διασύροντες αὐτὸν ἐκάδισαν ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ εἶπον· Κρίνον ἡμῖν. Τὸ δὲ Ὠρυζάν μου χεῖρας καὶ πόδας ἐξίγησις τῶν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ παγέντων ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ ἤλων ἦν. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ σταυρῶσαι αὐτὸν ἔβαλον κλῆρον ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐμερίσαντο ἑαυτοῖς οἱ σταυρώσαντες αὐτόν. Καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε, δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων. Καὶ ὅτι ῥητῶς καδεσθήμενος ἐπὶ πῶλον ὄνου καὶ εἰσελευσόμενος εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα προεπεφίτευτο, ἐτέρου προφήτου τοῦ Σοφονίου τὰς τῆς προφητείας λέξεις ἐροῦμεν. Εἰσὶ δὲ αὗται· Χαῖρε σφύδρα, θύγατερ Σιών, κήρυσσε, θύγατερ Ἱερουσαλήμ· ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται σοι πρῶτος, ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου.

36. Ὄταν δὲ τὰς λέξεις τῶν προφητῶν λεγομένας ὡς Prophets represent different persons. ἀπὸ προσώπου ἀκούητε, μὴ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐμπεπνευσμένων λέγεσθαι νομίσητε, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κινουῦντος αὐτοὺς Θείου λόγου. Ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ὡς προαγγελτικῶς τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι λέγει, ποτὲ δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ δισπύτου πάντων καὶ πατρὸς Θεοῦ φθέγγεται, ποτὲ δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ποτὲ δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου λαῶν ἀποκρινομένων τῷ κυρίῳ ἢ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ· ὑποῖον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν συγγραφέων ἰδεῖν ἔστιν, ἓνα μὲν τὸν τὰ πάντα συγγράφοντα ὄντα, πρῶ-  
τωπα δὲ τὰ διαλεγόμενα παραφέροντα. Ὅπερ μὴ νοήσαντες οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς βίβλους τῶν προφητῶν Ἰουδαῖοι, οὐκ ἐγνώρισαν οὐδὲ παραγενόμενον τὸν Χριστόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ

ἡμᾶς τοὺς λέγοντας παραγεγενῆσθαι αὐτόν, καὶ ὡς προ-  
 15 κεκήρυκτο ἀποδεικνύοντας ἑσταυρωῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, μισοῦ-  
 σιν.

37. Ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν φανερὸν γένηται, ἀπὸ προσώ-  
 The Father speaks. που τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλέχθησαν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ  
 προειρημένου προφήτου οἶδε οἱ λόγοι· Ἔγνω  
 βούς τὸν κτησάμενον καὶ ὄνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ κυρίου αὐ-  
 5 τοῦ, Ἰσραὴλ δέ με οὐκ ἔγνω καὶ ὁ λαός μου οὐ συνῆκεν.  
 Οὐαὶ ἔθνος ἀμαρτωλόν, λαὸς πλήρης ἀμαρτιῶν, σπέρμα  
 πονηρὸν, υἱοὶ ἀνομοί· ἐγκατελίπετε τὸν κύριον. Καὶ πάλιν  
 ἀλλαχοῦ, ὅταν λέγῃ ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης ὁμοίως ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ πατρὸς· Ποιῦν μοι οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετε; λέγει κύριος.  
 10 Ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, καὶ ἡ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν  
 μου. Καὶ πάλιν ἀλλαχοῦ· Τὰς νομηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ  
 σάββατα μισεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου, καὶ μεγάλην ἡμέραν νηστείας  
 καὶ ἀργίαν οὐκ ἀνέχομαι· οὐδ' ἂν ἔρχησθε ὀφθῆναί μοι  
 εἰσακούσομαι ὑμῶν. Πλήρεις αἵματος αἱ χεῖρες ὑμῶν.  
 15 Κἂν φέριτε σεμίδαλιν, θυμίαμα, βξέλυγμά μοι ἐστί· στέαρ  
 ἄρνων καὶ αἷμα ταύρων οὐ βούλομαι. Τίς γὰρ ἐξεζήτησε  
 ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν; Ἀλλὰ διάλυε πάντα σύνδε-  
 σμον ἀδικίας, διάσπα στραγγαλιὰς βιαίων συναλλαγμά-  
 των, ἄστεγον καὶ γυμνὸν σκέπε, διάξρυντε πεινῶντι τὸν  
 20 ἄρτον σου. Ὅποια μὲν οὖν ἐστί καὶ τὰ διδασκόμενα διὰ  
 τῶν προφητῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, νοεῖν δύνασθε.

38. Ὅταν δὲ ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγῃ τὸ προ-  
 φητικὸν πνεῦμα, οὕτως φθέγγεται· Ἐγὼ ἐξεπέ-  
 Christ speaks. τασα τὰς χεῖράς μου ἐπὶ λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ  
 ἀντιλέγοντα, ἐπὶ τοὺς πορευομένους ἐν ὑδρὶ οὐ καλῇ. Καὶ  
 5 πάλιν· Τὸν νῶτόν μου τέθεικα εἰς μᾶστιγας καὶ τὰς σια-

γύνας μου εἰς ῥαπίσματα, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου οὐκ ἀπέστρεψα ἀπὸ αἰσχύνης ἐμπυσμάτων. Καὶ ὁ κύριος βοηθός μου ἐγένετο· διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐνεγράπην, ἀλλ' ἔζηκα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ὡς στερεὰν πέτραν, καὶ ἔγνων ὅτι οὐ μὴ αἰσχυνθῶ, ὅτι ἐγγίζει ὁ δικαίωσας με. Καὶ πάλιν ὅταν 10 λέγῃ· Αὐτοὶ ἔβαλον κλῆρον ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου, καὶ ὠρυζάν μου πόδας καὶ χεῖρας. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκοιμήσθην καὶ ὑπνωσα, καὶ ἀνέστην, ὅτι κύριος ἀντελάβετό μου. Καὶ πάλιν ὅταν λέγῃ· Ἐλάλησαν ἐν χείλεσιν, ἐκίνησαν κεφαλὴν λέγοντες· Ῥυσάσθω ἑαυτόν. Ἄτινα πάντα γέγονεν 15 ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῷ Χριστῷ ὡς μαθεῖν δύνασθε. Σταυρωθέντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐξέστρεφον τὰ χεῖλη καὶ ἐκίνουν τὰς κεφαλὰς λέγοντες· Ὁ νεκροὺς ἀνεγείρας ῥυσάσθω ἑαυτόν.

39. Ὅταν δὲ ὡς προφητεῦον τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι λαλῇ  
The Spirit  
itself speaks. τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα, οὕτως λέγει· Ἐκ γὰρ  
 Σιών ~~ἐξελεύσεται νόμος καὶ λόγος κυρίου~~ ἐξ  
 Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ κρινεῖ ἀνὰ μέσον ἔθνων καὶ ἐλέγξει λαὸν  
 πολύν· καὶ συγκόψουσι τὰς μαχαίρας αὐτῶν εἰς ἄροτρα 5  
 καὶ τὰς ζιβύνας αὐτῶν εἰς δρέπανα, καὶ οὐ μὴ λήψονται  
 ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἔθνος μάχαιραν καὶ οὐ μὴ μάθωσιν ἔτι πολεμεῖν.  
 Καὶ ὅτι οὕτως γέγονε, πεισθῆναι δύνασθε. Ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἱε-  
 ρουσαλήμ ἄνδρες δεκαδύο τὸν ἀριζμόν ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸν  
 κόσμον, καὶ οὗτοι ἰδιῶται, λαλεῖν μὴ δυνάμενοι, διὰ δὲ 10  
 θεοῦ δυνάμειος ἐμήνυσαν παντὶ γένει ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἀπε-  
 στάλησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάξαι πάντας τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ  
 λόγον· καὶ οἱ πάσαι ἀλληλοφόνται οὐ μόνον οὐ πολεμοῦ-  
 μεν τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲ ψεύδεσθαι μηδ'  
 ἐξαπατῆσαι τοὺς ἐξετάζοντας ἡδέως ὁμολογοῦντες τὸν 15  
 Χριστόν ἀποθνήσκωμεν. Δυνατὸν γὰρ ἦν τὸ λεγόμενον·

Ἡ γλῶσσ' ὁμώμοκεν, ἥ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος,  
 ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς τοῦτο. Γελοῖον ἦν δὴ πρᾶγμα, ὑμῖν μὲν  
 τοὺς συντιθεμένους καὶ καταλεγόμενους στρατιώτας καὶ  
 20 πρὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ζωῆς καὶ γονέων καὶ πατρίδος καὶ πάντων  
 τῶν οἰκείων τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀσπάξεσθαι ὁμολογίαν, μηδὲν  
 ἄφθαρτον δυναμένων ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν, ἡμᾶς δέ,  
 ἀφθαρσίας ἐρώντας, μὴ πάνθ' ὑπομῖναι ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ πο-  
 θούμενα παρὰ τοῦ δυναμένου δοῦναι λαβεῖν.

40. Ἀκούσατε δὲ πῶς καὶ περὶ τῶν κηρυζάντων τὴν δι-  
Advent of  
Christ foretold. δαχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ μηνύσαντων τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν  
 προεργέσει, τοῦ προειρημένου προφήτου καὶ  
 βασιλέως οὕτως εἰπόντος διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος·  
 5 Ἡμέρα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐρεύγεται ῥῆμα, καὶ νύξ τῇ νυκτὶ ἀναγ-  
 γέλλει γυνῶσιν. Οὐκ εἰσὶ λαλιαὶ οὐδὲ λόγοι, ὧν οὐχὶ  
 ἀκούονται αἱ φωναὶ αὐτῶν. Εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν  
 ὁ φόβος αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ  
 10 ῥήματα αὐτῶν. Ἐν τῇ ἡλίῳ ἔξετο τὸ σκῆνωμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ὡς νυμφίος ἐκπορευόμενος ἐκ παστοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγαλλι-  
 ᾶσται ὡς γίγας δραμεῖν ὁδόν. Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ λό-  
 γων ἑτέρων τῶν προφητευθέντων δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δαυὶδ κα-  
 λῶς ἔχον καὶ οἰκείως ἐπιμνησθῆναι λελογίσμεθα, ἐξ ὧν  
 μαθεῖν ὑμῖν πάρεστι πῶς προτρέπεται ζῆν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους  
 15 τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα καὶ πῶς μηνύει τὴν γεγεννημένην  
 Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουδαίων καὶ αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίων  
 καὶ Πιλάτου τοῦ ὑμετέρου παρ' αὐτοῖς γενομένου ἐπιτρό-  
 που σὺν τοῖς αὐτοῦ στρατιώταις κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέ-  
 λουσιν, καὶ ὅτι πιστεύεσθαι ἔμελλεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ παντὸς  
 20 γένους ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸν υἱὸν καλεῖ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ  
 ὑποτάσσειν αὐτῷ πάντας ἐχθροὺς ἐπήγγελται, καὶ πῶς οἱ

δαίμονες, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, τὴν τε τοῦ πατρὸς πάντων καὶ  
 δεσπότου Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξουσίαν φυγεῖν  
 πειρῶνται, καὶ ὡς εἰς μετάνοιαν καλεῖ πάντας ὁ Θεὸς πρὶν  
 ἰλθεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως. Εἴρηνται δὲ οὕτως· Μα-  
 κάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ  
 ἀμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἔστη καὶ ἐπὶ κακίαν λοιμῶν οὐκ ἐκάκι-  
 σεν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τῇ νόμῳ κυρίου τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῇ  
 νόμῳ αὐτοῦ μελετήσῃ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός. Καὶ ἔσται ὡς  
 τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων, καὶ  
 ὃ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ φύλλον  
 αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορρυσσεται, καὶ πάντα ὅσα αὐτὸ ποιῇ κατενοῶ-  
 θήσεται. Οὐχ οὕτως οἱ ἀσεβεῖς, οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἢ ὥσπερ  
 χνοὺς, ὃν ἐκρίπτει ὁ ἄνεμος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς· διὰ  
 τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναστήσονται ἀσεβεῖς ἐν κρίσει, οὐδὲ ἀμαρτωλοὶ  
 ἐν βουλῇ δικαίων, ὅτι γινώσκει κύριος ὁδὸν δικαίων, καὶ  
 ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολείπεται. Ἵνα τί ἐφρύαζαν ἔθνη, καὶ λαοὶ  
 ἐμελέτησαν καινὰ; Παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, καὶ  
 οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ  
 κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ λέγοντες· Διαρρήξωμεν τοὺς  
 δεσμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορρίψωμεν ἅψ' ἡμῶν τὸν ζυγὸν αὐ-  
 τῶν. Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐκγελάσεται αὐτούς, καὶ ὁ  
 κύριος ἐκμυκτηριεῖ αὐτούς· τότε λαλήσει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν  
 ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῇ θυμῷ αὐτοῦ ταραξεί αὐτούς. Ἐγὼ  
 δὲ κατεστάθην βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Σιών ὅρος τὸ ἅγιον  
 αὐτοῦ, διαγγέλλων τὸ πρόσταγμα κυρίου. Κύριος εἶπε  
 πρὸς με· Τίός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.  
 Αἶτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν  
 σου, καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς· ποιμανεῖς  
 αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ, ὡς σκεὴ κεραμῆως συντρίψεις

αὐτοὺς. Καὶ νῦν, βασιλεῖς, σύνετε, παιδεύθητε, πάντες οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν. Δουλεύσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ. Δράξασθε παιδείας, μή ποτε ὀργισθῇ κύριος, καὶ ἀπολείσθε ἐξ ὁδοῦ δικαίας, ὅταν ἐκ-  
 5 καυσθῇ ἐν τάχει ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ. Μακάριοι πάντες οἱ ποιῶντες ἐπ' αὐτόν.

41. Καὶ πάλιν δι' ἄλλης προφητείας μηνῶν τὸ προφη-  
 Christ's King- τικὸν πνεῦμα δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δαυίδ, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ  
 dom foretold. σταυρωθῆναι βασιλεύσει ὁ Χριστός, οὕτως εἶπεν·  
 "Αἰσατε τῷ κυρίῳ, πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, καὶ ἀναγγείλατε ἡμέραν ἐξ  
 5 ἡμέρας τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ· ὅτι μέγας κύριος καὶ αἰνετὸς  
 σφύδρα, φοβερὸς ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς θεούς· ὅτι πάντες οἱ  
 10 θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰδῶλα δαιμονίων εἰσίν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς τοῦς  
οὐρανοὺς ἐποίησε. Δόξα καὶ αἶνος κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ ἰσχύς καὶ καύχημα ἐν τόπῳ ἀγιάσματος αὐτοῦ. Δότε  
 10 τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ πατρὶ τῶν αἰώνων δόξαν. Λάβετε χάριν καὶ  
 εἰσελθετε κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκυνήσατε ἐν ἀν-  
 λαῖς ἀγίαις αὐτοῦ. Φοβηθήτω ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ  
 πᾶσα ἡ γῆ καὶ κατορθωθήτω καὶ μὴ σαλευθήτω. Εὐφραν-  
 15 θήτωσαν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 15 ξύλου.

42. Ὅταν δὲ τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα τὰ μέλλοντα γίνε-  
 Past tense for θῶναι ὡς ἤδη γενόμενα λέγῃ, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς προ-  
 future. εἰρημένοις δοξάσαι ἐστίν, ὅπως ἀπολογίαν μὴ  
 παράσχη τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, καὶ τοῦτο διασαφήσομεν.  
 5 Τὰ πάντως ἐγνωσμένα γενησόμενα προλέγει, ὡς ἤδη γενό-  
 μενα. Ὅτι δὲ οὕτως δεῖ ἐκδέχεσθαι, ἐνατενίσατε τῷ νοῦ  
 τοῖς λεγομένοις. Δαυὶδ ἔτεσι χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις  
 πρὶν ἢ Χριστὸν ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον σταυρωθῆναι τὰ

προειρημένα ἔφη, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν πρὸ ἐκείνου γενομένων σταυρωθεὶς εὐφροσύνην παρέσχε τοῖς ἔξνεσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ 10 τῶν μετ' ἐκείνων. Ὁ καὶ ἡμᾶς δι' Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, σταυρωθεὶς καὶ ἀποθανὼν ἀνέστη καὶ ἰβασίλευσεν ἀνελθὼν εἰς οὐρανόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔξνεσι κηρυχθεῖσιν εὐφροσύνη ἐστὶ προσδοκῶντων τὴν κατηγγελμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀφ' Ἀρσάν. 15

43. Ὅπως δὲ μή τινες ἐκ τῶν προλελεγμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν  
Doctrine of human responsibility. δοξάσωσι καὶ εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκην φάσκειν ἡμᾶς τὰ γινόμενα γίνεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ προειπεῖν προεγνωσμένα, καὶ τοῦτο διαλύομεν. Τὰς τιμωρίας καὶ 5 τὰς κολάσεις καὶ τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἀμοιβὰς κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων ἐκάστου ἀποδίδοσθαι διὰ τῶν προφητῶν μαθύντες καὶ ἀληθεῖς ἀποφαινόμεθα. Ἐπεὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰμαρμένην πάντα γίνεται, οὐδὲ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστιν ὕλως. Εἰ γὰρ εἰμαρται τόνδε τινὰ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ τόνδε φαῦλον, οὐδ' οὗτος ἀποδεκτὸς οὐτ' ἐκείνος μεμπτός. Καὶ 10 αὖ εἰ μὴ προαιρέσει ἐλευθέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ φεύγειν τὰ αἰσχροὰ καὶ αἰρεῖσθαι τὰ καλὰ δύναμιν ἔχει τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος, ἀναίτιόν ἐστι τῶν ὡςδὴ ποτε πραττομένων. Ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐλευθέρᾳ προαιρέσει καὶ κατορδοῖ καὶ σφάλλεται, οὕτως ἀποδείκνυμεν. Τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν 15 μετέλευσιν ποιούμενον ὁρῶμεν. Εἰ δὲ εἴμαρτο ἢ φαῦλον ἢ σπουδαῖον εἶναι, οὐκ ἂν ποτε τῶν ἐναντίων δεκτικὸς ἦν καὶ πλειστάκις μετετίθετο· ἀλλ' οὐδ' οἱ μὲν ἦσαν σπουδαῖοι, οἱ δὲ φαῦλοι, ἐπεὶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην αἰτίαν φαύλων καὶ ἐναντία ἑαυτῇ πράττουσαν ἂν ἀποφαινοίμεθα, ἢ ἐκείνο τὸ 20 προειρημένον δύοξαι ἀληθεῖς εἶναι, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστιν ἀρετὴ οὐδὲ κακία, ἀλλὰ δύοξῃ μόνον ἢ ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ νομίζεται.

ἤπερ, ὡς δέικνυσιν ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος, μεγίστη ἀσέβεια καὶ ἀδικία ἐστίν. Ἀλλ' εἰμαρμένην φάμεν ἀπαράβατον ταύτην εἶναι, τοῖς τὰ καλὰ ἐκλεγμένοις τὰ ἄξια ἐπιτίμια, καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίως τὰ ἐναντία τὰ ἄξια ἐπίχειρα. Οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα, οἷον δένδρα καὶ τετράποδα, μηδὲν δυνάμενα προαιρέσει πράττειν, ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν ἄξιος ἀμοιβῆς ἢ ἐπαίνου, οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐλόμενος τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γενόμενος, οὐδ' εἰ κακὸς ὑπῆρχε, δικαίως κολάσεως ἐτύγχανεν, οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τοιοῦτος ὢν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν δυνάμενος εἶναι ἕτερον παρ' ὃ ἐγεγόνει.

44. Ἐδίδαξε δὲ ἡμᾶς ταῦτα τὸ ἅγιον προφητικὸν πνεῦμα, This doctrine the doctrine of the prophets. διὰ Μωϋσέως φῆσαν τῷ πρώτῳ πλασθέντι ἀνθρώπῳ εἰρησθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὕτως· Ἴδου πρὸ προσώπου σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν, ἐκλεξαις τὸ ἀγαθόν. Καὶ πάλιν διὰ Ἡσαΐου, τοῦ ἑτέρου προφήτου, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὕλων καὶ δεσπύτου Θεοῦ εἰς τοῦτο λεχθῆναι οὕτως· Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γένεσθε, ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, μάθετε καλὸν ποιεῖν, κρίνατε ὀρφανῶ καὶ δικαιώσατε χήραν, καὶ δεῦτε καὶ δια-  
 10 λεχθῶμεν, λέγει κύριος. Καὶ ἐὰν ὧσιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν ὡς φοινικοῦν, ὡσεὶ ἔριον λευκανῶ, καὶ ἐὰν ὧσιν ὡς κύκκινον, ὡς χιόνα λευκανῶ. Καὶ ἐὰν Σέλητε καὶ εἰσακούσητέ μου, τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς φάγεσθε, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εἰσακούσητέ μου, μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται· τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλά-  
 15 λησε ταῦτα. Τὸ δὲ προειρημένον Μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται, οὐ λέγει διὰ μαχαίρων φονευθήσεσθαι τοὺς παρακούσαντας, ἀλλ' ἡ μάχαιρα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ πῦρ, οὗ βορὰ γίνονται οἱ τὰ φαῦλα πράττειν αἰρούμενοι. Διὰ τοῦτο λέγει· Μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται· τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν.



Εἰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τεμνούσης καὶ αὐτίκα ἀπαλλασσούσης μα-  
χαίρας ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἂν εἶπε Κατέδεται. Ὡστε καὶ Πλάτων  
εἰπὼν· Αἰτία ἐλομένου, θεὸς δ' ἀναίτιος, παρὰ Μωϋσέως  
τοῦ προφήτου λαβὼν εἶπε. Πρεσβύτερος γὰρ Μωϋσῆς  
καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι συγγραφέων. Καὶ πάντα, ὅσα  
περὶ ἀθανασίας ψυχῆς ἢ τιμωριῶν τῶν μετὰ θάνατον ἢ πε-  
ριείρας οὐρανίων ἢ τῶν ὁμοίων δογμάτων καὶ φιλόσοφοι  
καὶ ποιηταὶ ἔφασαν, παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν τὰς ἀφορμὰς  
λαβόντες καὶ νοῆσαι διδύνονται καὶ ἐξηγήσαντο. Ὅθεν  
παρὰ πᾶσι σπέρματα ἀληθείας δοκεῖ εἶναι· ἐλέγχονται δὲ  
μὴ ἀκριβῶς νοήσαντες, ὅταν ἐναντία αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοῖς λέγω-  
σιν. Ὡστε ὃ φαμεν, πεπροφητεῦσθαι τὰ μέλλοντα γίνε-  
σθαι, οὐ διὰ τὸ εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκη πράττεσθαι λέγομεν,  
ἀλλὰ προγνώστου τοῦ θεοῦ ὄντος τῶν μελλόντων ὑπὸ  
πάντων ἀνθρώπων πραχθήσεσθαι, καὶ δόγματος ὄντος  
παρ' αὐτῶν κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων ἕκαστον ἀμείψεσθαι  
τὰ μέλλοντα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν  
τῶν πραττομένων ἀπαντήσεσθαι διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύ-  
ματος προλέγει, εἰς ἐπίστασιν καὶ ἀνάμνησιν αἰετῶν  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, δεικνὺς ὅτι καὶ μέλον ἐστὶν αὐτῶν  
καὶ προνοεῖται αὐτῶν. Κατ' ἐνέργειαν δὲ τῶν φαύλων  
δαιμόνων θάνατος ὥρισθι κατὰ τῶν τὰς Ὑστάτου ἢ  
Σιβύλλης ἢ τῶν προφητῶν βίβλους ἀναγιγνωσκόντων,  
ὅπως διὰ τοῦ φόβου ἀποστρέψωσιν ἐντυγχάνοντας τοὺς  
ἀνθρώπους τῶν καλῶν γνώσιν λαβεῖν, αὐτοῖς δὲ δουλεύ-  
οντας κατέχωσιν· ὅπερ εἰς τέλος οὐκ ἴσχυσαν πράξει.  
Ἀφόβως μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐντυγχάνομεν αὐταῖς, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ ὑμῖν, ὡς ὁρατε, εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν φέρομεν, ἐπιστάμενοι  
πᾶσιν εὐάρεστα φανήσεσθαι. Κἂν ὀλίγους δὲ πείσωμεν,

τὰ μέγιστα κερδήσαντες ἐσύμεθα. ὡς γεωργοὶ γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ  
 50 παρὰ τοῦ δεσπύζοντος τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἔχομεν.

45. Ὅτι δὲ ἀνάγειν τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ πα-  
 Christ's thron-  
 ing in Heaven  
 foretold. τῆρ τῶν πάντων Θεὸς μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆσαι ἐκ  
 νεκρῶν αὐτὸν ἐμελλε, καὶ κατέχειν ἕως ἂν πα-  
 τάξῃ τοὺς ἐχθραίνοντας αὐτῷ δαίμονας, καὶ συντελεσθῇ ὁ  
 5 ἀριθμὸς τῶν προεγνωσμένων αὐτῷ ἀγαθῶν γινομένων καὶ  
 ἐναρέτων, δι' οὓς καὶ μηδέπω τὴν ἐκ πύρωσιν πεποιήται,  
 ἐπακούσατε τῶν εἰρημένων διὰ Δαυὶδ τοῦ προφήτου. Ἔστι  
 δὲ ταῦτα· Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν  
 μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν  
 10 σου. Ῥάβδον δυνάμεως ἐξαποστελεῖ σοι κύριος ἐξ Ἱερου-  
 σαλὴμ· καὶ κατακυρίευσεν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου. Μετὰ  
 σοῦ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δυνάμεώς σου ἐν ταῖς λαμπρότησι  
 τῶν ἁγίων σου· ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε.  
 Τὸ οὖν εἰρημένον Ῥάβδον δυνάμεως ἐξαποστελεῖ σοι ἐξ  
 15 Ἱερουσαλὴμ, προαγγελτικὸν τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ, δυνά-  
 ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἱ ἀπύστολοι αὐτοῦ ἐξελθόντες πανταχοῦ  
 ἐκήρυξαν, καὶ, καίπερ θανάτου ὀρισθέντος κατὰ τῶν διδα-  
 स्कύντων ἢ ὕλως ὁμολογούντων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ,  
 ἡμεῖς πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀσπαζόμεθα καὶ διδάσκομεν. Εἰ δὲ  
 20 καὶ ὑμεῖς ὡς ἐχθροὶ ἐντεύξεσθε τοῖσδε τοῖς λόγοις, οὐ  
 πλείον τι δύνασθε, ὡς προέφημεν, τοῦ φονεύειν· ὕπερ ἡμῖν  
 μὲν οὐδεμίαν βλάβην φέρει, ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδίκως  
 ἐχθραίνουσιν καὶ μὴ μετατιθεμένοις κύλασιν διὰ πυρὸς αἰω-  
 νίαν ἐργάζεται.

46. Ἴνα δὲ μή τινες ἀλογισταίνοντες, εἰς ἀποτροπὴν τῶν  
 δεδιδαγμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, εἰπωσι πρὸ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκον-  
 τα γεγεννησθαι τὸν Χριστὸν λέγειν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Κυρηναίου,

δεδιδαχέναι δὲ ἃ φάμεν διδάξαι αὐτὸν ὑστερον  
 χρόνοις ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ἐπικαλῶσιν, 5  
 ὡς ἀνευζύνων ὕτων τῶν προγεγεννημένων πάν-  
 των ἀνθρώπων, φθάσαντες τὴν ἀπορίαν λυσόμεθα. Τὸν  
 Χριστὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι ἐδιδάχθημεν καὶ προε-  
 μνήσαμεν λόγον ὄντα, οὐ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μετέσχε.  
 Καὶ οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες Χριστιανοὶ εἰσι, καὶ ἄλλοι 10  
 ἐνομίσθησαν, οἷον ἐν Ἑλλήσι μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλει-  
 τος καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς, ἐν βαρβάροις δὲ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ  
 Ἀνανίας καὶ Ἀζαρίας καὶ Μισαήλ καὶ Ἡλίας καὶ ἄλλοι  
 πολλοί, ὧν τὰς πράξεις ἢ τὰ ὀνόματα καταλέγειν μακρὸν  
 εἶναι ἐπιστάμενοι τανῦν παραιτούμεθα. Ὡστε καὶ οἱ προ- 15  
 γενόμενοι ἄνεν λόγου βιώσαντες ἄχρηστοι καὶ ἐχθροὶ τῇ  
 Χριστῷ ἦσαν καὶ φονεῖς τῶν μετὰ λόγου βιούντων· οἱ δὲ  
 μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες καὶ βιοῦντες Χριστιανοὶ καὶ ἄφοβοι  
 καὶ ἀτάραχοι ὑπάρχουσι. Δι' ἣν δ' αἰτίαν διὰ δυνάμεως  
 τοῦ λόγου κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς πάντων καὶ δεσπότης Θεοῦ  
 βουλήν διὰ παρθένου ἄνθρωπος ἀπεκυήθη καὶ Ἰησοῦς  
 ἐπωνομάσθη, καὶ σταυρωθεὶς ἀποθανὼν ἀνέστη καὶ ἀνελή-  
 λυθεν εἰς οὐρανόν, ἐκ τῶν διὰ τοσούτων εἰρημένων ὁ νουν-  
 εχὴς καταλαβεῖν δυνήσεται. Ἡμεῖς δέ, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον  
 ὕντος τανῦν τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀποδείξεως τούτου λόγου, ἐπὶ  
 τὰς ἐπιηγούσας ἀποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ παρὸν χωρήσομεν.

47. Ὅτι οὖν καὶ ἐκπορῆθησιν αἱ γῆ Ἰουδαίων ἐμελ-  
 λεν, ἀκούσατε τῶν εἰρημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ προφητι-  
 κοῦ πνεύματος. Εἴρηνται δὲ οἱ λόγοι ὡς ἀπὸ  
 προσώπου λαῶν θαυμαζόντων τὰ γεγεννημένα. Εἰσὶ δὲ  
 οἷδε· Ἐγενήθη ἔρημος Σιών, ὡς ἔρημος ἐγενήθη Ἱερουσα- 5  
 λὴμ, εἰς κατάραν ὁ οἶκος, τὸ ἅγιον ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡ δόξα ἦν

The Word in  
 the world be-  
 fore Christ is  
 Christ.

Desolation of  
 Judea pre-  
 dicted.

εὐλόγησαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐγενήθη πυρίκαυστος, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔνδοξα αὐτῆς συνέπεσε. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνέσχου καὶ ἐσιώπησας καὶ ἱταπείνωσας ἡμᾶς σφόδρα. Καὶ ὅτι 10 ἡρήμωτο Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὡς προεῖρητο γενήσεσθαι, πεπεισμένοι ἐστέ. Εἴρηται δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐρημώσεως αὐτῆς, καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπιτραπήσεσθαι μηδένα αὐτῶν οἰκεῖν, διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου οὕτως· Ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἐρημος, ἔμ- προσθεν αὐτῶν οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν αὐτὴν φάγονται, καὶ οὐκ 15 ἔσται ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ. Ὅτι δὲ φυλάσσεται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ γένηται, καὶ θάνατος κατὰ τοῦ καταλαβανομένου Ἰουδαίου εἰσιόντος ὤρισται, ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστασθε.

48. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύσειν πάσας νόσους καὶ νεκροὺς  
Predictions of  
 Christ's work  
 and death. ἀνεγερῖν ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστὸς προεφητεύθη, ἀκούσατε τῶν λελεγμένων. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα· Τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀλείπεται χωλὸς ὡς ἔλαφος, καὶ τρανὴ 5 ἔσται γλῶσσα μογιγάλων· τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέψουσι καὶ λεπροὶ καθαρισθήσονται καὶ νεκροὶ ἀναστήσονται καὶ περιπατήσουσιν. Ὅτι τε ταῦτα ἐποίησεν, ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων μαθεῖν δύνασθε. Πῶς τε προμηνύται ὑπὸ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος ἀναιρετησόμενος 10 ἅμα τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐλπίζουσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀκούσατε τῶν λεχθέντων διὰ Ἡσαίου. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα· Ἴδε ὡς ὁ δίκαιος ἀπώλετο, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐκδέχεται τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ ἄνδρες δίκαιοι αἶρονται, καὶ οὐδεὶς κατανοεῖ. Ἀπὸ προσώπου ἀδικίας ἦρται ὁ δίκαιος, καὶ ἔσται ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡ ταφὴ αὐτοῦ, ἦρται 15 ἐκ τοῦ μέσου.

49. Καὶ πάλιν πῶς δι' αὐτοῦ Ἡσαίου λέλεκται, ὅτι οἱ οὐ προσδοκῆσαντες αὐτὸν λαοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν προσκυνήσουσιν.

His rejection <sup>by the Jews</sup> ~~foretold.~~ αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ αἰὲν προσδοκῶντες Ἰουδαῖοι ἀγνοή-  
σουσι παραγενόμενον αὐτόν. Ἐλέχθησαν δὲ  
οἱ λόγοι ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Εἰσὶ δὲ 5  
οὗτοι· Ἐμφανὴς ἐγενήθη τῷ ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν, εὐρέ-  
θην τῷ ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν. Εἶπον· Ἰδοὺ εἰμι, ἔσθαι, οἱ  
οὐκ ἐκάλεσαν τὸ ὄνομά μου. Ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου  
ἐπὶ λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα, ἐπὶ τοὺς πορευομέ-  
νους ἐν ὁδοῦ οὐ καλῇ, ἀλλ' ὀπίσω τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. 10  
Ὁ λαὸς ὁ παροξύνων ἐναντίον μου. Ἰουδαῖοι γὰρ ἔχον-  
τες τὰς προφητείας καὶ αἰὲν προσδοκίησαντες τὸν Χριστὸν,  
παραγενόμενον ἠγνόησαν, οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρε-  
χρήσαντο· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑσθῶν μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἀκούσαν-  
τες περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μέχρις οὗ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐξελ- 15  
θύντες ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ ἐμήνυσαν τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς  
προφητείας παρέδωκαν, πληρωθέντες χαρᾶς καὶ πίστεως  
τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἀπεγύξαντο καὶ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ  
Χριστοῦ ἑαυτοὺς ἀνέστηκαν. Ὅτι δὲ προεγινώσκετο τὰ δύσ-  
φημα ταῦτα λεχθησόμενα κατὰ τῶν τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμολο- 20  
γούντων, καὶ ὡς εἶεν τάλανες οἱ δυσφημοῦντες αὐτὸν καὶ  
τὰ παλαιὰ ἔξη κυλὸν εἶναι τηρεῖν λέγοντες, ἀκούσατε τῶν  
βραχυεπῶς εἰρημένων διὰ Ἡσαΐου. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα· Οὐαὶ  
τοῖς λέγουσι τὸ γλυκὺ πικρὸν καὶ τὸ πικρὸν γλυκύν.

50. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος παθεῖν  
Christ's <sup>humiliation</sup> ~~foretold.~~ καὶ ὑψοῦσθαι ὑπέμεινε, καὶ πάλιν μετὰ δόξης  
παραγενήσεται, ἀκούσατε τῶν εἰρημένων εἰς τοῦ-  
το προφητειῶν. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα· Ἀνθ' ὧν παρέδωκεν εἰς  
θάνατον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀνόντων ἐλογίσθη, 5  
αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν εἴληφε καὶ τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐξιλάσε-  
ται. Ἴδε γάρ, συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου καὶ ὑψωθήσεται καὶ

τὰ μέγιστα κερδήσαντες ἐσύμεθα . ὡς γεωργοὶ γὰρ ἄγαθοὶ  
 60 παρὰ τοῦ δεσπύζοντος τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἔχομεν.

45. Ὅτι δὲ ἀνάγειν τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ πα-  
 Christ's thron- τὴρ τῶν πάντων Θεὸς μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆσαι ἐκ  
 ing in Heaven  
 foretold. νεκρῶν αὐτὸν ἔμελλε, καὶ κατέχειν ἕως ἂν πα-  
 τάξῃ τοὺς ἐχθραίνοντας αὐτῷ δαίμονας, καὶ συντελεσθῇ ὁ  
 5 ἀρισμὸς τῶν προεγνωσμένων αὐτῷ ἁγαθῶν γινομένων καὶ  
 ἐναρέτων, δι' οὓς καὶ μηδέπω τὴν ἐκ πύρωσιν πεποιήται,  
 ἐπακούσατε τῶν εἰρημένων διὰ Δαυὶδ τοῦ προφήτου. Ἔστι  
 δὲ ταῦτα· Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν  
 μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν  
 10 σου. Ῥάβδον δυνάμεως ἐξαποστελεῖ σοι κύριος ἐξ Ἱερου-  
 σαλήμ· καὶ κατακυρίευσεν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου. Μετὰ  
 σοῦ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δυνάμεώς σου ἐν ταῖς λαμπρότησι  
 τῶν ἁγίων σου· ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε.  
 Τὸ οὖν εἰρημένον Ῥάβδον δυνάμεως ἐξαποστελεῖ σοι ἐξ  
 15 Ἱερουσαλήμ, προαγγελτικὸν τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ, ἐν  
 ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ ἐξελθόντες πανταχοῦ  
 ἐκήρυξαν, καί, καίπερ θανάτου ὀρισθέντος κατὰ τῶν διδα-  
 σκόντων ἢ ὅλως ὁμολογούντων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ,  
 ἡμεῖς πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀσπαζόμεθα καὶ διδάσκομεν. Εἰ δὲ  
 20 καὶ ὑμεῖς ὡς ἐχθροὶ ἐντεύξεσθε τοῖςδε τοῖς λόγοις, οὐ  
 πλείον τι δύνασθε, ὡς προέφημεν, τοῦ φονεύειν· ὕπερ ἡμῖν  
 μὲν οὐδεμίαν βλάβην φέρει, ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδίκως  
 ἐχθραίνουσι καὶ μὴ μετατιθεμένοις κύλασιν διὰ πυρὸς αἰω-  
 νίαν ἐργάζεται.

46. Ἵνα δὲ μὴ τινες ἀλογισταίνοντες, εἰς ἀποτροπὴν τῶν  
 δεδιδαγμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, εἴπωσι πρὸ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκον-  
 τα γεγεννησθαι τὸν Χριστὸν λέγειν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Κυρηναίου,

ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθεῖσαν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες καὶ εἰς πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων ἐλθόντες, ταῦτα ἐδίδαξαν καὶ ἀπόστολοι προσηγορεύθησαν.

51. Ἵνα δὲ μηνύσῃ ἡμῖν τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα ὅτι ὁ  
The majesty  
of Christ. ταῦτα πάσων ἀνεκδιίγητον ἔχει τὸ γένος καὶ  
βασιλεύει τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἔφη οὕτως· Τὴν γενεὰν  
αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται; Ὅτι αἵρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐ-  
τοῦ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν ἥκει εἰς θάνατον. Καὶ δώσω  
τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀντὶ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους  
ἀντὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ  
εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῇ στύματι αὐτοῦ. Καὶ κύριος βούλεται  
καθαρίσαι αὐτὸν τῆς πληγῆς. Ἐὰν δῶτε περὶ ἁμαρτίας,  
ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν ὕψεται σπέρμα μακρόβιον. Καὶ βούλεται  
κύριος ἀφελεῖν ἀπὸ πόνου τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, δεῖξαι αὐτῷ  
φῶς, καὶ πλάσαι τῇ συνέσει, δικαιῶσαι δίκαιον εὖ δουλεύ-  
οντα πολλοῖς. Καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει.  
Διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς κληρονομήσει πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν  
μεριεῖ σκύλα, ἀντὶ ὧν παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ,<sup>15</sup>  
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν  
ἀνῆνεγκε καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς παρεδόθη. Ὡς  
δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔμελλεν ἀνιέναι, καθὼς προεφητεύ-  
θη, ἀκούσατε. Ἐλέχθη δὲ οὕτως· Ἄρατε πύλας οὐρανῶν,  
ἀνοίχθητε, ἵνα εἰσέλθῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. Τίς ἐστὶν οὗ-  
τος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης; Κύριος κραταῖος καὶ κύριος  
δυνατός. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐξ οὐρανῶν παραγίνεσθαι μετὰ δόξης  
μέλλει, ἀκούσατε καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων εἰς τοῦτο διὰ Ἱερεμίου  
τοῦ προφήτου. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα· Ἰδοὺ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου  
ἔρχεται ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐ-  
τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ.

δοξασθήσεται σφύδρα. Ὁν τρόπον ἐκστήσονται πολλοὶ ἐπὶ σέ, οὕτως ἀδοξήσῃ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων τὸ εἶδός σου καὶ ἡ  
 10 δόξα σου ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὕτως θαυμάσονται ἔξῃ  
 πολλά, καὶ συνέξουσιν βασιλεῖς τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν· ὅτι οἷς  
 οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ ὄψονται, καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἀκηκόασιν  
 συνήσουσι. Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν, καὶ ὁ  
 βραχίων κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη; Ἀνηγγείλαμεν ἐνώπιον  
 15 αὐτοῦ ὡς παιδίον, ὡς ρίζα ἐν γῇ διψώση. Οὐκ ἔστιν  
 εἶδος αὐτῷ οὐδὲ δόξα· καὶ εἶδομεν αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν  
 εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον καὶ ἐκλεί-  
 πον παρὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Ἀνθρώπος ἐν πληγῇ ὢν καὶ  
 εἰδὼς φέρειν μαλακίαν, ὅτι ἀπέστραπται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐ-  
 20 τοῦ, ἡτιμάσθη καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσθη. Οὗτος τὰς ἀμαρτίας  
 ἡμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλογισάμεθα  
 αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐν πόνῳ καὶ ἐν πληγῇ καὶ ἐν κακώσει. Αὐτὸς  
 διὰ τὴν ἐτραυματίσθη διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ μεμαλάκισται  
 διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν· παιδεία εἰρήνης ἐπ' αὐτόν, τῷ  
 25 μῶλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν. Πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανή-  
 θημεν, ἄνθρωπος τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ ἐπλανήθη. Καὶ παρέ-  
 δωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τὸ κεκα-  
 κῶσθαι οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. Ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ  
 σφαγὴν ἤχθη· καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος αὐτόν  
 30 ἄφωνος, οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. Ἐν τῇ τα-  
 πεινώσει αὐτοῦ ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἦρθη. Μετὰ οὖν τὸ σταυ-  
 ρωθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ γνώριμοι αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀπέστησαν,  
 ἀρνησάμενοι αὐτόν· ὕστερον δέ, ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντος καὶ  
 ὁφθέντος αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῖς προφητείαις ἐντυχεῖν, ἐν αἷς πάν-  
 35 τα ταῦτα προεῖρητο γενησόμενα, διδάξαντος, καὶ εἰς οὐρα-  
 νὸν ἀνερχόμενον ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες καὶ δύναμιν



ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθεῖσαν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες καὶ εἰς πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων ἐλθόντες, ταῦτα ἐδίδαξαν καὶ ἀπόστολοι προσηγορεύησαν.

51. Ἵνα δὲ μηνύσῃ ἡμῖν τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα ὅτι ὁ  
The majesty  
of Christ. ταῦτα πάσων ἀνεκδιήγητον ἔχει τὸ γένος καὶ  
βασιλεύει τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἔφη οὕτως· Τὴν γενεὰν  
αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται; Ὅτι αἵρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐ-  
τοῦ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν ἤκει εἰς θάνατον. Καὶ δώσω 5  
τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀντὶ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους  
ἀντὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ  
εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῇ στόματι αὐτοῦ. Καὶ κύριος βούλεται  
καθαρίσαι αὐτὸν τῆς πληγῆς. Ἐὰν δῶτε περὶ ἁμαρτίας,  
ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν ὕψεται σπέρμα μακρόβιον. Καὶ βούλεται 10  
κύριος ἀφελεῖν ἀπὸ πόνου τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, δείξει αὐτῷ  
φῶς, καὶ πλάσαι τῇ συνέσει, δικαιῶσαι δίκαιον εὖ δουλεύ-  
οντα πολλοῖς. Καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει.  
Διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς κληρονομήσει πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν  
μεριεῖ σκύλα, ἀντ' ὧν παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ, 15  
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν  
ἀνῆνεγκε καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς παρεδόθη. Ὡς  
δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔμελλεν ἀνιέναι, κατ'ὡς προεφητεύ-  
θη, ἀκούσατε. Ἐλέχθη δὲ οὕτως· Ἄρατε πύλας οὐρανῶν,  
ἀνοίχθητε, ἵνα εἰσέλθῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. Τίς ἐστίν 20  
οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης; Κύριος κραταῖος καὶ κύριος  
δυνατός. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐξ οὐρανῶν παραγίνεσθαι μετὰ δόξης  
μέλλει, ἀκούσατε καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων εἰς τοῦτο διὰ Ἱερεμίου  
τοῦ προφήτου. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα· Ἰδοὺ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου  
ἔρχεται ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι 25  
αὐτοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ.

52. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὰ γινόμενα ἤδη πάντα ἀπεδείκνυμεν  
Same word of πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι προκεκηρύχθαι διὰ τῶν προφη-  
prophecy. τῶν, ἀνάγκη καὶ περὶ τῶν ὁμοίως προφητευθέν-  
 των, μελλόντων δὲ γίνεσθαι, πίστιν ἔχειν ὡς πάντως γε-  
 5 νησομένων. Ὅν γὰρ τῷ τῶν ἤδη γινόμενα προκεκη-  
 ρυγμένα καὶ ἀγνοούμενα ἀπέβη, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ  
 λείποντα, καὶ ἀγνοῖται καὶ ἀπιστῆται, ἀποβήσονται. Δύο  
 γὰρ αὐτοῦ παρουσίας προεκήρυξαν οἱ προφῆται· μίαν μὲν,  
 τὴν ἤδη γενομένην, ὡς ἀτίμου καὶ παθητοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τὴν  
 10 δὲ δευτέραν, ὅταν μετὰ δόξης ἐξ οὐρανῶν μετὰ τῆς ἀγγελι-  
 κῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς παραγενήσεται ἐκείνη, ὅτε καὶ τὰ  
 σώματα ἀνεγερῇ πάντων τῶν γενομένων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ  
 τῶν μὲν ἀξίων ἐνδύσει ἀφθαρσίαν, τῶν δ' ἀδίκων ἐν αἰσθή-  
 σει αἰωνία μετὰ τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ  
 15 πέμψει. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα προεῖρηται γενησόμενα, δηλώ-  
 σομεν. Ἐρρέθη δὲ διὰ Ἰεζεκιήλ τοῦ προφήτου οὕτως·  
 Συναχθήσεται ἁρμονία πρὸς ἁρμονίαν καὶ ὁστέον πρὸς  
 ὁστέον, καὶ σάρκες ἀναφυήσονται. Καὶ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψει  
 τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται αὐτῷ. Ἐν  
 20 οἷα δὲ αἰσθήσει καὶ κολάσει γενέσθαι μέλλουσιν οἱ ἄδικοι,  
 ἀκούσατε τῶν ὁμοίως εἰς τοῦτο εἰρημένων. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦ-  
 τα· Ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ παυθήσεται, καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν  
 οὐ σβεσθήσεται. Καὶ τότε μετανοήσουσιν, ὅτε οὐδὲν ὠφε-  
 λήσουσι. Ποῖα δὲ μέλλουσιν οἱ λαοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λέγειν  
 25 καὶ ποιεῖν, ὅταν ἴδωσιν αὐτὸν ἐν δόξῃ παραγενόμενον, διὰ  
 Ζαχαρίου τοῦ προφήτου προφητευθέντα ἐλέχθη οὕτως·  
 Ἐντελοῦμαι τοῖς τέσσαρσιν ἀνέμοις συνάξαι τὰ ἐσκορπι-  
 σμένα τέκνα, ἐντελοῦμαι τῷ βορρᾷ φέρειν, καὶ τῷ νότῳ μὴ  
 προσκῶπτειν. Καὶ τότε ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ κοπετὺς μέγας, οὐ

κόπετος στόματων ἢ χειλέων, ἀλλὰ κόπετος καρδίας, καὶ 30  
οὐ μὴ σχίσωσιν αὐτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια, ἀλλὰ τὰς διανοίας.  
Κύβονται φυλὴ πρὸς φυλὴν, καὶ τότε ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξε-  
κέντησαν, καὶ ἐροῦσι· Τί, κύριε, ἐπλάνησας ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς  
ὁδοῦ σου; Ἡ δόξα, ἣν εὐλόγησαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, ἐγε-  
νήθη ἡμῖν εἰς ὕνειδος. 35

53. Πολλὰς μὲν οὖν καὶ ἑτέρας προφητείας ἔχοντες  
Importance of *εἰπεῖν ἐπαυσάμεθα, αὐτάρκεις καὶ ταῦτα εἰς*  
prophecies for  
faith. *πεισμονὴν τοῖς τὰ ἀκουστικά καὶ νοερά ὧτα*  
ἔχουσιν εἶναι λογισάμενοι, καὶ νοεῖν δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς  
ἡγούμενοι ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς μυθοποιηθεῖσι περὶ τῶν 5  
νομοσθέντων νόων τοῦ Διὸς καὶ ἡμεῖς μόνον λέγομεν, ἀλλ'  
οὐκ ἀποδείξαι ἔχομεν. Τίνι γὰρ ἂν λύγῃ ἀνθρώπῳ σταυ-  
ρωθέντι ἐπειδόμεθα, ὅτι πρωτότοκος τῇ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ ἐστι  
καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρωπείου γένους ποι-  
ήσεται, εἰ μὴ μαρτύρια πρὶν ἢ ἰλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπον 10  
γενόμενον κεκηρυγμένα περὶ αὐτοῦ εὔρομεν καὶ οὕτως γε-  
νόμενα ὁρώμεν, γῆς μὲν Ἰουδαίων ἐρήμωσιν, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ  
παντὸς ἔθνους ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων  
αὐτοῦ διδαχῆς πεισθέντας καὶ παραιτησαμένους τὰ παλαιά,  
ἐν αἷς πλανώμενοι ἀνεστράφησαν, ἔζη, αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ὁρῶν- 15  
τες, πλείονάς τε καὶ ἀληθεστέρους τοὺς ἐξ ἔθνων τῶν ἀπὸ  
Ἰουδαίων καὶ Σαμαρέων Χριστιανούς εἰδότες; Τὰ μὲν γὰρ  
ἄλλα πάντα γένη ἀνθρώπεια ὑπὸ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύμα-  
τος καλεῖται ἔζη, τὸ δὲ Ἰουδαϊκὸν καὶ σαμαριτικὸν φύλον  
Ἰσραὴλ καὶ οἶκος Ἰακώβ κέκληνται. Ὡς δὲ προεφητεύθη 20  
ὅτι πλείονες οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων πιστεύοντες τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰου-  
δαίων καὶ Σαμαρέων, τὰ προφητευθέντα ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.  
Ἐλέχθη δὲ οὕτως· Εὐφράνῃ στείρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουσα,

ῥῆξον καὶ βύησον ἢ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς  
 28 ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα. Ἐρημία γὰρ  
 ἦν πάντα τὰ ἔξῃ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ, χειρῶν ἔργοις λατρεύον-  
 τα. Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ καὶ Σαμαρεῖς, ἔχοντες τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ  
 λόγον διὰ τῶν προφητῶν παραδοθέντα αὐτοῖς καὶ αἱ  
 προσδοκίσαντες τὸν Χριστόν, παραγενόμενον ἠγνόησαν,  
 30 πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν, οὓς προεῖπε τὸ ἅγιον προφητικὸν  
 πνεῦμα διὰ Ἡσαίου σωθήσεσθαι. Εἶπε δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ προ-  
 σώπου αὐτῶν· Εἰ μὴ κύριος ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὡς  
 Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν. Σόδομα γὰρ καὶ  
 Γόμορρα πύλεις τινὲς ἀσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν ἱστοροῦνται ὑπὸ  
 32 Μωϋσέως γενόμεναι, ἃς πυρὶ καὶ θεῷ καύσας ὁ Θεὸς κα-  
 τέστρεψε, μηδεὶς τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς σωθέντος πλὴν ἄλλο-  
 θηνοῦς τινὸς Χαλδαίου τὸ γένος, ᾧ ὄνομα Δώτ, σὺν ᾧ καὶ  
 συγατέρες διεσώθησαν. Καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτῶν χώραν  
 ἐρημον καὶ κεκαυμένην οὖσαν καὶ ἄγονον μένουσαν οἱ βου-  
 40 λόμενοι ὄραν ἔχουσιν. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀληθέστεροι οἱ ἀπὸ  
 τῶν ἔξῃ καὶ πιστότεροι προεγινώσκοντο, ἀπαγγελοῦμεν  
 τὰ εἰρημένα διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου. Ἐφη δὲ οὕτως·  
 Ἰσραὴλ ἀπερίτμητος τὴν καρδίαν, τὰ δὲ ἔξῃ τὴν ἀκρο-  
 βυστίαν. Τὰ τοσαῦτα γοῦν ὑρώμενα πειθῶ καὶ πίστιν  
 42 τοῖς τάληθις ἀσπαζομένοις καὶ μὴ φιλοδοξοῦσι μηδὲ ὑπὸ  
 πασῶν ἀρχαίοις μετὰ λόγου ἐμφορῆσαι δύναται.

54. Οἱ δὲ παραδιδόντες τὰ μυθοποιηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν

How the myths  
of the heathens  
originated.

ποιητῶν οὐδεμίαν ἀπόδειξιν φέρουσι τοῖς ἐκ-  
 5 μανθάνουσι νέοις, καὶ ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ καὶ ἀπαγωγῇ  
 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γένους εἰρῆσαι ἀποδείκνυμεν κατ' ἐνέρ-  
 6 γειαν τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων. Ἀκούσαντες γὰρ διὰ τῶν  
 προφητῶν κηρυσσόμενον παραγεννησόμενον τὸν Χριστόν,

καὶ κυλασσομένους διὰ πυρός τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, προεβάλλοντο πολλοὺς λεχθῆναι γενομένους υἱοὺς τῷ Διί, νομίζοντες δυνήσεσθαι ἐνεργῆσαι τερατολογίαν ἡγήσασθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ὁμοία τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν λεχθεῖσι. Καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἐλέχθη καὶ ἐν Ἑλλήσιν καὶ ἐν ἔθνεσιν πᾶσιν, ὅπου μᾶλλον ἐπήκουον τῶν προφητῶν πιστευθῆσεσθαι τὸν Χριστὸν προκηρυσσόντων. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀκούοντες τὰ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν λεγόμενα οὐκ ἐνόουν ἀκριβῶς, ἀλλ' ὡς πλανώμενοι ἐμμήσαντο τὰ περὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον Χριστύν, διασαφίσομεν. Μωϋσῆς οὖν ὁ προφήτης, ὡς προέφημεν, πρεσβύτερος ἦν πάντων συγγραφέων, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, ὡς προεμνήσαμεν, προεφητεύθη οὕτως· Οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ᾧ ἀπόκειται· καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο ἔσται προσδοκία ἐθνῶν, δεσμεύων πρὸς ἅμπελον τὸν πῶλον αὐτοῦ, πλύνων τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς. Τούτων οὖν τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων ἀκούσαντες οἱ δαίμονες Διόνυσον μὲν ἔφασαν γεγονέναι υἱὸν τοῦ Διός, εὐρετὴν δὲ γενέσθαι ἁμπέλου παρέδωκαν, καὶ ὅνον ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις αὐτοῦ ἀναγράφουσι, καὶ διασπαραχθέντα αὐτὸν ἀνελυθῆναι εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐδίδαξαν. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ διὰ τῆς Μωϋσέως προφητείας οὐ ρητῶς ἐσημαίνετο, εἴτε υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ παραγεννησόμενός ἐστι, καὶ εἰ ὀχούμενος ἐπὶ πῶλον ἐπὶ γῆς μενεῖ ἢ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνελεύσεται, καὶ τὸ τοῦ πώλου ὄνομα καὶ ὅνου πῶλον καὶ ἵππου σημαίνειν ἐδύνατο, μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι εἴτε ὄνον πῶλον ἄγων ἔσται σύμβολον τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ εἴτε ἵππου ὁ προκηρυσσόμενος, καὶ υἱὸς Θεοῦ ἐστίν, ὡς προέφημεν, ἡ ἀνθρώπου, τὸν Βελλεροφόντην καὶ αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἵππου Πηγάσου, ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων καὶ

ῥῆξον καὶ βύησον ἢ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς  
 πᾶν ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα. Ἐρημὰ γὰρ  
 ἦν πάντα τὰ ἔξῃ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ, χειρῶν ἔργοις λατρεύον-  
 τα. Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ καὶ Σαμαρεῖς, ἔχοντες τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ  
 λόγον διὰ τῶν προφητῶν παραδοθέντα αὐτοῖς καὶ αἱ  
 προσδοκῆσαντες τὸν Χριστόν, παραγενόμενον ἠγνόησαν,  
 πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν, οὓς προεῖπε τὸ ἅγιον προφητικὸν  
 πνεῦμα διὰ Ἡσαίου σωθήσεσθαι. Εἶπε δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ προ-  
 σώπου αὐτῶν· Εἰ μὴ κύριος ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὡς  
 Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν. Σόδομα γὰρ καὶ  
 Γόμορρα πάλαι τινὲς ἀσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν ἱστοροῦνται ὑπὸ  
 Μωϋσέως γενόμεναι, ἃς πυρὶ καὶ θεῷ καύσας ὁ Θεὸς κα-  
 τέστρεψε, μηδενὸς τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς σωθέντος πλὴν ἄλλο-  
 θενούς τινός Χαλδαίου τὸ γένος, ᾧ ὄνομα Δώτ, σὺν ᾧ καὶ  
 συγατέρες διεσώθησαν. Καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτῶν χώραν  
 ἔρημον καὶ κεκαυμένην οὖσαν καὶ ἄγονον μένουσαν οἱ βου-  
 λόμενοι ὁρᾶν ἔχουσιν. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀληθέστεροι οἱ ἀπὸ  
 τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πιστότεροι προεγινώσκοντο, ἀπαγγελοῦμεν  
 τὰ εἰρημένα διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου. Ἐφη δὲ οὕτως·  
 Ἰσραὴλ ἀπερίτμητος τὴν καρδίαν, τὰ δὲ ἔξῃ τὴν ἀκρο-  
 βυστίαν. Τὰ τοσαῦτα γοῦν ὑρώμενα πειθῶ καὶ πίστιν  
 αὐτοῖς τάληδες ἀσπαζομένοις καὶ μὴ φιλοδοξοῦσι μηδὲ ὑπὸ  
 πασῶν ἀρχομένοις μετὰ λόγου ἐμφορῆσαι δύναται.

54. Οἱ δὲ παραδιδόντες τὰ μυθοποιηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν

How the myths  
 of the heathen  
 originated.

μανθάνουσι νέοις, καὶ ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ καὶ ἀπαγωγῇ  
 τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους εἰρῆσαι ἀποδείκνυμεν κατ' ἐνέρ-  
 γεϊαν τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων. Ἀκούσαντες γὰρ διὰ τῶν  
 προφητῶν κηρυσσόμενον παραγενησόμενον τὸν Χριστόν,

καὶ κυλασθησόμενους διὰ πυρὸς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, προεβάλλοντο πολλοὺς λεχθῆναι γενομένους υἱοὺς τῷ Διὶ, νομίζοντες δυνήσεσθαι ἐνεργῆσαι τερατολογίαν ἡγήσασθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ὁμοία τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν λεχθεῖσι. Καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἐλέχθη καὶ ἐν Ἑλλασιν καὶ ἐν ἔξναι πασιν, ὅπου μᾶλλον ἐπῆκουσαν τῶν προφητῶν πιστευθῆσεσθαι τὸν Χριστὸν προκηρυσσότων. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀκούοντες τὰ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν λεγόμενα οὐκ ἐνόουν ἀκριβῶς, ἀλλ' ὡς πλανώμενοι ἐμμήσαντο τὰ περὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον Χριστύν, διασαφίσομεν. Μωϋσῆς οὖν ὁ προφήτης, ὡς προέφημεν, πρεσβύτερος ἦν πάντων συγγραφέων, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, ὡς προεμνήσαμεν, προεφητεύθη οὕτως· Οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰουδα καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὃ ἀπόκειται· καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται προσδοκία ἐξῶν, δεσμεύων πρὸς ἄμπελον τὸν πῶλον αὐτοῦ, πλύνων τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς. Τούτων οὖν τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων ἀκούσαντες οἱ δαίμονες Διόνυσον μὲν ἔφασαν γεγονέναι υἱὸν τοῦ Διός, εὐρετὴν δὲ γενέσθαι ἄμπελου παρέδωκαν, καὶ ὅνον ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις αὐτοῦ ἀναγράφουσι, καὶ διασπαραχθέντα αὐτὸν ἀνελθουμένον εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐδίδαξαν. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ διὰ τῆς Μωϋσέως προφητείας οὐ ρητῶς ἐσημαίνετο, εἴτε υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ παραγεννησόμενός ἐστι, καὶ εἰ ὀχούμενος ἐπὶ πῶλον ἐπὶ γῆς μενεῖ ἢ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνελεύσεται, καὶ τὸ τοῦ πῶλου ὄνομα καὶ ὅνου πῶλον καὶ ἵππου σημαίνειν ἐδύνατο, μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι εἴτε ὄνου πῶλον ἄγων ἔσται σύμβολον τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ εἴτε ἵππου ὁ προκηρυσσόμενος, καὶ υἱὸς Θεοῦ ἐστίν, ὡς προέφημεν, ἢ ἀνθρώπου, τὸν Βελλεροφόντην καὶ αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἵππου Πηγάσου, ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων

γενόμενον, εἰς οὐρανὸν ἔφασαν ἀνελθουσίαι. Ὅτε δὲ ἤκουσαν διὰ τοῦ ἄλλου προφήτου Ἡσαίου λεχθέν, ὅτι διὰ παρθένου τεχθήσεται καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἀνελύσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, τὸν Περσὶα λεχθῆναι προεβάλλοντο. Καὶ ὅτε 40 ἔγνωσαν εἰρημένον, ὡς προλέλεκται ἐν ταῖς προγεγραμμέναις προφηταῖς Ἰσχυρὸς ὡς γίγας δραμεῖν ὀδύν, τὸν Ἡρακλῆα ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἐκπερινοστήσαντα τὴν πῦσιν γῆν ἔφασαν. Ὅτε δὲ πάλιν ἔμαζον προφητευθέντα θεραπεύσειν αὐτὸν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνεγερεῖν, τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν 45 παρήνεγκαν.

55. Ἄλλ' οὐδαμοῦ οὐδ' ἐπὶ τινος τῶν λεγομένων νιῶν τοῦ Διὸς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι ἐμμήσαντο· οὐ γὰρ The Cross. ἐνοεῖτο αὐτοῖς, συμβολικῶς, ὡς προδεδήλωται, τῶν εἰς τοῦτο εἰρημένων πάντων λελεγμένων. Ὅπερ, ὡς 5 προεῖπεν ὁ προφήτης, τὸ μέγιστον σύμβολον τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχει, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' ὕψιν πιπτόντων δέικνυται· κατανοήσατε γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ κόσμῳ, εἰ ἄνευ τοῦ σχήματος τούτου διοικεῖται ἡ κοινωνία ἐχειν δύναται. Θάλασσα μὲν γὰρ οὐ τέμνεται, ἦν μὴ τοῦτο τὸ 10 τρόπαιον, ὃ καλεῖται ἰστίον, ἐν τῇ νηὶ σῶον μένη· γῆ δὲ οὐκ ἀροῦται ἄνευ αὐτοῦ· σκαπανεῖς δὲ τὴν ἐργασίαν οὐ ποιοῦνται οὐδὲ βαναυσουργοὶ ὁμοίως, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο ἐχόντων ἐργαλείων. Τὸ δὲ ἀνδρώπειον σχῆμα οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων διαφέρει, ἢ τῇ 15 ὀρβὸν τε εἶναι καὶ ἔκτασιν χειρῶν ἔχειν καὶ ἐν τῇ προσώπῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ μετωπίου τεταμένον τὸν λεγόμενον μυζωτῆρα φέρειν, δι' οὗ ἡ τε ἀναπνοή ἐστι τῇ ζώῳ καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο δέικνυσιν ἢ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σταυροῦ. Καὶ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου δὲ ἐλέχθη οὕτως· Πνεῦμα πρὸ προσώπου ἡμῶν Χριστὸς



κύριος. Καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ σύμβολα τὴν τοῦ σχήματος τοῦτου δύναμιν δηλοῖ, τὰ τῶν βηξίλλων καὶ τῶν τροπαίων, δι' ὧν αἱ τε πύοδοι ὑμῶν πανταχοῦ γίνονται, τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως τὰ σημεῖα ἐν τούτοις δεικνύντες, εἰ καὶ μὴ νοοῦντες τοῦτο πράττετε. Καὶ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἀποξησκύντων αὐτοκρατόρων τὰς εἰκόνας ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ σχήματι ἀνατίθετε, καὶ θεοὺς διὰ γραμμάτων ἐπονομάζετε. Καὶ διὰ λόγου οὖν καὶ σχήματος τοῦ φαινομένου, ὅση δύναμις, προτρεψάμενοι ὑμᾶς ἀνέυθυνοι. οἶδαμεν λοιπὸν ὅντες, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀπιστῆτε· τὸ γὰρ ἡμέτερον γέγονε καὶ πεπέρανται.

56. Οὐκ ἠρκέσθησαν δὲ οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες πρὸ τῆς φανερώσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ. εἰπεῖν τοὺς λεχθέντας The demons still at work. υἱοὺς τῷ Διὶ γεγονέναι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ, φανερώσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ γενομένου ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ὅπως διὰ τῶν προφητῶν προεκεκήρυκτο ἔμαζον, καὶ ἐν παντὶ γένει πιστευόμενον καὶ προσδοκώμενον ἔγνωσαν, πάλιν, ὡς προεδηλώσαμεν, προεβάλλοντο ἄλλους, Σίμωνα μὲν καὶ Μένανδρον ἀπὸ Σαμαρείας, οἱ καὶ μαγικὰς δυνάμεις ποιήσαντες πολλοὺς ἐξηπάτησαν καὶ ἔτι ἀπατωμένους ἔχουσι. Καὶ γὰρ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὡς προέφημεν, ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος γενόμενος ὁ Σίμων καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν σύγκλητον καὶ τὸν δῆμον Ῥωμαίων εἰς τοσοῦτο κατεπλήξατο, ὡς θεὸς νομιεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνδριάντι, ὡς τοὺς ἄλλους παρ' ὑμῖν τιμωμένους θεοὺς, τιμηθῆναι. Ὅθεν τὴν τε ἱερὰν σύγκλητον καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν ἡμέτερον συνεπιγνώ-15 μονας ταύτης ἡμῶν τῆς ἀξιώσεως παραλαβεῖν αἰτούμεν, ἵν' εἴ τις εἴη τοῖς ἀπ' ἐκείνου διδάγμασι κατεχόμενος, τὰ ληθῆς μαζῶν τὴν πλάνην φυγεῖν δυνήσῃ. Καὶ τὸν ἀνδριάντα, εἰ βούλεσθε, καδαίρησате.

57. Οὐ γὰρ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ἐπὶ κολάσει τῶν  
The demons  
instigate  
persecution. ἄσεβῶν οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες πείσαι δύνανται,  
 ὕνπερ τρώπον οὐδὲ λαθεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν παρα-  
 γενόμενον ἴσχυσαν πρᾶξαι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνο μόνον, τοὺς ἀλό-  
 5 γως βιοῦντας καὶ ἑμπαζῶς ἐν ἔξεσι φαύλοις τετραμμένους  
 καὶ φιλοδοξοῦντας ἀναιρεῖν ἡμᾶς καὶ μισεῖν, δύνανται ποι-  
 ῆσαι, οὓς οὐ μόνον οὐ μισοῦμεν, ἀλλ', ὡς δείκνυται, ἐλε-  
 οῦντες μεταθέσθαι πείσαι βουλόμεθα. Οὐ γὰρ δεδοίκαμεν  
 θάνατον, τοῦ πάντως ἀποθανεῖν ὁμολογουμένου, καὶ μη-  
 10 δυνὸς ἄλλου καινοῦ ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ διοικήσει  
 ὄντων, ὧν εἰ μὲν κόρος τοὺς μετασχύντας κἂν ἐνιαυτοῦ  
 ἔχει, ἵνα αἰεὶ ὧσι καὶ ἀπαθεῖς καὶ ἀνενδεεῖς, τοῖς ἡμετέροις  
 διδάγμασι προσέχειν δεῖ. Εἰ δ' ἀπιστοῦσι μηδὲν εἶναι  
 μετὰ θάνατον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀναισθησίαν χωρεῖν τοὺς ἀποθνή-  
 15 σκοντας ἀποφαίνονται, παθῶν τῶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ χρειῶν  
 ἡμᾶς ῥύόμενοι εὐεργετοῦσιν, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ φαύλους καὶ μισ-  
 ανθρώπους καὶ φιλοδόξους δεικνύουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἀπαλ-  
 λάζοντες ἡμᾶς ἀναιροῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀποστεροῦντες ζωῆς  
 καὶ ἡδονῆς φονεύουσι.

58. Καὶ Μαρκίωνα δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ Πόντου, ὡς προέφημεν,  
Marcion put  
forward by  
the demon. προεβάλλοντο οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες, ὃς ἀρνεῖσθαι  
 μὲν τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ γήινων ἀπάν-  
 των θεὸν καὶ τὸν προκηρυχθέντα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν Χρι-  
 5 στὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν διδάσκει, ἄλλον δὲ τινα καταγγέλ-  
 λει παρὰ τὸν δημιουργὸν τῶν πάντων θεὸν καὶ ὁμοίως  
 ἕτερον υἱόν· ᾧ πολλοὶ πεισθέντες, ὡς μόνῃ τὰ ληθῆ ἐπι-  
 σταμένῃ, ἡμῶν καταγελῶσιν ἀπόδειξιν μηδεμίαν περὶ ὧν  
 λέγουσιν ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἀλόγως ὡς ὑπὸ λύκου ἄρνες συν-  
 10 ἠρπασμένοι βορὰ τῶν ἀξίων δογμάτων καὶ δαιμόνων

γίνονται. Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο τι ἀγωνίζονται οἱ λεγόμενοι δαίμονες, ἢ ἀπάγειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιήσαντος Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ πρωτογόνου αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῆς γῆς μὴ ἐπαίρεσθαι ἐνναμένους τοῖς γηϊνοῖς καὶ χειροποιήτοις προσήλωσαν καὶ προσηλουῖσι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ θεωρίαν ζείων 15 ὑρμῶντας ὑπεκκρούοντες, ἣν μὴ λογισμὸν σώφρονα καὶ κα- ✓  
σαρὺν καὶ ἀπασι βίον ἔχουσιν, εἰς ἀσέβειαν ἐμβάλλουσιν.

59. Ἵνα δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων διδασκάλων (λέγο-  
What Plato owes to Moses. μεν δὲ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν) λα-  
βόντα τὸν Πλάτωνα μάθετε τὸ εἰπεῖν, ὅλην  
ἄμορφον οὖσαν στρέψαντα τὸν ζεὸν κόσμον ποιῆσαι, ἀκού-  
σατε τῶν αὐτολεξεῖ εἰρημένων διὰ Μωϋσέως, τοῦ προδεδη- 5  
λωμένου πρώτου προφήτου καὶ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν ἐν Ἑλ-  
λशि συγγραφέων, δι' οὗ μηνῦον τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα,  
πῶς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐκ τίνων ἐδημούργησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν  
κόσμον, ἔφη οὕτως· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρα-  
νὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. Ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν αὐρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, 10  
καὶ σκύτος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου· καὶ πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρε-  
το ἐπάνω τῶν ὑδάτων. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Γενήσῃτω φῶς.  
Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. Ὡστε λόγῳ Θεοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων  
καὶ προδηλωθέντων διὰ Μωϋσέως γεγενῆσθαι τὸν πάντα  
κόσμον, καὶ Πλάτων καὶ οἱ ταῦτά λέγοντες καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμά- 15  
ζομεν, καὶ ὑμεῖς πεισθῆναι δύνασθε. Καὶ τὸ καλούμενον  
Ἑρεβος παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς εἰρῆσθαι πρότερον ὑπὸ Μωϋ-  
σέως οἶδαμεν.

60. Καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ παρὰ Πλάτωνι Τιμαίῳ φυσιολογού-  
Plato and the Cross. μενον περὶ τοῦ νιόυ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτε λέγει· Ἐχί-  
ασεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ παντί, παρὰ Μωϋσέως λαβὼν  
ὁμοίως εἶπεν. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς Μωϋσέως γραφαῖς ἀναγέ-  
Ε

5 γραπται, ὡς κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Αἰ-  
 γύπτου οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ γεγόνασιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἀπήντη-  
 σαν αὐτοῖς ἰοβόλα θηρία, ἔχιδναι τε καὶ ἀσπίδες καὶ ὄφειον  
 πᾶν γένος, ὃ ἐθανάτου τὸν λαόν· καὶ κατ' ἐπίπνοιαν καὶ  
 ἐνέργειαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ γενομένην λαβεῖν τὸν Μωϋ-  
 10 σία χαλκὸν καὶ ποιῆσαι τύπον σταυροῦ, καὶ τοῦτον στῆσαι  
 ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγίᾳ σκηνῇ καὶ εἰπεῖν τῷ λαῷ· Ἐὰν προσβλέπητε  
 τῷ τύπῳ τούτῳ καὶ πιστεύητε ἐν αὐτῷ, σωθήσεσθε. Καὶ  
 γενομένου τούτου τοὺς μὲν ὄφεις ἀποθανεῖν ἀνέγραψε, τὸν  
 δὲ λαὸν ἐκφυγεῖν τὸν θάνατον οὕτως παρέδωκεν. Ἄ ἀγα-  
 15 γνους Πλάτων καὶ μὴ ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενος μηδὲ νοήσας  
 τύπον εἶναι σταυροῦ, ἀλλὰ χίασμα νοήσας, τὴν μετὰ τὸν  
 πρῶτον Θεὸν δύναμιν κεχιάσθαι ἐν τῷ παντὶ εἶπε. Καὶ τὸ  
 εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν τρίτον, ἐπειδὴ, ὡς προείπομεν, ἐπάνω τῶν  
 ὑδάτων ἀνέγνω ὑπὸ Μωϋσέως εἰρημένον ἐπιφέρεισθαι τὸ  
 20 τοῦ Θεοῦ πνεῦμα. Δευτέραν μὲν γὰρ χώραν τῷ παρὰ Θεοῦ  
 λόγῳ, ὃν κεχιάσθαι ἐν τῷ παντὶ ἔφη, δίδωσι, τὴν δὲ τρίτην  
 τῷ λεχθέντι ἐπιφέρεισθαι τῷ ὕδατι πνεύματι, εἰπὼν· Τὰ δὲ  
 τρίτα περὶ τὸν τρίτον. Καὶ ὡς ἐκπύρῳσιν γενήσεσθαι διὰ  
 Μωϋσέως προεμήνυσσε τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα, ἀκούσατε.  
 25 Ἐφη δὲ οὕτως· Καταβήσεται αἰεὶζων πῦρ καὶ καταφάγε-  
 ται μέχρι τῆς ἀβύσσου κάτω. Οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ οὖν ἡμεῖς ἄλ-  
 λοις δοξάζομεν, ἀλλ' οἱ πάντες τὰ ἡμέτερα μιμούμενοι λί-  
 γουσι. Παρ' ἡμῖν οὖν ἔστι ταῦτα ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν παρὰ  
 τῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας τῶν στοιχείων ἐπισταμένων,  
 30 ἰδιωτῶν μὲν καὶ βαρβάρων τὸ φθίγμα, σοφῶν δὲ καὶ πι-  
 στῶν τὸν νοῦν ὄντων, καὶ πηρῶν καὶ χήρων τινῶν τὰς  
 ὁφείας· ὡς συνεῖναι οὐ σοφία ἀνθρωπεία ταῦτα γεγονέναι,  
 ἀλλὰ δυνάμει Θεοῦ λέγεσθαι.

61. Ὁν τρόπον δὲ καὶ ἀνεθήκαμεν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ και-  
 Christian νοποιηθέντες διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐξηγησόμεθα,  
 baptism ὅπως μὴ τοῦτο παραλιπόντες δόξωμεν πονηρέ-  
 ειν τι ἐν τῇ ἐξηγήσει. Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν  
 ἀληθῇ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, 5  
 καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὐχεσθαι τε καὶ  
 αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων  
 ἁφαισιν διδάσκονται, ἡμῶν συνευχομένων καὶ συννηστευ-  
 όντων αὐτοῖς. Ἐπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἑστί,  
 καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθη- 10  
 μεν, ἀναγεννῶνται· ἐπ' ὀνόματος γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν  
 ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ  
Χριστοῦ καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λουτρὺν  
ποιοῦνται. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν· Ἄν μὴ ἀναγεννη-  
θῇτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. 15  
 Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰς τὰς μήτρας τῶν τεκουσῶν τοὺς  
 ἅπαξ γενομένους ἐμβῆναι, φανερὸν πᾶσιν ἔστι. Καὶ διὰ  
 Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου, ὡς προεγράψαμεν, εἶρηται, τίνα  
 τρόπον φεύζονται τὰς ἁμαρτίας οἱ ἁμαρτήσαντες καὶ μετα-  
 νοοῦντες. Ἐλέχθη δὲ οὕτως· Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γένεσθε, 20  
 ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, μάθετε καλὸν  
 ποιεῖν, κρίνατε ὀρφανῶ καὶ δικαιοῦσατε χήραν, καὶ δεῦτε καὶ  
 διαλεχθῶμεν, λέγει κύριος. Καὶ ἴδὼν ὥσιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι  
 ὑμῶν ὡς φοινικοῦν, ὡσεὶ ἔριον λευκανῶ, καὶ ἴδὼν ὥσιν ὡς  
 κόκκινον, ὡς χιόνα λευκανῶ. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εἰσακούσῃτέ μου, 25  
 μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται· τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε  
 ταῦτα. Καὶ λόγον δὲ εἰς τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων  
 ἐμάζομεν τοῦτον. Ἐπειδὴ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν ἡμῶν  
 ἀγνοοῦντες κατ' ἀνάγκην γεγεννήμεθα ἐξ ὑγρᾶς σπορᾶς

30 κατὰ μῆξιν τὴν τῶν γονέων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐν ἔξει φαύλοις καὶ πονηραῖς ἀνατροφαῖς γεγύναμεν, ὅπως μὴ ἀνάγκης τέκνα μηδὲ ἀγνοίας μένωμεν, ἀλλὰ προαιρέσεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης, ἀφέσεώς τε ἁμαρτιῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν προημάρτομεν τύχωμεν, ἐν τῇ ὕδατι ἐπονομάζεται τῇ ἐλομένῃ ἀναγεννη-  
 35 σθῆναι καὶ μετανοήσαντι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότης Θεοῦ ὄνομα, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπιλέγοντος τοῦ τὸν λουσόμενον ἄγοντος ἐπὶ τὸ λουτρὸν. Ὅνομα γὰρ τῇ ἀρρήτῃ Θεῷ οὐδεὶς ἔχει εἰπεῖν, εἰ δέ τις τολμήσειεν εἶναι λέγειν, μέμνηται τὴν ἄσωτον μανίαν.  
 40 Καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν φωτισμός, ὡς φωτιζομένων τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα μανθανόντων. Καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματος δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματος πνεύματος ἁγίου, ὃ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν προεκήρυξε τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πάντα, ὁ φωτιζόμενος  
 45 λούεται.

62. Καὶ τὸ λουτρὸν δὴ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντες οἱ δαίμονες  
 Baptism imi- διὰ τοῦ προφήτου κεκηρυγμένον ἐνήργησαν καὶ  
 tated by the  
 demons. ραντίζειν ἑαυτοὺς τοὺς εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῶν ἀπι-  
 βαίνοντας καὶ προσιέναι αὐτοῖς μέλλοντας, λοιβάς καὶ  
 5 κνίσας ἀποτελοῦντας· τέλεον δὲ καὶ λούεσθαι ἀπιόντας  
 πρὶν ἔλθειν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ, ἔνθα ἵδρυνται, ἐνεργοῦσι. Καὶ γὰρ  
 τὸ ὑπολύεσθαι ἐπιβαίνοντας τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ προσιόντας  
 αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἑρσηκεύοντας κελεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερατευόν-  
 των ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων Μωϋσεὶ τῇ εἰρημένῃ προφῆτῃ  
 10 μαθύντες οἱ δαίμονες ἐμμήσαντο. Κατ' ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τοῦ  
 καιροῦ ὅτε Μωϋσῆς ἐκελεύσθη κατελθὼν εἰς Αἴγυπτον  
 ἐξαγαγεῖν τὸν ἐκεῖ λαὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, ποιμαίνοντος  
 αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀρραβικῇ γῇ πρόβατα τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς

θείου ἐν ἰδέᾳ πυρὸς ἐκ βάτου προσωμίλησεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστὸς καὶ εἶπεν· Ὑπόλυσαι τὰ ὑποδήματά σου <sup>15</sup> καὶ προσελθὼν ἄκουσον. Ὁ δὲ ὑπολυσάμενος καὶ προσελθὼν ἀκήκοε κατελθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐξαγαγεῖν τὸν ἐκεῖ λαὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, καὶ δύναμιν ἰσχυράν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ λαλήσαντος αὐτῷ ἐν ἰδέᾳ πυρὸς Χριστοῦ, καὶ κατελθὼν ἐξήγαγε τὸν λαὸν ποιήσας μεγάλα καὶ θαυμάσια, <sup>20</sup> ἃ εἰ βούλεσθε μαθεῖν, ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐκείνου ἀκριβῶς μαθήσεσθε.

63. Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ πάντες καὶ νῦν διδάσκουσι τὸν ἀνωνύ-  
God's appear-  
ing to Moses. μαστον Θεὸν λελαληκέναι τῇ Μωϋσεί· ὤξεν τὸ  
 προφητικὸν πνεῦμα διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προμεμνη-  
 μένου προφήτου ἐλέγχον αὐτούς, ὡς προεγράψαμεν, εἶπεν·  
 Ἔγνω βούς τὸν κτησάμενον καὶ ὕνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ <sup>5</sup>  
 κυρίου αὐτοῦ, Ἰσραὴλ δὲ με οὐκ ἔγνω καὶ ὁ λαὸς με οὐ  
 συνῆκε. Καὶ Ἰησοῦς δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς, ὅτι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν Ἰου-  
 δαῖοι, τί πατὴρ καὶ τί υἱός, ὁμοίως ἐλέγχων αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 αὐτὸς εἶπεν· Οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ  
 τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ οἷς ἂν ἀποκαλύψῃ ὁ υἱός. Ὁ <sup>10</sup>  
 λόγος δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστίν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὡς προέφημεν.  
 Καὶ ἄγγελος δὲ καλεῖται καὶ ἀπύστολος· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀπαγ-  
 γέλλει ὅσα δεῖ γνωσθῆναι, καὶ ἀποστέλλεται μηνύσων ὅσα  
 ἀγγέλλεται, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν εἶπεν· Ὁ ἐμοῦ  
 ἀκούων, ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστείλαντός με. Καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ <sup>15</sup>  
 Μωϋσέως δὲ συγγραμμάτων φανερόν τοῦτο γενήσεται.  
 Δίλεκται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς οὕτως· Καὶ ἐλάλησε Μωϋσεῖ ἄγ-  
 γελος Θεοῦ ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς ἐκ τῆς βύτου καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγώ  
 εἰμι ὁ ὢν, Θεὸς Ἀβραάμ, Θεὸς Ἰσαάκ, Θεὸς Ἰακώβ, ὁ Θεὸς  
 τῶν πατέρων σου. Κάτελξε εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐξάγαγε <sup>20</sup>

τὸν λαὸν μου. Τὰ δ' ἐπύμενα ἐξ ἐκείνων βουλόμενοι μα-  
 ρεῖν δύνασθε· οὐ γὰρ δυνατόν ἐν τούτοις ἀναγράψαι  
 πάντα. Ἄλλ' εἰς ἀπύδειξιν γεγύνασιν οἷδε οἱ λόγοι, ὅτι  
 υἱὸς Θεοῦ καὶ ἀπύστολος Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός ἐστι, πρότερον  
 25 λόγος ὢν, καὶ ἐν ἰδέῃ πυρὸς ποτὲ φανείς, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐν  
 εἰκόνι ἀσωμάτων· νῦν δὲ διὰ Σελήματος Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 ἀνδρωπείου γένους ἀνδρωπος γενόμενος ὑπέμεινε καὶ πα-  
 ρεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸν ἐνήργησαν οἱ δαίμονες διατεθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἀνοήτων Ἰουδαίων. Οἵτινες ἔχοντες ῥητῶς εἰρημένον ἐν  
 30 τοῖς Μωϋσέως συντάγμασι· Καὶ ἐλάλησεν ἄγγελος τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ τῷ Μωϋσεῖ ἐν πυρὶ φλογὸς ἐν βάτῳ καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγώ  
 εἰμι ὁ ὢν, ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς  
 Ἰακώβ, τὸν τῶν ὅλων πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν τὸν ταῦτα  
 εἰπόντα λέγουσιν εἶναι. Ὅθεν καὶ τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα  
 35 ἐλέγχον αὐτοὺς εἶπεν· Ἰσραὴλ δέ με οὐκ ἔγνω, καὶ ὁ λαὸς  
 με οὐ συνῆκε. Καὶ πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὡς ἐδηλώσαμεν, παρ'  
 αὐτοῖς ὢν εἶπεν· Οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός,  
 οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ οἷς ἂν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ.  
 Ἰουδαῖοι οὖν ἡγησάμενοι αἰεὶ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων λελα-  
 40 ληκέναι τῷ Μωϋσεῖ, τοῦ λαλήσαντος αὐτῷ ὄντος υἱοῦ τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ, ὅς καὶ ἄγγελος καὶ ἀπύστολος κέκληται, δικαίως  
 ἐλέγχονται καὶ διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ  
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς οὔτε τὸν πατέρα οὔτε τὸν υἱὸν ἔγνωσαν.  
 Οἱ γὰρ τὸν υἱὸν πατέρα φάσκοντες εἶναι ἐλέγχονται μήτε  
 45 τὸν πατέρα ἐπιστάμενοι μήτ' ὅτι ἐστὶν υἱὸς τῇ πατρὶ τῶν  
 ὅλων γινώσκοντες· ὅς λόγος καὶ πρωτότοκος ὢν τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ καὶ Θεὸς ὑπάρχει. Καὶ πρότερον διὰ τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς  
 μορφῆς καὶ εἰκόνος ἀσωμάτου τῷ Μωϋσεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις  
 προφήταις ἐφάνη· νῦν δ' ἐν χρόνοις τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς,



ὥς προείπομεν, διὰ παρθένου ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος κατὰ βουλήν τοῦ πατρὸς βουλήν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν πιστευόντων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξουθενήσῃναι καὶ παθεῖν ὑπέμεινεν, ἵνα ἀποθανὼν καὶ ἀναστὰς νικήσῃ τὸν θάνατον. Τὸ δὲ εἰρημένον ἐκ βράτου τῷ Μωϋσεί· Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν, ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰακώβ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου, σημαντικὸν τοῦ καὶ ἀποθανόντος ἐκείνους μένειν καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνθρώπους· καὶ γὰρ πρῶτοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνοι περὶ Θεοῦ ζήτησιν ἡσυχολήθησαν, Ἀβραὰμ μὲν πατὴρ ὢν τοῦ Ἰσαάκ, Ἰσαὰκ δὲ τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ὥς καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἀνέγραψε.

64. Καὶ τὸ ἀνεγείρειν δὲ τὸ εἶδωλον τῆς λεγομένης Κύρης ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ὑδάτων πηγαῖς ἐνεργῆσαι τοὺς δαίμονας, λέγοντας συγατέρα αὐτὴν εἶναι τοῦ Διὸς, μιμησαμένους τὸ διὰ Μωϋσέως εἰρημένον, ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων νοῆσαι δύνασσε. Ἐφη γὰρ ὁ Μωϋσῆς, ὥς προεγράψαμεν· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. Ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀύρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπιφέρετο ἐπάνω τῶν ὑδάτων. Εἰς μίμησιν οὖν τοῦ λεχθέντος ἐπιφερομένου τῷ ὕδατι πνεύματος Θεοῦ τὴν Κύρην συγατέρα τοῦ Διὸς ἔφασαν. Καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ ὁμοίως πονηρευόμενοι συγατέρα τοῦ Διὸς ἔφασαν οὐκ ἀπὸ μίξιος, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐννοηθέντα τὸν Θεὸν διὰ λόγου τὸν κόσμον ποιῆσαι ἔγνωσαν, ὥς τὴν πρῶτην ἐννοίαν ἔφασαν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν· ὅπερ γελοιότατον ἡγούμεθα εἶναι, τῆς ἐννοίας εἰκόνα παραφέρειν θηλειῶν μορφὴν. Καὶ ὁμοίως τοὺς ἄλλους λεγομένους υἱοὺς τοῦ Διὸς αἱ πράξεις ἐλέγχουσιν.

65. Ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὸ οὕτως λαῶσαι τὸν πεπεισμένον καὶ

Administration <sup>of the</sup> ~~sacramenta~~ συγκατατεθειμένον ἐπὶ τοὺς λεγομένους ἀδελ-  
 5 καὶ ἄλλων πανταχοῦ πάντων εὐτόνως, ὅπως καταξιωθῶμεν  
 τὰ ἀληθῆ μαζούντες καὶ δι' ἔργων ἀγαθοῖ πολιτευταὶ καὶ  
 φύλακες τῶν ἐντεταλμένων εὐρεσῆναι, ὅπως τὴν αἰώνιον  
σωτηρίαν σωθῶμεν. Ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα  
 παυσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν. Ἐπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προε-  
 10 στῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράμα-  
 τος, καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὕλων  
 διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου  
 ἀναπέμπει καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων  
 παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται· οὐ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς  
 15 καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων  
 Ἀμήν. Τὸ δὲ ἀμήν τῇ ἰβραϊδὶ φωνῇ τὸ γένοιτο σημαίνει.  
Εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος  
παντός τοῦ λαοῦ οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδῶσιν  
 ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέν-  
 20 τος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀπο-  
 φέρουσι.

66. Καὶ ἡ τροφή αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία, ἥς  
 οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἐξόν ἐστιν, ἢ τῷ πιστεύ-  
 5 <sup>The</sup> ~~Εὐχαριστία~~ οντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ δεδιδαγμένα ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ  
 λουσαμένῳ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν  
 10 λουτρον καὶ οὕτως βιοῦντι ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν. Οὐ  
 γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πύμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν,  
 ἀλλ' ὅν τρόπον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς  
 Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας  
 ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγον τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ

εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μετα- 10  
βολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ  
καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. Οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι  
ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται  
εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως παρέδωκαν ἐντετάλλαι αὐτοῖς· τὸν Ἰη-  
σοῦν λαβύντα ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε 15  
εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου, τουτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου· καὶ τὸ  
ποτήριον ὁμοίως λαβύντα καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν·  
Τουτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου· καὶ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μεταδοῦναι.  
Ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Μίθρα μυστηρίοις παρέδωκαν γίνε-  
σθαι μμησάμενοι οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες· ὅτι γὰρ ἄρτος καὶ 20  
ποτήριον ὕδατος τίθεται ἐν ταῖς τοῦ μνουμένου τελεταῖς  
μετ' ἐπιλόγων τινῶν, ἢ ἐπίστασθε ἢ μαθεῖν δύνασθε.

67. Ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα λοιπὸν αἰεὶ τούτων ἀλλήλους  
ἀναμιμνήσκομεν· καὶ οἱ ἔχοντες τοῖς λειπομέ-  
νοις πᾶσιν ἐπικουροῦμεν, καὶ σύνεσμεν ἀλλήλοις  
αἰεὶ. Ἐπὶ πᾶσί τε οἷς προσφερόμεθα εὐλογοῦμεν τὸν ποιη-  
τὴν τῶν πάντων διὰ τοῦ νιού αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ διὰ 5  
πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου. Καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ  
πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέ-  
λευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων  
ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκειται μέχρις  
ἐγχωρῇ. Εἴτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος ὁ προε- 10  
στὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν κα-  
λῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται. Ἐπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ  
πάντες καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν. Καί, ὥς προέφημεν, παυσα-  
μένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ  
ὕδωρ, καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, δση 15  
δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων τὸ

ἀμὴν· καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστη-  
 ζέντων ἐκάστῳ γίνεται καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακό-  
 νων πέμπεται. Οἱ εὐποροῦντες δὲ καὶ βουλόμενοι κατὰ  
 20 προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὁ βούλεται δίδωσι, καὶ τὸ  
 συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προεστῶτι ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις, καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσον ἢ δι'  
 ἄλλην αἰτίαν λειπομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς οὔσι, καὶ  
 τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις οὔσι ξένοις, καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν  
 30 χρεῖα οὔσι κηδεμῶν γίνεται. Τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν  
 κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα, ἐπειδὴ πρώτη  
 ἐστὶν ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ὁ θεὸς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας  
 κόσμον ἐποίησε, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ τῇ  
 αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη· τῇ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κρονικῆς  
 40 ἑσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ τῇ μετὰ τὴν κρονικὴν, ἥτις ἐστὶν  
 ἡλίου ἡμέρα, φανείς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ μαθηταῖς  
 ἐδίδαξε ταῦτα ἅπερ εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ ὑμῖν ἀνεδώκαμεν.

68. Καὶ εἰ μὲν δοκεῖ ὑμῖν λόγου καὶ ἀληθείας ἔχειν,

Conclusion. *τιμήσατε αὐτά, εἰ δὲ λῆρος ὑμῖν δοκεῖ, ὥς ληρω-  
 δῶν πραγμάτων καταφρονήσατε, καὶ μὴ ὥς κατ'*

ἔχθρων κατὰ τῶν μηδὲν ἀδικούντων θάνατον ὑρίζετε.  
 5 Προλέγομεν γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκφύξεσθε τὴν ἐσομένην  
τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσιν, ἐὰν ἐπιμένητε τῇ ἀδικίᾳ· καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπι-  
 βοήσομεν· Ὁ φίλον τῷ θεῷ, τοῦτο γενέσθω. Καὶ ἐξ  
 ἐπιστολῆς δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος  
Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ἀπαιτεῖν ὑμᾶς κατὰ  
 10 ἡξιώσαμεν κελεῦσαι τὰς κρίσεις γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ κεκρί-  
 σθαι τοῦτο ὑπὸ Ἀδριανοῦ μᾶλλον ἡξιώσαμεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἐπίστασθαι δίκαια ἀξιῶν τὴν προσφώνησιν καὶ ἐξήγησιν  
 πεποιήμεθα. Ὑπετάξαμεν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς Ἀδριανοῦ

τὸ ἀντίγραφον, ἵνα καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἀληθεύειν ἡμᾶς γνω-  
ρίζητε. Καὶ ἔστι τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦτο.

15

Hadrianus Minucio Fun-  
dano.

Μινουκίῳ Φουνδανῷ.

Accepi litteras ad me  
scriptas a decessore tuo  
Serenio Graniano clarissi-  
mo viro: et non placet  
mihi relationem silentio  
praeterire, ne et innoxii  
perturbentur et calumni-  
atoribus latrocinandi tri-  
buatur occasio. Itaque si  
evidenter provinciales huic  
petitioni suae adesse valent  
adversum Christianos, ut  
pro tribunali eos in aliquo  
arguant, hoc eis exequi  
non prohibeo: precibus au-  
tem in hoc solis et adcla-  
mationibus uti, eis non  
permitto. Etenim multo  
aequius est, si quis volet  
accusare, te cognoscere de  
objectis. Si quis igitur  
accusat et probat adver-  
sum leges quicquam agere  
memoratos homines, pro

Ἐπιστολὴν ἰδεξάμεν γρα-  
φεύσαν μοι ἀπὸ Σερηνίου  
Γρανιανοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἀν-  
δρός, ὅτινα σὺ διεέξω.  
Οὐ δοκεῖ οὖν μοι τὸ πρᾶγ-  
μα ἀζήτητον καταλιπεῖν,  
ἵνα μὴ τε οἱ ἄνθρωποι  
ταράττωνται καὶ τοῖς συ-  
κοφάνταις χορηγία κακουρ-  
γίας παρασχεῖται. Ἄν οὖν  
σαφῶς εἰς ταύτην τὴν  
ἀξίωσιν οἱ ἐπαρχιώται ἐύ-  
νωνται δι᾽ ὀχνηρὸς κατὰ  
τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὥς καὶ  
πρὸ βήματος ἀποκρίνεσθαι,  
ἐπὶ τοῦτο μόνον τραπῶσιν,  
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀξιώσεσιν οὐδὲ  
μόναις βολαῖς. Πολλῇ γάρ  
μᾶλλον προσῆκεν, εἴ τις  
κατηγορεῖν βούλοιτο, τοῦτό  
σε διαγινώσκειν. Εἴ τις  
οὖν κατηγορεῖ καὶ δείκνυσί  
τι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πράτ-  
τοντας, οὕτως διόριζε κατὰ

25

30

35

40

merito peccatorum etiam τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἁμαρτή-  
supplicia statues. Illud me- ματος. Ὡς μὰ τὸν Ἡρα-  
hercle magnopere curabis, κλέα, εἴ τις συκοφαντίας  
ut si quis calumniae gratia χάριν τοῦτο προτεῖνοι, δι-  
quenquam horum postula- αλάμβανε ὑπὲρ τῆς δεινό-  
verit reum, in hunc pro sua τητος, καὶ φρόντιζε ὅπως  
nequitia suppliciiis saeviori- ἂν ἐκδικήσας.  
bus vindices.

# ΤΟΥ ΑΠΤΟΥ ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΟΥ

## ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ ΥΠΕΡ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ

### ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΣΥΓΚΛΗΤΟΝ.

1. Καὶ τὰ χθὲς τε καὶ πρῶτην ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν γενόμενα  
ἐπὶ Οὐρβίκου, ὧ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὰ πανταχοῦ  
Introduction. ὁμοίως ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγουμένων ἀλόγως πραττόμενα  
ἐξηνάγκασέ με ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὁμοιοπαθῶν ὄντων καὶ ἀδελφῶν,  
καὶ ἀγνοῆτε καὶ μὴ θέλητε διὰ τὴν δόξαν τῶν νομιζομένων  
ἀξιωματῶν, τὴν τῶνδε τῶν λόγων σύνταξιν ποιήσασθαι.  
Πανταχοῦ γάρ, ὃς ἂν σωφρονίζεται ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἢ γείτονος  
ἢ τέκνου ἢ φίλου ἢ ἀδελφοῦ ἢ ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυναικὸς κατ' ἐλ-  
λειψιν, χωρὶς τῶν πεισθέντων τοὺς ἀδίκους καὶ ἀκολάστους  
ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ κολασθήσεται, τοὺς δ' ἐναρέτους καὶ ὁμοί-  
ως Χριστῷ βιώσαντας ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ συγγενήσεται τῷ Θεῷ  
(λέγομεν δὲ τῶν γενομένων Χριστιανῶν), διὰ τὸ δυσμετά-  
θετον καὶ φιλήδονον καὶ δυσκίνητον πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὁρμη-  
σαι, καὶ οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες, ἐξθραίνοντες ἡμῖν καὶ τοὺς  
τοιούτους δικαστὰς ἔχοντες ὑποχειρίους καὶ λατρεύοντας,<sup>15</sup>  
ὡς οὖν ἄρχοντας δαιμονιῶντας, φονεύειν ἡμᾶς παρασκευά-  
ζουσιν. Ὅπως δὲ καὶ ἡ αἰτία τοῦ παντὸς γενομένου ἐπὶ  
Οὐρβίκου φανερὰ ὑμῖν γένηται, τὰ πεπραγμένα ἀπαγγελῶ.

2. Γυνή-τις συνεβίου ἀνδρὶ ἀκολασταίνοντι, ἀκολασταί-

νουσα καὶ αὐτὴ πρότερον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τοῦ  
 ὕβριστα. Χριστοῦ διδάγματα ἔγνω, ἰσωφρονίσθη καὶ τὸν  
 ἄνδρα ὁμοίως σωφρονεῖν πείθειν ἐπειράτο, τὰ διδάγματα  
 ἀναφέρουσα, τὴν τε μέλλουσαν τοῖς οὐ σωφρόνως καὶ μετὰ  
 λόγου ὀρθοῦ βιοῦσιν ἴσσεσθαι ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ κόλασιν ἀπαγγέλλουσα. Ὁ δὲ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀσελγείαις ἐπιμένων ἀλλοτριαν διὰ τῶν πράξεων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν γαμετήν. Ἀσεβὲς  
 γὰρ ἡγουμένη τὸ λοιπὸν ἢ γυνὴ συγκατακλίνεσθαι ἀνδρί,  
 10 παρὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον καὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον πόρους  
ἡδονῆς ἐκ παντὸς πειρωμένη ποιῆσαι, τῆς συζυγίας  
χωρίσσῃναι ἐβουλήθη. Καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐξεδυσωπεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν  
 αὐτῆς, ἔτι προσμένειν συμβουλευόντων, ὡς εἰς ἐλπίδα μεταβολῆς ἤξοντός ποτε τοῦ ἀνδρός, βιαζομένη ἑαυτὴν ἐπέ-  
 15 μενεν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν  
 πορευθεὶς χαλεπώτερα πράττειν ἀπηγγέλθη, ὅπως μὴ  
κοινωνὸς τῶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ ἀσεβημάτων γένηται, μέ-  
νουσα ἐν τῇ συζυγίᾳ καὶ ὁμοδαίτος καὶ ὁμόκοιτος γινομένη,  
 τὸ λεγόμενον παρ' ὑμῖν ῥεπούδιον δοῦσα ἐχωρίσθη. Ὁ δὲ  
 20 καλὸς ἀγαθὸς ταύτης ἀνὴρ, δέον αὐτὸν χαίρειν, ὅτι ἂ  
 πάλαι μετὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων εὐχερῶς  
 ἔπραττε, μέλαις χαίρουσα καὶ κακίᾳ πάσῃ, τούτων μὲν τῶν  
 πράξεων πέπαυτο καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ αὐτὰ παύσασθαι πράττοντα  
 ἐβούλετο, μὴ βουλομένου ἀπαλλαγείσης κατηγορίαν πε-  
 25 ποίηται, λέγων αὐτὴν Χριστιανὴν εἶναι. Καὶ ἡ μὲν βι-  
 βλίδιόν σοι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἀναδέδωκε, πρότερον συγχω-  
 ρηθῆναι αὐτῇ διοικήσασθαι τὰ αὐτῆς ἀξιοῦσα, ἔπειτα ἀπο-  
 λογήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ κατηγορήματος μετὰ τὴν τῶν πραγ-  
 μάτων αὐτῆς διοίκησιν. Καὶ συνεχώρησας τοῦτο. Ὁ δὲ  
 30 ταύτης ποτὲ ἀνὴρ, πρὸς ἐκείνην μὲν μὴ δυνάμενος τανῦν



ἔτι λέγειν, πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τινα, ὃν Οὐρβικὸς ἐκολάσατο, διδάσκαλον ἐκείνης τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθημάτων γενόμενον, ἐτράπετο διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ τρόπου. Ἐκατόνταρχον εἰς δεσμὰ ἐμβαλόντα τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, φίλον αὐτῷ ὑπάρχοντα, ἔπεισε λαβέσθαι τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ ἀνερωτῆσαι αὐτὸ τοῦτο μό-  
 νον εἰ Χριστιανός ἐστι. Καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, φιλαλήτη, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπατηλὸν οὐδὲ ψευδολόγον τὴν γνώμην ὄντα, ὁμολογήσαντα ἑαυτὸν εἶναι Χριστιανὸν ἐν δεσμοῖς γενέσθαι ὃ ἐκατόνταρχος πεποίηκε, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ δεσ-  
 μωτηρίῳ ἐκολάσατο. Τελευταῖον δὲ ὅτε ἐπὶ Οὐρβικόν ἡ-  
 χθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὁμοίως αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐξητάσθη εἰ εἶη Χριστιανός. Καὶ πάλιν τὰ καλὰ ἑαυτῷ συνεπιστάμενος διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδαχὴν τὸ διδασκάλιον τῆς θεί-  
 ας ἀρετῆς ὡμολόγησεν· ὁ γὰρ ἀρνούμενος ὅτι οὐκ ἦ κατε-  
 γνωκῶς τοῦ πράγματος ἕξαρνος γίνεται ἢ ἑαυτὸν ἀνάξιον ἄ-  
 πιστάμενος καὶ ἀλλότριον τοῦ πράγματος τὴν ὁμολογίαν φεύγει, ὣν οὐδὲν πρόσσεσι τῇ ἀληθινῇ Χριστιανῇ. Καὶ τοῦ Οὐρβίκου κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι Λούκιος τις, καὶ αὐτὸς ὣν Χριστιανός, ὁρῶν τὴν ἀλόγως οὕτως γενο-  
 μένην κρίσιν πρὸς τὸν Οὐρβικόν ἔφη· Τίς ἡ αἰτία; Τοῦ τῶν  
 μήτε μοιχὸν μήτε πόρνον μήτε ἀνδροφύνον μήτε λωποδύτην  
 μήτε ἄρπαγα μήτε ἀπλῶς ἀδίκημά τι πράξαντα ἐλεγχόμε-  
 νον, ὀνόματος δὲ Χριστιανοῦ προσωνυμίαν ὁμολογοῦντα  
 τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ἐκολάσω; Οὐκ ἐπὶ πόντῳ εὐσεβεῖ  
 αὐτοκράτορι οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ Καίσαρος παιδὶ οὐδὲ τῇ ἱερᾷ  
συγκλήτῳ κρίνεις, ὦ Οὐρβικε. Καὶ ὅς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἀπο-  
κρινάμενος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λούκιον ἔφη· Δοκεῖς μοι καὶ  
 σὺ εἶναι τοιοῦτος. Καὶ τοῦ Λουκίου φήσαντος Μάλιστα,  
 πάλιν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. Ὁ δὲ καὶ χάριν

οὐ εἰδέναι ὠμολόγει, πονηρῶν δεσποτῶν τῶν τοιούτων ἀπηλλάχθαι γινώσκων καὶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν πορεύεσθαι. Καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τρίτος ἐπελθὼν κολασθῆναι προσετιμῆθη.

3. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν προσδοκῶ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ὠνομασμένων

Justin and  
Crescena ἐπιβουλευθῆναι καὶ ξύλῳ ἐμπαγῆναι, ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ

Κρίσκεντος τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ φιλοκόμπου,

Οὐ γὰρ φιλόσοφον εἰπεῖν ἄξιον τὸν ἄνδρα, ὅς γε περὶ  
 5 ἡμῶν ἂ μὴ ἐπίσταται δημοσίᾳ καταμαρτυρεῖ, ὥς ἀθέων καὶ  
 ἀσεβῶν Χριστιανῶν ὄντων, πρὸς χάριν καὶ ἡδονὴν τῶν  
 πολλῶν τῶν πεπλανημένων ταῦτα πράττων. Εἴτε γὰρ μὴ  
 ἐντυχὼν τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάγμασι κατατρέχει ἡμῶν,  
 παμπόνηρός ἐστι καὶ ιδιωτῶν πολὺ χείρων, οἱ φυλάττονται  
 10 πολλάκις περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστανται διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ψευδο-  
 μαρτυρεῖν· ἢ εἰ ἐντυχὼν μὴ συνῆκε τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς μεγαλῆιον,  
 ἢ συνεῖς πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑποπτευθῆναι τοιοῦτος ταῦτα ποιεῖ,  
 πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀγεννῆς καὶ παμπόνηρος, ιδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀλό-  
 γου δόξης καὶ φύβου ἐλάττων ὢν. Καὶ γὰρ προζέντα με  
 15 καὶ ἐρωτήσαντα αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσεις τινὰς τοιαύτας καὶ μαθεῖν  
 καὶ ἐλέγχει ὅτι ἀληθῶς μηδὲν ἐπίσταται, εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς βού-  
 λομαι. Καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, εἰ μὴ ἀννέχθησαν ὑμῖν αἱ  
 κοινωναίαι τῶν λόγων, ἔτοιμος καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῶν κοινωνεῖν τῶν  
 ἐρωτήσεων πάλιν· βασιλικὸν δ' ἂν καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον εἴη.  
 20 Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰγνώσθησαν ὑμῖν αἱ ἐρωτήσεις μου καὶ αἱ ἐκείνου  
 ἀποκρίσεις, φανερὸν ὑμῖν ἐστίν ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων  
 ἐπίσταται, ἢ εἰ καὶ ἐπίσταται, διὰ τοὺς ἀκούοντας δὲ οὐ  
 τολμᾷ λέγειν ὁμοίως Σωκράτει, ὥς προέφην, ὃν φιλόσοφος,  
ἀλλὰ φιλόδοξος ἀνὴρ δείκνυται, ὅς γε μηδὲ τὸ Σωκρατικὸν  
 25 ἀξιέραστον ὄν τιμᾷ· Ἄλλ' οὐτι γὰρ πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας τιμη-

τέος ἀνὴρ. Ἀδύνατον δὲ Κυνικῇ, ἀδιάφορον τὸ τέλος προϋεμένῳ, τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἶδέναι πλὴν ἀδιαφορίας.

4. Ὅπως δὲ μή τις εἴπῃ· Πάντες οὖν ἑαυτοὺς φονεύ-  
Why Christians do not kill themselves. σαντες πορεύεσθε ἤδη παρὰ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ἡμῖν  
 πράγματα μὴ παρέχετε, ἐρῶ, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν  
 τοῦτο οὐ πράττομεν καὶ δι' ἣν ἐξεταζόμενοι ἀφύβως ὁμο-  
 λογοῦμεν. Οὐκ εἰκὴ τὸν κόσμον πεποιθέμενοι τὸν Θεὸν ὡς  
 δεδιδάγμεθα, ἀλλ' ἡ διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος· χαίρειν τε  
 τοῖς τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ μιμουμένοις προέφημεν, ἀπαρέ-  
 σκεσθαι δὲ τοῖς τὰ φαῦλα ἀσπαζομένοις ἢ λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ.  
 Εἰ οὖν πάντες ἑαυτοὺς φονεύσομεν, τοῦ μὴ γεννηθῆναί  
 τινα καὶ μασητευθῆναι εἰς τὰ Θεῖα διδάγματα, ἢ καὶ μὴ εἶναι 10  
 τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος, ὅσον ἐφ' ἡμῖν, αἴτιοι ἐσόμεθα, ἐναν-  
 τίον τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ βουλῇ καὶ αὐτοὶ ποιοῦντες, ἐὰν τοῦτο  
 πράξωμεν. Ἐξεταζόμενοι δὲ οὐκ ἄρνούμεθα διὰ τὸ συνε-  
 πίστασθαι ἑαυτοῖς μηδὲν φαῦλον, ἀσεβεῖς δὲ ἡγούμενοι μὴ  
 κατὰ πάντα ἀληθεύειν, ὃ καὶ φίλον τῷ Θεῷ γινώσκομεν, 15  
 ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀδίκου προλήψεως ἀπαλλάξαι νῦν σπεύ-  
 δοντες.

5. Εἰ δέ τινα ὑπέλθοι καὶ ἡ ἔννοια αὐτῇ, ὅτι εἰ Θεὸν  
Why men are in trouble. The evil spirits. ὁμολογοῦμεν βοηθόν, οὐκ ἄν, ὡς λέγομεν,  
 ὑπὸ ἀδίκων ἐκρατούμεθα καὶ ἐτιμωρούμεθα,  
 καὶ τοῦτο διαλύσω. Ὁ Θεὸς τὸν πάντα κόσμον ποιήσας  
 καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ἀνθρώποις ὑποτάξας καὶ τὰ οὐράνια στοι- 5  
 χεῖα εἰς αὐξῆσιν καρπῶν καὶ ὥρων μεταβολὰς κοσμήσας  
καὶ Θεῖον τούτοις νόμον τάξας, ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ δι' ἀνθρώπου  
 φαίνεται πεποιηκώς, τὴν μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ  
 τὸν οὐρανὸν πρόνοιαν ἀγγέλοις, οὓς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔταξε,  
 παρέδωκεν. Οἱ δ' ἄγγελοι, παραβάντες τὴνδε τὴν τάξιν, 10

γυναικῶν μίξειςιν ἠττήθησαν καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκνωσαν, οἳ εἰσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι δαίμονες. Καὶ προσέτι λοιπὸν τὸ ἀνθρώπιον γένος ἑαυτοῖς ἐδούλωσαν τὰ μὲν διὰ μαγικῶν γραφῶν, τὰ δὲ διὰ φύβων καὶ τιμωριῶν ὧν ἐπέφερον, τὰ 15 δὲ διὰ διδαχῆς θυμάτων καὶ θυμαμάτων καὶ σπονδῶν, ὧν ἐνδεεῖς γηγύνασι μετὰ τὸ πάξαι ἐπιθυμιῶν δουλωθῆναι, καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπους φόβους, πολέμους, μοιχείας, ἀκολασίας καὶ πᾶσαν κακίαν ἔσπειραν. Ὅθεν καὶ ποιηταὶ καὶ μυθολόγοι, ἀγνοοῦντες τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν γεννηθέντας δαίμονας ταῦτα πρᾶξαι εἰς ἄρρενας καὶ θηλείας καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη, ἅπερ συνέγραψαν, εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοὺς ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σπορᾷ γενομένους υἱοὺς καὶ τῶν λεχθέντων ἐκείνου ἀδελφῶν καὶ τέκνων ὁμοίως τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνων Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Πλούτωνος ἀνήνεγκαν. Ὁνόματι γὰρ ἑκαστον, ὅπερ ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἔδειτο, προσηγόρευσαν.

6. Ὄνομα δὲ τῷ πάντων πατρὶ θεόν, ἀγεννήτῳ ὄντι,

Names of God  
and of Christ.

οὐκ ἔστιν· ὃ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὀνόματί τι προσαγορεύηται, πρεσβύτερον ἔχει τὸν θεόμενον τὸ ὄνομα. Τὸ δὲ πατήρ καὶ θεὸς καὶ κτίστης καὶ κύριος καὶ δεσπότης οὐκ ὀνόματά ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν εὐπομῶν καὶ τῶν 5 ἔργων προσήσεις. Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἐκείνου, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱός, ὁ λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ συνῶν καὶ γεννώμενος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἔκτισε καὶ ἐκόσμησε, Χριστὸς μὲν κατὰ τὸ καὶ χρῖσθαι καὶ κοσμεῖν τὰ 10 πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν λέγεται, ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸ περιέχον ἄγνωστον σημασίαν, ὃν τρόπον καὶ τὸ θεὸς προσαγόρευμα οὐκ ὄνομά ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ πράγματος δυσεξηγήτου ἔμφυτος τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων δόξα. Ἰησοῦς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου

καὶ σωτῆρος ὄνομα καὶ σημασίαν ἔχει. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄν-  
 ἄθρωπος, ὡς προέφημεν, γέγονε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πα-  
 τὴρὸς βουλὴν ἀποκυηθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πιστευόντων ἀνθρώ-  
 πων καὶ ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν δαιμόνων, ὡς καὶ νῦν ἐκ τῶν  
 ὑπ' ὅψιν γινομένων μαθεῖν δύνασθε. Δαιμονιολήπτους γὰρ  
 πολλοὺς κατὰ πάντα τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει  
 πολλοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀνθρώπων τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἐπορ-  
 κίζοντες κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρω-  
 θέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων  
 ἐπορκιστῶν καὶ ἐπαστῶν καὶ φαρμακευτῶν μὴ ἰαζέοντας ἰά-  
 σαντο καὶ ἔτι νῦν ἰῶνται, καταργοῦντες καὶ ἐκδιώκοντες  
 τοὺς κατέχοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δαίμονας. 25

7. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐπιμένει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν σύγχυσιν καὶ κατάλυσιν  
 τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου μὴ ποιῆσαι, ἵνα καὶ οἱ φαύ-  
 λοι ἄγγελοι καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι μηκέτι  
 ὦσι, διὰ τὸ σπέρμα τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὃ γινώσκει ἐν τῇ φύ-  
 σει ὅτι αἰτίον ἐστιν. Ἐπεὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ εἰ  
 ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἔτι ποιῆν καὶ ἐνεργεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φαύλων  
 δαιμόνων δυνατόν ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πῦρ τὸ τῆς κρίσεως κατελ-  
 θὺν ἀνέδην πάντα διέκρινεν, ὡς καὶ πρύτερον ὁ κατακλυ-  
 σμὸς μὴδένα λιπὼν ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν μόνον σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις παρ'  
 ἡμῖν καλούμενον Νῶε, παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ Δευκαλίωνα, ἐξ οὗ πά-  
 λιν οἱ τοσοῦτοι γεγόνασιν, ὧν οἱ μὲν φαῦλοι, οἱ δὲ σπου-  
 दाῖοι. Οὕτω γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὴν ἐκπύρωσίν φαμεν γενήσεσθαι,  
 ἀλλ' οὐχ, ὡς οἱ Στωϊκοί, κατὰ τὸν τῆς εἰς ἄλλα πάντα  
 μεταβολῆς λόγον, ὃ αἰσχιστον ἐφάνη. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ κατ'  
 εἰμαρμένην πρᾶττειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἢ πάσχειν τὰ γινώ-  
 μενα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μὲν τὴν προαίρεσιν ἕκαστον κατορθοῦν ἢ  
 ἁμαρτάνειν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων ἐνέργειαν

The world pre-  
 served for the  
 sake of Chris-  
 tians.

τοὺς σπουδαίους, οἷον Σωκράτην καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους, διώ-  
 κεσθαι καὶ ἐν δεσμοῖς εἶναι, Σαρδανάπαλον δὲ καὶ Ἐπίκου-  
 ρον καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους ἐν ἀφρονίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ δοκεῖν εὐδαιμο-  
 νεῖν. Ὁ μὴ νοήσαντες οἱ Στωϊκοὶ καὶ εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκη  
 πάντα γίνεσθαι ἀπεφήναντο. Ἄλλ' ὅτι αὐτεξούσιον  
 τό τε τῶν ἀγγέλων γένος καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός, δικαίως ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν πλημμελήσωσι τὴν  
 τιμωρίαν ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ κομίσονται. Γεννητοῦ δὲ παντὸς  
 ἤδε ἡ φύσις, κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς δεκτικὸν εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν  
 ἦν ἐπαινετὸν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν, εἰ οὐκ ἦν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα τρέπεσθαι  
 καὶ δύναμιν εἶχε. Δεικνύουσι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ πανταχοῦ  
 κατὰ λόγον τὸν ὁρθὸν νομοθετήσαντες καὶ φιλοσοφήσαντες  
 30 ἀνθρώποι ἐκ τοῦ ὑπαγορεύειν τάδε μὲν πράττειν, τῶνδε δὲ  
 ἀπέχεσθαι. Καὶ οἱ Στωϊκοὶ φιλόσοφοι ἐν τῇ περὶ ἡθῶν  
 λόγῳ τὰ αὐτὰ τιμῶσι καρτερώς, ὥς δηλοῦσθαι ἐν τῇ περὶ  
 ἀρχῶν καὶ ἀσωμάτων λόγῳ οὐκ εὐδοῦν αὐτούς. Εἴτε  
 γὰρ καὶ εἰμαρμένην φήσουσι τὰ γινόμενα πρὸς ἀνθρώπων  
 35 γίνεσθαι, ἢ μηδὲν εἶναι θεὸν παρὰ τρεπόμενα καὶ ἀλλοιού-  
 μενα καὶ ἀναλυόμενα εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ αἰεὶ, ἢ φθαρτῶν μόνων  
 φανήσονται κατάληψιν ἐσχηκέναι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν διὰ τε  
 τῶν μερῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὕλου ἐν πάσῃ κακίᾳ γινόμενον, ἢ  
 μηδὲν εἶναι κακίαν μηδ' ἀρετήν, ὑπὲρ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν σῶ-  
 40 φρονα ἔννοιαν καὶ λόγον καὶ νοῦν ἐστι.

8. Καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Στωϊκῶν δὲ δογμάτων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ

The world  
 hates the bear-  
 ers of the seed.

τὸν ἡθικὸν λόγον κόσμιοι γεγονάσιν, ὥς καὶ ἐν  
 τισιν οἱ ποιηταὶ διὰ τὸ ἐμφυτον παντὶ γένει ἀν-  
 θρώπων σπέρμα τοῦ λόγου, μεμισῆσθαι καὶ πεφονεύσθαι  
 5 οἶδαμεν. Ἡράκλειτον μὲν, ὥς προέφημεν, καὶ Μουσώνιον  
 δὲ ἐν τοῖς καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἄλλους οἶδαμεν. Ὡς γὰρ ἐσημά-

ναμεν, πάντας τοὺς κἄν ὁπωσδήποτε κατὰ λόγον βιοῦν σπουδάζοντας καὶ κακίαν φεύγειν μισεῖσθαι αἰὲ ἐνήργησαν οἱ δαίμονες. Οὐδὲν δὲ θαυμαστόν, εἰ τοὺς οὐ κατὰ σπερματικοῦ λόγου μέρος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ παντός λόγου, ὃ 10 ἔστι Χριστοῦ, γνῶσιν καὶ θεωρίαν πολὺ μᾶλλον μισεῖσθαι οἱ δαίμονες ἐλεγχόμενοι ἐνεργοῦσιν· οἱ τὴν ἀξίαν κόλασιν καὶ τιμωρίαν κομίσονται ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ ἐγκλεισζέμεντες. Εἰ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἤδη διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡττώνται, δίδαγμά ἐστι τῆς καὶ μελλούσης αὐτοῖς καὶ 15 τοῖς λατρεύουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐσομένης ἐν πυρὶ αἰωνίῳ κολάσεως. Οὕτως γὰρ καὶ οἱ προφῆται πάντες προεκήρυξαν γενήσεσθαι, καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἡμέτερος διδάσκαλος ἐδίδαξε.

9. Ἵνα δὲ μή τις εἴπῃ τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν νομιζομέ-  
Eternal punishment a necessity of God's existence. νων φιλοσόφων, ὅτι κόμποι καὶ φόβητρά ἐστι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅτι κολάζονται ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ οἱ ἄδικοι, καὶ διὰ φόβον ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὸ καλὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀρεστὸν ἐναρέτως βιοῦν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀξιούμεν, 5 βραχυπεῶς πρὸς τοῦτο ἀποκρινοῦμαι, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν, οὔτε ἔστι θεός, ἢ εἰ ἔστιν, οὐ μέλει αὐτῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐστιν ἀρετὴ οὐδὲ κακία, καί, ὥς προέφημεν, ἀδί- κως τιμωροῦσιν οἱ νομοῦνται τοὺς παραβαίνοντας τὰ δια- τεταγμένα καλὰ. Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄδικοι ἐκείνοι καὶ ὁ αὐτῶν 10 πατήρ τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ πράττειν διὰ τοῦ λόγου διδάσκων, οἱ τούτοις συντιζέμενοι οὐκ ἄδικοι. Ἐὰν δέ τις τοὺς διαφό- ρους νόμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων προβάλλῃ, λέγων ὅτι παρ' οἷς μὲν ἀνθρώποις τύδε καλὰ, τὰ δὲ αἰσχροῦς νενόμισται, παρ' ἄλλοις δὲ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις αἰσχροῦς καλὰ, καὶ τὰ καλὰ 15 αἰσχροῦς νομίζεται, ἀκουέτω καὶ τῶν εἰς τοῦτο λεγομένων. Καὶ νόμους διατάξασθαι τῇ ἑαυτῶν κακίᾳ ὁμοίους τοὺς

πονηροὺς ἀγγέλους ἐπιστάμεθα, οἷς χαίρουσιν οἱ ὅμοιοι  
γενόμενοι ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ὁρῶντες λόγος παρελθὼν οὐ πάσας  
20 δόξας οὐδὲ πάντα δόγματα καλὰ ἀποδείκνυσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ  
μὲν φαῦλα, τὰ δὲ ἀγαθὰ· ὥστε μοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τοιού-  
τους τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια εἰρήσεται, καὶ λεχθήσεται διὰ  
πλειόνων ἐὰν χρεία ᾖ. Τανῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον  
ἀνέρχομαι.

10. Μεγαλειότερα μὲν οὖν πάσης ἀνθρωπείου διδασκα-  
Comparison of λίας φαίνεται τὰ ἡμέτερα διὰ τὸ λογικὸν τὸ  
Christ with  
Socrates. ὅλον τὸν φανέντα δι' ἡμᾶς Χριστὸν γεγονέναι,  
καὶ σῶμα καὶ λόγον καὶ ψυχὴν. Ὅσα γὰρ καλῶς αἰεὶ  
5 ἐφθέγγαντο καὶ εὖρον οἱ φιλοσοφήσαντες ἢ νομοθετήσαν-  
τες, κατὰ λόγου μέρος εὐρέσεως καὶ θεωρίας ἐστὶ πονηζέντα  
αὐτοῖς. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ πάντα τὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐγνώρισαν, ὅς  
ἐστι Χριστός, καὶ ἐναντία ἑαυτοῖς πολλάκις εἶπον. Καὶ  
οἱ προγεγενημένοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, λόγῳ  
10 πειραζέντες τὰ πράγματα θεωρῆσαι καὶ ἐλέγχειν, ὡς ἀσεβεῖς  
καὶ περιέργοι εἰς δικαστήρια ἤχθησαν. Ὁ πάντων δὲ αὐ-  
τῶν εὐτονώτερος πρὸς τοῦτο γενόμενος Σωκράτης τὰ αὐτὰ  
ἡμῖν ἐνεκλήθη· καὶ γὰρ ἔφασαν αὐτὸν καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσ-  
φέρειν, καὶ οὗς ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς μὴ ἡγείσθαι αὐτόν.  
15 Ὁ δὲ δαίμονας μὲν τοὺς φαύλους καὶ τοὺς πράξαντας αἰ-  
ἔφασαν οἱ ποιηταί, ἐκβαλὼν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ  
τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητάς, παραιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδί-  
δαξε, πρὸς θεοῦ δέ, τοῦ ἀγνώστου αὐτοῖς, διὰ λόγου ζητή-  
σεως ἐπίγνωσιν προὔτρεπετο εἰπών· Τὸν δὲ πατέρα καὶ  
20 δημιουργὸν πάντων οὐδ' εὐρεῖν ῥάδιον οὐδ' εὐρόντα εἰς  
πάντας εἰπεῖν ἀσφαλές. Ἄ ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστὸς διὰ τῆς  
ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως ἔπραξε. Σωκράτει μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐπέισθη



ὑπὲρ τούτου τοῦ δόγματος ἀποθνήσκειν, Χριστῷ δέ, τῷ καὶ ὑπὸ Σωκράτους ἀπὸ μέρους γνωσθέντι (λόγος γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἔστιν ὁ ἐν παντὶ ὢν, καὶ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν προειπὼν τὰ πρὸς μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ ὁμοιοπαθοῦς γενομένου καὶ διδάξαντος ταῦτα), οὐ φιλόσοφοι οὐδὲ φιλόλογοι μόνον ἐπέεσθην, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειροτέχναι καὶ παντελῶς ἰδιῶται καὶ δόξης καὶ φόβου καὶ θανάτου καταφρονήσαντες· ἐπειδὴ δυνάμεις ἐστί τοῦ ἀρρήτου πατρὸς καὶ οὐχὶ ἀνθρώπου λόγου κατασκευή.

11. Οὐκ ἂν δὲ οὐδὲ ἐφονεύμεθα οὐδὲ δυνατώτεροι ἡμῶν ἦσαν οἱ τε ἄδικοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ δαίμονες, εἰ μὴ πάντως παντὶ γεννωμένῳ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ θανεῖν ὠφείλετο· ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ὑφλημα ἀποδιδόντες εὐχαριστοῦμεν. Καίτοι γε καὶ τὸ Ξενοφώντειον ἐκεῖνο νῦν πρὸς τε Κρίσκεντα καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίως αὐτῷ ἀφραίνοντας καλὸν καὶ εὐκαιρον εἰπεῖν ἡγοῦμεθα. Τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐπὶ τρίοδόν τινα ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν βαδίζοντα εὑρεῖν τήν τε Ἀρετήν καὶ τὴν Κακίαν, ἐν γυναικῶν μορφαῖς φαινομένας. Καὶ τὴν μὲν Κακίαν, ἄβρᾱ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐρωτοπεποιημένῳ καὶ ἀνθοῦντι ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων προσώπῳ, Ξελκτικὴν τε εὐδὺς πρὸς τὰς ὄψεις οὖσαν, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ὅτι, ἦν αὐτῇ ἔπηται, ἡδόμενός τε καὶ κεκοσμημένος τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ καὶ ὁμοίῳ τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν κόσμῳ διαιτήσῃ αἰὲ ποιήσῃ. Καὶ τὴν Ἀρετὴν ἐν ἀνύχμηρῳ μὲν τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ τῇ περιβολῇ οὖσαν εἰπεῖν· Ἀλλ' ἦν ἐμοὶ πείσῃ, οὐ κόσμῳ οὐδὲ κάλλει τῷ ρέοντι καὶ φθειρομένῳ ἑαυτὸν κοσμήσεις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αἰδίοις καὶ καλοῖς κόσμοις. Καὶ πάνθ' ὄντινούν πεπείσμεθα φεύγοντα τὰ δοκοῦντα καλὰ, τὰ δὲ νομιζόμενα σκληρὰ καὶ ἄλογα μετερχόμενον εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκδέχεσθαι.

σοβ.  
τε  
^

Ἡ γὰρ κακία, πρύβλημα ἑαυτῆς τῶν πράξεων τὰ προσύντα  
τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ ὄντως ὄντα καλὰ διὰ μιμήσεως φαρτῶν  
περιβαλλομένη (ἄφαρτον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔχει οὐδὲ ποιῆσαι  
δύναται), δουλαγωγεῖ τοὺς χαμαιπιτεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὰ  
προσύντα αὐτῇ φαῦλα τῇ ἀρετῇ περιθεῖσα. Οἱ δὲ νενοη-  
κύτες τὰ προσύντα τῇ ὄντι καλὰ καὶ ἄφαρτοι τῇ ἀρετῇ·  
ὁ καὶ περὶ Χριστιανῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου καὶ τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων τῶν τοιαῦτα πραξάντων, ὑποῖα ἔφασαν οἱ  
ποιηταὶ περὶ τῶν νομιζομένων θεῶν, ὑπολαβεῖν δεῖ πάντα  
νοννεχῇ, ἐκ τοῦ καὶ τοῦ φευκτοῦ καταφρονεῖν ἡμᾶς θανάτου  
λογισμὸν ἔλκοντα.

12. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγώ, τοῖς Πλάτωνος χαίρων διδάγμα-  
σι, διαβαλλομένους ἀκούων Χριστιανούς,  
Innocence of Chris-  
tians proved by  
their contempt of  
death. ὁρῶν δὲ ἀφόβους πρὸς θάνατον καὶ πάντα  
τὰ ἄλλα νομιζόμενα φοβερά, ἐνενόουν ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἐν  
κακίᾳ καὶ φιληδονίᾳ ὑπάρχειν αὐτούς. Τίς γὰρ φιλήδονος  
ἡ ἀκρατῆς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων σαρκῶν βορὰν ἀγαθὸν ἡγου-  
μενος δύναται ἂν θάνατον ἀσπάζεσθαι, ὅπως τῶν αὐτοῦ  
ἀγαθῶν στερηθῇ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ παντὸς ζῆν μὲν αἰετὴν ἐν-  
θάδε βιοτήν καὶ λανθάνειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπειράτο, οὐχ  
ὅτι γε ἑαυτὸν κατήγγελλε φονευησόμενον; Ἡδὲ καὶ τοῦτο  
ἐνήργησαν οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες διὰ τινων πονηρῶν ἀνθρώ-  
πων πραχθῆναι. Φονεύοντες γὰρ αὐτοὶ τινὰς ἐπὶ συκο-  
φαντίᾳ τῇ εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ εἰς βασάνους εἴλκυσαν οἰκέτας τῶν  
ἡμετέρων ἡ παῖδας ἡ γυναῖκα, καὶ δι' αἰκισμῶν φοβερῶν  
ἐξαναγκάζουσι κατεπιεῖν ταῦτα τὰ μυθολογούμενα, ἃ αὐτοὶ  
φανερῶς πράττουσιν· ὧν ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲν πρόσεστιν ἡμῖν, οὐ  
φροντίζομεν, θεὸν τὸν ἀγέννητον καὶ ἄρρητον μάρτυρα  
ἔχοντες τῶν τε λογισμῶν καὶ τῶν πράξεων. Τίνος γὰρ

χάριν οὐχὶ καὶ ταῦτα δημοσίᾳ ὡμολογοῦμεν ἀγαθὰ καὶ φιλοσοφίαν θείαν αὐτὰ ἀπεδείκνυμεν, φάσκοντες Κρόνου καὶ μὲν μυστήρια τελεῖν ἐν τῷ ἀνδροφονεῖν, καὶ ἐν τῷ αἵματος ἐμπίπλασθαι, ὡς λέγεται, τὰ ἴσα τῷ παρ' ὑμῖν τιμωμένῳ εἰδῶλῳ, ᾧ οὐ μόνον ἀλύγων ζῶν αἵματα προσραίνετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπεια, διὰ τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐπισημοτάτου καὶ εὐγενεστάτου ἀνδρὸς τὴν πρόσχυσιν τοῦ τῶν φονευθέντων αἵματος ποιούμενοι, Διὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν μιμηταὶ γινόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἀνδροβατεῖν καὶ γυναιξὶν ἀδεῶς μίγνυσθαι, Ἐπικούρου μὲν καὶ τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν συγγράμματα ἀπολογίαν φέροντες; Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα τὰ μαθήματα καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας καὶ μιμουμένους φεύγειν πείζομεν, ὡς καὶ οὐ νῦν διὰ τῶνδε τῶν λόγων ἡγωνίσμεθα, ποικίλως πολεμούμεθα· ἀλλ' οὐ φροντίζομεν, ἔπει θεὸν τῶν πάντων ἐπόπτην δίκαιον οἶδαμεν. Εἴτε καὶ νῦν τις ἐν τραγικῇ φωνῇ ἀνέβόησεν ἐπὶ τι βῆμα ὑψηλὸν ἀναβάς· Αἰδέσθετε, αἰδέσθετε ἃ φανερώς πράττετε εἰς ἀναιτίους ἀναφέροντες, καὶ τὰς προσόντα καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις θεοῖς περιβάλλοντες τοῦτοις· ὧν οὐκ ἐν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ποσὺν μετουσία ἐστί. Μετάθεσθε, σωφρονίσθετε.

13. Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ μαζὼν περίβλημα πονηρὸν εἰς ἀπο-  
The Word has been in all men. στροφὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων περιτεθειμένον ὑπὸ τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων τοῖς Χριστιανῶν θείοις διδάγμασι, καὶ ψευδολογουμένων ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ περιβλήματος κατεγέλασα καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξης. 5 Χριστιανὸς εὐρεθῆναι καὶ εὐχόμενος καὶ παμμάχως ἀγωνιζόμενος ὡμολογῶ οὐχ ὅτι ἀλλότριά ἐστι τὰ Πλάτωνος διδάγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐστι πάντῃ ὁμοία, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, Στωϊκῶν τε καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ  
 F

10 συγγραφίων. Ἐκαστος γάρ τις ἀπὸ μέρους τοῦ σπερμα-  
 τικοῦ θείου λόγου τὸ συγγενὲς ὁρῶν καλῶς ἐφθέγγετο· οἱ  
 δὲ τάναντία αὐτοῖς ἐν κυριωτέροις εἰρηκύτες οὐκ ἐπιστήμην  
 τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ γινῶσιν τὴν ἀνέλεγκτον φαίνονται  
 ἐσχηκέναι. Ὅσα οὖν παρὰ πᾶσι καλῶς εἴρηται, ἡμῶν τῶν  
 15 Χριστιανῶν ἐστὶ· τὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἀγεννήτου καὶ ἀρρήτου  
 θεοῦ λόγον μετὰ τὸν θεὸν προσκυνοῦμεν καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν,  
 ἐπειδὴ καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν, ὅπως καὶ τῶν πα-  
 ῥων τῶν ἡμετέρων συμμέτοχος γενόμενος καὶ ἴσιν ποιή-  
 σθαι. Οἱ γὰρ συγγραφεῖς πάντες διὰ τῆς ἐνούσης ἐμφύ-  
 20 του τοῦ λόγου σποράς ἀμυδρῶς ἐδύναντο ὁρᾶν τὰ ὄντα.  
 Ἐτερον γάρ ἐστι σπέρμα τινὸς καὶ μίμημα κατὰ δύναμιν  
 δοξῆν καὶ ἕτερον αὐτὸ οὐ κατὰ χάριν τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἢ  
 μετουσία καὶ μίμησις γίνεται.

14. Καὶ ὑμᾶς οὖν ἀξιοῦμεν ὑπογράψαντας τὸ ὑμῖν δοκοῦν  
 Justin prays that this appeal be  
 published. προξείναι τοῦτ' ἐν τῷ βιβλίδιον, ὅπως καὶ τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις τὰ ἡμέτερα γνωσθῇ καὶ δύνωνται τῆς  
 ψευδοδοξίας καὶ ἀγνοίας τῶν καλῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οἱ παρὰ  
 5 τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἰτίαν ὑπεύθυνοι ταῖς τιμωρίαις γίνονται [εἰς  
 τὸ γνωσθῆναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ταῦτα], διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ φύσει  
 τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τὸ γνωριστικὸν καλοῦ καὶ αἰσχροῦ,  
 καὶ διὰ τὸ ἡμῶν, οὐδ' οὐκ ἐπίστανται τοιαῦτα ὑποῖα λέγου-  
 σιν αἰσχρὰ καταψηφιζομένους, καὶ διὰ τὸ χαίρειν τοιαῦτα  
 10 πράξαι θεοῖς καὶ ἐν νῦν ἀπαιτοῦσι παρὰ ἀνθρώπων τὰ  
 ὅμοια, ὥς ἐκ τοῦ καὶ ἡμῖν, ὥς τοιαῦτα πράττουσι, θάνατον  
 ἢ δεσμὰ ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον προστιμᾶν ἑαυτοὺς κατακρίνειν,  
 ὥς μὴ δέεσθαι ἄλλων δικαστῶν.

15. Καὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ἔσθαι ἀσεβοῦς καὶ πλάνου Σιμων-  
 ιανοῦ διδάγματος κατεφρόνησα. Ἐὰν δὲ ὑμεῖς τοῦτο προ-





# ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΓΝΗΤΟΝ.

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1. Ἐπειδὴ ὕρῳ, κράτιστε Διόγνητε, ὑπερεσπουδακότα σε  
Introduction. The questions of Diogenes. τὴν Θεοσίβειαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθεῖν καὶ  
πάνυ σαφῶς καὶ ἐπιμελῶς πυνθανόμενον περὶ  
αὐτῶν, τίνοι τε Θεῶ πεποιθότες καὶ πῶς θρησκέοντες αὐ-  
τῶν, τὸν τε κόσμον ὑπερορῶσι πάντες καὶ θανάτου κατα- 5  
φρονοῦσι, καὶ οὔτε τοὺς νομιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
θεοὺς λογιζονται οὔτε τὴν Ἰουδαίων δεισδαιμονίαν φυλάσ-  
σουσι, καὶ τίνα τὴν φιλοστοργίαν ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους,  
καὶ τί δὴ ποτε καινὸν τοῦτο γένος ἢ ἐπιτήδευμα εἰσῆλθεν  
εἰς τὸν βίον νῦν καὶ οὐ πρότερον, ἀποδέχομαι τε τῆς προ-  
θυμίας σε ταύτης, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ  
τὸ ἀκούειν ἡμῖν χρηγοῦντος, αἰτοῦμαι δοξῆναι ἐμοὶ μὲν  
εἰπεῖν οὕτως ὥς μάλιστα ἂν ἀκούσαντά σε βελτίῳ γενέ-  
σθαι, σοὶ δὲ οὕτως ἀκοῦσαι ὥς μὴ λυπηθῆναι τὸν εἰπόντα.

2. Ἄγε δὴ καθάρας σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προκατε-  
The heathen world: the vanity of its idols. χόντων σου τὴν διάνοιαν λογισμῶν, καὶ τὴν  
ἀπατωσάν σε συνήθειαν ἀποσκευσάμενος, καὶ  
γενόμενος ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, ὥς ἂν καὶ  
λόγου καινοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡμολόγησας, ἀκροατῆς 5  
ἐσόμενος, ἴδῃ μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ φρο-  
νήσει τίνος ὑποστάσεως ἢ τίνος εἵδους τυγχάνουσιν οὕς

ἱρεῖτε καὶ νομίζετε θεούς. Οὐχ ὁ μὲν τις λίθος ἐστὶν  
 ὁμοιος τῇ πατουμένῳ; ὁ δ' ἐστὶ χαλκὸς οὐ κρείσσων τῶν  
 10 εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν ἡμῖν κεχαλκευμένων σκευῶν, ὁ δὲ ξύλον  
 ἤδη καὶ σεσηπὺς, ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος χρήζων ἀνθρώπου τοῦ φυ-  
 λάξοντος ἵνα μὴ κλαπῇ, ὁ δὲ σίδηρος ὑπὸ ἰοῦ διεφθαρμέ-  
 νος, ὁ δὲ ὄστρακον οὐδὲν τοῦ κατεσκευασμένου πρὸς τὴν  
 ἀτιμοτάτην ὑπηρεσίαν ἐνπρεπέστερον; Οὐ φθαρτῆς ὕλης  
 15 ταῦτα πάντα; Οὐχ ὑπὸ σιδήρου καὶ πυρὸς κεχαλκευμένα;  
 Οὐχ ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν λιθοξόος, ὁ δὲ χαλκεύς, ὁ δὲ ἀργυροκό-  
 πος, ὁ δὲ κεραμεὺς ἐπλασεν; Οὐ πρὶν ἢ ταῖς τέχναις τού-  
 των εἰς τὴν μορφὴν τούτων ἐκτυπωθῆναι ἢν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν  
 ἐκάστω, ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν, μεταμεμορφωμένον; Οὐ τὰ νῦν  
 20 ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης ὄντα σκεύη γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ τύχοι τῶν αὐ-  
 τῶν τεχνιτῶν, ὅμοια τοιοῦτοις; Οὐ ταῦτα πάλιν τὰ νῦν ὑφ'  
 ὑμῶν προσκυνούμενα δύναιτ' ἂν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων σκεύη  
 ὅμοια γενέσθαι τοῖς λοιποῖς; Οὐ κωφὰ πάντα; Οὐ τυφλά;  
 Οὐκ ἄψυχα; Οὐκ ἀναίσθητα; Οὐκ ἀκίνητα; Οὐ πάντα ση-  
 25 πόμενα; Οὐ πάντα φθειρόμενα; Ταῦτα θεοὺς καλεῖτε, τού-  
 τοις δουλεύετε, τούτοις προσκυνεῖτε· τέλειον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐξο-  
 μοιοῦσθε. Διὰ τοῦτο μισεῖτε Χριστιανούς ὅτι τούτους οὐχ  
 ἡγοῦνται θεούς. Ὑμεῖς γάρ, οἱ νῦν νομίζοντες καὶ οἰόμε-  
 νοι, οὐ πολὺ πλεον αὐτῶν καταφρονεῖτε; Οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον  
 30 αὐτοὺς χλευάζετε καὶ ὑβρίζετε, τοὺς μὲν λιθίνους καὶ  
 ὄστρακίνους σέβοντες ἀφυλάκτους, τοὺς δὲ ἀργυροὺς καὶ  
 χρυσοὺς ἐγκλείοντες ταῖς νυξί, καὶ ταῖς ἡμέραις φύλακας  
 παρακαθίσταντες, ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν; Αἱς δὲ δοκεῖτε τιμαῖς  
 προσφέρειν, εἰ μὲν αἰσθάνονται, κολάζετε μᾶλλον αὐτούς·  
 35 εἰ δὲ ἀναισθητοῦσιν, ἐλέγχοντες αἵματι καὶ κνίσαις αὐτοὺς  
 θρησκεύετε. Ταῦθ' ὑμῶν τις ὑπομεινάτω. Ταῦτα ἀνα-



σχέσω τις ἑαυτῷ γενέσθαι. Ἄλλα ἄνθρωπος μὲν οὐδὲ εἰς ταύτης τῆς κολάσεως ἑκὼν ἀνέξεται, αἴσθησιν γὰρ ἔχει καὶ λογισμὸν· ὁ δὲ λίθος ἀνέχεται, ἀναισθητεῖ γάρ. Οὐκοῦν τὴν ἀναισθησίαν αὐτῶν ἐλέγχετε. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μὴ δεδουλώσθαι Χριστιανούς τοιούτοις θεοῖς πολλὰ μὲν ἂν καὶ ἄλλα εἰπῶν ἔχοιμι· εἰ δέ τιμι μὴ δοκοίη καὶ ταῦτα ἱκανά, περισσὸν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τὸ πλείω λέγειν.

3. Ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἰουδαίοις θεοσεβῆν αὐτοὺς οἶμαί σε μάλιστα ποθεῖν ἀκνῦσαι. The Jews: their superstitious sacrifices. Ἰουδαῖοι τοίνυν, εἰ μὲν ἀπέχονται ταύτης τῆς προειρημένης λατρείας καὶ θεὸν ἓνα τῶν πάντων σέβεσθαι δεσπότην ἀξιούσι, φρονοῦσιν· εἰ δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις ὁμοιοτρόπως τὴν θρησκίαν προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ ταύτην, διαμαρτάνουσιν. Ἄ γὰρ τοῖς ἀναισθήτοις καὶ κωφοῖς προσφέροντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφροσύνης δείγμα παρέχουσι, ταῦθ' οὗτοι κατὰπερ προσδεομένῳ τῷ θεῷ λογιζόμενοι παρέχουν μωρίαν εἰκύτως μᾶλλον ἡγοῖντ' ἂν, οὐ θεοσέβειαν. 10 Ὁ γὰρ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν χορηγῶν ὧν προσδεόμεθα, οὐδενὺς ἂν αὐτὸς προσδέοιτο τούτων ὧν τοῖς οἰομένοις διδόναι παρέχει αὐτός. Οἱ δὲ γε θυσίας αὐτῷ δι' αἵματος καὶ κνίσσης καὶ ὀλοκαυτωμάτων ἐπιτελεῖν οἰόμενοι, καὶ ταύταις ταῖς 15 τιμαῖς αὐτὸν γεραίρειν, οὐδὲν μοι δοκοῦσι διαφέρειν τῶν εἰς τὰ κωφὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνδεικνυμένων φιλοτιμίαν, τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῆς τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνειν, τῷ γε δοκεῖν τινα παρέχουν τῷ μηδενὸς προσδεομένῳ.

4. Ἄλλα μὴν τό γε περὶ τὰς βρώσεις αὐτῶν ψοφοδεῖς Their foolish rites, customs, and ceremonies. καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ σάββατα δεισιδαιμονίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τὴν τῆς

νηστείας καὶ νουμηνίας εἰρωνείαν, καταγέλαστα καὶ οὐδε-  
 νὸς ἄξια λόγου, οὐ νομίζω σε χρῆζειν παρ' ἐμοῦ μαθεῖν.  
 Τό τε γὰρ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κτισθέντων εἰς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώ-  
 πων ἃ μὲν ὡς καλῶς κτισθέντα παραδέχασθαι, ἃ δ' ὡς  
 ἄχρηστα καὶ περισσὰ παραιτεῖσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἄξιμιστον;  
 Τὸ δὲ καταψεύδεσθαι Θεοῦ, ὡς κωλύοντος ἐν τῇ τῶν σαβ-  
 10 βάτων ἡμέρᾳ καλὸν τι ποιεῖν, πῶς οὐκ ἀσεβές; Τὸ δὲ καὶ  
 τὴν μείωσιν τῆς σαρκὸς μαρτύριον ἐκλογῆς ἀλαζονεύεσθαι,  
 ὡς διὰ τοῦτο ἐξαίρετως ἡγαπημένους ὑπὸ Θεοῦ, πῶς οὐ  
 χλεύης ἄξιον; Τὸ δὲ παρεδρεύοντας αὐτοὺς ἄστροις καὶ  
 σελήνῃ τὴν παρατήρησιν τῶν μηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν ποι-  
 15 εῖσθαι, καὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας Θεοῦ καὶ τὰς τῶν καιρῶν ἀλλα-  
 γὰς καταδιαιρεῖν πρὸς τὰς αὐτῶν ὁρμάς, ἃς μὲν εἰς ἑορτάς,  
 ἃς δὲ εἰς πένθη, τίς ἂν Θεοσεβείας καὶ οὐκ ἀφροσύ-  
 νης πολὺ πλείον ἡγήσαιοτο δείγμα; Τῆς μὲν οὖν κοινῆς  
 εἰκαιότητος καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων πολυπραγμοσύ-  
 20 νης καὶ ἀλαζονείας ὡς ὁρῶς ἀπέχονται Χριστιανοί,  
 ἀρκούντως σε νομίζω μεμαθηκέναι· τὸ δὲ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῶν  
 Θεοσεβείας μυστήριον μὴ προσδοκῆσης δύνασθαι παρὰ  
 ἀνθρώπου μαθεῖν.

5. Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ οὔτε γῇ οὔτε φωνῇ οὔτε ἔξεισι διακε-

The Christians: κριμένοι τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων. Οὔτε  
 their customs  
 and condition. γὰρ που πόλεις ἰδίας κατοικοῦσιν οὔτε δια-

λέκτῳ τινὶ παρηλλαγμένῃ χρῶνται οὔτε βίον παράσημον  
 5 ἀσκοῦσιν. Οὐ μὴν ἐπινοῖα τινὶ καὶ φροντίδι πολυπραγμό-  
 νων ἀνθρώπων μάθημα τοιοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν εὐρημένον,  
 οὐδὲ δόγματος ἀνθρωπίνου προεστᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι. Κα-  
 τοικοῦντες δὲ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας τε καὶ βαρβάρους, ὡς  
 ἕκαστος ἐκκληρώσῃ, καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἔξεσιν ἀκολουθοῦν-

τες ἐν τε ἐσθῆτι καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ βίῃ, θυμασθὴν 10  
καὶ ὁμολογουμένως παράδοξον ἐνδείκνυνται τὴν κατάστα-  
σιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν πολιτείας. Πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίας, ἀλλ'  
ὡς πάροικοι· μετέχουσι πάντων ὡς πολῖται, καὶ πάντ'  
ὑπομένουσιν ὡς ξένοι· πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ  
πᾶσα πατρίς ξένη. Γαμοῦσιν ὡς πάντες καὶ τεκνογονοῦ- 15  
σιν, ἀλλ' οὐ ρίπτουσι τὰ γεννώμενα· τράπεζαν κοινὴν  
παρατίθενται, ἀλλ' οὐ κοίτην. Ἐν σαρκὶ τυγχάνουσιν,  
ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ σάρκα ζῶσιν· ἐπὶ γῆς διατρίβουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν  
οὐρανῷ πολιτεύονται· πείθονται τοῖς ὀρισμένοις νόμοις,  
καὶ τοῖς ἰδίους βίοις νικῶσι τοὺς νόμους. Ἀγαπῶσι πάν- 20  
τας, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων διώκονται. Ἀγνοοῦνται, καὶ κατα-  
κρίνονται· θανατοῦνται, καὶ ζωοποιοῦνται. Πτωχεύουσι,  
καὶ πλουτίζουσι πολλούς· πάντων ὑστεροῦνται, καὶ ἐν  
πᾶσι περισσεύουσιν. Ἀτιμοῦνται, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀτιμίαις  
δοξάζονται· βλασφημοῦνται, καὶ δικαιοῦνται. Λοιδοροῦν- 25  
ται, καὶ εὐλογοῦσιν· ὑβρίζονται, καὶ τιμῶσιν. Ἀγαθο-  
ποιοῦντες ὡς κακοὶ κολάζονται· κολαζόμενοι χαίρουσιν  
ὡς ζωοποιούμενοι. Ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ὡς ἀλλόφυλοι πολε-  
μοῦνται καὶ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων διώκονται· καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς  
ἐχθρας εἰπεῖν οἱ μισοῦντες οὐκ ἔχουσιν.

30

6. Ἀπλῶς δ' εἰπεῖν· ὕπερ ἐστὶν ἐν σώματι ψυχῇ, τοῦτ'  
They are the εἰσὶν ἐν κόσμῳ Χριστιανοί. Ἐσπαρται κατὰ  
soul of the πάντων τῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν ἢ ψυχῇ· καὶ  
world. Χριστιανοὶ κατὰ τὰς τοῦ κόσμου τόλεις. Οἰκεῖ μὲν ἐν τῇ  
σώματι ψυχῇ, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ 5  
ἐν κόσμῳ οἰκοῦσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου. Ἀόρατος  
ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν ὀρατῇ φρουρεῖται τῇ σώματι· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ  
γινώσκονται μὲν ὄντες ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἀόρατος δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ

Θεοσέβεια μένει. Μισεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ σὰρξ καὶ πολεμεῖ  
 10 μηδὲν ἀδικουμένη, διότι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς κωλύεται χρῆσθαι·  
 μισεῖ καὶ Χριστιανοὺς ὁ κόσμος μηδὲν ἀδικούμενος, ὅτι ταῖς  
 ἡδοναῖς ἀντιτάσσονται. Ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν μισοῦσαν ἀγαπᾷ  
 σάρκα καὶ τὰ μέλη· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ἀγα-  
 πῶσιν. Ἐγκέκλεισται μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ σώματι, συνέχει δὲ  
 15 αὐτὴ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κατέχονται μὲν ὡς ἐν φρου-  
 ρᾷ τῷ κόσμῳ, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνέχουσι τὸν κόσμον. Ἀθάνατος  
 ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν ζῆντι σκηνώματι κατοικεῖ· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ πα-  
 ροικοῦσιν ἐν φθαρτοῖς, τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀφθαρσίαν προσδε-  
 χόμενοι. Κακουργουμένη σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς ἡ ψυχὴ βέλ-  
 20 τιοῦται· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κολαζόμενοι κατ' ἡμέραν πλεονά-  
 ζουσι μᾶλλον. Εἰς τοιαύτην αὐτοὺς τάξιν ἔξετο ὁ Θεός,  
 ἣν οὐ ζεμιτὸν αὐτοῖς παραιτήσασθαι.

7. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπίγειον, ὡς ἔφην, εὖρημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς παρε-  
Their religion  
not of man,  
but of God. δούξῃ, οὐδὲ ζῆντι ἐπίνοιαν φυλάσσειν οὕτως  
 ἀξιοῦσιν ἐπιμελῶς, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνων οἰκονο-  
 μίαν μυστηρίων πεπίστευνται. Ἄλλ' αὐτὸς ἀληθῶς ὁ  
 5 παντοκράτωρ καὶ παντοκτίστης καὶ αὐράτος Θεός, αὐτὸς  
 ἀπ' οὐρανῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν ἅγιον καὶ  
 ἀπερινόητον ἀνθρώποις ἐνίδρυσε καὶ ἐγκατεστήριξε ταῖς  
 καρδίαις αὐτῶν· οὐ, καθάπερ ἄν τις εἰκάσειεν ἄνθρωπος,  
 ὑπηρετήν τινὰ πέμψας ἢ ἄγγελον ἢ ἄρχοντα ἢ τινα τῶν  
 10 διεπόντων τὰ ἐπίγεια ἢ τινα τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰς ἐν οὐ-  
 ρανοῖς διοικήσεις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν  
 τῶν ὅλων, ὃ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἔκτισεν, ὃ τὴν θάλασσαν ἰδίῳις  
 ὕροις ἐνέκλεισεν, οὗ τὰ μυστήρια πιστῶς πάντα φυλάσσει  
 τὰ στοιχεῖα, παρ' οὗ τὰ μέτρα τῶν τῆς ἡμέρας δρόμων εἴλη-  
 15 φε φυλάσσειν ἡ λῖος, ὃ πειθαρχεῖ σελήνῃ ἐν νυκτὶ φαίνειν

κελεύοντι, ᾧ πειθαρχεῖ τὰ ἄστροι τῇ τῆς σελήνης ἀκολου-  
 θούντα δρόμῳ, ᾧ πάντα διατέτακται καὶ διώρισται καὶ ὑπο-  
 τέτακται, οὐρανοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ,  
 θάλασσα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, πῦρ, ἀήρ, ἄβυσσος, τὰ ἐν  
 ὕψει, τὰ ἐν βάθει, τὰ ἐν τῇ μεταξύ. Τοῦτον πρὸς αὐ- 20  
 τοὺς ἀπέστειλεν. Ἄρα γε, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἂν τις λογί-  
 σαιτο, ἐπὶ τυραννίδι καὶ φύβῃ καὶ καταπλήξει; Οὐμενοῦν·  
 ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπιεικείῃ καὶ πραύτητι. Ὡς βασιλεὺς πέμπων  
 υἱὸν βασιλείᾳ ἐπεμψεν, ὡς θεὸν ἐπεμψεν, ὡς πρὸς ἀνθρώ-  
 πους ἐπεμψεν, ὡς σώζων ἐπεμψεν, ὡς πείζων, οὐ βιαζόμε- 25  
 νος· βία γὰρ οὐ πρόσσεσι τῇ θεῷ. Ἐπεμψεν ὡς καλῶν,  
 οὐ διώκων· ἐπεμψεν ὡς ἀγαπῶν, οὐ κρίνων. Πέμψει γὰρ  
 αὐτὸν κρίνοντα· καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν ὑποστήσει-  
 ται; . . . [Οὐχ ὕρᾱς] παραβαλλομένους θηρίους, ἵνα  
 ἀρνήσωνται τὸν κύριον, καὶ μὴ νικωμένους; Οὐχ ὕρᾱς 30  
 ὅσῳ πλείονες κολάζονται, τοσοῦτ' ὑπερβαλόντας ἄλλους;  
 Ταῦτα ἀνθρώπου οὐ δοκεῖ τὰ ἔργα, ταῦτα δύναμις ἐστὶ  
 θεοῦ· ταῦτα τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ δείγματα.

8. Τίς γὰρ ὅλως ἀνθρώπων ἠπίστατο τί ποτ' ἐστὶ θεός,  
 πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν; Ἡ τοὺς κενοὺς καὶ ληρώ-  
The wretched  
state of the  
world before  
the Son of  
God came. δεις ἐκείνων λόγους ἀποδέχῃ τῶν ἄξιοπίστων  
 φιλοσόφων; ὧν οἱ μὲν τινες πῦρ ἔφασαν εἶναι  
 τὸν θεόν (οὐ μέλλουσι χωρήσειν αὐτοί, τοῦτο καλοῦσι 5  
 θεόν), οἱ δὲ ὕδωρ, οἱ δ' ἄλλο τι τῶν στοιχείων τῶν ἐκτισμέ-  
 νων ὑπὸ θεοῦ. Καίτοι γε, εἴ τις τούτων τῶν λόγων ἀποδεκ-  
 τός ἐστι, δύναται ἂν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κτισμάτων ἐν ἑκαστον  
 ὁμοίως ἀποφαινεσθαι θεόν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τερατεία καὶ  
 πλάνη τῶν γοήτων ἐστίν. Ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐδεὶς οὔτε εἶδεν 10  
 οὔτε ἐγνώρισεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἐπέδειξεν. Ἐπέδειξε δὲ

διὰ πίστεως, ἥ μόνη θεὸν ἰδεῖν συγκεχώρηται. Ὁ γὰρ  
 δεσπότης καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὕλων θεός, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ  
 πάντα καὶ κατὰ τάξιν διακρίνας, οὐ μόνον φιλόανθρωπος  
 15 ἐγένετο ἀλλὰ καὶ μακρόζυμος. Ἄλλ' οὗτος ἦν μὲν αἰ  
 τοιοῦτος καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται, χρηστὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀόργη-  
 τος καὶ ἀληθής, καὶ μόνος ἀγαθός ἐστιν· ἐννοήσας δὲ με-  
 γάλην καὶ ἄφραστον ἔννοιαν ἀνεκοινώσατο μόνῳ τῷ παιδί.  
 Ἐν ὅσῳ μὲν οὖν κατεῖχεν ἐν μυστηρίῳ καὶ διετήρει τὴν σο-  
 20 φὴν αὐτοῦ βουλήν, ἀμελεῖν ἡμῶν καὶ ἀφροντιστεῖν ἰδόκει·  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκάλυψε διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἐφάνέρωσε  
 τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡτοιμασμένα, πάντ' ἅμα παρέσχεν ἡμῖν, καὶ  
 μετασχεῖν τῶν ἐνεργεσιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ νοῆσαι ἃ τίς  
 ἂν πρόποτε προσεδόκησεν ἡμῶν;

9. Πάντ' οὖν ἡδὴ παρ' ἑαυτῷ σὺν τῷ παιδί οἰκονομῆκώς,  
 μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦ πρόσθεν χρόνου εἴασεν ἡμᾶς  
 10 ὥς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀτάκτοις φοραῖς φέρεσθαι, ἡδο-  
 ναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις ἀπαγομένους, οὐ πάντως ἐφηδόμενος  
 5 τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχόμενος, οὐδὲ τῷ τότε τῆς  
 ἀδικίας καιρῷ συνευδοκῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν νῦν τῆς δικαιοσύνης  
 δημιουργῶν, ἵνα ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἐλεγχθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδί-  
 10 ων ἔργων ἀνάξιοι ζωῆς νῦν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστότητος  
 ἀξιωζώμεν, καὶ τὸ κατ' ἑαυτοὺς φανερώσαιντες ἀδύνατον  
 εὐδαίμονοι γεννηζώμεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πεπλήρωτο μὲν ἡ ἡμετέρα  
 ἀδικία, καὶ τελείως πεφάνερωτο ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς αὐτῆς κόλασις  
 καὶ θάνατος προσεδόκατο, ἦλθε δὲ ὁ καιρὸς ὃν θεὸς προείξε-  
 15 το λοιπὸν φανερώσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χρηστότητα καὶ δύναμιν (ὧ  
 15 τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ),  
 οὐκ ἐμίσησεν ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ ἀπώσατο οὐδὲ ἐμνησικακήσεν, ἀλλὰ

10

Reasons why  
He came so  
late.

ἡμακροθύμησεν, ἡνέσχετο, αὐτὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἁμαρτίας ἀνεδέξατο, αὐτὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν ἀπέδοτο λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τὸν ἅγιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνόμων, τὸν ἄκακον ὑπὲρ τῶν κακῶν, τὸν δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκων, τὸν ἄφθαρτον ὑπὲρ τῶν φθαρτῶν, τὸν ἀθάνατον ὑπὲρ τῶν θνητῶν. Τί γὰρ ἄλλο τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἡδυνήθη καλύψαι ἢ ἐκείνου δικαιοσύνη; Ἐν τίνι δικαιωθῆναι δυνατὸν τοὺς ἀνόμους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἢ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ; Ὡς τῆς γλυκείας ἀνταλλαγῆς, ὡς τῆς ἀνεξιχνιάστου δημιουργίας, ὡς τῶν ἀπροσδοκῶν κήτων εὐεργεσιῶν· ἵνα ἀνομία μὲν πολλῶν ἐν δικαίῳ ἐνὶ κρυβῇ, δικαιοσύνη δὲ ἐνὸς πολλοὺς ἀνόμους δικαιώσῃ. Ἐλέγξας οὖν ἐν μὲν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ τὸ ἀδύνατον τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν ζωῆς, νῦν δὲ τὸν σωτῆρα δείξας δυνατὸν σώζειν καὶ τὰ ἀδύνατα, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἔβου-  
λοῦται λήθῃ πιστεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ χρηστότητι αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν ἡγείσθαι τροφέα, πατέρα, διδάσκαλον, σύμβουλον, ἰατρόν, νοῦν, φῶς, τιμὴν, δόξαν, ἰσχύον, ζωὴν, περὶ ἐνδύσεως καὶ τροφῆς μὴ μεριμνᾶν.

10. Ταύτην καὶ σὺ τὴν πίστιν ἐὰν ποθέσῃς, καταλάβοις  
Conclusion. Exhortation to Diognetus to become a Christian. ἂν πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίγνωνσιν πατρός. Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠγάπησε, δι' οὓς ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον, οἷς ὑπέταξε πάντα τὰ ἐν [τῇ γῇ], οἷς λόγον ἔδωκεν, οἷς νοῦν, οἷς μόνοις ἄ[ν]ω πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄραν ἐπέτρεψεν, οὓς ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας εἰκόνης ἐπλασε, πρὸς οὓς ἀπέστειλε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, οἷς τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλείαν ἐπηγγείλατο καὶ δώσει τοῖς ἀγαπήσασιν αὐτόν. Ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ τίνος οἷε πληρωθῆσεσθαι χαρᾶς; Ἡ πῶς ἀγαπήσεις τὸν οὕτως προαγαπήσαντά σε; Ἀγαπήσας δὲ ἰο-  
μιμητὴς ἔσῃ αὐτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητος. Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης

εἰ δύναται μιμητὴς ἀνθρώπος γενέσθαι Θεοῦ. Δύναται  
 ζῆλοντος αὐτοῦ. Οὐ γὰρ τὸ καταδυναστεύειν τῶν πλη-  
 σίων οὐδὲ τὸ πλείον ἔχειν βούλεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων  
 15 οὐδὲ τὸ πλουτεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους εὐδαι-  
 μονεῖν ἐστίν, οὐδὲ ἐν τούτοις δύναται τις μιμήσασθαι Θεόν,  
 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλειότητος. Ἄλλ' ὅστις  
 τὸ τοῦ πλησίον ἀναδέχεται βῆρος, ὅς ἐν ᾧ κρείσσων ἐστίν  
 ἕτερον τὸν ἱλαττούμενον εὐεργετεῖν ἐξέλει, ὅς ἂ παρὰ τοῦ  
 20 Θεοῦ λαβὼν ἔχει, ταῦτα τοῖς ἐπιδομένοις χορηγῶν Θεὸς  
 γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων, οὗτος μιμητὴς ἐστὶ Θεοῦ. Τότε  
 Θεόσῃ τυγχάνων ἐπὶ γῆς ὅτι Θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς πολιτεύεται,  
 τότε μυστήρια Θεοῦ λαλεῖν ἄρξῃ, τότε τοὺς κολαζομένους  
 ἐπὶ τῇ μὴ ξέλειν ἀρνήσασθαι Θεὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσεις καὶ θαν-  
 25 μάσεις, τότε τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς πλάνης κατα-  
 γνώσῃ, ὅταν τὸ ἀληθὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ ζῇ ἐπιγνῶς, ὅταν τοῦ  
 δοκοῦντος ἐνθάδε θανάτου καταφρονήσῃς, ὅταν τὸν ὄντως  
 θάνατον φοβηθῇς, ὃς φυλάσσεται τοῖς κατακριζομένοις  
 εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, ὃ τοὺς παραδοξέντας αὐτῷ μέχρι  
 30 τέλους κολάσει· τότε τοὺς ὑπομένοντας ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης  
 θανάσεις τὸ πῦρ τὸ πρῶσ[καιρον], καὶ μακαρίσεις, ὅταν  
 ἐκείνο τὸ πῦρ ἐπιγνῶς. . . .

[11. Οὐ ξένα ὁμῶς οὐδὲ παραλόγως ζητῶ, ἀλλὰ ἀπο-

Addition by an-   
 other hand.   
 I speak with au-   
 thority. I know   
 whereof I affirm.   
 στύλων γενόμενος μαθητὴς γίνομαι διδάσκα-   
 λος ἐθνῶν, τὰ παραδοξέντα ἀξίως ὑπηρετῶν   
 γινομένοις ἀληθείας μαθηταῖς. Τίς γὰρ ὁρ-   
 35 θῶς διδαχθεὶς καὶ λόγῳ προσφιλῆς γεννηθεὶς οὐκ ἐπι-   
 ζητεῖ σαφῶς μαθεῖν τὰ διὰ λόγου δειχθέντα φανερώς μα-



ζηταῖς, οἷς ἐφάνέρωσεν ὁ λόγος φανείς, παρρησίᾳ λαλῶν, ὑπὸ ἀπίστων μὴ νοούμενος, μαθηταῖς δὲ διηγούμενος, οἱ πιστοὶ λογισζέμεντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔγνωσαν πατρὸς μυστήρια ; Οὐ χάριν ἀπέστειλε λόγον, ἵνα κύσμῃ φανῇ ὁς, ὑπὸ λαοῦ 10 ἀτιμασζέμεν, διὰ ἀποστόλων κηρυχζέμεν, ὑπὸ ἐξνῶν ἐπιστεύ- ζη. Οὗτος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὁ καινὸς φανείς καὶ παλαιὸς εὐρεζέμεν καὶ πάντοτε νέος ἐν ἀγίων καρδίαις γεννώμενος. Οὗτος ὁ αἰεὶ, ὁ σήμερον υἱὸς λογισζέμεν, δι' οὗ πλουτίζεται ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ χάρις ἀπλουμένη ἐν ἀγίοις πληθύνεται, 15 παρέχουσα νοῦν, φανεροῦσα μυστήρια, διαγγέλλουσα και- ρούς, χαίρουσα ἐπὶ πιστοῖς, ἐπιζητοῦσι δωρουμένη, οἷς ὕρκια πίστεως οὐ θραύεται οὐδὲ ὕρια πατέρων παρορίζε- ται. Εἴτα φόβος νόμου ῥέεται καὶ προφητῶν χάρις γινώ- σκεται καὶ εὐαγγελίων πίστις ἱδρύεται καὶ ἀποστόλων 20 παράδοσις φυλάσσεται καὶ ἐκκλησίας χαρὰ σκιρτᾷ. Ἦν χάριν μὴ λυπῶν ἐπιγνώσῃ ὁ λόγος ὁμιλεῖ, δι' ὧν βούλεται, ὅτε θείλει. Ὅσα γὰρ θελήματι τοῦ κελεύοντος λόγου ἐκ- νήζημεν ἐξεπιπείν μετὰ πόνου, ἐξ ἀγάπης τῶν ἀποκαλυφζέν- των ἡμῖν γινόμενα ὑμῖν κοινωνοί. 25

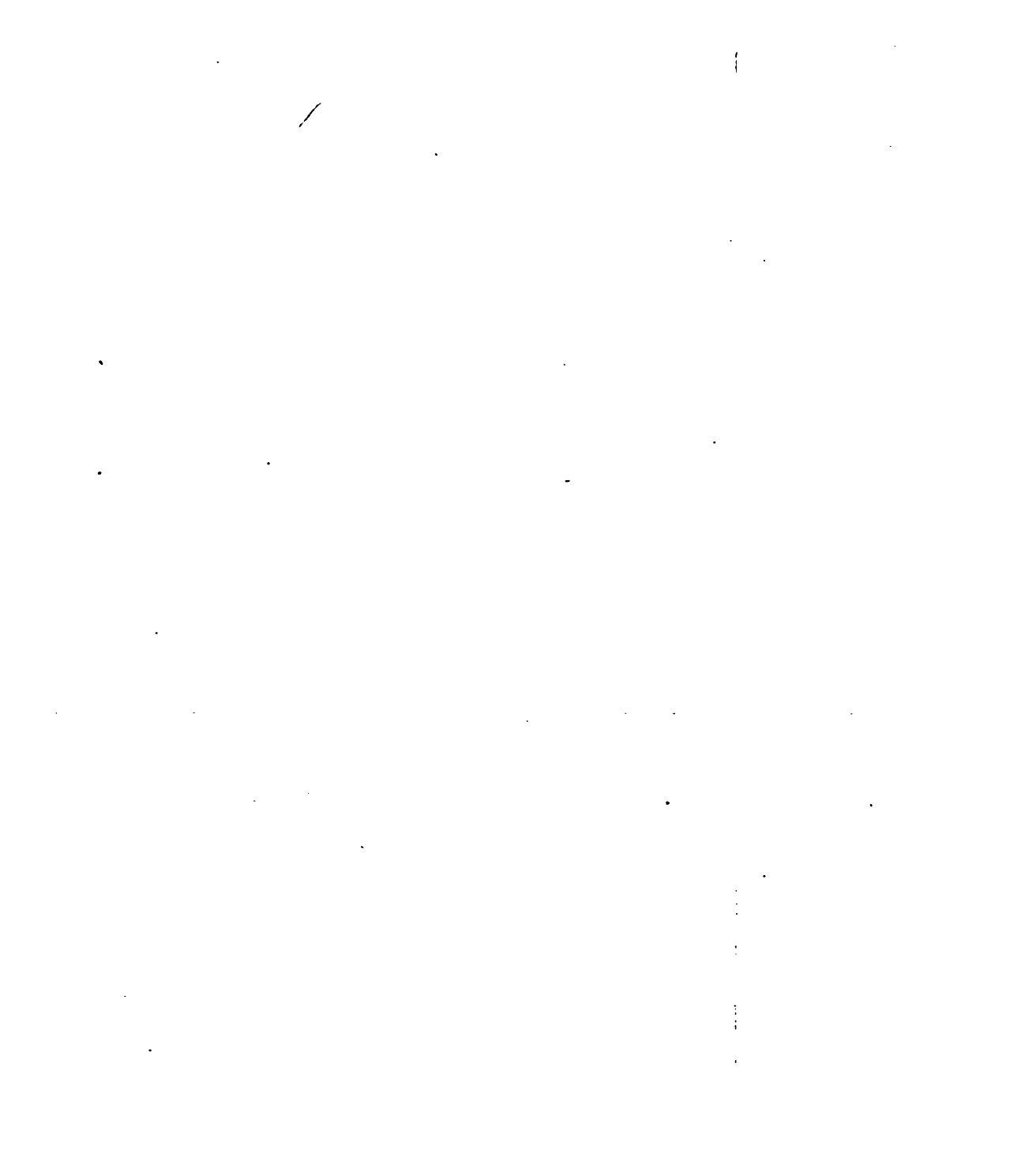
12. Οἷς ἐντυχόντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες μετὰ σπουδῆς εἴσεσζε  
Read and hear-  
en, and you will  
learn. ὅσα παρέχει ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν ὁρθῶς, οἱ γενόμενοι παράδεισος τρυφῆς, πάγκαρπον ξύλον, εὐθαλοῦν, ἀνατείλαντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ποικίλοις καρ- ποῖς κεκοσμημένοι. Ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ ξύλον γνῶ- 5 σεως καὶ ξύλον ζωῆς πεφύτευται ὅτι ἄλλ' οὐ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως ἀναιρεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ παρακοὴ ἀναιρεῖ. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄσχημα τὰ γεγραμμένα, ὡς θεὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ξύλον γνώσεως καὶ ξύλον ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ παραδείσου ἐφύτευσε, διὰ γνώσεως ζωὴν ἐπιδεικνύς ἢ μὴ καθαρώς χρησάμενοι οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πλάνη 10

τοῦ ὅφειως γεγύμνωνται. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ζωὴ ἄνευ γνώσεως, οὐδὲ γυνῶσις ἀσφαλῆς ἄνευ ζωῆς ἀληθοῦς. Διὸ πλησίον ἑκάτερον πεφύτευται. Ἐν δύναμιν ἐνιδὼν ὁ ἀπόστολος, τὴν τε ἄνευ ἀληθείας προστάγματος εἰς ζωὴν ἀσκουμένην  
 15 γυνῶσιν μεμφόμενος, λέγει· Ἡ γυνῶσις φυσιοῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη οἰκοδομεῖ. Ὁ γὰρ νομίζων εἰδέναι τι ἄνευ γνώσεως ἀληθοῦς καὶ μαρτυρουμένης ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς οὐκ ἔγνω· ὑπὸ τοῦ ὅφειως πλανᾶται, μὴ ἀγαπήσας τὸ ζῆν· ὁ δὲ μετὰ φόβου ἐπιγνούς καὶ ζωὴν ἐπιζητῶν, ἐπ' ἐλπίδι φυτεύει, καρπὸν  
 20 προσδοκῶν. Ἦτω σοι καρδία γυνῶσις, ζωὴ δὲ λόγος ἀληθείας, χωρνούμενος. Οὗ ξύλον φέρων καὶ καρπὸν [αἰ]ρῶν τρυγῆσεις αἰεὶ τὰ παρὰ ξειῶ ποζούμενα, ὧν ὅφιος οὐχ ἄπτεται· οὐδὲ πλάνη συγχρωτίζεται. Εὖα οὐδὲ φθείρεται, ἀλλὰ παρξένος πιστεύεται· καὶ σωτήριον δείκνυται, καὶ ἀπόστο-  
 25 λοι συνετίζονται, καὶ τὸ κυρίου πάσχα προέρχεται, καὶ κηροὶ συνάγονται καὶ μετὰ κύσμου ἀρμόζονται, καὶ διδάσκων ἀγίους ὁ λόγος εὐφραίνεται, δι' οὗ πατὴρ δοξάζεται· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.]

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**ANALYSES AND NOTES.**

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## THE FIRST APOLOGY.

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THE date of the First Apology has always been a matter of dispute. The extremes vary between 138 and 160, between the accession of Antoninus Pius and the last year of his reign.

Semisch maintains that the absence of the designation of Caesar from the name of M. Aurelius in the address proves that the Apology was composed between 138 and 139; that is, after the accession of Antoninus Pius and before the elevation of M. Aurelius to the rank of Caesar. But this argument falls away if we read with Ueberweg and others *καὶ Καίσαρι Οὐρητισίμῳ* in c. 1, 2.

On the other hand, recent critics, Ueberweg, Cavedoni, Böhrringer, Volkmar, and Keim, insist on a later date. Before 147 Marcionism had not spread so widely as is represented by Justin himself (cc. 26, 58), and the whole tone of Justin towards Marcion has the bitterness of personal controversy; and if the Apology was written at Rome, as Eusebius asserts, the date of Marcion's work at Rome, which did not begin to be felt before 142, must go far to determine the question. Too much stress must not be laid on Justin's statement that 150 years had passed since the birth of Christ, for Justin's chronology is not the most accurate; but this date coincides most remarkably with the nine hundredth year of the city, 147 A.D., when M. Aurelius, on occasion of the *ludi saeculares*, was made tribune and joint regent. A fitter opportunity could hardly have been found for our Christian philosopher to present his remonstrance in the name

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of piety and philosophy against the shameless treatment to which the Christians were subjected.

The argument drawn from the surname of Lucius Verus is of little weight either way. The title was merely official; and in point of fact the boyhood of Verus, according to his biographer, was marked by unusual love of literature.

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#### ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST APOLOGY.

(After Otto.)

The First Apology may be divided into three parts.

I. In the First Part Justin shows—

1. That the Christians ought not to be condemned without a fair hearing.
2. That they are innocent of all crime.

II. In the Second Part he gives the arguments for the truth of the Christian religion.

III. In the Third Part he describes the worship of the Christians.

I. After the address (c. 1) Justin boldly demands justice (c. 2), and claims for the Christians the privileges of all defendants (c. 3). It is unjust to condemn Christians for the mere name's sake without hearing their case (c. 4)—an injustice which is to be traced to the instigation of the demons (c. 5). The Christians are no atheists; they worship God the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit (c. 6). If some Christians have been convicted of crime, the innocent are not to be punished for the guilty (c. 7). Nay, the innocence of the Christians is the more manifest in that they prefer death to falsehood (c. 8). Nor are the Christians to be blamed for their refusal to worship images—an absurd worship (c. 9); nor for believing that God does not need their gifts—God the creator of all

things (c. 10). The state has nothing to fear from them. Christ's kingdom is not of this world (c. 11). No better subjects of the Empire than the Christians (c. 12). To show the proper attitude of the question in its political bearings, Justin goes back to the refutation of the charges which he has already repelled, re-affirms that the Christians are not atheists, and emphasizes the purity of their worship of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (c. 13); the wonderful change in character and life since they forsook the service of demons (c. 14); and brings forward some of the great doctrines of Christ, which are scrupulously observed by the Christians—of chastity, of love to all, of charity to the poor (c. 15); of patience, of the avoidance of swearing (c. 16); of obedience to kings, of payment of tribute (c. 17). If such citizens as these are to be despised, the Martyr, rising to prophetic height, threatens the Emperors with judgment to come, which even the Gentiles believe, how much more the Christians, who also hope for the resurrection of the body (c. 18)—no more difficult thing for God than creation itself (c. 19). Doctrines akin to this Gentiles have taught. Hence it is not just that the Christians alone should be persecuted (c. 20). In like manner there is no absurdity in what the Christians teach concerning the Son of God, his generation, incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension, in view of the manifold extravagances of the poets concerning the sons of Zeus (cc. 21, 22).

II. Justin undertakes to prove three things:

1. That truth is taught by the Christians alone.
2. That the Son of God was truly incarnate.
3. That the fables of mythology were invented by demons to discredit the advent of Christ, and make that appear to be a fable likewise (c. 23).

1. Truth is taught by the Christians alone because they alone are not allowed to say what others say. *Others* may worship what they will. *They* are persecuted by reason of the truth (c. 24). Next, because it is love of the truth alone that makes them worship the true God in the face of death (c. 25). Finally, because those who corrupt the truth of the Christian religion by errors do not suffer persecution. [Digression, which in a more methodical writer would give rise to a suspicion of dislocation.] The mention of charges of gross immorality brought against the heretics suggests to Justin a new exemplification of the purity of the true Christian life. Christians are so far from committing crime that they do not deem it right even to expose infants (c. 27). Those who slander Christians are doing themselves grievous hurt, and will be sent into hell-fire with the devil and his host (c. 28). The Christians do not engage in marriage except for the sake of begetting children; and if they abstain from marriage, they preserve their chastity inviolate (c. 29).

2. The Son of God was truly incarnate. This is proved by various prophecies (cc. 30-35), for the interpretation of which Justin gives certain rules (c. 36), with instances in which the Father speaks (c. 37), the Son (c. 38), the Holy Spirit (c. 38). To these he adds prophecies concerning the apostles (c. 40), the kingdom of Christ (c. 41), and remarks by the way that in the prophetic writings the future is often represented as the past (c. 42). But fatalism is by no means the result of these predictions (c. 43); man's will is free (c. 44). Justin then speaks of Christ's ascension as foretold by the prophets (c. 45), and maintains that those who went astray from the truth before the incarnation of Christ were responsible, as the seeds of the Logos were in all



(c. 46). He then proceeds to the prophecies of the siege of Jerusalem (c. 47), of Christ's power (c. 48), of the conversion of the Gentiles and the reprobation of the Jews (c. 49), of Christ's death and resurrection (c. 50), and ineffable generation (c. 51). From the fulfilment of these prophecies he concludes that those which have not been fulfilled must be considered as confirmed (c. 52), for all can see with their own eyes the fulfilment of the prophecies concerning the conversion of the Gentiles and the reprobation of the Jews (c. 53).

3. The fables concerning the sons of Zeus have been invented by the inspiration of demons in order that the coming of the Son of God might seem to be a fable, and these fables have been spread abroad by poets as it were in imitation of divine prophets (c. 54). Nevertheless the demons did not suspect the mystery of the cross, the power and use of which are commended by various objects of great importance (c. 55). With the same end in view, the demons put forward Simon, Menander, Marcion (c. 56); and failing in much, they have succeeded in making the Christians hated by the wicked. But what is death to the Christian? (c. 57). The true objects of pity are not the Christians, but those who become the prey of the godless doctrines of the heretics and the evil spirits, who inspire them. The only safeguard against this danger is a pure life (c. 58). Such truth as the heathen world has is derived truth. So Plato has borrowed from the books of Moses what he taught concerning the creation of the world (c. 59), the chiasm of the Son, and the mystery of the third about the third (c. 60).

III. Justin now sets forth how the Christians consecrate themselves to God in baptism (c. 61). To the imitation of this rite, so far as it was foreshadowed in the

prophetic books, are due the sprinklings and washings of the Gentiles. Likewise they learned from what Christ said to Moses the putting off their shoes when they entered their temples (c. 52)—from what Christ said, for it was Christ that appeared to Moses, the Son, not the Father. But the Jews, who maintain that it was the Father, know neither Father nor Son (c. 63). To the cunning device of the demons are further due the fables concerning Persephone and Athena (c. 64). Justin next sets forth how the first eucharist after baptism is celebrated (c. 65), what it means (c. 66), and the whole course of proceeding in the assemblies of the Christians (c. 67).

In conclusion, he urges the Emperors to act with candor and justice, and subjoins a rescript of Hadrian in favor of the Christians (c. 68).

# NOTES.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

- A=First Apology.  
B=Second Apology.  
D. S.=Douglass Series.  
E. ad D.=Epistula ad Diognetum.  
L. H.=Latin Hymns (Douglass Series).

ΠΡΩΤΗ: Both MSS. have *δευτέρα*. The citations in Eusebius prove that this was the first, and it has long been edited as such. It is often called *Apologia Maior*. ΠΡΩΤΕΡΑ would be more correct than ΠΡΩΤΗ.

### 1. ADDRESS.

1. Εὐσεβεί: Lat. *Pio*. The origin of this surname is much disputed. See Class. Dict.

2. Σεβαστῶ: A translation of *Augustus*. *Augustus* was originally a religious word, usually combined by Cicero with *sanctus*. Σεβαστῶ Εὐσεβεί is the more common order (Volkmar).—Καίσαρι: For *Καίσαρι, και Ούρη*. Sylburg, Ritter, Cavedoni, and Teberweg would read *και Καίσαρι Ού*. (See p. 97.)—Οὐρητισίμω: M. Aurelius Antoninus. His name was at first M. Annius Verus. Hadrian called him playfully Verissimus.

3. Αουκίω: L. Ceionius Commodus, afterwards the emperor L. Aurelius Verus. He was the son of Aelius Caesar, who had been adopted by Hadrian, but died before his adoptive father. When Hadrian thereupon adopted Antoninus Pius, he required him to adopt M. Annius Verus and L. Ceionius.—φιλοσόφω: Surname common to the two princes. Eusebius, who cites this passage (H. E. 4, 12), reads φιλοσόφου to balance Εὐσεβούς; but there is no

real difficulty in using the attribute of a lad, even if the Apology be put in 138-9 with Semisch, instead of after 147 with Volkmar.

4. ἔραστῇ: 'Ερως is passionate love (love of the sexes); hence ἔραστῆς is complimentary when the object is noble. Comp. ὁ ἔρως τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης κατάρτητος, Orig. c. Celsum, 1, 26. Justin himself is called by Euseb. H. E. 4, 8: γνήσιος τῆς ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας ἔραστῆς.—*Ιερῶ . . . συγκλήτῃ*: *Senatus ordo ille sanctissimus*, Quint. Declam. 329, p. 669. *Iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum*, [Verg.] Aen. 1, 426. Otto comp. Cic. Div. 1, 12, 20; Hor. Od. 4, 5, 3; Iuv. 11, 29.

5. *Ῥωμαίων*: This is not the only combination in which the gen. is preferred in Greek, the adjective in Latin.—*τῶν ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων*: 'Men of every race.' Christianity had spread very widely. See cc. 81. 40; also Ep. ad D. 6, and the classic passage in Tertull. Apol. 37 (p. 91 D. S.): *Hesterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus*, etc.

6. *ἐπηρεαζομένων*: Aristot. Rhet. 2, 2: ἔστιν ὁ ἐπηρεασμὸς ἐμποδισμὸς ταῖς βουλήσεσιν, οὐχ ἵνα τι αὐτῷ ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐκείνῳ. Hence the translation of Matt. 5, 44: *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς*, 'despitefully use you,' a passage which Justin evidently had in mind. Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 2, 6: *ὑμῶν ἡδὴ ἔργον ἀποσκευάσαι ἡμῶν νόμῳ τὴν ἐπιήρειαν*. Also 9, 36.

7. *Πρίσκου*: *Ἰουστίνος Πρίσκου* simply denotes the origin, ὁ Πρίσκου would serve to distinguish, as τοῦ (υἱοῦ) *Βακχίου* below.—*Φλαουίας Νέας πόλεως*: The modern Nablûs, near the ruins of the ancient Sichem. It was called Flavia in honor of Flavius Vespasianus (Vespasian).

8. *τῆς Συρίας Παλαιστίνης*: We should expect *Συρίας τῆς Παλαιστίνης* (comp. Herod. 3, 91), and this is the order in Eusebius. Chorographic genitive.—*εἰς αὐτῶν ὧν*: We owe the ὧν to Eusebius. 'Being one of them,' not 'who am one of them.' The participle without the article is seldom used as the identifying relative, and usually shows a closer connection.—*προσφώνησιν*: 'Address.' See c. 68, 12.

9. *ἐντεύξιν*: In this sense of 'petition' (originally 'interview') the word is very common in later Greek.—*ποιεῖν*: *Ποιεῖσθαι* with abstracts is used in the same sense as the corresponding verb. So *ἐντεύξιν ποιεῖσθαι* = *ἐντυχάνειν*. Only this turn has the

advantage of number and article and other modifiers. See Index for examples.

## 2. JUSTIN DEMANDS JUSTICE.

1. κατ' ἀλήθειαν = ἀληθῶς.

2. στήργειν: So Plato, *De Republ.* 6, 485 C: τὴν ἀλήθειαν στήργειν. Στοργή is natural affection, explained by Athenag. *Res.* 12, 49: ὁλεῖ τινα φυσικῇ καὶ στοργῇ κινούμενος. Στήργειν and ἀγαπᾶν are often used alike, whereas φιλεῖν—according to Bugge and Curtius (*Studien*, 6, 426), fr. 57A, *suus*, 'own'—is more familiar, ἱρᾶν more passionate.—ὑπαγορεύει: Later writers are very fond of compounds of ἀγορεύειν in *all* the tenses. Ὑπαγ. 'dictate,' literally; then figuratively, c. 12, 81.

3. παραιτουμένους: 'Asking to be excused from,' 'deprecating' (Plat. *Protag.* 358 A), then 'declining,' 'refusing,' as here. A common use from Polybius on, often in Plutarch. *Comp.* 2 *Tim.* 2, 23; Athenag. *Res.* 16, 77.—παλαιών: Not πολλῶν as Joannes Damascenus cites it. Much stress was laid by the opponents of Christianity on its novelty. See E. ad D. 1. *Comp.* the answer of Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 1, 6: παλαιὰ ἡ πλάνη, καινὸν δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια φαίνεται. Παλαιός (*vetus*) refers to *duration*, ἀρχαῖος (*antiquus*) to *origin*. Donaldson (*New Crat.* p. 15) illustrates the difference happily by a slight change in a verse of Sophocles (*Trach.* 553) to describe a bone of the Deinotherion: ὅσποιν παλαιὸν ἀρχαίου ποτὶ θηρός. *Comp.* Hebr. 8, 18.—ἑξακολουθεῖν: There is possibly a touch of servility in the compound. But *comp.* c. 10, 16.

4. εἰ: Ἐάν (ἦν, εἰν) introduces a form of conditional proposition, which may be called the anticipatory condition. This is the common form, 1. Of the future condition; 2. Of the universal condition (good for all time). Anticipation is not expectation. Expectation looks forward. Anticipation treats the future as present. Though there is no necessary 'prospect of realization,' a misleading phrase, the anticipatory condition is used chiefly in practical matters, and is the invariable form in laws (legal condition).—φαῦλαι: The regular antithesis of φαῖλος is σπουδαῖος, e. g. in Athenagor. *Res.* 19, 92.—μὴ ἔπρεσθαι: The regular negative of the infinitive as such, that is, as a verbal noun, is μὴ. Here it is an object.

7. *κάν*: *Καὶ εἰ*, 'even if,' gives an extreme case; *εἰ καί*, 'albeit,' presents a proposition as a matter of indifference, but *εἰ καί* varies. *Κάν*=*καὶ ἰάν* is so common a formula that it is often used where *άν* is not wanted, and is often simply=*καί*.

8. *ὅτι λέγεσθε*: Depends on *ἀκούετε*. 'You hear that you are called.' As *ἀκούειν* itself familiarly means 'hear one's self called,' 'be called,' Stephanus proposed to drop *ὅτι λέγεσθε* and mend Justin's Greek—no superhuman task.

10. *εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑπάρχετε*: *Εἰ* here is 'whether'='whether or no,' as often; *καί*, 'actually,' 'really.' *ὑπάρχειν*, originally of a 'basis,' 'something to fall back on,' fades gradually after Demosthenes into a mere copulative verb.

11. *κολακεύσοντας*: The fut. part. with a verb of motion *implies* purpose. The purpose lies in the peculiar combination, for with other verbs *ὥς must* be used.

12. *οὐδὲ πρὸς χάριν ὁμλήσοντας*: Comp. Plat. Gorg. 521 A: *πρὸς χάριν ὁμλήσοντα . . . κολακεύοντα*. — *ἀπατήσοντας*: Notice the boldness in *ἀπ*.

13. *ἀκριβῆ καὶ ἐξεταστικὸν λόγον*: Comp. Plat. Critias, 107 D: *τὰ θνητὰ ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζομεν*. 'Εξέτασις often of a judicial examination.

14. *προσληλύθειμεν*: We should expect the perfect, which Otto has in his last edition (1875), but occasionally the composer of a letter in Greek takes the point of view of the receiver, as in Latin. Grabe cites Athenag. Suppl. 2, and Thirlby, Theophil. ad Autolyc. 3, 4, as an imitation of this passage.—*τὴν κρίσιν ποιήσασθαι*: c. 1, 9.—*μὴ . . . κατεχομένους*: The negative here is regular, as the participle belongs to the infinitive.—*προλήψει καὶ ἀνθρωπαρρεσίᾳ*: *Πρόληψις* not in its philosophical sense, but='prejudice,' *praesumptio*, Tertull. Apol. 49 (p. 111 D. S.). Comp. *κατὰ κοινὴν πρόληψιν*, Athenag. Suppl. 5, 17; combined with *φίλονεικία*, Origen, c. Cels. 1, 52. 'Ἀνθρωπαρρεσία, not a classic word; comp. Eph. 6, 6; Col. 3, 22.

15. *χρονίᾳ*: The adjective where we should use the adverb.

16. *καθ' ἑαυτῶν*=*καθ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν*. The reflexive of the third person is often used for the other two, especially in the plural, as we say, 'I hate self.'—*πρὸς οὐδενός*: *Πρός* is a favorite preposition with persons, wider than *ὑπό* with the passive. See c. 4, 34.

17. *πίσσεσθαι δύνασθαι*: Verbs of will and power (auxiliary verbs) seldom take the fut. inf., the use of which tense is chiefly confined to oratio obliqua relations. Occasional exceptions occur. So notably in Thucydides, 1, 27; 3, 28; 6, 6. 57.

18. *λογίζεσθαι*: Verbs of reflection and calculation may take the construction of verbs of thinking, in which case they take the inf. as here, or of verbs of knowing, in which case they take *ὅτι* (ὥς) with the ind., as in cc. 8, 1; 12, 41; 19, 14; or the participle, c. 40, 13.—*ελεγχόμεθα*: *Ἐλεγχός ἐστι προφορά ἀμαρτίας εἰς τὸ μῖσον φέρουσα*, Clem. Alex. Paedag. 1, 9, 78.

19. *διγνώσμεθα*: The combination of *ἦν* with subj. and ind. is rare. *Εἰ* must be understood with the ind. as *ἰάν* with the subj. in the combination *εἰ* w. ind. and subj.—*ἀποκτείναι*: The *sentiment* is found in Plato. Socrates says (Apol. 30 C): *ἐμὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἂν βλάψειεν οὔτε Μίλητος οὔτε Ἄνυτος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δύναιτο*. The *language*, with its effective rhetorical position, is traditional. *Ἐμὶ δὲ Ἄνυτος καὶ Μίλητος ἀποκτείναι μὲν δύνανται, βλάψαι ἔτι οὐ, Epictet. Enchir. 53, 3; Diss. 1, 29, 18; 2, 2, 15; 3, 3, 21. Comp. Max. Tyr. Diss. 18, 8; Origen, c. Cels. 8, 8.*

### 3. RIGHT TO A FAIR TRIAL.

1. *δοῦναι*: *Δοκεῖν* more commonly means 'seem' than 'think'; the more usual construction would be, *μὴ ἄλογος φωνὴ δοῦναι τινὶ ταῦτα*.

2. *ἐξιστῆναι*: Here in its proper sense.—*κατηγορούμενα αὐτῶν*: Verbs which take the gen. of the person and acc. of the thing retain the gen. when turned into the passive. *Κατηγορεῖν* not invariably in a bad sense. See c. 4, 4. *αὐτῶν*=*τῶν Χριστιανῶν*.

3. *ἔχοντα*: Verbs of perception (knowing and showing) take *ὅτι* or *ὥς* with the finite verb of intellectual perception (c. 2, 8), the participle of actual or intellectual perception. There are exceptions, but in view of the mass of examples the exceptions vanish. But in later Greek the line between verbs of perception and verbs of conception (thinking) is often effaced.—*ἀποδεικνύονται*: The tendency in the decline of a language is towards a mechanical syntax, as, for instance, in American English; hence often in later Greek neut. pl. with a plural verb. See cc. 50, 10; 52, 7. In a classic writer the plural might be justified by the variety of the charges.

4. *κολάζεσθαι*: *Κόλασις ψυχῆς θεραπεία ἐπὶ ἀμαρτήματι γενομένη*, [Plato] Deff. 416. The philosophical distinction between *κόλασις*, 'chastisement,' and *τιμωρία*, 'punishment,' the one *reformatory*, the other *punitivo* (Ar. Rhet. 1, 10, 17; Aul. Gell. 6, 14), is often practically neglected. See Ast on Plato, Protag. 324 B; Clem. Alex. Paed. 1, 8, 70. *κ.* and *τ.* combined, c. 43, 4; B 8, 12.—*πρέπον ἔστιν*: When the participle is used in the predicate, it regularly becomes an adjective. So *πρίπων* often. So *μίλον ἔστι*, c. 44, 39; *ἰζόν ἔστι*, c. 66, 2. But comp. c. 19, 5.—*ἕλλον γε κολάζειν*: So Beckmann for the untenable *μᾶλλον δὲ κολάζειν*, which some editors have tortured themselves to explain, others (Sylburg, Maran) have tried to emend, yet others (Thirlby, Otto) have thought it best to drop. 'We think it meet that we should be punished as it is proper to punish any other.' We expect the same measure to be meted to us as to other offenders. The omission of *μᾶλλον δὲ κολάζειν* is ticklish in view of the parallel in Athenag. Suppl. 2, 6: *κολάζεσθαι οὐ παραιτούμεθα ἀλλὰ καὶ ἥτις πικροτάτη καὶ ἀνηλεὲς τιμωρία ὑπέχειν ἀξιοῦμεν*, an evident exaggeration of our passage. In his last edition Otto has accepted the conjecture of Bellios, *ὡς πρίπον ἔστιν ἀλόγως* (for τοῖς ἀλόγως) *κολάζειν*.

5. *εἰ . . . ἔχοι*: *Εἰ* with opt. in the protasis and the opt. and *ἂν* in the apodosis is the ideal condition of the Greek language. It is one of the commonest and steadiest forms, equivalents being less freely employed for the opt. with *ἂν*. It is the condition of the fancy, and is chiefly used for illustration, or when an element of hope or fear (wish) comes in. In later Greek *εἰ* with the opt. is not so sharply distinguished from *ἰάν* with the subj. as in the classic period, and occasional deviations are to be found in all stages.—*ἔχοι*=*ἐνναίτο*. No over-subtle distinction is to be made, as is shown by Xen. Oec. 1, 2, where *ἔχοιμεν ἂν*=*ἐνναίμεθ'* *ἂν*.

6. *φήμην*: Remember that to the Greeks *φήμη* was far more mysterious and potent than 'rumor' is to us.—*πονηρὸν*: *Πονηρὸς* = *ὁ ὀραστικός τοῦ κακοῦ*. *Π.* is 'troublesome,' 'mischievous,' as *φαῦλος* is 'worthless,' 'vile;' used of persons or personified things. In Plato it is opposed to *χρηστός*, combined with *ἀχρηστος*, *αἰσχρος*.

7. *ἐαυτοῦς*=*ἑμᾶς αὐτοῦς*. See c. 2, 16.—*οὐ οὐ κρίσει κτλ.*: The negative of the causal relative in classic Gr. is regularly *οὐ*, but as the cause may be based on character, and thus conceived as

Rev. 2, 128: φήμην εἰς δὲ τὸν μέλλον



a condition (logical), the negative *μή* is occasionally found even in the best times with the causal relative, and becomes the rule at a later period. Here we have the classic usage, but comp. c. 5, 9.—*τὰ πράγματα ἐπάγειν*: 'Επάγειν is often used in the sense of bringing some evil on one, *ἀτην, πῆμα, νόσους, αἰτίαν, εἰσὴν καὶ ἐλάσιν ἐπάγειν* (Origen, c. Cels. 4, 99). *Τὰ πράγματα*, 'this trouble;' but I should not expect *τά*. Otto now takes *τὰ πράγματα* as 'this suit.'

8. *πρόκλησιν*: *Πρόκλησις, provocatio*, demand of final adjustment. Otto now edits *πρόσελψιν*, after Thirlby.—*ταύτην*: For *τοῦτο*, by attraction of gender.

9. *τὸ . . . παρέχειν*: The article simply adds to the inf. a demonstrative force. So c. 12, 35. Apposition to *ταύτην*. 'The good old rule that.' Observe that the articular infinitive often involves an imperative notion (obligation, necessity, and the like). So in titles of tracts: *περὶ τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίως πιστεύειν διαβολῇ* (Lucian). Comp. Lat. gerundive, e. g. *de contemnenda morte*.—*εὐθύνην*=*εὐθυναν*, 'straightening of accounts,' hence 'account.'

10. *βίου καὶ λόγου*: *Λόγου*=*μαθημάτων*.—*ἐληπτον*=*ἀνεπιληπτον*, for which it is perhaps miswritten.—*παρέχειν*: The difference between *παρίχειν* (c. 4, 25) and *παρίχισθαι* is not to be urged. Notice, however, that the active is used of agreeable or disagreeable actions; the middle of agreeable actions chiefly.

12. *τὴν ψῆφον τίθεσθαι*=*ψῆφον φέρειν*. A familiar expression.

13. *ὁτῶς*=protasis of a condit. sentence, e. g. *εἰ . . . τιθοῖντο*.

14. *τις*: Plato. To us a curious affectation (Thirlby). But comp. Tit. 1, 12 (of Epimenides): *εἰπέ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης κτλ.* So Imit. Christ. 1, 13, 5: *Unde quidam (= Ovidius) dixit: Principiis obsta.—Ἄν μή οἱ ἄρχοντες κτλ.*: The sentiment is a rough approximation to Plato, De Rep. 5, 473 D: *ἴαν μή ἡ οἱ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ οἱ βασιλεῖς . . . φιλοσοφήσωσιν, οὐκ ἔστι κακῶν παῦλα ταῖς πόλεσι*. Comp. also [Plato] Ep. 7, 326 B. The looseness of this quotation has been noticed in connection with Justin's manner of citing the Gospels. The reference to the passage of Plato is peculiarly apt, as the sentence was a favorite one with both the Antonines. The editors cite Aurel. Vict. Hist. Rom. Brev. p. 258, ed. Lugd.; Capitol. Vit. M. Ant. 27.

15. φιλοσοφήσωσι: Tr. 'become philosophers.' When the present denotes a state, the aorist, which is the tense of attainment, denotes an entrance upon that state (ingressive aorist). The upshot is an outset. So εὐδαιμονῆσαι, 'to become happy.'

16. Ἡμέτερον ἔργον: Ἔργον common, but not necessary.

17. μαθημάτων=λόγον. — ἐπίσκεψιν: 'Inspection.' — μήπως . . . ὀφλήσωμεν: The MSS. have ὅπως ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγνοεῖν—αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς ὀφλήσωμεν. No end of conjectures might be cited. For ὅπως some read ὅπως μή, more in accordance with Justin's usage than Thirlby's μήπως (Otto). Αὐτῶν is simply impossible; it cannot be dependent on τυφλώττοντες (Maran), as this would require οἱ τυφλώττοντες; it cannot be the correlative of ὧν on account of its position. For αὐτοῖς I read with Grabe αὐτοί. Otto now reads ὅπως μή αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς. I doubt the correctness of the dative in the sense of εἰς w. acc. See Eur. Phoen. 763: πατήρ δ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἀμαξίαν ὀφλισκάνει. Notice here that Justin never uses αὐτόν and the rest, but always ἑαυτόν. For Justin's sense of responsibility, comp. Dial. c. Tr. 58: ἥς χάριτος καὶ πάντας κοινωνοὺς ἀμίσῳ καὶ ἀφρόνως παρακαλῶ γίνεσθαι ὅπως μὴ καὶ τούτου χάριν κρίσιν ὀφλήσω.

18. νομιζόντων: 'Think fit,' just as οἶμαι = οἶμαι δεῖν. See Xen. Hell. 4, 7, 4 (with Breitenbach's note); 5, 1, 15. So ἡγείται φέρειν, 'thinks he must bear,' Dial. c. T. 85.

19. πλημμελῶσι: 'Trespass.' The notion of a false step lies in the πλημμέλεια of the LXX. as well as in the 'trespass' of the A. V. Plato, Legg. 3, 691 A: ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐμμελῶς ἡμῶν, ὁ δὲ πλημμελῶς ἐν τούτοις πᾶσι κινεῖται.—τυφλώττοντες: Not earlier than Polybius; used chiefly in a metaphorical sense. Comp. Fr. areugler and areuglement (different fr. cécité).—ὀφλήσωμεν: Rare and chiefly late 1 aor. of ὀφλισκάνω.

20. αἶρεῖ λόγος: A common classical phrase: ratio erincit. Comp. the use of αἶρεῖν in the courts.

21. Ἀναπολόγητον: Διὸ ἀναπολόγητος εἰ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, πᾶς ὁ κρίνων, Rom. 2, 1.—λοιπόν: 'For the rest,' often employed like the Lat. ceterum, a later usage, found everywhere in this stage, e. g. Athenag. Suppl. 3, 13; Theophil. ad Autolyc. 1, 10; Clem. Alex. Protrept. 2, 5; Ep. Eccl. Vien. et Lugd. ap. Euseb. H. E. 5, 1, 33. 36.

22. ὑπάρξει: Sc. τὸ μὴ τὰ ἐκκαὶα ποιῆσαι.—πρὸς θεόν: 'Against

ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐμμελῶς ἡμῶν, ὁ δὲ πλημμελῶς ἐν τούτοις πᾶσι κινεῖται.

Clem. Alex. Protrept. 2, 5

God.' Πρός on account of the ἀπολογίεσθαι in ἀναπολόγητον. 'In the sight of' would be πρὸς Θεῷ.

#### 4. WHY CONDEMN A NAME?

1. προσωνυμία: I read with Grabe the nom. instead of the dative. So also Otto *now*. Athenag. (Suppl. 2, 8) has this passage in view when he writes οὐδὲν εἰ ὄνομα ἰφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ εἰ αὐτοῦ οὐ πονηρὸν οὔτε χρηστὸν νομίζεται.—ἔνευ: 'Without,' is the strict negation of union, χωρίς is rather 'apart from,' 'irrespective of,' but it seems impossible to make a sharp distinction.

2. ὑποκλιπτοσύν: An Aristotelian word, frequently used by Clem. Alex. This line of argument is common after Justin.

3. ἐπεὶ: Adversative, 'whereas,' 'and yet.' Just below the same conjunction is causal. — ὅσον γε: The MSS. have ὅσον τε. This epitatic τε is not in use with ὅσον in Attic prose. Sylburg replaced the familiar restrictive ὅσον γε.—κατηγορομένου: 'Predicated,' 'applied.' Comp. 'category' and 'predicament.' See Athenag. Suppl. 5, 19, and especially 11, 47: τί τὸ ὑποκείμενον καὶ τί τὸ κατηγορούμενον, 'subject and predicate.' Also c. 7, 9.

4. χρηστότατοι: The confusion between ι and η began early. See c. 29, 7; B 3, 3. *Christus* was often written *Chrestus*, *Christianus*, *Chrestianus*. See Tertull. Apol. 8 (p. 33, D. S.). The Christian writers are far from averse to *paronomasia*, and the play on Χριστός and χρηστός was especially welcome. Comp. Theophil. ad Autol. 1, 12: ἐγὼ μὲν ὁμολογῶ εἶναι Χριστιανὸς καὶ φορῶ τὸ Θεοφιλὲς ὄνομα τοῦτο ἡλπίζων εἶναι εὐχρηστος τῷ Θεῷ. Of the various words for 'good,' χρηστός emphasizes 'kindness,' *bonité* (*bonitas*). The true etymology of Χριστός is given, B 6, 9.—ὑπάρχοντες: Quite colorless. See c. 1, 10.—τοῦτο: Anticipates the infinitive, as often.

5. ἡγούμεθα: ἡγεῖσθαι is *ducere*, 'deem,' often of solid conviction as opposed to οἰεῖσθαι, *opinari*, 'fancy,' 'ween.' Νομίζειν, 'take,' has little color.—πάλιν: The periodology is not elegant.

6. εἰ . . . εὐρισκόμεθα: The logical condition (ind. or equivalent in both members) brings the condition to the test of fact. The case is either so or not so. With the unreal condition (εἰ ind.—ind. with ἄν), the condition fails. With the ideal condition the test may never be applied, indeed, may not be applicable. The

anticipatory condition is preferred in most future relations to the logical (εἰ w. fut. ind.), from which it differs in tone and in exactness.—*διὰ τε . . . καὶ διὰ*: Normal position.

7. *πολιτεῖαν*: *Πολιτεία*, 1. Conduct as citizens; 2. Conduct generally. In the latter sense very common in this class of literature.

8. *ἀδικοῦντες*: *Εὐρίσκειν* is a verb of perception; hence the participle. See c. 8, 3.—*ἀγωνιάσαι*: The history of *ἀγών* and its derivatives from the simple 'gathering' of Homer, through 'contest' and 'struggle' to 'agony' is significant. *Ἀγωνιᾶν* in the sense of 'being eager for the fray,' 'earnestly endeavoring,' takes the inf. (as Orig. c. Cels. 7, 10); in the sense of 'fearing' or 'apprehending,' the subj., as here.

9. *τοὺς μὴ ἀλλοχομένους*: The generic (conditional) participle with the article regularly takes the neg. *μὴ*, and this rule is extended (more and more in later Greek) to individuals, who may be thus classified. The neg. *οὐ* is used, 1. Of actual cases considered as such; 2. When *οὐ* forms a familiar and close union with the participle. This close union is sufficiently symbolized by the absence of accent. So *οὐ ἐνναρόν*=*ἀεὶ ἐνναρόν*.—*τῇ δίκῃ*: *Μετὰ δίκης* or *ἐν δίκῃ* is the rule; *δίκῃ*, Plato, Critias, 112 E; *τῇ δίκῃ*, Legg. 7, 808 E. Personification, 'to justice,' 'at the hands of justice' would be more vivid.—*ἀφλήσῃτε*: C. 8, 19.

10. *οὐκ ἂν . . . γένοιτο*: The opt. with *ἂν* is the potential of the Greek language. It expresses the conviction of the speaker as a conviction. The future element is the ascertainment of the predicate. With the pres. opt. the action itself may be present or future; with the aor. it is future. As the aor. is naturally associated with the negative, the aor. opt. and *ἂν* with neg. is very common. The transl. with the negat. is often 'can,' with the positive 'must.' Remember that the English language has nothing to correspond to the Gr. future, and the English future is often as good a rendering of the opt. and *ἂν* as it is of the Gr. future.

11. *ἢν μὴ τι*: 'Unless something;' *ἢν μηδὲν*, 'if nothing.'

12. *Καὶ γάρ*: *Καὶ* repeats with emphasis the predicative notion of the preceding sentence. 'And' (I may well say so) 'for.' But sometimes *καὶ* belongs to a single word, as c. 62, 6; B 10, 13; 13, 1.—*ἐπὶ ὑμῶν*: *Ἐπὶ* with gen. often of tribunals. So *ἐπὶ δικαστῶν*.

Others wish to read  $\text{ἐξ ὑμῶν}$ , i. e. the Pagans.  $\text{Πάντας}$  does not necessarily exclude the partitive:  $\text{τὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα ὑπάρχοντά ἐστι πασι τοῖς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει}$ , Plato, Legg. 6, 774 C.

18.  $\text{πρὶν ἀλεγθῆναι}$ : After positive sentences  $\text{πρὶν}$  commonly takes the inf.; after neg. sentences, it has the construction of  $\text{ἕως}$ , 'until,' when the meaning is that of  $\text{ἕως}$ . This is the Attic rule, but there are exceptions, so that it is safer to say that,  
1. When  $\text{πρὶν}$  *must* be translated 'before,' it *must* have the inf.;  
2. When it *may* be translated 'until,' it *may* take the finite constructions of  $\text{ἕως}$ , 'until.'  $\text{Πρὶν}$  commonly takes the aor. on account of the negative sense which lies in the comparative  $\text{πρὶν} = \text{πρ(ο)-ι(ο)ν, prius}$ . In Attic prose  $\text{πρὶν}$  seldom has  $\text{ἦ}$ . In Justin  $\text{πρὶν ἦ}$  is the more common with the inf. Observe that in this stage we often find  $\text{πρὶν}$  with subj. (opt.) after positive clauses, contrary to Attic rule, e. g., Origen, c. Cels. 1, 42; 2, 42; 6, 68; 7, 20.— $\text{ἐφ' ἡμῶν}$ : 'In our case.'

14.  $\text{καίπερ . . . ὀφείλετε}$ :  $\text{Καίπερ}$ , with a finite verb in the sense of  $\text{εἰ καὶ}$  or  $\text{καίτοι}$ , is very rare in the classic time. See c. 7, 7.

18.  $\text{μὴ εἶναι φήσας}$ : The neg. of the inf. after verbs of saying and thinking is regularly  $\text{οὐ}$ . Here the neg. may be explained by the conditional clause, but in this period the neg.  $\text{μὴ}$  is employed anywhere with the inf. Even in the classic time, verbs of saying and thinking, which involve the will, take more or less frequently  $\text{μὴ}$ , and regularly when averment is meant (so verbs of swearing always, as  $\text{ὀμνύναι}$ ). The later use of  $\text{ὅτι μὴ}$  in oratio obliqua is a part of the same development. See c. 24, 1.

19.  $\text{ὥς μὴδὲν . . . ἔχοντες}$ : Regularly  $\text{οὐκ ἔιν}$ . 'Ὅς with the participle is a post-Homeric growth of the language, and forms a kind of oratio obliqua. That it is not felt as a conditional participle is shown. 1. By the neg.  $\text{οὐ}$ , except when the leading verb demands  $\text{μὴ}$ ; 2. By the use of the fut. part., which is not regularly used as the protasis of an abridged conditional sentence. While the combination may often be translated 'as if,' yet 'thinking,' 'expecting,' 'hoping,' are really more accurate. 'Ὅς with the part. may be compared with the subjunctive of partial obliquity (e. g. *quod w. subj.*) in Latin. In this stage  $\text{μὴ}$  is often found without good reason, i. e. without a preceding imperative, inf., or the like.

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πρὶν  
= πρὶν  
II 90 16  
δ(μ.)

15.  
6.1.  
7.107

20. *ὅθεν*: Acc. abs., the regular absolute construction for the impersonal verb, oftenest in an adversative sense 'whereas.' See c. 27, 11; B 2, 20.

22. *Ὅν τρόπον*: This adverbial acc. is common enough in classical Greek, very common in LXX. Justin uses it regularly instead of *οὕτως . . . ὥς*, so that it amounts to a trick. See Index.—*παραλαβόντες . . . παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου*: *Παραλαμβάνειν* is often used of being taught. Plato, Theaet. 198 B: *καὶ καλοῦμέν γε παραδιδόντα μιν διδάσκειν, παραλαμβάνοντα δὲ μανθάνειν*. 1 Cor. 11, 23: *ἐγὼ γάρ παρίλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ὃ καὶ παρίδωκα ὑμῖν*.—*Χριστοῦ*: Matt. 10, 33.

24. *μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι*: 'Not to deny' (him).—*παρακαλύονται*: 'Act as exhorters,' encourage others to become Christians by their bold confession. Justin is speaking from his own experience. See Introd. xi., and comp. Tertull. Apol. sub fin.: *Illā ipsa obtestatio, quam exprobratis, magistra est*. However, the absolute use of *παρακαλ.* is not satisfactory, and Thirlby's suggestion, *παρακροῶνται*, is worth considering.

25. *κακῶς ζῶντες*: We should expect *οἱ κ. ζ.* (Ashton). A fling at the Gnostics. See c. 26, 32 (Otto).—*ἀφορμαί*: 'Starting-points,' 'capital,' 'handles.' See c. 44, 27.—*ἄλλως*: 'Idly,' 'thoughtlessly,' 'rashly.'

26. *καταλέγειν*: Not so formal as *κατηγορεῖν*. Verbs compounded with the *κατά* of hostility take the gen. when the simple verb does not take a personal object.

27. *οὐκ . . . οὐδέ*: The second negative subdivides the first, as often in old and idiomatic English.—*μέν=μήν*.—*καὶ γάρ τοι*: On *καὶ γάρ* see l. 12; *τοι* (of disputed origin) always appeals to the consciousness of the hearer.

28. *σχῆμα*: 'Attire,' 'garb.' *Σχῆμα, habitus*, 'position,' 'posture,' 'bearing,' with reference to the *external* effect; *μορφή*, 'mould,' 'form,' with reference to the *embodiment* of an organic principle. Comp. Rom. 12, 2: *μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοῦς ὑμῶν* with 2 Cor. 11, 14: *αὐτὸς ὁ σατανᾶς μετασχηματίζεται εἰς ἄγγελον φωτός*. Of course *μορφή* may appear as *σχῆμα*. So *σχῆμα* of sex. Dialog. c.T. 23; Constt. Apostt. 6, 11.—*ἐπιγράφονται*: 'Assume' as a false name. Comp. Clem. Alex. Protrept. 2, 25: *τὸν πολλοῖς*

ἐπιγραφόμενον ψευδωνύμους θεούς, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐκ τῆς πόρνης τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐπιγράφεται πατήρας ἀγνοία τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πατρός.

81. τῶν παλαιῶν: Depends on οἱ δοξάσαντες (Maran).

82. ἀθεότης: Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 8, 12: τρία ἐπιφημίζουσιν ἡμῖν ἐγγλήματα, ἀθεότης, θνίστρια εἰπίνα, Οἰκτοῦσιος μίξεις. Remember that the Christians were called ἀθεοί. The popular cry was αἶρε τοὺς ἀθεοὺς. See the famous account of the martyrdom of Polycarp in Euseb. H. E. 4, 15, 18 (p. 113, D. S.). Julian's regular name for the Christian religion was ἀθεότης, e. g. Ep. 49. Of course the Christians retorted. Comp. Origen, c. Cels. 1, 1: ἡ ἀθεος πολυθεότης.—ἀσελγή: Ἀσελγής is a hard word to fix. Passow (Rost) observes that ἀσελγής is not used of women until the time of Plutarch and Lucian. Ἀσελγεια, according to Gregory of Nazianz. Carm. 34, 57–8, is the opposite of σωφροσύνη. Calvin says (ad Gal. 5, 19): *Lascivia est tamquam instructum; nam qui petulanter ac dissolute se gerunt, illos Graeci vocant ἀσελγεῖς.*

83. καταγγέλλουσι: Κατά implies long-windedness, 'trumpet.'

84. ἐκείνων: The philosophers.—πρὸς ἡμῶν: See c. 2, 17.

85. εὐφώνως ὑβρίζουσι: One of Justin's few telling phrases, copied by Theophil. ad Autolyc. 3, 30. Comp. also 3, 8: ἐφωνότερον ἔδουσι τὰς χαλεπὰς πράξεις, and 15.—τόντους: The gods. Depends on ὑβρίζουσι. Xenophanes had said hundreds of years before: πάντα θεοῖς ἀνέβηκαν Ὀμηρός 3' Ἡσιόδός τε | ὅσσα παρ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐνείδεα καὶ ψόγος ἐστίν.

### 5. CHRISTIANS NO ATHEISTS.

1. τί δὴ οὖν ἂν εἴη: An impatient question, as is shown by εἴη. The mood of the question is the mood of the expected or anticipated answer. With the opt. and ἂν the speaker answers himself. Being in effect a negative (c. 4, 10), translate it by 'can.' 'What then can all this mean?'—Ἐφ' ἡμῶν: 'In our case.'—ἐπισχυνμένων: 'Although we promise,' i. e., 'declare.' Adversative relations are expressed by the participle.

2. μὴδὲν δίκαιον: The neg. μὴδὲν because of the asseveration. See c. 4, 18.

4. δαιμόνων: On the demons as the instigators of persecutions see c. 44; B 1. 5. 8; Dialog. c. Tryph. 39; Tertull. Apol. 27.—μὴ φροντίζοντες=οἵτινες μὴ φροντίζετε. The causal participle, like

the causal relative (c. 3, 6), has regularly *ὅ* in classic Gr., but even there *μή* is found, because the cause may be considered as a characteristic. Comp. Lat. *qui* w. subj. and *qui* w. ind. In later Gr. *μή* meets us at every turn.

5. *Ἐλρήσεται*: This fut. perf. is often used of bold and final utterance, e. g. Eur. Ion, 760; Dem. 44, 4; Din. 1, 10. So also *λελίξεται*, Plat. De Rep. 5, 457 B; very often in Origen, c. Cels. 1, 46, 70; 2, 26, 75; 3, 22; 4, 4, 60, 70, al.

6. *ἐπιφανείας ποιησάμενοι* = *ἐπιφάνεντες*. See c. 1, 9.

8. *ὥς καταπληγῆναι*: *Ὡς* or *ὥς* (neg. *μή*) gives the tendency or adaptation to a result ('so as'), which is often conveniently translated 'so that,' the proper rendering of *ὥς* (seldom *ὥς*) with the finite verb (neg. *οὐ*).—*τοὺς αἱ*: The article is little used in Attic prose as a substantive antecedent. Most of the examples are from Plato. Otto cites fr. Justin, D. c. T. 47: *τὰ ὅσα*, Cohort. 2: *τὸν ὄν*. Add Clem. Alex. Protrept. 6, 70: *τοὺς ὅσοι*. Paedag. 3, 8, 41: *τῶν ὅσα*, Origen, c. Cels. 1, 12: *τῶν ὅσοι*, and elsewhere; Euseb. H. E. 4, 10, 17: *τοὺς οἷς*.

9. *μή ἐπιστάμενοι δαίμονας εἶναι φαύλους*: On *μή* see l. 4. *Ἐπιστάσθαι* as a verb of knowing takes the constructions mentioned c. 3, 3, but later writers are prone to use the inf. with such verbs. Herodotus treats *ἰ* as a verb of thinking, and even in Attic it is not unfrequently found with acc. and inf. 'E. as *εἰστιμάρε* in Athenag. Suppl. 1, 1.

14. *καὶ αὐτόν*: So now Otto after Thirlby for *αὐτοί*.

15. *ἐνήργησαν . . . ἀποκτείναι*: 'Caused the killing,' 'caused to be killed,' so-called active for passive inf. Otto has allowed himself to print in the last ed. *ἀποκτείνεσθαι*. Even Justin would have preferred *ἀποθανεῖν*.

16. *ὥς ἔθεν*: Sc. *ἔντα*.—*καὶ δαίμονια*: See Xen. Mem. 1, 1; Plat. Apol. 24 B and B 10.

17. *ἐφ' ἡμῶν*: As above. l. 1.

18. *ἐν*: Due to Otto.—*ἐπὶ λόγον ἡλέγχθη ταῦτα*: See Introd.

19. *βαρβάρους*: Calmly historical; 'non-Hellenic.' Some of the other Fathers show much more feeling on the subject. So notably Justin's disciple Tatian, c. Gr. 1, 80, 85, 42. Comp. Origen, c. Cels. 1, 2.

22. *μή ὁρθῶς θεοοῦς*: The MSS. have *ὁρθοῦς*, which Otto (after

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Maran) renders *donos*; Thirlby would have *θεούς*, which does not account for *ὁρ*. I have ventured to put *ὁρῶς θεούς* (comp. *ὁ ὁρῶς κυβερνήτης*, Plato). So Origen, c. Cels. 3, 2: *ἐδιδάχθιντες πάντων τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἔθνεσι νομιζομένων θεῶν καταφρονεῖν ὡς οὐ θεῶν ἀλλὰ δαιμονίων* (1 Cor. 10, 20). Hagen suggests *ὕνωρ*.

23. *ὡσιότης*: "Ὅσιος, in the absence of a satisfactory etymology, is hard to determine. See the commentators on Plato's *Euthyphron* (ἡ περὶ ὁσίου), where Jowett's 'piety' certainly seems nearer the mark than Grote's 'holiness.' "Ὅσιον θεράπηνμα θεοῦ" ἀρεστὴν θεῷ, [Plat.] Deff. 414 A.; τὸ ὁσίον τὰ πρὸς θεὸν εἰκαῖα καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν οἰκονομίαν μὴνύει, Clem. Alex. Strom. 7, 12, 80.—*ποθεύειν*: Πόθος and ἵμερος are distinguished by Plato in a famous passage, Cratyl. 420 A.; πόθος, longing for the absent good (*desiderium*); ἵμερος, impatient love. The distinction must have been a familiar one, for otherwise Skopas would not have made his group of Eros, Pothos, and Himeros. Gregory of Nazianz. defines πόθος as ὁρεῖς, ἔρωρ as ἐνσκαῶκετος πόθος. On the brachylogy, see c. 23, 5.

#### 6. OUR GOD IS NOT AS YOUR GODS.

1. *Ἐνθάνει*: Otto now reads *Ἐνθεν εἰ*, an unnecessary change. Why make Justin any less Attic? *Ἐνθεν* is regularly a relative.—*καὶ ἔθνοι*: *καὶ* is often apparently superfluous for our idiom 'actually.'—*καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν*: *καὶ* at the head of a sentence is always emphatic; not so our English 'and.' 'And if it comes to that we do acknowledge.'

2. *θεῶν ἔθνοι*: Ἄθεος takes the gen. as do other compounds of *ἀν-* (a privative). So *ἀνεπιμύκτου* with *κακίας*.

4. *ἀνεπιμύκτου τε*: Such a position and use of *τε* would be rare in classic prose.

5. *ἐκείνων . . . στρατόν*: *Nobis semel constitutum est controversias theologicas in hoc opere non attingere* (Thirlby). I desire to follow Thirlby's good example. The only natural translation of the text, as it stands, commits Justin to the worship of angels. I leave others to reconcile this with cc. 13 and 61. Comp. also the very strong language of Origen, c. Cels. 1, 26 and 3, 77: *προσκυνεῖν καὶ θαυμάζειν καὶ σίβειν χρὴ μόνον τὸν ταῦτα πεποιηκότα*. Add 5, 6. On the other hand, to make *τὸν στρατόν* depend on *ἐδιδάξαντα*, 'who taught us and the host of angels,' is sadly

ἐν τῇ γὰρ δὲ πρώτῃ καὶ ἐκλεπτῇ τῇ ἑξῆς ἀποδοτικῇ  
δοτὶ γινώσκουσι τὸν θεόν ὡς ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἐκλεπτὸν  
καὶ τὸν θεόν ὡς ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἐκλεπτὸν

strained. If the passage is to be emended, I would suggest τοῦ τῶν ἄλλων . . . στρατοῦ ἀρχιστράτηγον. The mass of similar words might have led to the dropping of ἀρχιστράτηγον. Christ is identified with the ἀρχιστράτηγος of Joshua 5, 14, in Dial. c. T. 61, and, unless I am mistaken, Eusebius, a great admirer of Justin, has this passage in his mind (H. E. 1, 3) when he calls Christ τὸν τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν λογικῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου στρατιᾶς ἀρχιστράτηγον. As to τῶν ἄλλων ἀγγέλων, every novice knows that in Gr. ἄλλος (ὁ ἄλλος) does not necessarily include as 'another,' 'the other' in English, and even if it did here, Christ is often called an angel. So c. 63, 41, and in the Dial. c. T. passim, e. g. 59.

7. πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικόν: The copulatives may be worth noticing. Father and Son are closely connected by τε . . . καὶ, the Spirit coming in afterwards. Πν. τὸ πρ. is in the third attributive position; the first being τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα (συντομία, Aristotle), the second, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ προφητικόν (ὅγκος). The third is, or affects to be, easy, hence often in Herodotus and Ælian.

8. προσκυνούμεν: See c. 16, 20.

10. παραδιδόντες: See c. 4, 23.

#### 7. THE LIFE IS THE TRUE TEST.

1. Ἀλλὰ φήσιν . . . καταδικάζετε: The sense of this passage seems to be: 'But it will be said that some Christians have been convicted of being malefactors. Well, that ought not to prevent you from examining them all. For in the case of others when you condemn them, you condemn them upon examination of their conduct, and not on account of those previously convicted. Each man must be proved guilty. There must be no prejudice, no πρᾶλησις.'—Καὶ γάρ: Elliptical. See c. 4, 12.

4. προελεγχθέντας: So Perionius and others for προλεχθέντας, 'aforesaid,' which makes no satisfactory sense, whether referred to the Christians with Otto, or to the demons with Trollope. For 'aforesaid,' προειρημένους would be more common.—καταδικάζετε: With acc. Exceptional. See c. 3, 2.

5. ἐν τρόπῳ: See c. 4, 22.

6. τὰ αὐτοῖς: αὐτοῖς, *ipsis*, instead of the reflexive αὐτοῖς, which

Justin does not use for *ταυτοῖς* (Otto). See c. 32, 8.—*ἐκ παντός*: 'Generally,' B 12, 8.

7. *καίπερ* . . . *ὅντων*: The participle is the regular form of the adversative, which states an opposing *fact*, while the concessive grants an opposing *notion*. The neg. of the adversative is *οὐ* (*οὐκί*), of the concessive *μή* (*μηκί*). The participle is often strengthened by *καί*, *καίπερ*, 'even,' 'ever so.'

9. *ἐπικατηγορούμενον*: Not in a bad sense, though it may be so used. *Ἐπικατηγορεῖν*, a common word in Sext. Empir. Indifferent, Athenag. Suppl. 5, 19; good, l. c. 23, 115; bad, l. c. 31, 155; Tatian, ad Gr. 27. With the thought comp. Origen, c. Cels. 2, 27: ὥσπερ οὐ φιλοσοφίας ἐγκλημά εἰσιν οἱ σοφισταὶ ἢ οἱ Ἐπικούρειοι ἢ οἱ Περιπατητικοὶ ἢ οἱ τινὲς ποτ' ἂν ὦσιν οἱ φιλοδοξοῦντες, οὕτως οὐ τῶν ἀληθινῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐγκλημα οἱ μεταχαράττοντες τὰ εὐαγγέλια κτί.

12. *ὡς ἄδικος*: 'As=ut.'

13. *φάνηται*: Notice the rare 2 aor. middle. The tense matches *ἐλεγχθεῖς*=*ἰάν ἐλεγχθῇ*.

14. *Οὐ γὰρ* . . . *ἀξιόσωμεν*: A reference to the clause in Hadrian's rescript, in which calumniators of Christians are threatened with punishment (Grabe).

#### 8. THIS LIFE IS NOT WORTH A LIE. 'WE ASPIRE WHILE WE EXPIRE.'

1. *Δογίσασθε ὅτι*: 'Count upon it (as a fact) that.' See c. 2, 18.—*ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν*: Otto comp. Plato, Apol. 80 D: πολλοὺ ἔγω ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἀπολογεῖσθαι. . . . ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν.—*ἔφημεν*=*εἰφήσαμεν*. Notice the form. Buttmann (Ausführl. Gr. § 109, Anm. 3\*) denies the existence of a special aor. in η. Here it is, though late. Not in Veitch.—*ἐφ' ἡμῖν*: 'In our power,' a very common use of the preposition, especially in the Stoic school, in which *τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν*, *τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν*, were catch-words, e. g. Epictet. Enchir. 1, 1, 2.

3. *ψευδολογούντες*=*ἐπὶ τῷ ψευδολογεῖν*, 'on condition of lying.'—*τοῦ αἰωνίου*: Τοῦ of the ideal standard. Comp. Soph. Ai. 473: αἰσχροὺν γὰρ ἀνδρα τοῦ μακροῦ χρόνῳ βίου | κατοῖσιν ὅστις μηδὲν ἐξαλλάσσεται.

4. *μετὰ θεοῦ*: Krüger, with his wonted Laconism, defines *σύν* as *coherence*, *μετά* as *coexistence*, and points to the narrowing effect of

*σύν* in composition with *μερά*; Kühner, on the other hand, seems to make *μερά* the closer, *σύν* the wider. More important than either view is the result of Tycho Mommsen's researches, 'that the use of *σύν* with the dative is almost wholly restricted to the higher forms of poetry and Xenophon, who has a leaning to poetical and religious phraseology, while *μερά* is reserved for prose, and for such forms of poetry as approximate most closely to it.' Notice the standing (religious) phrase, *σύν θεῷ*. Athenag. (Suppl. 31, 157) refines on *μερά θεοῦ* and *σύν θεῷ*. At all events *μερά* is much more common. So Isocrates does not use *σύν* at all (as Haupt observed long ago), and even in Xenophon's Memorabilia, according to Prof. Price's count, *μερά* w. gen. occurs sixteen times, *σύν* only nine times.

6. *πείσμενοι καὶ πιστεύοντες*: Justin often combines the passive of *πείθω* and *πιστεύω*. Generally he uses them in their genetic order, *πιστεύειν* being the result of *πεισθῆναι*. But when he wishes to emphasize conviction as a living, working principle, he reverses the usual arrangement, as in c. 17, 14, which shows that he does not use them as synonyms. Belief is conceived by the Gr. now as knowledge (*ὄρι*), now as thought, now as an intellectual perception, now as dependent on the will (neg. *μή*). So verbs causative of belief, such as *πείθω*. Comp. Plat. Theaet. 201 B: τὸ πείσαι δ' οὐχὶ δοξάσαι λέγεις ποιῆσαι;

8. *πείσαντας*: When action is to be produced, *πείθειν* takes the inf.; when belief, *ὄρι* (of objective knowledge), sometimes the inf. Here *πείσαντας* is a verb of showing. See c. 8, 3.—*παρ' αὐτῷ*: *Παρά* with persons of characteristic locality, e. g. *παρὰ τῷ στρατηγῷ*, 'at head-quarters,' *παρὰ τῷ διδασκάλῳ*, 'at school,' *παρ' αὐτῷ*, 'with Him' 'in Heaven.'

12. *Παδάμανθον καὶ Μίνο*: Plato, Gorg. 523 E. Justin almost always treats his old master tenderly. There is a perceptible difference of tone in the other Fathers, who adduce the same parallel, as Athenag. Suppl. 12, 50.

13. *παρ' αὐτοῖς*: 'Before their bar.' *Ἐπειδὴν ἀφίκωνται παρὰ τὸν ἐικαστήν*, Plato, l. c. 524 E.

14. *κὴν τοῖς αὐτοῖς*: *Κὴν* for *καί*, with Davis.

15. *γινομένων*: Gen. absolute without a subject, not uncommon. Supply *ἀνθρώπων*, if need be: 'while men are living in the same

See. 29, 29: *καὶ τὸν μὲν ἔχει*  
καὶ ὁ ἄλλος τὸν μὲν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν

bodies with their souls, and are doomed to eternal punishment.' The passage is generally considered corrupt, but nothing satisfactory has been suggested by way of emendation.

16. *χλίωνταστί*: Late for *χλιδηή*. See Plato, Phaedr. 249 A; De Republ. 10, 615 A.

17. *Εἰ . . . φήσῃ τις*: Harsher and rarer form of the fut. conditional, with the same tone as our English 'shall.'

18. *πρὸς ἡμᾶς . . . ἔτερον*: The passage is commonly edited thus: *Εἰ . . . φήσῃ τις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἥτε ἡ πλάνη ἴσιν ἄλλου πρὸς ἔτερον*, which is supposed to mean: 'If any one shall say to us that this is incredible or impossible, well, this is a common error, a mistake of one thing for another, a mere mistake in detail, eternity for a thousand years, or some such matter.' I have followed Thirlby and Davis, to whom even Otto has at last succumbed, 'This error is our affair, and nobody's else.' Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 38, 170: *οἷς ἀπατῶμεν ἑαυτοὺς λόγοις ἀκικοῦμεν οὐδὲνα*, and Arnob. 2, 53: *Sed stulte istud credimus. Quid ad eos? Ineptissime, fatue. Ubi vobis nocemus vel quam vobis facimus aut i.rogamus iniuriam*, etc. Otto adds Tertull. Apol. 38 (p. 92 D. S.): *nostra iniuria est, non vestra*.

19. *μέχρις οὗ . . . ἐλεγχόμεθα*: 'So long as we are not convicted of doing any actual wrong.' Temporal conjunctions, as such, take the subj. in fut. and generic relations. With the ind. (pres. perf. and fut.) they assume a causal sense. But this is not to be insisted on in later writers.—*μηδέν*: Perh. *μηδὲνα*. See Athenag. l. c.—*ἀδικοῦντες*: 'Ελεγχόμεθα is a verb of showing (causative of perception). See c. 3, 3.

#### 9. IDOL WORSHIP IS IDLE WORSHIP.

2. *ναοῖς*: *Ναός* is here the *cella*; *ιερόν* (l. 20) is used in a wider sense.—*ταῦτα*: Sc. *εἰδῶλα*. On the subject see Athenag. Suppl. 28.

4. *μὴ ἔχοντα*: As *μὴ* is the regular negative with the articular participle, so when the partic. is predicative and the article omitted *μὴ* is often retained in later Gr., sometimes in classic.

7. *Τί γὰρ δεῖ εἰδέναι ὑμῖν λέγειν*: A favorite rhetorical turn. *Μακρογορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος*, Thuc. 2, 36; *ἐπισταμίνοισι εὐ οὐκ ἂν τις λέγοι*, Hdt. 7, 8, 2. See also c. 21, 20.

8. & *τὴν ἔλπην διατιθέασι*: 'What they do with, how they treat,

etc.' 'A is a cognate accusative (accus. of the inner object) dependent on διατιθεῖσσι. Comp. Dial. c. T. 18: τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα διατιθείντας ἡμᾶς; Orig. c. Cels. 8, 5: πολλὰ διαθείντες οἱ πάλοι Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ Ἑβραίων γένος, and 6, 74; Plat. Legg. 5, 728 B: ψυχὴν ἀτιμώτατα διατιθεῖς. Also Ep. Eccl. V. et L. ap. Euseb. H. E. 5, 1, 27 (p. 133, D. S.).

9. ξιόντες . . . τύπτοντες: Comp. Isa. 40, 18; 44, 9 sqq.; Theophil. ad Autol. 2, 2.

15. ὅτι . . . ἐπίστασθε: C. 5, 10.—ἀσελγείς: C. 4, 32.

18. Ὡς τῆς ἐμβροντησίας: The gen. of emotion after an interjection. See E. ad D. 9, 14. 24. 25. Notice the accent of ὦ. Ἐμβρόντητος of an *attonitus*, a stupid, staring ass, a familiar word: ὦμβρόντητι σύ, Ar. Eccl. 793, 'You thundering fool;' ἡλιθίους τε καὶ ἐμβροντήτους, Plat. Alcib. II. 140 C; Orig. c. Cels. 7, 16. 34; 8, 15. Ἐμβροντησία, Plut. Mor. 1119 B.—ἀνθρώπους . . . λέγεσθαι: 'That debauched men should be said to form gods,' etc. λέγεσθαι for λίγεσθε, Stephan.

20. φύλακας: See E. ad D. 2, 2.

21. μὴ συνορώνας: The neg. is regular; σ. is an integral part of the inf. sentence. See c. 2, 4. Συνορᾶν, used chiefly of intellectual perception. So Athenag. Res. 15, 66.

#### 10. PROPER WORSHIP OF GOD.

1. οὐ: Read with Nolte οὐδέ. So Otto (1875).—δέσθαι: The open forms of this verb are often found in the MSS. and editions of Xenophon. So in later writers. e. g. B 14, 13; Constt. Apostt. 1, 8. With the thought comp. Athenag. Suppl. 10.

2. παρειλήφαμεν: Thalemann. So also Otto, now, for προσελήφαμεν. See c. 4, 23. Προσλαμβάνειν is rather 'to assume.'—παρέχοντα: Intellectual perception. See c. 3, 3.

3. ἱερίων: Object of προσέχεισθαι, 'accept.'—προσδέχεσθαι . . . δευδόμενα: The regular construction would be ὅτι w. finite verb. See cc. 3, 8; 5, 10.

4. καὶ πεποισμένα καὶ πιστεύομεν: See c. 8, 6.

7. τῷ μηδεν . . . καλουμένῳ: See c. 4, 9.—θεῷ: See B 6, 1: Ὄνομα δὲ τῷ πάντων πατρὶ θεῷ, ἀγεννήτῳ ὄντι, οὐκ ἴσιν.—Καὶ πάντα κτλ.: The rest of the chapter is very important for Justin's anthropology, which seems to lack clearness and consistency.

8. τὴν ἀρχὴν: Is often used with the negative, which loves strong expression, 'not the beginning' = 'not at all.' It is found with the neg. c. 29, 2, Athenag. Res. 2, 13; positively, c. 28, 10, Dialog. c. Tr. cc. 27. 46. The meaning here is much disputed. 'To begin with' seems to answer the conditions best.

9. δι' ἀνθρώπους: Comp. E. ad D. 10, Athenag. Suppl. 13, 3, and see Origen, c. Cels. 4, 24, in defence of this position against the mockery of Celsus.—of . . . δείξωσι: 'If they show themselves worthy to (in the sight of) His counsel by means of works,' 'commend themselves to His counsel as worthy.'—ἀξίους: Absolute as in c. 52, 13. The gen. is readily supplied, if needful, fr. τῆς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀναστροφῆς. Ἄξιος with dat. and gen., Xen. Mem. 1, 2, 62, An. 4, 1, 28; Plat. Conv. 185 B.

11. καταξιώθηvai: ~~Aor. as fut.~~ See c. 12, 23. With the expression comp. c. 26, 4, and Theophil. ad Autolyc. 2, 35.—παραειλήφαμεν: For the MS. προσειλήφαμεν.

16. τὸ γενέσθαι: Theoretically the inf. with the article ought to have no more time than any other verbal noun, τὸ πράξαι no more than ἡ πράξις, τὸ πεπράχθαι than τὸ πρᾶγμα. But practically the inf. is often used to sum up the contents of a finite clause, when it must have some temporal relation other than continuance, attainment, completion. This is inevitable when the article is used with the fut. inf. or the inf. with ἄν, which belong necessarily to oratio obliqua. In this passage, however, the simple abstract notion 'our birth' suffices.—ἡμέτερον=ἰφ' ἡμῖν.—τὸ δ' ἐξακολουθήσαι: According to rigid grammar, i. depends on πείθει, but the article holds up the inf. more distinctly as an object of thought. Comp. c. 3, 9. As for our birth, that was not in our power. 'As for our following what is pleasing in His sight, it is He that persuades us thereto.'

18. πείθει τε καὶ εἰς πίστιν ἔχει: Comp. c. 3, 6.

19. τὸ μὴ εἶργεσθαι: On the inf. see c. 3, 9; on μὴ, c. 2. 4. Some read τῷ with the MSS. 'And we think that [this] is [so] (is done) for the sake of all men, on account of (τῷ=διὰ τὸ) their not being kept,' etc. Not satisfactory. Otto now edits τὸ.

21. Ὅπερ . . . ταῦτα: So the MSS. No change is necessary. So Thuc. 6, 17: ὅτι . . . ταῦτα, and Xen. Cyr. 1, 6, 11, with the commentators.

22. ὁ λόγος θεῖος ὢν: 'The Logos being divine,' 'by its divine power.' Perionius writes θεῖος ἄν, to give the ordinary conditional form to the sentence.—εἰργάσατο, εἰ μή: 'Did (actually) work, only;,' εἰ μή being restrictive. Εἰργάσατο ἄν, εἰ μή: 'would have wrought (but did not), had not.' But perhaps it would be better not to refine; ἄν may readily have been dropped after ὢν.

23. πολλὰ ψευδῆ καὶ ἄλλα: See cc. 23, 14; 26, 32; B 12, 15; Athenag. Suppl. 3, 12.

25. ὃν οὐδὲν πρόσκειται: Short relative clausulae have a peculiar emphasis. With the phrase comp. B 2, 47; 12, 16.

# 11. 'MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD.'

1. προσδοκῶντας: 'Ακούω, as a verb of knowing, takes the participle, or ὄτι; as a verb of thinking, the inf.; of actual perception, the gen. and partic.

2. ἀνθρώπινον: Fem., as in Plato, Legg. 5, 737 B. — λέγειν: 'Mean.'—ὑπελήφατε: 'Have taken up the impression,' often of a false impression; hence it is necessary to define it. Comp. [Plat.] Deff. 413 A: ὑπόληψις ὁρθή, and Aristot. Eth. Magn. 1, 85, 15: ἡ ὑπόληψις ἴστιν, ἣ ἐπὶ πάντων ἐπαμφοτερίζομεν, πρὸς τὸ καὶ εἶναι τὰ αὐτὰ οὕτω καὶ μὴ εἶναι.

3. ἡμῶν . . . λεγόντων: Gen. absol., although ἡμᾶς precedes. The deviation is justified by the strong contrast. See c. 62, 12. — λεγόντων: 'Whereas we mean.' Adversative participle; so γινώσκοντας, 'although we know.' Γινώσκοντες, which some retain, would refer to the emperors.

5. θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν: Θάνατος ἡ ζημία is a very common judicial phrase.

6. καίσθαι: Practical perf. pass. of τίθημι. Τίθειμαι is little used in classic authors. The inf. after γινώσκω is more common when γ. means 'to believe.'—Εἰ προσδοκῶμεν: On the unreal conditional, see c. 4, 6.

7. ὅπως μὴ ἀναιρώμεθα: Ὅπως has among its numerous constructions the constructions of ἵνα. Whenever the neg. is used with tenses of continuance, the combination has a peculiar stress; ὅπως μὴ ἀναιρώμεθα=τοῦ μὴ ἀναιρεῖσθαι. On the sequence, see c. 12, 9.

8. ὅπως . . . τύχωμεν: Aorist of final attainment.



10. *πεφροντίκαμεν*: Emotional perfects denote (in conformity with the original symbolism of reduplication) not completed, but intense action. So *τεθαύμακα*, *εἰδία*, and the like. Hence the present translation.—*τοῦ καὶ πάντως ἀποθανεῖν*: So c. 57, 9: *τοῦ πάντως ἀποθανεῖν*, 'death at any rate.' The article with the inf. is often contemptuous. 'This thing of dying,' 'this inevitable doom of death.' See note on c. 29, 4.—*ὀφειλομένου*: Comp. the famous passage in Eur. Alc. 418-9: *γίγνωσκε δὲ | ὥς πᾶσιν ἡμῖν κατθανεῖν ὀφείλεται*. So Menan. Monos. 69: *βροτοῖς ἅπασιν ἀποθανεῖν ὀφείλεται*. Also B 11, 8: *πάντως παντὶ γενομένῳ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ θανεῖν ὀφείλετο*.

## 12. 'AS EVER IN OUR GREAT TASKMASTER'S EYE.'

1. *Ἄρρωγοί κτί.*: We are great helps to you because we hold ourselves responsible to God, whose eye nothing can escape, whereas the wicked count on your blindness.

2. *ταῦτα δοξάζομεν*: *Ταῦτα* anticipates the inf. clause A 4, 4.—*ὥς*: As if he were about to use *ιστί*, a slight want of sequence, which is more common with *ὅτι*. An example with *ὥς*, Isac. 6, 10.

4. *ἐνῆρτον*: A late word.—*πρὸς ὀλίγον*: 'For a little while,' as in Luc. D. D. 18, 1; Plut. Mor. 116 A; Hermias, 2. In the better period only with a subst., as *πρὸς γῆρας*, π. τὸ γῆρας.

7. *γινώσκων . . . πορεύεσθαι*: 'Knowing that he is on his way.' On the inf., see c. 11, 6.

10. *τύχοι*: The MSS. have *τύχη*. I have written *τύχοι* (and so has Otto now), though examples of change of mood are not wanting. In the later period *-η* and *-οι* were pronounced alike. The opt. after a past tense because it is a past tense, whereas in c. 11, 7 the subj. is used after *κἂν ἡρνούμεθα* because it = *οἶκ ἀρνούμεθα*.—*ἀπηλλαγμένος εἴη*: The perf. is little used in the final sentence except of resulting condition. So especially in the periphrastic form, as Dial. c. T. 16: *ἵνα ἦτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐνθῶν ἀφωρισμένοι*, l. c. 56: *ἵνα πεπεισμένοι ἦτε*.

11. *Οἱ γὰρ κτί.*: The MSS. have *Οὐ γάρ* and a period at *ἀδικούσι*, which does not give a clear sense (unless we read *παύονται* for *περῶνται*, and omit the first *λανθάνειν*), and leaves an incredible asyndeton at *εἰ ἱμαθόν*. *Οἱ* (Thirlby), with the punctuation given, makes the passage transparent.—*καί μινους* = *τεθειμένους*. See c. 11, 6.

12. **λανθάνειν ἀδικοῦντες**: A number of verbs of manner, such as **λανθάνω**, **τυγχάνω**, **φθάνω**, take participial constructions. We often translate by an adverb or some other turn, as, to our conception, the participle contains the main notion. That the actions are coincident is shown by the fact that the combinations may be reversed: **λαθὼν ἐποίησε** occurs as well as **ἐλαθε ποιήσας**. The typical construction is identity of tenses, so far as continuance, attainment, and completion are concerned, but the rule is not closely observed except with **φθάνω**.

14. **ἔμαθον καὶ ἐπέισθησαν**: Justin's favorite chain-shot style (coupled synonyms). See Introd. xxxii.—**ἐπικείμενα**: Sc. **ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ** (Trollope).

17. **δεδιδῆναι μή**: The moods after verbs of fearing have some marked peculiarities. So the pres. subj. is used not only as a fut. but also as a present (future ascertainment of a present action); the aor. subj. is invariably fut. (both ascertainment and action).—**δικαιοπραγήσωσι**: Ingressive aorist. Comp. c. 3, 13. Trollope and others are shocked at Justin's unmannerliness.

18. **κολάσσετε**: The MSS. have **κολάζετε**, for which I read with Thirlby, Braun, and Otto (2) **κολάσετε**, others **κολάζητε**. There is not much choice. True, the fut. ind. is the normal construction after the relative of adaptation; but after **ἔχω** (**οὐκ ἔχω**) the subj. is often found by an early and natural confusion of relative and interrogative. **Οὐκ ἔχετε ὃν κολάσετε**, 'You have not any one to punish,' and **οὐκ ἔχετε ὅντινα κολάζητε**, 'You do not know whom to punish,' are not kept apart as *nihil habeo quod, non habeo quid*, in Latin.—**ἔξετε**: Change to the future construction, found rather after such verbs as **ᾔδαν**, **βλέπειν**, and the like. After **τίδεοικα**, Xen. Cyr. 2, 3, 6; after **φοβοῦμαι**, Plat. Phileb. 13 A. Otto comp. 2 Cor. 12, 20, 21 (Tisch.).—**θημίων**: Classical word for 'executioners.'

20. **ἐκ δαιμόνων**: 'Εξ of the source, not equivalent to **ὑπό**, with which it is seldom parallel in Attic prose. Comp. Athenag. Res. 20, 96: **ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ**.

22. **ὅς γε**: The restrictive relative (= *qui quidem*) is often causal. Comp. B 3, 4.

23. **πράξει**: The aor. inf. is often used for the fut. inf. after verbs of hoping and promising, in which wish or will intrudes. See cc. 14, 20; 15, 18; B 3, 1. This is extended to other verbs, and

we find the simple aor. inf. where the rule would require the fut. inf. or the aor. inf. with *άν*, which H. Stephanus desiderates here. Remember, however, that *άν* is often dropped by accident.

26. *ἔσον καί*: *Καί* is superfluous for our idiom in the second clause of a correlative sentence. For the Greek it seems to give a co-ordinate balance.

27. *καλλιμήσεται*: 'Sacrifice acceptably' = 'succeed.' The sacral sense seems to have died out in ordinary parlance. 'Justin's meaning is that their persecutors will not succeed in their attempts against the Christians, since Christ himself has promised to support them in making a wise choice; at the same time that their faith is confirmed by the fact that their very sufferings are so many fulfilments of his predictions, and consequently so many proofs of his divinity' (Trollope).

28. *οὐ βασιλικώτατον*: So-called superlative for compar. The superl. enhances the comparative. The gen. of the standard after compar. ('than') is now commonly explained as a whence case (abl.). Otto cites Cohort. 9. 85 (*πρεσβύτερος*), 12 (*ἀρχαιοτάτην*), 21 (*πρώτους*). It is characteristic of the philology of the last century that Thirlby calls the construction *absurda Atticorum elegantia*, and avails himself of Philemon (fr. inc. 109), *θανεῖν ἀριστόν ἐστιν ἢ ζῆν ἀσλίως*, to deliver an ugly blow at Bentley.

29. *οἰδένα οἶδαμεν ὄντα*: See c. 3, 3. *Οἶδαμεν* rare in Attic. Common form in the κοινή διάλεκτος.

30. *πενίας*: The plural of abstracts is frequently used distributively in Greek, rarely in English. For *πενίαι* comp. Plato, De Rep. 10, 618 B; Legg. 10, 890 C; Prot. 353 D, al. — *πατρικῆς*: 'Hereditary.'

31. *ὅσα άν*: The relative with *άν* and subj. is in some respects parallel with *ιάν* (c. 2, 18). But observe that the relative with *άν* and subj. is *always* generic in prose. — *ὑπαγορεύση* = *ὑπείπη*. See c. 2, 2.

32. *μή δεῖν*: Comp. c. 4, 24. Add imper. notion in *ὑπαγορεύση*. — *δ νουνήχης*: The Stoic definition of *νουνήχεια* is *ἐπιστήμη ἐπιτενκτική τοῦ ἐκάστω σκοποῦ*. — *οὐχ αἰρήσεται*: So-called gnomic or sententious future. — *Γενήσεται*... *πράξει*: *Εἰπεῖν*, in the sense of 'say' (not 'order'), commonly takes *ὅτι* or *ὥς* in classic Greek; but the exceptions are far more numerous than one should suppose from

the way in which the rule is stated, as Thuc. 7, 35, 2; Hdt. 1, 39; 2, 30; Andoc. 1, 57; Xen. Hell. 1, 6, 7; 2, 2, 15; Cyr. 5, 5, 24; Plato, Gorg. 473 A; Legg. 2, 654 A; 5, 736 C; Clitoph. 409 A. 410 B; Aeschin. 3, 38; Lycurg. c. Leocr. 50, to say nothing of the poets, such as Pind. Ol. 7, 62; Soph. Antig. 755, etc. For later Greek, examples are not necessary: Luc. Peregrin. 18; Theophil. ad Autol. 2, 8; 3, 3; Athenag. Suppl. 20, 85; 23, 113 (ἔξειπεν γενναῖος); Origen, c. Cels. Praef. 5; 3, 6. 35. 66. So cc. 33, 11; 46, 3, and often in D. c. T. The rule, however, is not without its reason. Εἰπεῖν originally gives the exact utterance (ἔπος). So in Homer (ῥέει εἰπεν). When the εἰ form of ο. obliqua became common, it was natural that this form, which is nearest to oratio recta, should be retained.

33. ταῦτα πάντα: Sc. ὅτι οὐ καλλιερήσετε.—φημί serves to resume, as in Eng. 'I say.'

34. ἀπόστολος: Is a term of special dignity in Greek. Comp. cc. 31, 17; 33, 17, and c. 63, 12: ἄγγελος καλεῖται καὶ ἀπόστολος: also Hebr. 3, 9: κατανοήσατε τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὑμολογίας ἡμῶν X. I.

35. τὸ ἐπονομάζεσθαι: See c. 3, 9.—Χριστιανοί: Familiar concord with the subject of the leading verb.

37. γινόμενα: Participle with φαίνομαι as a verb of showing, c. 3, 3. Notice the more common use of γίνομαι (for γίγνομαι) in later Greek.

38. φθάσας=πρότερον: a pleonasm with προεἶπεν. See note on c. 12, 12. So Origen, c. Cels. 2, 29: φθάσαντες εἰρήκαμεν. So 5, 1: φθάσαντες ἀπηντήσαμεν, 23, 11: φθάσαντες εἶπον.—γενέσθαι=γενήσεσθαι, which we should expect, but see l. 23.—δπερ: 'The very thing which,' 'the very thing which is peculiarly.' Comp. c. 18, 3.—πρὶν ἢ: C. 4, 13.

39. εἰπεῖν: (Namely) telling before a thing happens, and then to have the thing shown as happening just as it has been foretold. Εἰπεῖν: So the editors for εἶπε.

40. Ἦν: So called for ἐξῆν. 'But there were such a thing as not adding.' 'We might stop here (ἐπὶ τούτοις) and add nothing.' In such phrases ἄν is said to be omitted. The difference is commonly stated thus (after Hermann): Ἦν ἄν, 'it would be possible' (in other circumstances), but, as it is (νῦν εἶ), it is im-

possible. Ἦν, 'it were possible,' but it is not, will not be, done. This distinction does not hold throughout. Observe that the phenomenon is confined to the imperf. tense of abstract relations, such as, *ἰδεῖν, ἰχρῆν, (χρῆν, Athenag. Suppl. 32, 158), ἐννατὸν ἦν* (c. 39, 15; Dialog. c. T. 24). The imperf. itself is a suspended fut. of the past=*ἰμελλε* and fut. inf.

**41. λογισμένους δι: C. 2, 18.**

42. *ῥᾶον*: By frequent usage with the standard suppressed, *ῥᾶον* has lost something of its comparative color. Comp. *ocius*, *propius*, and 'near.'

44. αἰθέρες θεοί: C. 3, 8.—οὐκ εὐνοῦντων: Two conflicting negatives are frequently used in Gr. to produce a strong affirmative by litotes. The English language, though greatly influenced by classical and Scriptural example, does not go so far in the use of the figure. This passage from οὐκ . . . φεγγεῖν has been appropriated by Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. 3, 2 (Grabe).

### 13. 'OUR REASONABLE SERVICE.'

1. **ὡς οὐκ ἔσμεν**: Depends on *τις . . . οὐχ ὁμολογήσει*; (l. 12).

2. **ἁμαρτῶν αἱμάτων:** The plural conception is different in different languages. Comp. c. 12, 30. *Αἵματα* is very common: 'streams of blood,' or 'gouts of blood,' as the case may be. Braun has accumulated parallels for the thought from both profane and patristic writers, as Eur. Herc. Fur. 1848: *ῥέειναι γὰρ ὁ θεός, εἴπερ ἔστ' ὄντως θεός, οὐδένομος*, and Clem. Alex. Strom. 6 p. 635: *ἀνεκδεῖξαι δὲ μόνος ὁ θεός*. See the Second Satire of Persius.

4. *λόγῳ εὐχῆς*: Comp. 2 Cor. 5, 19: τὸν λόγον τῆς καταλλαγῆς, Hebr. 13, 22: τοῦ λόγου τῆς παρακλήσεως. Gregory of Nyssa distinguishes *εὐχή* and *προσευχή*: εὐχή μὲν ἴστιν ἐπαγγελία τινὸς τῶν κατ' εὐσέβειαν ἀμφερούμενων, προσευχή δὲ αἰτησις ἀγαθῶν μετὰ λειτουργίας προσαγομένη Σεῷ. See my note on Pers. 2, 8. The distinction is not to be pressed.—*ἑῷ οἷς*=*ἐπὶ τούτοις ᾤ*.—*προσφερόμεθα*: 'Take to ourselves,' 'eat and drink,' 'enjoy,' as in Xen. Cyr. 4, 2, 41; Athenag. Res. 5, 24; 6, 28. The translation 'offer,' 'sacrifice,' is without warrant for the middle. So below, c. 67, 4: *ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς προσφερόμεθα εὐλογοῦμεν κτῆ*.

5. *ὅση δύναμις*: A common phrase, at every turn in Orig. c. Cels., 'to the extent of our power.' See cc. 53, 27; 67, 15.—

αἰνῶντες: The uncompound form is rare in Attic prose, and has a higher, more religious tone. Greg. Naz. says, l. c. 142-3: *ἱπαινός ἐστιν εὐ τι τῶν ἱμῶν φράσαι, | αἶνος ὃ ἱπαινος εἰς θεὸν σεβάσμιος*.—τιμὴν ταύτην: Τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην would mean 'this honor.' Ταύτην is attraction from τοῦτο (c. 8, 8): 'That the only honor worthy of Him is this, namely, the offering.'

6. παραλαβόντες: C. 4, 23.

7. οὐ πυρί: Is really parenthetic, and influenced by παραλαβόντες—hence οὐ, not μή.—ἐαυτοῖς=ἑμὶν αὐτοῖς. See c. 2, 18.

8. διὰ λόγου: Comp. Ep. ad D. 6, 9.—πομπάς: Justin prefaces πομπάς by διὰ λόγου to distinguish these Christian πομπαί from the heathen processions, the *diaboli pompae*, which were an especial abomination to the Church. See Constt. Apostt. 2, 6. 'Solemn prayers.'

9. ὕμνοντες πέμπειν: Ἀναπέμπειν is still more common. Comp. Clem. Alex. Paed. 3, 12, 101: αἶνον ἀναπέμψαι κυρίῳ.

10. ποιότητων μὲν γονῶν: The MSS. have γενῶν. Bunsen (Christianity and Mankind, 1, 219, note) writes: πάντων ποιητῶν καὶ γειητῶν, putting a comma after πόρων. Otto supposes γενῶν to mean 'elements.' I write γονῶν, which is coupled with 'fruits' by Origen, c. Cels. 5, 12: καρποὺς καὶ γονὰς ἀπάσας . . . καρπῶν καὶ πασῶν γονῶν αἰσθητῶν. The reference is to 'variety of products.' Comp. further B 5, 6: τὰ οὐράνια στοιχεῖα εἰς ἀξέτητον καρπῶν καὶ ὥρων μεταβολάς, and Max. Tyr. 17, 5: κράσεις ἀίρων καὶ ζώων γενίσεις καὶ καρπῶν φύσεις . . . Θεοῦ πάντα ἔργα ἢ ψυχὴ λέγει κτέ.—μὲν: *Solitarium*, i. e., μὲν without εἰ, but καὶ is equivalent.

12. τίς σωφρονῶν σὺν ὁμολογήσει: Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 10, 43: τίς οὖν οὐκ ἀν ἀπορήσει κτέ.

13. ἐπὶ Ποντίου: Ἐπὶ w. gen. of official dates. Comp. cc. 26, 6; 35, 25; 46, 6.—ἐπὶ χρόνοις: A later construction.

16. ἐπιτρόπου: 'Procurator.'—ὕδην αὐτοῦ: Otto now reads αὐτόν.

17. πνευμά τε: Τε . . . τε intimates parallelism; the point of view shifts from c. 6, 8.

18. ὅτι . . . τιμῶμεν: C. 8, 8.—ἀποδείξομεν: Ἐπιδείκνυναι for effect, hence often in a bad sense, though not always (E. ad D. 12, 10), ἐν. of a practical illustration (E. ad D. 5, 11), ἀποδ. of logical proof.

19. Ἐνταῦθα: 'In this point,' anticipating the inf.—*μανίαν* . . . *καταφαίνονται* = *μ. κατηγοροῦσι*: Unusual transitive sense of the middle of *καταφ.*, after the analogy of *ἀποφαίνομαι*.

21. τὸν ἀπάντων: Third attributive position. So the MSS. Otto and Trollope write *τῶν*.—*ἀνθρώπου σταυρωθέντι*: A common sneer. It is unnecessary to multiply proofs of the scandal of the cross. In the Rabbinical books our Saviour is spoken of simply as *יְהוֹשֻׁעַ*.

22. προσίchein: Sc. *τὸν νοῦν*, a familiar ellipsis.

23. ἰηγουμένων: Sc. *ἡμῶν*. The subject of the genitive participle is not unfrequently to be supplied.

#### 14. THE DEMONS MALIGN CHRISTIANS.

1. Προλέγομεν: 'Forewarn.'—*φυλάσσειν*: 'To put yourselves on your guard;' *φυλάττεσθαι*, 'to be on your guard.' See c. 3. 13.—*προδιαβεβλημένοι*: 'Previously accused.' Comp. the use of *διαβάλλω* in Luke, 16, 1 (of the unjust steward). Maran aptly quotes Tertull. ad Scapulam, 2 (p. 117 D. S.): *Daemones autem non tantum respuimus verum et revincimus et quotidie traducimus et de hominibus expellimus, sicut plurimis notum est*.

3. ἐντυχεῖν καὶ συνεῖναι: *Συνεῖναι* fr. *συνήμι*. See the combination in B 8, 11: *εἰ ἐντυχῶν μὴ συνῆκε τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς μεγαλῆον*. The use of *ἐντυγχάνειν*, 'read' (c. 26, 83), begins Plato, *Lys.* 214 A; *Conv.* 177 B; *De Lege*, 316 C. Observe the aor. of total negation. See c. 4, 10.

5. ὑπηρέτας: Ὑπηρέτης, often of an official 'underling,' 'understrapper.' *Δοῦλοι καὶ ὑπηρέται* combined. in *Jno.* 18, 18. Comp. *Lucian*, *Char.* 17: *ἄγγελοι καὶ ὑπηρέται θανάτου*, *Sacrif.* 8: *ὑπηρέται καὶ ἀγγελιαφόροι* (*Iris* and *Hermes*).

6. στροφῶν: *Στροφή*, hardly a dignified word, though used by *Aeschyl.* *Suppl.* 623; it belongs to the language of everyday life (*Ar. Ran.* 773, *Plut.* 1154), and creeps into Latin in the time of Augustus. *Tertull.* *Apol.* 15 (p. 53 D. S.): *Dispicite Lentulorum et Hostiliorum tenuitates, utrum mimos an deos vestros in iocis et strophis rideatis*. 'Shift.'—*οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως*: 'In no way.'

7. ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας: *Αὐτῶν* is *ipsorum*, 'personal.' The reflexive is not necessary.—*ἐν τρόπῳ*: C. 4, 22. The thought is,

'You ought to put yourselves on your guard just as we did when we found out their wiles.'

9. τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ: Otto would now read everywhere with Ash-ton and Waterland ἀγέννητος, 'unoriginated,' instead of ἀγέννητος, 'unbegotten,' and cites a large number of passages to show that at this period God was called ἀγέννητος, not ἀγέννητος. See Athenag. Suppl. 4, 15. Böhlinger (ap. Ott.) says that Justin calls God the unbegotten, partly in contrast to the begetting of gods which went on so freely in polytheistic Paganism (c. 25), partly by way of distinction from the begotten Son, the Logos.

10. οἱ πάλα μὲν κτλ.: This powerful evidence of the divine origin of the Christian religion is eloquently insisted on in the Ep. ad Diogn. 5 foll. Parallels might be multiplied indefinitely. Keim well calls this theme the triumphal song of the Apologists. — πορνείαις: See c. 12, 30.

12. ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἀγ. θ.: Concinnity would require νῦν ἀγαθῷ, which Otto has recently edited. But Justin is not concinnous. — ἑαυτοῖς ἀνατεθεικότες: The notion that the middle is a reflexive in the ordinary sense of the word is a vulgar error that is not yet wholly dissipated. The object of the middle is really neither dat. nor accus., as the middle is older than the cases (Curtius). The middle can be used as a direct reflexive only when the action is natural. The reflexive pronoun is always expressed when the action is of itself unnatural, or has become such in the circumstances. — χρημάτων καὶ κτημάτων: Κτήματα, 'real estate,' χρήματα, 'personal property.' So Braun, who cites Clem. Alex. Quis dives, 14: κτήματα γὰρ ἴσθι κτητὰ ὄντα, καὶ χρήματα χρήσιμα ὄντα καὶ εἰς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώπων παρεσκευασμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ and l. c. 19: χρήματα ἀντὶ κτημάτων λαβεῖν. Comp. Plato, Legg. 5, 728 E: ἡ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ κτημάτων κτήσις. But κτήματα notably includes 'slaves and cattle.' The currency of the combination is partly due to the jingle.

15. μισάλληλοι: Comp. Tit. 3, 3: μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους.

16. τοῖς οὐχ ὁμοφύλοις=τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις: the neg. coalescing with the word. Otherwise μὴ ὁμοφύλους.—καὶ . . . μή=μηδὲ: Μὴ is regular on account of the article. See cc. 4, 9; 26, 30.—ἰστίαις κοινὰς ποιοῦμενοι=κοινῶς ἰστιώμενοι: See c. 1, 9.



17. ὁμοδαίται: Comp. B 2, 18.  
 20. ὑποθημοσύνας: Poetic, or late.  
 21. τυχεῖν: On the tense after εὐέλπιδες, see c. 12, 23.  
 24. πρὸ τῆς ἀποδείξεως: Promised in c. 13, 18.—ὑμέτερον: Comp. c. 3, 16.

25. ὡς δυνατῶν βασιλείων: Familiar apposition of gen. with possessive. Ὡς restrictive, and so causal. The Greeks called the emperor βασιλεύς, a word for which they had a certain affection, whereas *rex* was tabooed at Rome—a divergency easily accounted for by history.—δυνατῶν: Power has its duties. *Noblesse oblige*. Hence there is no necessity of changing δυνατῶν into συνετῶν with Stephanus. Comp. c. 17, 18.

26. Βραχεῖς δὲ καὶ σύντομοι: Comp. D. c. T. 18: βραχέα . . . λόγια. Comp. Origen, c. Cels. 3, 39, on the language of the evangelists, and read a passionate defence of ungrammatical Christianity in Arnobius, 1, 59.

27. σοφιστής: 'Professor of wisdom.' There is necessarily a bit of charlatanry in the word itself, despite the famous vindication of Grote. In this age the professor was chiefly a rhetorician. Lucian calls Christ 'the crucified professor.' See my article on Lucian (*Southern Review*, Oct. 1869, p. 424), and comp. *Max. Tyr.* 21, 6: εἰ δὲ ἤθελεν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς . . . διώκειν σοφίαν ἀπράγμονα, ἣν ἂν ἐῆπον ἀντ' Ἡρακλείους σοφιστῆς. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτὸν ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν παῖδα Διός. It may be also worth noticing that M. Aurelius says of Antoninus Pius (6, 31): οὐ ψοφοδεής, οὐχ ἐπύπτης, οὐ σοφιστής.

28. δύνάμεις θεοῦ: Comp. *Matt.* 7, 29.

### 15. CHRIST'S OWN TEACHINGS.

1. τοσοῦτον: Perhaps with reference to the brevity (σύντομοι λόγοι) of Christ's words.—Ὡς ἂν . . . θεῶ: *Matt.* 5, 28. With Justin's first citation of the words of our Lord begins the endless controversy as to his use of our Gospels. See the Introduction, xxxv. foll. I shall not undertake to point out the divergences, much less to explain them.

3. Εἰ δὲ ἐφθαλμῶς . . . πῦρ: *Matt.* 5, 29. Comp. 18, 9, and *Mark* 9, 47.

7. Ὡς γαρὶ . . . μοιχᾶται: *Matt.* 5, 32. Comp. *Luke* 16, 18.

8. *Ἐσσι τινες . . . χωροῦσιν*: Matt. 19, 12.

11. *Ὡστε*: So Otto (3) after Davis for *ὥστερ*.

12. *δυγαμίας*: It is much disputed whether the forbidden marriage was simultaneous (bigamy), or successive (after death or divorce of the former partner). Simultaneous marriage (Maran) was not allowed by the Roman law; marriage after divorce is supposed to be meant here by Thirlby, Ritter, and Otto; Braun thinks that Justin entertained the harsh view of second marriages common to the early Church. So Athenag. Suppl. 33, 162: *ὁ δεύτερος [γάμος] εὐπρεπής ἐστι μοιχεία*. On the difficulty of keeping widows from a second marriage, see the instructive chapter in Constt. Apostt. 3, 1.—*ποιούμενοι*: See c. 1, 9.—*παρὰ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ διδασκάλῳ*: 'In our Master's school,' 'according to His doctrine.' See c. 8, 8.

15. *μοιχεύσαι*: Ingressive aorist. See c. 3, 13. With the passage Otto comp. Iren. Adv. Haer. 2, 32, 1: *apud quem non solum qui moechatur expellitur sed et qui moechari cult.*—*ὡς οὐ τῶν ἔργων φανερῶν*: On *ὡς* and *οὐ* see c. 4, 19. *Φανερῶν* sc. *ὕντων*. The participle of the gen. abs. is not freely omitted, chiefly with such adjectives as are virtually partic'ples (*ἐκῶν* and *ἀκῶν*), or have an affinity with verbs, as *φανερῶν* here.

17. *πολλοί τινες*: *Τις* is often added to designations of numbers.

18. *ἐκ παιδων*: A common phrase. 'Εκ includes the period from which it dates, as in Engl. 'of a child.' There is some dispute as to the limits of this passage, which is supposed to bear on paedobaptism.—*ἄφθοροι*=*ἀδιάφθοροι*.

19. *εὐχομαι . . . δεῖξαι*: On the aor.=fut. see c. 12, 23.—*κατὰ πᾶν γένος*: C. 1, 5.

20. *Τί . . . λέγομεν*: 'What shall we (I) say of?' The use of the present for the fut. is a survival of an older stage. The 'conative' element lies in the so-called connecting vowel.

23. *ἀκολάστους*: 'Ακόλαστος refers to want of training, *ἐκρατής* to defect of temperament (Vömel).

24. *Εἰπε δ' οὕτως*: Justin regularly uses *οὕτως* to point both ways, backward and forward. So *οὕτος*.—*Οὐκ ἦλθον . . . μετανοῖαν*: Matt. 9, 13 (Mark 2, 17), Luke 5, 32.—*καλέσαι*: An old use of the infinitive after verbs of motion, found here and there in classic Greek prose, common in N. T.

25. Θάλα . . . αὐτοῦ: Comp. Ezek. 33, 11. 'Ξίλω is the form in normal prose, but after a vowel and in certain formulae Ξίλω is often found even there, and everywhere in later Greek. Θίλω ἡ=μᾶλλον Ξίλω ἡ. So also βούλομαι and the like. Eur. Tel. fr. 22, 2: σμίερ' ἂν Ξίλοισι, καὶ κατ' ἡμέραν ἔχων, | ἄλυπον οἰεῖν βίον ἢ πλουτῶν νοσεῖν.

27. Εἰ . . . ποιοῦσιν: Matt. 5, 46 (comp. Luke 6, 82). — ἀγαπάτε: 'Αγαπᾶν is a colder word than φιλεῖν and less intimate. The larger use of it in Christian writers is perhaps due to an avoidance of φιλεῖν in the sense of 'kissing.' The refinements of the commentators on John 21, 15-17 seem hardly tenable when we remember that the Evangelist himself did not see the point, as Augustin notes (Civ. Dei, 7, 11). Xen. uses ἀγαπᾶν and φιλεῖν as absolute synonyms. Comp. Mem. 2, 7, 9, with § 12. See the comprehensive definition of ἀγάπη (a Christian word) in Clem. Alex. Strom. 2, 9, 41. Greg. of Naz. says, l. c. 160-1: συμπερίχινει τὴν ἀγάπην ὑπὸ ἡμῶν.

28. καινόν: Νίος of the organic, καινός of the inorganic: νίος of that which grows, καινός of that which is made. Here 'strange.'

29. Ἐγὼ . . . ἐπηρ. ὑμᾶς: Matt. 5, 44; comp. Luke 6, 27 foll. On ἐπιηραζόντων, see c. 1, 6.

33. πρὸς δόξαν: Comp. πρὸς χάριν. A 2, 12. — Παντὶ . . . ποιοῦσιν: Matt. 5, 42; Luke 6 (80), 34. — αἰτοῦντι: The old distinction between αἰτεῖν, 'ask' (absolutely), and αἰτεῖσθαι, 'borrow,' breaks down in the application, as in Xen. Anab. 2, 3, 18 and 19. Still the middle is often used as 'borrow,' and in the aor. seems to be the Attic expression for ἐχρησάμην (fr. εἰχρημῖ), which was avoided.

35. λαβεῖν: See c. 12, 28.

36. Ὑμεῖς . . . ἀφανίζε: Matt. 6, 19, 20. — μὴ ἐησαυρίζετε: So I read for the ungrammatical μὴ ἐησανρίζετε.

37. ἑαυτοῖς=ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. Comp. c. 2, 16. — σὴς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίζε: The concord as in old English and idiomatic English.

39. Τί . . . ἀφανίζε: Matt. 16, 26; 6, 20. Τί is acc. of inner object (adverb. acc.); τί ὠφελεῖται=τίνα ὠφέλειαν ὠφελεῖται.

40. κερδήση: Attic κερδάνη.

43. Γίνεσθε . . . πονηροῦς: Luke 6, 35 foll., Matt. 5, 45. Γίνεσθε, 'Show yourselves.' — χρηστοί: See c. 4, 4. — οἰκτιρμοῦς: Of active benevolence. So Gregory of Naz. l. c. 124, 125: εἰλεος μὲν

ἰστί συμπάθεια συμφορᾶς, | οἰκτες δὲ κεύ τι τὸν πεπονθότα δρᾶσαι.  
On *ἄλιος*, see Clem. Alex. Strom. 4, 6, 38.

45. ἁμαρτωλοῦς: For ἁμαρτωλοῦς Davis proposes ἀνθρώπους. Thirlby suggests: ἐπὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦς καὶ ἀγαθοῦς καὶ βρίχῃ ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ πονηροῦς. Otto: ἐπὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦς καὶ δικαίους καὶ βρίχῃ ἐπὶ ὁσίους καὶ πονηροῦς. Comp. D. c. T. 96.

46. Μὴ μεριμνᾶτε . . . ἀνθρώπων: Matt. 6, 25 foll. (Luke 12, 22-24), 31-33 and 21 (comp. Luke 12, 34). Μίριμνα means 'anxious thought,' an exaggeration of φροντίς, as Gregory of Naz. says, l. c. 67: φροντίς δ' ἐλιγμός, ἡ μίριμνα τὸ πλίον. 'Thought' in the A. V. had the same meaning.—τί φάγητε: More exactly, ὅ τι φάγητε, but the simple interrogative is very common in dependent questions. The notion of question is involved in anxious thought. A question in the subj. expects an answer in the imperative. Hence the person is chiefly the first person, or the third as the representative of the first, as ποῖ τις φύγῃ=ποῖ φύγω, φύγωμεν, or, as here, in a dependent clause. Do not ask: τί φάγωμεν; Occasionally we find this subj. question used as a purely indicative fut. (Luke 11, 5), in which the earlier and later stages of the language meet.

48. Μὴ . . . μεριμνήσητε: Above, μὴ μεριμνᾶτε. Μὴ with the aor. subj. denotes total negation, 'do not;,' μὴ with the pres. imper. a negative course of action, 'keep from,' or the negative of a course of action, 'cease to.' The former=*ne* w. perf. subj.; the latter=*noli* w. inf.

52. Μὴ . . . οὐρανοῖς: Comp. Matt. 6, 1.—ποιεῖτε: For the ungrammatical ποιῆτε of the MSS.

53. θεαθῆναι: 'Gazed at.'—εἰ δὲ μή γε: Εἰ δὲ μή has become a mere phrase, 'if not,' 'otherwise,' and is used to introduce opposition to the statement involved in the foregoing, whether positive or negative. 'If you fail to keep from doing'='If you do these things,' 'otherwise.'

#### 16. BEAR ALL THINGS. SWEAR NOT AT ALL.

1. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀνεξικακοῦ εἶναι: Comp. c. 3, 9. Ἀνεξικακία occurs in Plutarch. Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 34, 164: οὐ γὰρ ἀπαρκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι (ἰστί δὲ δικαιοσύνη ἴσα ἴσοις ἀμείβειν) ἀλλ' ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀνεξικάκοις εἶναι πρόκειται.

2. ταῦτά ἐστι: See note on οὕτως, c. 13, 24.—Τῷ . . . καλύπτει: Luke 6, 29.

4. ἡ τὸ ἰμάτιον: Thirlby would read *καὶ τὸ ἰμάτιον: ἢ καὶ* would account better for the text. *Καί*, 'even,' because the *ἰμάτιον* is the more valuable. So Matt. 5, 40: *τῷ θύλοντι . . . τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἰμάτιον*.

5. Ὅτι δ' ἐν . . . οὐρανοῖς: Matt. 5, 22. 41. 16.

6. *σε*: According to Otto (8d ed.) the MSS. have *σοι*.—*ἐκούθησον*: The pres. imper. is the rule for general directions; but in the N. T. the aor., being the more energetic, is often found where we should expect the present. The more vigorous the expression, the more likely it is to commend itself to the Hellenist. Some emphatic combinations occur scores of times in the LXX and N. T. to once in classic Greek. See note on *οὐ μή*, c. 33, 9. So in the first fifty Psalms not one in ten of the large number of imperatives (including imperative subjunctives) is present, a disproportion which can but partially be accounted for by the passionate strain. Contrast the first Isocratean discourse. As in the Lord's Prayer, so in the ancient Greek liturgies the aor. imper. is almost exclusively used. It is the true tense for 'instant' prayer.

9. ἀνταΐρειν: Plat. Euthyd. 272 A. Comp. Matt. 5, 39 (Otto).

12. Ὅ γε: So Thirlby for *ὁ γάρ*.—*ἐπὶ πολλῶν*: 'In the case of many.' See c. 5, 17.—*παρ' ἡμῖν*: For the MS. *παρ' ἡμῖν*. 'Which we can prove by the example of many who have lived, who once lived, among you.' Comp. Tertull. Apol. 18: *De testris fuimus; fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani*.

13. ἀποδείξει: C. 13, 18.—*ἐρχομεν*: C. 3, 5.—*ἡττηθέντες*: The following participles depend on this. 'Overcome by.'

14. καρτερίαν βίου παρακολουθήσαντες: *Παρακολουθεῖν* in the sense of 'perceive,' 'understand,' with the acc. from Polyb. 1, 12, 7 on.

15. πλεονεκτουμένων: 'Overreached.' Surely a crucial test of true piety. The *caupo* of antiquity was infamous.—*ξένην*: 'Strange,' in the secondary sense. Comp. *καινός*, c. 13, 28.

16. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ μὴ ὀμνῖναι: Comp. c. 3, 9.

17. Ὡς: 'At all.' See c. 29, 10.

18. Μὴ ἐμόσητε . . . πονηροῦ: Matt. 5, 34. 87 (Ja. 5, 12).

20. Ὡς δὲ . . . ἔπεισαν: C. 8, 8.—τὸν θεὸν μόνον προσκυνεῖν: See note on c. 6, 8. With προσκυνεῖν Justin uses both acc. and dat. but the normal acc. more frequently. The LXX almost always have the dat. See c. 20, 16. The construction often shifts in a few lines, as in Orig. c. Cels. 6, 71.

21. εἰπὼν: The actions in ἔπεισαν and εἰπὼν are coincident. See c. 17, 17.—Μεγίστη . . . ποιήσαντά σε: Matt. 4, 10; Mark 12, 80. Comp. Luke 10, 27.—προσκυνήσεις: 'Adore,' by 'kissing the hand to,' which is simply an abridgment of the fuller form of 'kissing the ground before.' 'If I beheld the sun when it shined or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand,' Job 31, 26, 27. Comp. Minuc. Felix, Oct. 3: *Caecilius simulacro Sarapidis denotato, ut vulgus superstitiosus solet, manum ori admoctens, osculum labiis impressit.* See Athenag. Suppl. 32, 160.—κύριον . . . ποιήσαντά σε: 'An unbiblical addition due to Justin's wrath against Gnosticism' (Semisch). Comp. c. 26, 24.

22. λατρεύσεις: *Λατρεία*, originally of menial service, is often used slightly in profane literature. So in Lucian, Merc. Cond. 231; pro Merc. Cond. 4: ἀγεννή λατρείαν, Nigr. 15: λατρεύειν ἡδονῇ. Observe how Ion vindicates his humble office in Eur. Ion, 129: οὐ θνατοῖς ἀλλ' ἀθανάτοις.

24. Προσελθόντος . . . πάντα: Matt. 19, 16 foll.; Mark 10, 17 foll. Comp. Luke 18, 16 foll.—Προσελθόντος αὐτῷ: The difference between προσελθεῖν τινι and π. πρὸς τινά is that between *adire aliquem* and *a. ad aliquem*. 'Applied to him.' Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 15, 59 and 18, 74.

25. εἰ μὴ: *Nisi*, 'except.'

27. βιοῦντες: In Attic the usual form is ζῶντες. On the participle here and in ὄντες, see c. 8, 3.—γνωρίζεσθωσαν: The long form is not uncommon in Attic.—μὴ ὄντες: The neg. on account of the imperative.

28. καὶ λέγουσιν: C. 2, 10.

31. Οὐχὶ πᾶς . . . οὐρανοῖς: Matt. 7, 21.—εἰσελεύσεται = εἰσεῖσι which is the Attic prose form.

32. τῶν οὐρανῶν: Hebraistic conception. To the Greek heaven was a single canopy, a single cover (ὕλη), whereas the Hebrew singular is lost, and the plural is used as one of 'the names of re-

gions that are infinitely divisible' (Ewald). The Hebrew word עֲלֵזָּה 'is derived from עָלָה, *to be high* [Fürst], and denotes the upper regions, i. e., heaven; the plural designating not distinct heavens of various elevation, but rather extent in all directions, and comprehending all the parts of the vast expanse above us' (Green). In the LXX the sing. is generally used. The occasional plural occurs only in poetic passages or passages with poetic coloring, chiefly in the Psalms, whence it has passed into the Vulgate (e. g. *Caeli enarrant*, 19, 1) and the Latin Fathers. But *caelos* is found in Lucr. 2, 1097. Comp. further Orig. c. Cels. 6, 21.

33. Ὅς . . . με: Matt. 7, 24 (Luke 10, 16), 10, 40 (John 14, 24).

34. Πολλοὶ . . . ἀνομίας: Luke 13, 26 foll.; Matt. 7, 22 foll.

36. δυνάμεις: See note on c. 26, 7.

37. Τότε . . . πῦρ: Matt. 13, 42.

39. πέμπονται: In his last ed. Otto indulges in the extraordinary solecism of *πέμψωνται* = *πεμφθῶσιν*.

40. Πολλοὶ . . . βάλλεται: Matt. 24, 5; 7, 15. 16. 19.

42. ἐπιγνώσασθε: A very common intensive of *γινώσκω*.

43. ποιοῦν καρπὸν: This use of *ποιεῖν* seems to belong to familiar language.

44. Κολάζεσθαι: C. 3, 4. — τοὺς οὐκ ἀκούθως: On the neg. comp. c. 4, 9.

46. καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῶν: As well as in the next world. Comp. c. 3, 18.

#### 17. 'RENDER UNTO CAESAR.'

1. Φόρους καὶ εἰσφοράς: Φόρος is the regular tax (*tributum annuum*), εἰσφορά any extraordinary assessment (*stipendium temporarium*)—Otto. Τέλος corresponds to *rectigal*, φόρος to *stipendium*, εἰσφορά to *tributum*; but *stipendium* and *tributum* are often lumped, and τέλος is used as a general term. Comp. Constt. Apostt. 7, 16: ἀπορίσατε τέλος, φόρον καὶ εἰσφορὰν εὐγνωμόνως, Theoph. ad Autolyc. 1, 10: τέλος καὶ εἰσφοράς. See the commentators on Rom. 13, 7: τῷ τὸν φόρον τὸν φόρον, τῷ τὸ τέλος τὸ τέλος. Comp. Tertull. Apol. 42 (p. 100 D. S.): *Tectigalia gratias agent Christianis ex fide dependentibus debitum*.

2. πρὸ πάντων = μάλιστα.

3. Κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ: Such a combination, instead of κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν, is not found in Attic except in the tragic poets, as Soph. O. C. 1138; Eur. Alc. 9 and Phoen. 425. Common in later prose, as Theophil. ad Autolyc. 3, 10, 20; Euseb. H. E. 2, 23, 2.

4. εἰ δὲ Καίσαρι κτί.: Comp. Luke 20, 22, 25, and the parallels.

8. προσκυνῶμεν: Comp. c. 16, 20 and Theophil. ad Autolyc. 1, 11: τιμῆσω τὸν βασιλία, οὐ προσκυνῶν αὐτῷ ἀλλ' εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.

9. πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα: 'In everything else.'—ὑπηρετοῦμεν: C. 14, 5.

10. βασιλεῖς: C. 14, 25.

11. βασιλικῆς: 'Imperial.'—σώφρονα τὸν λογισμὸν: Predicative position. The article is often neglected in translation.

12. ἔχοντας: C. 3, 3.—Εἰ . . . ἀφροντιστήσετε: Notice the harsh, minatory future, which is seldom used in prose without good reason. See c. 8, 17.—καὶ ἡμῶν: Καί, 'after all.'

13. οὐδὲν ἡμεῖς βλαβησόμεθα κτί.: Thirlby calls attention to Justin's 'rare attack of politeness' and his silence as to the fate of the emperors, who are, of course, chiefly meant.

14. πιστεύοντες, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πεπεισμένοι: On the climax, see c. 8, 6, and add Dialog. c. Tryph. 4: μετὰ τοῦ πεπιστευκέναι καὶ πειθεσθαι, Rom. 14, 14: οἶδα καὶ πίπμιαι, Origen, c. Cels. 3, 41: νομιζομεν καὶ πεπείσμεθα.

17. ἀπαιτηθῆσθαι: 'Απ- in comp.=re(d) of that which is due. See c. 2, 12.—ἐμήνυσεν εἰπών: When the action of the leading verb and the action of the participle coincide, the tenses are usually of the same kind. See c. 16, 21.

18. 'Ω . . . αὐτοῦ: Luke 12, 48.

#### 18. PROOFS OF IMMORTALITY.

1. γάρ: You will all have to give an account—emperors as well as the rest—despite the official apotheosis. The strands are a little twisted.

2. βασιλέων: C. 14, 25.—τὸν κοινὸν θάνατον: Cognate accusative—which is far more frequently used in Greek than in English—with modifier as usual.

3. ὅπερ: Stephanus proposes ὅσπερ, but the neuter relative may refer to masc. or fem. antecedent considered as a thing, or,



as here, to the whole thought: τὸ τὸν κοινὸν θάνατον ἀποθανεῖν. See Thuc. 1, 59.—Ἑρμαιον: 'Godsend,' 'windfall,' which last is especially appropriate if Hermes was the morning breeze, as the comparative mythologists suppose. See my note on Persius, 2, 12. For the thought, comp. Dialog. c. Tryph. 5: ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀποδῆσκειν φημι πάσας τὰς ψυχὰς ἐγὼ· Ἑρμαιον γάρ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῖς κακοῖς, Plato, Phaedo, 107 E: εἰ μὲν γάρ ἦν ὁ θάνατος τοῦ παντός ἀπαλλαγὴ, Ἑρμαιον ἂν ἦν τοῖς κακοῖς ἀποθανοῦσι τοῦ τε σώματος ἕμα ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν κακίας μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς.

5. πᾶσι γενομένοις=π. τοῖς γ.: 'All that have ever lived.'—πᾶσι μὲν: How different from πάντας μὲνι?—ἀπόκειται: 'Is in store,' with the same tone as our English expression. Comp. Hebr. 9, 27: ἀπόκειται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἕπαξ ἀποθανεῖν.

6. πεισθῆναι τε καὶ πιστεῦσαι: The latter the result of the former. On ὅτι see c. 8, 8.

7. νεκυομαντεῖαι: Clem. Alex. Protrept. 2, 11: τροχῶν νεκυομαντεῖαι σκότῳ παραϊδούσων.—αἱ ἐδιαφθόρων παιδῶν ἐποπτεύσεις: Children were sacrificed and their entrails inspected, because their pure natures were supposed to give truer answers. Grabe cites Socr. H. E. 3, 13; Eus. H. E. 7, 10; 8, 14. Add Philostr. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. 7, 11: φασὶ δ' ὡς παῖδες θύσαις ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς ἦν τὰ νεαρά τῶν σπλάγχνων φαίνει. With the whole passage comp. Tertull. Apol. 23 (p. 72 D. S.): *Pueros in eloquium elidunt*, etc. Ἐπόπτεσις is a Justinian word (Otto).

9. παρὰ τοῖς μάγοις: C. 8, 8.—δνειροπομποί: Pers. 2, 56-58: *Nam fratres inter aenos | somnia pituita qui purgatissima mittunt, | praecepui sunt.*—πάρεδροι: 'Familiar spirits.'

10. πεισάτωσαν: -άτωσαν rejected by Cobet for best Attic.

12. βιπτούμενοι: In conformity with Hermann's view that βίπτω is *iacio*, βίπτῳ (βίπτῳ) is *iacto*. See Curtius, Gr. Verbum, 1, 337.

14. Ἀμφιλόχον: The oracle of Amphilocheus (at Mallos in Cilicia) seems to have been much in fashion at this period, which may account for the mention of it before such familiar oracles as Dodona and Pytho (Delphi). See Plut. Mor. 528, 5 and 681, 17 (Didot); Max. Tyr. 15, 7; Pausan. 1, 34, 3; and especially Luc. Alex. 19. For the Acarnanian oracle of A. see Celsus ap. Origen. 3, 34.

67.  
8-10.  
1, 10, 8

15. Πυθοῦς : On the Delphic oracle and its relation to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, see Curtius, History of Greece, book 2, chap. 4 ; also the remarkable description of Eury-nomus in Pausan. 10, 28, 7. E. is an ogre, who devours the flesh but leaves the bones, as a symbolical *non omnis moriar*.

16. Ἐμπεδοκλέους : See Ritter and Preller, Hist. Phil. 170 (ed. sec. 148) sqq. ; Ueberweg, Hist. of Philosophy (Am. Tr.), 1, 60. — Πλάτωνός τε καὶ Σωκράτους : Notice the close coupling of the 'double star' (Emerson).

17. παρ' Ὀμήρῳ = *apud Homerum*. — βόθρος : The pit which Odysseus filled with blood to attract the souls of the dead : *ἐγὼ δ' ἄορ δέξῃ ἱρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ | βόθρον ὕρυσ' ὕσσον τε πυγούσιον ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα*, Od. 11, 24. 25.

19. κἂν . . . ἀποδείξασθαι : Κἂν is elliptical and = *vel*, e. g. Plato, Theag. 181 A. So 2 Cor. 11, 6 : *κἂν ὡς ἄφρονα εἰξασθῇ με*, Theophil. ad Autolyc. 1, 13 : *εἰζῶν μοι κἂν ἕνα ἡγερέϊται ἐκ νεκρῶν*. Be it observed that the true ellipsis with the imperative is the notion of will that lies in the imperative—not *κἂν ἀποδείξῃσθε* (Kühner), but *κἂν ἀποδείξασθαι ἐβίλητε*. For καὶ w. imper. comp. the typical cry of Ajax : *ἐν εἰ φάει καὶ ὀλεσσον*.

20. οὐχ ἦντον : The neg. οὐχ is retained after the imper., partly because of the fixity of the very common phrase, partly because of the causal sense of the participle. So Orig. c. Cels. 5. 31.

22. ἐαυτῶν = *ἑμῖτερα αὐτῶν*. — μηδὲν . . . λέγοντες : 'Maintaining,' rather than 'saying' (c. 4, 18), that nothing is impossible for God.

19. 'WHY SHOULD IT BE THOUGHT A THING INCREDIBLE WITH YOU THAT GOD SHOULD RAISE THE DEAD?'

1. κατανοοῦντι τῷ : So Grabe for *κατανοοῦντι*. K. the familiar dative of reference. — ἀπιστότερον μᾶλλον : There is really no pleonasm. μᾶλλον is 'rather,' not 'more.' Combine with *ἐόξαι*. — δόξαι : Less common in Attic than *ἐόξει*.

2. ἡ εἰ . . . μὴ ὑπάρχον : In comparisons, either the ideal (c. 3, 5) or the unreal condition (c. 4, 6) is employed. Here they are blended by a shifting of the point of view. So Andoc. 1, 57 ; [Plat.] De Justo, 373 E.

3. βανίζος : This fact has often been used to humiliate man (Pallad. Anthol. Pal. 10, 45 : *εἰ εἰ λόγον ζητῆς τὸν ἀληθινόν, ἐξ ἀκο-*

λάσπου | λαγνείας γίγονας καὶ μαρᾶς ῥανίδος) or to glorify God (Theophil. ad Autolyc. 1, 8: ἐπλάσι σε ἐξ ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας μαρᾶς καὶ ἱλαχίστης ῥανίδος). Comp. Athenag. Res. 17, 80 and M. Anton. 10, 26.

4. *δοτία*: The open forms occur even in Attic prose.—*εικονοποιηθέντα*: There are swarms of such formations in later times.

5. *Ἔστω . . . λεγόμενον*: Not distinguishable from *λεγίσθω* at this stage. Comp. *ἔστωσαν ἄγοντες*, Athenag. Suppl. 15, 59.

6. *μὴ οὖσι τοιούτοις μηδὲ τοιούτων*: 'Not being such yourselves, nor [sons] of such parents.' Comp. *ὁποίους καὶ ἐξ ὁποίων* below, and Xen. Anab. 3, 2, 13: *τοιούτων ἰστί προγόνων*.

8. *οἶόν τε*: First adaptation (= *τοιούτων ὥστε*), then possibility. *Οἶος* is used more strictly of character.—*διαβεβαιούμενος*: A favorite word with later writers.

9. *πρὶν ἰδεῖν*: C. 4, 13.—*γινόμενον*: Verbs of actual perception take commonly the present and perfect participles, as these represent the most common states of objects of perception. The aor. is used of concentrated perception, or, as here, of non-perception, according to the principle laid down, c. 4, 10. So below, *ἀναστάντα νεκρόν*. The aor. is also often used of intellectual perception = *ὄτι* and aor. ind.—*ἐπιστεύσατε*: We should expect *ἐπιστεύσατ' ἄν*. But to correct *ἄν* in might be to correct Justin.

10. *ἀνταιπεῖν*: 'Maintain' (in opposition to another), not 'deny,' which would give a counter-sense. Still *εἰπεῖν* (*ἄν εἰπεῖν*) would be more natural.

13. *γινόμενος*: On the tense, see I. 9.

14. *λογίσασθε ὅτι*: C. 8, 1.

15. *δίκην σπερμάτων*: *Δίκη* (comp. *εἰκνυμι*). 'way pointed out,' 'manner,' 'fashion;' adverbial accusative. Later writers use this semi-poetical turn freely after Plato. So Max. Tyr. 2, 8: *ὁρμιζος δίκην*, and elsewhere; Athenag. Suppl. 3, 12: *δίκην θηρίων*, also 10, 41; Clem. Alex. Protrept. 10, 92: *σκολήκων δίκην*, also Paed. 1, 6, 36. 38; 2, 1, 11; Orig. c. Cels. 5. 40: *δίκην ληστών*; 6, 53: *δίκην ἀνδραποδιστοῦ*.—*ἀνυθύντα*: So Thirlby for *διαλυθύντα*, after abundant analogy. Others, and so Otto, finally, *ἐαχυνθύντα*.

16. *ἀφθαρσίαν ἐνδύσασθαι*: A Pauline reminiscence (?). Comp. 1 Cor. 15, 53: *εἰ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν*. That it is not a mere coin-

cidence would appear from Athenag. Res. 18, 88: *δεῖ κατὰ τὸν ἀπίστολον τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἰνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν*. Comp. Tatian, c. 20; Theophil. ad Autolyc. 1, 7; Orig. c. Cels. 7, 32. It is a much disputed question how far Justin was acquainted with the Pauline epistles, and what was his attitude towards Paul. See Willink: Justinus Martyr in zijne verhouding tot Paulus. Zwolle, 1867.

18. οἱ φάσκοντες: Practical present part. of *φημί*, 'allege,' 'assert,' 'maintain.' *φημί* is the most 'subjective' of the common verbs of saying, and in model Gr. seldom takes any thing but the inf. In this stage it is freely combined with *ὄτι*. Οἱ φάσκοντες are the Stoics.

19. οὐπερ: C. 12, 88.—*παρὰ ταῦτα*: *Παρά* is often used with comparative notions, as might be supposed from its meaning 'alongside.'

20. οὐκ ἔχομεν: C. 3, 5.—*συνορῶμεν*: C. 9, 21.

25. παρελήφαμεν: So I read with Otto (8) for *προελήφαμεν*, as in c. 10, 2.

26. ἔγνωμεν: Shorthand for perfect. When the perfect is used as a present, the aor. is used for the perf.; 'we have learned.'—*εἰπόντα=ὄτι εἶπεν*. See l. 9.—*τὰ ἀδύνατα . . . θεῶ*: Luke 18, 27. Celsus harps on this. See Orig. c. Cels. 5, 14.

27. Μὴ . . . ἐμβαλεῖν: Luke 12, 4 foll.; Matt. 10, 28.

28. μὴ δυναμένους: C. 4, 9.

30. γένναν: Valley of Hinnom (גֵּי הַיְּמִינִים). See Bible Dict.

31. ἐνθα: Always a relative in prose.—*κολάζεσθαι*: C. 3, 4.—*μᾶλλον*: 'Are destined.' *Μᾶλλον* is more frequently construed with the fut. inf., especially when it is used in this sense, but it is impossible to draw a sharp line of distinction between fut. and pres. The combination with the fut. is the older, and seems to arise from the original meaning of the word, 'think,' 'expect.' Comp. Fr. *penser*.

## 20. 'TESTE DAVID CUM SIBYLLA.'

1. Σίβυλλα: The Sibyl is so familiar a figure in Pagan Mythology and the (spurious) Sibylline Oracles so notorious in the history of the Christian Church, that a simple reference to the classical and biographical dictionaries will suffice. See March,

Latin Hymns, p. 294; Neander, History of the Christian Religion (Am. Tr.), 1, 176; Keim, Celsus, S. 115, 4. The oracle to which Justin alludes begins (O. Sib. 4, 168): *πῦρ ἔσται κατὰ κόσμον· ἐν ᾧ τότε σῆμα τίγνεται· | ῥομφαίαι, σάλπιγγες, ἤμ' ἡελίῳ ἀνιόντι· | κόσμος ἅπας μύκημα καὶ ὀμβριμον ἤχον ἀκούσει· | φλέξει δὲ χθόνα πᾶσαν κτί.*—*Ὑστάσπης*: The Sibyl and Hystaspes are coupled below (c. 44, 41). The prophecies of the Persian Hystaspes (Gushtasp) are commended in the Praedicatio Petri (Clem. Alex. Strom. 6, 5, 43), and are mentioned by Ammian. Marcell. 28, 6, and Lactantius, Inst. Div. 7, 15 and 18.

8. *Στωϊκοὶ* . . . αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν εἰς πῦρ ἀναλύεσθαι: A popular statement of the Stoic doctrine. The *πῦρ τεχνικόν* of the Stoics was a different thing from ordinary fire. See Ueberweg, History of Philosophy (Am. Tr.), 1, 194 foll.

4. ἀναλύεσθαι . . . γένεσθαι: 'Is to be resolved,' 'is to be made.' Present and aor. as futures. Comp. c. 12, 23. But remember that according to Stoic doctrine the process is ever going on, so that ἀναλύεσθαι may be translated as a present.—*αὐ πάλιν*: More commonly *πάλιν αὐ*.

9. *θεῖως*: We should expect *θειοτίμως*.—*ἀποδεικνύει*: See c. 13, 18.—*παρὰ πάντας*=*μᾶλλον πάντων*: Comp. c. 19, 19.

11. *Πλάτωνος*: In the Timaeus, which the Fathers were never weary of citing.

12. *τῷ δὲ* (sc. *λίγειν*) *ἐκπύρωσιν γένεσθαι*: See c. 60, 14.

15. *ποιηταῖς καὶ φιλοσόφοις*: No end of examples might be adduced.

16. *χειρῶν ἔργα ἀνθρώπων*: The MSS. have *χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων*. Various emendations have been proposed. Stephanus suggests *χειρῶν ἐργοῖς ἀνθρώπων*. I prefer *ἔργα*, as Justin more frequently uses the normal acc. See c. 16, 20. However, the LXX have the dat. in the passages to which Justin alludes, Jer. 1, 16; Micah 5, 13.

17. *Μενάνδρῳ τῷ κωμικῷ*: Editors refer to passages which are cited in [Justin] De Monarchia, 5 (frgg. 196, 237, 330, 375 Mein.), but none of them is much to the point.—*ταῦτα φήσασι*: Meineke reads *τὰ τοιαῦτα* (Otto).

18. *φράζομεν*: *φράζω*, orig. 'point out,' is used by preference of detailed explanation, 'teach.'

## 21. ANALOGIES TO THE HISTORY OF CHRIST.

This line of argument is repugnant to our modern sensibilities, but the Fathers did not disdain to meet the heathen on his own ground. Fable for fable, the Christian religion was not more improbable than the Pagan. So Tertull. says (Apol. 21): *Recipite interim hanc fabulam, similis est vestris, dum ostendimus quomodo Christus probetur*, and the same writer parallels Gehenna and Pyriphlegethon, Paradise and the Elysian Fields, l. c. 47. Comp. Orig. c. Cels. 1, 37: οὐδὲν ἄτοπον πρὸς Ἕλληνας καὶ Ἑλληνικάς ιστορίας χρῆσθαι, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶμεν μόνοι τῇ παραδόξῃ ταύτῃ ιστορίᾳ κεχρησθαι.

1. Τῷ . . . φάσκουσιν: As above, c. 20, 10. Φάσκοντες would be more elegant.—δ: Agreeing with the predicate.

2. γεγεννησθαι: So Thirlby for γεγενῆσθαι. Otto now says that γεγεννησθαι is the MS. reading.

5. οὐ . . . καινόν τι φέρομεν: See note on Ep. ad Diogn. 1.—παρὰ τοῖς . . . λεγομένοις υἱοῖς: See c. 19, 19.

6. υἱοῖς τῷ Διί: Stress on υἱούς. Below υἱοὺς τοῦ Διός with stress on Διός. In classic writers the constructions vary, sometimes to produce a kind of chiasmus or alternate stress, as in Hdt. 7, 2; Isaeus, 3, 13, sometimes without any apparent reason.

8. Ἑρμῆν . . . λόγον τὸν ἑρμηνευτικόν: This is the sublimated Logos view of Hermes, of which the most was made by Porphyry and the later theosophists generally. So, for instance, by the Emperor Julian. On the later development of Hermes as the great ἑρμηνεύς, see Preller, Gr. Myth. 1, 264 and Schol. L in II. 2, 104.

9. Ἀσκληπιόν: See Class. Dict. s. v. Aesculapius, and so for all the other familiar classical legends.

10. κεραυνωθέντα: Luc. D. D. 13, 1: ὁ Ζεὺς σε κεραυνώσεν ἃ μὴ ξίμεις ποιοῦντα, νῦν δὲ κατ' ἔλεον αἰεὶς ἀθανασίας μετείληφας.—ἀνεληλυθέναι: Depends on ἐπίστασθαι.

13. τὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων: 'Of mortal stock.' 'The Euhemeristic explanation of apotheosis is very common in the Christian writers of the second century.' (Keim, Celsus' Wahres Wort, S. 37, 2.)—ἐφ' ἵππου: So Sylburg for ἐφ' ἵππου. Thirlby calls attention to Justin's slip. Bellerophon did not get to heaven. See Pind. Isthm. 7, 63; Hor. Od. 4. 11, 26.

14. τί . . . λέγομεν τὴν Ἀριάστην: C. 15, 20.

15. κατηγορεῖσθαι: See the list in Tatian, 10: τίς ἐστιν ὁ Βερενίκης πλόκαμος; πῶς ἐὶ ὁ τεθνεὺς Ἀντίνους μεράκιον ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ ὥραιον καθιέρνται; Clem. Hom. 5, 28: χαριζόμενοι ταῖς ἱρωμίαις κατηγορεῖσθαι αὐτάς.—τί γάρ: Sc. λέγομεν.

16. οὗς: Due to Thirlby.—ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι: There are three notorious instances: that of Romulus, at which Tertull. mocks, Apol. 21; that of Augustus, which Suetonius mentions, Aug. 100; that of Drusilla, at which Seneca sneers, Apocol. 1: *Si necesse fuerit auctorem producere, quaerite ab eo qui Drusillam euntem in caelum vidit: idem Claudium vidisse se dicet iter facientem.*

17. καὶ . . . παράγετε: 'You actually produce.'

18. ἀνερχόμενον: Actual perception, c. 19, 9.—κατακαίντα: 2 aor. pass. not Attic, = κατακαυδίντα.

20. πρὸς εἰδότες λέγειν: When the direction is emphasized, the preposition πρὸς is used, not the dat. On the phrase, see c. 9, 8.

21. εἰς διαφοράν καὶ προτροπήν: Supposed to be ironical; 'for the excellence (advantage) and furtherance.' But διαφοράν is awkward, and διαφύραν καὶ παρατροπήν lies very near, as the older commentators have remarked.

22. Ἀπείη: Opt. of wish. The present is used when a state or process is desired, the aorist when attainment. Hence regularly χαίροις, εὐδαιμονοίης, εὐτυχοίης, but γίνοιτο, ἐξόλοιτο, τύχοις.—ψυχῆς: The genitive as the case of possession is also the case of dispossession (ablative). On the free handling of the gen. as an abl., see c. 58, 18.

24. ὥς . . . παραδέξασθαι: 'As to accept the tradition that,' the other infinitives depending on παραδ., for which comp. c. 23, 5 and Orig. c. Cels. 4, 81. 93.

25. πατροφόντην τε καὶ πατὸς τοιούτου: 'A parricide and son of a parricide.' Zeus did not kill his father; he was a πατράλοιας, not a πατροφόντης, as Thirlby remarks. But who can resist such a familiar effect?

26. ἡδονῶν: Depends on ἦττω, 'slave of.'

27. ἐπὶ Γανυμήδην; Ἐπὶ, 'after;,' standing use of the preposition. See Index.

28. τὰς αὐτοῦ παιδας: Not to be changed into αὐτοῦ, which J. does not use, nor into ἰαυτοῦ. The unemphatic possessive gen.

Σὺν ἐπὶ Ἀλεμήδην Δανείον τε μολών  
p. 25. 26. 10, 11

of the pronouns is regularly put outside of art. and subst. But here *αὐτοῦ* is *ipsius*, not *eius*.

29. ὡς προέφημεν: C. 5, 6. On the form *ἐφήμεν*, see c. 8, 1.

30. διδάσκει: *Μανθάνω* is far more common than the pass. of *διδάσκω*, and justly. The normal construction of *διδάσκω* is that of a verb of showing. Here it takes an inf., like *πιστεύω*.

32. ἀδίκως: Sc. *βιούντας*. 'Αδίκως (suggested by Billius) would be smoother.—*ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρί*: The scene, not necessarily the instrument. See note on c. 38, 14.

## 22. CHRIST'S SONSHIP AND ITS ANALOGIES.

Maran calls attention to the fact that Arnobius (*Adv. Gentes*, 1, 38) argues in the same way.

1. εἰ καί: Where we might expect *καί*. But comp. c. 2, 7. *Καί* must be joined closely to *κοινῶς*, as in *καί ἰδίως* below.

3. ἀνδρῶν τε λέων τε: A familiar Homeric phrase. Notice poetic use of *τε . . . τε* to couple two words, and of *ἀνδρῶν*=*ἀνδρώπων*.

4. παρὰ τὴν κοινὴν γένεσιν: *Παρά*=*praeter*.

5. γεγενῆσθαι: So the MSS. says Otto *now*. Comp. c. 23, 7.

6. ὡς προέφημεν: C. 21, 1.—*ἔστω*: 'Must be considered.'—*τοῖς . . . λέγουσιν*: Apposition with a personal pronoun has the article.

7. ἀγγελτικόν: Comp. Hymn. in Merc: *ἀγγελον ἀθανάτων ἐπιούμιον ὃν τίκε Μαῖα*.—*Εἰ . . . αἰτιάσται*: The ideal condition occasionally admits in the apodosis imperative and indicative forms, such as we find more frequently associated with *ἰάν*. While these deviations may be accounted for, we must bear in mind for this stage of the language the gradual effacement of the optative and its force.

8. καὶ τοῦτο κοινόν: Comp. Arnob. 1, 41, who adduces among others Bacchus, Aesculapius, and Hercules.

9. νῆοις καθ' ὑμᾶς τοῦ Διὸς: To be closely connected.

10. Ἐκείνων τε γάρ: A solitary *τε*, even when it connects sentences, not words, is comparatively rare in the model Attic period. It sometimes serves, like the Latin *-que*, to complete or extend a previous statement, sometimes to give an emphatic summary. This may be called the postscript or afterthought *τε*.



Comp. c. 48, 4.—οὐχ ὅμοια . . . ἀλλὰ διάφορα: The use of litotes is so common in Greek that it is necessary to guard against it by an antithesis. *Διάφορα καὶ οὐχ ὅμοια* would be a climax (comp. Soph. O. R. 58: *γνωτὰ κοῦκ ἀγνωτὰ μοι*); οὐχ ὅμοια ἀλλὰ διάφορα is a simple statement.

11. ὥστε μὴδὲ . . . δοκεῖν: C. 5, 8.—τὸ ὄν: Dependent on ἤτονα. 'In the peculiarity.'

13. προέχοντες τοῦ λόγου: 'As the discussion goes on,' 'in the course of the discussion.' So c. 34, 7 and Athenag. Suppl. 1, 4.

15. διὰ παρόντων: Comp. Dial. c. Tryph. 23. 'Ee would be more natural, and unnecessary offence has been taken at the use of *διὰ*, as savoring of heresy.

16. Περὶ: See Class. Dict.—ὦν . . . λέγομεν=λέγοντες.

17. ἐκ γενετῆς ἀναπήρους: The MSS. have *πονηρούς*, in the sense of 'suffering,' for which the recessive accent *πονήρους* is generally preferred. Most editors desiderate *πηρούς*, but *ἀναπήρους* fills the space better. Comp. Luke 14, 13. 21.

## 23. STATEMENT OF THE ARGUMENT.

Justin undertakes to prove three things: 1. That the doctrines of the Christians are the only true doctrines (cc. 24–29); 2. That the Son of God was incarnate (cc. 30–53); 3. That the demons have invented the myths of the heathen in order to lead men to their ruin (cc. 54 foll.). So in effect Maran. See the Analysis. Ritter (ap. Otton.) says there is no proof of the first thesis in cc. 24–26, and would regard the first thesis as the general proposition, which is satisfied by the proofs for the second and third theses, for in the second it is proved that Christianity is true, in the third that Christianity alone is true, all else being a device of evil spirits. Justin is not distinguished for clear logical development of his themes.

1. ἤδη: 'By this time,' 'now.' *Hēn* differs from *nūn* as *iam* from *nunc*. In the former the relativity is emphasized.

5. τὰ ταῦτα . . . αὐτοῖς: The familiar compendious construction. 'The same with them'='the same as they.'—*παράδεχθῃναι*: Comp. c. 21, 29.

7. ἴσως: C. 22, 4.

10. πρὶν ἢ: C. 4. 13. I have written *καὶ πρὶν*, according to

Maran's suggestion. Perhaps unnecessary difficulty has been made about this passage. 'And [that] before Christ became a man among men, certain men, at the instigation of the before-mentioned demons, recounted as facts by the instrumentality of the poets the figments which they had made and uttered, in the same way as they have fabricated the charges of impious and abominable deeds that are brought against us.' Still it is not to be denied that the sentence would be simplified by writing *τὰ* with Ashton and Otto (3) for *διὰ* (τῶν).

11. φθάσαντες = πρότερον. See c. 12, 38.—*διὰ τοῖς . . . δαίμονας . . . τῶν ποιητῶν*: Scholars sometimes (e. g. Rauchenstein on Lys. 12, 58) allow themselves to say that *διὰ* with the accus. is used like *διὰ* with gen. So broad a distinction, which could not escape any decent Hellenist (comp. Hebr. 2, 10), is not to be given up so lightly. 'Owing to,' will cover all the cases of supposed confusion. For *διὰ* w. acc. and gen., see Dem. 6, 6 and Constt. Apostt. 2, 24 (*διὰ ἐξος*—*διὰ μετανοίας*). An effacement of prepositions is not to be assumed without evidence. Observe how Athenag. refines on *μετά* and *σύν* (Suppl. 31, 57), on *ἐπί* and *περί* (Resurr. 1, 4), *ἐν* and *περί* (Resurr. 21, 101), *κατά* and *διὰ* (Resurr. 11, 48; 18, 84), *ἐξ* and *παρά* (Resurr. 20, 96), *ἐπὶ* and *διὰ* (Suppl. 2, 8), *πρός* and *διὰ* (Suppl. 10, 40), not to speak of such familiar distinctions as *ἀπό* and *ἐξ* (Tatian, 20; Orig. c. Cels. 1, 51).

12. ὡς γινόμενα: 'Ὡς with participle after a verb of saying or thinking=inf. See c. 4, 18.

13. ἐν τρόπῳ: C. 4, 22.

15. τοῦτον λεγχον ποιησόμεθα: 'This is the proof that we shall offer.' Τοῦτον τὸν λεγχον would be 'this proof.' See c. 13, 6. On τοῦτον, where we should expect τόνδε, c. 15, 24; on λεγχον, c. 2, 20; on ποιησόμεθα, c. 1, 9.

#### 24. VARIATIONS OF HEATHENISM.

First argument to show that the doctrines of the Christians are true. Others are free to worship whom or what they please; Christians alone are slain for their worship. The hatred of the light proves that it is light. The same line of argument is found in Tatian, 10; Athenag. Suppl. 14; Orig. c. Cels. 5, 27.

2. μηδὲν ἀδικούντες: C. 8, 19.

1. 23, 43: ὡς γινόμενα  
2. 20: ἐξ  
3. 10, 40: πρὸς  
4. 18: ὡς γινόμενα  
5. 24: τόνδε  
6. 13, 6: τοῦτον  
7. 15, 24: τοῦτον  
8. 2, 20: λεγχον  
9. 1, 9: ποιησόμεθα

3. ὡς ἁμαρτωλοί: Sc. ὄντες.

4. δένδρα: So the Indians and others. See Curt. Hist. Alex. 8, 9, 34: *Deos putant quidquid colere coeperunt, arbores maxime, quas violare capital est.* Also Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship. — ποταμούς: So the Persians, among others. See Clem. Alex. Protrept. 4, 46 and the long list in Max. Tyr. 8, 1.—μῦς: So the Egyptians.

5. αἰλούρους: Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 1: οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ αἰλούρους καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ ὄφεις καὶ ἀσπίδας καὶ κύνας θεοὺς νομίζουσι, and Orig. c. Cels. 5, 51.—κροκοδείλους: See the anecdote in Max. Tyr. 8, 5.

7. ὅστι' εἶναι: C. 5, 8.

8. Ὅπερ: C. 12, 38.

9. ὅτι μὴ . . . σίβωμεν: As μὴ became more and more common with the inf., so it crept into object sentences with ὅτι as a kind of indication of oratio obliqua. See note on c. 4, 18. Examples abound: Lucian, Nigr. 32; Dial. Mort. 15, 2; Charon, 1; Sacrif. 2; Piscat. 24, etc.; Prom. 20 (διότι μὴ); Max. Tyr. 7, 9; 9, 5 (ὡς μὴ); Athenag. Suppl. 23, 107, 115; Resurr. 5, 24; 10, 40; Orig. c. Cels. 3, 18; 4, 65; Euseb. H. E. 1, 3, 20. 4, 8; 3, 39, 1. 4.

10. ἐν γραφαῖς στεφάνους: 'If this mean any thing, it must be taken as an equivalent for στεφάνους γεγραμμένους, "painted crowns." Maran contends, indeed, that γραφή signifies not only a picture but a statue, and interprets the words of the decoration of the statues of the gods. But in that case ἐν is inadmissible [as Braun notes]' (Trollope). None of the numerous conjectures is convincing. I incline to one of the oldest, ἐν ταφαῖς (ἐν τάφοις, Thirlby). Comp. Minuc. Fel. Oct. 12: *coronas etiam sepulcris denegatis*, and Lat. Hymns, p. 246. So Otto *now*.

11. Ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ τὰ αὐτά: The MSS. have ὅτι γὰρ οὐ. Sylburg omits οὐ; Otto reads οὐκ. — οἷς μὲν κτλ.: Familiar use of the relative as a demonstrative with μὲν and εἰ; common after Demosthenes in prose.

## 25. CHRISTIANS ABANDON THE WORLD OF FALSE GODS.

1. Δεύτερον: The second argument is drawn from the purity of the worship of the One God in contrast with the impure deities, from whose service the Christians have turned even in the

face of death (Maran).—ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων: C. 1, 5.—οἱ πά-  
λαι: So Sylburg for παλαιοί.

2. Διόνυσον τὸν Σεμέλη . . . Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Λητοίδην: In study-  
ing the gen. notice the frequent parallelism with adjective.  
'Son of'—the old explanation of the name γενική—however in-  
sufficient, is not uninformative. Comp. 'son of' in Hebrew.

3. ὅσα: 'All.' Ὅσος of number, οἶος of quality. 'Such,' orig-  
inally of quality, is very loosely used in English.

4. Περσεφόνη: The symbolism of the myth of Persephoné,  
Aphrodite, and Adonis, which belongs to the cycle of Birth,  
Death, Resurrection, and Immortality, is sufficiently familiar.  
See my article on the Legend of Venus (Southern Review, April,  
1867, p. 358 foll.). But the Fathers resolutely shut their eyes to  
all symbolism save their own. Tatian says (c. 21): *πισθῆτέ μοι  
νῦν, ὦ ἄνδρες* "Ἕλληνες, μηδὲ τοὺς μύθους μηδὲ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῶν ἀλληγο-  
ρήσητε" *κἂν γὰρ τοῦτο πράττειν ἐπιχειρήσητε, θεότης ἢ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀνῆρη-  
ται καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν.* See also Athenag. Suppl. 22.—*αἰσχος καὶ λέγειν:*  
Comp. Eph. 5, 12: *τὰ γὰρ κρυφῇ γινόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἰσχροὶ ἐστὶ  
καὶ λέγειν.* *Αἰσχος* is not much used in Attic prose. See Clem.  
Alex. Paed. 3, 8, 43.

7. *καίπερ θανάτου ἀπειλουμένου:* C. 7, 7.

8. *τούτων . . . κατεφρονήσαμεν:* C. 3, 2. — *εἰς τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ καὶ  
ἀπαθεί:* C. 14, 9.

9. *ἐαυτοὺς ἀνεθήκαμεν:* C. 14, 12. — *ἐπ' Ἀντίοπην:* 'Επί, 'after,'  
as above.

11. *διὰ θετίδος:* See Il. 1, 401–3. So Lucian, mockingly (D.  
D. 21, 2): *εἰ μὴ ἡ θείτις κατελείψασα ἐκάλεσεν αὐτῷ σύμμαχον Βριά-  
ρειων ἐκατόγχεϊρα ὄντα, κἂν εἰδότερο ἂν [Ζεὺς] αὐτῷ κεραυνῷ καὶ  
βροντῇ.*

12. *μεριμνῶντα κτί:* 'Solicitous that the son of Thetis should  
destroy.'

14. *ὀλέσαι:* The prose form is ἀπολέσαι. Ὀλίσαι in a half-quo-  
tation. Comp. Il. 2, 3, 4: *ἀλλ' ὅγε μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα ὥς Ἀχι-  
λλῆα | τιμήσει, ὀλέσαι δὲ πολίης ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.*

## 26. HUMAN AGENTS OF THE DEMONS.

1. *Τρίτον:* The third proof that the truth is what is hated.  
Those whom the devils have inspired to corrupt the Christian

religion are not persecuted, or if they are persecuted, it is for their crimes, not for their faith (Maran).—ἀνέλευσιν: Eusebius, who copies this passage (H. E. 2, 13), has ἀνάληψιν, but comp. Dial. c. Tr. cc. 39 and 87 (Thirlby).

3. λέγοντας ἑαυτοῖς: The reflexive is rarely expressed when the subject of the leading verb and the subject of the inf. are the same.

5. Σίμωνα . . . Σαμαρεία: Simon Magus (Acts 8, 9–24) was regarded by the Fathers as the ringleader of all heresies (Euseb. H. E. 2, 13, 6); but 'it is quite uncertain with how much reason the beginnings of heretical gnosis have been ascribed to Simon Magus' (Ueberweg). Origen tells us (c. Cels. 1, 12) that the number of Simonians had shrunk in his time to thirty persons. Comp. 6, 11: οὐδαμοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης Σιμωνιανοί.

6. Γιγνῶν: So in the Constt. Apostt. 6, 7.—ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος: C. 13, 16.

7. δυνάμεις: A *terminus technicus*; orig. *δυνάμεις*. See Matt. 11, 20. 21; 13, 54. 58; 14, 2; Mark 6, 2, 5. 14; Luke 19, 37 (Winer).

8. βασιλίδι: 'Imperial.' See c. 17, 11.

9. παρ' ἑμῶν: Euseb. has παρ' ἐμῶν.

11. ΣΙΜΩΝΙ: For this story—repeated by numbers after him—Justin is responsible. The truthfulness of the author and the correctness of the statement are not to be confounded. Thirlby argues at length in favor of Justin's allegation, but argues confessedly as a lawyer, not as a judge. He lays especial stress on the madness of an appeal to evidence which could have been refuted by a moment's inspection. But it is the more prevalent opinion that Justin misread an inscription on the pedestal of a statue of Semo Sancus—a much-revered Sabine deity—which pedestal was dug up in the island of the Tiber in the year 1574. The inscription runs:

SEMONI  
SANCUS  
DEO • FIDIO  
SACRVM  
SEX • POMPEIUS • P. F. SP.  
COL • MYRSINVS  
QUINQVENNALIS  
DECVB  
BIDENTALIS  
DONVM • DEDIT.

Grut. T. I. p. xcvi. n. 5.

For the confusion of *Semoni* and *Simoni*, see c. 4, 4 and B 3, 3. Comp. further Bunsen (l. c. 1, 354), who notes the fact that Hippolytus, being a Roman, did not make this blunder.

13. ὡς τὸν πρῶτον ἑαίνον: He called himself *summum patrem*, according to Tertull. De Anima, 34.

14. Ἑλένην: A very common name, despite the evil omen that Aeschylus found in it (Agam. 666 Herm.).—συμπερινοστήσασαν: I read συμπ. with Sylburg, Maran, Braun, against the MSS. περινοστή, 'ramble,' or 'roam about,' with a reminiscence of the old Νόστοι. Comp. the use in Ar. Plut. 121. 494; Plato, De Rep. 8, 558 A; Luc. Tim. 13 (bis).

15. κατ' ἑαίνο τοῦ καιροῦ: C. 17, 3.—ἐπὶ τόγους: 'Επί with gen. usually of a fixed (normal) position on, hence of a regular 'stand' at. See the Lexicons s. v. τόγος, οἶκημα.—σταθεῖσαν: Comp. *pro stare*. See the Lexicons.

16. ἐνέουσαν: Tr. by Tertull. *injectionem*. Parallels in other systems will not fail to suggest themselves.

17. Μένανδρον: For an account of Menander, see Euseb. H. E. 3, 26 (p. 87 D. S.).

20. ἐξαπατήσαι: For the inf. see A 3, 3.—οἶδαμεν=ἴσμεν.

21. ὡς μὴδὲ ἀποθήσκουσιν: In normal Gr., ὡς οὐδὲ ἀποθανοῦνται or ἀποθανοῖντο. In classic Gr. prose, after a past tense, principal indicative clauses may be represented in oratio obliqua either by the infinitive (the older form) or by ὅτι or ὡς with the opt. The latter construction faded out with the opt. itself, and Justin uses here and c. 49, 21 the opt. as a fut. Comp. Clem. Alex. Protrept. 3, 44; Ep. Eccl. V. et L. ap. Euseb. H. E. 5, 1, 24. The neg. μὴ is used as after ὅτι, c. 24, 9.

22. ἀπ' ἑαίνου: 'Από of a school or sect is very common, e. g. Athenag. Suppl. 6, 25. 26; 16, 65; 23, 107; Clem. Alex. Protrept. 5, 66; 6, 72; Strom. 2, 3, 10; Orig. c. Cels. 3, 75; 4, 68 al. So in Lat. *ab*: Zeno *et qui ab eo sunt*, Cic. Fin. 3, 3.—Μαρκίωνα . . . τὸν Ποντικόν: This passage is cited by Euseb. H. E. 4, 11. The Catholics persecuted the memory of Marcion as that of their worst enemy, as is shown by the famous anecdote from Iren. (3, 3) quoted by Euseb. l. c. 4, 14, 7 (p. 109 D. S.). According to Marcion, who was an older contemporary of Justin, there were two gods, one the Demiurge, or maker of the world, to be denied and renounced,

the other the greater god, whose works are far more excellent than those of the Demiurge. 'The person and character of Christ are not to be explained by any historical preparation for His coming, or by any national prophecy or expectation of the Jews.' 'Christ saved mankind by divine, gratuitous, spontaneous love, expecting no reward, but knowing that thus alone He could destroy the cruel Demiurge, the Prince of this world, who knows no higher motive than reward, and who could only be humbled and crushed by Christ's self-sacrificing love. His love redeemed mankind, that is to say, it has the power of freeing them from selfishness, the root of all sin and estrangement from God.' 'Marcionism was doomed to perish by the two inherent errors and heresies of the system; the breaking with the history of the world in placing itself in contradiction both with the past and with the present. In the past, it saw the principle of evil in that which was the preparation for the Gospel; in the present, it laid the hand of destruction both on the historical records of Christ and His apostles, and on the life of practical Christianity in the congregation' (Bunsen). See also Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philosophy*, 1, 284 (Am. Tr.).

23. ἐστὶ διδάσκων: 'Is engaged in teaching.' Comp. c. 19, 5.

25. κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων: See c. 1, 5.—συλλήψεως: Σύλληψις in the sense of 'help' is rare. Comp. Max. Tyr. 14, 7: Θεοῦ δὲ συλλήπτορος.

27. τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς θεόν: 'That the maker of this universe is God.' Τὸν ποιητὴν is the subject, as is shown by the article. Comp. Plato, *Timaeus*, 28 C.—ὡς ὄντα μείζονα: Ground assigned by Marcion. See c. 4, 18.

28. μείζονα παρὰ: C. 19, 19.

29. ὡς εἶημεν: C. 7, 10. Euseb. has ἴσαμεν. On the form, see c. 8, 1.

30. ἐν τρόπῳ: C. 4, 22.—οἱ οὐ κοινωνοῦντες: Emphasizing the opposition to κοινόν. Comp. c. 14, 16.

31. τὸ ἐπικατηγορούμενον ὄνομα: See c. 7, 9. Otto reads, with Euseb., ἐπικαλούμενον unnecessarily, and ἐν before φιλοσόφοις.

33. ἐκεῖνα: Ἐκεῖνος, like the Latin *ille*.—μυθολογούμενα ἔργα: These stock accusations can be found in Athenag. *Suppl.* c. 3; Ep. Eccl. Vienn. et Lugdun. ap. Euseb. l. c. 5, 1, 14 (p. 180 D. S.);

Tertull. Apol. 7 (p. 39 D. S.); Theophil. ad Autolyc. 3, 4. According to Orig. c. Cels. 6, 27, the Jews started these stories.—*λυχνίας* . . . *ἀνατροπήν*: The signal for wild debauchery. The classic form is *λυχνίον*, not *λυχνία*.

84. *ἀνίδην*: Regular adverbial formation from *ἀνίημι* = *ἀνειμί-νως*. *Ἀναιδην*, suggested by Morell, and once approved by Otto, is a faulty formation found in later writers for *ἀναιδῶς*.—*σαρκῶν βοράς*: On the plural, see c. 13, 2.

85. *ὅτι μή*: C. 24, 8.

86. *κἀν διὰ τὰ δόγματα*: *Κἀν=καί*. See c. 2, 7.

87. *ἡμῖν=ίμοι*: On the case, see c. 27, 18.

88. *ἐντυχεῖν*: C. 14, 3.

## 27. GUILT OF EXPOSING CHILDREN.

1. *μηδὲν ἀδικῶμεν*: So I read with Stephanus. The MSS. have *μηδένα διώκωμεν*, defended at length by Maran and retained by Braun, Otto (1. 2), Trollope. But Otto *noio* succumbs. Thirlby prefers *μηδένα ἀδικ.*—*ἐκτιθέσθαι καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα*: *Κοι* shows how trivial such an affair seemed to the heathen.

2. *πονηρῶν*: A change to *πονηρόν* is not necessary. The idiomatic translation would be the same.—*εἶναι δεδιδάγμεθα*: See c. 21, 30. Comp. with the passage Ep. ad Diogn. 5, 16: [*Χριστιανοί*] *οὐ ρίπτουσι τὰ γεννώμενα* and Athenag. Suppl. 35, 167: *οὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐκτιθέσθαι μὲν τὸ γεννηθῆναι, ὡς τῶν ἐκτιθέντων τεκνοκτονούντων, πάλιν δὲ τὸ τραφέν ἀναιρεῖν*.

4. *προάγοντας=προαγωγεύοντας* (E. A. Sophocles).

5. *ὅν τρόπον*: C. 4, 22.

6. *ἱππῶν φορβάδων*: Comp. Plat. Legg. 2, 666 E: *οἷον ἀπρόους πώλους ἐν ἀγέλῃ νεμομένους φορβάδας τοὺς νέους κέκτησθαι*. This passage of Justin is imitated by Tatian, Or. ad G. 28: *παίδων ἀγέλας ὥσπερ ἱππῶν φορβάδων συναγείρειν αὐτῶν πειρωμένων*, and by Clem. Alex. Paed. 3, 4, 26: *μειρακίων ὠραίων ἀγέλαι κατὰπερ θρεμμάτων παρ' ὧν ἀμίλγονται τὸ κάλλος*.

7. *οὕτω νῦν καὶ παιδας*: Sc. *ὀρῶμεν τρεφομένους*. Otto (8) reads *οὕτως*, because Justin always says *ὅν τρόπον* . . . *οὕτως*, even before a consonant.

9. *ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόγους ἔστηκεν*: The MSS. have *ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ ἀγους*, which is supposed to be equivalent to *εἰς τὸ αἰσχροῦς χρῆ-*



αἰ above. If so, the combination stands alone in Greek. Thirlby's suggestion, which occurred to me independently, I have ventured to put in the text. Thirlby comp. Hieron. in Esai. 2. As much to the point would be Clem. Alex. Paed. 3, 3, 21: ἱππὶ τείγους ἐστᾶσι παρ' αὐτοῖς τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἱαντῶν εἰς ὕβριν ἡδονῆς πιπράσκουσαι γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες ἀρνείσθαι τὴν φύσιν διδιδάγμεινοι προσποιῶνται γυναῖκας.

10. μισθοὺς καὶ εἰσφορὰς καὶ τέλη: Taxes for prostitution (*quantum quaeque uno concubitu mereret*) imposed by Caligula (Suet. Cal. 40), forbidden to be used for religious purposes by Alex. Severus (Lamprid. 24), abolished by Justinian. Comp. the πορνικὸν τέλος at Athens.

11. δέον: 'Whereas you ought.' See c. 4, 20.—τῆς ὑμετέρας οἰκουμένης: Substantivized participles seldom have a possessive pronoun, in classic prose.

12. πρὸς τῷ ἀθέῳ κτλ.: 'Besides.'

13. εἰ τύχοι: 'Perhaps,' 'perchance,' a common phrase, e. g. Plato, Hipp. Min. 367 A.—τέκνῳ: τέκνον is used only in relation to parents, not to age—*proles, liberi*. Strictly speaking, it is not a prose word in the classic period. Even Plato uses it very seldom. Of the young of animals in Herodotus, Xenophon, Plato. It is common as a term of endearment in Christian writers. Minuc. Felix puts Justin's argument with his usual vigor. See Octav. 31.

15. ἀποκόπτονται = ἐκτίμνονται: Deuter. 23, 1; Theophil. ad Autol. 1, 9; 3, 8; Clem. Alex. Protrept. 2, 14.

16. μητέρα θεῶν: Magna Mater, Cybelé. See Catull. 63 and Class. Dictionaries.

17. θεῶν: For θεῶ (Sylburg), ὄφης: The serpent is a conspicuous figure in all religions. See commentators on Persius. 1, 113; Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship.

18. ὑμῖν: The so-called dative of the agent simply shows the person interested in the action. When the action is completed, the inference that the person interested is also the agent is often very natural. When the action is future (as with -ρίον) the inference is irresistible. With the tenses of continuance (present and impf.) the construction is rare in prose.

19. ὡς ἀνατετραμμένου καὶ οὐ παρόντος κτλ.: On the λυχνίας ἀνα-

τροπή, see c. 26, 33. On the construction and negative, see c. 4, 18.

20. προσγράφει: 'Ascribe.'

21. οὐ βλάβην φέρει: With the sentiment comp. c. 2, 19.

### 28. GOD CARES FOR HIS CREATURES.

1. ἀρχηγέτης: Justin seems to use the word always in a bad sense, 'ring-leader.'

2. ὄφις: Comp. Rev. 20, 2: καὶ ἐκράτησε τὸν δράκοντα, τὸν ὄφιν τὸν ἀρχαῖον, ὃς ἴσθι διάβολος καὶ σατανᾶς and Dial. c. Tryph. 108: Μωϋσῆς μὲν ὄφιν καλεῖ, ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰώβ καὶ τῷ Ζαχαρίᾳ διάβολος κέκληται καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ σατανᾶς προσηγόρευται.—σατανᾶς: שָׁטָן, 'adversary.' A droll etymology is given by Justin in D. c. T. l. c. σατᾶ=שָׁטָן, which he renders ἀποστάτης, and σᾶς=שָׁטָן, ὄφις. This is only less amusing than the etymology in Theoph. ad Autol. 2, 29: ἐράκων καλεῖται ἐὰν τὸ ἀποξεδρακίναί αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

3. ἐκ τῶν ἡμ. συγγραμμάτων: Combine with μαθεῖν.—ἐρευνήσαντες: Ἐρευνᾶν, *indigare*, originally of tracking an animal. Comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1, 3, 21: κατὰ περὶ ὁ τῆς ἀγρας ἱρωτικὸς ζητήσας, ἀνιχνεύσας, ἐρευνήσας, κυνοδρομήσας αἰρεῖ τὸ θηρίον ἐπὶ.

6. πρειμήνυσεν ὁ Χριστός: Matt. 25, 41.

7. ἡ ἐπιμονὴ τοῦ μηδέπω τοῦτο πράξαι τὸν Θεόν: The gen. of the inf. is the appositive of ἐπιμονή, a classical construction, in which the negative is accounted for by the negative notion contained in ἐπιμονή, as a verbal noun of hindering (negative result). Comp. Thuc. 2, 49: ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν ἐπέκειτο. Add 3, 73; Plato, Politic. 279 C; Dem. 19, 149; 24, 9.

9. μετανοίας: The general term for 'change of mind' is μεταμίλεια; μετάνοια is 'a change of mind for the better,' 'a change of heart.' Comp. M. Anton. 8, 10: ἡ μετάνοιά ἐστιν ἐπιληψὶς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ὡς χρήσιμόν τι παρικότος, and Greg. Naz. l. c.: τὴν δὲ μετάνοιαν πρὸς τὰ κρείσσονα στροφήν. The difference between μεταμίλεια and μετάνοια appears in 2 Cor. 7, 10: ἡ κατὰ Θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀμεταμίλητον καταργάζεται. But Clem. Alex. Protrept. (10, 90) distinguishes μετάνοια κενή from μετάνοια γνησία (10, 99), and Chrysostom (Homil. 15 in 2 Cor.) uses μετάνοιᾶ for μεταμίλομαι.

10. τὴν ἀρχήν: See c. 10, 8.

11. εὖ πράττειν: In the less usual sense of 'virtuous action,' not of 'prosperity.' So Otto, who comp. c. 43; Dial. c. T. 12. 17. See commentators on Acts 13, 26. Add Theophil. ad Autol. 2, 17.

12. ὥστε . . . εἶναι: See c. 22, 11.

13. παρὰ τῷ θεῷ: C. 8, 8.

14. μέλειν τούτων τῷ θεῷ: The gen. depends on the substantive notion in μέλειν. The most simple way of disposing of all impersonal verbs is to consider the subject as involved in the verb.—τούτων=τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Otto comp. Dial. c. T. 1. Others consider τ. neuter.—μὴ εἶναι: Μὴ as often in classic prose after ὁμολογεῖν, which involves *will* as well as *thought*. See c. 6, 3.—διὰ τέχνης: Supposed to be equivalent to 'evasively,' 'indirectly' (Trollope), as opposed to ἐκ προοῦλου.

15. ἢ ὅτι: 'Or, if he exists.'

16. δόξῃ: C. 8, 1.

18. ἤπερ: Attracted from ὕπερ. See also c. 12. 38.

## 20. THE BOUNDED CONTINENCE OF CHRISTIANS.

1. μὴ τῶν ἐκτεθέντων: A return to the construction of c. 27, 'We have been taught not to expose children, lest.'—μὴ ἀναληφθεῖς=ιδὼν μὴ ἀναληφθῇ.

2. τὴν ἀρχήν: See c. 10, 8.

3. οὐκ ἐγαμῶμεν . . . ἐν ἐκρατενόμεθα: The imperfect where we should expect the present.—εἰ μὴ: *Nisi*, 'except.' Comp. c. 16. 25.—ἐπὶ παίδων ἀνατροφῇ: 'Επὶ w. dat. of the basis of an action. Comp. the marriage formula among the Athenians, ἐπὶ γνησίων παίδων ἀρότω, and for the Christian conception of wedlock, Athenag. Suppl. 33, 161; Clem. Alex. Paed. 2, 10. Minuc. Felix says (Octav. 31): *cupidoitate procreandi aut unam scimus aut nullam*.

4. παραιτούμενοι: Favorite verb of the period.—τὸ γήμασθαι: Regularly of the woman. The aor. on account of the negative notion. Comp. c. 4, 10. The article gives a half-contemptuous tone: 'This thing of getting married.' Comp. c. 11, 10.—ἐν ἐκρατενόμεθα: So Otto (8) for ἐν ἐκρατενόμεθα (MSS.).

6. ἡ ἀνέδην μίξις: C. 26, 34.—βιβλίον: 'Paper,' 'memorial.'

7. ἀνέδωκεν: Notice the especial use of this compound of petitions, c. 67, 82; Plut. Mor. 1, 909 C.—Φήλαι: The MSS. have Φίληαι, and below Φίληκος. See note on c. 4, 4.

8. τοὺς διδύμους=τοὺς ὄρχεις, as in Clem. Alex. Protrept. 2, 15.—ἔνευ . . . τῆς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐπιτροπῆς: The prohibition of this procedure goes back to Νεῖνα.

10. μηδὲλως=μηδ' ὅλως. Often written at this stage as one word.

11. ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μέινας: 'By himself,' 'to himself,' 'unmarried.' So Clem. Alex. Strom. 3, 12, 82: ὁῶσαν ἀντῷ οὐράνιον περιποιεῖ μέινας ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ and Constt. Apostt. 3, 1: ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς μεῖναι (of a widow).

12. Οὐκ . . . ὑπῆρχεν: Cited by Euseb. H. E. 4, 8.

13. ἡγησάμεθα: In epistolary style=ἡγοῦμεθα, which Euseb. has l.c. See A 2, 14.—'Αντινόου: Antinous, the notorious favorite of Hadrian, drowned in the Nile. Divine honors were paid to his memory by his master, and, indeed, A. has a chapter to himself in the history of plastic art. There is no end of marble portraits of him, as a man, as a hero, as a god. The plainness of Justin is an instructive contrast to the caution of Lucian, who does not mention the subject, although there may be some oblique reference to it in his ridicule of Alexander's extravagances about Hephæstion (Cal. non temere credendum, 17). Much more courtly and reserved is Athenag. Suppl. 30, 150; there is a scornful mention of A. in Tatian, Or. ad Gr. 10; Clem. Alex. Protrept. 4, 49. Theophil. (3.8) says: σιγῶ τὰ 'Αντινόου τεμίνη. Celsus (ap. Orig. 3, 36), on the other hand, couples A. with Christ.—τοῦ νῦν γεγενημένου: Νῦν is very elastic. See Ep. ad D. 1, 10.

14. διὰ φόβου: So I read with Euseb. for διὰ φόβου, 'in fear.' See c. 23, 11. So also Otto *now*.

15. τίς=ὅστις as πόθεν=ὁπόθεν. See c. 15, 46.—πόθεν ὑπῆρχεν: Here ὑπάρχειν is not simply=εἶναι. See c. 2, 10. 'Υ. is often used of source. This is one of the passages cited to show the low origin of Antinous.

#### 80. BUT WAS NOT CHRIST A MAGICIAN?

'Here he performs his promise (c. 23) to prove that the Son of God was made man' (Maran).

1. Ὅπως δὲ μὴ τις εἴπῃ ἀντιθεῖς: The MSS. have ἀντιθεῖς. I insert with Otto εἴπῃ (comp. B 4, 1; 9, 1), but prefer ἀντιθεῖς (coincident action). See note on c. 17, 17.

2. ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων: 'A mere man.' Comp. c. 21, 13.

3. μαγικῇ τέχνῃ: This charge is familiar and found in the Talmud. See Origen's refutation, c. Cels. 1, 38, also Arnob. 1, 43: *Magus fuit, clandestinis artibus omnia illa perfecit.* — δυνάμεις: C. 26, 7.

5. ποιησόμεθα: C. 1, 9.

6. πρὶν ἤ: C. 4, 13.

7. ὅφει . . . ὄραν: Comp. c. 82, 18. So Plut. Vit. Cic. 2. — γινόμενα καὶ γινόμενα: C. 19, 9.

8. μεγίστη . . . ἀπόδειξις: So Orig. c. Cels. 8, 48: αἱ προφητεῖαι τοῖς μὴ παρίργως ἐντυγχάνουσι τῇ ἐν αὐταῖς προγνώσει ἰκαναὶ μοι εἶναι δοκοῦσι πρὸς τὸ πείσαι τὸν συνετῶς ἅμα καὶ εὐγνωμόνως ἀναγινώσκοντα ὅτι Θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἱετέροις.

### 31. OF THE HEBREW PROPHETS.

Aubé considers this whole section of the Apology as more or less irrelevant. 'Autre chose est l'apologie, autre chose est la propagande.' 'La question de l'origine divine du Christianisme n'était pas en jeu, et Saint Justin pouvait dire du dogme Chrétien en général ce qu'il disait du dogme de la résurrection des corps' (c. 8, 17). See Aubé, Saint Justin, p. 58. But Justin would not have been Justin if he had not been instant out of season as well as in season.

1. ἐν Ἰουδαίῳ: 'Among the Jews.' But the Greeks prefer to designate the country by the inhabitants; hence also 'in Judaea,' as εἰς Πέρσας, 'to Persia.'

3. πρὶν ἤ: C. 4, 13.

4. κατὰ καιρούς: 'In due succession of times,' 'from time to time.'

7. κτώμενοι: 'Procuring.' — περιεῖπον: Seldom of things, as here. But these are 'lively oracles.' — Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς: The Greek says 'King of the Egyptians,' not 'King of Egypt,' a trace of his republicanism. Comp. the old *iure dictio* 'Roi de France,' and the constitutional 'Roi des Français, des Belges.' The king was Ptolemy Philadelphus.

11. Ἡρώδη: The anachronism is so wild that some of Justin's editors have tried to lay the blame on the unfortunate scribe, and various emendations have been proposed to relieve Justin of this blunder. Eleazar was the high-priest to whom Ptolemy applied.

14. Ἐπειδὴ . . . οὐκ ἦν: Ἐπειδὴ is used with the imperfect when the clause overlaps. 'After (he found that) what was written in them was not intelligible.' So *postquam* with imperf. in Latin.

16. τοὺς μεταβαλοῦντας: The article with fut. part. denotes adaptation=*qui* w. subj., E. ad D. 2, 12. The translators were the famous LXX of the Septuagint version, for which see Bible Dictionaries.

17. ἀποστellaί: C. 12, 84.

19. καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντας: 'Although they read.' Γινώσκω the prevalent form since Aristotle.

20. ἐχθροὺς . . . καὶ πολέμιους: Ἐχθρός of the *animus*, whether the enemy be public or private, πόλεμος of the armed foe. They are often combined as here, and in Plutarch, Malign. Herod. 35. Of the hostility of the Jews to the Christians, Justin has much to say in the Dial. c. T. 10. 95. 110. 133. See also below, c. 80, 15 and Ep. ad Diogn. 5, 27.

21. καλέζοντες: C. 3, 4. — ὅπταν δύνωνται: In prose, ἄν with subj. is the rule for all temporal conjunctions, when they deal with the future or with the generic present. The relation of the two clauses is much more accurately expressed by the subjunctive than it could be by the indicative.

22. καὶ γὰρ . . . ἀπάγεσθαι: Cited by Euseb. H. E. 4, 8. Bar-Cochba was rampant against the Christians because they refused to fight against the Romans.—ἐν τῷ νῦν: See c. 29, 19.

23. Βαρχαββας: See Dial. c. T. 1. In this war (132-135), the only war that disturbed the peace of Hadrian's reign, we have a repetition of the familiar image of the *Bellum Judaicum* of Josephus, fanatical rage on the one side, relentless cruelty on the other. The occasion was given by the prohibition of circumcision, the establishment of a Roman colony under the name of Aelia Capitolina on the ruins of Jerusalem, and the erection of a temple to Capitoline Jupiter on the site of Solomon's temple.

The cause may be sought in the oppressiveness of the Roman yoke and the cherished hope of Messiah. The expected Messiah appeared in the person of Bar-Cochba (Son of a Star), and the enthusiasm of the multitude was kept up by his fiery eloquence and his fanatic courage. At first the Romans suffered repeatedly and heavily. But under the conduct of Severus, Hadrian's best officer, who managed the war with the prudence of Vespasian before him, the Jews were shut up in Bethyr, and after a long siege overpowered. Again we encounter the enormous numbers of the first war; 580,000 are said to have fallen by the sword; the number of those who perished by famine, pestilence, and fire is incalculable. The Roman loss was so serious that in Hadrian's despatch to the Senate the usual formula, *Ego exercitusque calemus*, was omitted. The Jews were forbidden to set foot in the new colony, to which prohibition Tertullian alludes when he says (Apol. 21. p. 65 D. S.): *quibus nec advenarum jure terram patriam saltem restigio salutare conceditur*. The Christians, however, whom the Jews had treated with as much enmity as they had treated the Romans, were admitted. (After Peter, Gesch. Roms, 3, 2, 181-3.)

25. *ἐν* μὴ ἀποκρίναι: *Εἰ* w. opt. after a past tense representing *ἰάν* with subj. after a principal tense. Observe that in Greek oratio obliqua follows the forms of o. recta far more closely than in Latin. Hence, if we have *ἐν* in o. r., it reappears in o. o. The reason why *ἐν* does not reappear when *ἰάν*, *ὄραν*, and the like, with the subj., are transferred, is to be traced to the fact that the simple subj. (without *ἐν*) is the original form.

26. ἀπάγεσθαι: Sc. *τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ*, a standing expression, as in Lat. *ducere*.

27. προκηρυσσόμενον: C. 3, 3. — παραγινόμενον: This and the other participles depend on *προκηρ.* as a verb of showing. Comp. c. 33, 1.

28. διὰ παρθένου: C. 22, 15.

32. οὐρανοῖς: C. 10, 32.

33. εἰς πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων: *Εἰς* is not used with persons literally except with the plural, or as here with collectives. Comp. c. 1, 5.

35. ἰθὺν: In the technical sense of 'hethen.'—μᾶλλον: Than the Jews.—πιστεύειν: Change of construction.

*Now Albert - in a letter to the author of the book  
 (see also the book) - has written to the author  
 that he has written to the author of the book  
 21 A 1884, 2 - 2021 (1000) (100)*

36. πρὶν ἤ: C. 4, 13.—*ἔτεσι*: Dative (locative) as measure of difference.—*πεντακισχιλίοις*: It is idle to attempt the distribution of the figures among the prophets. In this place Adam is supposed by some to be meant, by others, Enoch. In c. 42, 8 Justin puts David 1500 B.C.

38. τὰς διαδοχὰς τῶν γενῶν: 'Successive generations.' On the plural, see c. 12, 30.

### 32. CHRIST FORETOLD OF MOSES.

1. Μωϋσῆς: The Coptic form (Otto).—*πρῶτος*: In time.

2. αὐτολεξεί: A late word = *αὐταῖς λίξεσιν*.—*ὅτε . . . αὐτοῦ*: Gen. 49, 10, 11.

3. ἕως ἂν ἴδῃ: Ἔως regularly (but not invariably) with aor. in the sense of 'until.'

4. ὃ ἀπόκειται = *οὗτος ὃ ἄ.*: For *ἄ.* comp. c. 18, 5.—*ἀπόκειται*: Sc. τὸ ἀρχεῖν, ἢ βασιλεία.

5. τὸν πᾶλον αὐτοῦ: The LXX and the N. T. neglect the reflexive of the third person in the possessive (genitive) case. In Hebrew the possession is indicated by a suffix; hence the tendency. The best MSS. have only *αὐτοῦ*.

6. Ὑμέτερον: C. 8, 16.

8. ὅμοιος αὐτῶν: Here *αὐτῶν* = *ipsorum*. So Plato, De Rep. 9, 580 E: *ὀνόματι ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ*.

11. μὴ ἐκλείψειν: See c. 4, 18.

12. τὸ βασιλῆιον = ἡ βασιλεία. Late use (Otto).

25. Πῶλος γάρ τις ὄνου: Matt. 21, 2; Mark 11, 2; Luke 19, 30; John 12, 14.

26. πρὸς ἄμπελον: Nothing of the sort in our Gospels nor in Justin's citation, Dial. c. T. 53.—*ἀγαγεῖν αὐτῷ*: 'Him,' rather than 'to him,' which would be *πρός* with acc.

27. ἀχράντος: Might depend on *ἐπιβάς*, but it is more natural to conceive it as a gen. abs.

28. εἰσελήλυθεν: We should expect *εἰσῆλθεν*.—*ἐνθα*: C. 19, 21.

29. ἱερόν: C. 9, 2.

30. τὸ λεῖπον: Intransitive use, which is found in Plato, and often in later writers, e. g. Luke 18, 22; Tit. 1, 5; 3, 13; Orig. c. Cels. 7, 11. See c. 52, 7.



32. οὐ πάσχειν ἔμELLE: Οὐ the familiar attraction for εἰ. On ἔμELLE, see c. 19, 31.

33. Ἡ . . . στολή οἱ πιστεύοντες . . . εἰσίν: Agreement with the predicate.

36. σπέρμα: See Introd. xxxix. The word in its entirety (πᾶς λόγος) is in the believers (τοῖς πιστεύουσιν). Other men have only a seed or germ (σπέρμα, μέρος). Comp. B 8, 10.

39. Ἡ εἰ πρώτη δύναμις . . . ὁ λόγος ἐστίν: Article in predicate and subject, a convertible proposition.

40. τίνα=ὕντινα: Simple for compound, as often. See c. 13, 46.

41. ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς: 'In what follows in order.' So ἐπὶ.=καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, *et quae sequuntur*.

42. Ὅν τρόπον: C. 4, 22. Refers to ἐκ θείας ἐννάμειος. Justin is parenthetical to a degree.

43. οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπείου σπέρματος: The neg. οὐκ on account of the contrast. Comp. c. 14, 16.

45. Καὶ . . . εἰ: Δί is the connective, καὶ belongs to the following word. The combination is exceptionally frequent in Justin.

47. Ἀνατελεῖ . . . Ὀπιοῦσιν: Num. 24, 17; Isa. 11, 1.10 (mixed).

50. Διὰ γὰρ παρθένου: C. 22, 15.

53. τὸ λόγιον: 'Oracle.' Justin uses λόγια of Our Saviour's utterances, Dial. c. T. 18. Comp. Papias's work: Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις, ap. Euseb. H. E. 3, 39, 1 (p. 102 D. S.).

54. κατὰ γένους διαδοχὴν: C. 31, 38.

### 33. MANNER OF CHRIST'S BIRTH FORETOLD.

1. αὐτολεξαί: C. 32, 2.—διὰ παρθένου: C. 22, 15.—τεχνησόμενος: The participle is sometimes used after verbs of saying, considered as verbs of showing. See below, cc. 35, 26; 51, 35.

3. Ἰσοῦ . . . θεός: (Isa. 7, 14), Matt. 1, 23.—ἡ παρθένος: The article is a Hebraism.—ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει: LXX and N. T.

6. παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις: C. 8, 8.

7. μάλλιν γίνεσθαι: C. 19, 31.

8. ἐν ᾧ ἔταν: Otto *nou* ἵνα. There is no end of hiatus in later Greek.—ἔταν γέννηται: C. 31, 21.—μὴ ἀπιστηθῇ: In classic Greek the retention of the primary or principal tenses after the second-

ary or historical is not uncommon, and is technically called *representatio*, or the assumption of the point of view of the speaker. In Hellenistic writers there is no necessity for this fine distinction; in fact, no ground for it. The optative dies out more and more. In modern Greek it is dead.

9. Ὅπως δὲ μή τινες, μὴ νοήσαντες : So Thirlby for ὅπως εἰ τινες.

11. εἰποῦσιν . . . ἔηλθον εἶναι ἐπὶ γυναῖκας: On the inf., see c. 12, 33; on the phrase, c. 25, 9.

12. **πειρασόμεθα**: So Otto for **πειρασώμεθα**. The fut. in accordance with Justin's usage.

14. Εἰ . . . ἰσχυροποιήσῃ . . . οὐκείη τὴν παρθένος: We should expect  $\alpha\upsilon\eta\nu$ , but the condition may be considered logical. If not,  $\eta\nu = \text{ἐμελλεν ἰσχυροῦναι} = \eta\nu \alpha\upsilon\eta\nu$ .

17. *πεποίηκε*: Perf. unnatural in English. The Greek perfect can be used even when the further end is dated. See B 2, 27. — *ἀποσταλείς*: C. 12, 34.

18. κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ: C. 17, 3.

19. ἀγγελλάτω αὐτήν: The accus. is a late construction (N.T.). The LXX have the dative of the person, e.g., Isa. 61, 1; Jer. 20, 15. — αἰών: Coincident action. — Ἰδοὺ . . . αἰών: Luke 1, 81. 85; Matt. 1, 21.

21. καλίσσεις: Open form only here and there in Attic. Hellenistic writers tend to mechanical uniformity.—αὐτὸς γὰρ σῶσι: Αὐτός where the Greek would more naturally use οὗτος. See c. 50. 6.

29. τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ: C. 32, 5. Λαός is little used in classical prose. — οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες: Comp. Luke 1, 1 and see c. 66, 18.

23. τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτήρος: The gen. on account of ἀπομνημ.  
Otherwise the accus.

**26. γειησόμενον · See above.**

**28. ἡ Μακρότης:** The reference is to c. 82, 11. The kingdom is reserved for the first-born (Otto).

**81. Τὸ δὲ Ἰησοῦς :** Comp. B 6, 18.

35. Ὅτι . . . φήσεται: φημί is seldom used with ὅτι in the best period; at every turn in later Greek.

36. **εοφοροῦνται**: A late word.—**εἰ μή**: C. 10, 22.

**87. υπολαμβάνω: C. 11. 2.**

## 34. PLACE OF CHRIST'S BIRTH FORETOLD.

3. Καὶ σὺ . . . τὸν λαόν μου: (Micah 5, 2), Matt. 2, 6.

5. ἔξελύσεται=ἔξεισι.

9. Κυρηνίου: Κυρήνιος is the Hellenized form of Quirin(i)us. For the endless controversies on the subject, see Bible Dictionaries or references in Farrar's Life of Christ, 1, 7.

## 35. OTHER PROPHECIES THAT HAVE COME TO PASS.

2. ἄχρις ἀνδρωθῆ: As there is no reference in the prophecies to Christ's being hidden until he reached man's estate, but all of them bear on his crucifixion, Grabe suspects a *lacuna*. Maran wishes to include man's estate, which the aor. will not suffer. Perhaps the situation may be relieved by reading ἄχρις ἀν σταυρωθῆ — not so violent an emendation as it might seem. The compendia for στρ (=σταυρ) and ἔρ might easily be mistaken for each other. But comp. Dial. c. T. 103. As to ἄχρις ἀνδρωθῆ it may be noted that ἀν is often omitted even in prose with temporal particles of limit ('until'). On the subj. for opt., see c. 33. 8.—ἔπερ καὶ γέγονεν: Καὶ 'actually.'

3. εἰς τοῦτο: 'With reference to this.'

4. Παιδίον . . . ὤμων: Isa. 9, 6.

7. προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου: C. 22, 13.

9. Ἐγὼ . . . οὐ καλῇ: Isa. 65, 2.

11. Αἰτοῦσί με . . . κρίσιν: Isa. 58, 2, cited as if in the same passage. Double accusative (inner and outer object).

13. Αὐτοὶ . . . ἱματισμόν μου: Psa. 21, 16. 18.

18. φασκόντων μὴ εἶναι: C. 4, 18.

19. διασύροντες αὐτόν: Δ. has a familiar tone, used in the orators and often in late writers. See the clever tract of the Christian Lucian, Hermeias: Διασυρμὸς τῶν ἔξω φιλοσόφων. We do not gain much by Clem. Alex. Paed. 1, 9, 81: διάσυρσις ἵστι ψόγος διασυρτικός.

20. Κρίνον ἡμῖν: Not in our canonical Gospels. The reference is to Isa. l. c.: αἰτοῦσί με νῦν κρίσιν.

21. ἐξήγησις . . . σταυρώσαντες . . . αὐτόν: Comp. John 20, 25: Matt. 27, 35.

23. ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου . . . ἔκτων: On ἐπὶ see c. 13. 15. On the (spurious) Acts of Pilate. see Euseb. H. E. 1. 9, 3.

26. Καὶ ὅτι = καὶ ἵνα μάθῃτε ὅτι. — καθισθησόμενος: Add to Veitch, who cites only Aeschin. 3, 167. On the participle, see c. 33, 1. So Dial. c. T. 49.

27. ἐλευσόμενος = εἰσίων. — προσεφίευντο: The MSS. have προσφίευντο.

28. Σοφονίου: Zephaniah. A lapse on the part of Justin.

29. Χαίρε . . . ὑποζυγίου: Zechar. 9, 9; Matt. 21, 5.

32. υἱόν: Not of animals in classic Greek.

### 36. PROPHETS REPRESENT DIFFERENT PERSONS.

1. ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου: Seems to be a later phrase. See Dial. c. T. 25. 37. 42; Orig. c. Cels. 8, 1: ἐκ προσώπου, Constt. Apostt. 5, 20.

2. μὴ . . . νομίσητε: C. 15, 48.

10. ἰδεῖν ἔστιν: ἔστιν so called for ἔξεστιν, c. 12, 40.

11. μὴ νοήσαντες: C. 5, 9.

13. οὕτως: So Thirlby for οἷτε.

15. ἰστανρώσθαι: Inf. after verb of showing. See c. 5, 10.— μισοῦσιν: C. 31, 15.

### 37. THE FATHER SPEAKS.

3. οὗτοι εἰ λόγοι: The pronoun as regularly in classic Greek. See note on c. 47, 4.— Ἐγὼ . . . κύριον: Isa. 1, 3. 4.

8. ὅταν λέγῃ: As the present is not generic, ὅτε λέγει would be correct, but the habit of using ἄν and the subj. with the temporal conjunctions is too strong for the Hellenist. So ἰάν w. subj. is found where we should expect εἰ w. indicative. — ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς = ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου τοῦ πατρὸς. In his last ed. Otto inserts τοῦ προσώπου whenever ἀπὸ is thus used.

9. Ποιόν μοι . . . τῶν ποδῶν μοι: Isa. 66, 1.

11. Τὰς νοσηρίας . . . χειρῶν ἡμῶν . . . Ἄλλα . . . σου: Isa. 1, 11-15; 58, 6. 7.

13. ἐφθῆναι = φανῆναι: Hence the construction. Comp. c. 27, 18 and c. 50, 14.

### 38. CHRIST SPEAKS.

2. φθέγγεται: φθίγγεσθαι and φωνεῖν are both 'utter,' but φθίγγεσθαι 'to reach the ear,' φωνεῖν 'to reach the mind.' See commentators on Oul. 10, 229.— Ἐγὼ . . . καλῇ: Isa. 65, 2.

cf. Phil. Nic. 1, 3: ὅταν λέγῃ = ὅτε λέγει.

5. Τὸν . . . δικαιοῦσας με: Isa. 50, 6-8.

8. ἀνερπάσῃν: A favorite word in the LXX.

9. οὐ μὴ αἰσχυνῶ: This emphatic form of the negative (οὐ μὴ) is far more common in the LXX and in the N. T. than it is in classic Greek. The tendency to exaggeration in the use of an adopted language is natural. For Hebrew analogies, see Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, S. 320, a. The fact is that οὐ μὴ with the aor. subj. (very seldom with any other tense) is used as a strong negation of the future. The common explanation is, that a verb or phrase of fear or apprehension is to be supplied. If this be true, the consciousness of it must have been utterly lost, as the expression is often used where the notion of fear or apprehension would be unnatural to the last degree. The practical limitation to the aorist seems to indicate that the expression was originally imperative, (comp. the use of לֹא in Hebrew), οὐ being a free negative. 'Nay, let me not be ashamed.' Afterwards the imperative notion became fainter. It might seem easier to make οὐ belong to αἰσχυνῶ, thus combining objective and subjective negatives, but it must be remembered that οὐ with the subjunctive had died out (except in μὴ οὐ) before this construction came in.

10. ὅταν λέγῃ=ὅτε λέγει: Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 21, 90: ὅταν . . . δέῃρηται, Clem. Alex. Paed. 1, 5, 15: ὅταν φῇ (bis). 1, 7, 56: ὅταν λέγῃ.

11. Αὐτοὶ . . . χεῖρας. Ἐγὼ . . . μου: Ps. 21, 16, 19; 3, 5. On αὐτοί, see c. 33, 21.

14. Ἐλάλησαν . . . ἑαυτὸν: Ps. 21, 7 sq. λαλεῖν in classic Greek a familiar word, used seriously in later times.—ἐν χειρὶ: When the instrument is regarded as the seat of the power as well, ἐν may be used in classic Gr., but the very large use of it in the LXX is due to the attraction of the Hebrew.

15. Ἄτινα: The compound is used here with no special force. Notice 'which' in English, *lequel* in Fr., *welche* in mod. Gr.

16. Σταυρωθέντος . . . ἑαυτὸν: Matt. 27, 30-43.—ὡς: Is due to Hagen. Otto now reads Ἄτινα . . . ὅτι, suggested by Thirlby's Ἄ . . . ὅτι.

### 39. THE SPIRIT ITSELF SPEAKS.

1. λαλῇ: C. 38, 14.

2. Ἐκ γὰρ Σιών . . . πολεμεῖν: Isa. 2, 3, 4.

3. ἐξαλείνεται=ἔξεισι.

4. λαόν: C. 33, 22.

6. οὐ μὴ λήφονται=οὐ μὴ λάβωσι. Οὐ μὴ w. fut. ind. is most frequently used in the second person as a strong imperative. Here it is employed as a strong prediction. The combination is commonly explained as an interrogative, and οὐ is made to negative the μὴ. This theory of Elmsley's would require οὐ—οὐ, as in Xen. Hell. 5, 2, 23. A more simple explanation regards οὐ and μὴ as both belonging to the future (Goodwin). But satisfactory examples of the fut. ind. with μὴ in an imperative sense are rare. Perhaps it may be best to consider οὐ as 'Nay!' (see note on c. 38, 9), and μὴ as an interrogative expecting a negative answer.

7. μάθωσιν . . . παλαμῖν: When verbs of perception become verbs of creation (verbs of will and power), they take the inf. Tr. 'to,' 'how to.' So διδάσκειν w. inf. c. 50, 34.

8. ὅτι . . . πεισθῆναι: C. 8, 8.

9. δεκάδύο=δωδεκά: LXX, N. T. Harnack (Ep. Barnab. 9, 3) explains the absence of Paul on the ground of the typical character of the number 12. Hardly necessary.

10. καὶ οὗτοι: *Tique*, 'and that.'—ἰδιώται: 'Unprofessional men,' explained by λαλεῖν μὴ ἐννάμενοι, 'no rhetoricians.' On μὴ see c. 5, 4. Otto cites Orig. c. Cels. 8, 47: οὐ πιθανὸν οὔτε τοὺς 'Ιησοῦ ἀποστόλους, ἀνδρας ἀγραμμάτους καὶ ἰδιώτας, ἄλλω τινὶ τεταρρηκίῃναι πρὸς τὸ καταγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸν Χριστιανισμόν ἢ τῇ ἐοξείῃ αὐτοῖς ἐννάμει.

12. διδάξαι: Free use of infinitive=διδάσκοντες, c. 15, 24.

13. ἀλληλοφόνται: See c. 14, 15. A Justinian word.—παλαμῶμεν τοὺς ἐχθρούς: The acc. construction is chiefly later.

14. ψεύδεσθαι: C. 8, 3.

15. ἡδέως: With ἀποζηήσκομεν.

16. Δυνατὸν . . . ἦν: C. 12, 40.

17. 'Ἢ γλώσσ' . . . ἀνόμοτος: Eur. Hippol. 607. The editions have *ὁμώμοχ'*, ἢ. Cicero's version (Off. 3, 29, 108) runs: *Iuravi lingua, mentem iniuratum gero*. One of the most notorious and best-abused verses in Greek scenic poetry. Comp. Ar. Ran. 102 al.

18. Γελοῖον ἦν δῆ: 'Ἢ εἴη, which some editors read for ἡεῖη, is ungrammatical. The subj. can not be used to assert. 'Ἢν, 'it were,' as above. So also Otto. at last.

19. συντιθεμένους καὶ καταλεγόμενους: 'Who take the military oath (*sacramentum*) and are enrolled.' The editors quote Tertull. De Coron. 11: *Credimusne humanum sacramentum divino superduci licere et in alium dominum respondere post Christum et eierare patrem ac matrem et omnem proximum, quos et lex honorari et post deum diligere praecepit?* Suet. Calig. 15: *De sororibus auctor fuit ut omnibus sacramentis adiceretur: Neque me liberosque meos cariores habebam quam Gaium et sorores.*

21. μηδὲν ἄφθαρτον: 'Although.' Μηδὲν is normal, because it is in an infinitive sentence.

23. ἐρῶντας: 'Enamored.' Comp. c. 1, 4.

4/

## 40. ADVENT OF CHRIST FORETOLD.

1. περὶ τῶν κηρυξάντων: Paul had set the example of taking these words in a mystic sense, as Grabe observes. Comp. Rom. 10, 18.

5. Ἡμέρα . . . ἔδόν: Ps. 19, 2 foll.

10. ἀγαλλιάσεται: A favorite word in the LXX (=גִּיגַס), not used in classic Greek. See the definition of ἀγαλλιάσις in Clem. Alex. Strom. 6, 12, 99.

11. γίγας: Christ. See c. 54, 41 and D. c. T. 69. Comp. Ambrose: *Procedit e thalamo suo, | pudoris aula regia, geminae gigas substantiae, | alacris ut currat tiam*, and Latin Hymns, p. 227, note.—ὡς γίγας: Otto reads against the MSS., ἰσχυρὸς ὡς γ., and comp. c. 54, 41.

13. ἔχον . . . λογιόμεθα: The inf. ἔχειν is not necessary. See c. 8, 1.—ἐχον . . . οἰκείως: 'Appropriate.' Ἐχειν w. adverb originally of condition, afterwards of character also.

18. συνέλυσιν: On this group, see cc. 26, 1: 43, 16.

19. ἐκ παντὸς γένους: See c. 1, 5.

21. οἱ δαίμονες: Supposed to be indicated in οἱ ἄρχοντες below.

22. ὅσον: C. 4, 8.—ἐπ' αὐτοῖς: C. 8, 1.

24. μετάνοιαν: C. 28, 9.—πρὶν ἔλθειν: C. 4, 13.

25. Ἐίρηνηται: Sc. οἱ λόγοι.—οὕτως: See note on οἷτε, c. 47, 4.—Μακάριος . . . αὐτόν: Ps. 1 and 2.

28. ἀλλ' ἢ: The restrictive ἀλλ' ἢ (which is used everywhere in prose) occurs after negative clauses or equivalents. Madvig

and others write  $\alpha\lambda\lambda' \eta = \alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron \eta$ . This may have been the origin of the turn, but the consciousness of it is lost, as is shown by Plato, *Phaedo*, 81 B:  $\mu\eta\epsilon\iota\nu \alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron \alpha\lambda\lambda' \eta$ . Add l. c. 83 A; *Apol.* 33 B; *Dem.* [23, 68]; and 37, 53. For later writers, see 2 *Cor.* 1, 13; *Theoph. ad Autolyc.* 2, 18, 24; *Clem. Alex. Strom.* 1, 19, 96. ' $\alpha\lambda\lambda' \eta$ ' occurs frequently in the LXX; Winer says, 'hin und wieder.'

81.  $\tau\omicron\nu\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ : C. 32, 22.

83.  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\acute{\iota}$ : The consciousness of condition is lost. 'As it were.'

87.  $\tau\iota\alpha$   $\tau\iota$ : The ellipsis  $\gamma\iota\nu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  is commonly supplied. As the consciousness of ellipsis faded out,  $\iota\upsilon\alpha\tau\iota$  was written as one word. Comp.  $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\omicron\tau\iota$ ,  $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\varsigma$ , c. 29, 8. In the Vulgate we find  $\tau\iota\alpha$   $\tau\iota$  sometimes literally translated by *ut quid*, *Ps.* 10, 1; 84, 1. See Latin Hymns, p. 119: *Ut quid, homo, extolleris?*— $\epsilon\phi\acute{\rho}\nu\alpha\zeta\alpha\nu$ : The active is confined to the LXX.

88.  $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}$ : 'Strange things.' The ordinary reading is  $\kappa\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}$ , but  $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}$  occurs in eight MSS. of the LXX.

43.  $\epsilon\kappa\mu\upsilon\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha\iota$ : A drastic expression, which evidently belongs to popular speech. The simple  $\mu\upsilon\kappa\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  is repeatedly used in the LXX. The compound  $\epsilon\kappa\mu.$  occurs also 2 *K.* 19, 21; *Ps.* 34, 19. *Clem. Rom. Ep. ad Cor.* 1, 39:  $\chi\lambda\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu \eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \mu\upsilon\kappa\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ .— $\epsilon\nu \delta\rho\gamma\eta$  . . .  $\kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\nu \tau\eta \theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omega}$ : *Greg. Naz.* gives the familiar distinction:  $\Theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu \acute{\alpha}\xi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \zeta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma \phi\rho\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , |  $\delta\rho\gamma\eta \delta\epsilon \Theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \epsilon\mu\acute{\mu}\epsilon\nu\omega\nu$ . [*Plato*] *Deff.* 415 E:  $\Theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \delta\rho\mu\acute{\eta} \beta\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\nu \lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\delta\rho\gamma\eta \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \Theta\upsilon\mu\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\omicron \tau\iota\mu\omega\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ .

47.  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \mu\epsilon$ : The only common combination of a monosyllabic preposition with the enclitic personal pronoun.

48.  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ : See c. 15, 33.

50.  $\epsilon\nu \rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\psi$ :  $\epsilon\nu$  is a Hebraism. Comp. c. 88, 14.

51.  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ : The sign of the vocative.  $\acute{\omega}$ , is not omitted in classical Greek prose except under especial pressure.— $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\tau\epsilon$ : In this sense LXX, N. T., *Patres*. It is an intensification of the Greek  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$  as defined in [*Plat.*] *Deff.* 416:  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha \acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma \theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\eta} \psi\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma$ .

#### 41. CRUCIFIXION FORETOLD.

4.  $\acute{\alpha}\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$  . . .  $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu$ : 1 *Chron.* 16, 23, 25–31; *Ps.* 96, 1, 2, 4–10.

8.  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ : C. 13, 5.



13. μή σαλευθήτω: Μή with the aor. imper. of the third person is much more common than the phraseology of some grammars would lead one to suppose. Notice the mass of aorists.

14. ὁ κύριος . . . ξύλον: Justin charged the Jews with erasing this verse, Dial. c. T. 73. It does not appear either in the LXX or in the Hebrew. Comp. Ep. Barnab. 8: ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ, and Fulgentius, in Vexilla Regis prodeunt (L. H. p. 66): *Regnabit a ligno Deus*.

#### 42. PAST TENSE FOR FUTURE.

1. τὰ μάλλοντα γίνεσθαι: C. 19, 31.
2. ὡς ἤδη γινόμενα: C. 4, 18.
3. ἀπολογίαν: 'That the circumstances may afford no excuse' for misinterpreting them (Trollope).
5. προλέγει: The LXX often use an aorist where we translate the Hebrew by a future. The Hebrew has no future, no preterite in the strict sense, only a *status actionis*, a tense of duration, a tense of attainment.
6. ἐνατενίσατε: Ἀτενίζω is used only in late prose, and there very often. Notice the tendency to exaggeration.—τῷ νοτ: Hellenistic for νοῦ.
7. χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις: Of course a mistake. It is unnecessary to try to save Justin. See note on c. 31, 11. On the dative, see c. 27, 18.
8. πρὶν ἢ: C. 4, 13.
9. καί=καίτοι: Which Ashton desiderates.
11. καθ' ἡμᾶς: 'Our.'
13. ἐπὶ τοῖς . . . κηρυχθεῖσιν: Familiar use of ἐπὶ w. dat. as the 'ground of emotion.'

#### 43. DOCTRINE OF HUMAN RESPONSIBILITY.

1. προελεγμένων: More commonly, προειρημένων.
2. καθ' εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκην: Ἡ εἰμαρμένη commonly without a substantive; μοῖρα is usually supplied by the grammarians, ἡμέρα would also be natural. At any rate, the ellipsis with the feminine gender is often vague. Tatian (c. 8) is very severe on the εἰμαρμένη, for which see Diog. Laert. 7, 149.
3. ἐκ τοῦ προεπεῖν προεγνωσμένα: 'Because of the prediction

of things foreknown.' Observe that *προεγνωσμένα* means both 'foreknown' and 'foreordained.'

4. *διαλύμεν*: Rhetorical and lively use of the present for the future, perhaps too rhetorical and lively for Justin, who regularly uses the fut., which Otto has restored in his last ed. Comp. cc. 23, 16; 30, 5; 42, 4; 52, 16; 53, 22; 54, 16; 61, 2. For the word, see B 5, 4: *καὶ τοῦτο διαλύσω*, Athenag. Suppl. 11, 47: *τῶν τοὺς συλλογισμοὺς ἀναλύνοντων καὶ τὰς ἀμφιβολίας διαλύνοντων*. — *τὰς τιμωρίας καὶ τὰς κολάσεις*: See c. 3, 4.

6. *ἐκάστων*: Thirlby's *ἐκάστω* would be more elegant. Notice the position, c. 44, 35: *κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων ἕκαστον ἀμείψομαι κτλ.*—*ἀποδίδοσθαι* . . . *μαθόντες*—*ὅτι ἀποδίδονται μ.*

7. *καὶ ἀληθὲς ἀποφαινόμεθα*: 'Having learned, we also maintain that it is true.'

8. *οὐδὲ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔστιν ἔλως*: I have restored the normal *οὐδεῖ* for the MSS. *οὔτε*. A solitary *οὔτε* can be due only to anacoluthon (want of sequence), which were unnatural here. On *ἐφ' ἡμῖν*, see c. 8, 1; explained by *προαίρεσις* *ἐλευθέρα* below. With *ἔλως* comp. *μηδὲλως*, A 29, 10.

9. *τόνδε τινὰ* . . . *καὶ τόνδε*: Instead of *τὸν μὲν* . . . *τὸν δέ*: *τινὰ* serves to generalize. So Origen c. Cels. 1, 25: *τάδε τινὰ ἢ τάδε*; 2, 18: *τόνδε μὲν* . . . *τόνδε δέ*; 6, 58: *τάδε μὲν* . . . *τάδε δέ*. Comp. also B 7, 80.

10. *οὗτ' ἐκαῖνος*: So for the MS. *οὐδ'*, as above.

11. *προαίρεσις*: *Προαίρεσις* is the antithesis of *ἀνάγκη*, Isocr. 1, 10.

14. *κατορθοὶ καὶ σφάλλονται*: Familiar opposites. Comp. Thuc. 2, 60: *πάλιν ὀρθουμένην* . . . *σφαλλομένην*. — *τὴν μετέλευσιν ποιούμενον*: The traditional transl., *in contraria transire*, is incorrect. 'Going after,' 'pursuing.' See c. 1, 9. M. not in Passow; falsely transl. in Sophocles's Lex., 'persecution.' The group is late. See c. 26, 1.

16. *ἢ φαῦλον ἢ σπουδαῖον*: C. 2, 4.

18. *οὐδ' οἱ μὲν ἦσαν*: *Ἄν* may be supplied from the foregoing clause, or it may have dropped out after *ἦσαν*, a common accident.

19. *φαῦλων*: Otto now reads *ἀγαθῶν καὶ φαῦλων*, which seems to be required by the context.

20. πράττουσαν ἂν ἀποφαινόμεθα: The MSS. have ἀποφαινόμεθα. I have restored, with Sylburg, the optative to match δοῦναι below, and inserted ἂν. See note on l. 18. The unreal conditional sometimes runs into the ideal, c. 19, 2.—τὸ προσηρμένον: C. 28.

21. οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀρετή: Comp. Origen c. Cels. 4, 3: ἀρετῆς μὴ εἶναι ἀνίλως τὸ ἐκούσιον, ἀνείλες αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν.

22. ἥπερ: C. 12, 38.—ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος: C. 8, 4.

23. εἰμαρμένῃν . . . ταύτην: Ταύτην attracted from τοῦτο. See cc. 3, 8; 13, 5. The only inevitable fate is the due reward of those who choose the good and those who choose the evil.

24. τοῖς ὁμοίως: Sc. ἐκλεγμένοις. Sylb. and Ashton improve the position by reading ὁμοίως τοῖς.

25. οἷον: 'As for instance.'—μηδὲν δυνάμενα: C. 9, 4. Below, οὐ δυνάμενος.

26. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν . . . οὐδ' . . . ἐτύγγανεν: On the omission of ἂν, see c. 12, 40.

27. τοῦτο γινόμενος: Sc. ἀγαθός.

28. ἕτερον παρ' ὃ: Comp. c. 19, 19.

#### 44. THIS DOCTRINE THE DOCTRINE OF THE PROPHETS.

2. τῇ πρώτῃ πλασθέντι ἀνθρώπῳ: Adam is often called the 'protoplast.' Ambrose (L. H. p. 24): *Aperiens paradisiū | quem protoplastus clauserat.*

4. Ἰδοὺ . . . ἀγαθόν: Deut. 30, 15, 19 (slightly altered). These are not the words of God to Adam, but the language of Moses to the Israelites. But Justin explains with these words the command given to Adam, Gen. 2, 16, 17 (Ashton). Near enough for Justin.

6. ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός: C. 37, 8. Otto reads ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου τ. π.

7. Δούσασθε . . . ἐλάλησε ταῦτα: Isa. 1, 16 foll.

8. μάθετε καλὸν ποιεῖν: C. 39, 7.

16. οὐ λέγει: 'Does not mean.'

20. ἀπαλλασσούσης: 'Leaving off,' 'that leaves off' (intrans.).

22. Αἰτία . . . ἀναίτιος: Plato, De Republ. 10, 617 E: quoted at every turn. See Lucian, Merc. Cond. s. f.; Max. Tyr. 41, 5; Clem. Alex. Paedag. 1, 8, 69; Strom. 5, 14, 187; Arnob. 2, 64.

24. καὶ πάντων: *Ad eo omnibus.*

27. τὰς ἀφορμὰς: 'Ἀφορμή, 'the start,' often 'the capital.' A common notion that the Greek poets and philosophers traded on borrowed capital. See c. 59.

29. σπέρματα ἀληθείας: On the doctrine of the λόγος σπειρματικός, see the Introd. xxxvii., and comp. B 13, 10. — ἐλέγχονται . . . μὴ ἀκριβῶς νοήσαντες: On the participle, see c. 3, 3. On the negative, c. 9, 4.

30. αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς: The nom. or acc. of the intensive (αὐτός) is often used with the reflexive when there is special stress on the strangeness of the action.

31. ὃ φάμεν: Like the Latin *quod dicimus* of coincident action. 'In that we say (in saying), we do not mean.' See Xen. Oec. 15, 6; An. 5, 5, 20, 22; 6, 1, 29; Hier. 6, 12, and for this age, Clem. Rom. 2 Cor. 2, 2, 1. Davis's *ὅτε* is natural, but not necessary.

35. παρ' αὐτῶν κτί.: So the MSS. But I am unable to make any satisfactory sense out of the passage, nor are the emendations proposed convincing. By reading with Maran αὐτῷ, transposing μᾶλλοντα, and beginning the apodosis with καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ, the difficulty would be relieved. Thus: ἐδόξατο ὄντος παρ' αὐτῷ κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων ἕκαστον ἀμείβεσθαι (on the fut., see c. 2, 17) τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πραττομένων μᾶλλοντα ἀπαντήσεσθαι . . . προλέγει. 'And as it is decreed with Him (in His high chancery) that He shall requite each man according to the desert of his actions, [so] He also foretells what is going to befall [them] from Him according to the desert of that which is done.' The system of rewards and punishments is fixed; the rewards and punishments themselves are foretold, but the subjects are determined by men's own behavior. Otto reads παρ' αὐτόν, with which he connects μᾶλλοντα.

38. εἰς ἐπίστασιν: I have ventured to substitute this familiar word for ἐπίρασιν, which is supposed to mean here ἐπίρασιν νοῦ, *animi attentionem*. Polybius uses ἐπίστασις, 'pause,' 'consideration,' 'attention,' in such combinations as ἐπίστασις καὶ θεωρία (6, 3, 4); ἀξιος ἐπιστάσεως καὶ ζήλου (11, 2, 4); εἰναι τινα εἰς ἐπίστασιν (9, 22, 7; 10, 40, 4). Aristotle, Met. 13, 2, 13: ἔχει ἐπίστασιν, 'gives us pause,' 'excites attention.' So Justin himself, Dial. c. T. 28: ἀξιον ἐπιστάσεως. This correction has been anticipated by Otto (1876).

On transpositions see Barham - appendix 15 Phil. Lib.  
p. 122 sup.

39. μᾶλλον ἰστίην: C. 3, 4. Comp. Plat. Legg. 6, 766 C.

41. θάνατος ὤρισθη κατὰ τῶν . . . ἀναγ.: Comp. c. 45, 17. Otto cites the law in Iul. Paull. Sententt. receptt. lib. 5, tit. 21, n. 3: *Qui de salute principis vel de summa rei publicae mathematicos, hariolos, haruspices, taticinatores consulit cum eo qui responderit capite punitur . . . Non tantum divinatione quis, sed ipsa scientia eiusque libris melius fecerit abstinere.*—Υστάσπου: C. 20, 1.

42. Συβούλλης: C. 20, 1.

43. διὰ τοῦ φόβου: Contrast διὰ τὸν φόβον, c. 29, 14.—ἐντυγχάνοντας: C. 14, 2.

44. αὐτοῖς: *Ipsis*.

45. κατέχουσιν: On the sequence, see c. 33, 8.

47. καὶ ὑμῖν: See Athenag. Suppl. 9, 35.

48. εὐάρεστα: The contents, τὰ ἐνόντα.—φανήσεσθαι: On the inf., see c. 5, 11.—Κάν: C. 2, 8.

49. κερδήσαντες ἰσόμεθα: This periphrastic form, fut. with aor. part., is not common in Attic. The notion of attainment is more clearly brought out than it can be by the fut. ind., which answers for continuance and attainment both. Hence, κατακαυόντες is perhaps better than κατακεκονότες in the disputed passage, Xen. An. 7, 6, 36, where coincident action would be more elegant. No such refinement, however, is to be admitted for a Hellenistic writer. Comp. c. 3, 4.

#### 45. CHRIST'S THRONING IN HEAVEN FORETOLD.

1. ἀνάγειν: So Thirlby. Comp. Dial. c. T. 32: καὶ τὸν κύριον πάντων πατέρα ἀνάγοντα αὐτόν. The MSS. have ἀγαγεῖν. The aor. is rarely combined with μέλλω, c. 19, 31. Otto now returns to ἀγαγεῖν, as εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν gives the upward motion, but comp. c. 42, 13: ἀνελθὼν εἰς οὐρανόν.

3. κατέχειν: 'Keep him' there. Comp. 2 Thess. 2, 6. 7.—ὥς ἂν πατάξῃ: The subj. after the historical tense ἐμελλε is all the more natural, as the time is not yet. See c. 33, 8. On the tense c. 32, 3.

6. μηδέπω: Where we should expect in classic Greek οὐδέπω.—ἐκπύρωσιν: So Billius for the ἐπικύρωσιν, 'confirmation,' 'consummation,' of the MSS.; an almost certain emendation. See cc. 20, 12; 57, 1; 60, 23; B 7, 12.

8. Εἶπεν . . . ἐγέννησά σε: Ps. 109, 1-3.

17. καί, καίτερ: Kai inserted at Thirlby's suggestion. A more elegant writer than Justin would have omitted the καίτερ, and trusted to the context for the adversative sense. See c. 7, 7.—κατὰ τῶν διδασκόντων: Comp. c. 44, 41.

19. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς . . . ἐντεύξεσθε: Kai with ὑμεῖς. Comp. c. 2, 10. On the fut. ind., see c. 8, 17.

20. τοῖσδε τοῖς λόγοις: See c. 47, 4.—οὐ πλὴν τι: Litotes.

21. ὡς προέφημεν: C. 2, 17.

#### 46. THE WORD IN THE WORLD BEFORE CHRIST IS CHRIST.

1. ἀλογισταίνοντες: A Justinian word. — ἀποτροπήν: 'Perversion.' Thirlby proposes ἀνατροπήν, 'refutation.'

2. πρὸ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα: According to many, round numbers, in which Justin deals too largely. Some have seen in this passage the exact date of the Apology, 147 A.D., Rome's ninth centennial, and the year of the promotion of M. Aurelius to be the colleague of Antoninus Pius. The combination πρὸ w. gen. for 'ago,' 'since,' is post-classic.

8. γεγενῆσθαι: Γ. depends on λέγειν, λέγειν on εἶπωσι, for which see c. 12, 33.—ἐπὶ Κυρηναίου: C. 13, 15.

4. ὕστερον χρόνις: 'Long afterward,' for χρόνις ὕστερον (Otto).

6. ὡς ἀνευθύνων ὄντων κτέ.: As if we said that all men who lived before his time were irresponsible. See c. 4, 18.

7. φθάσαντες . . . λυσόμεθα: See note on c. 12, 33. Λυσόμεθα for λυσώμεθα with Otto. See c. 43, 4 (note).

8. εἶναι ἐδιδάχθημεν: Εἶναι instead of ᾖ and finite verb. See c. 12, 7.—προεμνήσαμεν . . . ὄντα: Μηνύω as a verb of showing often takes the participle.

10. οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες: Justin's liberality in this whole passage has given great offence to some, and has been elaborately explained away by others.—κάν=κεῖ.

11. εἶον: C. 43, 27.—Σωκράτης: Honorably mentioned above.—Ἡράκλειτος: Justin's evident admiration for Heraclitus is in striking contrast to the flippancies of the time. Tatian does not share his master's respect for the great thinker. See Or. ad Gr. 3.

12. ἐν βαρβάροις: C. 5, 16.

13. 'Ανανίας καὶ 'Αζαρίας καὶ Μισαήλ: More familiar as Shadrach, Abednego, and Meshach, Dan. 1, 7 (the three holy children). Comp. Clem. Rom. 1 Ep. ad Cor. 1, 45.

14. καταλέγειν: 'To go through the whole list.'—μακρόν: 'Tedious.'

15. εἶναι: Below, c. 47, 15, ἐπίσταμαι takes ὅτι. See c. 5, 10.—παραιτούμεθα: C. 2, 3.—προγενόμενοι: Before Christ.—Ὡστε . . . ἦσαν: C. 5, 8.

18. βιούντες: See c. 16, 45.—Χριστιανοὶ . . . ὑπάρχουσιν: Maran has toiled over this unguarded expression of Justin.

19. Δι' ἣν δ' αἰτίαν διὰ δυνάμεις: C. 23, 11.

22. σταυρωθεὶς ἀποθανών: Read with Otto (1876) στ. καὶ ἀποθανών. Comp. c. 42, 12.—ἀνελήλυθεν: Notice the change of tense. The perfect of the resulting condition.

23. τοσούτων: Here, 'all.'

26. χωρήσωμεν: So with Otto for χωρήσωμεν, the imperative subjunctive.

#### 47. DESOLATION OF JUDEA PREDICTED.

3. ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου: C. 36, 1.

4. λαῶν: C. 33, 22.

5. οἷδε: In classic usage οὗτος ordinarily refers to what goes before, ὅδε to what follows. Justin uses οὗτος indifferently. But notice even for the classic time that this pair of contrasts is often crossed by another. Οὗτος is the pronoun of the second person, ὅδε of the first; and again, first and second persons shift according to the point of view, as ἡδε ἡ χεὶρ, 'this hand of mine,' αὕτη ἡ χεὶρ, 'this hand which I offer you.' This extreme mobility was supplemented by gesture. Ὅδε gives dramatic coloring to style. Notice the frequent use of it in the vivid narrative of Herodotus.—Ἐγενήθη . . . σφόδρα: Isa. 64, 10–12.

9. ὅτι ἡρήμωτο: No change is necessary. The pluperfect from the time of the prophecy. Ὅτι, see c. 8, 7.

10. γινήσεσθαι: So I write for γεγενῆσθαι. Maran defends the perfect because a past tense was used in the prophecy. Comp. c. 42.

12. περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπιτραπήσεσθαι: 'Concerning (the statement that) no one shall be permitted,' etc. The fut. inf. with the ar-

title is always a substantivized oratio obliqua in classic Greek.

Comp. c. 10, 14.—μηδένα αὐτῶν: Sc. τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

13. Ἡ γῆ . . . αὐτῇ: Isa. 1, 7; Jer. 50, 3 (comp. 2, 15).

14. φάγονται: For ἔδονται, the classic fut. of ἔσθιω.

15. Ὅτι δὲ φυλάσσεται κτί.: See Tertull. Apol. c. 21; Euseb. H. E. 4, 6 (Otto).

16. ὅπως μηδαίς . . . γήνηται: C. 11, 7. On the aor. c. 4, 3.—θάνατος . . . ὤρισται: Cc. 44, 17; 45, 17.

#### 48. PREDICTIONS OF CHRIST'S WORK AND DEATH.

2. ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστός: A favorite expression arising from the antagonism to the Jewish ideal of the Messiah. So often in the Dial. with Trypho.

3. τῶν λελεγμένων: C. 43, 1.

4. Τῇ παρουσίᾳ . . . περιπατήσουσιν: Isa. 85, 4—6. Comp. Matt. 11, 5.—τρανή: A poetic word in the classic time, often used in Orig. c. Cels.

7. Ὅτι τε: On τε, see c. 21, 26.

8. γενομένων ἔκτων: Ἄκτων is Casaubon's convincing conjecture for αὐτῶν. See c. 35, 26.

9. ἀναιρετησόμενος: C. 46, 9.

11. Ἴδε . . . ἐκ τοῦ μέσου: Isa. 57, 1 foll.

14. καὶ ἔσται ἐν εἰρήνῃ· ἡ ταφή κτί.: This is Justin's punctuation. See Dial. c. T. cc. 97. 98. Commonly ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡ ταφή αὐτοῦ· ἡρται (Otto).

#### 49. HIS REJECTION BY THE JEWS FORETOLD.

1. Καὶ πάλιν: Sc. ἀκούσατε (c. 48, 3).—οἱ οὐ προσδοκήσαντες: On the neg. c. 14, 16.

2. λαοὶ τῶν ἰδνῶν: C. 33, 22.—προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτόν: C. 16, 22.

4. παραγενόμενον=ὅταν παραγίνηται.

5. ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου: C. 36, 1.—Εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι: C. 47, 4.

6. Ἐμφανῆς . . . ἐναντίον μου: Isa. 65, 1. 3.—εὐρέθην τοῖς μὴ ἔητοῦσιν: See c. 27, 18. This construction of the aor. pass. is not unwarranted in classic prose.

7. ἶδναί οἱ: Construction according to the sense.

11. Ἰουδαῖοι . . . ἔχοντες: 'Although they had.' The parti-



ciple without the article is seldom equivalent to the simple identifying relative, but generally conveys a notion of cause, condition, opposition, or the like. See A 1, 7.

13. *παρεγενόμενον*: So I read with Sylburg, and connect with *ηγνόησαν*, as above. The MSS. have *παραγενησόμενον*, which is awkward.—*παρεχρήσαντο*: Not an Attic word. 'Abused,' here = 'maltreated.' Clem. Alex. Paed. 2, 1, 9; Constt. Apostt. 6, 10. Billius thinks that Justin uses it for *δειχρήσ*.

14. *μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἀκούσαντες*—*εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἤκουσαν*.

15. *μέχρις οὗ*: C. 8, 19.

18. *ἀπετάξαντο*: A late expression.—*τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ . . . ἀνέθηκαν*: The Apostolic Constitutions give as the formula in the case of candidates for baptism (8, 6): *ἐαυτοῖς τῷ μόνῳ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παράξεισθαι*. See note on c. 14, 9.

19. *ἐαυτοῖς ἀνέθηκαν*: C. 14, 12.

20. *λαχρυσόμενα*: C. 33, 1.

21. *εἰαν*: Justin does not use the optative much in oratio obliqua, and here, as in C. 26, 21, he treats it as a future.

23. *βραχυεπώς*: A Justinian word, B 9, 6. — *ὅτα . . . γλυκύ*: Isa. 5, 20.

#### 50. CHRIST'S HUMILIATION FORETOLD.

2. *ἀτιμασθῆναι ὑπέμεινε*: Comp. Ep. Barnab. 5, 1. 5. 6; Clem. Rom. 2 Ep. ad Cor. 1, 2; Dial. c. T. 121.

4. *Ἀνὸ ὦν . . . ἐξιλάσεται*: Isa. 53, 12.

7. *Ἴδε γὰρ συνήσουσι*: Isa. 52, 13–15.

8. *Ὅν τρέπον*: C. 4, 22.

10. *θανυμέσονται*: Even with living beings the Attic inclines to the rule. See c. 3, 4.

11. *οἷς=οὔτοι οἷς*.

12. *δύονται*: Inserted by Otto upon Thirlby's suggestion. See the LXX and Justin himself, Dial. c. T. cc. 18. 118.

13. *Κύριε . . . ἤρθη*: Isa. 53, 1–8.

15. *ὡς παιδίον*: Justin understands this to refer to the subject of *ἀνγγελιαλαμιν*. See Dial. c. T. 42.

19. *παρὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*: C. 19, 19.

19. *εἰδώς φέρειν*: C. 26, 20.

22. *Αὐτός*: C. 33, 21.

24. παιδεία: See c. 40, 51.—εὐρήνης: The LXX and Justin (D. c. T. 18) add ἡμῶν.

31. Μετὰ . . . ἀπέστησαν: Not so the canonical Gospels (Otto).

33. ἐκ νεκρῶν . . . διδάξαντος: Comp. Luke 24, 25 sq.

34. ἀφθάρτος αὐτοῖς: C. 37, 13.

35. προείρητο γενησόμενα: For verbs of saying as verbs of showing with participle, see c. 33, 1. More natural would be ὡς γ.—καὶ . . . διδάξαν: Comp. Acts 1, 8. 9; 2, 3.

36. ἀνερχόμενον: Of actual perception, c. 19, 9.

38. πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων: C. 1, 5.

39. προσηγορεύθησαν: The forms of this compound of ἀγορεύω are more freely admitted in all stages. See c. 3, 5.

#### 51. THE MAJESTY OF CHRIST.

1. ἵνα δὲ μὴνύσῃ: On the subj., see c. 33, 8.

2. ἀνεκδιήγητον . . . τὸ γένος: Predicative position. Ἄν. occurs 2 Cor. 9, 15; Clem. Rom. 1 Ep. ad Cor. 20, 5; 49, 3; Athenag. Suppl. 10, 38; Theophil. ad Autol. 1, 3.

3. Τὴν γενεὰν . . . παρεδόθη: Isa. 53, 8–12.

4. Ὅτι=quod, as cc. 42, 6; 47, 1; 48, 1; 49, 19; 50, 1 (Otto).

9. ὅτε: Sc. αὐτόν. The form ὅτῃ = ὅδεῖ, a monstrosity, is found in MSS. of the LXX.

19. Ἄρατε . . . δυνατός: Ps. 23, 7. 8.

24. Ἰδοὺ . . . αὐτόν: Daniel (not Jeremiah), 7, 13. Comp. Matt. 25, 31.

#### 52. SURE WORD OF PROPHECY.

On the subject of this chapter, comp. Ep. Barnab. 1, 6; Theophil. ad Autol. 1, 14.

1. ἀπεδείκνυμεν . . . προκατηρύχθαι: C. 30 foll. Otto now reads ἀπεδείκνυμεν for the MS. ἀποδ. On the inf., see c. 3, 3.

2. πρὶν ἢ: C. 4, 13.

4. πίστιν ἔχαιν ὡς . . . γενησομένων: C. 23, 12.

5. Ὅν γὰρ τρόπον: C. 4, 22.

6. τὰ λείποντα: C. 32, 30.

7. ἀπιστήται: The MSS. ἀπιστεῖται.—ἀποβήσονται: C. 3, 3.

10. ὅταν . . . ὅτε: The former indefinite, the latter relative,

modifying ὅταν.—οὐρανῶν: C. 16, 32.—μετὰ τῆς ἀγγελικῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς: See c. 6, 7.

13. τῶν μὲν δέξιν: Sc. τὰ σώματα, dependent on ἐνέουσι. On the absolute use of ἀξίων, see c. 10, 9.

15. προειρήσεται γενησόμενα: Participle for inf. See c. 50, 35.

16. Ἐρράζη: The usual form is ἐρρήζη.

17. Συναχθήσεται . . . αὐτῶ: Mixed. Σ . . . ἀναφύσονται, Ezek. 37, 7 foll.; καὶ πᾶν . . . αὐτῶ, Isa. 45, 28. Comp. Rom. 14, 11.

20. γενέσθαι μέλλουσιν: On the aor., see c. 19, 81. Justin probably wrote γενήσεσθαι.

22. Ὁ σκόλης αὐτῶν . . . σβεσθήσεται: Isa. 66, 24. Add σβ. to Veitch, who cites this place for παυθήσεται (rare). The LXX have τελευτήσει.

23. τότε . . . ὅτε: Ὅτε on account of the correlative.

25. ἴδωσι . . . παραγενόμενον: Here of actual perception, bursting on the sight.

27. Ἐντελούμαι . . . δυνάεις: Mixed. Zech. 2, 6 (comp. Isa. 48, 5, 6 and 11, 12); Zech. 12, 10–12 (comp. Joel 2, 18); Isa. 63, 17; 64, 11.

31. οὐ μὴ σχίσωσιν: C. 38, 9.

32. Κόψονται: The middle of a natural expression of grief. See note on c. 14, 12.—ἐψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν: Remarkable coincidence with John 19, 37, variously interpreted by critics. The LXX have (Zech. 12, 10): ἐπιβλήψονται πρὸς με, ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο.

### 53. IMPORTANCE OF PROPHECIES FOR FAITH.

1. Πολλὰς . . . καὶ ἑτέρας: Πολὺς often an adjective in Greek; 'many,' regularly a numeral in English.—ἔχοντες: 'Although.'

2. ἐπαυσάμεθα: The margin has πανόμεθα, unnecessarily.

4. εἶναι λογισάμενοι: C. 2, 18.

7. οὐκ ἀποδείξαι ἔχομεν: Justin thus retorts the charge of unreasoning faith commonly brought against the Christians. See Origen c. Cels. 1, 9 and Keim, l. c. 57, 8.

8. τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ: C. 14, 9.

9. τὴν κρίσιν . . . ποιήσεται: C. 1, 9.

10. πρὶν ἤ: C. 4, 13.

12. ὁρῶμεν: We should expect *ὠρῶμεν* (which Otto now edits), but Justin has got the thread of his long sentence tangled.

—τοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπους: C. 1, 5.

14. παραιτησάμενους: C. 2, 3.

15. ἔβη: One of the MSS. has *ἔβην*. — αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντες: 'When we look at our own selves,' i. e., the Gentile Christians. The MSS. have *ἑαυτούς*. The whole sentence from *Τίτι* . . . *εἰδότες* is disjointed and confused.

20. κέκληνται: 'Have been called,' hence 'bear the name,' but there is no sharp distinction from *καλοῦνται*.

23. Εὐφράνθητι . . . τὸν ἄνδρα: Isa. 54, 1.

25. Ἐρημα: Here = 'ignorant.'

26. χαιρῶν ἔργοις λατρεύοντας: C. 10, 22.

29. παραγενόμενον ἠγνόησαν: C. 49, 4.

30. προσίπε . . . σωθήσεσθαι: C. 12, 32.

32. Εἰ μὴ . . . ἐγενήθημεν: Isa. 1, 9.

34. ἰστοροῦνται . . . γινόμεναι: C. 50, 35.

36. μηδενὸς . . . σωθέντος: In classic prose *οὐδενός*.

38. εὐγατέρες: Perhaps *αἱ θυγατέρες*.

39. ἔρημον καὶ κεκαυμένην οὖσαν: The perf. part. is treated like an adjective. A more careful writer would have said *ἐ. οὖσαν καὶ κεκ.* *εἰς τὴν ἑρῆμην*.

40. Ὡς . . . προσγινώσκοντο: Ὡς '(to show) how,' as often in Greek.

43. Ἰσραὴλ . . . ἀκροβυστίαν: Not Isa. but Jer. 9, 26.

44. παιθῶ καὶ πίστιν: Comp. c. 8, 6.

45. ὑπὸ παθῶν: Familiar personification with *ὑπό*. See E. ad D. 2, 15.

46. ἐμφορῆσαι: Odd expression for *ἐμποιῆσαι*, the usual word (as Orig. c. Cels. 7, 83).

#### 54. HOW THE MYTHS OF THE HEATHEN ORIGINATED.

Of the three things which Justin, in c. 23, had promised to prove, this is the third, that the fables of the poets were invented for the purpose of turning men aside from the faith.

3. ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ: Ἐπὶ 'on the basis of,' hence 'with a view to.'

4. εἰρησθαι ἀποδείκνυμεν: C. 21, 30.

5. Ἀκούσαντες . . . κηρυσσόμενον παραγενησόμενον: Awkward

accumulation of participles. On ἀκούω, see c. 11, 1. Κηρύσσω construed like προμηνύω, c. 48, 9. So Dial. c. T. 43.

8. προσβάλλοντο: C. 26, 2. — λαχθῆναι γενομένους: So Maran, Braun, Otto, Trollope, for the λ. λεγομένους of the MSS.—νίους τῷ Δι: C. 21, 6.

9. δυνήσισθαι: The mass of infinitives is inelegant. 'Thinking that they would be able to work men into the conviction that,' etc.

10. ὁμοίαι: For ὁμοίως. The correction is due to Thirlby. With the thought comp. Orig. c. Cels. 3, 32.

11. Καὶ ταῦτα δέ: See c. 32, 45.

12. ὅπου μᾶλλον ἐπήκουον: Μᾶλλον belongs to πιστευθήσεσθαι, πιστευθήσεσθαι depends on προκηρυσσόντων. 'Where they heard the prophets foretelling that Christ would be more readily believed.' This notion that the demons overheard (ἐπήκουον) the prophets is common enough in the Fathers, e. g. Tertull. Apol. 22 (p. 72 D. S.): *Dispositiones Dei et tunc prophetis concionantibus exceperunt* [daemones].

13. οὐκ ἰνόουν ἀκριβῶς: A familiar stroke of polemics. Lact. Inst. Div. 2, 14: *Sciunt illi quidem futura multa, sed non omnia, quippe quibus penitus consilium dei scire non licet, et ideo solent respondere in ambiguos exitus temperare* (Semisch).

16. τὸν ἡμέτερον Χριστόν: C. 48, 2.

17. ὡς προέφημεν: C. 44.

18. ὡς προεμηνύσαμεν: C. 32.

19. Οὐκ ἐκλείπει . . . σταφυλῆς: Gen. 49, 10.

20. ὃ ἀπόκειται: C. 32, 4.

23. ὄνον: The MSS. have οἶνον, clearly a mistake for ὄνον, which Sylburg has restored. The ass figures largely in the Bacchic mysteries, for the same reason as the goat. Both are symbols of reproductive power.

26. ἀναγράφουσι: 'Register,' 'set down.' In the parallel passage (Dial. c. T. 69) the verb is παραφέρωσι, 'adduce.'

28. εἴ τε: Not εἴτε, as there is no corresponding εἴτε or ἢ. See B 7, 33. Otto now edits εἴτε νίδς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ παραγεννησόμενός ἐστι ἢ ἀν᾽ ἑρώπων. Comp. l. 34.

30. ἀνελύσσεται=ἀνεισι.

31. μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι: Causal. See c. 5, 9.

32. ὄνου πῶλον: A slip of Justin or of his LXX, probably his

own, as in Dial. c. T. 52 the words *καὶ τῇ θλίψει τὸν πῶλον τῆς ὄνου αὐτοῦ* are added.—*ἐγὼν ἴσται*—*ἄξι*: See c. 19, 5.

33. *καὶ υἱός*: We should expect *καὶ εἰ*.

34. *ὡς προέφημεν*: C. 21.

35. *καὶ αὐτόν*: 'Likewise.'—*ἐξ ἀνθρώπων*: So Otto for *ἀνθρώπου*, in accordance with Justin's fixed usage.

37. *λαχθέν*: C. 11, 1. — *διὰ παρθένου τεχθήσεται*: On the other hand, Ignat. Ep. ad Eph. 3: *ἐλαβε τὸν ἀρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἢ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ θεοῦ ἐπράχθη*.

39. *8' ἑαυτοῦ*: Of himself, and not riding on a horse as Perseus (Ashton), cc. 21, 18; 22, 16.

40. *προλαμβάνεται*: More usual *προείρηται*.

41. *Ἰσχυρὸς κτε.*: Ps. 19, 5. See c. 40, 11.

42. *ἐκπερινοστήσαντα*: See note on c. 26, 14.

43. *ἐμαθεν προφητευθέντα*: Cc. 3, 3; 19, 9.

44. *Ἀσκληπιόν*: C. 21, 9.

### 55. THE CROSS.

The fanciful arguments of this chapter belong to the time, and are repeated and imitated by other Fathers. Maran reminds us further that they might not be inept in a discussion against the heathen, who thought nothing more ignominious than the cross.

1. *ἐπὶ τινος*: C. 5, 1.

2. *τὸ σταυρωθῆναι*: C. 3, 9. — *οὐ γὰρ ἐνοεῖτο αὐτοῖς*: See Ignat. l. c.: *ἐλαβε . . . ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου*. On the construction, see c. 27, 18.

5. *τὸ μέγιστον*: The article in the predicate with emphasis.

6. *ὑπάρχει*: C. 2, 10.

8. *σχήματος*: 'Figure.' See c. 4, 28.—*διοικεῖται*: It is not necessary to write *διοικεῖσθαι*. 'Is managed' means also 'is to be managed,' 'can be managed.'

9. *θάλασσα . . . γίνονται*: Imitated by Minuc. Fel., Oct. 29.—*ἢν μὴ . . . μείνη* would be more natural. Generic conditional, c. 2, 3.

10. *ιστίον*: Tertull. Adv. Marc. 3, 18 (Adv. Jud. 10): *antenna (navis) . . . crucis pars est* (Otto).

12. βανασουργοί: Βάνασος is one of the untranslatables. Socially it would correspond to our 'stoker.' Justin combines φορτικά καὶ βάνασα. Dial. c. T. 3.—εἰ μή: C. 10, 20.

13. Τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπειον . . . ἱππονομάζετε: Tertull. Ad Nat. 1, 13 (Otto).

14. τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων: Brachylogy: τ. δ. ζ. = τ ο ὦ τ. δ. ζ.

19. Πνεῦμα . . . κύριος: Lam. 4, 20 (LXX).

21. θελοί, τὰ τῶν βηξιλλων: The MSS. have θελοί . . . λωμεν καὶ τῶν τροπαίων, with νίξι (by another hand) in the margin of Claromontanus. Otto says there is room for about five syllables. Nolte says for four or five letters. Various suggestions have been made, all agreeing in restoring some form of the Greek transliteration of the Latin *vezillum*. The most simple is that recommended by Nolte: τὰ τῶν βηξιλλων. If Otto is right as to the space, read with him λέγω δὲ τὰ τῶν οὐηξιλλων.

23. δεικνύντες: Anacoluthon instead of δεικνύτων, as if he had written εἰ ὧν τὰς προόδους ποιῶσθε, a different state of things from c. 11, 5, which Otto cites.

24. Καὶ τῶν κτέ.: Lipsius refers ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ σχήματι to the figure of a cross formed by the spears and standards on which the images of the emperors were elevated. Cavedoni thinks it evident that Justin sees the figure of the cross in the pagan images of the deified emperors, who are often represented in the form of a man borne towards heaven by an eagle, or by the genius of eternity, whose outspread wings form, as it were, the two arms of the cross, while the upright is represented by the body of the deified person and by that of the genius himself. (Otto.)

27. ὁση δύναμις: C. 13, 5.

28. οἶδαμεν . . . ὅντες: 'We know that we are,' c. 3, 8. —λοιπόν: C. 3, 21.—κάν . . . ἀπιστήτε: C. 2, 7. The MSS. have ἀπιστεῖτε.

### 56. THE DEMONS STILL AT WORK.

1. ἠρκέσθησαν . . . εἰπεῖν: A later construction.

3. νίους τῷ Διὶ: C. 21, 6.

4. ὅπως: 'How,' not 'that.'

5. ἐν παντὶ γένει: C. 1, 5.

7. ὡς προεδηλώσαμεν: See c. 26.

9. ἀπαυμένους ἔχουσι: Ἐχω=κατέχω, 'keep.'

10. Καὶ γάρ: *Etenim*.—ὡς προέφημαν: C. 26.

11. ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος: C. 13, 15.—τὴν ἱερὰν σύγκλητον: C. 1, 4.

12. κατεπλήξατο: The middle in Polyb. 2, 52; 3, 89; Dion. Hal. 1, 82.

13. θεός: Agreeing with Σίμων according to the rule. Otto reads θεόν on account of ὡς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ.

17. εἰ τις εἴη . . . κατεχόμενος: When the participle is used in the predicate, it becomes to a greater or less extent an adjective. Κατεχόμενος=εἰστοχος. In later times, however, the periphrastic forms are loosely handled. See c. 19, 5. Notice the ideal protasis with an apodosis such as is more commonly found after ἰάν.

18. Καί: With stress.

19. καθαιρήσατε=κατέλετε. Veitch gives no authority earlier than Polyaeus, a younger contemporary of Justin.

#### 57. THE DEMONS INSTIGATE PERSECUTION.

The connection of thought between this chapter and the last seems to be: The followers of Simon are to be turned from the error of their ways; and they may yet be turned, as the demons have not succeeded in abolishing the belief in the final conflagration, which frightens men into right.

1. μὴ γενέσθαι=μὴ γενήσεσθαι: Μὴ is common after verbs of belief, c. 8, 6. On the aor. instead of fut., see c. 12, 23.

3. ὅπερ τρόπον: C. 4, 22.—λαθεῖν . . . παραγνόμενον: C. 35, 1. Λαθεῖν depends on πράξει. 'As they have not availed to effect the concealment of Christ's advent, but are only able to make those who live irrationally kill us,' etc.

4. ἐκεῖνο μόνον: Anticipates the infinitive clause. Comp. c. 4, 5.

7. ἐλευόντες: On the synonym, see c. 15, 43.

9. τοῦ πάντως ἀποθανεῖν ὁμολογουμένου: C. 11, 10.

10. καινοῦ: Otto comp. Eccl. 9, 1: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν πᾶν πρόσφατον ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον.—ἀλλ' ἦ: C. 40, 27.

11. εἰ μὲν κόρος . . . ἔχει: I have written ἔχει for ἔχῃ. The conditional here is nearly causal. In Attic prose εἰ is rarely



found with the subjunctive. Μέν with Thirlby for μή: but εἰ μέν here stands in no clear contrast to εἰ εἰ below.—ἐάν ἐνιαυτοῦ: 'Even in the course of a year.' But ἐάν (=καὶ ἐν) ἐνιαυτῷ would be more natural.

13. προσέχων: C. 13, 22.—ἀπιστοῦσι μηδὲν εἶναι: After negative verbs the negative result is often expressed by the negated infinitive. Disbelieving that anything is=believing that nothing is. This does not exclude the positive construction, as in Athenag. Suppl. 12: ἀπιστούμεθα ζήσομεν.

14. εἰς ἀναισθησίαν χωρεῖν: C. 18, 2.

15. παθῶν: Thirlby notices the similarity to Plat. Apol. 41 D: ἀλλὰ μοι δὴλόν ἐστι τοῦτο ὅτι ἡδὴ τεθνάναι καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων βέλτιον ἦν μοι· διὰ τοῦτο . . . τοῖς καταψηφισαμένοις μου καὶ τοῖς κατηγοροῖς οὐ πάνυ χαλεπαίνω· καίτοι οὐ ταύτῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ κατεψηφίζοντό μου καὶ κατηγοροῦν ἀλλ' οἴομενοι βλάπτειν τι. —Anton desiderates παθῶν μὲν, but antithesis is often an after-thought.

16. ἐαυτούς: Expressed on account of the contrast with ἡμᾶς. Otherwise: φαῦλοι ὄντες δεικνύουσιν.

17. ὡς ἀπαλλάξοντες: The notion of purpose in this familiar combination is a mere inference; comp. c. 4, 19.

#### 58. MARCION PUT FORWARD BY THE DEMON'S.

1. Καὶ . . . 84: C. 32, 43.—ὡς πρόεφημεν: C. 26.

5. καταγγελλαι: 'Proclaims.' Comp. c. 5, 33.—ἄλλον . . . παρὰ: A familiar construction. Plat. Theaet. 156 A: τὸ πᾶν κίνησις καὶ ἄλλο παρὰ τοῦτο οὐδέν. See c. 19, 10.

7. ὡς μόνον . . . ἐπισταμένον: C. 4, 19.

8. ἡμῶν καταγελῶσιν: C. 4, 26.—μηδεμίαν . . . ἔχοντες: 'Although,' c. 7, 8.

13. τῆς γῆς . . . ἐπαίρεσθαι: It is not necessary to read with Sylburg ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς or ἀπαίρεσθαι, as Otto has done in his last ed. The gen. is freely used as a whence-case in later Greek prose. Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 31, 155: τῆς Ἐφεισίων πόλεως ἡλαυνετο (comp. Eur. Med. 70); Resurr. 18, 84: ἡρτηνται τῆς ἀνοίας; Clem. Alex. Paedag. 2, 9, 79: ἀνεγερτίον τῆς κοίτης.

16. ὑπεκκρούοντες: Only here. Literally, 'slyly tripping up.' Comp. Plat. Phaedr. 288 E: ἐκκίρουκάς με ἑλπίδος.—ἦν μὴ . . . ἔχωσιν: Generic, c. 2, 6.

+ Ἀπόφω γῆς πρὸ γῆς εἰς ἡμῶν (II 28 15 sp.  
αὐτῆς)

## 59. WHAT PLATO OWES TO MOSES.

1. *Λόγομεν* . . . τοῦ λόγου: *Λίγομεν* is used, as it were, parenthetically, without influence on the construction, τοῦ λόγου being in apposition. So often. Comp. Lat. *dico*, Madvig, 219, Obs. 3.

2. *λαβόντα*=*ὅτι λαβε*: C. 8, 3.

3. τὸ εἰπεῖν: Exactly like a substantive, 'the saying.' But the article were better away. On the inf. ποιῆσαι, see c. 12, 23.

4. *στρέψαντα*: Sylburg (and Kaye) *τρέψαντα*. Comp. c. 67, 27.

5. *αὐτολεξεί*: C. 32, 2.—*διὰ Μωϋσείως*: Plato's indebtedness to Moses is a not unfamiliar theme. See Clem. Alex. Strom. 1, 22, 150: *Νουμίνιος δὲ ὁ Πυθαγόρειος φιλόσοφος ἀντικρυς γράφει· τί γὰρ ἴστι Πλάτων ἡ Μωϋσῆς ἀττικίζων*. Comp. Protrept. 6, 70: *πόθεν, ὦ Πλάτων, ἀλήθειαν αἰνίττῃ; . . . νόμους τοὺς ὅσοι ἀληθεῖς καὶ δοξαν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν ὠφέλησαι τῶν Ἑβραίων*, and Orig. c. Cels. 6, 19: *ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀπογινώσκω τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Φαίδρου λίξεις ἀπὸ τινων Ἑβραίων μεμαθηκότα τὸν Πλάτωνα κτέ.*—*τοῦ προδεδηλωμένου πρώτου προφ.*: See cc. 31, 30; 44, 22.

8. *τὴν ἀρχήν*: C. 10, 8.

9. *Ἐν ἀρχῇ* . . . *ἐγένετο οὕτως*: Gen. 1, 1, sqq.

13. *Ὡστε* . . . *ἐμάθομεν*: C. 5, 8.

17. *Ἐρεβος*: It is barely possible that Justin may be alluding to the עֶרֶב, 'the evening,' of Gen. 1, 5 (Thirlby). But see Deut. 32, 22, which Justin cites below. (Otto.)—*παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς*: Hesiod. Theog. 128: *ἐκ χάτος δ' Ἐρεβός τε μέλαινά τε Νῆξ ἐγένοντο*. (Otto.)—*εἰρησθαι* . . . *οἶδαμεν*: Inf. instead of participle, c. 5, 10. '*Οἶδαμεν*' (= *ἴσμεν*), rather rare' (Veitch). See Index.

## 60. PLATO AND THE CROSS.

1. *Τιμαίω*: The Fathers delight in citing the Timaeus.—*φυσιολογοῦμενον*: 'The physiological discussion' (Trollope). 'The disquisition on the nature of the Son of God.'

2. *ὅτι λέγει*: See c. 38, 10. The passage occurs Plat. Tim. 36 B.C.—*Ἐχέασεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παντί*: Plato is explaining the diffusion of the soul. 'The entire compound [of soul and body] was divided [by God] lengthways into two parts, which he joined together at the centre like the figure )( (X), and bent them into an inner and outer circle, cutting one another at a point over

against the point of contact.' See Jowett's *Introd. to Plato's Timaeus* (2, 465).

4. ἀναγίγραπται: 'Stands recorded.'

5. κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ: C. 17, 3.

9. γενομένην: So for λεγομένην (Sylburg).

11. ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγίᾳ σκηνῇ: The tabernacle was considered an image of the world (Maran). Justin's statement has no Scriptural warrant.—Ἐὰν προσβλέπητε . . . σωθήσεσθε: Numb. 21, 8; comp. John 3, 14, 15.

12. ἐν αὐτῷ: Shall we combine ἐν αὐτῷ σωθήσεσθε or πιστεύητε ἐν αὐτῷ? The position in John makes for the latter, which I have put in the text against the tradition.

14. οὕτως παρέδωκεν. Ἄ ἀναγνοίς: So Thirlby for Οὕτως π. ἀναγνοίς.

15. μὴ ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενος: Causal, c. 5, 4.

17. Καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν: Sc. παρὰ Μωϋσέως ἔλαβεν. Comp. l. 3 and c. 59, 1.

18. ὡς προείπομεν: In the last chapter.

22. Τὰ δὲ τρίτα περὶ τὸν τρίτον: In Pseud. Plat. Ep. 2, 312 E: τρίτον περὶ τὰ τρίτα. It is hardly necessary to enter into the discussion of this mystical passage. See the commentators on Athenag. Suppl. 23, 112, or Orig. c. Cels. 6, 18.

23. ἐκπύρωσιν γενήσεσθαι: C. 20, 12.

25. Καταβήσεται . . . κάτω: Deut. 32, 22.

29. Παρ' ἡμῖν: C. 8, 8. On the loftiness of Christian doctrine amid the humility of its professors, see Athenag. Suppl. 11, 48.

32. ὡς συνείναι: C. 21, 24. 'So as [to make] one to understand,' 'so as to make it evident that these things have not been done by human wisdom, but are said by the power of God.'—οὐ σοφίᾳ: Οὐ, although in an infinitive complex, on account of the contrast with ἐν δυνάμει. See c. 14, 16.

#### 61. CHRISTIAN BAPTISM.

With this chapter begins the conclusion of the *Apology*—a *locus classicus* concerning baptism, the eucharist, and the meetings of the Christians.

1. Ὁν τρόπον: C. 4, 22.—ἀνελήκαμεν αὐτούς: Comp. c. 14, 12.—

Ἐθήκαμεν=ἔδεμεν: Far less common in good times than ἔθηκαν=ἔδειξαν. On the reflexive, see c. 13, 7.

3. ποιηρεύειν: The active is unknown to classic Greek.

4. πεισῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσι: C. 8, 6.

6. βιοῦν: C. 16, 45.—δύνασθαι ὑποσχῶνται: Verbs of promising, considered as verbs of saying, take the fut. inf.; as verbs of will, they may take the aor. and present.

7. τῶν προημαρτημένων: Baptism was supposed to wash away all sins previously committed; hence it was often postponed in order to get a full score. See the famous passage in Augustin, Conf. 1, 11: *Sine illum faciat quod vult, nondum baptizatus est.* On the purification of baptism, comp. Clem. Alex. Paed. 1, 6, 80: πάντα μιν οὖν ἀπολουόμεθα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, οὐκίτι ἐῖς ἴσμεν παρὰ πόδας κακοί, and Constt. Apostt. 2, 7: οὐ πιστεύομεν οὖν, ἀδελφοί, λουσαμένον τινα τὸ τῆς ζωῆς λουτρῶν ἐνὶ πράσσειν τὰ τῶν ἀνόμων ἀσελήγματα νηστεύοντες. Grabe cites Constt. Apostt. 7, 22: Otto, Tertull. De Bapt. 20.

9. ἔνθα: C. 32, 25.

10. δὲν . . . ἀνεγεννήθημεν: Cognate accusative. C. 18, 2.

11. ἐπ' ὀνόματος κτλ.: The importance of this early baptismal formula (Matt. 28, 19), evident in itself, has been much insisted on by theological writers.

13. πνεύματος ἁγίου: The article omitted, because π. ἁ. may be considered a proper name.—λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται=λουῦνται: C. 1, 9.

14. Καὶ γάρ: C. 4, 12.—Ἄν μὴ . . . σόφρων: John 8, 8-5. Semisch calls this citation a 'Sorgenstein' to those who deny Justin's acquaintance with the Gospel according to John. Add to the plentiful literature in Otto, Drummond, Theological Review, Oct. 1875 (quoted in Academy, Nov. 6, 1875).

15. οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃς: C. 38, 9.

16. καὶ ἀδύνατον: 'Quite impossible.'

17. γενομένους: 'Born.' The margin of one MS. has γεννηθέντας, 'begotten'; Otto, γεννωμένους. The aorist is wanted.

18. ὡς προσγράψαμεν: C. 32, 45.

19. ἁμαρτήσαντες: Late for ἁμαρτόντες, which is the rule even in the LXX.

20. Δούσασθε . . . ταῦτα: Isa. 1, 16-20.

27. Καὶ λόγον δέ: On καὶ . . . εἰ, see c. 44, 25.—λόγον . . . τοῦ-

τον: 'As a reason—this,' not 'this reason,' τὸν λόγον τοῦτον. See c. 18, 7. On τοῦτον, not τόνδε, see c. 47, 4.

28. τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν: Combine with γεγεννήμεθα (cognate accus.). So Otto, who compares c. 65, 5: ὅπως τὴν αἰωνίαν σωτηρίαν σωζώμεν. In point is also the construction above: τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ὃν (= ἦν ἀναγέννησιν) ἀνεγεννήθημεν.

29. ἀγνοοῦντες κατ' ἀνάγκην: Balanced by μὴ ἀνάγκης τίκνα μηδὲ ἀγνοίας (Otto).

32. προαιρέσεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης: C. 43, 1.

33. ἀφ' ἑστέως τε: On τε, see c. 21, 26.—ὑπὲρ ὧν=ὑπὲρ τούτων ᾧ: but ὑπὲρ is better omitted, so as to make ὧν=ᾧς (cogn. acc.).

34. ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ἐπονομάζεται: Comp. l. 18 (Otto).

35. ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις: Familiar use of ἐπὶ with dat. after verbs of emotion.

37. ἐπιλέγοντος τοῦ τὸν . . . ἄγοντος: So Thirlby for ἐπιλέγοντες τοῦτον . . . ἄγοντες.

38. Ὅνομα κτέ.: Justin flies off in the midst of his formula.—τῷ ἁρρήτῳ θεῷ: Comp. MAX. TYR. 8, 10: 'Ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεὸς ὁ τῶν ὄντων πατὴρ καὶ δημιουργός, ὁ πρεσβύτερος μὲν ἡλίου, πρεσβύτερος δὲ οὐρανοῦ, κρείττων δὲ χρόνου καὶ αἰῶνος καὶ πάσης ρεούσης φύσεως, ἀνώνυμος νομοδότης καὶ ἁρρητος φωνῇ καὶ ἀόρατος ὀφθαλμοῖς.—ἔχει εἰπεῖν: C. 3, 5.—εἰ δέ τις τολμήσειεν εἶναι λέγειν: 'If any one should dare to say that it is possible (εἶναι),' namely, εἰπεῖν. On ἔστι instead of ἔξεστι, see c. 12, 40.

39. μέμνη: Differs little from μεμνηὼς ἂν εἴη, and in fact this form of the conditional (εἰ with opt. in protasis, ind. in apodosis) is not very uncommon. See c. 3, 5.—τὴν ἑσῶτον মানίαν: The article of a familiar standard. See c. 18, 2. Τήν, 'what is called.'

40. φωτισμός: 'Illumination,' often used as a synonym for baptism, although it was sometimes distinguished from it, as is shown by Clem. Alex. Paed. 1. 6. 26: βαπτίζόμενοι φωτιζόμεθα, φωτιζόμενοι νομοποιούμεθα, νομοποιούμενοι τελειούμεθα. τελειούμενοι ἀπαθανατιζόμεθα. In Quis dives salvabitur, 43 (cited in Euseb. H. E. 3, 24, p. 79 D. S.), Clement uses ἐφώτισε in the popular sense.—ὡς φωτισομένων: 'On the ground that.'

41. Καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματος δέ: As if he had said before ἐπ' ὀνόματος τοῦ πατρὸς.

42. ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου: C. 13, 15.

43. πνεύματος ἁγίου: See l. 13.

44. τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν: This use of κατὰ becomes more and more common. — ὁ φωτιζόμενος: The candidate. After baptism ὁ φωτισθεὶς, ὁ πεφωτισμένος (Otto).

45. λούεται: Dainty editors would exclude the open form from Attic.

## 62. BAPTISM IMITATED BY THE DEMONS.

2. κεκηρυγμένον: C. 11, 1.—ἐνέργησαν: C. 5, 15.

4. προσιέναι αὐτοῖς: C. 16, 24. Αὐτοῖς ἰερεῖς, the gods.—λοιβὰς καὶ κνίσας: C. 24, 10.

5. τέλειον: 'Thoroughly,' often in Clem. Alex. Νεκροὶ ἄρα τέλειον ὄντες, Protr. 3, 45; ἀγαμάτων τέλειον κωφῶν, 4, 51; τέλειον νωδοί, 11, 115. Also E. ad D. 2, 26.—ἐπιόντας: So Hagen and Otto (3) for ἀπιόντας.

6. Καὶ γάρ: Here 'for also.'

7. τὸ ὑπολύεσθαι κτε.: Τό with κελεύεσθαι, on which ὑπολύεσθαι depends. 'This matter of the worshippers' being ordered.' Comp. Tertull. Apol. 40: *Nudipedalia populo denuntiatis*. — τοῖς ἱεροῖς: See c. 3, 9. Ἐπιβαίνειν more commonly takes the genitive.—προσιόντας αὐτοῖς: The MSS. have simply τοῖς αὐτοῖς, hardly correct, although it may be made to refer to the demons (Grabe). Various emendations have been proposed, such as τοῖς ναοῖς (Sylb.); τὸ αὐτό or τοῖς ἀδύτοις (Thirlb.); τοῖς τουούτοις (Braun). I have ventured to write προσιόντας αὐτοῖς. Comp. the preceding sentence.

8. τοῖς θρησκέοντας: See Ep. ad D. 1, 4.

10. Κατ' ἐκεῖνο . . . τοῦ καιροῦ: C. 17, 3.

12. ποιμαίνοντος αὐτοῦ: Free handling of the gen. absolute instead of ποιμαίνοντι agreeing with αὐτῷ, fully justified by the necessity of the passage and by classical usage. Comp. c. 11, 3.

13. ἀρραβικῇ: So Justin spells uniformly. — τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς θείου: 'His uncle on the mother's side.' One of Justin's not infrequent slips. He is thinking of Jacob.

14. ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστός: C. 48, 2.

15. Ὑπόλυσαι . . . ἔκουσον: Ex. 3, 5.

17. ἀκήκοι: We should expect ἤκουσε. See c. 33, 17.—κατελεῖν=εἶναι ἐπὶ κατελεῖν, on the principle that in oratio obliqua the

imperative is represented by the infinitive. The editors regard it as an aor. inf. for a future.

21. ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐκείνου: The normal form would be τῶν ἐκείνου, and τῶν may have been omitted, owing to the final -των of συγγραμμάτων. But comp. c. 4, 34: κακίων τὰ διδάγματα, B. 6, 6.

### 63. GOD'S APPEARING TO MOSES.

2. λελαληκέναι=ὅτι λελάληκε: C. 5, 10.
3. τοῦ προμεμην. προφ.: Cc. 32. 33. 35. 37. 47. 53. 61.
4. ὡς προσγράψαμεν: C. 37, 3.
5. Ἐγὼ . . . συνῆκε: Isa. 1, 3.
7. Καὶ Ἰησοῦς δέ: C. 32, 45. So twice below.
9. Οὐδεὶς ἔγνω . . . ὁ θεός: Matt. 11, 27. Keim with Otto thinks that Justin had John 16, 3 in mind as well.
11. προέφημαν: Cc. 21, 1; 22, 5; 23, 7; 32, 40.
12. ἀπίστολος: See c. 12, 34. Comp. Hebr. 3, 1.
14. καὶ αὐτὸς: *Et ipse*. — Ὁ ἐμοῦ ἀκούων . . . ἀποστείλαντίς με: Matt. 10, 40; Luke 10, 6.
17. Καὶ ἐλάλησε . . . λαόν μου: Ex. 3, 2. 6. 10. 14. 15.
21. ἐξ ἐκείνων=τῶν συγγραμμάτων.
22. ἀναγράψαι: Aorist on account of the negative. C. 4, 10.
23. οἷδε οἱ λόγοι: See c. 47, 4.
25. ἐν εἰκόνι ἀσωμάτων: 'In the likeness of incorporeal beings' (angels). It were more natural to read with Maran ἀσωμάτων, especially as we have εἰκόνης ἀσωμάτων below.
26. νῦν δέ: That is, in the Christian dispensation.
28. ὅσα . . . διατεθῆναι: Comp. c. 9, 9. Διατεθῆναι=παθεῖν.
29. Οἵτινες: C. 38, 15.
31. Ἐγὼ . . . Τακάβ: Ex. 3, 2. 14, 15.
35. Ἰσραὴλ . . . συνῆκε: Isa. 1, 3.
37. Οὐδεὶς . . . ἀποκαλύψῃ: Matt. 11, 27.
40. ὅντος υἱοῦ κτλ.: 'Whereas he was the Son of God.'
42. ἐλέγχονται . . . ὡς . . . ἔγνωσαν: Familiar personal construction for ἐλέγχεται ὡς.
44. φάσκοντες εἶναι: C. 19, 18.—ἐλέγχονται μήτε . . . ἐπιστάμενοι: On the participle, see c. 3, 3; on the neg. c. 9, 4.
46. δεῖ λόγος καὶ πρ.: So Otto. The MSS. have δε καὶ λόγος.
49. τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς: The Roman Empire.

50. ὡς προείπομεν: C. 23.—διὰ παρθένου: C. 22, 15.

52. *ἔξουθενθῆναι* = *ἔξουθενώθηναι*: *Οὐδὲν* comes in with Aristotle and Theophrastus. *Ἐξουθενόω* (*τω*) is more common even in the LXX. The whole group is late.—*ἴνα . . . νικήσῃ*: C. 33, 8.

54. 'Εγώ . . . σου: Ex. 3, 14.

56. καὶ ἀποθανόντας : 'Though.'

57. Χριστοῦ: Comp. Matt. 22, 32.—καὶ γάρ: C. 4, 12.

58. περί . . . ἐγίγνησιν σχολάζουσιν: Περὶ τι of acting and working, περί τινος of saying and thinking. Ἀσχολεῖσθαι περί τι is common at this period (Plutarch, Lucian). Comp. Max. Tyr. 8, 4; Clem. Alex. Paedag. 2, 1, 10.

#### 64. OTHER TRAVESTIES OF SCRIPTURE BY THE DEMONS.

1. Καὶ . . . 84: C. 32, 33.—τὸ ἀνεγείρειν κτί.: 'And that the demons instigated the erection of the image.'—τὸ εἶδωλον τῆς λεγομένης Κόρης: Koré (Persephoné) is often associated with water. She was playing with the daughters of Oceanus (Hymn. in Cerer. 5) when she was carried off by Pluto (Hades), and the Orphic poets transferred the scene from Enna to mid-ocean. Her mother, Demeter, was worshipped at fountains, and the Naiads are often attendants of the Twain Deities (τῷ Σεῷ).

6. ὡς προεγράψαμεν: C. 59.—Ἐν ἀρχῇ . . . ἡμέρων: Gen. 1. 1.

9. λαχθέντος επιφερομένου: Otto *ποιε* edits επιφέρεισαι, and comp. c. 60, 22. But see c. 50, 35. For the thought Otto adduces Porphyry. De Antro Nymph. 10: Νύμφας ἔι Ναΐδας λίσσμεναι καὶ τὰς τῶν υδάτων προσετώσας ἐνθάμεις . . . ἐπὶ τοῦτο λέγων [Νουμίνιος] καὶ τὸν προφήτην εἰρηκίνει ἀπέρχεται ἐπὶ τὸν ἑσάτορ Ξεῦ πνεῦμα.

10. τ. Κόρ. θυγατέρα τοῦ Δ.: By Styx, according to Apollod.  
Bibl 1, 3.

11. Καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν δέ: C. 32, 35. See Hes. Theog. 889 sq.—  
πομπουόμενοι: See c. 61, 3.

**12. ἐννοηθέντα:** 'Having conceived the idea.'

15. παραφέρειν: 'Adduce;' perhaps, sneeringly, 'dish up.' Comp. Eur. I. A. 981: αἰσχύνομαι δὲ παραφέρουσ' (as it were dragging in) οἰκτροὺς λόγους.

## 65. ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

2. συγκατατεθειμένον: C. 89, 19. A common word in Origen.



3. κοινὰς εὐχάς: Specimens in Constt. Apostt. 8, 9 sqq.

4. ποιησόμενοι: C. 1, 9.—*ἑαυτῶν=ἡμῶν αὐτῶν*: C. 13, 7.—*φωτισθέντος*: C. 61, 40.

5. εὐτόνως: *Intento animo*. Emphatic position of the adverb. Comp. Ep. Eccl. Vienn. et Lugd. ap. Euseb. H. E. 5, 1, 41: *εἰς τῆς εὐτόνου προσευχῆς*.—*ὅπως καταξιωθῶμεν=καταξιωθῆναι*: "Ὅπως is sometimes used, like *ut* in Latin, after verbs of will and power (verbs of creation, auxiliary verbs), parallel with the inf. So in classic authors; Isac. 7, 27: *διακελεύεσθαι ὅπως* . . .; Lycurg. 127: *παρακελεύεσθαι ὅπως*. The use of *ἵνα* with the subj. for an inf. is familiar to every student of the N. T. See Winer, § 44, 8. So Dial. c. T. 30: *αἰτοῦμεν ἵνα* . . .; Athenag. Suppl. 37, 173: *εὐχόμεθα ἵνα* . . .

6. πολιτευταί: A late word from *πολιτεύεσθαι*, in the sense of conducting one's self—a very common meaning in later Greek. Comp. Dial. c. T. 45.

7. ὅπως τὴν αἰώνιον σωτηρίαν σωζόμεν: On the cognate accusative, comp. c. 18, 2; on the article of the standard, c. 61, 39. Elsewhere Justin uses *αἰωνία* (fem.), not usual in classic prose.

8. φιλήματι: This form of Christian salutation was confined to persons of the same sex. Doubtless misrepresented by the heathen.

9. Ἐπειτα κτί.: Here we have an account of the first communion, below of the Sunday communion (Augusti).—*τῷ προστάτῃ*: *Non tangenda vada*. See Harnack's note on Clem. Rom. 1 Ep. ad Cor. 1, 3.

10. ὕδατος καὶ κράματος: Otto explains *kai* as epexegetic *et quidem*; *calix aquae et quidem vini aqua mixti*. But *κράμα* seems to be rather a popular synonym for wine. Comp. Plut. Mor. 140 F: *ὥσπερ τὸ κρᾶμα, καίτοι ὕδατος μετίχον πλεῖστος, οἶνον καλοῦμεν*. On the *κρᾶμα*, see Clem. Alex. Paed. 1, 6, 47; 2, 2, 20. The three elements are mentioned by other Fathers (Otto).

11. αἶνον καὶ δόξαν: C. 41, 8.

12. ἀναπέμψαι: Comp. c. 67, 15 and Orig. c. Cels. 5, 4, 7, 44; 8, 34, 74.

13. ἐπὶ πολὺ: 'At length.'—*ποιεῖται*: C. 1, 9.

16. γένοιτο: Our 'so be it.'

20. τοῖς οὐ παρούσιν: On the negative, see c. 4, 9.

When does ὅπως ἔγγειον  
πνεύματι

## 66. THE EUCHARIST.

1. εὐχαριστία: By metonymy.  
 2. μετασχύν: Aor. on account of negative.—ἐξόν εἶσιν: C. 3, 9.  
 4. λουσαμένῃ τὸ . . . λουτρὸν: C. 18, 2.  
 5. παρίσταν: C. 4, 22.—Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἔργον κτλ.: This passage is a noted battle-field of the champions of transubstantiation, consubstantiation, and commemoration (Church of Rome, Lutherans, Zwinglians).  
 7. ἐν τρόπῳ: C. 4, 22.  
 9. ἔσχεν: 'Took upon him.' Ingressive aor. As the ingressive aorist is, naturally enough, most frequently found in denominative verbs, it is generally the first aorist. Still ἔσχεν is very common in this sense.—δ' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ: Commonly understood of the prayer or blessing pronounced by Christ at the time of instituting the Eucharist. The preposition παρὰ points to the παράδοσις, 'the transmitted word of prayer,' now become a formula. Comp. c. 13, 4.

10. σάρκες: C. 26, 34.  
 12. ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι: 'That.' C. 21, 30.  
 13. ἀπομνημονεύμασιν: See Introduction, xxxv.—δ . . . εὐαγγέλια: Suspected by some of being a gloss. But, as Otto observes, this would involve a gloss in Dial. c. T. cc. 10. 100.  
 15. Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε . . . τὸ αἶμά μου: Luke 22, 19; Matt. 26, 26-28; Mark 14, 24. The order is changed, for which no subtle reason is to be sought.

19. Μίθρας: The sun-god of the Persians figures largely among the new deities of this epoch, having come into vogue under Hadrian. Hence Lucian (Deor. Concil. 9) says that he has not learned to talk Greek: ὁ Μίθρης ἐκεῖνος ὁ Μῆδος ὁ τὴν κἀνδυν καὶ τὴν τιάραν οὐδὲ ἐλλήνιζων τῇ φωνῇ, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἦν προσιγ τις ξυνίησι. Mithras was the god of Julian the Apostate. Tertull. (Praescrip. Haer. c. 40) seems to be the only other author to mention the use of bread in the Mithraic mysteries.

## 67. FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK.

1. λοιπόν: C. 3, 21.  
 2. οἱ ἔχοντες: A common Greek phrase 'the well-to-do'—οἱ εὖ-

ποροῦντες below. Harnack (quoted by Otto) sees a reference to the ἀγάπαι.—τοῖς λοιπομένοις: 'Those who fall behind' the others, 'those that lack.' Comp. Jas. 1, 4: ἐν μηδενὶ λειπόμενοι: 2, 15: λειπόμενοι τῆς ἡμετέρας τροφῆς.

8. σύνισμεν: 'We keep up familiar intercourse with one another.'

4. Ἐπὶ πᾶσι . . . προσφερόμεθα: C. 13, 4.

6. τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ: Sunday. The date of the introduction (from Egypt?) into Greece and Rome of the astronomical nomenclature of the days of the week is uncertain. Justin mentions Sunday and Saturday so familiarly that the terms must have been common in his time. On the nomenclature itself, see the *locus classicus* in Dio Cassius, 37, 18. 19 and Arago, Popular Astronomy, 2, 722 (Engl. Tr.). Well worth reading is the quaint chapter in Sir Thomas Browne's *Vulgar Errors* (Book 5, ch. 22). Mr. R. A. Proctor has recently treated the subject in the *Contemporary Review* for March, 1875 (Saturday and the Sabbath of the Jews), and in a popular lecture on astrology. He says: 'Dividing the day into twenty-four hours, and regarding these as ruled over in succession by the planets in the order of their distances (according to the old system), viz., Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon, it will be found that if the first hour of one day be ruled by the Sun, the first hour of the next will be ruled by the Moon, the first hour of the next by Mars, of the next by Mercury, the next by Jupiter, then Venus, and of the next by Saturn, and so to the Sun again. Hence the order of the seven days—the Sun's day (*Solis dies*), the Moon's day, Mars' day (*Martis dies*, *Mardi*), Mercury's day (*Mercurii dies*, *Mercredi*), Jove's day (*Jovis dies*, *Jeudi*), Venus's day (*Veneris dies*, *Vendredi*), and Saturn's day (*Saturni dies*), Saturday, or the Sabbath of the Jews, a day of rest with the Egyptians, because an unlucky day for any sort of work, as ruled over by the malefic planet Saturn.' See a criticism by W. R. Smith in *Nature* for March 11, 1875. It may be worth noticing that in the Mithraic mysteries the same order of the planets occurs reversed, Orig. c. Cels. 6, 22. On the πλανῆται δαίμονες, see Tatian ad Gr. 9 and comp. Clem. Alex. Protrept. 5, 66: Ξενοκράτης Καρχηδόνιος οὗτος ἐπὶ θεοῖς τοῖς πλανήταις αἰνιττεται.

L

From the divergences into this subject is his "Cassini".

Seven rings names after the seven planets as worn  
A. J. 3, 42

81  
C 11  
fig  
see

7. συνέλευσις: C. 40, 18.

8. τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα κτλ.: The reading of these Memoirs of the Apostles in the Church of Justin's day is considered a weighty argument in favor of their identity with our Gospels. As Irenaeus, Clement, and Tertullian quote our Gospels, the negative theory requires us to believe that in the short interval 'an entire change of Gospels was made throughout all the different and distant provinces of the Roman empire at a time when concerted action through general councils was unknown, and that, too, in so silent a manner that no record of it remains in the history of the Church.'

9. μέχρις ἔγχωρῇ: 'So long as time permits' (Otto). The MSS. have ἔγχωρεῖ, but in the matter of γ and ε MSS. have little weight, and I have restored the normal subjunctive. See c. 8, 19. On the omission of ἀν, see c. 33, 2.

10. τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος: The Hebrew 'reader,' ἀναγνώστης, survived in the Christian Church.

11. διὰ λόγον: Contrast to the ἀνάγνωσις.

13. εὐχὰς πέμπομεν: So below, ἀναπέμπομεν. See c. 65, 13.—  
ὡς προέφημεν: C. 65.

15. δση δύναμις: Cc. 13, 5; 53, 27. Not 'with all his might,' but 'as ability is given him' (Otto). Δυνατὸς λέγειν does not refer to power of lung. Otto comp. the eucharistic formula in Constt. Apostol. 8, 12: Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, θεὲ παντοκράτορ, οὐχ ὅσον ὀφείλομεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐν δυνάμει θα.

19. Οἱ εὐποροῦντες . . . γίνεται: Otto comp. c. 14, 14 and Tertull. Apol. 39.

20. προαίρεσιν . . . τὴν ἑαυτοῦ: This position (c. 6, 7) is especially common with the possessives. So in Herodotus.

21. ἀποτίθεται: C. 18, 5.

23. λειπομένοις: As above, l. 2.

24. παρεπιδήμους . . . ξένους: Hebr. 11, 13: Ξίνοι καὶ παρεπιδήμοι εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.—ἀπλῶς: 'In short.' Combined with συντόμως in Plut. Vit. p. 1015 E. A very common use, especially at this period.

25. κηδεμὼν γίνεται: Γ. 'acts as.'—Τὴν . . . τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν: We might expect the dat. as above, but the acc. as the general adverbial case may be used of the time when. Comp. σήμερον,

and even in classic Gr. Dem. 54, 10: *ικείνην τὴν ἑσπέραν*, 'on and for that evening;' Herod. 8, 86: *ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν*.

30. *ἦτις*: C. 38, 15.

32. *ἔπερ*: C. 12, 38.—*ἀνεδώκαμεν*=*ἀνέδομεν*. The third person plural of the first aor. is more common than the first person. The second aorist, however, is the rule in the plural—which Veitch does not seem to bring out distinctly.

#### 68. CONCLUSION.

1. *λόγον καὶ ἀληθείας ἔχειν*: 'Accord with reason and truth.' A familiar Platonic turn, as in De Rep. 9, 585 C: *πρᾶγμα ἀληθείας ἔχόμενον*. Comp. Athenag. Res. 1, 1.

2. *τιμήσατε . . . καταφρονήσατε*: Come to a decision about it. See c. 16, 6.

4. *τῶν μηδὲν κτέ.*: C. 4, 9.

5. *Προλέγομεν*: C. 14, 1.

6. *ἐπιβοήσομεν*: In Attic *ἐπιβοησόμεθα*.

7. *Ὁ φίλον . . . γενέσθω*: Otto comp. Plat. Crito, 43 D; Apol. 19 A; Phaedr. 246 D.

9. *ἔχοντες*: 'Although.' C. 7, 8.—*ἔπαιτεῖν*: C. 2, 12.

11. *ἡξιώσαμεν*: Epistolary tense.

12. *τὴν προσφώνησιν . . . πεποιήμεθα*: C. 1, 9.

13. *ἐπιστολῆς*: So for *ἀποστολῆς*, Euseb. H. E. 4, 8, who cites this passage.

14. *ἀληθεύειν . . . γνωρίζετε*: The sequence is regular, as the aorist is epistolary, hence=present, but comp. c. 33, 8.

#### RESCRIPT OF HADRIAN.

Justin presented to the Antonines a copy (*ἀντιγραφον*) of Hadrian's rescript in the original Latin. Eusebius, who cites this passage (l. c.), has translated it into Greek. The Latin form is preserved by Rufinus, and has the place of honor in the editions of Otto and Trollope. The genuineness of this document has generally been conceded, but Overbeck (Studien, S. 137 fgg.) has recently revived Keim's objections.

19. *Σερηνίου*: Probably corrupt for *Σερήνου*.

35. *βοαίς*: Refers to the popular cries, *Christianos ad leonem*, Tertull. Apol. 40 (p. 96 D. S.).



## THE SECOND APOLOGY.





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According to Eusebius (H. E. 4, 16) the Second Apology was addressed to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, and this is the opinion of many critics, including Semisch. In his last edition Otto has changed his mind, and sides with those who have followed the lead of Grabe, Pearson, Thirlby, and Neander, in assigning the Second Apology, as well as the First, to the reign of Antoninus Pius.

Indeed, there are passages in the Apology itself which must be elaborately explained away, if the statement of Eusebius is to be defended. In the second chapter, a Christian, remonstrating against the sentence passed by Lollius Urbicus, the prefect of the city, cries: 'Thy judgment, Urbicus, does not become the pious Emperor, nor the philosopher, son of Caesar, nor the sacred senate.' And at the close Justin prays that the Emperors may give a decision worthy of their piety and their philosophy. Now, even if we do not accept Ueberweg's plausible conjecture (c. 2, 55), it certainly requires a strain to identify Marcus Aurelius with the pious Emperor—for Marcus was never called *Pius* in his lifetime (Aubé); and the philosophy of Verus, despite the official title, would hardly have been appealed to by a man so much in earnest as was our Martyr. See Aubé, l. c. (pp. 66–76), and notice among the recent adherents of the earlier date of this Apology, Overbeck, Studien, 1, S. 117.

## ANALYSIS OF THE SECOND APOLOGY.\*

In the exordium of the Second Apology Justin declares that wicked men and demons unite to murder the Christians (c. 1); and to prove this he adduces the account of three persons who a few days before had been punished—two of them with death—for confessing the name of Christ (c. 2). Indeed, Justin affirms that he himself expects to suffer a like doom from the machinations of his enemy, Crescens, a Cynic philosopher, or rather philosopher (c. 3).

The Gentiles, seeing the contempt of the Christians for death, would say: Why do you not put yourselves to death in order that you may go the more speedily to your God, instead of giving us the trouble of executing you? Justin gives the reason why the Christians do not resort to suicide, and yet fearlessly confess Christ (c. 4). Why does God suffer you to be killed? Justin answers this question, and defends the justice of God and the innocence of the brethren.

I. He defends the justice of God. God gave the angels the care of mankind; but the angels fell from their first estate, and scattered the seeds of crime among men (c. 5). God's remedy for this was His Son, the Logos. How crushed the demons are before the Logos is shown by the fact that the Christians everywhere drive out demons by the name of Jesus Christ (c. 6). The world, then, is preserved for the sake of the Christians, and the demons are not yet punished, but they will be sent into everlasting fire when the great conflagration takes place; a conflagration, however, be it noted, which will not happen by

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\* In this Analysis, as in the other, I follow Otto.

fate, because fate leaves room neither for liberty nor for virtue (c. 7).

II. He shows the innocence of the Christians from the persecutions themselves.

1. If those have always been hateful to the demons, whosoever have had a glimmering of truth from the Spermatic Logos, how much more must the Christians be hated, who embrace the whole truth in the Incarnate Logos and foretell the eternal punishment that awaits the demons (c. 9). And the Christians are hated not only on this account, but also because Christ has enabled unlearned men to acquire the true doctrine, and to follow the course of life that proceeds from the true doctrine (c. 10).

2. The sublime firmness of Christians under persecution shows that they have attained the true ideal of virtue (c. 11).

3. Nothing is better suited than persecution to repel all suspicion of crime, for Christians would not meet death so readily if they lived as the heathen report them to live (c. 12). The Christian doctrine is far above even the doctrine of Plato (c. 13).

Finally, Justin asks the Emperors to give their sanction to this memorial (c. 14), and to judge righteous judgment (c. 15).

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

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## NOTES.

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**ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ**: Is not in the MSS. and is now omitted by Otto. Some of the older editors put this Apology before the longer document. That it is the later appears from Euseb. H. E. 4, 16, 1 (D. S. p. 119), although he himself calls it *aporipa* by a slip (Otto).

### 1. INTRODUCTION.

1. **Καὶ τὰ χθὲς τε καὶ πρῶην**: So I have written with Braun for *ἐί*, which Otto justifies (after Sylburg) on the ground of its abrupt vehemence. See my note on Persius, 3, 1, and comp. Xen. Oec. init.: Ἐκουσα *ἐί ποτε κτί.*; Apol. Socr. init.: Σωκράτους *ἐί ἀξίον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι κτί.* Some commentators have seen in *ἐί* an intimation of a connection with the former Apology. For the very common phrase *χθὲς τε καὶ πρῶην*, see the **Lexx.**: *χθὲς καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν* (πρὸ τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας) is the **LXX** equivalent for the Hebrew *עַד־כֹּחַ לַיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי*, *heri et nudius tertius*. Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 17, 68.

2. **Οὐρβίκου**: Urbicus, consul (most probably twice) and prefect of the city under Antoninus Pius. Aubé thinks that he died in office, Saint-J. p. 71.—**ἡ Ρωμαῖοι**: This Apology, like the former, was addressed not only to the emperors, but to the Senate and people of Rome (c. 14, 2: τοῖς ἄλλοις). Otto.

4. **ἐντὶς ἡμῶν**: Others with the MSS. *ὑμῶν*. In the choice between *ἡμῶν* and *ὑμῶν* we must be guided by the sense. The transcribers often blunder.—**ἀμοισπαθῶν**: See c. 10, 26.

6. **σύνταξιν**: So Sylburg. The MSS. have *συναξιν*. *Σύνταξιν ποιήσασθαι* = *συντάξειν*. See A 1, 9.

7. **Πανταχοῦ κτί.**: The sentence is extremely awkward, and it is not surprising that editors should have resorted to conjecture and lacuna. The two elements of opposition are the offended

connections of the Christians and the demons. These are separated by a double parenthesis, which obscures the sense. The kernel of the sentence may be thus expressed: *πανταχοῦ ὅς ἂν σωφρονιζῇται κατ' ἑλλειψιν διὰ τὸ δυσμετάζητον καὶ οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες ἐχθραίνοντες ἡμῖν καὶ [εκαοὺς] δικαστὰς ὑποχειρίους ἔχοντες φονεύειν ἡμᾶς παρασκευάζουσι*. Incorrigible sinners infuriated by our rebukes and evil spirits inflamed with hatred are our bitterest foes, and are endeavoring to compass our murder, wherein the demons are aided by the wicked judges whom they have at their beck.

8. *κατ' ἑλλειψιν*: 'By reason of a failure in duty.'

9. *χωρὶς τῶν πεισθέντων κτλ.*: Christians when rebuked take it patiently.

11. *συγγενήσεσθαι*: So Otto for *συγγενίσθαι*, to match *κολασθῆσεσθαι*.

12. *λέγομεν δὲ τῶν γενομένων* X.: See A 59, 1.

14. *τοὺς τοιοῦτους*: Such as Urbicus. The article points the reference.

16. *παρασκευάζουσιν*: By means of others. The active is often used of subornation.

## 2. URBICUS.

1. *Γυνή . . . προσετιμήθη*: This passage is cited by Euseb. H. E. 4, 17, 2 (p. 120, D. S.). All between the words *Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Χ. διδάγματα ἔγνω* and l. 53, *προσωνυμίαν κτλ.*, is wanting in our MSS. of Justin, and has been supplied from Eusebius.—*συνεβίβου* = *συνίζη*: See A 10, 27.

2. *καὶ αὐτῇ*: 'Likewise.'

4. *σωφρονεῖν πείθειν*: A 8, 8.—*τὰ διδάγματα*: Sc. τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

5. *ἀναφέρουσα*: 'Citing.'—*τοῖς οὐ σωφρόνως*: On the neg. see A 4, 17.—*μετὰ λόγου ὁρθοῦ*: C. 7, 29: *κατὰ λόγον τὸν ὁρθόν*. In c. 9, 19, Christ is the *λόγος ὁρθός* (Otto).

7. *ἀσελγείας*: A 4, 32.—*ἄλλοτριαν* . . . *ἐποιεῖτο*: 'Alienated.'

8. *γαμετήν*: In model Attic *γαμετή* is treated chiefly as an adjective. It is not used simply as 'wife,' but with the force of 'wedded wife.'

10. *πόρους* . . . *ποιεῖσθαι* = *πορίζεσθαι*: A 1, 9.

12. *ἐξιδυσσωπεῖτο*: *Δυσσωπεῖν*, in the sense of 'shaming one into measures,' 'urge,' is a common word in post-classic writers. On the imperf., see A 81, 14.—*τῶν αὐτῆς*: See A 21, 28.

13. ὡς . . . ἤγοντες=ληγόντων ὡς ἤξει: A 4, 18.

15. Ἀλεξάνδρειαν: The naughtiness of Alexandria was proverbial. Halloix aptly quotes Quintil. Inst. Or. 1, 2, 7: *Gaudemus si quid licentius dixerint, verba ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis risu et oculo excipimus*. See the famous letter of Hadrian in Vopiscus, Saturn. 8: *Genus hominum seditiosissimum, canissimum, iniuriosissimum*. It is often coupled with Antioch, both remarkable for the turbulence of the population, both of the greatest importance as early centres of Christianity. See Auson. Clar. Urb. 3.

16. ὅπως μὴ . . . γίνηται: On the sequence, see A 33, 8.

18. ὁμοδίαυτος καὶ ὁμόκοιτος: 'Sharing his bed and board.' For ὁμοδίαυτος, see A 14, 17.

19. βρεπούδιον: The short u in Latin as well as the long is regularly represented by ου.

20. καλὸς κάγαθός: Often used in irony, as Andoc. 1, 133.—*δαίον*: 'Whereas.' C. 4, 22.

21. εὐχερῶς: 'Lightly,' 'readily.'

22. τούτων μὲν: Μὲν without εἰ, and without an equivalent of εἰ. However, καὶ αὐτόν answers as an antithesis.

23. πέπαντο: The syllabic augment of the pluperfect is often omitted even in Attic.

24. μὴ βουλομένου: The subject of the genitive absolute is not unfrequently omitted. A 8, 5. But βουλομένου may depend on ἀπαλλαγίσης. Stephanus suggests μὴ βουλόμενον, more elegant, less Justinian. — κατηγορίαν πεποιήται: On π., see A 1, 9. On the perf., A 33, 17; 62, 17.

25. βιβλίδιον: A 29, 6.

26. ἀναδέδεικε: A 29, 7. We might expect the aor., which some MSS. and editors have, but the memorial is still of record.

29. διοίκησιν: Some read, after διοίκησιν, ἐπίσχετο.

30. πρὸς ἑκαίνην μὲν: The antithesis is not expressed.

31. ἐκολάσατο: The aor. middle is rather rare. Veitch cites Thuc. 6, 78; Plat. Menex. 240. Κολάσαισθε has been smuggled by some editors into Xen. An. 2, 5, 13.

35. αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον: 'Only this and nothing more.' Comp. Tertull. Apol. 2 (p. 29 D. S.): *Illud solum expectatur, confessio nominis, non examinatio criminis*.

37. ἀλλ' οὐκ: The Greek often says 'but not,' where we say 'and not.' On the climax by litotes, see A 22, 10.

38. ἑαυτὸν εἶναι X.: When the subject of the infinitive is the same as the subject of the leading verb, the reflexive is not expressed except for especial reasons—which we are not to hunt up in an author like Justin.

41. εἰ εἴη: Optative in oratio obliqua, of which Justin has made little use.

42. συνεπιστάμενος: Συνειδώς is far more common. Comp. c. 4, 18: *ἰξεταζόμενοι δὲ οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα διὰ τὸ συνεπίστασθαι ἑαυτοῖς μηδὲν φαῦλον.*

47. ὃν οὐδὲν πρόσσεσι κτέ.: Comp. a similar curt relative clause, A 10, 25.—ἀληθινῶς: 'Genuine.'

48. ἀπαχθῆναι: A 31, 26.

50. πρὸς τὸν Οὐρβ.: The person to whom discourse is addressed is put in πρὸς with accus. So regularly with εἰπεῖν. The stress on the direction makes the difference from the dative.—Τίς ἡ αἰτία; Τοῦ τὸν κτέ.: Various written. Some read *τίς ἡ αἰτία τοῦ . . . ἐκολάσω*, and charge the anacoluthon to Justin, who is supposed to have finished the sentence as if he had begun with *διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν*. Some editors mend Justin's grammar by writing the inf. *κολάσαι*: others put *εἰ ἦν* for *τοῦ* (*τίς ἡ αἰτία εἰ ἦν*). Τοῦ seems to be=τινος (*χάριν*). Otto comp. Dial. c. T. 20; add Eur. Ion, 1360. On *κολάζειν* with gen., see Thuc. 2, 74; 6, 88. I have added *τόν*, and consider *τοῦτον τὸν ἀνθρώπον* as resumptive.

54. εὐσεβεῖ κτέ.: Comp. A 1, 11. Ueberweg (ap. Otton.) conjectures *Εὐσεβεῖ Αὐτοκράτ.* (A. Pius) *οὐκὶ φιλοσόφῳ* (M. Aurel.) *οὐκὶ Καίσαρος παιδί* (Verus).

56. Καὶ 3: A remnant of Attic idiom.

60. ἀπηλλάχθαι γνώσκων: Γινώσκω as a verb of thinking (*γνώμη*, 'opinion') takes the inf.; 'convinced that.' Euseb. has *ἰπέπει*.

61. τῶν εὐρανῶν: Suspicious. Euseb. has *τὸν θεόν*.

62. Καὶ . . . 84: A 32, 45.

### 3. JUSTIN AND CRESCENS.

Maran was the first editor to put this chapter here instead of between the end of c. 8: *ὁ ἡμίτερος διδάσκαλος*, and the beginning



of c. 9: ἵνα δὲ μή τις εἰπῇ. His reasons are: 1. This is the order in which Eusebius (and Rufinus) found the chapters; 2. The subject fits in here, and interrupts the discourse there.

1. Κάγω οὖν κτλ.: Cited by Euseb. H. E. 4, 16, 3 (p. 119, D. S.). —προσδοκῶ . . . ἐπιβουλευθῆναι: On the aor., see A 12, 23.

2. ξύλῳ ἐμπαγῆναι: 'To be fastened in the stocks.' Comp. Acts 16, 24. Euseb. has ἐντιναγῆναι. The translations 'impaled,' 'crucified,' 'bastinadoed,' are less likely. Braun identifies the ξύλον with the κύφων, for which see the lexicons. —καί = καί, which Euseb. has. See A 2, 7.

3. Κρίσκαντος: Crescens (pr. Crēscēns). On Γ = ε, see A 4, 4. The nom. is Κρίσκες. So Κλήμης = Clēmēns. The e-sound has been lengthened by the durative group -ns, and finally absorbs the n. So *formosus*, fr. *formonsus*. Tatian, Justin's disciple, has much harm to say of this person, ad Gr. 19: Κρίσκες ἐν ὃ ἐννεοτεύσας τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει, παιδεραστείᾳ μὲν πάντας ὑπερήνευεν, φιλαργυρία δὲ πάνυ προσεχῆς ἦν. Θανάτου δὲ ὁ καταφρονῶν οὕτως αὐτὸς (so I read for αὐτὸν) ἰδεῖται τὸν θάνατον ὡς καὶ Ἰουστίνον, καθάπερ καὶ ἐγώ, ὡς κακῶ τῷ θανάτῳ περιβαλεῖν πραγματεύσασθαι κτλ.—φιλοψόφου: Coined for the occasion by Justin himself. Euseb. has ἀφιλοσόφου. Only persons of delicate intellectual habit and feeble intellectual grasp will be shocked nowadays at Justin's levity in making a wretched pun at this momentous crisis. Comp. Plato, *Phaedo*, 68 B: οὐκ ἄρ' ἦν φιλόσοφος ἀλλὰ τις φιλοσώματος.

4. δε γα: A 12, 22.

5. & μὴ ἐπίσταται: Μή is the negative of the characteristic relative (generic).—καταμαρτυρεῖ: A 4, 25.—ὡς . . . ὄντων: A 4, 19.

6. πρὸς χάριν καὶ ἡδονήν: A 2, 12.

7. Εἴτε . . . ἢ εἰ: Want of concinnity for εἴτε . . . εἴτε. Εἴτε . . . εἴτε presents a matter of indifference; one horn of the dilemma is as good as the other.

8. ἐντυχόν: A 14, 8.—τοῖς τοῦ Χρ. διδάγμασι: C. 2, 4.—κατατρέχει: So our 'run down,' A 4, 25; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 1, 5, 20.

9. ἰδιωτῶν: 'Unphilosophical gentry,' A 39, 10.—πολύ: Even more common than the more analogical πολλῶ (dat. of measure), which Euseb. has.

10. οὐκ ἐπίστανται: Above μὴ ἐπίσταται. The negative often shifts according to the general principle laid down A 4, 9.

11. ἐντυχὸν μὴ συνῆκε: A 14, 8.—τὸ . . . μεγαλείον: 'Grandeur,' greatness that makes itself felt. Acts 2, 11; Luke 1, 49; Clem. Rom. 1 Ep. ad Cor. 26: τὸ μεγαλείον τῆς ἰσαγγελίας αὐτοῦ. Τὸ . . . μεγαλείον, from Euseb. for τῷ . . . μεγαλείῳ of the MSS.

14. ἐλάττων: 'Slave.'—προθέντα: So Euseb. The MSS. προτα-  
ξίντα.—Καὶ γάρ: A 4, 12.

15. ἐρωτήσαντα . . . ἐρωτήσεις: A 18, 2. The order is: βούλο-  
μαι ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι προθέντα με καὶ μαθεῖν καὶ ἰλιγξαί ὅτι κτί.—μαθεῖν  
=ὅτι ἔμαθον: A 5, 11.

16. ὅτι . . . μὴδὲν ἐπίσταται: A 24, 9. The regular negative  
below.

17. ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω=ἴν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἄ. λ.: A common brachylogy.  
So Lys. 13, 81: ὡς δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τοῖς μάρτυρας.—εἰ μὴ  
ἀνηνέχθησαν: 'If they have not been reported to you.'—αἱ κοινω-  
νίαι τῶν λόγων=αἱ κοινολογίαι: 'Debates.'

18. ἴτοιμος: Sc. εἰμι. We should hardly expect the omission,  
which is not very common in the first person.—ἐφ' ἡμῶν: A 4, 12.

19. βασιλικόν: Prov. 25, 2: It is the honor of kings to find  
out a matter. Comp. A 14, 24.

20. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔγνώσθησαν: Καὶ belongs more properly to αἱ  
ἐρωτήσεις. If it be taken with ἔγν., tr. 'actually.'—ὑμῖν: A 27, 18.

22. εἰ καὶ ἐπίσταται: Καί, 'really.' More elegant would be  
ἐπίσταται μὲν.—οὐ τολμᾷ: The condition is merely for form's sake,  
hence the negative οὐ. But, apart from that, when μὲν and εἰ are  
both in the protasis of a conditional sentence, the condition con-  
sists in the incongruity of the two co-ordinates, and οὐ is regu-  
larly found when fact is contrasted with fancy.

24. δείκνυται: Sc. ὤν.—δε γὰρ: A 12, 22.—μὴδὲ . . . τιμᾷ: Char-  
acteristic and causal.

25. 'Ἄλλ' οὕτι γὰρ: Plato, De Rep. 10, 595 C: ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ πρό γε  
ἀληθείας τιμητὸς ἀνὴρ.—οὕτι: By litotes (A 22, 10) stronger than  
οὐδὲν.

26. Κυνικῶ: There be Cynics and Cynics. The Cynic of Epic-  
tetus, Marcus Aurelius, and Maximus Tyrius was a very different  
person from the Cynic of Lucian and Justin Martyr.—ἑδιάφορον  
τὸ τέλος: 'Indifference,' 'stable equilibrium.' Comp. Clem. Alex.  
Strom. 2, 129: τίλος οὗτος εἶναι τὴν ἀδιαφορίαν ἔφη, τὸ δὲ ἀδι-  
φορον ἀπλῶς ἀδιάφορον ἀπολείπει. Origen is sneering at phi-

losophers when he says, c. Cels. 4, 26: οἱ ταῖς χαμαιῦταις ἀδιαφύρως προσιώντες, διδάσκοντες δὲ καὶ μὴ πάντως παρὰ τὸ καθήκον (pet term in philosophy) τοῦτο γίνεσθαι (comp. Athenag. Suppl. 32, 159).—προθεμένῃ: 'Having set up for himself.' So Nolte, and after him Otto, for προεμένῃ. Comp. Plut. Comp. Dion. 3: μόνος ἵνα προῖδετο σκοπὸν τὴν πάτριον ἀποδοῦναι Ῥωμαίους πολιτείαν.

#### 4. WHY CHRISTIANS DO NOT KILL THEMSELVES.

1. ἑαυτοὺς: A 2, 16.—φονεύσαντες: 'Kill and.' In English we do not subordinate an imperative notion.

2. ἤδη: 'Forthwith.'—παρὰ τὸν θεόν: A 8, 8.

3. πράγματα μὴ παρέχετε: 'Don't trouble us' with killing you. On παρέχειν, see A 8, 17. The editors cite by way of illustrating this common sneer, Tertull. ad Scap. 5 (D. S. p. 120): *Arrius Antoninus in Asia cum persequeretur, instanter omnes illius civitatis Christiani ante tribunalia eius se manu facta obtulerunt; tum ille, paucis duci iussis, reliquis ait: ὦ ἱελοῖ, εἰ θέλετε ἀποθνήσκειν, κρημνοὺς ἢ βρόχους ἔχετε.*

5. πεπονηκέναι . . . δεδιδάγμεθα: Inf.=ῦτι, A 21, 30.

6. ἀλλ' ἤ: A 40, 27.—διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος: See c. 5, 7; E. ad D. 10, 3.—χαίρειν τε: A 22, 10.

7. προέφημεν: Comp. A 10, 9. But unless the Second Apology was a mere appendix to the First, the emperors could hardly have been expected to remember the passage. Thirlby suggests προσεילהάμεν (παρεילהάμεν).

9. Εἰ . . . φονεύσομεν: 'If we are to,' A 8, 17.—τοῦ μὴ γεννητῆναι: An obvious correction of Sylburg's for τοῦ καί.

11. ὅσον ἐφ' ἡμῖν: A 40, 22.—ἐναντίον τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλῇ: See c. 7.

12. καὶ αὐτοί: A 54, 35.—ποιούντες . . . πράττωμεν: Πράττω is a narrower word than ποιῶ, and means originally 'to bring to pass,' 'to effect.' Comp. the restricted use of πρήσσω in Homer. Ποιῶ as the more general term embraces πράττω, and may stand for it, as in Dem. 4, 5: οὐδὲν ἂν ὦν νῦν πεποίηκεν ἔπραξεν. Hence misapprehensions. Comp. Dem. 3, 15 and Westermann on 18, 22.

13. οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα: A 4, 24; 8, 2.—συνεπίστασθαι: C. 2, 42.

14. μηδέν: On account of the infinitive. A 2, 4.

15. φθον: 'Ον may have been dropped by reason of neighborhood, but Justin often omits copulative participles and infinitives.

16. προλήψεως: A 2, 14.

#### 5. WHY MEN ARE IN TROUBLE. THE EVIL SPIRITS.

1. Εἰ δὲ τίνα ἰπλάθῃ . . . κτλ.: Another common objection. Comp. Arnob. 2, 76: *Cur persecutiones patitur perpeti eos tantas*. Maran cites Clem. Alex. Strom. 4, 11, 82; Thirlby, Iren. adv. Haer. 4, 34, 1; Otto, Min. Fel. Octav. 12; Cels. ap. Orig. 8, 69; Lactant. Instit. Div. 5, 21.

4. διαλύσω: A 43, 4.

5. τὰ οὐράνια στοιχεῖα: 'The heavenly bodies,' as, for instance, Ep. ad D. 7.

6. ὥρων μεταβολάς: So Thirlby for μεταβολαῖς. A 13, 10.

7. τοῦτοις νόμον: So Thirlby for τοῦτον.—καὶ αὐτά: 'Likewise.' A 54.

8. φαίνεται πεποιηκός: A 12, 87.

9. ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ἔταξε: See Athenag. Suppl. 24, 121.

11. γυναικῶν μίξεσιν: The notion is familiar. Besides A 5, 6 and Athenag. l. c. comp. Tertull. Apol. 22 (p. 71 D. S.). For the plural μίξεσιν, see A 12, 80.

12. λοιπόν: A 3, 21.

13. διὰ μαγικῶν γραφῶν: Thirlby suggests στροφῶν (comp. A 14, 6), but makes no change, nor is any change necessary. There is witchcraft enough in writing. Comp. the runes. Books of magic are mentioned Acts 19, 19.

14. ὦν ἐπέφερον: Thirlby restores ὦν, dropped on account of the last syllable in the preceding word.

15. θυμάτων καὶ θυμαμάτων: No superstition more common than this in the history of mankind. See Tylor, Primitive Culture.

19. τοὺς ἀγγέλους: Sc. τοὺς παραβάτας (Ashton).

22. καὶ τῶν λεχθέντων = καὶ εἰς τοὺς νιοὺς τῶν λ.: Extremely awkward, but not to be rewritten on that account.

24. ἀνήνεγκαν: 'Referred.'—'Ὀνόματι κτλ.: In the First Apology Justin was more generous towards the demons (A 5, 11), and allowed them to choose their own names. The reason of the apparent inconsistency is that in the former passages he uses

the word *δαίμονες* as equivalent to *ἄγγελοι*, here the *δαίμονες* are the sons of the *ἄγγελοι*, and received their names from their parents. To this effect Thirlby.

#### 6. NAMES OF GOD AND OF CHRIST.

1. *θετόν*: 'Given.'—*ἀγεννήτω*: A 14, 9.—*ὅντι*: Causal.

2. *ὃ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὀνόματί τι*: I have restored *τι*. Such absorptions by a preceding syllable are very common (*ἡμιγραφία*, *ἀπλογραφία*). 'For by whatever name a thing is called, it has the giver older'=the giver of a name is older than the thing named. *Τι* of course includes *τις* (Kaye's suggestion). Sylburg proposes *ὃ γὰρ ἂν*, Otto *ὀνομά τι* (*cuicunque enim nomen aliquod dicitur*!).

4. *Τὸ δὲ πατήρ*: 'The (expression) father.'

5. *ὀνόματα*: The word *ὄνομα*, which we translate 'name' or 'noun,' was at one period limited to the 'proper noun,' *κίριον ὄνομα*, so called because it is the only 'name proper.' God has no such name. Comp. A 10, 7; 83, 1, and Orig. c. Cels. 1, 23: *ἡ γὰρ ἀορίστως ὁμολογοῦσι τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα τὸ ὁ θεός ἢ καὶ μετὰ προσθήκης τῆς ὁ δημιουργός τοῦ κόσμου*. Comp. 5, 83: *Σκυθιστὶ γὰρ τὸ προσηγορικὸν τὸν θεὸν καὶ Αἰγυπτιστὶ καὶ πάσῃ διαλέκτῳ ὃ ἕκαστος ἐντίθραπται ὀνομάζων, οὐχ ἁμαρτῆσται*.

6. *προσθήσεις*: 'Appellations.' So also Plato. *Προσηγορία* is the grammatical term for a common noun or appellative. Comp. *προσαγόρευμα* below.—*Ὁ δὲ εἶδε ἑαίνου*: Regularly *ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἑαίνου*. See A 62, 21.

8. *γεννόμενος*: The Codex Claromontanus has *γενόμενος*, and so Scaliger. A much discussed passage which I leave to professional theologians. Semisch identifies *συνών* with the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος*, *γεννόμενος* with the *λόγος προφορικός*. See Introduction, xxxix.—*τὴν ἀρχήν*: A 10, 16.—*ἐκτίσσει καὶ ἐκόσμησεν*: The temptation to read *ἔκτισε* with Grabe is very strong.

9. *κατὰ τὸ καὶ χρίσται*: So Scaliger for the *κατὰ τὸ κεχρίσθαι* (*κεχρίσθαι*) of the MSS. Such a shifting of the voice and the subject is extremely awkward, *Χριστός* belonging to *κεχρίσθαι*, *τὸν θεόν* to *κοσμήσαι*. Still, comp. Thuc. 6, 34: *πεῖθεσθε τὰλλα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἱτοιμάζειν καὶ παραστῆναι παντὶ κτί*.

10. *δὲ αὐτοῦ*: Comp. Hebr. 2, 10: *Δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα*.—*καὶ αὐτό*: A 54, 35.

11. ἐν τρέπον: A 4, 22.

12. ἐμφυτος τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων δόξα: See Tertull. Testimon. Anim. 2 (p. 18, D. S.); Apologet. c. 17 (p. 58, D. S.), which contains the famous words, *O testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae*.

13. Ἰησοῦς κτί.: Comp. A 33, 21. Perhaps Justin, as other Fathers, associated the name with the Gr. ἰᾶσθαι also (Otto). See c. 23, 18.

14. Καὶ γάρ: A 4, 12.

15. ὡς προέφημεν: A 23, 9, and 63, 20.

16. ἀποκηθεῖς: Not a classic word, c. 46, 21.

17. ἐπὶ καταλύσει: I have inserted ἐπί with Perionius, but the simple dat. is not hopeless. Comp. Thuc. 1, 123 (ὠφελίᾳ); 3, 83 (τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κακώσει . . . πλεονεξίᾳ); 6, 33 (ἐνυμαχίᾳ). See Classen. For ἐπί, see Index.—ὡς καὶ νῦν: So with Otto for καὶ νῦν, ὡς having been absorbed by the preceding -ων.

20. ἱπορκίζοντες κτί.: We should expect ἱεορκίζοντες and ἱεορκιστῶν, but ἱπορκιστῶν is found Dial. c. T. 85, and ἱπορκιστῆς is the word used in Constt. Apostt. 8, 26. The heathen had great respect for Christian magic. See Cels. ap. Orig. 6, 41; 8, 37.

22. τῶν ἄλλων: Applies strictly to ἱπορκιστῶν alone, but see A 0, 4.

24. καὶ ἔτι νῦν ἰόνται: Comp. Tertull. Apol. 23. 27. 32. 37 (Otto). —καταργοῦντες: A favorite Pauline word, Rom. 8, 3; 4, 14; 7, 2. 6; Gal. 3, 17; 5, 4. In the LXX only in Ezra.

## 7. THE WORLD PRESERVED FOR THE SAKE OF CHRISTIANS.

1. ἐπιμένει . . . μὴ ποιῆσαι: A 28, 7.

3. μηκέτι ὥσι: Annihilation not of being, but of power (Ash-ton).

4. ὁ γινώσκει κτί.: A difficult passage. 'As it stands, it must be construed thus: ὁ (sc. τὸ σκ. τῶν Χρ.) γινώσκει (sc. ὁ θεός) ὅτι (sc. τὸ σπῖρμα τ. Χρ.) ἐν τῇ φύσει (=τῷ κόσμῳ) αἰτιὸν ἵστι (sc. τοῦ αὐτῶν . . . i. e. τὸν θεόν . . . μὴ ποιῆσαι τὴν συγχ. καὶ κατάλ. τ. π. κόσμον' (Nolte). 'Which he knows to be the [only] thing in the world that is the cause [thereof].' The sense: 'Ye are the salt of the earth.' Comp. Ep. ad Diog. 6: Χριστιανοὶ κατέχουσι τὸν κόσμον. Otto understands αἰτιον as αἰτιον τοῦ εἶναι. Braun takes

*αἰριον* in the sense of 'guilty,' and translates: *propter semen Christianorum quod natura sua in culpa sive reum esse intellegit*, and comp. Ephr. 2, 3: *καὶ ἡμεν τίκνα φύσει ὀργῆς*. This view needs no criticism. Thirlby and others consider the passage corrupt. For *αἰριον* Seegar suggests *κρείττον*, Nolte *τὸ ἱατρικόν* or *τὸ διατρών*, *l'élément conservateur*. *Ἄξιον* would be easier and not unnatural. Comp. A 10, 9: *ἰὰν ἀξιῶνς ἑαυτοὺς δεῖξωσι*.

5. οὐκ ἂν οὐδέ: Subdivided (rather than repeated) negative. Notice that the first negative is very rarely followed immediately by the second.

6. ἐνεργεῖσθαι: A 5, 15.

8. ἀνέδην: A 20, 34. Ἄν may have been dropped, ἀνέδην ἂν or παντ' ἂν, though it is not necessary.

9. μηδένα: Where the earlier language would have used οὐδένα. — ἄλλ' ἤ: A 40, 27. — τὸν μόνον: We should expect μόνον τόν. *Sed in Iustino ferenda sunt eiusmodi peccata, non emendanda* (Thirlby).

10. Νῶε . . . Δευκαλίωνα: A familiar identification, first found in Philo.

12. ἐκπύρωσιν: Comp. A 20, 12.

13. Στωϊκοί: The Christians regard the destruction of the world by fire as a merited punishment for sin, the Stoics as a natural consumption.

14. καθ' εἰμαρμένην: A 43, 2.

16. προαίρεσιν κτί.: A 43, 14.

21. μὴ νοήσαντες: Causal.

22. γίνεσθαι ἀπεφάναντο: A 20, 19. 'A. is treated regularly as a verb of saying.—αὐτεξούσιον: Comp. Tatian c. Gr. 11: *τί μοι καθ' εἰμαρμένην ἀγρυπνεῖς διὰ φιλαργυρίαν; τί εἰ μοι καθ' εἰμαρμένην πολλάκις ὀρεγόμενος, πολλάκις ἀποδνήσκεις; ἀπόδνησκει τῷ κόσμῳ, ζῆτι τῷ θεῷ· οὐκ ἐγενόμεθα πρὸς τὸ ἀποδνήσκειν, ἀποδνήσκομεν εἰ ἑαυτούς. ἀπώλεσεν ἡμᾶς τὸ αὐτεξούσιον*. See also Theophil. ad Autol. 2, 27.

23. τὴν ἀρχήν: A 10, 8.

24. τὴν τιμωρίαν: 'The punishment' (due).

25. κομίσονται: Attic *κομοῦνται*. So Justin elsewhere, e. g., 8,

13.—Γεννητοῦ: Otto now with Ashton, *Γενητοῦ*. See A 14, 9.

27. εἰ οὐκ ἦν: The common reading requires ἦν to be taken in

the sense of *ἔξῃν*, and the subject to be shifted in *εἴχῃ* to *ἡ φύσις*. The use of *ἦν* would better explain *οὐκ* in the protasis of a conditional sentence, *οὐκ ἦν* = *ἀδύνατον ἦν*. If any change is to be made, I read with Thirlby *εἰ οὐ καί*, and do not accept, with Otto, his alternative *εἰ οὐκ ἂν*.

80. *τάδε μὲν . . . τῶνδε δέ*: A 43, 9.

82. *ὥς δηλοῦσθαι*: A 21, 24.

83. *ἀρχῶν καὶ ἀσωμάτων*: Because they admit the necessity of fate and deny the existence of *ἀσώματα*, denying that the *ἀρχαί* are *σώματα* (Ashton).—*οὐκ εὐδοῦν*: More grammatically, *μὴ εὐδοῦντας*, *μή* on account of the inf. A 2, 4, the participle on account of the verb of showing, A 3, 3.—*Εἴτε γὰρ . . . ἔστι*: Justin proceeds to draw the moral consequences of the Stoic tenets concerning (1) fate, (2) the nature of God. 'Whether,' he says,

'(1) they shall maintain that what is done by men is done in accordance with fate, or

(2) that God is nothing but the shifting and ever-recurrent phenomena of the universe;

then they will show

(2) either that they have no conception of aught but perishable things, and no notion of God except as a being steeped—parts and whole—in all manner of wickedness (comp. c. 28, 15: *χαίρειν κακίῃ*);

(1) or that virtue and vice are nothing.'

The conclusion is chiasmatically arranged. To the same effect Otto in his last ed. Maran makes *Εἴτε . . . γίνεσθαι* the protasis of the condition, and begins the apodosis with *ἡ μὴδὲν* (*φήσουσι* understood), and inserts *καί*. For the sense of the passage, which certainly lacks clearness, comp. A 29, 13 foll.; 43, 16 foll.—*Εἴτε . . . ἤ*: A not uncommon irregularity.

84. *φήσουσι*: See A 8, 17.—*πρὸς ἀνθρώπων*: A 2, 17.

85. *παρὰ τρεπόμενα*: So the Codex Claromontanus. The Regius has *παταρπόμενα*. On this use of *παρά*, see A 20, 9.

86. *ἡ φθαρτῶν*: I have inserted *ἡ* before *φθαρτῶν*, easily dropped after *ἀεί*.

87. *αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν κτέ.*: Supply *κατεληφέναι* out of *κατάληψιν ἰσχυρίναι*. On the use of *καταλαμβάνειν* with the Stoics, see Ueberweg, l. c. 1, 192.



## 8. THE WORLD HATES THE BEARERS OF THE SEED.

1. τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Στωϊκῶν δι' ὁγμῶν: A 26, 22.—κάν: See A 2, 7.

3. οἱ ποιηταί: See Max. Tyr. Diss. 10: τινες ἀμεινον περι βιωῶν εὐλαβον, ποιηται ἡ φιλόσοφοι;

4. μμισῆσθαι . . . οἴδαμεν: For μμισημένους ἴσμεν.

5. Ἡράκλειτον: See A 46, 11. Heraclitus was not put to death, but died of his own treatment for dropsy. See Tat. ad Gr. 3. Athenag. (Suppl. 31, 153) represents him as exiled from Ephesus. H. if not a 'Stoic,' was the spiritual ancestor of the Stoics. See Ueberweg, l. c. 1, 42: 'The Stoics reproduced the doctrine of Heraclitus.'—ὡς προέφημεν: Not in this Apology, nor yet in the other. See note on c. 4, 7. Otto suggests *ἐν τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν* or *ἐν τοῖς προγενομένοις*, as opposed to *ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς* = *ἐν τοῖς νῦν*.—Μουσώνιον: Doubtless the Musonius Rufus exiled (not put to death) by Nero on account of his freedom of speech, Tac. Ann. 15, 71. Suidas makes the same mistake as Justin.

6. ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς: 'Among the men of our time.' Καθ' ἡμᾶς loosely used like νῦν, A 29, 19.—ἡσημάναμεν: The better form is ἡσημήναμεν: 'a less frequent than *ἡ* in Attic, if correct' (Veitch). The reference is to c. 7, 17.

7. κἂν ὅπως θέλοι: 'No matter after what fashion.' Κἂν sc. ὅπως θέλοι σπουδάζωσιν. See A 2, 7.

9. εἰ τοὺς οὐ: Οὐ has been inserted by Otto. It is indispensable. 'It is nothing strange if the demons, finding themselves convicted (ἐλεγχόμενοι), work to make those more hated who are striving to live (supply σπουδάζοντας βιοῦν from the previous sentence) not according to a part of the Spermatic Word, but according to the knowledge of the whole Word, which is Christ,' ὅ ἐστι being = τοῦτ' ἐστι.—σπερματικῷ λόγῳ: The term is borrowed from Stoic philosophy, but Justin has made a special application of it. Subsequent writers delight in using the figure. So, for instance, Origen c. Cels. 1, 4: διὸ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν ἕπερ ἐξείδατε διὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐγκατεσπαρκέναι ταῖς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς.

12. κάλασιν καὶ τιμωρίαν: A 3, 4.

13. κομίσονται: See c. 7, 25.

16. ἰσομένης: As if he had not written μελλούσης before. A slip for ἰσοῦναι.

#### 9. ETERNAL PUNISHMENT A NECESSITY OF GOD'S EXISTENCE.

2. κόμποι καὶ φόβητρα: 'Idle noises and bugbears'—Mumbo Jumbo. Comp. Tertull. Apol. 47 (p. 107, D. S.): *Si gehennam comminetur, quas est ignis arcani subterraneus ad phenam thesaurus, proinde decachinnatur.*—φόβητρα: A 5, 7. See Keim, Celsus' Wahres Wort, S. 36, 1.

3. καλῶνται: A 3, 4.

6. βραχυτεῶς: A 49, 23.

7. οὔτε ἴσθι θεός: We should expect οὐδέ.

8. καί, ὡς προέφημεν: I suspect a transposition of ὡς προέφημεν καί. Comp. c. 7, 39.

9. τιμωροῦσιν: The middle is the usual form in this sense.

10. ἱκεῖνοι: Sc. οἱ νομοῖται.—καὶ ὁ αὐτῶν πατήρ: God. For καί we should expect οὐδ'. 'Since they are not unjust nor their Father in teaching them by the Word to act as he does, those who obey them are not unjust.' Braun would read αὐτοῦς.

12. συντιθέμενοι: A 39, 19.

13. προβάλλεται: 'Bring forward,' by way of objection.—παρ' οἷς μὲν: A 24, 12.

14. τάδε καλά: 'We should expect τὰ μὲν καλά, or what would be more Justinian, τάδε μὲν καλά, c. 7, 30. The diversity of human use and wont is proverbial. Comp. Pind. fr. 200: ἄλλο δ' ἄλλοισιν νόμισμα and Soph. O. C. 44: ἄλλα δ' ἀλλαχοῦ καλά.

17. διατάξασθαι: A 5, 10.

19. ὁρθὸς λόγος: Comp. c. 2, 5. Ὁ ὁρθὸς λόγος is not necessary. See note on πνεῦμα ἁγίον, A 61, 43.

21. ἔσθι μοι . . . εἰρήσεται: On μοι, see A 27, 18.

22. εἰρήσεται: Sylburg desiderates εἰρήσθω, but εἰρήσεται is a semi-imperative. See A 5, 5, and add Eur. Hec. 826.

#### 10. COMPARISON OF CHRIST WITH SOCRATES.

1. Μεγαλειότερα: C. 3, 11.—ἀνθρωπείου: Fem. Comp. ἀνθρώπινος, A 11, 2.

2. διὰ τὸ λογικὸν κτί.: So Otto, after Perionius, for διὰ τοῦτο. 'On account of Christ, who appeared for us, being the entire Lo-

gos.' Other manifestations are imperfect. τὸ (in τὸ λ.) belongs to γεγονέναι; λογικὸν τὸ ὅλον, third attributive position.

4. καὶ σῶμα κτί.: Justin is a dichotomist, that is, recognizes σῶμα and ψυχὴ only. Hence Neander has suspected this passage of being an interpolation. But σῶμα and ψυχὴ may be considered as designating the complete human nature of Christ, λόγος as the expression of his divinity. In other words, in Christ the human and the divine combined to form a personal unity. See Otto, Zur Charakterik Justins, S. 15.

6. κατὰ λόγου μέρος: Κατά as in κατὰ μεταβολήν, A 20, 5. The sense seems to be: 'All that they said and invented well is due to a share of the Logos in the invention and consideration.'—ἐστὶ πενηθὲντα: The periphrasis with the aor. participle is rare, c. 44, 49.

7. αὐτοῖς: A 27, 18.

8. καὶ ἐναντία: Καί, 'actually.'

9. οἱ προγεγεννημένοι: With Thirlby, for οἱ προγεγραμμένοι. Comp. A 46, 15.—κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον: Formerly combined by Otto with οἱ προγ. 'After the manner of men,' 'by ordinary human generation.' He now combines with πειραζέιντες, and translates *humano modo*.

12. εὐτενέστερος: A 65, 5.

13. καὶ γὰρ . . . αὐτόν: Καί belongs to αὐτόν. See A 4, 12.—καινὰ δαιμόνια: A 5, 16.

14. μὴ ἡγεῖσθαι: On the neg., see A 4, 18.

15. Ὁ δὲ δαίμονες: Plato, De Republ. 2, 377 sqq.; 10, 595 sqq. 'He by casting out Homer and the other poets taught men to reject the evil demons,' etc. Ὁ δὲ is Socrates as represented by Plato. This use of ὁ δὲ, referring to the subject of the preceding sentence, is irregular. Notice the coincidence in time of ἐκβαλὼν and ἐδίδαξε.—καὶ τοὺς πρ.: It were better to omit καὶ or τοὺς (Μاران).—παραινεῖσθαι: A 2, 3.

18. θεοῦ . . . τοῦ ἀγνώστου: Acts 17, 23.—λόγον ζητήσεως=λογικῆς ζητήσεως.

19. Τὸν . . . ἀσφαλές: Plat. Tim. 28 C. A favorite quotation with the Fathers, e. g., Orig. c. Cels. 7, 42. Justin cites with his usual looseness. In Plato we find: τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εἰρεῖν τε ἔργον καὶ εἰρόντα εἰς πάν-

τας ἀδύνατον λείγειν. The variation is as great as in some of the citations from the Memoirs.

21. ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστός: A 48, 2.

22. ἐπιστή: For ἐπιστεύθη of the MSS. (Sylburg).

23. ἐν παντί: Παντι is masculine (Otto).

26. ὁμοιοπαθεύς: C. 1, 4. The word occurs also Acts 14, 15; Jas. 5, 17.

27. οὗ φιλόσοφοι οὐδὲ φιλόλογοι: So Plato combines ὁ φιλόσοφος τε καὶ ὁ φιλόλογος. Φιλόλογος has as wide a range as λόγος. Comp. Dial. c. Tr. 3: φιλολογία τε ἀντικώτατά ἐστι τὰ τοιάδε χωρία . . . Φιλόλογος οὖν τις εἰ σύ, ἔφη, φιλεργός δὲ οὐδαμῶς οὐδὲ φιλαλήθης, οὐδὲ πειρᾷ πρακτικός εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ σοφιστής.

28. ἰδιώται: A 89, 10.

30. δύναμις ἐστι: Sc. ὁ Χριστός οἱ τὰ Χριστοῦ. Comp. 1 Cor. 1, 24: Χριστὸν Θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ Θεοῦ σοφίαν, and Ep. ad Diogn. 7, 32: ταῦτα ἀνθρώπων οὐ δοκεῖ τὰ ἔργα, ταῦτα δύναμις ἐστι Θεοῦ.

31. Κατασκευή: *Emendatio palmaris* of Pearson for τὰ σκευή. Comp. Dial. c. Tr. 58: κατασκευὴ λόγου.

# 11. HOW CHRISTIANS REGARD DEATH.

1. Οὐκ ἂν δὲ οὐδέ: Comp. c. 7, 5.

3. παντὶ κτλ.: The rhythm is reminiscential; θανεῖν for ἀποθανεῖν is poetic or late in Attic. Comp. Eurip. Alc. 419: ὡς πᾶσιν ἡμῖν κατθανεῖν ὀφείλεται. Justin may have written κατθανεῖν as a quotation. Comp. ὀλέσαι, A 25, 12. In his last ed. Otto makes the same suggestion, and cites further, Eur. Alc. 782; Androm. 1272; Aegaei fragm. ap. Stob. Flor. 98, 8.

5. τὸ Ξενοφόντειον: So I accent with Götting, and so does Otto *noie*. The famous passage occurs in Xen. Mem. 2, 1, 21 foll. The apologue is attributed by Xenophon himself to the sophist Prodicus. Since well worn. See Cic. Off. 1, 82, with the commentators. The student will of course compare Justin with his original. I subjoin the less accessible version of Max. Tyr. Diss. 20, an important author for this period: Πρόδικος μὲν Ἡρακλῆα ἀγεῖ ἐν τῷ μύθῳ ἀρετὴν ἡθάσκοντα καὶ ἀνδριζόμενον ἐπὶ ἐπιτάς ὁδούς, Ἄρετην καὶ Ἠδονὴν ἐπιστήσας ἡγεμόνας ἐκατέρᾳ τῇ ὁδῷ· ἡ μὲν αὐτῷ σοβαρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἡ δὲ εὐσχήμων ἰδεῖν, βασιζοῦσα ἡρέμα, φεγγαμῆνη μουσικῶς, βλέμμα πρῶτον, ἀμπεχόνῃ ἀπλῇ· ἡ δὲ ἐντετέρα, θρυπτική,

cf. also Dio. Chrys. Di. 1 where for Ἄρετῃ  
ἐξελθούσῃ καὶ βασιλῆς ὡς τρυφῶν

επίχριστος, χλανιδίους ἐξηνδισμένη, βλίμμα ἱταμόν, βάδισμα ἀτακτον, φωνή ἀμουσος. A familiar imitation is to be found in Luc. Somn. 6.

6. ἀφραίνοντας: Originally an Epic word. Plutarch uses it repeatedly in his discussion of Stoic doctrines, and it may have been a stock word with that school. It is found in Tatian, ad Gr. 21: Clem. Alex. Protrept. 1, 2; Paedag. 2, 7, 69.

8. τριόδον: Cic. l. c., *cum duas cerneret vias*. These two, with the one he is on, make up the τριόδος, as Ashton has thought it worth while to remark. Comp. Soph. O. R. 734 with 800, and Plato, Gorg. 524 A: ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ ἐξ ἧς φέρετον τῷ ὁδῷ.

10. ἠρωτοποποιημένη: 'Made up to inspire passion:' occurs nowhere else. There is no end of such formations in later Greek. Observe the false reduplication (instead of ἠρωτοποιημένη) which is found occasionally in MSS. and editions of the classic writers, e. g. ἱπποτετροόφκειν, Lycurg. c. Leocr. 139; ὠδοπεποιημένη, Xen. Anab. 5, 3, 1; ἡριστοπεποίητο, Xen. Hell. 4, 5, 8.

11. τῶν τοιούτων: Of the ornaments (Otto). Left vague on purpose.—θελεκτικὴν τε κτλ.: Maran wishes to leave out πρὸς, and understands ὀψεις of the eyes of Vice, comparing Xen. ὄμματα εἶναι ἀναπεπταμένα. Comp. the βλίμμα ἱταμόν of Max. Tyr. But how was the πρὸς smuggled in? Nor is εὐδύς so clear as on the hypothesis that the ὀψεις are the eyes of the beholder. Εὐδύς πρὸς τὰς ὀψεις would correspond to the δοκεῖν φαίνεσθαι, the δοκεῖν εἶναι of Xen. The charm would be a momentary charm to the eye. Comp. κάλλει τῷ ρέοντι καὶ φθειρομένῳ. On the solitary τε, see A 23, 10.

12. ἣν αὐτῇ ἔπηται κτλ.: Justin gives nothing but the general drift.

15. ἐν ἀνχηρῷ μὲν τῷ προσώπῳ: Notice the predicative position, which is very common of person and dress. So in Lucian. Xenophon has nothing corresponding to this part: εὐπρεπὴ τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἡλευθέριον φύσει . . . ἰσθῆτι λευκῇ. Μίν: as if he intended to say: ἐν ἀνχηρῷ μὲν τῷ προσώπῳ, ἐν ἀνχηρῷ δὲ τῇ περιβολῇ.

17. ἑαυτόν=σαστόν.

18. Καὶ πανθ' ὄντινόν: Justin speaks in his proper person.

20. ἀλογα: Sylburg conjectures ἀλγεινά, Pearson ἄκοσμα. The former is the better, but not conclusive.—εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκδέχεσθαι:

'Obtains happiness.' Thirlby suggests *εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐνδείχεσθαι*, 'may be happy,' but makes no change.

21. πρόβλημα: Ashton desiderates *περίβλημα*.—*ἐαντὴς τῶν πρ.*: Irregular position for *τῶν ἐαντὴς πράξεων*.—*τὰ προσόντα τῇ ἀρετῇ*: Comp. c. 4, 7.

22. *ὄντως ὄντα*: A familiar Platonic expression.—*φθαρτῶν*: So the MSS. Maran and Otto write *ἀφθάρτων*, 'because vice hides under the ornaments of virtue by imitating not corruptible things but incorruptible.' But the text means that the imitation consists in corruptible things, and explains 'for it has nothing incorruptible.'

26. *καὶ ἀφθαρτοί*: Sc. *εἰσὶ*, 'are also incorruptible.'

27. *τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀθλου*=*ἀθλητῶν*. Comp. A 26, 22.—*τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τ.*: The MSS. have *ἀθλου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν*. The emendation is due to Thirlby.

28. *ἔφασαν*: So Perionius for *ἔφασαν*.

29. *τῶν νομιζομένων θεῶν*: Justin is thinking especially of Hercules, the model just cited. Remember Hercules's contempt of death.—*πάντα νουνεχῇ*: So Thirlby for *οὐν ἔχρ*. Otto comp. A 46, 23: *ὁ νουνεχῆς καταλαβεῖν ἐννήσεται*; Tatian, Or. ad Gr. 39: *χρὴ τὸν νουνεχῆ συνεῖναι*.

31. *ἔλκοντα*: Belongs to *νουνεχῇ*. 'Which notion every sensible man must conceive concerning the Christians—drawing the conclusion from our despising death, a thing so much avoided.' *φευκτοῦ*, first 'avoided,' then 'to be avoided.'

## 12. INNOCENCE OF CHRISTIANS PROVED BY THEIR CONTEMPT OF DEATH.

1. *Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ . . . φονευθεσόμενος*: A classic passage, cited by Euseb. H. E. 4, 8. The Gentile view is given by Tertull. Apol. 27 (p. 81, D. S.): *quidam dementia existimant*, etc., and 50 (p. 112, D. S.): *desperati et perditī existimamur*, and Min. Fel. Oct. 8: *homines desperatae factionis*. Of especial interest in this connection is the opinion of M. Aurelius himself, 11, 8: *τὸ δὲ ἔτοιμον τοῦτο* (i. e. readiness to die), *ἵνα ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως ἐρχηται, μὴ κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν* (sheer contrariness), *ὥς οἱ Χριστιανοί, ἀλλὰ λελογισμένως καὶ σεμνῶς καί, ὥστε καὶ ἄλλον πείσαι, ἀτραγῶδως*.

5. *ὑπάρχειν*: 'Live.'

6. ἀνθρωπίνων σαρκῶν: Euseb. has ἀνθρωπείων. See A 26, 34.

7. ὅπως τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθῶν στέρηθῃ: On αὐτοῦ=*ipse*, see A 21, 23: στέρηθῃ: subj. after opt. with ἀν, as often on account of the equivalency of the latter to present and fut. ind. Euseb. has τῶν αὐτοῦ στέρηθῃ ἐπιθυμιῶν, more strictly regular.

8. ἐκ παντός: 'By all means.'—ἦν μὲν: Euseb. omits μὲν, but comp. A 13, 10, where the contrast is interrupted, as it were, by *kai*.

9. ἐπειράτο: We should expect *πειράτο*, but comp. A 19, 2, on the shifting of the point of view from ideal to unreal.—οὐχ οὕτως: 'Not that,' 'much less.'

10. κατήγγελλε: So with Eusebius for κατήγγελε, and so Otto *noit*. Καταγγεῖλαι would be the normal construction. Κ. 'denounce,' late.

11. ἐνήργησαν . . . πρᾶχθῆναι: A 5, 15.

12. φονεύοντες: Conative present participle.

13. ἐλκυσαν: Thirlby prefers *ἔλκουσι*, but here aor.=perf. On this subject, see the Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons in Euseb. H. E. 5, 1, 14 (p. 130, D. S.).

16. οὐδὲν πρόσσεστιν: A 10, 25.

17. θεὸν τὸν ἀγέννητον: A 14, 9.

20. Κρόνου . . . μυστήρια: Thirlby cites Lactant. Inst. Div. 1, 21: Euseb. Praep. Ev. 4, 15 sqq.; Tertull. Apol. 9 (p. 42, D. S.). Boys were the favorite victims of the Phoenician Saturn (Moloch).

21. ἀνδροφονεῖν=*παῖδοκτονεῖν* (Otto).

22. τὰ ἴσα: More naturally *ἴσα* (adv.).—τῷ . . . εἰδώλῳ: Jupiter Latiaris. See Tertull. l. c. Thirlby has a long note from which we take these references. Tatian, Or. ad Gr. 26; Theophil. ad Autol. 3, 7; Minuc. Fel. Oct. 21. 30; Lactant. l. c. 1, 21; Porphy. De Abstin. 2, 56.

23. προσπαίνει τε: So after Thirlby for *προσπαίνεται*, and so Otto *noit*. The difference in pronunciation between *ε* and *αι* was very slight. In fact *ε* was called *ἰ ψιλόν* (simple *ε*), to distinguish it from *αι*.

25. πρόσχυσιν . . . ποιούμενοι: A 1, 9.—τῶν φονευθέντων: The *bestiarii*. Human sacrifices were prohibited by Hadrian, Porphy. De Abstin. 2, 56 (Ashton).

27. γινόμενοι: So I have written for *γενόμενοι* to match the other participles.

ἰη' δ' οὐν οἷτι' τῇν αἰδῶ νῦν ἄντι τῆς ἀτοχύνης  
 δεσφάσων. ὡς περ ἐὼς ἐστὶ τοῖς ποιηταῖς

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NOTES. *Ad. Chrys.* c. 13

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28. Ἐπικούρου μὲν: Another μὲν *solitarium*.

32. ἐπὶ πτην: Sc. *ὄντα*. Comp. Clem. Rom. 1 ad Cor. 55, 6: τὸν πανεπὶ πτην δεσπότην, θεὸν τῶν αἰώνων, with Harnack's note.

33. Εἴθε καὶ νῦν τις ἐν τρ. φ. . . ἀνεβόησεν: The MSS. have: Εἰ δὲ . . . ἦν. The εἴθε of the text is due to Maran. For ἦν I accept Krabinger's emendation *ἐν* (ap. Otton.). Maran's and Otto's *ἀν* is ungrammatical; Krabinger's further emendation, *ἀναβοήσσειεν*, is not absolutely necessary, as the aor. ind. is in wishes not rigidly limited to the past. Otto comp. further Plato, Clitoph. 407 A.

34. Αἰδέσθητε . . . ἀναφέροντες: Αἰσχύνομαι takes the participle in its causal or conditional sense, the inf. when the action is dependent. Αἰσχύνομαι *ἐπαιτῶν*, 'I am ashamed because I beg,' 'I beg to my shame;' *αἰσχύνομαι ἐπαιτεῖν*, 'I am ashamed to beg' (ὕπ' αἰσχύνῃς οὐκ ἐξίλω ἐπαιτεῖν). In the conditional relation infinitive and participle may be equivalent: οὐκ ἂν αἰσχυνοίμην *ἐπαιτῶν* = εἰ *ἐπαιτοῖην* = *ἐπαιτεῖν*. Αἰδοῦμαι has theoretically the same constructions as *αἰσχύνομαι*, but practically it seldom takes the participle, as the emotion is more delicate. The *αἰδώς* comes before and prevents the action; *αἰσχύνῃ* may precede or follow. Comp. Clem. Alex. Protrep. 2, 14: οὐκ αἰδούμενος λέγειν ἃ προσκυνεῖν οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθαι, and 10, 102: εἰ δὲ αἰδῶ καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ ὑφροδίτην ἐνθιδάξετε, ἀκολουθοῦντων αὐτοῖς αἰσχύνῃ καὶ ὁρμῇ καὶ κάλλος καὶ συνουσία, and Paed. 2, 6, 52: τὰ αἰδοῖα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αἰδοῦς, οὐκ αἰσχύνῃς κατηξιωμένα.

35. ἀναφέροντες: 'Attributing,' 'ascribing.'

36. ἑαυτοῖς = ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. In Otto's third ed., by an unlucky error of the types, θεοῖς has been omitted after ὑμετέροις. — περιβάλλοντες = περιτιθέιντες. See c. 11, 25 (Otto).

37. τούτοις: The Christians.—ὦν: Refers to τὰ προσόντα. The sentence is very awkward. Ashton would rewrite: ὦν (referred to τούτοις) οὐδενὶ οὐδ' ἐπὶ ποσὸν αὐτῶν οἷ ὦν οὐδεν' οὐδ' ἐπὶ ποσὸν αὐτοῖς μέτεστι, which I should prefer. Comp. A 11, 25.

### 13. THE WORD HAS BEEN IN ALL MEN.

1. Καὶ γάρ: Καί with ἐγώ.—περίβλημα: 'Disguise.'

2. περιτεθειμένον: More commonly *περικείμενον*.

4. ψευδολογούμενον: So Maran and Otto for *ψευδολογούμενον*.

5. κατεγέλασα: Translate 'I must laugh at,' 'I cannot help



laughing at.' With certain verbs of expression of emotion, the aorist is used as a kind of impatient present, anticipatory present (dramatic aorist). — δέξῃς: The MSS. and editions have a comma after δέξῃς. Thirlby and Maran would insert *kai*, or change *κατεγίλασα* into *καταγέλασας* (Otto). The asyndeton is not unbearable in Justin.

6. εὐχόμενος . . . ὁμολογῶ: 'I confess that I boast.' 'Ὁμολογῶ rarely takes the part.=ὄν. So Isocr. 4, 33.

8. τοῦ Χριστοῦ: A familiar brachylogy for τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, after the pattern of the *comparatio compendiaria*, Xen. Cyr. 2, 2, 4: ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ μῖζον ἑαυτοῦ (=τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ) λαβεῖν. For other examples of brachylogy in Justin, see A 3, 24; 20, 7; 23, 4; 55, 14.

10. Ἐκαστος γάρ τις κτλ.: 'For each one spoke well according to his share in the divine Spermatic Logos, seeing (so far as he saw) what was cognate (to the Logos),' i. e., the divine. There is only a partial revelation of the Divine Logos outside of Christ. See c. 10, 4 foll. Comp. Orig. c. Cels. 6, 79: οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις καλῶν γαίνονται μὴ τοῦ θείου λόγου ἐπιδημήσαντος ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν καὶ ὀλίγον καιρὸν δεῦννημένων ἐξέασθαι τὰς τοιαύτας τοῦ θείου λόγου ἐνεργείας.—ἀπὸ μέρους: B 10, 24.

12. αὐτοῖς: ἱσθίς=εἰδίμετ ἱσθίς.—ἐν κυριωτέροις: 'In weightier matters.'

13. ἀπτωτον: So I write with Lange, Thalmann and Goetz for ἀποπτον. Braun and Otto (2) rely on the gloss of Hesychius: ἀποπτος ἀσφαλής, βίβαιος, perhaps for ἀπτωτος, which is rare enough to deserve a note. So Otto also suspects now, and translates ἀποπτον not *firmitas*, but *sublimiorem*. With ἀπτωτον comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. 2, 2, 9: τὴν γοῦν ἐπιστήμην ὑρίζονται φιλοσόφων παῖδες ἔξιν ἀμετάπτωτον ὑπὸ λόγου. Ἀνύποπτον 'above suspicion' would not be bad, especially in connection with ἀνίλεκτον. Comp. Tatian, ad Gr. 31: ἀνυπόπτους παρ' ὑμῶν τοῖς ἐλίχους λαμβάνω. Thirlby suggests ἐποπτικὴν.

14. Ὅσα εὖν κτλ.: Aubé comp. Sen. Ep. Mor. 16, 7: *quicquid bene dictum est ab ullo meum est*, and 12, 11: *quod verum est, meum est*. He might have added 8, 8; 21, 9; 33, 2. — ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν: Article, as regularly in appositions with personal pronouns.

15. ἀγεννήτου: See A 14, 12.

16. μετὰ τὸν εἰδόν: Comp. A 6, 5 and 13, 17.

18. ἴασιν ποιήσῃται: A 1, 9.

20. ἀμυδρῶς: 'But dimly.' In Greek the notion 'only' is often left to be made out by the reader.

21. Ἐπερον . . . καὶ ἔτερον = ἔτερον μὲν, ἔτερον δὲ. — κατὰ δύναμιν: 'According to capacity,' 'susceptibility' (Otto).

#### 14. JUSTIN PRAYS THAT THIS APPEAL BE PUBLISHED.

1. ἀξιούμεν: A 3, 2.—ὑπογράφαντας: We say 'endorse.'

2. βιβλίον: See A 29, 6.

4. τῶν καλῶν: Christian doctrine. See c. 2, 42; A 7, 17 (Ashton).—παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἰτίαν: 'Owing to their own fault.' So Dial. c. Tr. 88: παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκάστου αἰτίαν πονηρευσαμένων. Thirlby makes ἑαυτῶν refer to the Emperors.

5. [εἰς τὸ γνωσθῆναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις]: An awkward addition, which only repeats what had been said in ὅπως . . . γνωσθῇ, l. 3. It is best omitted with Otto, as a gloss.

6. διὰ τὸ: So Perionius and others for διό.

7. γνωριστικόν: For γνωριστόν (Sylburg).

8. διὰ τὸ ἡμῶν κτλ.: The passage is manifestly corrupt. Ashton, whom Otto follows in his last ed., writes διὰ τὸ ἡμῶν . . . πράττειν, καταψηφίζεσθαι. 'Owing to their condemning us whom they do not know to commit such deeds of shame as they allege.' This is, to say the least, heroic treatment. Those who wish to justify everything may find curious parallels for διὰ τὸ . . . καταψηφίζομένους instead of καταψηφίζεσθαι in Thuc. 4, 63; 5, 7. The slip is not unworthy of Justin. By inserting πράττειν with Ashton after αἰσχρά and omitting the second καὶ διὰ τὸ as a διπτογραφία, we get the adversative sense needed, καταψηφίζομένους = 'while condemning;' or, to rewrite the passage, διὰ τὸ ἡμῶν μὲν . . . καταψηφίζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ χαίρειν κτλ.

11. ὅτι: Inserted by Thirlby.

12. προστιμᾶν: So for πρόστιμον (Thirlby).—δίδεσθαι: A 10, 1.

#### 15. CONCLUSION.

1. Καὶ τοῦ . . . κατεφρόνησα: This parting shot at a home-bred heresy is not unlike Justin's impetuous manner. In his last ed. Otto has bracketed the passage as a gloss from Justin's Dial. c. Tryph. c. 120.—Σιμωνιανοῦ: See A 26, 5.

2. κατεφρόνησα: Comp. c. 13, 5: κατεγύλασα.—προεγράφητε: 'Authorize the publication.'

3. φανερὸν ἂν ποιήσαιμεν: I have inserted ἂν, dropped as often. Krabinger reads: ἂν ποιήσομεν.

5. συνετάξαμεν: 'Have composed,' c. 1. 6. Aor. short-hand of perf.

7. ἀνθρωπείων: On the form see c. 10, 1.—εἰ δὲ μή: A 15, 53.—κάν: 'At all events.'—Σωταδαίους: Sotades of Thrace or Crete, a notorious writer of obscene poetry in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. His name survives in connection with the *Versus Sotadeus* used by better men. See Class. Dict.

8. Φιλαινιδίους: To Philaenis was ascribed a famous poetic manual, *περὶ σχημάτων* (comp. Athenag. Suppl. 20, 86), which has given her an unenviable position in letters. See Class. Dict. and comp. Tatian, ad Gr. 34: Φιλαινίδος τῶν ἀρρήτων ἱπνιστῶν. Clem. Alex. Protrept. 4, 61, speaks of the heathen as ἐπ' ἰσῆς ἐγγραφόμενοι τὰ Φιλαινίδος σχήματα ὡς τὰ Ἡρακλείους ἀελλήματα.—Ἀρχεστρατείους: The MSS. have ἀρχησττικοίς. The true proper name, long desiderated, has been restored by Von Leutsch. Archestratus of Gela or Syracuse composed a famous poem on Good Living (*ἡδονπάθεια*), or the Art of Cookery. He is coupled with Philaenis in Athen. 8, 13; 10, 86. See Class. Dict.

10. λεγομένοις: So Otto now. Von Leutsch balances between λεγομένοις and ῥιζομένοις. The MSS. have γεν. which Thirlby explains as 'acted.'

11. λοιπόν: A 3, 21.—ὅσον ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἦν: A 40, 21.

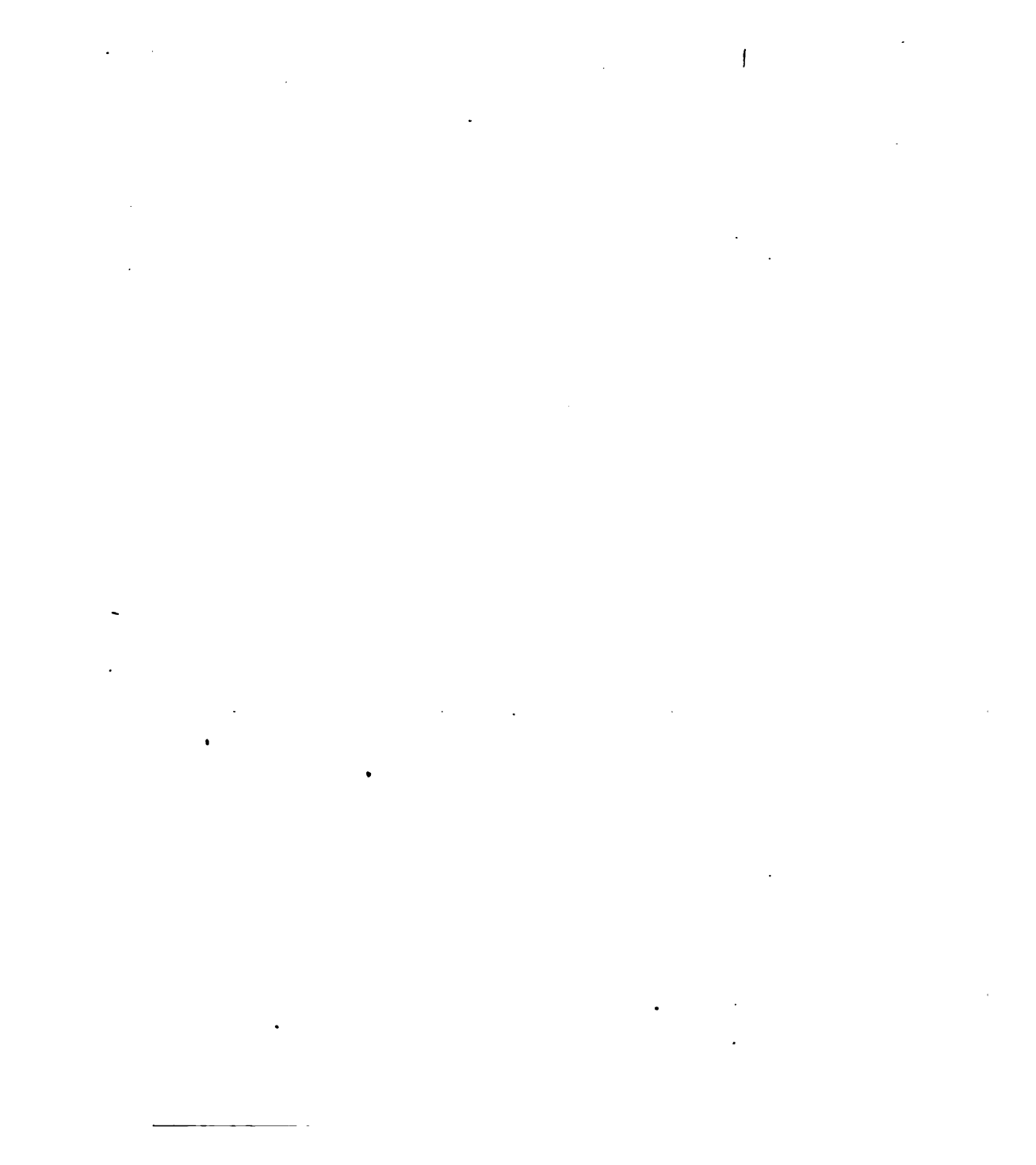
13. Εἴη: 'May it be that.'—ἡμᾶς: So Sylburg for ἡμᾶς.

14. εὐσεβείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας: Comp. c. 2, 55; A 2, 1; 3, 11; 12, 22.—ἐντὶ τῶν αὐτῶν=ἐντὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, in the same spirit in which he said, A 8, 1: λογισασθε δ' ὅτι ἐντὶ ὑμῶν ταῦτα ἔφημεν. Comp. Tertull. ad Scap. 1 (p. 114, D. S.): *Itaque hunc libellum non nobis timentes misimus, sed vobis et omnibus inimicis nostris.*

NOTE.—I have omitted the (spurious) Edict of Antoninus Pius, which is commonly appended to the First Apology. One form of it has already been given in this series, Euseb. H. E. 4, 13 (p. 106, D. S.). Nor have I thought it worth while to reproduce the often exploded letter of M. Aurelius to the Senate, with the legend of the *Legio Fulminata*, for which see Euseb. H. E. 5, 5 (p. 146, D. S.).

M 2

Υπομνήματα δ. γ. υπομνήματα Βιβλίον



**THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.**

ch. v. viii. x  
Ce qui se dit de la persécution répond bien aux  
dernières années de Marc. Aurèle ... d'où  
peut-être la rigueur émise du III<sup>e</sup> siècle ; mais  
nous nous refusons absolument à y voir une  
pièce plus moderne. L'attribution à saint Justin  
n'est satisfaisante en aucune façon. Le livre n'est  
pas cité dans l'antiquité ecclésiastique ; mais il  
en est de même d'Isidore et très peu s'en est  
faute qu'il n'en fût de même d'Athénagore

Rome. Marc. Aurèle p. 424

## EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.

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We have already seen in the Introduction that the Letter to Diognetus cannot be Justin's. Beyond this we cannot speak with confidence. It has been carried back to the first century and ascribed to Apollos—a mere fancy. Bunsen claims it for Marcion, but Marcion before he was a Marcionite—a guess which no one has troubled himself to refute. The vast majority of the earlier critics put it under Trajan or Hadrian, and it is regularly published as a part of the *Corpus Patrum Apostolicorum*. In recent times the tendency has been to make the Epistle less ancient. Hilgenfeld puts it between 161 and 180, Lipsius about 180, and Keim between 177 and 180, while Zahn gives a wide sweep, from 250 to 310, and Harnack grants a latitude of nearly a century and a half. Donaldson was the first to consider the Epistle a late production, and would evidently be glad to set it down as a fabrication of Henricus Stephanus himself, if it were not for the age of the Strasburg MS.; and Overbeck has recently made an independent attack on the antiquity of the Epistle, which he supposes to be a manufacture of the Byzantine time, without giving a guess even as to the century. According to this scholar (Studien, 1, 21), the Epistle to Diognetus is a meditation on the Christian religion put into the form of a letter addressed to a heathen, and belongs to a time when Chris-

tianity had ceased to battle for its existence with Judaism and Paganism, when believers were far removed from the real struggles, efforts, and views of the second century. Justin, the famous martyr and philosopher, was a convenient name for the imaginary writer; Diognetus, the teacher of Marcus Aurelius, a convenient name for the imaginary recipient.

A detailed examination of Overbeck's argument, which has been hotly assailed by men like Hilgenfeld, Keim, and Lipsius, does not lie within the scope of this edition. One caution, however, may not be inappropriate here. No argument based on anachronism of conception can be considered conclusive when we have to deal with such a problem as the Christian religion, in which the personal equation is of so much importance; and Harnack, in his cautious summary, has called attention to the resemblances between the Epistle, which Overbeck would relegate to the Byzantine period, and such writings as the Oration to the Greeks by Tatian and the *Protrepticos* of Clement of Alexandria.

The only MS. of the Epistle to Diognetus, the *Argentoratensis*, perished during the siege of Strasburg in August, 1870. The relation of this MS. to two copies of the Epistle made towards the close of the sixteenth century, the one by Henri Estienne (Stephanus), the other by Beurer, is a matter of dispute. It is on the whole most likely that, despite sundry variations, both the copy by Estienne, which is still preserved at Leyden, and the *Apo-graphon Beureri*, which has disappeared, were made from the *Codex Argentoratensis*, and not from a distinct original or originals. See Gebhardt, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, Fasc. 1, 205 seqq.

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<i>Introduction.</i>	The questions of Diognetus.....	C. 1.
I. The <i>Heathen world</i> :	the variety of their idols.....	C. 2.
II. The <i>Jews</i> {	their superstitious sacrifices.....	C. 3.
	their foolish rites, customs, and ceremonies....	C. 4.
	their habits and condition.....	C. 5.
III. The <i>Christians</i> {	they are the soul of the world.....	C. 6.
	their religion not of man, but of God..	C. 7.
IV. {	The wretched state of the world before the Son of	
	God came.....	C. 8.
	Reasons why He came so late.....	C. 9.
<i>Conclusion.</i>	Exhortation to Diognetus to become a Chris-	
	tian.....	C. 10.

Diognetus, admiring the virtues of the Christians, and on that account desirous of learning more perfectly concerning that way, had put the following questions :

1. In what God do they trust, and how do they worship him, that they are thus enabled to look down on the world and despise death?
2. Why do they not accept the gods of the Gentiles?
3. Why do they not observe the superstitions of the Jews?
4. What manner of love is this that they bear towards one another?
5. Why this new system has just been introduced into the world.

1. *κράτιστε*: *Κράτιστος* is a common title of men of position from the time of Augustus on. Familiar are the examples in the N. T. Acts 23, 26; 24, 3: *κράτιστε Φίλιπ*, 26, 25: *κράτιστε Φῆστε*.—*Διδόγητε*: The name is not uncommon. Otto counts up twenty-four previous to the Christian era. Our Diognetus has been identified by many with the Diognetus honorably mentioned among the teachers of Marcus Aurelius. See M. A. ad se ipsum 1, 6. Overbeck makes use of this to sustain his theory of a late fictitious letter. (Studien, S. 73.)

2. *θεοσίβειαν*: A favorite word for the worship of the only living and true God. See cc. 3, 1; 4, 17. 20; 6, 8; [Justin] Coh. 1. 5. 25. 36. 37. 38. Comp. Clem. Alex. Protrept. 10, 100: *αὐταρκες ἐφ' ὅδον αἰώνων Θεοσίβειαν*. *Θεοσίβεια* may be used of heathens (*Θεοσιβής* occurs repeatedly in Plato), but, on the other hand, *Θρησκεία* is seldom, *δαισιδαίμονια* never employed of Christians, as Otto observes. In *Θρησκεία* the notion of ceremony is prominent. So c. 2, 36: *αἵματι καὶ κνίσαις Θρησκεύετε*. Comp. Plut. Mor. 140 C: *περιέργοις Θρησκείαις καὶ ξίναις δαισιδαίμονιας*. Add Greg. Naz. l. c.: *Θρησκείαν οἶδα καὶ τὸ δαιμόνων σίβας, ἢ ὃ εὐσίβεια προσκύνησις τῆς τριάδος*. This gives point to Jas. 1, 27. In the present passage *Θρησκεύοντες* is used from the position of the inquirer, who cannot understand the simplicity of the Christian religion.

4. *αὐτόν, τόν τε*: So with Lachmann for *αὐτόν τε*, which would leave *Θρησκεύοντες* without an object, and put an unnecessary stress on *κόσμον*.

5. *ὑπεροῦσι*: Differs in tone from *καταφρονοῦσι*. It is loftier, and hence more galling, as a slight is worse than an insult. Comp. Orig. c. Cels. Praef. 2: *καταπεφρονηκῆναι καὶ μεγαλοφυνῶς ὑπερεωρακῆναι τοὺς κατηγοροῦς*.—*θανάτου καταφρονοῦσι*: For examples of contempt of death, see B 2 and 12.

6. *τῶν Ἑλλήνων*: In the wider sense of 'Gentiles.'

7. *δαισιδαίμονιαν*: Δ. shades off like the Latin *religio*, and many commentators have noticed the tact of Paul in using a *vox mediae significationis* when addressing the Athenians, Acts 17, 22: *κατὰ πάντα ὡς δαισιδαίμονεσσίνους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ*. But the bad sense practically preponderates, and even in the address of Festus to Agrippa there is at least a half sneer: *ζητήματά τινα περὶ*

τῆς ἰδίας δεισιδαιμονίας. It is not a *vox mediae significationis* in Theophr. Char., who defines it as εὐλία πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον, nor in Max. Tyr., who says (20, 6): ὁ μὲν εὐσεβὴς φίλος θεῶ, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαιμων κολαεὶ θεοῦ. Comp. Clem. Alex. Protrept. 2, 25: ἀκρότητες ἀμαθίας ἀθεότης καὶ δεισιδαιμονία, and 10, 96: δεισιδαιμονίας ἄθιοι χορευταί. Xenophon, whom Trench cites for δ. in a good sense, is the very last author to cite on account of his peculiar bent.

8. φιλοστοργίαν . . . πρὸς ἀλλήλους: Otto comp. Polyb. 32, 11, 1.

9. καινὸν τοῦτο γένος: Τὸ καινὸν τοῦτο would be more natural. On the charge of novelty (emphasized by Celsus ap. Orig. 1, 26), see A 2, 3, and comp. Suet. Nero, 16: *superstitio nova et malefica*; Tertull. Apol. 37: *hesterni sumus*; 47: *novitiola paratura*; Theophil. 2, 30: πρόσφατοι καὶ νεωτερικοί, and other passages collected by Keim, Celsus' Wahres Wort, S. 10. 3. With γένος comp. Tertull. Scorp. 10: *usque quo genus tertium?* and Pseud. Petri ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. 6, 5, 41: Τὰ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων παλαιά, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ καινῶς αὐτὸν τρίτῳ γίνεσι σιβόμενοι Χριστιανοί. — γένος ἢ ἐπιτήδευμα: 'Kind' of men or 'fashion' of religion. The heathen found it hard to classify the Christians. Comp. the variety of names in Minuc. Fel. Oct. 8: *homines deplo-ratae, illicitae ac desperatae factionis . . . plebem profanae coniurationis . . . latebroae et lucifugae natio*; c. 9: *sacrarum impias coitionis*. The Christians themselves seem to have been equally at a loss. Comp. Tertull. ad Nat. 1, 8: *tertium genus* (neither heathen nor Jews). See Keim, l. c., S. 72, 1.

10. εἰς τὸν βίον: 'Into the world,' *ita hominum*. — νῦν καὶ οὐ πρότερον: Nῦν is elastic. See A 29, 19. So *hodie* in Arnob. 2, 74: *Ratio fuit cur non nuper sed hodie sospitator nostri generis adveniret*. — ἀποδέχομαι: The genitive of the source of emotion, as in the familiar construction of θαυμάζω. For the respectful tone, comp. Acts 24, 8: πάντῃ τε καὶ πανταχοῦ ἀποδεχόμεθα. 'I am glad to observe this your earnest desire.' — τε: With Bunsen for γε.

12. χορηγούντος: A suitable and common word for the Giver God: τοῦ εὐδόντος θεοῦ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς καὶ μὴ ὀνειδίζοντος. Comp. Clem. Alex. Protrept. 1, 7: ἐπιφανείς ὡς ἐκτάσκαλος ἵνα τὸ ἀεὶ ζῆν

ὡς θεὸς χορηγήσῃ, and c. 3, 12. See lexicon for the word and its origin, the generosity of which survives in the transfer.

13. ὡς μάλιστα ἐν ἀκούσαντά σε: 'Ακούσαντα for ἀκούσαι, Stephanus. Otto edits τὸν ἀκούσαντα, and omits σε. This gives a better balance, but is not necessary. On the other hand O. keeps σοὶ τε, whereas σοὶ δὲ is almost certain in so antithetical a writer and in so narrow a compass.

## 2. THE HEATHEN WORLD: THE VANITY OF ITS IDOLS.

(Bunsen says 'Variety of their Idols.')

The author does not take up the questions propounded in the first chapter *seriatim*, but begins by setting forth the reasons why the Christians do not adopt heathen idolatry or Jewish superstition. After an exhortation to Diognetus to purge his bosom of prejudice, the writer proceeds to attack with much warmth and in harsh language the image-worship of the Pagans. Our author's polemic against image-worship is very superficial, and Overbeck has made the most of this point as indicating a later origin. True, such arguments as the author has adduced might seem to be wasted on a cultivated heathen, but the fact that these very arguments were addressed in that age to cultivated heathen would appear from the angry tone in which Celsus repels the charge of idolatry (Orig. c. Cels. 7, 62): *τις γὰρ καὶ ἄλλος, εἰ μὴ πάντῃ νήπιος, ταῦτα ἡγείται* θεοὺς ἀλλὰ μὴ θεῶν ἀναθήματα καὶ ἀγάλματα; and even Porphyry thinks it worth while to notice the ignorance of the Christians of his day in the remarkable passage ap. Euseb. P. E. 8, 7: *θανμαστόν ἐστι οὐδὲν ξύλα καὶ λίθους ἡγείσθαι τὰ ξόανα τοῦς ἀμαθεστάτους, κατὰ δὴ καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων οἱ ἀνόητοι λίθους μὲν ὁρῶσι τὰς στήλας, ξύλα δὲ τὰς δέλτους, ἐκφασμίνην δὲ πάπυρον τὰς βιβλους*. For a very similar strain, see Clem. Alex. Protrept. c. 4.

1. καθάρως σεαυτὸν . . . ἐσόμενος: Comp. Eph. 4, 20-24, and 2 Cor. 5, 17: *καινὴ κτίσις* (Otto).

2. συνήθειαν: Habit of thought.—ἀποσκευασάμενος: As it were a burden or troublesome piece of luggage. Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 2, 6; 9, 36.

4. ὡς ἐν . . . ἐσόμενος: The participle with ἐν (a post-Homeric combination) represents either the indicative with ἐν or the op-

ὡς δὲ  
more for more  
||  
Kane a

tative with *ἄν*. As the future indicative with *ἄν* is very sparingly used in the classic time, the future participle with *ἄν* is also very rare, and like the fut. ind. with *ἄν* is due chiefly to a slight *anacoluthon*. So in a classic writer, *ὥς ἄν . . . ἰσόμενος* might fairly be interpreted as a change of construction from *ὥς ἄν . . . γινόμενος*. Comp. Xen. Cyr. 1, 4, 23: *ὥς ἄν . . . στησομένους*, where recent editors drop *ἄν*. The fut. opt. with *ἄν* is not a legitimate construction, as the fut. opt. is used only as the representative of the fut. ind. in oratio obliqua, and consequently did not come into the language until the fut. ind. with *ἄν* was obsolescent. Still in later Greek we must not be exacting, and violations of these rules may be found for the seeking, e. g. fut. opt. with *ἄν*: Athenag. Suppl. 21, 90: *τίς οὐκ ἂν καταμήψοιτο*; fut. part. with *ἄν*: Orig. c. Cels. 3, 70. See c. 4, 18.

6. *τῷ μὴ μόνον*: Not *ἰσχυρ*, as the notion is really positive. Comp. Thuc. 4, 17, 3: *λάβετε αὐτοὺς μὴ πολεμίους κτί*. 'The negatives belong to the modifiers of the predicate and do not affect the verb *λάβετε*, which is put in the imperative, not in the subjunctive' (Classen).

7. *ὑποστάσεις*: Gen. of material. 'Substance.' Below we have *ἐλγ*. Here *εἶδος*, below *μορφή*.—*τυγχάνουσιν*: Sc. *ὄντες*, as c. 5, 17: *ἐν σαρκὶ τυγχάνουσιν*, and c. 10, 22: *τυγχάνων ἐπὶ γῆς*.

8. *ἴπειτα*: Corresponds to *καλεῖται* below. 'E. is a late form for the present. Examples in Veitch; none classic, but comp. Soph. O. C. 596. Lachmann would read *αἰνεῖται*.—*ὁ μὲν τις*: *Τίς* is very common in such combinations, 'whoever he is,' c. 8, 4.

11. *τοῦ φυλάξοντος*: Steph. The MSS. have *φυλάξαντος*, which Otto vainly tries to defend. Comp. A 31, 16.

12. *ὑπὸ τοῦ*: Personification. Comp. A 53, 45. So *ὑπὸ σιδήρου καὶ πυρός* below.

13. *οὐδέν*: Adverbial.

16. *ὁ μὲν*: On the relative, see A 24, 12.

17. *πρὶν ἢ . . . ἐκτυπωθῆναι*: A 4, 18. The construction with the infinitive is regular, as the sentence is really positive, *οὐ* expecting a positive answer.—*ταῖς τέχναις τούτων*: Sc. *τῶν τεχνιτῶν*.

18. *εἰς τὴν μορφήν τούτων*: Sc. *τῶν θεῶν*.—*ἕκαστον*: So Maran for *ἕκαστος*.

19. *ὥς ἐτι καὶ νῦν*: I have added *ὥς*, but even thus the sense

*ἀντιπαρὶστήσει = ἀντιπαρὶστήσει* Aph. Chn. (II 28 5 5/1.)  
*ἐπὶ τῷ (II 38 12)*  
*ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τῷ*  
*ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τῷ*  
*ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τῷ*

is not satisfactory: 'Before being fashioned by the skill of these artificers into the form of the gods, had not each one undergone a transformation at the hands of each artist, as still happens?' i. e., 'Had not this material undergone some previous change at the will of the artificer.' The sense wanted is: Was it not in the power (*ἦν*) of each artificer to mould the material as he liked? This Lachmann tried to get by reading for *ἐτι καὶ νῦν εἰκάζειν*, which Bunsen accepts and translates (perforce): 'Was it not left to the mercies of the workman to transform it as he liked?' The perf. part. stands in the way; we should expect rather *μεταμορφούμενον*. Otto transl. *ἦν μεταμορφωμίνον* by *transformabatur*—a version which requires no criticism.

21. *τοιούτοις*: Stephanus prefers *τούτοις*. With the whole passage comp. A 9, 9.

26. *τέλειον* = *τελῶς*: 'Perfectly,' 'absolutely.' Comp. A 29, 4. Otto comp. Ps. 113, 8: *ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς γίνονται οἱ ποιῶντες αὐτὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐκ' αὐτοῖς*. You become perfectly like them, equally senseless, equally bereft of true life. The MSS. have *τελείον τε \* ἰξομοιοῦσθε*. Bunsen reads *ἰξομοιοῦτε*, and translates: 'And, in short, you treat them like the gods themselves.'

27. *Διὰ τοῦτο*: 'On account of this' (your infatuation).

28. *Ὑμεῖς γάρ*: *Γάρ* gives the cause of the indignation.—*οἱ νῦν νομίζοντες καὶ οἰόμενοι*: *Νομίζω* is often used for 'believe in,' 'accept,' and *εἶναι*, which Stephanus afterwards withdrew, is unnecessary. Comp. Xen. Mem. 1, 1. 1: *ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης οὗς ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων*. *Οἰόμενοι* is added to show that it is a mere fancy, which the writer hopes will pass away, as is indicated by *νῦν*. Lachm. writes: *Ὑμεῖς γὰρ αἰνεῖν* (for *οἱ νῦν*) *νομίζοντες καὶ σεβόμενοι κτί.*: 'Who think to praise and worship them [as gods]' (Bunsen).

29. *πολὺ πλέον*: 'Much more' [than the Christians do]. But *αὐτῶν* depends on *καταφρονεῖτε*. The standard of comparison is often to be supplied for the context.

80. *χλευάζετε καὶ ἑβρίζετε*: *Χλ.* combined with *μυκτηρίζειν*, Clem. Rom. 1 Ep. ad Cor. 1, 39.

81. *ἀφυλάκτους*: Emendation of Stephanus for *ἀφυλάκτως*.

82. *χρυσοῦς ἐγκλείοντες*: Every one will remember how Dionysius 'conveyed' the golden mantle of Jupiter's statue. Cic. N.

D. 3, 44, 88; Clem. Alex. Protrept. 4, 52: Διονύσιος μὲν γὰρ ὁ τύναννος ὁ νεώτερος θοιμάτιον τὸ χρύσειον περιεμένος τοῦ Διὸς ἐν Σικελίᾳ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ἱεροῦν περιτιθῆναι, χαρίωντος φήσας τοῦτο ἀμεινον εἶναι τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ θέρους κουφότερον καὶ κρύους ἀλειυνότερον. For the higher Stoic view, see Pers. 2, 61.—ταῖς νυξί: In classic Greek prose, τὰς νύκτας or τῆς νυκτός, although analogies are not wanting for the dative.

83. παρακαθιστάντες: So with Krenkel for παρακαθίσαντες on account of the other present participle ἐγγελοίοντες. Comp. A 9, 20: φύλακας τοιοῦτους καθίσταναι.—Αἱς δὲ δοκεῖτε τιμαῖς προσφέρειν = ταῖς τιμαῖς ὡς κτλ.

85. ἐλέγχοντες: Sc. τοῦ ἀναισθητεῖν. 'You are proving [this on them] when you worship them with blood and fatty steams.' In translating Greek it is very often necessary to shift the relation of participle and leading verb. Bunsen tr. i. 'put to shame,' Otto 'beschimpfen.'

86. ταῦθ' ὅμων τις ὑπομεινάτω: 'Let [me see] any one of you endure this' = Which of you would endure this? I have not put the mark of interrogation, though the imper. may be used in a question (= εἰ and inf.). Comp. Plato Legg. 800 B, 801 D, 820 E; Theaet. 170 D; Polit. 295 D.

89. Οὐκοῦν τὴν ἀναισθησίαν αὐτῶν: The MS. has οὐκ οὖν τὴν αἰσθησιν αὐτοῦ i. 'Therefore you do not prove [your god's] sensation.' However, 'you fail to prove' can hardly be considered equivalent to 'you disprove.' Stephanus suggests: Οὐκοῦν τὴν αἰσθησιν οὐκ ἔχειν (better ἔχοντας, Sylb.) ἐλέγχετε. Οὐκοῦν τὴν ἀναισθησίαν αὐτοῦ ἐλέγχετε (Krenkel). So also the margin of the Stephanus MS., except that for αὐτοῦ we find αὐτῶν. For οὐκοῦν, οὐκουν, and οὐκ οὖν, see the grammars. Kühner sums up the two former thus:

Οὐκοῦν. 1. *Nonne igitur? nonne ergo?*  
2. *ergo, igitur.*

Οὐκουν. 1. *Nullo modo, neutiquam, nequaquam, haudquaquam.*  
2. *non ergo, non igitur* (in a negative conclusion).  
3. *non? non igitur?* (in passionate questions).

In my judgment the whole difficulty as to the handling of this combination lies in the neglect of the simple difference between οὐ 'nay,' and οὐ 'not.' See A 38, 9.

41. πολλὰ μὲν &ν: 'Αν is often dropped by accident after μὲν. Restored by Lachm.

42. καὶ ταῦτα=*et hæc*: See A 2, 7.

### 3. THE JEWS: THEIR SUPERSTITIOUS SACRIFICES.

The writer next attacks the folly of the Jews, who recognize the true God, and yet offer sacrifices to him, as if he needed them, and try to honor him by rites and ceremonies. We are not to suppose from this chapter that Jewish sacrifices were continued after the destruction of the Temple. See the references in Harnack's note on Clem. Rom. 1 Ep. ad Cor. 41, 2.

1. Ἐξῆς: A 32, 41.

2. αὐτοὺς: Sc. Χριστιανούς.

4. καὶ θεὸν ἵνα τῶν πάντων σέβασθαι θεσπότην ἀξιούσι, φρονοῦσιν: 'And [if] they think it right to reverence one master of all, they are wise.' *φρονοῦσιν* = *σωφρονοῦσιν*. So Eur. Hippol. 920: *φρονεῖν*=*εὖ φρονεῖν*, v. 921. I have accepted Scheibe's emendation of this vexed passage. The MS. has *καὶ εἰς . . . σίβειν καὶ θεσπότην ἀξιούσι φρονεῖν*. Stephanus reads *καὶ εἰ*, and proposes to add *κρίστην* after *πάντων*. Otto reads *ὡς θεόν*, and makes the sentence an *ἀνταπόδοτον*, i. e., a condition with suppressed conclusion, common enough from Homer on. See a familiar example in Luke 13, 9. Otto translates: *Si deum unum omnium [τῶν πάντων masc.] tenerari dominumque existimare (φρονεῖν) colunt, [recte sentiunt]*. *φρονεῖν* as *existimare* is, to say the least, rare. Comp. Orig. c. Cels. 4, 36. Hoffmann reads *φρονοῖεν ἄν*, a conjecture which is not so hopeless as Otto thinks. Bunsen, after Lachmann, *κρίστην θεόν*, and independently, *φρονίμως* for *φρονεῖν*; Hilgenfeld, *καλῶς* for *καὶ εἰς*.—*τῶν πάντων*: Sc. *θεῶν* according to Otto's interpretation, who cites Dial. c. Tryph. 55: *ὁ θεός σου θεός τῶν θεῶν ἵστι*, and Deut. 10, 17; Ps. 49, 11.

10. εἰκότως: So Stephanus for *εἰκός*. The folly of the heathen in bringing offerings to senseless and dumb idols is matched by the folly of the Jews in bringing these offerings to the true God, as if he needed aught.

11. Ὁ γὰρ ποιήσας . . . παρέχει αὐτός: Comp. Acts 17, 24. 25: *ὁ θεός ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ οὗτος οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπάρχων κύριος οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ*

Εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπάρχων κύριος οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ



χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων θεραπεύεται προσδεόμενός τινος, αὐτὸς δίδως πᾶσιν ζωὴν καὶ πνοὴν καὶ τὰ πάντα.

12. οὐδενὸς ἂν . . . προσδέιτο: The opt. gives the tone of moral conviction, and has more color and warmth than the indicative. See A 4, 10.

17. ἐνδεικνύμενων: So Steph. for ἐνδεικνύμενοι or -μίνοις. On ἰνδ. see A 13, 18.—τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα: So Stephanus for τῶν μὴ δυναμένων.

18. τῷ γε: So Stephanus for τὸ δέ. 'Namely, in thinking that they are giving presents to Him that needs nothing more.' Otto omits the clause as an awkward gloss. Lachmann reads: τῶν μὴ δυναμένων τῆς τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνειν, τῶν δὲ δοκούντων παρέχειν τῷ μηδενὸς δεομένοις. 'Those [the deaf idols] not being able to partake of the honor, and those [the Jews] seeming to give to one who needeth nothing.' But such an antithesis would be incredibly crooked. Gebhardt edits τῶν μὴ δυναμένοις.

#### 4. THEIR FOOLISH RITES, CUSTOMS, AND CEREMONIES.

The author attacks the superstitious usages of the Jews concerning meats, the Sabbath, circumcision, fasting, the new moon.

1. Ἀλλὰ μὴν: Often in transitions, which involve the meeting of objections.—ψοφοδεής: Lit. 'Starting at every noise,' 'skittishness,' 'shyness.'

3. ἀλαζονείαν καὶ . . . εἰρωνείαν: Comp. Bekker, Anecd. Gr. 243, 20: εἰρωνεία τὸ ἐναντίον ἵστί τῇ ἀλαζονείᾳ, ὅταν ἐνθάδε τις ποιῇσαι φάσκει μὴ εὐνοεῖν· ἀλαζόν γάρ ἵστί ὁ ἐπὶ πλεον τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κομπάζων καὶ αὖτις, εἰρων δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ ἥττον ἄγων καὶ μειῶν. Here, however, εἰρωνεία is equivalent to 'shuffling,' 'hypocrisy.'

5. οὐ νομίζω: Οὐ restored by Stephanus, dropped by reason of the preceding λόγῳ.

6. Τό τε: It is not necessary to write τὸ μὴν in order to match τὸ δέ below. Such shiftings occur in the best Greek. Comp. Xen. Cyr. 6, 1, 4.

7. & μὴν . . . & δέ: A 24, 12.

8. πῶς οὐκ ἐθέμιστον: So Gebhardt. The MS. has οὐ δέμεις ἵστί, and we expect a negative. Hence Lachmann μίσης. The

editors are generally content with dropping *οὐ*. Steph. conj. *οὐκ ἀδίμιτόν ἐστι*.

13. *παρεδρεύοντας*: For the word Otto comp. 1 Cor. 19, 13: *οἱ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ παρεδρεύοντες* (v. l. *προσεδρεύοντες*), and 7, 35: *εὐπάρεδρον τῷ κυρίῳ*. Here scornfully, 'dancing attendance on.' Comp. *πάρεδροι*, 'familiar spirits.' A 18, 9.—*ἄστροις*: The Jews counted from night to night (*νυχθήμερον*). The diurnal period began for them when three stars of moderate size appeared above the horizon (Boehl). Observe the chiasm (*χιασμός*) in the position of *ἄστροις* καὶ *σελήνῃ*

X  
*μηνῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν*.

14. *παρατήρησιν . . . ποιῶσθαι*: Comp. Gal. 4, 10: *ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθαι καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἰνιαυτούς*.

15. *τὰς οἰκονομίας θεοῦ κτλ.*: Comp. Cic. N. D. 1, 2, 4.

16. *καταδιαιρεῖν*: The force of *κατά*, as in *καταλίγειν*, of minute completeness, 'to make an exact distribution.'—*πρὸς τὰς αὐτῶν ὁρμὰς*: 'According to their own desires.' It is not necessary to read *αὐτῶν* with Bunsen. See A 21, 28.—*ἃς μὲν . . . ἃς δὲ*: As above, 1. 7.—*ἑορταίς*: Feasts, such as Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles.

17. *πένθῃ*: Fasts, such as Day of Atonement, Lev. 23, 27–32.

18. *ἡγήσεται το δαίγμα*: The MSS. have *ἡγήσεται τὸ δαίγμα*. I have followed Lachmann in restoring the normal grammar, as the article is irregular, and the future with *ἂν* rare. But if it were not for the *τό*, I would make no change. See note c. 2, 4. Comp. Tat. Or. ad Gr. 18: *τοῖς κακοῖς ἂν . . . καταχρήσονται*, and Athenag. Suppl. 31, 157: *ὥς ἂν . . . μενοῦμεν*, and Clem. Alex. Paedag. 1, 5, 17: *εἰκότως ἂν πάντες κεκλήσονται μαθηταί*, and 1, 6, 47: *οὐ γὰρ τὸ αἶμα ἂν ποτε προήσεται φωνήν*.—*κοινῆς*: Common to Jew and Gentile.

19. *εἰκασισητος καὶ ἐπάτης*: 'Vanity and error' (Otto).

20. *ὥς*: Not in the MSS.; more readily dropped than *ὅτι*, which Otto has inserted.

21. *ἰδίας αὐτῶν*: A 32, 8.

##### 5. THE CHRISTIANS: THEIR HABITS AND CONDITION.

A noble description of the Christian life (Neander). Classical, striking, touching, and sublime, beyond anything we meet with in any of the other Fathers (Bunsen).

1. ἔθῃσι: 'Customs,' rather than 'habits,' as Bunsen translates. To avoid any misapprehension, the author explains below: τοῖς ἰγχωρίοις ἔθουσιν ἐπὶ.

4. βίον παράσημον: Π. of that which is 'differently marked,' hence 'odd,' 'singular,' in a bad sense. 'Nor do they lead a life of marked singularity.'

5. πολυπραγμόνων: The ancient πολυπράγμων is the modern 'man of initiative.' See the interesting passage in Thuc. 6, 87: τῆς ἡμετέρας πολυπραγμοσύνης (of the Athenians).

6. μάθημα τοιούτ': For the MS. μαθήματι τοῦτ' with Van Hengel.—εὐρημένον: So many editors after Stephanus. Otto defends the MS. εἰρημένον, and cites c. 7, init.: οὐ γὰρ ἰπύγειον, ὡς ἔφην, εὐρημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς παρεδόξῃ: the last words τ. α. π. being the same as ἴστιν εἰρημένον. An utterly untenable position. Combine αὐτοῖς ἴστιν and ἱπινοῖα . . . εὐρημένον. 'This doctrine which they have (of theirs) is not one invented by a certain contrivance and excogitation of meddlesome men.'

7. προεστῆσιν: 'Champion.' Comp. c. 7, 2: οὐδὲ θνητὴν ἱπινοίαν φυλάσσειν . . . ἀξιούσι (Otto).

8. βαρβάρους: Especially Jewish.

9. καὶ τοῖς: So Otto. The MS. ἐν τοῖς.

12. πολιτείας: Not 'manner of life' here, but 'polity.'

13. πάροικοι: Comp. 1 Pet. 2, 11: παρακαλῶ ὡς παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους. Also Clem. Rom. Ep. 1 ad Cor., init.: ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ παροικοῦσῃ Κόρινθον, and Epist. Eccl. Smyrn. ap. Euseb. 4, 15, 3 (p. 109, D. S.).

15. Γαμοῦσιν ὡς πάντες: But the εἰγαμία is excluded. See A 15, 12 (Otto).—καὶ τεκνογονοῦσι: Καὶ added by Bunsen.

16. οὐ βίπτουσι: A 27, 1; 29, 1.

17. παρατίθενται: The regular word for setting a table.—ἅλλ' οὐ κοίτην: So Maran. The MSS. have κοινὴν, 'common but not common,' i. e. 'common but not unclean.' Maran's conjecture is quite satisfactory. The point is often made. Comp. Tertull. Apol. 39 (p. 94, D. S.): *Omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos praeter uxorē*. For the contrast with the heathen, see A 27; for τράπεζαν κοινὴν, comp. A 14, 16: ἱστιᾶς κοινᾶς μὴ ποιούμενοι.—Ἐν σαρκὶ τυγχάνουσι: Sc. ὄντες, c. 2, 7. For the sentiment, comp. 2 Cor. 10, 8; Rom. 8, 12, 18.

18. ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύονται: Comp. Phil. 3, 20: ἡμῶν τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει.

20. νικῶσι τοὺς νόμους: Love is not only the fulfilling of the law, but more than the fulfilling. Comp. Rom. 13, 9. 10.—'Ἀγαπῶσι . . . διώκονται: Comp. A 1, 6; 14, 18; 39, 12, and Tertull. ad Scap. 1 (p. 115, D. S.): *Amicos diligere omnium est, inimicos autem solorum Christianorum*; Athenag. Suppl. 11, 47: οὕτως ἐκκαθαρμένοι εἰσι τὰς ψυχὰς ὡς ἀντὶ τοῦ μισεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀγαπᾶν.

21. 'Ἀγνοοῦνται . . . ζωοποιοῦνται: Comp. 2 Cor. 6, 9: ὡς ἀγνοούμενοι καὶ ἐπιγινωσκόμενοι ὡς ἀποθνήσκοντες καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶμεν.

22. Πτωχεύουσιν . . . περισσύνουσιν: Comp. 2 Cor. 6, 10: ὡς πτωχοὶ, πολλοὺς δὲ πλουτίζοντες ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοντες καὶ πάντα κατέχοντες. The novice is reminded that πτωχός is 'poor' in its most desperate signification.

24. 'Ἀτιμούνται . . . δοξάζονται: 1 Cor. 4, 10: ὑμεῖς ἐνδοχοί, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀτιμοί.

25. Λοιδοροῦνται, καὶ εὐλογοῦσιν: Comp. 1 Cor. 4, 12: λοιδορούμενοι εὐλογοῦμεν.

26. 'Αγαθοποιοῦντες . . . καλᾶζονται: Comp. 1 Pet. 3, 17.

27. κολαζόμενοι χαίρουσιν: Comp. 2 Cor. 6, 10: ὡς λυπούμενοι, αἰεὶ δὲ χαίροντες. Suffering in this world for Christ is a pledge of living with Him in the next.

### 6. THEY ARE THE SOUL OF THE WORLD.

As the soul is in the body, so are the Christians in the world. Stationed in the world, the Christian dares not leave his post. Comp. Orig. c. Cels. 8, 70: ἄλλες γὰρ εἰσι τηρητικοὶ τῶν τῆς ἐπὶ γῆς συνστάσεως τοῦ κόσμου οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ συνίστηκε τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ὅσον οἱ ἄλλες οὐ τρέπονται.

1. 'Ἀπλῶς: 'In fine.'

5. Χριστιανοὶ . . . κόσμου: Comp. Jno. 17, 11. 14. 16: οὗτοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἰσιν . . . οὐκ εἰσιν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου.

6. 'Αόρατος ἡ ψυχὴ κτέ.: Otto comp. [Plato] Axiochus, 365: ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἴσμεν ψυχὴν, ζῶν ἀθάνατον, ἐν θνητῷ καθευργμῶν φρουρίῳ.

8. μένοντες: So Steph. for μὲν ὄντες.

9. θεοσίβεια: In contrast to the parade of Pagan and Jewish θρησκεία. See c. 1, 2. Comp. A 6, 8: λόγῳ (= πνεύματι) τιμᾶν,

and Rom. 12, 1: λογική (=πνευματική) λατρεία (Otto).—Μισεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ σάρκα: The term σάρξ is found first in the Stoic school, then in the Epicurean, and was finally taken up by the later Platonists, Plutarch and Maximus. See Keim, Celsus, S. 8, 65, and the commentators on Pers. 2, 63: *accelerata—pulpa*.

13. τοῖς μισοῦντας ἀγαπᾶσι: Comp. Matt. 5, 44; Luke 6, 27: ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθρούς. Justin, A 15, 30: ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας, and Dial. c. Tr. 133: ἀγαπᾶν τοὺς μισοῦντας. Otto triumphs in this 'evidence' of the Justinian origin of the Epistle to Diognetus; Credner rejoices in this 'proof' of Justin's ignorance of our Gospels.

14. Ἐγείλκεται . . . τὸν κόσμον: The world is kept together by the Christians. So Justin says, B 7, 6, that God postpones the breaking up of the world for their sake.—συνέχει δὲ αὐτὴ τὸ σῶμα: Comp. Tyr. 15, 5: τὸ μὲν σῶμα συνέχεται, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ συνέχεται.

15. ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ τῷ κόσμῳ: Comp. Plato, Phaedo, 62 B: ὡς ἐν τινι φρουρᾷ ἵσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι.

17. σκηνώματι: A familiar figure. Comp. Sap. 9, 15: γεῶδες σκήνος, and 2 Pet. 1, 13. 14; 2 Cor. 5, 1; Tatian ad Gr. 15; Euseb. H. E. 3, 31, 1 (p. 92, D. S.). Otto.

19. Κακουργουμένη . . . βελτιοῦται: Here ἡ ψυχὴ is the soul which is called on to eat and drink in Luke 12, 10. It is the ἐπιθυμία or 'appetite.' The notion is old and common. The commentators quote Heraclitus: ἐνθα γῇ ξηρῇ. ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη, and the proverb: φαγεῖα γαστήρ λεπτόν οὐ τίκει νόον. See Persius, 1, 57.

20. πλεονάζουσι: Otto understands the increase to be spiritual, growth in grace, in order to have something to correspond with βελτιοῦνται. But in view of the parallel passage below, c. 7, 31, οὐχ ὅρας ὅσῳ πλείονες κολάζονται, τοσοῦτῳ πλεονάζοντας ἄλλους, such an interpretation is fanciful. The increase of the number of the Christians is a sufficient betterment for the purpose of the passage.

21. τοιαύτην: So Lachmann for τοσαύτην, 'so important.'—τάξιν: Comp. Plato, Phaedo l. c.: ὡς ἐν τινι φρουρᾷ ἵσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οὐ δεῖ ἐλθεῖν ἐκ ταύτης λυεῖν οὐδ' ἀποδιεράσκειν.

22. παραιτήσασθαι: 'Shirk.' See A 2, 3.

## 7. THEIR RELIGION NOT OF MAN BUT OF GOD.

God sent the Word by whom He made the world to dwell among men, and established Him in their hearts. He works in meekness, not in wrath—by love, not by fear. But He will come to judge—and then who shall stand?

1. *ὡς ἔφη*: C. 5, 6.

2. *ἐπίνοια*: 'Fancy,' 'device.'

3. *οἰκονομία* . . . *πεπίστευνται*: Comp. 1 Cor. 9, 17: *οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευμαι*; Theophil. ad Autolyc. 1, 12: [*ὁ βασιλεὺς*] *τρώπῃ τῇ οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευται*.

4. *αὐτός*: 'Of his own accord' (Otto). A common use.

7. *ἐνέθρουσε καὶ ἐγκατεστήριξε*: 'Planted and established.'

8. *ἀνθρώπος*: So I read with Bunsen for *ἀνθρώποις*. Comp. below: *ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἂν τις λογίσαιτο*, but *πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπέμψε*.

9. *ἐκπρέτην* . . . *ἢ ἄγγελον ἢ ἄρχοντα*: Looks like a climax, but Otto says that it is a subdivision, thus:

*ἐκπρέτην*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ἢ τίνα τῶν διεπόντων τὰ ἐπίγεια} = \text{ἄγγελον} \\ \text{ἢ τίνα τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐιοικήσεις} = \text{ἄρχοντα.} \end{array} \right.$

On *ἐκπρέτης*, see A 14, 5.

11. *τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργόν*: These terms as applied to Christ are considered marks of later origin. See Harnack on Clem. Rom. 1 ad Cor. 37, 3.

12. *ὡς τοὺς οὐρανούς ἐκτισεν*: When the person is considered as an instrument, the dative may be used. It is sometimes overlooked by scholars, and confounded with the dative of the agent (person interested).

13. *μυστήρια*: 'Mysterious laws' (Bunsen).

14. *στοιχεῖα*: 'Starry signs' (Bunsen). See B 5, 5.

15. *ἡ λεία*: Steph.; not in the MS.—*σελήνη*: Otto inserts *ἡ* against the MS. With 'sun' and 'moon' the article is not necessary, e. g. Clem. Rom. 1 ad Cor. 20, 3: *ἡλὶός τε καὶ σελήνη*.—*ὅς . . . ἐποτέτακται*: 'By whom all things have been set in order (*οὐρανοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς*) and have had their bounds definitely fixed (*ἐτάλασσα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἐταλάσῃ*), and have been put in subjection [to men] (*γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ*). So Otto, who cites passages to prove this subjection to man. See c. 10, 4: *οἷς ὑπέταξε πάντα τὰ*

in τῇ γῇ, and B 5, 5: τὰ ἐπίγεια ἀνθρώποις ὑποτάσσας.—ἐν νυκτί: So I read for the poetic νυκτί:, but comp. 2, 32.

21. ἀπίστευεν: Changed afterwards into the vague ἐπεμψεν. See A 12, 34.—ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ λογίσαιτο: See l. 8.

23. ἐπιεικεία: This is the word that Matthew Arnold admires so much, 'sweet reasonableness.' See [Plato] Deff. 412 B: ἐπιεικεία δίκαιων καὶ συμφερόντων ἰλάττωσις· μετριότης ἐν συμβολαίοις· εὐταξία τῆς ψυχῆς λογιστικὴ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ καὶ αἰσχροῦ.—πραθῆναι: A later form for πρρότηναι. Comp. 1 Cor. 4, 21: ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἢ ἐν ἀγάπῃ πνεύματι τε πρρότητος. On the word comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. 4, 6, 36: πρραιεῖς δὲ εἰσιν οἱ τὴν ἀπιστον μάχην τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καταπεπαυκότας θυμοῦ καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῶν τοῦτοις ὑποβεβλημένων εἰδῶν. Πρρότης may be the result of a victory over self; μακροθυμία is originally a natural temper.

24. ὡς θεὸν ἐπεμψεν: The balance would be better, if we were to read ὡς θεὸς θεὸν ἐπεμψεν, ὡς ἄνθρωπον πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπεμψεν, and Bunsen has put ἄνθρωπον in his text, after Lachmann. 'Ὡς θεόν: Because God is good and loving. See below l. 26: βία γὰρ οὐ πρόσσεσι τῷ θεῷ. Otto comp. 1 Jno. 4, 8: ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν.

25. ὡς σώζων . . . οὐ κρίνων: Jno. 3, 17: οὐ γὰρ ἀπίστευεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν νόον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἵνα κρίνῃ τὸν κόσμον ἀλλ' ἵνα σωθῇ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ.

28. κρίνοντα: 'As judge.' Lachmann reads κρινούντα. Not necessary. The present participle is often used with such verbs, where the future would be more in accordance with the norm.—τίς αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν ὑποστήσεται: Comp. Mal. 3, 2: τίς ὑποστήσεται ἐν ὁπτασίᾳ αὐτοῦ. Παρουσία, 'coming,' 'advent.'

29. There is a break in the MSS. with this note: Οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ εὐρον ἰγκοπήν, παλαιοτάτου ὄντος (Otto corrects the poor scribe's Greek unnecessarily. See A 62, 12). Sylburg fills up the gap thus: Καὶ ταύτην δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἀνευδοιάστως παραδοκῶντας (sic: παραδοκούντας?) τοὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐπ' αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότας οὐκ ἐν τοπάρᾳπαν ἰστί τὸ ἐκφοβεῖν ἢ δουλαγωγεῖν δυνάμενον. Οὐχ ὁρᾷς γὰρ πολλοῦ κεφαλοτομονμένους τε καὶ σταυρομένους καὶ παραβαλλομένους θηρίους κτί. (based on Dial. c. Tryph. c. 110). Stephanus suspects a considerable break, and Overbeck (Studien, 1, 7) desiderates an answer to the second question of Diognetus—an exposition of the love and beneficence of the

Christians, and other detailed descriptions of Christian life on earth, of which their heroism in martyrdom might well form a part.—[Ὁύχ ὁρᾷ]: A tolerable stop-gap.

#### 8. THE WRETCHED STATE OF THE WORLD BEFORE THE SON OF GOD CAME.

The state of the world before the Divine Logos came was wretched, for no one knew what God is. But God manifested Himself by means of the Word; and whereas, while he kept His counsel veiled in mystery, He seemed to care naught for us, He gave us all things with His Son.

2. πρὶν αὐτὸν ἰλθεῖν: On πρὶν, A 4, 12: αὐτόν = τὸν λόγον (emphatic).—H: Passionate, like the Latin *an*, 'Then,' 'What!' a brief *reductio ad absurdum*. The MS. had ἦ, the quiet interrogative.

4. οἱ μὲν τινες: C. 2, 8. —πῦρ: Heraclitus, and after him the Stoics, Diog. Laert. 9, 7: ἐκ πυρὸς τὰ πάντα συνεστάναι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἀναλύεσθαι.

5. οὗ: Is often used for οἱ, especially in later Greek, just as we use 'where' for 'whither.' Here it may be considered even more elegant than οἱ, as the fire is to be the abiding-place. See Breitenbach on Xen. Hell. 2, 3, 54. For a parallel to this Christian unmannerliness, see A 12, 8.

6. ὤζωρ: Thales.

7. ἀποδεκτός: Perhaps better accentuated thus, as a verb, than ἀπόδεκτος as an adjective.

9. ἀποφαίνεσθαι θεόν: Otto tr. as if = ἀποφαίνειν ἑαυτὸ θεόν, *se declarare deum*. Unwarranted. The general subject τις is to be supplied for εὐναιτο from the general drift. Steph. would read εὐναιν' ἂν sc. οἱ φιλόσοφοι.

10. γοήτων: Common word and common thing in this age. See the vivid portraiture of a γόης in Lucian's Alexander or Pseudomantis.

11. ἐγνώρισεν: 'Knew.' So Stephanus, Bunsen, and others. Otto contends for 'made known.' Comp. Eph. 1, 9; 6, 19, and αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἐπέδειξεν. So too Dorner.

12. ἣ μόνῃ: 'By which' = διὰ πίστεως, not *cui soli concessum est*, as the Latin translators have it. The object of συγκεχώρηται is indefinite. The Strasburg MS. had μόνον.—'Ο . . . δεσπότης καὶ



**δημιουργός**: Above, *δημιουργός* is used of the Word, c. 7, 11. Properly God is the creator, ὁ ποιητής; Christ ὁ δημιουργός, but the usage is not uniform.

15. **ἐγένετο**: 'Hath shown himself,' 'proved to be,' a common translation of γίγνομαι.—**μακρόθυμος**: See note on c. 7, 23. Add Chrysost. Hom. in Rom. 2: διὸ μάλιστα ἀμαρτάνειν οὐ χρή, ἐπειδὴ μακρόθυμος, οὐδὲ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ὑπόξυσιν ἀγνωμοσύνης ποιῆσθαι· εἰ γὰρ μακρόθυμος καὶ κολάζει πάντως.

16. **χρηστός**: See A 16.—**ἀόργητος**: See note on *θυμός*, A 40, 44.

18. **ἔφραστον** = ἀνέφραστον.—**ἀνεκινώσατο**: For ἦν ἐκινώσατο, Steph. Otto reads ταύτην.

19. **Ἐν ὅσῳ**: 'In all the time,' with more emphasis on the length than in ἐν ᾧ, and here = ἕως, 'so long as.' On this mystery, see the passages cited by Otto, Rom. 16, 25, 26; 1 Cor. 2, 7–10; Eph. 3, 4 foll.; Col. 1, 26, 27; 2 Thess. 2, 13.—**τὴν σοφὴν αὐτοῦ βουλὴν**: Bunsen reads αὐτοῦ unnecessarily. See A 32, 22.

22. **πάνθ' ἅμα παρέσχεν ἡμῖν**: Rom. 8, 32: πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ἡμῖν χαρίσεται;

23. **καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ νοῆσαι & τίς κτλ.**: ποιῆσαι. Τίς ἄν. So Beurer's transcript and the Strasburg codex. Stephanus reads ἀκούσαι, Maran κατανοῆσαι, Bunsen νοῆσαι, which would match ἐγώρῃσι above: ᾧ is due to Sylburg. The use of the interrogative in a relative clause is familiar, and very lively in Greek. Comp. Dem. 18, 126: λόγους . . . διασύρει [Αἰσχίνης], αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς & τίς οὐκ ἂν ὤκνησε τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθίγξασθαι;

#### 9. REASONS WHY HE CAME SO LATE.

He came so late that men might be convicted of their unworthiness of eternal life, of their lost and ruined estate, might learn their own helplessness, and thus be prepared for His coming. God's patience with our sins is matched only by His gracious redemption of us through the gift of His Son.

1. **Πάντα . . . χρόνου**: I have accepted Lachmann's restoration. According to the other editors, the eighth chapter ends with the words: Πάντ' οὖν ᾧ ὅτι παρ' ἐαυτῷ σὺν τῷ παιδί οἰκονομῆς, and the ninth chapter: Μίχρι μὲν οὖν κτλ. Lachmann has fused the two sentences, and made the slight change of ᾧ into ἥδη, οἰκονομικῶς into οἰκονομηκῶς (late for οἰκονομηκῶς)—hardly to

be considered a change, when we remember the Itacism of later Greek. It is unnecessary to enlarge on the awkwardness of the received reading, the elegance and appropriateness of Lachmann's suggestion.—οἰκονομῆ καὶς: Comp. the use of οἰκονομία in Eph. 1, 10; 3, 9; 1 Tim. 1, 4. Οἰκονομικῶς, the ordinary reading, is translated by Stephanus *oecconomica sua scientia*.

2. μέχρι . . . τοῦ πρόσθεν χρόνου: 'During [all] the time past.'

3. ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις ἀπαγομένους: Comp. Tit. 3, 3: δουλεύοντες ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς.

6. τὸν νῦν: Sc. καιρὸν. The MS. has νῦν. The emendation is due to Van Hengel.

7. ἀλογχθέντες . . . ἀνάξιτοι: Sc. ὄντες.

9. ἐξωθώμεν: Sc. τῆς ζωῆς.—τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς . . . ἐδύνατον: With this use of κατὰ comp. ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς Χριστός = ὁ ἡμέτερος X. A 42, 11.

11. γεννηθώμεν = γενώμεθα.—πεπλήρωτο: On the omission of the augment, see B 2, 23. 'Επεὶ with the pluperfect emphasizes the full completion, generally with a conceived interval.

13. ἦλθε δὲ ὁ καιρὸς: Comp. Tit. 3, 4, 5: ὅτε ἐὶ ὁ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἱετέφανη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Θεοῦ, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων τῶν ἐν ἐκκαυσίνῃ ὧν ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔλεος ἐσωσεν ἡμᾶς.

14. ὦ τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἀγάπης τοῦ Θεοῦ: I have followed Lange's emendation. The ordinary text, as given by Otto and others: ὡς . . . μία ἀγάπη, is untenable. Otto forces a translation as usual: *Cum ob immensam erga homines benivolentiam unicus sit amor dei*. On ὦ with the gen., see A 9, 18. Such an interjectional passage as Lange proposes would be very much in keeping with the intensely rhetorical style of the author as well as with the immediate context.

16. ἀπώσατο: 'Late authors, from Polybius onward, often neglect the syllabic augment of ὠδή.'

17. ἠνείσχετο, αὐτὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀμαρτίας ἀνεδέξατο: The MS. had ἠνείσχετο λίγων κτλ.: Lachmann reads ἐλεῶν, I omit with Hefele. Otto considers the whole passage an awkward gloss from Isa. 58, 4, 11: οὐτοὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει . . . τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει.

18. τὸν ὕιον υἱὸν . . . ἀπέδοτο: Rom. 8, 32: ὅς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων παρίδωκεν αὐτόν.—ἀπέδοτο: The

active would be more natural. The middle is ordinarily used for 'sell.'—*λύτρον*: To fit *ἀπαγομένους* (Otto).

19. *τῶν ἀνόντων*: So Otto for *ἀνόντων*.

20. *τὸν δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκων*: 1 Pet. 3, 18: *ἔπαθεν δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων*.

22. *καλύψαι*: Comp. Jas. 5, 20: *καλύψει πληθος ἁμαρτιῶν*.

24. *Ὁ τῆς γλυκείας ἀνταλλαγῆς*: Comp. A 9, 18.

26. *ἵνα . . . κρυβῇ*: "ἵνα where we should expect τοῦ or τὸ with inf. *Ἐκρύβην* is a late form.

28. *τὸ ἀδύνατον τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως*: Above, l. 9, we had τὸ κατ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀδύνατον.

30. *δυνατόν*: Sc. *ὕψα*.—*ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων*: From our proved impotence and the Saviour's proved power.

31. *αὐτόν*: *Ipsum = Deum*. With the whole passage Otto compares Isa. 11, 2. 3.

33. *περὶ ἐνδύσεως . . . μεριμνᾶν*: Matt. 6, 25–31. See A 15, 46.

#### 10. EXHORTATION TO DIOGNETUS TO BECOME A CHRISTIAN.

Believe and know the Father. To know Him is to be full of joy. To love Him is to become an imitator of God. This imitation consists not in domineering over one's neighbors, not in violence or overbearing wealth; it consists in bearing the burdens of others, in supplying the wants of others. Then will ensue the perfect Christian life.

1. *ἐὰν ποθήσῃς, καταλάβοις ἄν*: According to the MS. *καὶ λάβῃς*, which would leave the sentence without an apodosis, which Krenkel favors. Otto makes *καὶ λάβῃς* the apodosis, fancying that at this stage of the language *λάβῃς* may be used as *λάβοις ἄν*. Von Gebhardt reads *κατάλαβε*. I have ventured to put *καταλάβοις ἄν*, 'you must gain.' Lachm. would read: *ἐπιποθέσῃς καὶ λάβοις* (opt. of wish).

2. *πρῶτον μὲν*: To this corresponds *Ἐπιγινώσκει*.

3. *ἡγάπησιν*: Jno. 3, 16: *οὕτως γὰρ ἡγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον* κτλ., and 1 Jno. 4, 9: *ἐν τούτῳ ἔφανερώθη ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ*.—*81*: *οὗς ἐποίησιν τὸν κόσμον*: Comp. A 10, 9; B 2.

4. *ὑπέταξε*: See c. 7.—*τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ*: The MS. had *τὰ ἐν \**. Sylburg and Otto insert *τῇ γῇ*, Boehl, Hefele, Lachmann, *αὐτῇ*.

5. *ἐ[ν] πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρᾶν*: Bunsen reads *αὐτόν* unnecessarily,

the familiar

αὐτὸν being = *ipsum*. Lachm. οὐρανόν from a supposed *compensum scripturas* οὐνόν. Comp. the familiar Ovidian verse: *os homini sublimis dedit, etc.*

6. ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας εἰκόνας: Gen. 1, 27. — πρὸς οὓς ἀπίστευται: C. 7, 20: τοῦτον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπίστευται.

7. τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλείαν: C. 9, 10: τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Comp. c. 5, 19: ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύονται.

9. Ἐπιγνοίς: Sc. τὸν πατέρα. — Ἡ πῶς ἀγαπήσεις: 1 Jno. 4, 19: ἡμεῖς ἀγαπῶμεν αὐτὸν ὅτι αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς.

10. Ἀγαπήσας 84: Comp. 1 Jno. 4, 11, 12 and 20, 21.

20. θεὸς γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων: Stephanus comp. the Greek proverb: *ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπου δαιμόνιον*. So Caecil. Stat. apud Symmach. Ep. 2, (Obolostat. 5, v. 264 Ribb.): *Homo hominī deus est, si suum officium sciat*.

21. μιμητής: Comp. A 10, 5: τοὺς τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ μιμουμένους, and Max. Tyr. G, 2: πῶς οὖν γίνονται ἂν ὅμοιοι ἀνθρώποι Διί; μιμούμενοι αὐτοῦ τὸ σωστικὸν καὶ φιλητικὸν καὶ πατρικὸν δὴ τοῦτο.

22. πολιτεύεται: Here 'rules.'

24. θαυμάσεις: The middle is the accepted form of the fut. in classic Attic.

26. ἐπιγνώς: I have restored the normal form. Ἐπιγνώσῃ (MS.) if a fut. ind., would be ungrammatical; if a 1 aor. middle, too poorly supported.

29. τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον . . . τὸ πῦρ τὸ πρόσκαιρον: Standing contrasts. Otto cites Dial. c. Tryph. 113; Epist. Eccl. Smyrn. ap. Euseb. H. E. 4, 15.

The chapter is incomplete.

Almost all the editors have agreed in considering the last two chapters, 11 and 12, as proceeding from another hand. So Henri Estienne (Stephanus), who first edited the Epistle, then Sylburg, Tillemont, Boehl, Semisch, and others. In the MSS. of Stephanus and Strasburg there is a marginal note on Οὐ ξίνα κτέ., which of itself gives rise to suspicion: *καὶ ὧδε ἰσχυρὴν εἶχε τὸ ἀντίγραφον*. But besides there are internal arguments enough, such as the completeness of the Epistle without these chapters, the want of connection with the foregoing, the absence of any reference to the questions of Diognetus, which prompted the Epistle, whereas these chapters were written at the bidding of the Spirit. Stress

active would be more natural. The middle is ordinarily used for 'sell.'—*λύτρον*: To fit *ἀπαγομένους* (Otto).

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3. ἡγάπησε: Jno. 3, 16: οὕτως γὰρ ἡγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον κτλ., and 1 Jno. 4, 9: *ἐν τούτῳ ἔφανερώθη ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ*.—81' οὕς ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον: Comp. A 10, 9; B 2.

4. ὑπέταξε: See c. 7.—τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ: The MS. had τὰ ἐν \*. Sylburg and Otto insert τῇ γῇ, Boehl, Hefele, Lachmann, αὐτῷ.

5. ἐ[ν] πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρᾶν: Bunsen reads αὐτόν unnecessarily,



# GREEK INDEX.

A=First Apology.  
B=Second Apology.  
D=Epistle to Diognetus.

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