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VOL. V.

THE APOLOGIES OF JUSTIN MARTYR

AND

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.



## 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.,  
PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE.



NEW YORK:  
HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,  
FRANKLIN SQUARE.

1877.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1877, by

HARPER & BROTHERS,

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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.

A

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 <sup>Justin of Flavia</sup> Nablûs, at the close of the first or the beginning <sup>Neapolis.</sup> of the second century. His father was Priseus, 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 Samarian 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 <sup>His quest of the</sup> Trypho. Careless as Justin is in his style, <sup>true philoso-</sup>phy. 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 incurious 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

<sup>He tries the</sup> half-philosophers. First he tried a professor of the 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

<sup>The Peripatetic</sup> he put himself under the care of a Peripatetic school.

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

<sup>The Pythagorean</sup> 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

<sup>Becomes a</sup> something. At last Justin sought refuge and

<sup>Platonist.</sup> 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. Philosophy 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-

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

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 Preparation for from another passage that Justin had long conversion. 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 Was the interview times a mere dramatic fiction. The question? 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 Flavia Neapolis, as is shown by the mention of Justin's conversion? 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 sinned. A woe was on him if he 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 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 Nazianzum 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

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

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 *superstition externa* was Christian religion not sharply distinguished from other foreign not tolerated. 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 Hatred of the common people, on whom the national faith populace. 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,

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 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-  
<sup>Enmity of relig-</sup>  
<sub>ious impostors.</sub> 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  
<sup>3. Against the</sup> the most dangerous heresies of the early Church  
heretics. 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 heresies, 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 Hermeias, 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 After his death. that Justin's great influence on following genera- tions 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, of Justin. 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 Crescens. 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 sycophaney, 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 Date of martyrdom. Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, under the 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.

The great name of Justin has been made to do service works of Justin, for a number of works which are not his, genuine, doubtful, and spurious. 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 real documents 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 Date of Apolo- Rome, and this statement is not in the least gies. 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 evi- Dialogue with denee of its genuineness, and it is wholly un- Trypho. necessary 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 being grounds of suspicion. 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  
 on the Sole Gov- Government of God ( $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\mu\nu\alpha\rho\chi\iota\alpha\epsilon$ ) is open  
 ernment of God. 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 Re-*  
*Spurious etae Fidei*, the *Epistola ad Zenam et Serenum*, the  
 works. *Confutatio dogmatum quorundam Aristotelis*, the  
*Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*, the *Quae-*  
*stiones Christianorum ad Gentiles*, the *Quaestiones Gen-*  
*tilium 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 Ἑλληνας—is evi-  
 λόγος πρὸς Ἑλ- dently by a different hand. Justin is negli-  
 ληνας. gent and prolix, his language is marked by the *laisser-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 Hermeias. 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 Not by Justin. 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 fetishism, 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 Justin's stand- unconditional praise; Tatian calls him ὁ Σαυ-  
ing. μαστιώτατος, Tertullian counts him among the *viri 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's love of the truth. Justin this life is not worth a lie ; and Bun-sen well remarks that his best epitaph may be said to be the words about truth which are quoted from

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 Justin’s courage. 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 Justin’s 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, Hémsterhuys, 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 Magus 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

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

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- fiercely than any other connected with Justin,  
 versies. 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- schools of Christian thought. Although he  
 nist? 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 Pauline Epistles, the *argumentum ex silentio*  
 of Paul? 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 hobby-  
 riders and lurid with the glare of an undying *odium theo-  
 logicum*, I have neither inclination nor vocation to enter.

Doctrine of the But there is one point so peculiarly Justinian  
 λόγος σπερματικός that it cannot be passed over in silence, the  
 doctrine of the λόγος σπερματικός, 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 <sup>The Logos.</sup> 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 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

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.



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THE APOLOGIES OF JUSTIN MARTYR,

AND

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.

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# ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΩΣΤΙΝΟΥ

ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΥΠΕΡ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ

ΠΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΗ.

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1. Αὐτοκράτορι Τίτῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ Εὐσεβεῖ  
Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι καὶ Οὐηρισσίμῳ σύνῳ φιλοσό-

Address.

φῳ καὶ Λουκίῳ φιλοσόφῳ Καίσαρος φύσει νίῳ  
καὶ Εὐσεβοῦς εἰσποιήτῳ, ἐραστῇ παιδείᾳ, ἵερᾳ τε συγκλή-  
τῳ καὶ δῆμῳ παντὶ Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκ παντὸς γένους 5  
ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκως μισουμένων καὶ ἐπηρεαζομένων Ἰουστī-  
νος Πρίσκου τοῦ Βακχείου, τῶν ἀπὸ Φλαούΐας Νέας πόλεως  
τῆς Συρίας Παλαιστίνης, εἰς αὐτῶν ὅν, τὴν προσφώνησιν  
καὶ ἔντευξιν πεποίημαι.

2. Τοὺς κατ' ἀλήθειαν εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φιλοσόφους μόνον  
τάληθὲς τιμᾶν καὶ στέργειν ὁ λόγος ὑπαγο-  
Justin de-  
mands justice.  
ρεύει, παραιτουμένους δόξαις παλαιῶν ἔξακο-  
λουθεῖν, ὃν φαῦλαι ὅσιν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον μὴ ἔπεισθαι τοῖς  
ἀδίκως τι πράξασιν ἢ δογματίσασιν ὁ σώφρων λόγος ὑπα- 5  
γορεύει, ἀλλ’ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς  
τὸν φιλαλήθη, κανὸν θάνατος ἀπειλῆται, τὰ δίκαια λέγειν τε  
καὶ πράττειν αἴρεῖσθαι δεῖ. ‘Υμεῖς μὲν οὖν ὅτι λέγεσθε  
εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φιλόσοφοι καὶ φύλακες δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἐρα-  
σταὶ παιδείας, ἀκούετε πανταχοῦ· εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑπάρχετε, δειχθή- 10

σεται. Οὐ γὰρ κολακεύσοντες ὑμᾶς διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲ πρὸς χάριν ὄμαλίσοντες, ἀλλ' ἀπαιτήσοντες κατὰ τὸν ἀκριβῆ καὶ ἐξεταστικὸν λόγον τὴν κρίσιν ποιήσασθαί προσεληλύθειμεν, μὴ προλίψει μηδ' ἀνθρωπαρεσκείᾳ 15 τῇ δειπιδαμόνων κατεχομένους ἢ ἀλόγῳ ὅρμῃ καὶ χρονίᾳ προκατεσχηκύᾳ φίμῃ κακῷ τὴν καθ' ἑαυτῶν ψῆφον φέροντας. Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς οὐδενὸς πείσεσθαι τι κακὸν δύνασθαι λελογίσμεθα, ἥν μὴ κακίας ἐργάται ἐλεγχώμεθα ἢ πονηροὶ διεγνώσμεθα· ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν δύνασθε, 20 βλάψαι δ' οὔ.

3. Ἐλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἄλογον φωνὴν καὶ τολμηρὰν δόξῃ τις Right to a ταῦτα εἶναι, ἀξιοῦμεν τὰ κατηγορούμενα αὐτῶν fair trial. ἐξετάζεσθαι, καὶ ἐὰν οὕτως ἔχοντα ἀποδεικνύωνται, κολάζεσθαι ὡς πρέπον ἐστὶν ἄλλον γε κολάζειν· εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἔχοι τις ἐλέγχειν, οὐχ ὑπαγορεύει ὁ ἀληθῆς λόγος διὰ φίμην πονηρὰν ἀναιτίους ἀνθρώπους ἀδικεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑαυτούς, οἷς οὐ κρίσει, ἀλλὰ πάθει τὰ πράγματα ἐπάγειν ἀξιοῦτε. Καλὴν δὲ καὶ μόνην δικαίαν πρόκλησιν ταῦτην πᾶς ὁ σωφρονῶν ἀποφανεῖται, τὸ τοὺς ἀρχομένους τὴν εὐ-  
10 θύνην τοῦ ἑαυτῶν βίου καὶ λόγου ἄληπτον παρέχειν, ὅμοίως δ' αὖ καὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας μὴ βίᾳ μηδὲ τυραννίδι, ἀλλ' εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἀκολουθοῦντας τὴν ψῆφον τίθεσθαι. Οὕτως γὰρ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀρχοντες καὶ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἀπολαύοιεν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. "Εφη γάρ που καί τις τῶν παλαιῶν· "Αν μὴ οἱ ἀρχοντες φιλοσοφήσωσι καὶ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι, οὐκ ἄν εἴη τὰς πόλεις εὐδαιμονῆσαι. Ἡμέτερον οὖν ἔργον, καὶ βίου καὶ μαθημάτων τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν πᾶσι παρέχειν, μήπως ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγνοεῖν τὰ ἡμέτερα νομιζόντων τὴν τιμωρίαν, ὃν ἂν πλημμελῶσι τυφλώττοντες, [αὐτῶν] αὐτοὶ ὄφλησιωμεν·

νῦμέτερον δέ, ὡς αἱρεῖ λόγιος, ἀκούοντας ἀγαθοὺς εὑρίσκε- 20  
σθαι κριτάς. Ἀναπολόγητον γὰρ λοιπὸν μαθοῦσιν, ἢν  
μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιήσητε, ὑπάρξει πρὸς θεόν.

4. Ὁνόματος μὲν οὖν προσωνυμία οὕτε ἀγαθὸν οὕτε κα-  
Why condemn κὸν κρίνεται ἄνευ τῶν ὑποπιπτουσῶν τῷ ὀνό-  
a name? ματι πράξεων· ἐπεί, ὅσον γε ἐκ τοῦ κατηγο-  
ρουμένου ἡμῶν ὀνόματος, χρηστότατοι ὑπάρχομεν. Ἄλλ’  
ἐπεὶ οὐ τοῦτο δίκαιον ἡγούμεθα, διὰ τὸ ὄνομα, ἐὰν κακοὶ 5  
ἐλεγχώμεθα, αἰτεῖν ἀφίεσθαι, πάλιν, εἰ μηδὲν διά τε τὴν  
προσηγορίαν τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ διὰ τὴν πολιτείαν εὑρισκό-  
μεθα ἀδικοῦντες, ὑμέτερον ἀγωνιᾶσαι ἐστι μὴ ἀδίκως κο-  
λάζοντες τοὺς μὴ ἐλεγχομένους τῇ δίκῃ κόλασιν ὀφλήσητε.  
Ἐξ ὀνόματος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔπαινος οὐ κόλασις οὐκ ἀν εὐλόγως 10  
γένοιτο, ἢν μή τι ἐνάρετον οὐ φαῦλον δι’ ἔργων ἀποδείκνυ-  
σθαι δύνηται. Καὶ γὰρ τοὺς κατηγορουμένους ἐφ’ ὑμῶν  
πάντας πρὶν ἐλεγχθῆναι οὐ τιμωρεῖτε, ἐφ’ ὑμῶν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα  
ὡς ἐλεγχον λαμβάνετε, καίπερ, ὅσον γε ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος,  
τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας μᾶλλον κολάζειν ὀφείλετε. Χριστο- 15  
ανοὶ γὰρ εἶναι κατηγορούμενα· τὸ δὲ χρηστὸν μισεῖσθαι  
οὐ δίκαιον. Καὶ πάλιν ἐὰν μέν τις τῶν κατηγορουμένων  
ἔξαρνος 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 ἀρνουμένου, ὅπως  
διὰ τῶν πράξεων ὄποιός ἐστιν ἔκαστος φαίνηται. “Ον γὰρ  
τρόπον παραλαβόντες τινὲς παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου Χριστοῦ  
μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι ἔξεταζόμενοι παρακελεύονται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρό-  
πον κακῶς ζῶντες ἵσως ἀφορμὰς παρέχουσι τοῖς ἄλλως 25  
καταλέγειν τῶν πάντων Χριστιανῶν ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν

αίρουμενοις. Οὐκ ὄρθως μὲν οὐδὲ τοῦτο πράττεται. Καὶ γάρ τοι φιλοσοφίας ὄνομα καὶ σχῆμα ἐπιγράφονταί τινες, οὐδὲν ἄξιον τῆς ὑποσχέσεως πράττουσι· γινώσκετε δὲ ὅτι καὶ οἱ τὰ ἐναντία δοξάσαντες καὶ δογματίσαντες τῶν παλαιῶν τῷ ἐνὶ ὀνόματι προσαγορεύονται φιλόσοφοι. Καὶ τούτων τινὲς ἀθεύτητα ἐδίδαξαν, καὶ τὸν Δία ἀσελγῆ ἄμα τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶν οἱ γενόμενοι ποιηταὶ καταγγέλλουσι· κἀκείνων τὰ διδάγματα οἱ μετερχόμενοι οὐκ εἴργονται πρὸς ὑμῶν, ἀθλα δὲ καὶ τιμᾶς τοῖς εὐφώνως ὑβρίζουσι τούτους τίθετε.

5. Τί δὴ οὖν τοῦτ' ἀν εἴη; Ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ὑπισχνουμένων Christians πο μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν μηδὲ τὰ ἀθεα ταῦτα δοξάζειν, οὐatheists. κρίσεις ἔξετάζετε, ἀλλ' ἀλόγῳ πάθει καὶ μάστιγι δαιμόνων φαύλων ἔξελαυνόμενοι ἀκρίτως κολάζετε μὴ φροντίζοντες. Εἰρήσεται γὰρ τὸ ληθές· ἐπεὶ τὸ παλαιὸν δαίμονες φαῦλοι, ἐπιφανείας ποιησάμενοι, καὶ γυναικας ἐμοίχευσαν καὶ παῖδας διέφευραν καὶ φόβητρα ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν, ως καταπλαγῆναι τοὺς οἵ λόγῳ τὰς γινομένας πράξεις οὐκ ἔκρινον, ἀλλὰ δέει συνηρπασμένοι καὶ μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι δαίμονας εἶναι φαύλους, θεοὺς προσωνόμαζον καὶ ὀνόματι ἔκαστον προσηγόρευον, ὅπερ ἔκαστος ἔαυτῷ τῶν δαιμόνων ἐτίθετο. "Οτε δὲ Σωκράτης λόγῳ ἀληθεῖ καὶ ἔξεταστικῷ ταῦτα εἰς φανερὸν ἐπειρᾶτο φέρειν καὶ ἀπύγειν τῶν δαιμόνων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ δαιμονες διὰ τῶν χαιρόντων τῇ κακίᾳ ἀνθρώπων ἐνήργησαν ως ἀθεον καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἀποκτεῖναι, λέγοντες καὶνὰ εἰσφέρειν αὐτὸν δαιμόνια. Καὶ ὁμοίως ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτὸν ἐνεργοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν "Ελλησι διὰ Σωκράτους ὑπὸ λόγου ἡλέγχη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν βαρβάροις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου

μορφωθέντος καὶ ἀνθρώπου γενομένου καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ 20  
κληθέντος, ὃ πεισθέντες ἡμεῖς τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας δαί-  
μονας οὐ μόνον μὴ ὅρθῶς θεοὺς εἶναι φαμεν, ἀλλὰ κα-  
κοὺς καὶ ἀνοσίους δαίμονας, οἱ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀρετὴν ποθοῦσιν  
ἀνθρώποις τὰς πράξεις ὑμοίας ἔχουσιν.

6. Ἐνθένδε καὶ ἄθεοι κεκλήμεθα. Καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν τῶν  
Our God is not τοιούτων νομιζομένων θεῶν ἄθεοι εἶναι, ἀλλ’  
as your gods. οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀληθεστάτου καὶ πατρὸς δικαιοσύνης  
καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ἀνεπιμίκτου τε  
κακίας θεοῦ· ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ’ αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλ- 5  
θόντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπο-  
μένων καὶ ἔξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατόν, πνεῦ-  
μά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, λόγῳ  
καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες καὶ παντὶ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν, ὡς ἐδι-  
δάχθημεν, ἀφθόνως παραδιδόντες. 10

7. Αλλὰ φήσει τις· Ἡδη τινὲς ληφθέντες ἡλέγχθησαν  
The life the κακοῦργοι. Καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς πολλάκις, ὅταν  
true test. ἐκάστοτε τῶν κατηγορουμένων τὸν βίον ἔξετά-  
ζητε, ἀλλ’ οὐ διὰ τοὺς προελεχθέντας καταδικάζετε. Κα-  
θόλου μὲν οὖν κάκεινο δομολογοῦμεν, ὅτι δν τρόπον οἱ ἐν 5  
“Ελλησι τὰ αὐτοῖς ἀρεστὰ δογματίσαντες ἐκ παντὸς τῷ ἐνὶ<sup>10</sup>  
δυνόματι φιλοσοφίας προσαγορεύονται, καίπερ τῶν δογμά-  
των ἐναντίων ὅντων, οὕτως καὶ τῶν ἐν βαρβάροις γενομέ-  
νων καὶ δοξάντων σοφῶν τὸ ἐπικατηγορούμενον ὄνομα  
κοινόν ἔστι· Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ πάντες προσαγορεύονται.  
“Οἱεν πάντων τῶν καταγγελλομένων ὑμῖν τὰς πράξεις  
κρίνεσθαι ἀξιοῦμεν, ἵνα δὲ λεγχθεῖς ὡς ἀδικος κολάζηται,  
ἀλλὰ μὴ ὡς Χριστιανός, ἐὰν δέ τις ἀνέλεγκτος φάνηται,  
ἀπολύται ὡς Χριστιανὸς οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν. Οὐ γὰρ τοὺς

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

8. Λογίσασθε δ' ὅτι ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ταῦτα ἔφημεν, ἐκ τοῦ ἐφ'

This life is not worth a lie.  
‘We aspire while we expire.’

βουλόμενα ζῆν ψευδολογοῦντες· τοῦ γὰρ αἰώνιου καὶ καθαροῦ βίου ἐπιτυμοῦντες τῆς μετὰ

5 θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων πατρὸς καὶ δημιουργοῦ διαγωγῆς ἀντιποιούμενα, καὶ σπεύδομεν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄμολογεῖν οἱ πεπεισμένοι καὶ πιστεύοντες τυχεῖν τούτων δύνασθαι τὸν τὸν θεὸν δι' ἔργων πείσαντας ὅτι αὐτῷ εἴποντο καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτῷ διαγωγῆς ἥρων, ἔνθα κακία οὐκ ἀντιτυπεῖ. ‘Ως μὲν οὖν διὰ 10 βραχέων εἰπεῖν, ἂν τε προσδοκῶμεν καὶ μεμαθήκαμεν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ διδάσκομεν, ταῦτά ἐστι. Πλάτων δὲ ὁμοίως ἔφη ‘Ραδάμανθυν καὶ Μίνω κολάσειν τοὺς ἀδίκους παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντας· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμά φαμεν γενήσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καν τοῖς αὐτοῖς σώμασι μετὰ τῶν ψυχῶν γινομένων καὶ αἰωνίαν κύλασιν κολασθησομένων, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ χιλιονταετῆ περίοδον, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, μόνον. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄπιστον ἦ ἀδύνατον τοῦτο φήσει τις, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἥδε ἡ πλάνη ἐστὶν ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς ἔτερον, μέχρις οὐ ἔργῳ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντες ἐλεγχόμεθα.

9. ’Αλλ' οὐδὲ θυσίαις πολλαῖς καὶ πλοκαῖς ἀνθῶν τιμῶ-  
Idol-worship is μεν, οὓς ἀνθρωποι μορφώσαντες καὶ ἐν ναοῖς  
idle worship. ἰδρύσαντες θεοὺς προσωνύμασαν, ἐπεὶ ἄψυχα καὶ νεκρὰ ταῦτα γινώσκομεν καὶ θεοῦ μορφὴν μὴ ἔχοντα 5 (οὐ γὰρ τοιαύτην ἡγούμενα τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν τὴν μορφήν, ἥν φασί τινες εἰς τιμὴν μεμιησθαι), ἀλλ' ἐκείνων τῶν φανέντων κακῶν δαιμόνων καὶ ὀνόματα καὶ σχήματα ἔχειν. Τί γὰρ δεῖ εἰδόσιν ὑμᾶν λέγειν, ἂν τὴν ὑλην οἱ τεχνῖται διατί-

Σέασι ξέοντες 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 ἄλογὸν ἡγούμενα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφ'  
 ὕβρει τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεσθαι, δις ἀρρητον δόξαν καὶ μορφὴν  
 ἔχων ἐπὶ φθαρτοῖς καὶ δεομένοις θεραπείας πράγμασιν  
 ἐπονομάζεται. Καὶ ὅτι οἱ τούτων τεχνῖται ἀσελγεῖς τε καὶ 15  
 πᾶσαν κακίαν, ἵνα μὴ καταριθμῷμεν, ἔχουσιν, ἀκριβῶς ἐπί-  
 στασθε· καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν παιδίσκας συνεργαζομένας φθεί-  
 ρουσιν. "Ω τῆς ἐμβροντησίας, ἀνθρώπους ἀκολάστους  
 θεοὺς εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι πλάσσειν λέγεσθαι καὶ μετα-  
 ποιεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, ἔνθα ἀνατίθενται, φύλακας τοιού- 20  
 τους καθιστάναι, μὴ συνορῶντας ἀδέμιτον καὶ τὸ νοεῖν ἢ  
 λέγειν ἀνθρώπους θεῶν εἶναι φύλακας.

10. 'Αλλ' οὐ δέεσθαι τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώπων ὑλικῆς προσ-  
 φορᾶς παρειλήφαμεν τὸν θεόν, αὐτὸν παρέ-  
 Proper worship of God. χοντα πάντα ὄρῶντες· ἐκείνους δὲ προσδέ-  
 χεσθαι αὐτὸν μόνον δεδιδάγμεθα καὶ πεπείσμεθα καὶ πι-  
 στεύομεν, τοὺς τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ ἀγαθὰ μιμουμένους, 5  
 σωφροσύνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, καὶ ὅσα  
 οἰκεῖα θεῷ ἔστι, τῷ μηδενὶ ὄνόματι θετῷ καλουμένῳ. Καὶ  
 πάντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀγαθὸν ὅντα δημιουργῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐξ  
 ἀμόρφου ὄλης δὶς ἀνθρώπους δεδιδάγμεθα· οἱ ἐὰν ἀξίους  
 τῷ ἐκείνου βουλεύματι ἑαυτοὺς δὶς ἔργων δείξωσι, τῆς μετ' 10  
 αὐτοῦ ἀναστρόφης καταξιωθῆναι παρειλήφαμεν συμβασι-  
 λεύοντας, ἀφθάρτους καὶ ἀπαθεῖς γενομένους. "Ον τρό-  
 πον γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ὅντας ἐποίησε, τὸν αὐτὸν ἡγού-  
 μενα τρόπον διὰ τὸ ἐλέσθαι τοὺς αἴρουμένους τὰ αὐτῷ  
 ἀρεστὰ καὶ ἀφθαρσίας καὶ συνουσίας καταξιωθῆναι· τὸ 15

μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, οὐχ ἡμέτερον ἦν, τὸ δὲ ἔξα-  
κολουθῆσαι οἵς φίλον αὐτῷ αἴρουμένους δι’ ᾧν αὐτὸς  
ἐδωρήσατο λογικῶν δυνάμεων πεῖθει τε καὶ εἰς πίστιν ἄγει  
ἡμᾶς. Καὶ ύπερ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡγούμεθα εἶναι τὸ  
20 μὴ εἰργεσθαι ταῦτα μανθάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προτρέπεσθαι ἐπὶ<sup>20</sup>  
ταῦτα. "Οπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν οἱ ἀνθρώπειοι νόμοι  
πρᾶξαι, ταῦτα ὁ λόγος θεῖος ὃν εἰργάσατο, εἰ μὴ οἱ φαῦλοι  
δαίμονες κατεσκέδασαν πολλὰ ψευδῆ καὶ ἄθεα κατηγορή-  
ματα, σύμμαχον λαβόντες τὴν ἐν ἑκάστῳ κακῇν πρὸς  
25 πάντα καὶ ποικίλην φύσει ἐπιθυμίαν, ὃν οὐδὲν πρόσεστιν  
ἡμῖν.

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

12. Ἀρωγοὶ δὲ ύμῖν καὶ σύμμαχοι πρὸς εἰρήνην ἐσμὲν  
'As ever in our great Task-master's eye.' μεν, ὡς λαθεῖν θεὸν κακοεργὸν ἢ πλεονέκτην  
ἢ ἐπίβουλον ἢ ἐνάρετον ἀδύνατον εἶναι, καὶ ἔκαστον ἐπ'  
5 αἰωνίαν κόλασιν ἢ σωτηρίαν κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων πο-  
ρεύεσθαι. Εἰ γὰρ οἱ πάντες ἀνθρώποι ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον,  
οὐκ ἄν τις τὴν κακίαν πρὸς ὀλίγον ἥρεῖτο, γινώσκων πο-  
ρεύεσθαι ἐπ' αἰωνίαν διὰ πυρὸς καταδίκην, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς

τρύπου ἔαυτὸν συνεῖχε καὶ ἐκύσμει ἀρετῆ, ὅπως τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τύχοι ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κολαστηρίων ἀπηλλαγμέ-<sup>10</sup> νος εἴη. Οἱ γὰρ διὰ τοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν κειμένους νύμους καὶ κολάσεις πειρῶνται λανθάνειν ἀδικοῦντες—ἀνθρώπους δ' ὅντας λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς δυνατὸν ἐπιστάμενοι ἀδικοῦσιν—εἰ ἔμαθον καὶ ἐπείσθησαν θεὸν ἀδύνατον εἶναι λαθεῖν τι οὐ μόνον πραττόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλευόμενον, κανὸν διὰ τὰ<sup>15</sup> ἐπικείμενα ἐκ παντὸς τρύπου κόσμῳ ἥσαν, ὡς καὶ ὑμεῖς συμφήσετε. Ἀλλ' ἐοίκατε δεδιέναι μὴ πάντες δικαιοπραγήσωσι καὶ ὑμεῖς οὓς κολάσετε ἔτι οὐχ ἔξετε· δημίων δ' ἀν εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔργον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀρχόντων ἀγαθῶν. Πε-<sup>20</sup> πείσμεθα δ' ἐκ δαιμόνων φαύλων, οὖν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀλόγως βιούντων αἰτοῦσι θύματα καὶ θεραπείας, καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς προέφημεν, ἐνεργεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑμᾶς, οἵ γε εὐσεβείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας ὀρέγεσθε, ἄλογόν τι πρᾶξαι ὑπειλήφαμεν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅμοίως τοῖς ἀνοίτοις τὰ ἔθη πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας τιμᾶτε, πράττετε δὲ δύνανται<sup>25</sup> καὶ ἀρχοντες πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας δόξαν τιμῶντες, ὅσον καὶ λησταὶ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ. "Οτι δ' οὐ καλλιερήσετε, ὁ λόγος ἀποδείκνυσιν, οὗ βασιλικώτατον καὶ δικαιότατον ἀρχοντα μετὰ τὸν γεννήσαντα θεὸν οὐδένα οἰδαμεν ὅντα. "Ον γὰρ τρόπον διαδέχεσθαι πενίας ἢ πάθη ἢ ἀδοξίας πατρικὰς ὑφαι-<sup>30</sup> ροῦνται πάντες, οὕτως καί, ὅσα ἂν ὑπαγορεύσῃ ὁ λόγος μὴ δεῖν αἴρεισθαι, ὁ νουνεχῆς οὐχ αἴρήσεται. Γενήσεσθαι ταῦτα πάντα προεīπε, φημί, ὁ ἡμέτερος διδάσκαλος καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πάντων καὶ δεσπότου θεοῦ νίδις καὶ ἀπόστολος ὁν<sup>35</sup> Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ Χριστιανὸν ἐπονομάζεσθαι ἐσχήκαμεν. "Οὗτον καὶ βέβαιοι γινόμεθα πρὸς τὰ δεδιδαγμένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα, ἐπειδὴ ἔργῳ φαίνεται γινόμενα, ὅσα

φῦάσας γενέσθαι προεῖπεν· ὅπερ θεοῦ ἔργον ἐστί, πρὸν ἦ  
γενέσθαι εἰπεῖν καὶ οὕτως δειχθῆναι γινόμενον ὡς προεί-  
ρηται. Ἡν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις παυσαμένους μηδὲν  
προστιθέναι, λογισαμένους ὅτι δικαιά τε καὶ ἀληθῆ ἀξιοῦ-  
μεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ γνωρίζομεν οὐ ρῆσον ἀγνοίᾳ κατεχομένην  
ψυχὴν συντόμως μεταβάλλειν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεῖσαι τοὺς φιλα-  
λήθεις μικρὰ προσθεῖναι προεθυμάθημεν, εἰδότες ὅτι οὐκ  
ἀδύνατον ἀληθείας παρατεθείσης ἄγνοιαν φυγεῖν.

+ 13. "Αὕτοι μὲν οὖν ὡς οὐκ ἐσμέν, τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦδε  
Our reasonable τοῦ παντὸς σεβόμενοι, ἀνενδεῆ αἴματων καὶ  
service. σπονδῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, λέ-  
γοντες, λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας ἐφ' οὓς προσφερόμενα  
5 πᾶσιν, ὅση δύναμις, αἰνοῦντες, μόνην ἀξίαν αὐτοῦ τιμὴν  
ταύτην παραλαβόντες, τὸ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου εἰς διατροφὴν γε-  
νόμενα οὐ πυρὶ δαπανᾶν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις  
προσφέρειν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ εὐχαρίστους ὅντας διὰ λόγου πομπὰς  
καὶ ὕμνους πέμπειν ὑπέρ τε τοῦ γεγονέναι καὶ τῶν εὐ-  
10 ρωστίαν πόρων πάντων, ποιοτήτων μὲν γονῶν καὶ μετα-  
βολῶν ὥρῶν, 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 μαδόντες καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἔχοντες, πνεῦμά τε  
προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει ὅτι μετὰ λόγου τιμῶμεν, ἀποδεί-  
ξομεν. Ἐνταῦθα γάρ μανίαν ἡμῖν καταφαίνονται, δευτέ-  
ραν χώραν μετὰ τὸν ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀεὶ ὄντα θεὸν καὶ γεννή-  
τορα τὸν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπῳ σταυρωθέντι διδόναι ἡμᾶς λέ-

γοντες, ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ ἐν τούτῳ μυστήριον, ὃ προσέχειν  
ὑμᾶς ἔξηγουμένων ἡμῶν προτρεπόμεθα.

14. Προλέγομεν γὰρ ὑμῖν φυλάξασθαι, μὴ οἱ προδιαβε-  
The demons βλημένοι υφ' <sup>malign</sup> ἡμῶν δαίμονες ἔξαπατήσωσιν ὑμᾶς  
Christians. καὶ ἀποτρέψωσι τοῦ ὄλως ἐντυχεῖν καὶ συνεῖναι  
τὰ λεγόμενα (ἀγωνίζονται γὰρ ἔχειν ὑμᾶς δούλους καὶ  
ὑπηρέτας, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν δὶ’ ὄνείρων ἐπιφανείας, ποτὲ δ’ αὖτις  
διὰ μαγικῶν στροφῶν χειροῦνται πάντας τοὺς οὐκ ἔσθι-  
ὄπως ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἀγωνίζομένους), δὸν τρό-  
πον καὶ ἡμεῖς μετὰ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ πεισθῆναι ἐκείνων μὲν ἀπέ-  
στημεν, θεῷ δὲ μόνῳ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ διὰ τοῦ νίοῦ ἐπόμεθα·  
οἱ πάλαι μὲν πορνείαις χαίροντες, νῦν δὲ σωφροσύνην μό-  
νην ἀσπαζόμενοι· οἱ δὲ καὶ μαγικαῖς τέχναις χρώμενοι,  
ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ ἐαυτοὺς ἀνατεθεικότες· χρημά-  
των δὲ καὶ κτημάτων οἱ πύρους παντὸς μᾶλλον στέργοντες,  
νῦν καὶ ἀ ἔχομεν εἰς κοινὸν φέροντες καὶ παντὶ δεομένῳ  
κοινωνοῦντες· οἱ μισάλληλοι δὲ καὶ ἀλληλοφόνοι καὶ πρὸς 15  
τοὺς οὐχ ὅμοφύλους διὰ τὰ ἔθη καὶ ἐστίας κοινὰς μὴ ποι-  
ούμενοι, νῦν μετὰ τὴν ἐπιφύνειαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁμοδίαιτοι  
γινόμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐχόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἀδίκως  
μισοῦντας πείθειν 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. "Ινα δὲ μὴ σοφίζεσθαι ὑμᾶς δόξωμεν, ὀλίγων τινῶν  
τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδαγμάτων ἐπιμνησθῆναι κα-  
λῶς ἔχειν πρὸ τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἡγησάμεθα, καὶ ὑμέτερον  
ἔστω ὡς δυνατῶν βασιλέων ἔξετάσαι 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 οὗν σωφροσύνης τοσοῦτον εἶπεν· Ὅσ οὖν  
 Christ's own ἐμβλέψῃ γυναικὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς, ἥδη  
 teachings. ἐμοίχευσε τῇ καρδίᾳ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. Καί· Εἰ  
 δὲ ὁ φθαλμός σου ὁ δεξιὸς σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔκκοφον 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<sup>10</sup>  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐγεννήθησαν εὐνοῦχοι, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ  
 εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· πλὴν  
 οὐ πάντες τοῦτο χωροῦσιν. "Ωστε καὶ οἱ νόμῳ ἀνθρω-  
 πίνῳ διγαμίας πιούμενοι ἀμαρτωλοὶ παρὰ τῷ ήμετέρῳ δι-  
 δασκάλῳ εἰσί, καὶ οἱ προσβλέποντες γυναικὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπι-  
 θυμῆσαι αὐτῆς· οὐ γάρ μόνον ὁ μοιχεύων ἔργῳ ἐκβέβληται  
 15 παρ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μοιχεῦσαι βουλόμενος, ὡς οὐ τῶν  
 ἔργων φανερῶν μόνον τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων.  
 Καὶ πολλοί τινες καὶ πολλαὶ ἔξηκοντοῦται καὶ ἐβδομηκον-  
 τοῦται, οἱ ἐκ παίδων ἐμαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἄφενοι  
 διαμένουσι· καὶ εὑχομαι κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων τοιού-  
 20 τους δεῖξαι. Τί γάρ καὶ λέγομεν τὸ ἀναρίθμητον πλῆθος  
 τῶν ἐξ ἀκολασίας μεταβαλόντων καὶ ταῦτα μαθόντων; Οὐ  
 γάρ τοὺς δικαίους οὐδὲ τοὺς σώφρονας εἰς μετάνοιαν ἐκάλε-  
 σεν ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀκολάστους καὶ ἀδί-  
 κους. Εἶπε δὲ οὕτως· Οὐκ ἥλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ  
 25 ἀμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν. Θέλει γάρ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ οὐράνιος  
 τὴν μετάνοιαν τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ ἢ τὴν κόλασιν αὐτοῦ. Περὶ  
 δὲ τοῦ στέργειν ἅπαντας ταῦτα ἐδίδαξεν· Εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς  
 ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τί καινὸν ποιεῖτε; Καὶ γάρ οἱ πόρνοι  
 τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν. Ἔγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω· Εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν

ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ εὐλο-<sup>30</sup>  
 γεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρε-  
 αζόντων ὑμᾶς. Εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ  
 μηδὲν πρὸς δόξαν ποιεῖν ταῦτα ἔφη· Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι  
 δίδοτε καὶ τὸν βουλόμενον δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆτε·  
 εἰ γὰρ δανείζετε παρ' ᾧν ἐλπίζετε λαβεῖν, τί καινὸν ποι-<sup>35</sup>  
 εῖτε; Τοῦτο καὶ οἱ τελῶναι ποιοῦσιν. Υμεῖς δὲ μὴ θη-  
 σαυρίζετε ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφα-  
 νίζει καὶ λησταὶ διορύσσουσι· θησαυρίζετε δὲ ἑαυτοῖς ἐν  
 τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅπου οὕτε σῆς οὕτε βρῶσις ἀφανίζει. Τί  
 γὰρ ὡφελεῖται ἀνθρωπος, ἢν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν <sup>40</sup>  
 δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσῃ; Ἡ τί δώσει αὐτῆς ἀντάλλαγμα;  
 Θησαυρίζετε οὖν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅπου οὕτε σῆς οὕτε βρῶ-  
 σις ἀφανίζει. Καί· Γίνεσθε δὲ χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες, ὡς  
 καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν χρηστός ἐστι καὶ οἰκτίρμων, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον  
 αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ ἀμαρτωλοὺς καὶ δικαίους καὶ πονη-<sup>45</sup>  
 ρούς. Μὴ μεριμνᾶτε δὲ τί φάγητε ἢ τί ἐνδύσησθε. Οὐχ  
 ὑμεῖς τῶν πετεινῶν καὶ τῶν θηρίων διαφέρετε; Καὶ ὁ θεὸς  
 τρέφει αὐτά. Μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε τί φάγητε ἢ τί ἐνδύ-  
 σησθε· οἶδε γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ὅτι τούτων  
 χρείαν ἔχετε. Ζητεῖτε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ <sup>50</sup>  
 ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν. "Οπου γὰρ ὁ θησαυρός  
 ἐστιν, ἔκεī καὶ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Καί· Μὴ ποιεῖτε  
 ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἰ δὲ μή γε,  
 μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρα-  
 νοῖς.

16. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀνεξικάκους εἶναι καὶ ὑπηρετικοὺς πᾶσι  
 Bear all things.  
 Swear not at all. σου τὴν σιαγόνα, πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ  
 C 2

τὸν αἴροντά σου τὸν χιτῶνα ἢ τὸ ἱμάτιον μὴ κωλύσῃς.  
 5 Ὁς δ' ἂν ὀργισθῆ, ἔνοχός ἐστιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ. Παντὶ δὲ ἀγ-  
 γαρεύοντί σε μίλιον, ἀκολούθησον δύο. Λαμφάτω δὲ ὑμῶν  
 τὰ καλὰ ἔργα ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα βλέποντες  
 θαυμάζωσι τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Οὐ  
 γὰρ ἀνταίρειν δεῖ· οὐδὲ μιμητὰς εἶναι τῶν φαύλων βε-  
 10 βούληται ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ πρᾳότητος ἐξ  
 αἰσχύνης καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τῶν κακῶν ἄγειν πάντας προετρέ-  
 φατο. "Ο γε καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν γεγενημένων  
 ἀποδεῖξαι ἔχομεν· ἐκ βιαίων καὶ τυράννων μετέβαλον, ἡτ-  
 τηθέντες ἢ γειτόνων καρτερίαν βίου παρακολουθήσαντες  
 15 ἢ συνοδοιπόρων πλεονεκτουμένων ὑπομονὴν ξένην κατανο-  
 ίσαντες ἢ συμπραγματευομένων πειραζέντες. Περὶ δὲ  
 τοῦ μὴ ὀμινύναι ὅλως, τύληθῆ δὲ λέγειν ἀεί, οὕτως παρεκε-  
 λεύσατο· Μὴ ὀμόσητε ὅλως. "Εστω 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 ἐπεισεν  
 εἰπών· Μεγίστη ἐντολή ἐστι· Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσ-  
 κυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας  
 σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἴσχύος σου, κύριον τὸν θεόν τὸν ποι-  
 ίσαντά σε. Καί· Προσελθόντος αὐτῷ τινος καὶ εἰπόντος·  
 25 Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων· Οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός, εἰ  
 μὴ μόνος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα. Οἱ δὲ ἂν μὴ εὑρί-  
 σκωνται βιοῦντες ὡς ἐδίδαξε, γνωριζέσθωσαν μὴ ὅντες  
 Χριστιανοί, καν λέγωσιν διὰ γλώττης τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δι-  
 δάγματα· οὐ γὰρ τοὺς μόνους 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 θέλημα τοῦ πα-

τρός μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Ὅσες γὰρ ἀκούει μου καὶ ποιεῖ ἄλλος, ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστείλαντός με. Πολλοὶ δὲ ἔροῦσί μοι· Κύριε κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ δυνάματι ἐφάγομεν καὶ <sup>25</sup> ἐπίομεν καὶ δυνάμεις ἐποιήσαμεν; Καὶ τύτε ἔρω αὐτοῖς· Ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἔργάται τῆς ἀνομίας. Τότε κλαυ-  
ζμὸς ἔσται καὶ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων, ὅταν οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι λάμψωσιν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι πέμπωνται εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ. Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἥξουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ δυνόματί μου, <sup>35</sup> ἔξω-  
θεν μὲν ἐνδεδυμένοι δέρματα προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δὲ ὅντες λύκοι ἄρπαγες· ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς. Πᾶν δὲ δένδρον, μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλόν, ἐκκύπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται. Κολάζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς οὐκ ἀκολούθως τοῖς διδάγμασιν αὐτοῦ βιοῦντας, λεγομένους δὲ μόνον Χρι-  
<sup>45</sup> στιανούς, καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀξιοῦμεν.

17. Φόρους δὲ καὶ εἰσφορὰς τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν τεταγμένοις  
'Render unto Caesar.' πανταχοῦ πρὸ πάντων πειρώμενα φέρειν, ὡς  
 ἐδιδάχθημεν παρ' αὐτοῦ. Κατ' ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τοῦ καιροῦ προσελθόντες τινὲς ἡρώτων αὐτούν, εἰ δεῖ Καίσαρι φόρους τελεῖν. Καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο· Εἴπατέ μοι, τίνος εἰκόνα <sup>5</sup> τὸ νόμισμα ἔχει; Οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν· Καίσαρος. Καὶ πάλιν ἀνταπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς· Ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ Καίσαρος τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ. "Οὐδενὶ θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν, ὑμῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα χαίροντες ὑπηρετοῦμεν, βασιλεῖς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἀνθρώπων δμολογοῦντες καὶ εὐχό-  
<sup>10</sup> μενοι μετὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ σώφρονα τὸν λογισμὸν ἔχοντας ὑμᾶς εὑρεῖηναι. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑμῶν εὐχομένων καὶ πάντα εἰς φανερὸν τιθέντων ἀφροντιστήσετε, οὐδὲν ὑμεῖς βλαβησόμενα, πιστεύοντες, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πεπεισμένοι, κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων ἔκαστον τίσειν διὰ πυρὸς αἰω-  
<sup>15</sup>

νίου δίκας καὶ πρὸς ἀναλογίαν ὃν ἔλαβε δυνάμεων παρὰ θεοῦ, τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτηθήσεσθαι, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐμήνυσεν εἰπών· Ὡι πλέον ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός, πλέον καὶ ἀπαιτηθήσεται παρ' αὐτοῦ.

18. Ἀποβλέψατε γὰρ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἑκάστου τῶν γενομένων βασιλέων, ὅτι τὸν κοινὸν πᾶσι θάνατον <sup>Proofs of immortality.</sup> ἀπέθανον· ὅπερ εἰς ἀναισθησίαν ἔχώρει, ἔρμαιον ἀν ἦν τοῖς ἀδίκοις πᾶσιν. Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ καὶ αἰσθησίς πᾶσι γενομένοις μένει καὶ κόλασις αἰωνία ἀπόκειται, μὴ ἀμελήσητε πεισθῆναι τε καὶ πιστεῦσαι ὅτι ἀληθῆ ταῦτα ἔστι. Νεκυομαντεῖαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ αἱ ἀδιαφθόρων παίδων ἐποπτεύσεις καὶ ψυχῶν ἀνθρωπίνων κλήσεις καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι παρὰ τοῖς μάγοις ὄνειροπομποὶ καὶ πάρεδροι καὶ τὰ γινόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ταῦτα εἰδότων πεισάτωσαν ὑμᾶς ὅτι καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἐν αἰσθήσει εἰσὶν αἱ ψυχαί, καὶ οἱ ψυχαῖς ἀποθανόντων λαμβανόμενοι καὶ ῥιπτούμενοι ἀνθρωποι, οὓς δαιμονιολήπτους καὶ μαινομένους καλοῦσι πάντες, καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν λεγόμενα μαντεῖα Ἀμφιλόχου καὶ Δωδώνης καὶ Πυθοῦς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτά ἔστι, καὶ τὰ τῶν συγγραφέων διδάγματα, Ἐμπεδοκλέους καὶ Πυθαγόρου, Πλάτωνός τε καὶ Σωκράτους, καὶ ὁ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ βόθρος καὶ ἡ κάνθοδος Ὁδυσσέως εἰς τὴν τούτων ἐπίσκεψιν, καὶ τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ τούτοις εἰπόντων· οἵς κανὸν ὅμοίως ὑμᾶς ἀποδέξασθε οὐχ ἥττον ἐκείνων θεῷ πιστεύοντας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, οἱ καὶ τὰ νεκρούμενα καὶ εἰς γῆν βαλλόμενα πάλιν ἀπολήψεσθαι ἔαυτῶν σώματα προσδοκῶμεν, ἀδύνατον μηδὲν εἶναι θεῷ λέγοντες.

19. Καὶ κατανοοῦντι τί ἀπιστότερον ἀν μᾶλλον δόξαι, ἢ εἰ ἐν σώματι μὴ ὑπήρχομεν καί τις ἔλεγεν ἐκ μικρᾶς τινος

'Why should it  
be thought a  
thing incred-  
ible with you  
that God  
should raise  
the dead?' Ῥανίδος τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου σπέρματος δυνατὸν  
ὑστέα τε καὶ νεῦρα καὶ σάρκας εἰκονοποιηθέντα,  
οἷα ὄρῶμεν, γενέσθαι; "Εστω γὰρ νῦν ἐφ' ὑπο- 5  
θέσεως λεγόμενον. Εἴ τις ύμῖν μὴ οὖσι τοιού-  
τοις μηδὲ τοιούτων ἔλεγε, τὸ σπέρμα τὸ ἀνθρώπειον δεικνὺς  
καὶ εἰκόνα γραπτήν, ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτος οἶν τε γενέσθαι δια-  
βεβαιούμενος, πρὶν ἴδεῖν γενόμενον ἐπιστεύσατε; Οὐκ ἂν  
τις τολμήσειεν ἀντειπεῖν. Τὸν αὐτὸν οὖν τρόπον διὰ τὸ 10  
μήπω ἑωρακέναι ύμᾶς ἀναστάντα νεκρὸν ἀπιστίᾳ ἔχει.  
'Αλλ' δν τρόπον τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀν ἐπιστεύσατε ἐκ τῆς  
μικρᾶς Ῥανίδος δυνατὸν τοιούτους γενέσθαι, καὶ ὄρᾶτε 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 ἔκαστον, ἐξ  
οὗπερ ἐγένετο, καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα μηδὲν ἄλλο δύνασθαι μηδὲ  
τὸν θεόν, οὐκ ἔχομεν λέγειν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο συνορῶμεν, ὅτι 20  
οὐκ ἀν ἐπίστευσαν δυνατὸν εἶναι τοιούτους ποτὲ γενέσθαι,  
ὄποίους καὶ ἑαυτὸὺς καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον καὶ ἐξ ὄποι-  
ων γεγενημένα ὄρῶσι. Κρεῖττον δὲ πιστεύειν καὶ τὰ τῇ  
ἑαυτῶν φύσει καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατα, ἢ ὄμοίως τοῖς ἄλ-  
λοις ἀπιστεῖν, παρειλήφαμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον διδά- 25  
σκαλον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἔγνωμεν εἰπόντα· Τὰ ἀδύνατα  
παρὰ ἀνθρώποις δυνατὰ παρὰ θεῷ. Καί· Μὴ φοβεῖσθε  
τὸὺς ἀναιροῦντας ύμᾶς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ δυναμένους τι  
ποιῆσαι, εἶπε, φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν δυνά-  
μενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα εἰς γέενναν ἐμβαλεῖν. 'Η δὲ 30  
γέεννά ἐστι τόπος, ἐνθα κολάζεσθαι μέλλουσιν οἱ ἀδίκως

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

20. Καὶ Σίβυλλα δὲ καὶ Ὅστασπης γενήσεσθαι τῶν  
Heathen analogies. Teste David cum Sibylla. φᾶρτῶν ἀνάλωσιν διὰ πυρὸς ἔφασαν. Οἱ λε-  
 γόμενοι δὲ Στωϊκοὶ φιλόσοφοι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν  
 θεὸν εἰς πῦρ ἀναλύεσθαι δογματίζουσι καὶ αὗτον πάλιν κατὰ μεταβολὴν τὸν κόσμον γενέσθαι λέγουσιν·  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ κρεῖττόν τι τῶν μεταβαλλομένων νοοῦμεν τὸν πάντων ποιητὴν θεόν. Εἰ δὲ οὖν καὶ ὄμοίως τινὰ τοῖς παρ’ ὑμῖν τιμωμένοις ποιηταῖς καὶ φιλοσόφοις λέγομεν, ἔνια δὲ καὶ μειζόνως καὶ θείως καὶ μόνοι μετὰ ἀποδείξεως, τί παρὰ πάντας ἀδίκως μισούμεθα; Τῷ γὰρ λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ πάντα κεκοσμῆσθαι καὶ γεγενῆσθαι Πλάτωνος δόξομεν λέγειν δόγμα· τῷ δὲ ἐκπύρωσιν γενέσθαι Στωϊκῶν· τῷ δὲ κολάζεσθαι ἐν αἰσθήσει καὶ μετὰ θάνατον οὖσας τὰς τῶν ἀδίκων ψυχάς, τὰς δὲ τῶν σπουδαίων ἀπηλλαγμένας τῶν τιμωρῶν εὖ διάγειν, ποιηταῖς καὶ φιλοσόφοις τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν δόξομεν· τῷ δὲ καὶ μὴ δεῖν χειρῶν ἔργα ἀνθρώπους προσκυνεῖν, Μενάνδρῳ τῷ κωμικῷ καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα φήσασι ταῦτα φράζομεν· μείζονα γὰρ τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦ σκευαζομένου ἀπεφήναντο.

21. Τῷ δὲ καὶ τὸν λόγον, ὃ ἐστι πρῶτον γέννημα τοῦ  
Analogies to the history of Christ. θεοῦ, ὃνευ ἐπιμεξίας φάσκειν ἡμᾶς γεγενῆσθαι,  
 τὸν διδάσκαλον ἡμῶν, καὶ τοῦτον σταυρωθέντα καὶ ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα ἀνεληλυθέναι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, οὐ παρὰ τοὺς παρ’ ὑμῖν λεγομένους νίοὺς τῷ Διὶ καινόν τι φέρομεν. Πόσους γὰρ νίοὺς φάσκουσι τοῦ Διὸς οἱ παρ’ ὑμῖν τιμώμενοι συγγραφεῖς, ἐπιστασθε· Ἐρμῆν μέν, λόγον τὸν ἐρμηνευτικὸν καὶ πάντων

διδάσκαλον, Ἀσκληπιὸν δὲ καὶ θεραπευτὴν γενόμενον, κεραυνωθέντα ἀνεληλυθένται εἰς οὐρανόν, Διόνυσον δὲ δια- 10 σπαραχθέντα, Ἡρακλέα δὲ φυγῆ πόνων ἑαυτὸν πυρὶ δόντα, τὸν ἐκ Λήδας δὲ Διοσκούρους, καὶ τὸν ἐκ Δανάης Περσέα, καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δὲ ἐφ' ἵππου Πηγάσου Βελλεροφόντην. Τί γάρ λέγομεν τὴν Ἀριάδνην καὶ τὸν ὄμοίους αὐτῇ κατηστερίσθαι λεγομένους; Καὶ τί γάρ τὸν ὄμοίους ἀποθνήσκουν- 15 τας παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοκράτορας, οὓς οὐκέτι ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι ἀξιοῦντες καὶ ὄμνύντα τινὰ προάγετε ἑωρακέναι ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ἀνερχόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸν κατακαέντα Καίσαρα; Καὶ ὅποιαι ἐκάστου τῶν λεγομένων υἱῶν τοῦ Διὸς ἴστοροῦνται αἱ πράξεις, πρὸς εἰδότας λέγειν οὐκ ἀνάγκη, πλὴν 20 ὅτι εἰς διαφορὰν καὶ προτροπὴν τῶν ἐκπαιδευομένων ταῦτα γέγραπται· μιμητὰς γάρ θεῶν καλὸν εἶναι πάντες ἡγοῦνται. Ἐπείη δὲ σωφρονούσης ψυχῆς ἔννοια τοιαύτη περὶ θεῶν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ γεννήτορα πάντων κατ' αὐτὸὺς Δία πατροφόντην τε καὶ πατρὸς τοιούτου γε- 25 γονέναι, ἔρωτί τε κακῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν ἥδονῶν ἥττω γενόμενον ἐπὶ Γανυμήδην καὶ τὰς πολλὰς μοιχευθείσας γυναικας ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδας τὰ ὄμοια πράξαντας παραδέξασθαι. Ἀλλ', ὡς προέφημεν, οἵ φαῦλοι δαίμονες ταῦτα ἔπραξαν. Ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι δὲ ἡμεῖς μόνους δεδι- 30 δάγμεδα τὸν δοσίως καὶ ἐναρέτως ἐγγὺς θεῷ βιοῦντας, κολάζεσθαι δὲ τὸν ἀδίκως καὶ μὴ μεταβάλλοντας ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ πιστεύομεν.

22. Υἱὸς δὲ θεοῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λεγόμενος, εἰ καὶ κοινῶς μόνον ἀνθρωπος, διὰ σοφίαν ἀξιος νίὸς θεοῦ λέγεσθαι· πατέρα γάρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε πάντες συγγραφεῖς τὸν θεὸν καλοῦσιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδίως παρὰ τὴν

Christ's sonship and its analogies.

τοις κοινὴν γένεσιν γεγενηῆσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λέγομεν λόγον θεοῦ, ὡς προέφημεν, κοινὸν τοῦτο ἔστω ὑμῖν τοῖς τὸν Ἐρμῆν λόγον τὸν παρὰ θεοῦ ἀγγελτικὸν λέγουσιν. Εἰ δὲ αἰτιάσαιτό τις ἔσταυρῶσθαι αὐτόν, καὶ τοῦτο κοινὸν τοῖς προκατηριζμημένοις παθοῦσιν νίοῖς καθ' ὑμᾶς τοῦ Διὸς 10 ὑπάρχει. Ἐκείνων τε γὰρ οὐχ ὅμοια τὰ πάθη τοῦ θανάτου, ἀλλὰ διάφορα ἴστορεῖται, ὥστε μηδὲ τὸ ἵδιον τοῦ πάθους ἥπτονα δοκεῖν εἶναι τοῦτον, ἀλλ', ὡς ὑπεσχόμεθα, προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου καὶ κρείττονα ἀποδείξομεν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀποδέδεικται· ὁ γὰρ κρείττων ἐκ τῶν πράξεων φαί- 15 νεται. Εἰ δὲ καὶ διὰ παρθένου γεγενηῆσθαι φέρομεν, κοινὸν καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν Περσέα ἔστω ὑμῖν. Ὡς δὲ λέγομεν χωλοὺς καὶ παραλυτικοὺς καὶ ἐκ γενετῆς ἀναπήρους ὑγιεῖς πεποιηκέναι αὐτὸν καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνεγεῖραι, ὅμοια τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ γεγενηῆσθαι λεγομένοις καὶ ταῦτα φάσκειν 20 δόξομεν.

23. "Ινα δὲ ἥδη καὶ τοῦτο φανερὸν ὑμῖν γένηται, ὅτι, Statement of the argument. ὑπόσα λέγομεν μαζόντες παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν προελθόντων αὐτοῦ προφητῶν, μόνα ἀληθῆ ἔστι καὶ πρεσβύτερα πάντων τῶν γεγενημένων συγγραφέων, καὶ οὐχὶ διὰ τὸ ταῦτα λέγειν αὐτοῖς παραδεχθῆναι ἀξιοῦμεν ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ ἀληθὲς λέγομεν· καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μόνος ἰδίως υἱὸς τῷ θεῷ γεγένηται, λόγος αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχων καὶ πρωτότοκος καὶ δύναμις, καὶ τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος ταῦτα ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξεν ἐπ' ἀλλαγῆ καὶ 10 ἐπαναγωγῆ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους· καὶ πρὶν ἦν ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον φάσαντές τινες διὰ τοὺς προειρημένους κακοὺς δαίμονας διὰ τῶν ποιητῶν ὃς γενόμενα εἶπον ἢ μυθοποιήσαντες ἔφησαν, δν τρόπον καὶ

τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενα δύσφημα καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἔργα ἐνήργησαν, ὃν οὐδεὶς μάρτυς οὐδὲ ἀπόδειξίς ἴστι, τοῦτον ἔλεγχον 15 ποιησόμεθα.

24. Πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς<sup>"</sup>Ελλησι λέγοντες μόνοι μισούμεθα δι' ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντες ὡς ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἀναιρούμεθα, ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ δένδρα σεβομένων καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ μῆς 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. "Οπερ μόνον ἐγκαλεῖν ήμīν ἔχετε, ὅτι μὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὑμῖν σέβομεν θεούς, μηδὲ τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσι χοὰς καὶ κνίσας καὶ ἐν γραφαῖς στεφάνους καὶ θυσίας 10 φέρομεν. "Οτι γὰρ οὖν τὰ αὐτὰ παρ' οἷς μὲν θεοί, παρ' οἷς δὲ θηρία, παρ' οἷς δὲ ιερεῖα νενομισμένα ἔστιν, ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστασθε.

25. Δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων οἱ πάλαι Christians abandoning the world σεβόμενοι Διόνυσον τὸν Σεμέλης καὶ Ἀπόλλον of false gods. λωνα τὸν Λητοῖδην, οἱ δι' ἔρωτας ἀρσένων ὅσα ἔπραξαν αἰσχος καὶ λέγειν, καὶ οἱ Περσεφόνην καὶ Ἀφροδίτην, τὰς διὰ τὸν<sup>"</sup>Αδωνιν οἰστρηθείσας, ὃν καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἄγετε, ἢ Ἀσκληπιὸν ἢ τινα τῶν ἄλλων ὄνομαζομένων θεῶν, καίπερ θανάτου ἀπειλουμένου διὰ Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ τούτων μὲν κατεφρονήσαμεν, θεῷ δὲ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ καὶ ἀπάντει ἑαυτοὺς ἀνεθήκαμεν, ὃν οὔτε ἐπ' Ἀντιόπην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὄμοιώς, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ Γανυμήδην δι' οἰστρον ἐληλυθέναι 10 πειθόμεθα, οὐδὲ λυθῆναι βοηθείας τυχόντα διὰ Θέτιδος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκατοντάχειρος ἐκείνου, οὐδὲ μεριμνῶντα διὰ τοῦτο τὸν τῆς Θέτιδος Ἀχιλλέα διὰ τὴν παλλακίδα Βρισηῖδα

ολέσαι πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Καὶ τοὺς πειθομένους  
15 ἐλεοῦμεν· τοὺς δὲ τούτων αἰτίους δαίμονας γνωρίζομεν.

26. Τρίτον δὲ ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνέλευσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
Human agents  
of the demons. εἰς οὐρανὸν προεβάλλοντο οἱ δαίμονες ἀνθρώ-  
ποι μόνον οὐκ ἐδιώχθησαν ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν κατ-  
ηξιώθησαν· Σίμωνα μέν τινα Σαμαρέα τὸν ἀπὸ κώμης  
λεγομένης Γιττᾶν, διὸ ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος διὰ τῆς τῶν  
ἐνεργούντων δαιμόνων τέχνης δυνάμεις ποιήσας μαγικὰς  
ἐν τῷ πόλει ὑμῶν βασιλίδι 'Ρώμῃ θεὸς ἐνομίσθη καὶ ἀνδρι-  
άντι παρ' ὑμῶν ὡς θεὸς τετίμηται, διὸ ἀνδριὰς ἀνεγήγερται  
10 ἐν τῷ Τίβερι ποταμῷ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο γεφυρῶν, ἔχων ἐπι-  
γραφὴν ρώμαικὴν ταύτην· ΣΙΜΩΝΙ ΔΕΩ ΣΑΓΚΤΩ.  
Καὶ σχεδὸν πάντες μὲν Σαμαρεῖς, δλίγοι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις  
ξενεσιν, ὡς τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν ἐκεῖνον ὄμολογοῦντες, ἐκεῖνον  
καὶ προσκυνοῦσι· καὶ Ἐλένην τινά, τὴν συμπερινοστήσα-  
15 σαν αὐτῷ κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ, πρότερον ἐπὶ τέγους στα-  
θεῖσαν, τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔννοιαν πρώτην γενομένην λέγουσι.  
Μένανδρον δέ τινα, καὶ αὐτὸν Σαμαρέα τὸν ἀπὸ κώμης  
Καππαρεταίας, γενόμενον μαθητὴν τοῦ Σίμωνος, ἐνεργη-  
θέντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων καὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ γενόμενον  
20 πολλοὺς ἔξαπατῆσαι διὰ μαγικῆς τέχνης οἴδαμεν· διὸ καὶ  
τοὺς αὐτῷ ἐπομένους ὡς μηδὲ ἀποθνήσκοιεν ἔπεισε, καὶ νῦν  
εἰσὶ τινες ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦτο ὄμολογοῦντες. Μαρκίωνα δέ  
τινα Ποντικόν, διὸ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐστὶ διδάσκων τοὺς πειθομέ-  
νους, ἄλλον τινὰ νομίζειν μείζονα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ θεόν,  
25 διὸ κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων συλ-  
λήψεως πολλοὺς πεποίηκε βλασφημίας λέγειν καὶ ἀρνεῖ-  
σθαι τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς θεόν, ἄλλον δέ τινα, ὡς

όντα μείζονα, τὰ μείζονα παρὰ τοῦτον ὅμολογεῖν πεποιη-  
κέναι. Πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ τούτων ὁρμώμενοι, ὡς ἔφημεν, Χρι-  
στιανοὶ καλοῦνται, ὃν τρύπον καὶ οἱ οὐ κοινωνοῦντες τῶν 30  
αὐτῶν δογμάτων τοῖς φιλοσύφοις τὸ ἐπικατηγορούμενον  
ὄνομα τῆς φιλοσοφίας κοινὸν ἔχουσιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ δύσ-  
φημα ἐκεῖνα μυθολογούμενα ἔργα πράττουσι, λυχνίας μὲν  
ἀνατροπὴν καὶ τὰς ἀνέδην μίξεις καὶ ἀνθρωπείων σαρκῶν  
βοράς, οὐ γινώσκομεν· ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὴ διώκονται μηδὲ φονεύ- 35  
ονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν κἄν διὰ τὰ δόγματα, ἐπιστάμεθα. "Εστι δὲ  
ἡμῖν καὶ σύνταγμα κατὰ πασῶν τῶν γεγενημένων αἵρεσεων  
συντεταγμένον· φῶ εἰ βούλεσθε ἐντυχεῖν, δώσομεν.

27. Ἡμεῖς δέ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀδικῶμεν μηδὲ ἀσεβῶμεν, ἐκτι-  
Guilt of expos-  
ing children. θέναι καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα πονηρῶν εἶναι δεδιδάγ-  
μεθα· πρῶτον μέν, ὅτι τοὺς πάντας σχεδὸν  
ὑρῶμεν ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ προάγοντας οὐ μόνον τὰς κύρας, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ τοὺς ἄρσενας, καὶ ὃν τρόπον λέγονται οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀγέ- 5  
λας βιῶν ἦ αἰγῶν ἥ προβάτων τρέφειν ἥ ἵππων φορβά-  
δων, οὕτω νῦν καὶ παῖδας εἰς τὸ αἰσχρῶς χρῆσθαι μόνον·  
καὶ ὅμοίως θηλειῶν καὶ ἀνδρογύνων καὶ ἀρρητοποιῶν  
πλῆθος κατὰ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέγους ἔστηκε.  
Καὶ τούτων μισθοὺς καὶ εἰσφορὰς καὶ τέλη λαμβάνετε, 10  
δέον ἐκκόψαι ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας οἰκουμένης. Καὶ τῶν τού-  
τοις χρωμένων τις πρὸς τῇ ἀθέῳ καὶ ἀσεβεῖ καὶ ἀκρατεῖ  
μίξει, εἰ τύχοι, τέκνῳ ἥ συγγενεῖ ἥ ἀδελφῷ μίγνυνται. Οἱ  
δὲ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν τέκνα καὶ τὰς ὅμοιζύγους προαγωγεύον-  
ται, καὶ φανερῶς εἰς κιναιδίαν ἀποκόπτονται τινες καὶ εἰς 15  
μητέρα θεῶν τὰ μυστήρια ἀναφέρουσι, καὶ παρὰ παντὶ τῶν  
νομιζομένων παρ' ὑμῖν θεῶν ὄφις σύμβολον μέγα καὶ μυ-  
στήριον ἀναγράφεται. Καὶ τὰ φανερῶς ὑμῖν πραττόμενα

καὶ τιμώμενα ὡς ἀνατετραμμένου καὶ οὐ παρόντος φωτὸς  
 20 θείου 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 δαιμόνος  
 God cares for νων ὄφις καλεῖται καὶ σατανᾶς καὶ διάβολος,  
 His creatures. ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων συγγραμμάτων ἐρευνήσαντες μαθεῖν δύνασθε, ὃν εἰς τὸ πῦρ πεμφθήσεσθαι μετὰ  
 5 τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων ἀνθρώπων κολασθησομένους τὸν ἀπέραντον αἰῶνα, προεμήνυσσεν ὁ Χριστός.  
 Καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιμονὴ τοῦ μηδέπω τοῦτο πρᾶξαι τὸν θεὸν διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος γεγένηται· προγινώσκει γάρ τινας  
 ἐκ μετανοίας σωθήσεσθαι μέλλοντας καὶ τινας μηδέπω ἵσως  
 10 γεννηθέντας. Καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν νοερὸν καὶ δυνάμενον αἱρεῖσθαι τὰληθῆ καὶ εὖ πράττειν τὸ γένος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον πεποίηκεν, ὥστ' ἀναπολόγητον εἶναι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρὰ τῷ θεῷ· λογικοὶ γὰρ καὶ θεωρητικοὶ γεγένηται. Εἰ δέ τις ἀπιστεῖ μέλειν τούτων τῷ θεῷ, ἢ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν διὰ  
 15 τέχνης ὄμολογήσει, ἢ ὅντα χαίρειν κακίᾳ φήσει ἢ λίτωρ ἐσικότα μένειν, καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι ἀρετὴν μηδὲ κακίαν, δόξῃ δὲ μόνον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἢ ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ ταῦτα ἡγεῖσθαι, ἢ περ μεγίστη ἀσέβεια καὶ ἀδικία ἐστί.

29. Καὶ πάλιν, μὴ τῶν ἐκτεθέντων τις μὴ ἀναληφθεὶς  
 The bounded θανατωθῆ, καὶ ὥμεν ἀνδροφόνοι. Ἐάλλ' ἢ τὴν  
 continence of Christians. ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐγαμοῦμεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ παιδῶν ἀνατροφῆ, ἢ παραιτούμενοι τὸ γήμασθαι τέλεον ἐν εκ ρατευόμενα. Καὶ ἦδη τις τῶν ἡμετέρων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεῖσαι ὑμᾶς  
 ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν μυστήριον ἡ ἀνέδην μῆτις, βιβλίδιον  
 ἀνέδωκεν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Φήλικι ἡγεμονεύοντι, ἀξιῶν ἐπι-

τρέψαι ἰατρῷ τοὺς διδύμους αὐτοῦ ἀφελεῖν· ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦτο πράττειν ἀπειρῆσθαι οἱ ἐκεὶ ἰατροὶ ἔλεγον. Καὶ μηδόλως βουληθέντος Φύλικος ὑπο- 10 γράψαι, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μείνας ὁ νεανίσκος ἡρκέσθη τῇ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὅμοιγνωμάνων συνειδήσει. Οὐκ ἄτοπον δὲ ἐπιμη- σθῆναι ἐν τούτοις ἡγησάμεθα καὶ Ἀντινόου τοῦ νῦν γεγε- νημένου, ὃν καὶ πάντες ὡς θεὸν διὰ φύβον σέβειν ὥρμητο, ἐπιστάμενοι τίς τε ἦν καὶ πόθεν ὑπῆρχεν. 15

30. "Οπως δὲ μή τις εἴ πη ἀντιθεὶς ἡμῖν, τί κωλύει καὶ But was not τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν λεγόμενον Χριστόν, ἀνθρωπὸν ἐξ Christ a ma- γίαντον ὕντα, μαγικῆ τέχνῃ ἂς λέγομεν δυνά- μεις πεποιηκέναι καὶ δόξαι διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν θεοῦ εἶναι, τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἡδη ποιησόμεθα, οὐ τοῖς λέγουσι πιστεύοντες, 5 ἀλλὰ τοῖς προφητεύοντι πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι κατ' ἀνάγκην πει- θόμενοι διὰ τὸ καὶ ὅψει ὡς προεφητεύθη ὅραν γενόμενα καὶ γινόμενα· ἡπερ μεγίστη καὶ ἀληθεστάτη ἀπόδειξις καὶ ὑμῖν, ὡς νομίζομεν, φανήσεται.

31. "Ανθρωποι οῦν τινες ἐν Ἰουδαίοις γεγένηνται θεοῦ Of the Hebrew προφῆται, δι' ὃν τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα προεκή- prophets. ρυζε τὰ γενήσεσθαι μέλλοντα πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι· καὶ τούτων οἱ ἐν Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ καιροὺς γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς τὰς προφητείας, ὡς ἐλέχθησαν ὅτε προεφητεύοντο, τῇ ἵδιᾳ 5 αὐτῶν ἐβραΐδι φωνῇ ἐν βιβλίοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν προφη- τῶν συντεταγμένας κτώμενοι περιεῖπον. "Οτε δὲ Πτολε- μαῖος ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς βιβλιοθήκην κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τὰ πάνταν ἀνθρώπων συγγράμματα συνάγειν ἐπειράθη, πυ- θόμενος καὶ περὶ τῶν προφητειῶν τούτων, προσέπεμψε τῷ 10 τῶν Ἰουδαίων τότε βασιλεύοντι Ἡρόδη, ἀξιῶν διαπεμφθῆναι αὐτῷ τὰς βιβλους τῶν προφητειῶν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς

Ἡρώδης τῇ προειρημένῃ ἐβραῖδι αὐτῶν φωνῇ γεγραμένας διεπέμφατο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἦν γυνώριμα τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς 15 γεγραμμένα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, πάλιν αὐτὸν ἡξίωσε πέμψας τοὺς μεταβαλοῦντας αὐτὰς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν ἀνθρώπους ἀποστεῖλαι. Καὶ τούτου γενομένου ἔμειναν αἱ βίβλοι καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο, καὶ πανταχοῦ παρὰ πᾶσίν εἰσιν Ἰουδαίοις, οἵ καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντες οὐ συν- 20 ἰᾶσι τὰ εἰρημένα, ἀλλ' ἐχθροὺς ἡμᾶς καὶ πολεμίους ἡγοῦνται, ὅμοίως ὑμῖν ἀναιροῦντες καὶ κολάζοντες ἡμᾶς ὅπόταν δύνωνται, ὡς καὶ πεισθῆναι δύνασθε· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν γεγενημένῳ Ἰουδαϊκῷ πολέμῳ Βαρχωχέβας, ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγέτης, Χριστιανοὺς μόνους εἰς τιμωρίας 25 δεινάς, εἰ μὴ ἀρνοῦντο Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ βλασφημοῖεν, ἐκέλευεν ἀπάγεσθαι. Ἐν δὴ ταῖς τῶν προφητῶν βίβλοις εὑρομεν προκηρυσσόμενον παραγινόμενον, γεννώμενον διὰ παρθένου, καὶ ἀνδρούμενον καὶ θεραπεύοντα πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνεγείροντα, 30 καὶ φθονούμενον καὶ ἀγνοούμενον καὶ σταυρούμενον Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἡμέτερον Χριστόν, καὶ ἀποθνήσκοντα καὶ ἀνεγειρόμενον καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνερχόμενον καὶ νίὸν θεοῦ ὄντα καὶ κεκλημένον, καὶ τινας πεμπομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων κηρύξοντας ταῦτα, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ 35 ἐθνῶν ἀνθρώπους μᾶλλον αὐτῷ πιστεύειν. Προεφητεύση δέ, πρὶν ἦ φανῆναι αὐτόν, ἔτεσι ποτὲ μὲν πεντακισχιλίοις, ποτὲ δὲ τρισχιλίοις, ποτὲ δὲ δισχιλίοις, καὶ πάλιν χιλίοις καὶ ἄλλοτε ὀκτακοσίοις· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς διαδοχὰς τῶν γενῶν ἔτεροι καὶ ἕτεροι ἐγένοντο προφῆται.

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

Christ foretold of Moses. οὐδὲ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἔως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὃ ἀπόκειται· καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται προσδοκία ἐθνῶν, δεσμεύων πρὸς ἄμπελον τὸν πῶλον αὐτοῦ, πλύνων 5 ἐν αἷματι σταφυλῆς τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ. Ὅμετερον οὖν ἔστιν ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσαι καὶ μαθεῖν, μέχρι τίνος ἦν ἄρχων καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἰουδαίοις ἰδιος αὐτῶν· μέχρι τῆς φανερώσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἡμετέρου διδασκάλου καὶ τῶν ἀγνοούμένων προφητειῶν ἐξηγητοῦ, ὡς προερρέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Θείου 10 ἀγίου προφητικοῦ πνεύματος διὰ τοῦ Μωϋσέως μὴ ἐκλείψειν ἄρχοντα ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων, ἔως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὃ ἀπόκειται τὸ βασίλειον. Ἰούδας γάρ προπάτωρ Ἰουδαίων, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαῖοι καλεῖσθαι ἐσχήκασι· καὶ ὑμεῖς μετὰ τὴν γενομένην αὐτοῦ φανέρωσιν καὶ Ἰουδαίων ἐβασιλεύσατε καὶ τῆς 15 ἐκείνων πάσης γῆς ἐκρατήσατε. Τὸ δὲ Αὐτὸς ἔσται προσδοκία ἐθνῶν μηνυτικὸν ἦν ὅτι ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν προσδοκήσουσιν αὐτὸν πάλιν παραγενησόμενον, ὅπερ ὅφει ὑμῖν πάρεστιν ἰδεῖν καὶ ἔργῳ πεισθῆναι· ἐκ πάντων γάρ γενῶν ἀνθρώπων προσδοκῶσι τὸν ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ σταυρωθέντα, μετ' 20 ὃν εὐθὺς δοριάλωτος ὑμῖν ἡ γῆ Ἰουδαίων παρεδόθη. Τὸ δὲ Δεσμεύων πρὸς ἄμπελον τὸν πῶλον αὐτοῦ καὶ πλύνων τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν αἷματι σταφυλῆς σύμβολον δηλωτικὸν ἦν τῶν γενησομένων τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραχθησομένων. Πῶλος γάρ τις ὅνος είστηκει ἐν τινὶ 25 εἰσόδῳ κώμης πρὸς ἄμπελον δεδεμένος, ὃν ἐκέλευσεν ἀγαγεῖν αὐτῷ τότε τοὺς γνωρίμους αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀχθέντος ἐπιβὰς ἐκάθισε καὶ εἰσελήλυθεν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἐνθα τὸ μέγιστον ἱερὸν ἦν Ἰουδαίων, ὃ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὕστερον κατεστράφη. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐσταυρώθη, ὅπως τὸ λεῖπον τῆς προφητείας 30 συντελεσθῇ. Τὸ γάρ Πλύνων τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν αἷματι

σταφυλῆς, προαγγελτικὸν ἦν τοῦ πάθους οὐ πάσχειν ἔμελλε, δι' αἵματος καθαίρων τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ. Ἡ γὰρ κεκλημένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Θείου πνεύματος διὰ τοῦ προφήτου στολὴ οἱ πιστεύοντες αὐτῷ εἰσιν ἀνθρωποι, ἐν οἷς οὐκεῖ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ σπέρμα, ὁ λόγος. Τὸ δὲ εἰρημένον αἷμα τῆς σταφυλῆς σημαντικὸν τοῦ ἔχειν μὲν αἷμα τὸν φανησόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπείου σπέρματος, ἀλλ' ἐκ Θείας δυνάμεως. Ἡ δὲ πρώτη δύναμις μετὰ τὸν πατέρα πάντων καὶ δεσπότην Θεὸν καὶ νίὸς ὁ λόγος ἐστίν, ὃς τίνα τρόπου σαρκοποιηθεὶς ἀνθρωπος γέγονεν, ἐν τοῖς ἔξης ἐροῦμεν. Ὁν τρόπον γὰρ τὸ τῆς ἀμπέλου αἷμα οὐκ ἀνθρωπος πεποίηκεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Θεός, οὗτως καὶ τοῦτο ἐμηνύετο οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπείου σπέρματος γενήσεσθαι τὸ αἷμα, ἀλλ' ἐκ δυνάμεως Θεοῦ, ὡς προέφημεν. Καὶ Ἡσαΐας δέ, ἄλλος προφήτης, τὰ αὐτὰ δι' ἄλλων ρήσεων προφητεύων, οὕτως εἶπεν· Ἀνατελεῖ ἀστρον ἐξ Ἰακώβ, καὶ ἀνθος ἀναβήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς ρίζης Ἰεσσαί· καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα αὐτοῦ ἐθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν. Ἄστρον δὲ φωτεινὸν ἀνέτειλε, καὶ ἀνθος ἀνέβη ἀπὸ τῆς ρίζης Ἰεσσαί, οὗτος ὁ Χριστός. Διὰ γὰρ παρθένου τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος Ἰακώβ, τοῦ γενομένου πατρὸς Ἰούδα, τοῦ δεδηλωμένου Ἰουδαίων πατρός, διὰ δυνάμεως Θεοῦ ἀπεκυῆθη· καὶ Ἰεσσαὶ προπάτωρ μὲν κατὰ τὸ λόγιον γεγένηται, τοῦ δὲ Ἰακὼβ καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα κατὰ γένους διαδοχὴν νίὸς ὑπῆρχεν.

33. Καὶ πάλιν ὡς αὐτολεξεὶ διὰ παρθένου μὲν τεχθησό-  
Manner of μενος διὰ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου προεφητεύθη, ἀκούσατε.  
Christ's birth foretold. Ἐλέχθη δὲ οὗτως· Ἰδοὺ ή παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται νίόν, καὶ ἐροῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὄνόματι αὐτοῦ  
5 Μεθ' ήμῶν ὁ Θεός. Ἄγαρ ἦν ἅπιστα καὶ ἀδύνατα νομι-

Ζόμενα παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γενήσεσθαι, ταῦτα ὁ Θεὸς προεμήνυσε διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος μέλλειν γίνεσθαι, ἵν' ὅταν γένηται μὴ ἀπιστηθῆ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ προειρῆσθαι πιστευθῆ. "Οπως δὲ μή τινες, μὴ νοήσαντες τὴν δεδηλωμένην προφητείαν, ἐγκαλέσωσιν ἡμῖν, ἅπερ ἐνεκαλέσαμεν 10 τοῖς ποιηταῖς εἰποῦσιν ἀφροδισίων χάριν ἐληλυθέναι ἐπὶ γυναικας τὸν Δία, διασαφῆσαι τοὺς λόγους πειρασόμενα. Τὸ οὖν Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει, σημαίνει οὐ συνουσιασθῆσαν τὴν παρθένον συλλαβεῖν. Εἰ γὰρ ἐσυνουσιάσθη ὑπὸ ὑτουοῦν, οὐκ ἔτι ἦν παρθένος· ἀλλὰ δύναμις 15 Θεοῦ ἐπελθοῦσα τῇ παρθένῳ ἐπεσκίασεν αὐτήν, καὶ κυοφορῆσαι παρθένον οὖσαν πεποίηκε. Καὶ ὁ ἀποσταλεὶς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν παρθένον κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ ἄγγελος Θεοῦ εὐηγγελίσατο αὐτὴν εἰπών· Ἰδοὺ συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐκ πνεύματος ἀγίου καὶ τέξῃ υἱόν, καὶ νίδις ὑψίστου κλη- 20 Θήσεται καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν, αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστοῦ ἐδίδαξαν, οἵς ἐπιστεύσαμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προδεδηλωμένου τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ- 25 τον γενησόμενον ὡς προεμηνύομεν 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 ἐλθὸν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον καὶ ἐπισκιάσαν οὐ διὰ συνουσίας, 30 ἀλλὰ διὰ δυνάμεως ἐγκύμιονα κατέστησε. Τὸ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ὄνομα τῇ ἐβραΐδι φωνῇ σωτὴρ τῇ ἐλληνίδι διαλέκτῳ δηλοῖ. "Οθεν καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος πρὸς τὴν παρθένον εἶπε· Καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει

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

34. "Οπου δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς γεννᾶσθαι ἔμελλεν, ὡς προ-  
Place of εἶπεν ἔτερος προφήτης ὁ Μιχαίας, ἀκούσατε.  
Christ's birth foretold. "Εφη δὲ οὕτως· Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεέμ, γῆ Ἰούδα,  
οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἴ ἐν τοῖς ἥγεμοσιν Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ  
5 ἔξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου. Κώμη  
δέ τίς ἐστιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἰουδαίων, ἀπέχουσα σταδίους τρι-  
άκοντα πέντε Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐν ᾧ ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς Χριστός,  
ώς καὶ μαδεῖν δύνασθε ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν τῶν γενομένων  
ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ πρώτου γενομένου  
10 ἐπιτρόπου.

35. 'Ως δὲ καὶ λήσειν ἔμελλε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους  
Other proph- γεννηθεὶς ὁ Χριστός, ἄχρις ἀνδρωθῆ, ὅπερ καὶ  
ecies that have come γέγονεν, ἀκούσατε τῶν προειρημένων εἰς τοῦτο.  
to pass. "Εστι δὲ ταῦτα· Παιδίον ἐγεννήθη ἡμῖν, καὶ  
5 νεανίσκος ἡμῖν ἀπεδόθη, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμων, μηνυτι-  
κὸν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ σταυροῦ, φῶ προσένηκε τοὺς ὄμους  
σταυρωθείς, ὡς προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου σαφέστερον δειχθῆσε-  
ται. Καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης Ἡσαΐας θεοφορούμενος  
τῷ πνεύματι τῷ προφητικῷ ἔφη· 'Ἐγὼ ἔξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖ-  
10 ράς μου ἐπὶ λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα, ἐπὶ τοὺς  
πορευομένους ἐν ὁδῷ οὐ καλῇ. Αἵτοι με νῦν κρίσιν καὶ  
ἐγγίζειν θεῶν τολμῶσιν. Καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλοις λόγοις δι'  
ἐτέρου προφήτου λέγει· Αὐτοὶ ὤρυξάν μου πόδας καὶ χεῖ-  
ρας, καὶ ἔβαλον κλῆρον ἐπὶ τὸν ἴματισμόν μου. Καὶ ὁ  
15 μὲν Δαυὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ προφήτης, ὁ εἰπὼν ταῦτα, οὐδὲν  
τούτων ἔπαθεν· Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς ἔξεπάθη τὰς χεῖρας,

σταυρωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀντιλεγόντων αὐτῷ καὶ φασκόντων μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν Χριστόν. Καὶ γάρ, ως εἴπεν ὁ προφήτης, διασύροντες αὐτὸν ἐκάθισαν ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ εἶπον· Κρῖνον ἡμῖν. Τὸ δέ "Ωρυξάν μου χεῖρας καὶ πό-<sup>20</sup> διας ἐξήγησις τῶν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ παγέντων ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ ἥλων ἦν. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ σταυρῶσαι αὐτὸν ἔβαλον κλῆρον ἐπὶ τὸν ἴματισμὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐμερίσαντο ἑαυτοῖς οἱ σταυρώσαντες αὐτόν. Καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε, δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενο-<sup>25</sup> μένων ἄκτων. Καὶ ὅτι ρήτως καθεσθησόμενος ἐπὶ πῶλου ὄντος καὶ εἰσελευσόμενος εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα προεπεφήτευτο, ἐτέρου προφήτου τοῦ Σοφονίου τὰς τῆς προφητείας λέξεις ἐροῦμεν. Εἰσὶ δὲ αὗται· Χαῖρε σφύδρα, Θύγατερ Σιών, κύρυστε, Θύγατερ Ἱερουσαλήμ· ἵδον δὲ βασιλεὺς <sup>30</sup> σου ἔρχεται σοι πρῶτος, ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄντον καὶ πῶλου νίδην ὑποζυγίου.

36. "Οταν δὲ τὰς λέξεις τῶν προφητῶν λεγομένας ως Prophets repre- ἀπὸ προσώπου ἀκούητε, μὴ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν sent different persons. ἐμπεπνευσμένων λέγεσθαι νομίσητε, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κινοῦντος αὐτοὺς Θείου λόγου. Ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ως προαγγελτικῶς τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι λέγει, ποτὲ δὲ <sup>5</sup> ως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ δεσπότου πάντων καὶ πατρὸς Θεοῦ φθέγγεται, ποτὲ δὲ ως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ποτὲ δὲ ως ἀπὸ προσώπου λαῶν ἀποκρινομένων τῷ κυρίῳ ἢ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ· ὅποιον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν συγγραφέων ἰδεῖν ἔστιν, ἔνα μὲν τὸν τὰ πάντα συγγράφοντα ὄντα, πρό-<sup>10</sup> σωπα δὲ τὰ διαλεγόμενα παραφέροντα. "Οπερ 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 εκεκήρυκτο ἀποδεικνύντας ἐσταυρῶσθαι ύπ' αὐτῶν, μισοῦ-  
σιν.

37. "Ινα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν φανερὸν γένηται, ἀπὸ προσώ-  
που τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλέχθησαι διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ  
The Father speaks. προειρημένου προφήτου οἵδε οἱ λόγοι· Ἔγω  
βοῦς 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  
πονηρόν, οἵοι ἄνομοι· ἐγκατελίπετε τὸν κύριον. Καὶ πά-  
λιν ἀλλαχοῦ, ὅταν λέγῃ ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης ὄμοίως ἀπὸ  
τοῦ πατρός· Ποῖόν μοι οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετε; λέγει κύριος.  
10 Ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, καὶ ἡ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν  
μου. Καὶ πάλιν ἀλλαχοῦ· Τὰς νουμηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ  
σάββατα μισεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου, καὶ μεγάλην ἡμέραν νηστείας  
καὶ ἀργίαν οὐκ ἀνέχομαι· οὐδὲ ἀν ἔρχησθε ὀφεῖλην μοι  
εἰσακούσομαι ὑμῶν. Πλήρεις αἷματος αἱ χεῖρες ὑμῶν.  
15 Κἄν φέρητε σεμίδαλιν, θυμίαμα, βεθέλυγμά μοι ἐστί· στέαρ  
ἀρνῶν καὶ αἷμα ταύρων οὐ βούλομαι. Τίς γὰρ ἔξεζήτησε  
ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν; Ἀλλὰ διάλυε πάντα σύνδε-  
σμον ἀδικίας, διάσπα στραγγαλιὰς βιαίων συναλλαγμά-  
των, ἀστεγον καὶ γυμνὸν σκέπε, διάθρυπτε πεινῶντι τὸν  
20 ἄρτον σου. Ὁποῖα μὲν οὖν ἐστι καὶ τὰ διδασκόμενα διὰ  
τῶν προφητῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, νοεῖν δύνασθε.

38. "Οταν δὲ ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγῃ τὸ προ-  
φητικὸν πνεῦμα, οὕτως φεύγγεται· Ἔγὼ ἔξεπέ-  
Christ speaks. τασα τὰς χεῖράς μου ἐπὶ λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ  
ἀντιλέγοντα, ἐπὶ τοὺς πορευομένους ἐν ὄδῳ οὐ καλῇ. Καὶ  
5 πάλιν· Τὸν νῶτόν μου τέθεικα εἰς μάστιγας καὶ τὰς σια-

γόνιας μου εἰς ῥαπίσματα, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου οὐκ ἀπέστρεψα ἀπὸ αἰσχύνης ἐμπτυσμάτων. Καὶ ὁ κύριος βοηθός μου ἐγένετο· διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐνετράπην, ἀλλ' ἔζηκα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ὡς στερεὰν πέτραν, καὶ ἐγνωι ὅτι οὐ μὴ αἰσχυνθῶ, ὅτι ἐγγίζει ὁ δικαιώσας με. Καὶ πάλιν ὅταν 10 λέγῃ· Αὐτοὶ ἔβαλον κλῆρον ἐπὶ τὸν ἴματισμόν μου, καὶ ὥρυξάν μου πόδας καὶ χεῖρας. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὑπνωσα, καὶ ἀνέστην, ὅτι κύριος ἀντελάβετό μου. Καὶ πάλιν ὅταν λέγῃ· Ἐλάλησαν ἐν χείλεσιν, ἐκίνησαν κεφαλὴν λέγοντες· Ῥυσάσθω ἑαυτόν. Ἀτινα 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. "Οταν δὲ ὡς προφητεῦον τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι λαλῇ

The Spirit itself speaks. τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα, οὗτως λέγει· Ἐκ γὰρ Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ κρινεῖ ἀνὰ μέσον ἐθνῶν καὶ ἐλέγξει λαὸν πολύν· καὶ συγκόψουσι τὰς μαχαίρας αὐτῶν εἰς ἄροτρα 5 καὶ τὰς ζιβύνας αὐτῶν εἰς δρέπανα, καὶ οὐ μὴ λήψονται ἐθνος ἐπὶ ἐθνος μάχαιραν καὶ οὐ μὴ μάθωσιν ἔτι πολεμεῖν. Καὶ ὅτι οὕτως γέγονε, πεισθῆναι δύνασθε. Ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἄνδρες δεκαδύο τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, καὶ οὗτοι ἴδιῶται, λαλεῖν μὴ δυνάμενοι, διὰ δὲ 10 θεοῦ δυνάμεως ἐμήνυσαν παντὶ γένει ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἀπεστάλησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάξαι πάντας τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον· καὶ οἱ πάλαι ἀλληλοφόνται οὐ μόνον οὐ πολεμοῦμεν τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲ ψεύδεσθαι μηδὲ ἐξαπατῆσαι τοὺς ἐξετάζοντας ήδεως ὄμολογοῦντες τὸν 15 Χριστόν ἀποθνήσκομεν. Δυνατὸν γὰρ ἦν τὸ λεγόμενον·

‘Η γλῶσσ’ ὄμώμοκεν, ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος,  
ποιεῖν ἥμᾶς εἰς τοῦτο. Γελοῖον ἦν δὴ πρᾶγμα, ὑμῖν μὲν  
τὸν συντιθεμένους καὶ καταλεγομένους στρατιώτας καὶ  
20 πρὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ζωῆς καὶ γονέων καὶ πατρίδος καὶ πάντων  
τῶν οἰκείων τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀσπάζεσθαι ὄμολογίαν, μηδὲν  
ἀφθαρτον δυναμένων ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν, ἥμᾶς δέ,  
ἀφθαρσίας ἐρῶντας, μὴ πάνθ’ ὑπομεῖναι ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ πο-  
θούμενα παρὰ τοῦ δυναμένου δοῦναι λαβεῖν.

40. Ἀκούσατε δὲ πῶς καὶ περὶ τῶν κηρυξάντων τὴν δι-

Advent of Christ foretold. δαχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ μηνυσάντων τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν  
προερρέσῃ, τοῦ προειρημένου προφήτου καὶ  
βασιλέως οὗτως εἰπόντος διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος·  
5 ‘Ημέρα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐρεύγεται ρῆμα, καὶ τὸν τῇ νυκτὶ ἀναγ-  
γέλλει γνῶσιν. Οὐκ εἰσὶ λαλιαὶ οὐδὲ λόγοι, ὅν οὐχὶ  
ἀκούονται αἱ φωναὶ αὐτῶν. Εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν  
ὁ φῶνγγος αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ  
ρήματα αὐτῶν. ’Ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἔθετο τὸ σκήνωμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ  
10 αὐτὸς ὡς νυμφίος ἐκπορεύμενος ἐκ παστοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγαλλι-  
άσεται ὡς γίγας δραμεῖν ὁδόν. Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ λό-  
γων ἑτέρων τῶν προφητευθέντων δὶ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δανὺδ κα-  
λῶς ἔχον καὶ οἰκείως ἐπιμνησθῆναι λελογίσμεθα, ἐξ ὧν  
μαθεῖν ὑμῖν πάρεστι πῶς προτρέπεται ζῆν τὸν ἀνθρώπους  
15 τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα καὶ πῶς μηνύει τὴν γεγενημένην  
‘Ηρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουδαίων καὶ αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίων  
καὶ Πιλάτου τοῦ ὑμετέρου παρ’ αὐτοῖς γενομένου ἐπιτρό-  
που σὺν τοῖς αὐτοῦ στρατιώταις κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέ-  
λευσιν, καὶ ὅτι πιστεύεσθαι ἔμελλεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ παντὸς  
20 γένους ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸν υἱὸν καλεῖ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ  
ὑποτάσσειν αὐτῷ πάντας ἔχθροὺς ἐπήγγελται, καὶ πῶς οἱ

δαίμονες, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, τὴν τε τοῦ πατρὸς πάντων καὶ δεσπότου θεοῦ καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔξουσίαν φυγεῖν πειρῶνται, καὶ ὡς εἰς μετάνοιαν καλεῖ πάντας ὁ θεὸς πρὸν ἐλθεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως. Εἴρηνται δὲ οὕτως· Μα-25 κύριος ἀνὴρ ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἐν δδῷ ἀμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἔστη καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδραν λοιμῶν οὐκ ἐκάθισεν, ἀλλ' ἦ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυρίου τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ μελετήσει ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός. Καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων, 30 ὃ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορρυῆσεται, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἀν ποιῆ κατευοδωθήσεται. Οὐχ οὕτως οἱ ἀσεβεῖς, οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἦ ωσεὶ χνοῦς, ὃν ἐκρίπτει ὁ ἄνεμος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς· διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναστήσονται ἀσεβεῖς ἐν κρίσει, οὐδὲ ἀμαρτωλοὶ 35 ἐν βουλῇ δικαίων, ὅτι γινώσκει κύριος ὃδὸν δικαίων, καὶ ὃδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολεῖται. "Ινα τί ἐφρύαξαν ἔχοντες, καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν καὶ νά; Παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ λέγοντες· Διαρρήξωμεν τοὺς 40 δεσμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορρίψωμεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτῶν. 'Ο κατοικῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐκγελάσεται αὐτούς, καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐκμυκτηρίει αὐτούς· τότε λαλήσει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτοῦ ταράξει αὐτούς. 'Εγὼ δὲ κατεστάθην βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Σιών ὄρος τὸ ἄγιον 45 αὐτοῦ, διαγγέλλων τὸ πρόσταγμα κυρίου. Κύριος εἶπε πρός με· Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. Αἴτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔχοντες τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς· ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ράβδῳ σιδηρῷ, ὡς σκεύη κεραμέως συντρίψεις 50

αὐτούς. Καὶ νῦν, βασιλεῖς, σύνετε, παιδεύσητε, πάντες οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν. Δουλεύσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ. Δράξασθε παιδείας, μή ποτε ὀργισθῆ κύριος, καὶ ἀπολεῖσθε ἐξ ὄδοῦ δικαίας, ὅταν ἐκ-  
55 καυσθῇ ἐν τάχει ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ. Μακάριοι πάντες οἱ πε-  
ποιῶντες ἐπ'· αὐτόν.

41. Καὶ πάλιν δὶς ἄλλης προφητείας μηνῦν τὸ προφη-  
Christ's king.  
τικὸν πνεῦμα δὶς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δανίδ, 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  
θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν εἴδωλα δαιμονίων εἰσίν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς τοὺς  
οὐρανοὺς ἐποίησε. Δόξα καὶ αἶνος κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ ἰσχὺς καὶ καύχημα ἐν τόπῳ ἀγιάσματος αὐτοῦ. Δότε  
10 τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ πατρὶ τῶν αἰώνων δόξαν. Λάβετε χάριν καὶ  
εἰσέλθετε κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκυνήσατε ἐν αὐ-  
λαῖς ἀγίαις αὐτοῦ. Φοβηθῆτω ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ  
πᾶσα ἡ γῆ καὶ κατορθωθῆτω καὶ μὴ σαλευθῆτω. Εὐφραν-  
θήτωσαν ἐν τοῖς ἐθνεσιν· ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
15 ξύλου.

42. "Οταν δὲ τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα τὰ μέλλοντα γίνε-  
Past tense for σθαι ως ἥδη γενόμενα λέγῃ, ως καὶ ἐν τοῖς προ-  
future.  
ειρημένοις δοξάσαι ἐστίν, ὅπως ἀπολογίαν μὴ  
παράσχῃ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, καὶ τοῦτο διασαφήσομεν.  
5 Τὰ πάντως ἐγνωσμένα γενησόμενα προλέγει, ως ἥδη γενό-  
μενα. "Οτι δὲ οὕτως δεῖ ἐκδέχεσθαι, ἐνατενίσατε τῷ νοὶ<sup>5</sup>  
τοῖς λεγομένοις. Δανίδ ἔτεσι χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις  
πρὶν ἡ Χριστὸν ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον σταυρωθῆναι τὰ

προειρημένα ἔφη, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν πρὸ ἐκείνου γενομένων σταυρωθεὶς εὐφροσύνην παρέσχε τοῖς ἐζηνεσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ 10 τῶν μετ' ἐκεῖνον. 'Ο καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, σταυρωθεὶς καὶ ἀποθανὼν ἀνέστη καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἀνελθὼν εἰς οὐρανόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐζηνεσι κηρυχθεῖσιν εὐφροσύνη ἐστὶ προσδοκώντων τὴν κατηγγελμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀφθαρσίαν. 15

43. "Οπως δὲ μή τινες ἐκ τῶν προλελεγμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν <sup>human</sup> doctrine of responsibility. δοξάσωσι καθ' είμαρμένης ἀνάγκην φάσκειν προεγνωσμένα, καὶ τοῦτο διαλύομεν. Τὰς τιμωρίας καὶ τὰς κολάσεις καὶ τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἀμοιβὰς κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν 5 πράξεων ἑκάστου ἀποδίδοσθαι διὰ τῶν προφητῶν μαθόντες καὶ ἀληθὲς ἀποφαινόμενα. 'Επεὶ εὶ μὴ τοῦτο ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καθ' είμαρμένην πάντα γίνεται, οὐδὲ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστιν ὅλως. Εἰ γάρ εἴμαρται τόνδε τινὰ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ τόνδε φαῦλον, οὕτως οὗτος ἀποδεκτὸς οὕτ' ἐκεῖνος μεμπτέος. Καὶ 10 αὖ εὶ μὴ προαιρέσει ἐλευθέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ φεύγειν τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ αἴρεσθαι τὰ καλὰ δύναμιν ἔχει τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος, ἀναίτιόν ἐστι τῶν ὄπωσδήποτε πραττομένων. 'Αλλ' ὅτι ἐλευθέρᾳ προαιρέσει καὶ κατορθοῖ καὶ σφάλλεται, οὕτως ἀποδείκνυμεν. Τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν 15 μετέλευσιν ποιούμενον δρῶμεν. Εἰ δὲ εἴμαρτο ἢ φαῦλον ἢ σπουδαῖον εἶναι, οὐκ ἂν ποτε τῶν ἐναντίων δεκτικὸς ἦν καὶ πλειστάκις μετετίθετο· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οἱ μὲν ἡσαν σπουδαῖοι, οἱ δὲ φαῦλοι, ἐπεὶ τὴν είμαρμένην αἰτίαν φαύλων καὶ ἐναντία ἐαυτῇ πράττουσαν ἂν ἀποφαινοίμεθα, ἢ ἐκεῖνο τὸ 20 προειρημένον δόξαι ἀληθὲς εἶναι, ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀρετὴ οὐδὲ κακία, ἀλλὰ δόξῃ μόνον ἢ ἀγαθᾶ ἢ κακὰ νομίζεται."

ἥπερ, ὡς δείκνυσιν ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος, μεγίστη ἀσέβεια καὶ ἀδικία ἐστίν. Ἐάλλ' είμαρμένην φαμὲν ἀπαράβατον ταύτην  
 25 εἶναι, τοῖς τὰ καλὰ ἐκλεγομένοις τὰ ἄξια ἐπιτίμια, καὶ τοῖς  
 ὄμοιώς τὰ ἐναντία τὰ ἄξια ἐπίχειρα. Οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ τὰ  
 ἄλλα, οἷον δένδρα καὶ τετράποδα, μηδὲν δυνάμενα προαι-  
 ρέσει πράττειν, ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 ἦν ἄξιος ἀμοιβῆς ἦ ἐπαίνου, οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐλύμενος τὸ  
 30 ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γενόμενος, οὐδὲ εἰ κακὸς ὑπῆρχε, δι-  
 καίως κολάσεως ἐτύγχανεν, οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τοιοῦτος ὅν,  
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν δυνάμενος εἶναι ἔτερον παρ' ὃ ἐγεγόνει.

44. Ἐδίδαξε δὲ ἡμᾶς ταῦτα τὸ ἄγιον προφητικὸν πνεῦμα,  
 This doctrine the διὰ Μωϋσέως φῆσαν τῷ πρώτῳ πλασθέντι  
 doctrine of the prophets. ἀνθρώπῳ εἰρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ οὕτως.  
 Ἰδοὺ πρὸ προσώπου σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν, ἐκλεξαι  
 5 τὸ ἀγαθόν. Καὶ πάλιν διὰ Ἡσαίου, τοῦ ἔτερου προφήτου,  
 ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὄλων καὶ δεσπότου θεοῦ εἰς τοῦτο  
 λεχθῆναι οὕτως. Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γένεσθε, ἀφέλετε τὰς  
 πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, μάθετε καλὸν ποιεῖν,  
 κρίνατε ὄρφανῷ καὶ δικαιώσατε χήραν, καὶ δεῦτε καὶ δια-  
 10 λεχθῶμεν, λέγει κύριος. Καὶ ἐὰν ὕσιν αἱ ἀμαρτίαι ὑμῶν  
 ὡς φοινικοῦν, ὡσεὶ ἔριον λευκανῷ, καὶ ἐὰν ὕσιν ὡς κόκκι-  
 νον, ὡς χιόνα λευκανῷ. Καὶ ἐὰν θέλητε καὶ εἰσακούσητε  
 μου, τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς φάγεσθε, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εἰσακούσητε  
 μου, μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται· τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλά-  
 15 λησε ταῦτα. Τὸ δὲ προειρημένον Μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται,  
 οὐ λέγει διὰ μαχαιρῶν φονευθῆσεσθαι τοὺς παρακούσαν-  
 τας, ἀλλ' ἡ μάχαιρα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστι τὸ πῦρ, οὗ βορὰ γίνον-  
 ται οἱ τὰ φαῦλα πράττειν αἴρούμενοι. Διὰ τοῦτο λέγει·  
 Μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται· τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν.

Εὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τεμνούσης καὶ αὐτίκα ἀπαλλασσούσης μα-<sup>20</sup>  
χαίρας ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἀν εἶπε Κατέδεται. "Ωστε καὶ Πλάτων  
εἰπών· Αἴτια ἐλομένου, θεὸς δ' ἀναίτιος, παρὰ Μωϋσέως  
τοῦ προφήτου λαβῶν εἶπε. Πρεσβύτερος γὰρ Μωϋσῆς  
καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν "Ελλησι συγγραφέων. Καὶ πάντα, ὅσα  
περὶ ἀθανασίας ψυχῆς ἢ τιμωριῶν τῶν μετὰ θάνατον ἢ <sup>25</sup>  
θεωρίας οὐρανίων ἢ τῶν ὄμοίων δυγμάτων καὶ φιλόσοφοι  
καὶ ποιηταὶ ἔφασαν, παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν τὰς ἀφορμὰς  
λαβόντες καὶ νοῆσαι δεδύνηται καὶ ἐξηγήσαντο. "Οὐεν  
παρὰ πᾶσι σπέρματα ἀληθείας δοκεῖ εἶναι· ἐλέγχονται δὲ  
μὴ ἀκριβῶς νοήσαντες, ὅταν ἐναντία αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς λέγω-<sup>30</sup>  
σιν. "Ωστε ὁ φαμεν, πεπροφητεῦσθαι τὰ μέλλοντα γίνε-  
σθαι, οὐ διὰ τὸ είμαρμένης ἀνάγκη πράττεσθαι λέγομεν,  
ἀλλὰ προγνώστου τοῦ θεοῦ ὅντος τῶν μελλόντων ὑπὸ<sup>35</sup>  
πάντων ἀνθρώπων πραχθήσεσθαι, καὶ δύγματος ὅντος  
παρ' ἃ αὐτῶν ἃ κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων ἔκαστον ἀμείψεσθαι  
ἢ μέλλοντα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν  
τῶν πραττομένων ἀπαντήσεσθαι διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύ-  
ματος προλέγει, εἰς ἐπίστασιν καὶ ἀνάμνησιν ἀεὶ ἄγων τὸ  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, δεικνὺς ὅτι καὶ μέλον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ  
καὶ προνοεῖται αὐτῶν. Κατ' ἐνέργειαν δὲ τῶν φαύλων <sup>40</sup>  
δαιμόνων θάνατος ὡρίσθη κατὰ τῶν τὰς Ὑστάσπου ἢ  
Σιβύλλης ἢ τῶν προφητῶν βίβλους ἀναγινωσκόντων,  
ὅπως διὰ τοῦ φύβου ἀποστρέψωσιν ἐντυγχάνοντας τοὺς  
ἀνθρώπους τῶν καλῶν γνῶσιν λαβεῖν, αὐτοῖς δὲ δουλεύ-  
οντας κατέχωσιν· ὅπερ εἰς τέλος οὐκ ἵσχυσαν πρᾶξαι. <sup>45</sup>  
Ἄφύβως μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐντυγχάνομεν αὐταῖς, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ ὑμῖν, ὡς ὄρατε, εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν φέρομεν, ἐπιστάμενοι  
πᾶσιν εὐάρεστα φανήσεσθαι. Καν διάγονος δὲ πείσωμεν,

τὰ μέγιστα κερδήσαντες ἐσόμεθα. ὡς γεωργοὶ γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ  
50 παρὰ τοῦ δεσπόζοντος τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἔξομεν.

45. "Οτι 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 ἔως ἣν πα-  
τάξῃ τοὺς ἔχθραίνοντας αὐτῷ δαίμονας, καὶ συντελεσθῆ ὁ  
5 ἀριθμὸς τῶν προεγνωσμένων αὐτῷ ἀγαθῶν γινομένων καὶ  
ἐναρέτων, δι' οὓς καὶ μηδέπω τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν πεποίηται,  
ἐπακούσατε τῶν εἰρημένων διὰ Δαυὶδ τοῦ προφήτου. "Εστι  
δὲ ταῦτα· Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν  
μου, ἔως ἣν θῶ τοὺς ἔχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν  
10 σου. 'Ράβδον δυνάμεως ἔξαποστελεῖ σοι κύριος ἐξ Ἱερου-  
σαλήμ· καὶ κατακυρίευε ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἔχθρῶν σου. Μετὰ  
σου ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δυνάμεώς σου ἐν ταῖς λαμπρότησι  
τῶν ἀγίων σου· ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγένηνησά σε.  
Τὸ οὖν εἰρημένον 'Ράβδον δυνάμεως ἔξαποστελεῖ σοι ἐξ  
15 Ἱερουσαλήμ, προαγγελτικὸν τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἴσχυροῦ, ὃν  
ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ ἔξελθόντες πανταχοῦ  
ἐκήρυξαν, καί, καίπερ θανάτου ὄρισθέντος κατὰ τῶν διδα-  
σκόντων ἥ ὅλως ὅμολογούντων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ,  
ἡμεῖς πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀσπαζόμεθα καὶ διδάσκομεν. Εἰ δὲ  
20 καὶ ὑμεῖς ὡς ἔχθροὶ ἐντεύξεσθε τοῖσδε τοῖς λόγοις, οὐ  
πλέον τι δύνασθε, ὡς προέφημεν, τοῦ φονεύειν· ὅπερ ἡμῖν  
μὲν οὐδεμίαν βλάβην φέρει, ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδίκως  
ἔχθραίνουσι καὶ μὴ μετατιθεμένοις κόλασιν διὰ πυρὸς αἰώ-  
νίαν ἐργάζεται.

46. "Ινα δὲ μή τινες ἀλογισταίνοντες, εἰς ἀποτροπὴν τῶν  
δεδιδαγμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, εἴπωσι πρὸ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκον-  
τα γεγεννῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν λέγειν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου,

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

δεδιδαχέναι δὲ ἡ φαμεν διδάξαι αὐτὸν ὕστερον  
χρόνοις ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ἐπικαλῶσιν, 5  
ώς ἀνευθύνων ὅντων τῶν προγεγενημένων πάν-  
των ἀνθρώπων, φθάσαντες τὴν ἀπορίαν λυσόμενα. Τὸν  
Χριστὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι ἐδιδάχθημεν καὶ προε-  
μηνύσαμεν λόγον ὅντα, οὗ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μετέσχε.  
Καὶ οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες Χριστιανοί εἰσι, καν ἄζεοι 10  
ἐνομίσθησαν, οἵον ἐν "Ελλησι μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλει-  
τος καὶ οἱ ὄμοιοι αὐτοῖς, ἐν βαρβάροις δὲ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ  
Ἀνανίας καὶ Ἀζαρίας καὶ Μισαῆλ καὶ Ἡλίας καὶ ἄλλοι  
πολλοί, ὃν τὰς πράξεις ἦ τὰ ὄνόματα καταλέγειν μακρὸν  
εἶναι ἐπιστάμενοι ταῦν παραιτούμενα. "Ωστε καὶ οἱ προ- 15  
γενόμενοι ἄνευ λόγου βιώσαντες ἀχρηστοι καὶ ἐχθροὶ τῷ  
Χριστῷ ἥσαν καὶ φονεῖς τῶν μετὰ λόγου βιούντων· οἱ δὲ  
μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες καὶ βιοῦντες Χριστιανοὶ καὶ ἀφοβοι  
καὶ ἀτάραχοι ὑπάρχουσι. Δι' ἷν δ' αἰτίαν διὰ δυνάμεως  
τοῦ λόγου κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς πάντων καὶ δεσπότου Θεοῦ 20  
βουλήν διὰ παρθένου ἄνθρωπος ἀπεκυῆσῃ καὶ Ἰησοῦς  
ἐπωνομάσθη, καὶ σταυρωθεὶς ἀποθανὼν ἀνέστη καὶ ἀνελή-  
λυθεν εἰς οὐρανόν, ἐκ τῶν διὰ τοσούτων εἰρημένων ὁ νουν-  
εχῆς καταλαβεῖν δυνήσεται. Ἡμεῖς δέ, οὐκ ἀναγκαίου  
ὄντος ταῦν τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀποδείξεως τούτου λόγου, ἐπὶ 25  
τὰς ἐπειγούσας ἀποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ παρὸν χωρήσομεν.

47. "Οτι οὖν καὶ ἐκπορθηθήσεσθαι ἡ γῆ Ἰουδαίων ἔμελ-  
Desolation of λειν, ἀκούσατε τῶν εἰρημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ προφητι-  
Judea pre-  
dicted. κοῦ πινεύματος. Εἴρηνται δὲ οἱ λόγοι ὡς ἀπὸ  
προσώπου λαῶν θαυμαζόντων τὰ γεγενημένα. Εἰσὶ δὲ  
οἵδε· Ἐγενήθη ἔρημος Σιών, ὡς ἔρημος ἐγενήθη Ἱερουσα- 5  
λήμ, εἰς κατάραν ὁ οἶκος, τὸ ἅγιον ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡ δόξα ἡν

εὐλόγησαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐγενήθη πυρίκαυστος, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔνδοξα αὐτῆς συνέπεσε. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνέσχουν καὶ ἐσιώπησας καὶ ἐταπείνωσας ἡμᾶς σφόδρα. Καὶ ὅτι 10 ἡρήμωτο Ἰερουσαλήμ, ὡς προείρητο γενήσεσθαι, πεπεισμένοι ἔστε. Εἴρηται δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐρημώσεως αὐτῆς, καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπιτραπήσεσθαι μηδένα αὐτῶν οἰκεῖν, διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου οὕτως· Ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἔρημος, ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῶν οἱ ἔχθροὶ αὐτῶν αὐτὴν φάγονται, καὶ οὐκ 15 ἔσται ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ. "Οτι δὲ φυλάσσεται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ γένηται, καὶ ξάνατος κατὰ τοῦ καταλαμβανομένου Ἰουδαίου εἰσιόντος ὥρισται, ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστασθε.

48. "Οτι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύσειν πάσας νόσους καὶ νεκροὺς Predictions of ἀνεγερεῖν ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστὸς προεφητεύθη, Christ's work and death. ἀκούσατε τῶν λελεγμένων. "Εστι δὲ ταῦτα· 5 ἔσται γλῶσσα μογιλάλων· τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέψουσι καὶ λεπροὶ καθαρισθήσονται καὶ νεκροὶ ἀναστήσονται καὶ περιπατήσουσιν. "Οτι τε ταῦτα ἐποίησεν, ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἀκτῶν μαθεῖν δύνασθε. Πῶς τε προμημήνυται ὑπὸ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος ἀναιρεθησόμενος 10 ἄμα τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐλπίζουσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀκούσατε τῶν λεχθέντων διὰ Ἡσαΐου. "Εστι δὲ ταῦτα· "Ιδε ὡς ὁ δίκαιος ἀπώλετο, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐκδέχεται τὴν καρδίᾳ, καὶ ἄνδρες δίκαιοι αἴρονται, καὶ οὐδεὶς κατανοεῖ. Ἀπὸ προσώπου ἀδικίας ἥρται ὁ δίκαιος, καὶ ἔσται ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡ ταφὴ αὐτοῦ, ἥρται 15 ἐκ τοῦ μέσου.

49. Καὶ πάλιν πῶς δι' αὐτοῦ Ἡσαΐου λέλεκται, ὅτι οἱ οὐ προσδοκήσαντες αὐτὸν λαοὶ τῶν ἐζητῶν προσκυνήσουσιν

His rejection αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ ἀεὶ προσδοκῶντες Ἰουδαῖοι ἀγνού-  
by the Jews  
foretold. σουσι παραγενόμενον αὐτόν. Ἐλέχθησαν δὲ  
οἱ λόγοι ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Εἰσὶ δὲ 5  
οὗτοι· Ἐμφανῆς ἐγενήθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν, εὑρέ-  
θην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν. Εἶπον· Ἰδού εἰμι, ἔθνει, οἱ  
οὐκ ἐκάλεσαν τὸ ὄνομά μου. Ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου  
ἐπὶ λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα, ἐπὶ τοὺς πορευομέ-  
νους ἐν ὁδῷ οὐ καλῇ, ἀλλ' ὅπίσω τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν.<sup>10</sup>  
Ο λαὸς ὁ παροξύνων ἐναντίον μου. Ἰουδαῖοι γάρ ἔχον-  
τες τὰς προφητείας καὶ ἀεὶ προσδοκήσαντες τὸν Χριστὸν,  
παραγενόμενον ἥγνόησαν, οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρε-  
χρήσαντο· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνῶν μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἀκούσαν-  
τες περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μέχρις οὗ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔξελ-<sup>15</sup>  
θόντες ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ ἐμίγνυσαν τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς  
προφητείας παρέδωκαν, πληρωθέντες χαρᾶς καὶ πίστεως  
τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἀπετάξαντο καὶ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ  
Χριστοῦ ἑαυτοὺς ἀνέθηκαν. "Οτι δὲ προεγινώσκετο τὰ δύσ-  
φημα ταῦτα λεχθησόμενα κατὰ τῶν τὸν Χριστὸν ὄμολο-<sup>20</sup>  
γούντων, καὶ ὡς εἰεν τάλανες οἱ δυσφημοῦντες αὐτὸν καὶ  
τὰ παλαιὰ ἔθη καλὸν εἶναι τηρεῖν λέγοντες, ἀκούσατε τῶν  
βραχυεπῶς εἰρημένων διὰ Ἡσαΐου. "Εστι δὲ ταῦτα· Οὐαὶ  
τοῖς λέγουσι τὸ γλυκὺ πικρὸν καὶ τὸ πικρὸν γλυκύ.

50. "Οτι δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γενόμενος ἀνθρωπος παθεῖν  
Christ's  
humiliation  
foretold. καὶ ἀτιμασθῆναι ὑπέμεινε, καὶ πάλιν μετὰ δόξης  
παραγενήσεται, ἀκούσατε τῶν εἰρημένων εἰς τοῦ-  
το προφητεῶν. "Εστι δὲ ταῦτα· Ἀνδ' ᾧ παρέδωκαν εἰς  
θάνατον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη, 5  
αὐτὸς ἀμαρτίας πολλῶν εἴληφε καὶ τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐξιλάσε-  
ται. "Ιδε γάρ, συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου καὶ ὑψωθήσεται καὶ

δοξασθήσεται σφύδρα. "Ον τρόπον ἐκστήσονται πολλοὶ  
 ἐπὶ σέ, οὕτως ἀδοξήσει ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων τὸ εἶδός σου καὶ ἡ  
 10 δόξα σου ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὕτως θαυμάσονται ἔχνη  
 πολλά, καὶ συνέξουσι βασιλεῖς τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν· ὅτι οἵς  
 οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ ὄψονται, καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἀκηκόασι  
 συνήσουσι. Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν, καὶ ὁ  
 βραχίων κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη; Ἀνηγγείλαμεν ἐνώπιον  
 15 αὐτοῦ ὡς παιδίον, ὡς ρίζα ἐν γῇ διψώσῃ. Οὐκ ἔστιν  
 εἶδος αὐτῷ οὐδὲ δόξα· καὶ εἴδομεν αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν  
 εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἀτιμὸν καὶ ἐκλεῖ-  
 πον παρὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. "Ανθρωπος ἐν πληγῇ ὅν 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  
 δὲ ἐτραυματίσθη διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ μεμαλάκισται  
 διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν· παιδεία εἰρήνης ἐπ' αὐτόν, τῷ  
 25 μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἴαθημεν. Πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλα-  
 νήθημεν, ἀνθρωπος τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ ἐπλανήθη. Καὶ παρέ-  
 δωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τὸ κεκα-  
 κῶσθαι οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. 'Ως πρόβατον ἐπὶ  
 σφαγὴν ἥχθη· καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίορ τοῦ κείροντος αὐτὸν  
 30 ἄφωνος, οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. 'Εν τῇ τα-  
 πεινώσει αὐτοῦ ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἥρθη. Μετὰ οὖν τὸ σταυ-  
 ρωθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ γυνώριμοι αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀπέστησαν,  
 ἀρνησάμενοι αὐτόν· ὕστερον δέ, ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντος καὶ  
 ὀφθέντος αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῖς προφητείαις ἐντυχεῖν, ἐν αἷς πάν-  
 35 τα ταῦτα προείρητο 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 προσηγορεύθησαν.

51. "Ινα δὲ μηνύσῃ ἡμῖν τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα ὅτι ὁ The majesty ταῦτα πάσχων ἀνεκδιήγητον ἔχει τὸ γένος καὶ of Christ. βασιλεύει τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἔφη οὕτως. Τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται; "Οτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν ἥκει εἰς θάνατον. Καὶ δῶσω 5 τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀντὶ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἀντὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ. Καὶ κύριος βούλεται καθαρίσαι αὐτὸν τῆς πληγῆς. Ἐὰν δῶτε περὶ ἀμαρτίας, 10 ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν ὄφεται σπέρμα μακρόβιου. Καὶ βούλεται κύριος ἀφελεῖν ἀπὸ πόνου τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, δεῖξαι αὐτῷ φῶς, καὶ πλάσαι τῇ συνέσει, δικαιῶσαι δίκαιον εὗ δουλεύοντα πολλοῖς. Καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ὑμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει. Διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς κληρονομήσει πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν μεριεῖ σκύλα, ἀνθ' ᾧν παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ, 15 καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκε καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς παρεδόθη. Ὡς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔμελλεν ἀνιέναι, καθὼς προεφητεύθη, ἀκούσατε. Ἐλέχθη δὲ οὕτως. "Αρατε πύλας οὐρανῶν, ἀνοίχθητε, ἵνα εἰσέλθῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. Τίς ἐστιν 20 οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης; Κύριος κραταιὸς καὶ κύριος δυνατός. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐξ οὐρανῶν παραγίνεσθαι μετὰ δόξης μέλλει, ἀκούσατε καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων εἰς τοῦτο διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου. "Εστι δὲ ταῦτα. Ἰδοὺ ὡς νίδιος ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι 25 αὐτοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ.

52. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὰ γενόμενα ἥδη πάντα ἀπεδείκνυμεν  
 Sure word of πρὶν ἦ γενέσθαι προκεκηρύχθαι διὰ τῶν προφη-  
 prophecy. τῶν, ἀνύγκη καὶ περὶ τῶν ὄμοίως προφητεῦσέν-  
 των, μελλόντων δὲ γίνεσθαι, πίστιν ἔχειν ὡς πάντως γε-  
 5 νησομένων. Ὁν γάρ τρόπον τὰ ἥδη γενόμενα προκεκη-  
 ρυγμένα καὶ ἀγνοούμενα ἀπέβη, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ  
 λείποντα, κανὸν ἀγνοῖται καὶ ἀπιστῆται, ἀποβίσονται. Δύο  
 γὰρ αὐτοῦ παρουσίας προεκήρυξαν οἱ προφῆται· μίαν μὲν,  
 τὴν ἥδη γενομένην, ὡς ἀτίμουν καὶ παθητοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τὴν  
 10 δὲ δευτέραν, ὅταν μετὰ δόξης ἐξ οὐρανῶν μετὰ τῆς ἀγγελι-  
 κῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς παραγενήσεσθαι κεκήρυκται, ὅτε καὶ τὰ  
 σώματα ἀνεγερεῖ πάντων τῶν γενομένων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ  
 τῶν μὲν ἀξίων ἐνδύσει ἀφεσαρσίαν, τῶν δὲ ἀδίκων ἐν αἰσθή-  
 σει αἰωνίᾳ μετὰ τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ  
 15 πέμψει. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα προείρηται γενησόμενα, δηλώ-  
 σομεν. Ἐρρέθη δὲ διὰ Ἰεζεκιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου οὕτως·  
 Συναχθήσεται ἀρμονία πρὸς ἀρμονίαν καὶ ὑστέον πρὸς  
 ὑστέον, καὶ σάρκες ἀναφυήσονται. Καὶ πᾶν γόνυν κάμψει  
 τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται αὐτῷ. Ἔν  
 20 οἷς δὲ αἰσθήσει καὶ κολάσει γενέσθαι μέλλουσιν οἱ ἀδικοι,  
 ἀκούσατε τῶν ὄμοίως 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 προφητεῦσέντα ἐλέχθη οὕτως·  
 Ἐντελοῦμαι τοῖς τέσσαρσιν ἀνέμοις συνάξαι τὰ ἐσκορπι-  
 σμένα τέκνα, ἐντελοῦμαι τῷ βορρῷ φέρειν, καὶ τῷ νότῳ μὴ  
 προσκόπτειν. Καὶ τότε ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ κοπετὸς μέγας, οὐ

κοπετὸς στομάτων ἢ χειλέων, ἀλλὰ κοπετὸς καρδίας, καὶ 30  
οὐ μὴ σχίσωσιν αὐτῶν τὰ ίμάτια, ἀλλὰ τὰς διανοίας.  
Κόψουνται φυλὴ πρὸς φυλήν, καὶ τότε ὄψουνται εἰς ὃν ἐξε-  
κέντησαν, καὶ ἐροῦσι· Τί, κύριε, ἐπλάνησας ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς  
ὅδοῦ σου; Ἡ δόξα, ἦν εὐλόγησαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, ἐγε-  
νήσῃ ἡμῖν εἰς ὅνειδος.

35

53. Πολλὰς μὲν οὖν καὶ ἑτέρας προφητείας ἔχοντες  
Importance of εἰπεῖν ἐπαυσάμεθα, αὐτάρκεις καὶ ταύτας εἰς  
prophecies for faith. πεισμονὴν τοῖς τὰ ἀκουστικὰ καὶ νοερὰ ὥτα  
ἔχονσιν εἶναι λογισάμενοι, καὶ νοεῖν δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς  
ἡγούμενοι ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς μυθοποιηθεῖσι περὶ τῶν 5  
νομισθέντων σίῶν τοῦ Διὸς καὶ ἡμεῖς μόνον λέγομεν, ἀλλ’  
οὐκ ἀποδεῖξαι ἔχομεν. Τίνι γὰρ ἂν λόγῳ ἀνθρώπῳ σταυ-  
ρωθέντι ἐπειθόμεθα, ὅτι πρωτότοκος τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ ἐστι  
καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρωπείου γένους ποι-  
ήσεται, εἰ μὴ μαρτύρια πρὸν ἢ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀνθρωπον 10  
γενόμενον κεκηρυγμένα περὶ αὐτοῦ εὔρομεν καὶ οὕτως γε-  
νόμενα δρῶμεν, γῆς μὲν Ἰουδαίων ἐρήμωσιν, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ  
παντὸς ἔθνους ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων  
αὐτοῦ διδαχῆς πεισθέντας καὶ παραιτησαμένους τὰ παλαιά,  
ἐν οἷς πλανώμενοι ἀνεστράφησαν, ἔθη, αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς δρῶν- 15  
τες, πλείονάς τε καὶ ἀληθεστέρους τοὺς ἐξ ἔθνῶν τῶν ἀπὸ  
Ἰουδαίων καὶ Σαμαρέων Χριστιανοὺς εἰδότες; Τὰ μὲν γὰρ  
ἄλλα πάντα γένη ἀνθρώπεια ὑπὸ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύμα-  
τος καλεῖται ἔθνη, τὸ δὲ ιουδαϊκὸν καὶ σαμαρειτικὸν φῦλον  
Ἰσραὴλ καὶ οἴκος Ἰακὼβ κέκληνται. Ὡς δὲ προεφητεύθη 20  
ὅτι πλείονες οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνῶν πιστεύοντες τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰου-  
δαίων καὶ Σαμαρέων, τὰ προφητευθέντα ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.  
Ἐλέχθη δὲ οὕτως. Εὐφράνθητι στείρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα,

ρῆξον καὶ βόησον ἡ οὐκ ὀδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς  
 25 ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἔχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα. "Ἐρημα γάρ  
 ἦν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ, χειρῶν ἔργοις λατρεύον-  
 τα· Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ καὶ Σαμαρεῖς, ἔχοντες τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ  
 λόγον διὰ τῶν προφητῶν παραδοθέντα αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀεὶ<sup>20</sup>  
 προσδοκήσαντες τὸν Χριστόν, παραγενόμενον ἡγνόησαν,  
 πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν, οὓς προεῖπε τὸ ἄγιον προφητικὸν  
 πνεῦμα διὰ Ἡσαίου σωθῆσεσθαι. Εἶπε δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ προ-  
 σώπου αὐτῶν· Εἰ μὴ κύριος ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὡς  
 Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν. Σόδομα γάρ καὶ  
 Γόμορρα πόλεις τινὲς ἀσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν ἴστοροῦνται ὑπὸ<sup>25</sup>  
 Μωϋσέως γενόμεναι, ἃς πυρὶ καὶ Θείῳ καύσας ὁ Θεὸς κα-  
 τέστρεψε, μηδενὸς τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς σωθέντος πλὴν ἀλλο-  
 εθνοῦς τινὸς Χαλδαίου τὸ γένος, φῶνομα Λώτ, σὺν φῷ καὶ  
 θυγατέρες διεσώθησαν. Καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτῶν χώραν  
 ἔρημον καὶ κεκαυμένην οὖσαν καὶ ἔγονον μένουσαν οἱ βου-<sup>40</sup>  
 λόμενοι ὄρᾶν ἔχουσιν. 'Ως δὲ καὶ ἀληθέστεροι οἱ ἀπὸ<sup>45</sup>  
 τῶν ἔθνων καὶ πιστότεροι προεγινώσκοντο, ἀπαγγελοῦμεν  
 τὰ εἰρημένα διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου. "Ἐφη δὲ οὕτως·  
 'Ισραὴλ ἀπερίτυπος τὴν καρδίαν, τὰ δὲ ἔθνη τὴν ἀκρο-  
 βυστίαν. Τὰ τοσαῦτα γοῦν ὄρώμενα πειθῶ καὶ πίστιν  
 τοῖς τὰληθὲς ἀσπαζομένοις καὶ μὴ φιλοδοξοῦσι μηδὲ ὑπὸ<sup>50</sup>  
 πατῶν ἀρχομένοις μετὰ λόγου ἐμφορῆσαι δύναται.

54. Οἱ δὲ παραδιδόντες τὰ μυθοποιηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν  
 How the myths ποιητῶν οὐδεμίᾳν ἀπόδειξιν φέρουσι τοῖς ἐκ-  
 of the heathen originated. μανθάνοντι νέοις, καὶ ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ καὶ ἀπαγωγῇ  
 τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένουν εἰρῆσθαι ἀποδείκνυμεν κατ' ἐνέρ-<sup>5</sup>  
 γειαν τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων. 'Ακούσαντες γάρ διὰ τῶν  
 προφητῶν κηρυσσόμενον παραγενησόμενον τὸν Χριστόν,

καὶ κολασθησομένους διὰ πυρὸς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, προεβάλλοντο πολλοὺς λεχθῆναι γενομένους οὐίοὺς τῷ Διῷ, νομίζοντες δυνήσεσθαι ἐνεργῆσαι τερατολογίαν ἡγήσασθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ὅμοια 10 τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν λεχθῆσι. Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἐλέχθη καὶ ἐν "Ελλησιν καὶ ἐν ἔννεσι πᾶσιν, ὅπου μᾶλλον ἐπίκουον τῶν προφητῶν πιστευθῆσεσθαι τὸν Χριστὸν προκηρυσσόντων. "Οτι δὲ καὶ ἀκούοντες τὰ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν λεγόμενα οὐκ ἐνόσουν ἀκριβῶς, ἀλλ' ὡς πλανώμενοι ἐμμῆσαντο 15 τὰ περὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον Χριστόν, διασαφήσομεν. Μωϋσῆς οὖν ὁ προφήτης, ὡς προέφημεν, πρεσβύτερος ἦν πάντων συγγραφέων, καὶ διὸ αὐτοῦ, ὡς προεμηνύσαμεν, προεφητεύθη οὕτως· Οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἐλέῃ φῶντα πρόκειται· καὶ αὐτὸς 20 ἔσται προσδοκία ἐθνῶν, δεσμεύων πρὸς ἀμπελοντὸν πῶλον αὐτοῦ, πλύνων τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς. Τούτων οὖν τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων ἀκούσαντες οἱ δαίμονες Διόνυσον μὲν ἔφασαν γεγονέναι υἱὸν τοῦ Διός, εὑρετὴν δὲ γενέσθαι ἀμπέλου παρέδωκαν, καὶ ὅνον ἐν τοῖς μυστη- 25 ρίοις αὐτοῦ ἀναγράφουσι, καὶ διασπαραχθέντα αὐτὸν ἀνεληλυθέναι εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐδίδαξαν. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ διὰ τῆς Μωϋσέως προφητείας οὐ ρήτως ἐσημαίνετο, εἴ τε υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ παραγενησόμενός ἔστι, καὶ εἰ ὁ χούμενος ἐπὶ πῶλου ἐπὶ γῆς μενεῖ ἢ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνελεύσεται, καὶ τὸ τοῦ πῶλου 30 ὄνομα καὶ ὄνομα πῶλον καὶ ἵππου σημαίνειν ἐδύνατο, μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι εἴτε ὄνομα πῶλον ἄγων ἔσται σύμβολον τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ εἴτε ἵππου ὁ προκηρυσσόμενος, καὶ υἱὸς Θεοῦ ἔστιν, ὡς προέφημεν, ἢ ἀνθρώπου, τὸν Βελλεροφόντην καὶ αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἵππου Πηγάσου, ἀνθρωπὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων 35

γενόμενον, εἰς οὐρανὸν ἔφασαν ἀνεληλυθέναι. "Οτε δὲ  
ἥκουσαν διὰ τοῦ ἄλλου προφήτου Ἡσαίου λεχθέν, ὅτι διὰ  
παρθένου τεχθήσεται καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἀνελεύσεται εἰς τὸν  
οὐρανόν, τὸν Περσέα λεχθῆναι προεβάλλοντο. Καὶ ὅτε  
40 ἔγνωσαν εἰρημένον, ὡς προλέλεκται ἐν ταῖς προγεγραμμέ-  
ναις προφητείαις Ἰσχυρὸς ὡς γίγας δραμεῖν ὁδόν, τὸν  
Ἡρακλέα ἴσχυρὸν καὶ ἐκπερινοστήσαντα τὴν πᾶσαν γῆν  
ἔφασαν. "Οτε δὲ πάλιν ἔμαθον προφητευθέντα θεραπεύσειν  
ἀντὸν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνεγερεῖν, τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν  
45 παρήνεγκαν.

55. 'Αλλ' οὐδαμοῦ οὐδ' ἐπί τινος τῶν λεγομένων νίῶν  
τοῦ Διὸς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι ἐμιμήσαντο· οὐ γὰρ  
The Cross. ἐνοεῖτο αὐτοῖς, συμβολικῶς, ὡς προδεδήλωται,  
τῶν εἰς τοῦτο εἰρημένων πάντων λελεγμένων. "Οπερ, ὡς  
5 προεπεν δ προφήτης, τὸ μέγιστον σύμβολον τῆς ἴσχύος  
καὶ ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχει, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' ὄψιν πιπτόν-  
των δείκνυται· κατανοήσατε γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ,  
εἰ ἄνευ τοῦ σχῆματος τούτου διοικεῖται ἢ κοινωνίαν ἔχειν  
δύναται. Θάλασσα μὲν γὰρ οὐ τέμνεται, ἢν μὴ τοῦτο τὸ  
10 τρόπαιον, δ καλεῖται ἵστιον, ἐν τῇ νηὶ σῶον μείνῃ· γῇ δὲ  
οὐκ ἀροῦται ἄνευ αὐτοῦ· σκαπανεῖς δὲ τὴν ἐργασίαν οὐ  
ποιοῦνται οὐδὲ βαναυσουργοὶ δμοίως, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν τὸ  
σχῆμα τοῦτο ἔχόντων ἐργαλείων. Τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπειον  
σχῆμα οὐδεὶν ἄλλῳ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων διαφέρει, ἢ τῷ  
15 δρθόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἔκτασιν χειρῶν ἔχειν καὶ ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ  
ἀπὸ τοῦ μετωπίου τεταμένον τὸν λεγόμενον μυξωτῆρα φέ-  
ρειν, δι' οὗ ἢ τε ἀναπνοή ἐστι τῷ ζῷῳ καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο δεί-  
κνυσιν 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 <sup>20</sup> τούτου δύναμιν δηλοῖ, τὰ τῶν βηξίλλων καὶ τῶν τροπαίων, δι' ᾧν αἱ τε πρόνοδοι ὑμῶν πανταχοῦ γίνονται, τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως τὰ σημεῖα ἐν τούτοις δεικνύντες, εἰ καὶ μὴ νοοῦντες τοῦτο πράττετε. Καὶ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἀποθητικόντων αὐτοκρατόρων τὰς εἰκόνας ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ σχήματι <sup>25</sup> ἀνατίθετε, καὶ θεοὺς διὰ γραμμάτων ἐπονομάζετε. Καὶ διὰ λόγου οὗν καὶ σχήματος τοῦ φαινομένου, ὅση δύναμις, προτρεψάμενοι ὑμᾶς ἀνεύθυνοι οἴδαμεν λοιπὸν ὄντες, κανύμεῖς ἀπιστῆτε· τὸ γὰρ ὑμέτερον γέγονε καὶ πεπέρανται.

56. Οὐκ ἡρκέσθησαν δὲ οἱ φαῦλοι δάιμονες πρὸ τῆς  
 The demons φανερώσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰπεῖν τοὺς λεχθέντας  
 still at work. νίοὺς τῷ Διὶ γεγονέναι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ, φανερωθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ γενομένου ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ὅπως διὰ τῶν προφητῶν προεκείρυκτο ἔμαθον, καὶ ἐν παντὶ γένει <sup>5</sup> πιστεύμενον καὶ προσδοκώμενον ἔγνωσαν, πάλιν, ὡς προεδηλώσαμεν, προεβάλλοντο ἄλλους, Σίμωνα μὲν καὶ Μένανδρον ἀπὸ Σαμαρείας, οἵ καὶ μαγικὰς δυνάμεις ποιήσαντες πολλοὺς ἔξηπάτησαν καὶ ἔτι ἀπατωμένους ἔχουσι. Καὶ γὰρ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὡς προέφημεν, ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι 'Ρώμῃ <sup>10</sup> ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος γενόμενος δὲ Σίμων καὶ τὴν ιερὰν σύγκλητον καὶ τὸν δῆμον 'Ρωμαίων εἰς τοσοῦτο κατεπλήξατο, ὡς θεὸς νομισθῆναι καὶ ἀνδριάντι, ὡς τοὺς ἄλλους παρ' ὑμῖν τιμωμένους θεούς, τιμηθῆναι. "Οθεν τήν τε ιερὰν σύγκλητον καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν ὑμέτερον συνεπιγνώ- <sup>15</sup> μονας ταύτης ὑμῶν τῆς ἀξιώσεως παραλαβεῖν αἰτοῦμεν, ἵν' εἴ τις εἴη τοῖς ἀπ' ἐκείνου διδάγμασι κατεχόμενος, τάληθες μαζῶν τὴν πλάνην φυγεῖν δυνηθῆ. Καὶ τὸν ἀνδριάντα, εἰ βούλεσθε, καθαιρήσατε.

57. Οὐ γὰρ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ἐπὶ κολάσει τῶν  
 The demons ἀσεβῶν οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες πεῖσαι δύνανται,  
<sub>instigate</sub>  
 persecution. ὅνπερ τρόπον οὐδὲ λαζεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν παρα-  
 γενόμενον ἴσχυσαν πρᾶξαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μόνον, τοὺς ἀλό-  
 γως βιοῦντας καὶ ἐμπαθῶς ἐν ἔθεσι φαύλοις τεντραμμένους  
 καὶ φιλοδοξοῦντας ἀναιρεῖν ἡμᾶς καὶ μισεῖν, δύνανται ποι-  
 ᾱσαι, οὓς οὐ μόνον οὐ μισοῦμεν, ἀλλ', ὡς δείκνυται, ἐλε-  
 οῦντες μεταθέσθαι πεῖσαι βουλόμεθα. Οὐ γὰρ δεδοίκαμεν  
 θάνατον, τοῦ πάντως ἀποθανεῖν ὑμολογουμένου, καὶ μη-  
 10 δενὸς ἄλλου καινοῦ ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷδε τῇ διοικήσει  
 ὅντων, ὃν εἰ μὲν κύρος τοὺς μετασχύντας κανὸν ἐνιαυτοῦ  
 ἔχει, ἵνα ἀεὶ ὥσι 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 ρύμενοι εὐεργετοῦσιν, ἐαυτοὺς δὲ φαύλους καὶ μισ-  
 ανθρώπους καὶ φιλοδόξους δεικνύουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἀπαλ-  
 λάξοντες ἡμᾶς ἀναιροῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀποστεροῦντες ζωῆς  
 καὶ ἡδονῆς φονεύονται.

58. Καὶ Μαρκίωνα δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ Πόντου, ὡς προέφημεν,  
 Marcion put προεβάλλοντο οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες, ὃς ἀριεῖσθαι  
<sub>forward by</sub>  
 the demons. μὲν τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ γηῖνων ἀπάν-  
 των θεὸν καὶ τὸν προκηρυχθέντα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν Χρι-  
 5 στὸν οὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν διδάσκει, ἄλλον δέ τινα καταγγέλ-  
 λει παρὰ τὸν δημιουργὸν τῶν πάντων θεὸν καὶ ὄμοίως  
 ἔτερον οὐδόν· φῆ πολλοὶ πεισθέντες, ὡς μόνῳ τάληθῇ ἐπι-  
 σταμένῳ, ἡμῶν καταγελῶσιν ἀπόδειξιν μηδεμίᾳ περὶ ὃν  
 λέγουσιν ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἀλύγως ὡς ὑπὸ λύκου ἄρνες συν-  
 10 ηρπασμένοι βορὰ τῶν ἀθέων 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 δυναμένους τοῖς γηγένοις καὶ χειροποιήτοις προσῆλωσαν καὶ προσηλοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ θεωρίαν θείων 15 ὄρμῶντας ὑπεκκρούοντες, ἢν μὴ λογισμὸν σώφρονα καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀπαθῆ βίον ἔχωσιν, εἰς ἀσέβειαν ἐμβάλλουσιν.

59. *"Iνα δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ήμετέρων διδασκάλων (λέγο-  
What Plato  
owes to Moses.) μεν δὲ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν) λα-  
βόντα τὸν Πλάτωνα μάθητε τὸ εἰπεῖν, ὃλην ἄμορφον οὖσαν στρέψαντα τὸν θεὸν κόσμον ποιῆσαι, ἀκού-  
σατε τῶν αὐτολεξεὶ εἰρημένων διὰ Μωϋσέως, τοῦ προδεδη- 5  
λωμένου πριώτου προφήτου καὶ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν ἐν Ἑλ-  
λησι συγγραφέων, δι' οὗ μηνῶν τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα,  
πῶς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐκ τίνων ἐδημιούργησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν  
κόσμον, ἔφη οὕτως· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρα-  
νὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. Ή δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, 10  
καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου· καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρε-  
το ἐπάνω τῶν ὑδάτων. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Γενηθήτω φῶς.  
Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. Ὡστε λόγῳ θεοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων  
καὶ προδηλωθέντων διὰ Μωϋσέως γεγενῆσθαι τὸν πάντα  
κόσμον, καὶ Πλάτων καὶ οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες καὶ ήμεῖς ἐμά- 15  
θομεν, καὶ ὑμεῖς πεισθῆναι δύνασθε. Καὶ τὸ καλούμενον  
Ἐρεβός παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς εἰρῆσθαι πρότερον ὑπὸ Μωϋ-  
σέως οἴδαμεν.*

60. Καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ παρὰ Πλάτωνι Τιμαίῳ φυσιολογού-  
Plato and  
the Cross. μενον περὶ τοῦ νίοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτε λέγει· Ἐχί-  
ασεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παντί, παρὰ Μωϋσέως λαβὼν  
ὅμοίως εἶπεν. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς Μωϋσέως γραφαῖς ἀναγέ-  
E

5 γραπται, ὡς κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ ὅτε ἔξῆλθον ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ γεγόνασιν ἐν τῷ ἐρήμῳ, ἀπίγνητησαν αὐτοῖς ιοβόλα θηρία, ἔχιδναί τε καὶ ἀσπίδες καὶ ὄφεων πᾶν γένος, ὃ ἐθανάτου τὸν λαόν· καὶ κατ' ἐπίπνοιαν καὶ ἐνέργειαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ γενομένην λαβεῖν τὸν Μωϋ-  
10 σέα 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 τὸν μὲν ὄφεις ἀποθανεῖν ἀνέγραψε, τὸν δὲ λαὸν ἐκφυγεῖν τὸν θάνατον οὕτως παρέδωκεν. Ἁ ἀνα-  
15 γνοὺς 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 ἐπιφέρεσθαι 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 ἐπιφέρεσθαι τῷ ὕδατι πνεύματι, εἰπών· Τὰ δὲ τρίτα περὶ τὸν τρίτον. Καὶ ὡς ἐκπύρωσιν γενήσεσθαι διὰ Μωϋσέως προεμήνυσε τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα, ἀκούσατε.  
25 Ἔφη δὲ οὕτως· Καταβήσεται ἀείζων πῦρ καὶ καταφάγεται μέχρι τῆς ἀβύσσου κάτω. Οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ οὖν ἡμεῖς ἄλλοις δοξάζομεν, ἀλλ' οἱ πάντες τὰ ἡμέτερα μιμούμενοι λέγουσι. Παρ' ἡμῖν οὖν ἔστι ταῦτα ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν οὐδὲ τὸν χαρακτῆρας τῶν στοιχείων ἐπισταμένων,  
30 ἰδιωτῶν μὲν καὶ βαρβάρων τὸ φεγγία, σοφῶν δὲ καὶ πιστῶν τὸν νοῦν ὄντων, καὶ πηρῶν καὶ χήρων τινῶν τὰς ὄψεις· ὡς συνεῖναι οὐ σοφίᾳ ἀνθρωπείᾳ ταῦτα γεγονέναι,  
ἀλλὰ δυνάμει Θεοῦ λέγεσθαι.

61. Ὁν τρόπον δὲ καὶ ἀνεθήκαμεν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Christian baptism νοποιηθέντες διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐξηγησόμεθα, δύπλως μὴ τοῦτο παραλιπόντες δόξωμεν πονηρεύειν τὸ ἐν τῇ ἐξηγήσει. "Οσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, 5 καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχυῶνται, εὔχεσθαι τε καὶ αἴτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἡμῶν συνευχομένων καὶ συνυηστεύοντων αὐτοῖς. "Επειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐνθαῦται ὅδωρ ἐστί, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθη- 10 μεν, ἀναγεννῶνται· ἐπ' ὁνόματος γάρ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πνεύματος ἀγίου τὸ ἐν τῷ ὅδατι τότε λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται. Καὶ γάρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν· "Ἄν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. 15 "Οτι δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰς τὰς μήτρας τῶν τεκουσῶν τοὺς ἄπαξ γενομένους ἐμβῆναι, φανερὸν πᾶσιν ἐστι. Καὶ διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου, ὡς προεγράψαμεν, εἴρηται, τίνα τρόπον φεύξονται τὰς ἀμαρτίας οἱ ἀμαρτήσαντες καὶ μετανοοῦντες. 'Ἐλέχθη δὲ οὕτως· Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γένεσθε, 20 ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, μάθετε καλὸν ποιεῖν, κρίνατε ὄρφανῷ καὶ δικαιώσατε χήραν, καὶ δεῦτε καὶ διαλεχθῶμεν, λέγει κύριος. Καὶ ἐὰν ὥσιν αἱ ἀμαρτίαι ὑμῶν ὡς φοινικοῦν, ὥσει ἔριον λευκανῶ, καὶ ἐὰν ὥσιν ὡς κόκκινον, ὡς χιόνα λευκανῶ. 'Εὰν δὲ μὴ εἰσακούσητε μου, 25 μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται· τὸ γάρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε ταῦτα. Καὶ λόγον δὲ εἰς τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμάθομεν τοῦτον. 'Ἐπειδὴ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν ἡμῶν ἀγνοοῦντες κατ' ἀνάγκην γεγεννήμεθά ἐξ ὑγρᾶς σπορᾶς

30 κατὰ μῆξιν τὴν τῶν γονέων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐν ἔπεσι φαύλοις καὶ ποιηραῖς ἀνατροφαῖς γεγόναμεν, ὅπως μὴ ἀνάγκης τέκνα μηδὲ ἀγνοίας μένωμεν, ἀλλὰ προαιρέσεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης, ἀφέσεώς τε ἀμαρτιῶν ὑπὲρ ᾧν προημάρτομεν τύχωμεν, ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ἐπονομάζεται τῷ ἐλομένῳ ἀναγεννη-  
35 θῆναι καὶ μετανοήσαντι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις τὸ τοῦ πα-  
τρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου θεοῦ ὄνομα, αὐτὸ τοῦτο  
μόνον ἐπιλέγοντος τοῦ τὸν λουσόμενον ἀγοντος ἐπὶ τὸ  
λουτρόν. "Ονομα γὰρ τῷ ἀρρήτῳ θεῷ οὐδὲν ἔχει εἰπεῖν, εἰ  
δέ τις τολμήσειν εἶναι λέγειν, μέμηντε τὴν ἄσωτον μανίαν.  
40 Καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν φωτισμός, ὡς φωτιζομένων  
τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα μανθανόντων. Καὶ ἐπ' ὄνόματος  
δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου  
καὶ ἐπ' ὄνόματος πνεύματος ἁγίου, ὃ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν  
προεκήρυξε τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πάντα, ὃ φωτιζόμενος  
45 λούεται.

62. Καὶ τὸ λουτρὸν δὴ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντες οἱ δαίμονες  
Baptism imi- διὰ τοῦ προφήτου κεκηρυγμένον ἐνύργησαν καὶ  
tated by the δραντίζειν ἑαυτοὺς τοὺς εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῶν ἀπι-  
βαίνοντας καὶ προσιέναι αὐτοῖς μέλλοντας, λοιβᾶς καὶ  
5 κνίσας ἀποτελοῦντας· τέλεον δὲ καὶ λούεσθαι ἀπιόντας  
πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά, ἐνθα ἰδρυνται, ἐνεργοῦσι. Καὶ γὰρ  
τὸ ὑπολύεσθαι ἐπιβαίνοντας τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ προσιόντας  
αὐτοῖς τοὺς θρησκεύοντας κελεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερατευόν-  
των ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων Μωϋσεῖ τῷ εἰρημένῳ προφήτῃ  
10 μαθόντες οἱ δαίμονες ἐμιμήσαντο. 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

Σείου ἐν ἰδέᾳ πυρὸς ἐκ βάτου προσωμίλησεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστὸς καὶ εἶπεν· ‘Υπόλυται τὰ ὑποδήματά σου 15 καὶ προσελθὼν ἄκουσον. ‘Ο δὲ ὑπολυσάμενος καὶ προσελθὼν ἀκίκοε κατελθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἔξαγαγεῖν τὸν ἐκεῖ λαὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, καὶ δύναμιν ἴσχυρὰν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ λαλήσαντος αὐτῷ ἐν ἰδέᾳ πυρὸς Χριστοῦ, καὶ κατελθὼν ἔξῆγαγε τὸν λαὸν ποιήσας μεγάλα καὶ θαυμάσια, 20 ἃ εὶ βούλεσθε μαθεῖν, ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐκείνου ἀκριβῶς μαθήσεσθε.

63. Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ πάντες καὶ νῦν διδάσκουσι τὸν ἀνωνύμιαστον Σεὸν λελαληκέναι τῷ Μωϋσεῖ· ὅτεν τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προμεμηνυμένου προφήτου ἐλέγχον αὐτούς, ὡς προεγράψαμεν, εἶπεν· “Ἐγνω βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον καὶ ὅνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ 5 κυρίου αὐτοῦ, Ἰσραὴλ δέ με οὐκ ἔγνω καὶ ὁ λαός με οὐ συνῆκε. Καὶ Ἰησοῦς δὲ ὁ Χριστός, ὅτι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν Ἰουδαῖοι, τί πατὴρ καὶ τί νίός, ὅμοίως ἐλέγχων αὐτοὺς καὶ αὐτὸς εἶπεν· Οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ νίός, οὐδὲ τὸν νίὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ οὗτος ἀν ἀποκαλύψῃ ὁ νίός. ‘Ο 10 λόγος δὲ τοῦ Σεοῦ ἐστιν ὁ νίός αὐτοῦ, ὡς προέφημεν. Καὶ ἄγγελος δὲ καλεῖται καὶ ἀπόστολος· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀπαγγέλλει ὅσα δεῖ γνωσθῆναι, καὶ ἀποστέλλεται μηνύσων ὅσα ἀγγέλλεται, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν εἶπεν· ‘Ο ἔμοι ἀκούων, ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος με. Καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ 15 Μωϋσέως δὲ συγγραμμάτων φανερὸν τοῦτο γενήσεται. Λέλεκται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς οὕτως· Καὶ ἐλάλησε Μωϋσεῖ ἄγγελος Σεοῦ ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς ἐκ τῆς βάτου καὶ εἶπεν· ‘Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὄν, Σεὸς Ἀβραάμ, Σεὸς Ἰσαάκ, Σεὸς Ἰακώβ, ὁ Σεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου. Κάτελθε εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἔξαγαγε 20

God's appearing  
ing to Moses.

τὸν λαύν μου. Τὰ δὲ ἐπόμενα ἐξ ἑκείνων βούλόμενοι μα-  
ζεῖν δύνασθε· οὐ γάρ δυνατὸν ἐν τούτοις ἀναγράψαι  
πάντα. Ἀλλ’ εἰς ἀπύδειξιν γεγόνασιν οἵδε οἱ λόγοι, ὅτι  
νίδιος θεοῦ καὶ ἀπύστυλος Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός ἐστι, πρότερον  
25 λόγος ὢν, καὶ ἐν ἰδέᾳ πυρὸς ποτὲ φανείς, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐν  
εἰκόνι ἀσωμάτων· νῦν δὲ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
ἀνθρωπείου γένους ἀνθρωπος γενόμενος ὑπέμεινε καὶ πα-  
ζεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸν ἐνήργησαν οἱ δαίμονες διατεθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν  
ἀνοήτων Ἰουδαίων. Οὕτινες ἔχοντες ρήτως 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. Ὁθεν καὶ τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα  
35 ἐλέγχον αὐτοὺς εἶπεν· Ἰσραὴλ δέ με οὐκ ἔγνω, καὶ ὁ λαός  
με οὐ συνῆκε. Καὶ πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὡς ἐδηλώσαμεν, παρ’  
αὐτοῖς ὥν εἶπεν· Οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ νίδιος,  
εὐδὲ τὸν νίδιον εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ οἵς ἦν ὁ νίδιος ἀποκαλύψῃ.  
Ἰουδαῖοι οὖν ἡγησάμενοι ἀεὶ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων λελα-  
40 ληκέναι τῷ Μωϋσεῖ, τοῦ λαλήσαντος αὐτῷ ὅντος νίον τοῦ  
θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ ἄγγελος καὶ ἀπύστολος κέκληται, δικαίως  
ἐλέγχονται καὶ διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος καὶ δὶ’ αὐτοῦ  
τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς οὔτε τὸν πατέρα οὔτε τὸν νίδιον ἔγνωσαν.  
Οἱ γάρ τὸν νίδιον πατέρα φάσκοντες εἶναι ἐλέγχονται μήτε  
45 τὸν πατέρα ἐπιστάμενοι μήδ’ ὅτι ἐστὶν νίδιος τῷ πατρὶ τῶν  
ὅλων γινώσκοντες· ὃς λόγος καὶ πρωτότοκος ὥν τοῦ  
θεοῦ καὶ θεὸς ὑπάρχει. Καὶ πρότερον διὰ τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς  
μορφῆς καὶ εἰκόνος ἀσωμάτου τῷ Μωϋσεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις  
προφήταις ἐφάνη· νῦν δὲ ἐν χρόνοις τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς,

ώς προείπομεν, διὰ παρθένου ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος κατὰ 50 τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς βουλὴν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν πιστευόντων αὐτῷ καὶ ἔξουσιν θῆναι καὶ παθεῖν ὑπέμεινεν, ἵνα ἀποθανὼν καὶ ἀναστὰς νικήσῃ τὸν θάνατον. Τὸ δὲ εἰρημένον ἐκ βάτου τῷ Μωϋσεῖ· Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὄν, ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακὼβ καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων 55 σου, σημαντικὸν τῷ καὶ ἀποθανόντας ἐκείνους μένειν καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνθρώπους· καὶ γὰρ πρῶτοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐκεῖνοι περὶ θεοῦ ζήτησιν ἡσχολήθησαν, Ἀβραὰμ μὲν πατὴρ ὅν τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ, Ἰσαὰκ δὲ τοῦ Ἰακὼβ, ὡς καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἀνέγραψε. 60

64. Καὶ τὸ ἀνεγείρειν δὲ τὸ εἴδωλον τῆς λεγομένης  
 Other travers-      Κόρης ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ὑδάτων πηγαῖς ἐνεργῆσαι  
 ties of Scripture      by the demons. τοὺς δαιμονας, λέγοντας θυγατέρα αὐτὴν  
 εἶναι τοῦ Διός, μιμησαμένους τὸ διὰ Μωϋσέως εἰρημένον,  
 ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων νοῆσαι δύνασθε. "Εφη γὰρ ὁ 5  
 Μωϋσῆς, ὡς προεγράψαμεν· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς  
 τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. Ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατα-  
 σκεύαστος, καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τῶν ὑδάτων.  
 Εἰς μίμησιν οὖν τοῦ λεχθέντος ἐπιφερομένου τῷ ὑδάτι  
 πνεύματος θεοῦ τὴν Κόρην θυγατέρα τοῦ Διὸς ἔφασαν. 10  
 Καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ ὄμοίως πονηρευόμενοι θυγατέρα τοῦ  
 Διὸς ἔφασαν οὐκ ἀπὸ μίξεως, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐννοηθέντα τὸν  
 θεὸν διὰ λόγου τὸν κόσμον ποιῆσαι ἔγνωσαν, ὡς τὴν  
 πρώτην ἐννοιαν ἔφασαν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν· ὅπερ γελοιότατον  
 ἥγονμεθα εἶναι, τῆς ἐννοίας εἰκόνα παραφέρειν θηλειῶν 15  
 μορφήν. Καὶ ὄμοίως τοὺς ἄλλους λεγομένους νίοὺς τοῦ  
 Διὸς αἱ πράξεις ἐλέγχουσιν.

65. Ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὸ οὕτως λοῦσαι τὸν πεπισμένον καὶ

Administration συγκατατεθειμένον ἐπὶ τοὺς λεγομένους ἀδελ-  
of the sacraments. φοὺς ἄγομεν, ἔνδια συνηγμένοι εἰσί, κοινὰς  
εὐχὰς ποιησόμενοι ὑπέρ τε ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοῦ φωτισθέντος  
5 καὶ ἄλλων πανταχοῦ πάντων εὐτύνως, ὅπως καταξιωθῶμεν  
τὰ ἀληθῆ μαθύντες καὶ δι' ἔργων ἀγαθοὶ πολιτευταὶ καὶ  
φύλακες τῶν ἐντεταλμένων εὑρεθῆναι, ὅπως τὴν αἰώνιον  
σωτηρίαν σωθῶμεν. Ἐλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμενοι  
παυσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν. Ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προε-  
10 στῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράμα-  
τος, καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων  
διὰ τοῦ ὄνόματος τοῦ νίοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἀγίου  
ἀναπέμπει καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων  
παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται· οὗ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς  
15 καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων  
'Αμήν. Τὸ δὲ ἀμήν τῇ ἑβραιΐδι φωνῇ τὸ γένοιτο σημαίνει.  
Ἐνχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος  
παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδόσασιν  
έκαστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέν-  
20 τος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀπο-  
φέρουσι.

66. Καὶ ἡ τροφὴ αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία, ἡς  
The Eucharist. οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἔξον ἐστιν, ἡ τῷ πιστεύ-  
οντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ δεδιδαγμένα ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ  
λουσαμένῳ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἀμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν  
5 λουτρὸν καὶ οὕτως βιοῦντι ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν. Οὐ  
γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτου οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν,  
ἄλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς  
Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας  
ἡμῶν ἐσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ

εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ᾧς 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, ἂν καλεῖται  
 εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως παρέδωκαν ἐντετάλθαι αὐτοῖς· τὸν Ἰη-  
 σοῦν λαβόντα ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε 15  
 εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου, τουτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου· καὶ τὸ  
 ποτήριον ὅμοίως λαβόντα καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν·  
 Τοῦτο ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου· καὶ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μεταδοῦναι.  
 "Οπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Μίθρα μυστηρίοις παρέδωκαν γίνε-  
 σθαι μιμησάμενοι οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες· ὅτι γὰρ ἄρτος καὶ 20  
 ποτήριον ὕδατος τίθεται ἐν ταῖς τοῦ μυουμένου τελεταῖς  
 μετ' ἐπιλόγων τινῶν, ἥ ἐπίστασθε ἥ μαθεῖν δύνασθε.

67. Ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα λοιπὸν ἀεὶ τούτων ἀλλήλους  
First day of the week. ἀναμιμνήσκομεν· καὶ οἱ ἔχοντες τοῖς λειπομέ-  
 νοις πᾶσιν ἐπικουροῦμεν, καὶ σύνεσμεν ἀλλήλους  
 ἀεί. Ἐπὶ πᾶσί τε οἵς προσφερόμεθα εὐλογοῦμεν τὸν ποιη-  
 τὴν τῶν πάντων διὰ τοῦ νίοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ διὰ 5  
 πνεύματος τοῦ ἀγίου. Καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ  
 πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἥ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τούτῳ συνέ-  
 λευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων  
 ἥ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται μέχρις  
 ἐγχωρῆ. Εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος ὁ προε- 10  
 στῶς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν κα-  
 λῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται. Ἐπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ  
 πάντες καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν. Καί, ὡς προέφημεν, παυσα-  
 μένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ  
 ὕδωρ, καὶ ὁ προεστῶς εὐχὰς ὅμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση 15  
 δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων τὸ  
 . E 2

ἀμήν· καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστη-  
ζέντων ἑκάστῳ γίνεται καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακό-  
νων πέμπεται. Οἱ εὐποροῦντες δὲ καὶ βουλόμενοι κατὰ  
20 προαιρεσιν ἔκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὁ βούλεται δίδωσι, καὶ τὸ  
συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προεστῷ ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς  
ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις, καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσου ἢ δι'  
ἄλλην αἰτίαν λειπομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς οὖσι, καὶ  
τοῖς παρεπιδύμοις οὖσι ξένοις, καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν  
25 χρείᾳ οὖσι κηδεμῶν γίνεται. Τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἥλιου ἡμέραν  
κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμενα, ἐπειδὴ πρώτη  
ἐστὶν ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὅλην τρέψας  
κόσμον ἐποίησε, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτῆρ τῇ  
αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη· τῇ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κρουικῆς  
30 ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ τῇ μετὰ τὴν κρουικήν, ἦτις ἐστὶν  
ἥλιου ἡμέρα, φανεῖς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ μαθηταῖς  
ἐδίδαξε ταῦτα ἅπερ εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνεδόκαμεν.

68. Καὶ εἰ μὲν δοκεῖ ὑμῖν λόγου καὶ ἀληθείας ἔχεσθαι,  
τιμήσατε αὐτά, εἰ δὲ λῆρος ὑμῖν δοκεῖ, ὡς ληρω-  
Conclusion. δῶν πραγμάτων καταφρονήσατε, καὶ μὴ ὡς κατ'  
ἔχθρῶν κατὰ τῶν μηδὲν ἀδικούντων θάνατον ὄριζετε.  
5 Προλέγομεν γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκφεύξεσθε 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  
'Αδριανοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ἀπαιτεῖν ὑμᾶς καζὰ  
10 ἡξιώσαμεν κελεῦσαι τὰς κρίσεις γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ κεκρί-  
σθαι τοῦτο ὑπὸ 'Αδριανοῦ μᾶλλον ἡξιώσαμεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ  
ἐπίστασθαι δίκαια ἀξιοῦν τὴν προσφώνησιν καὶ ἐξήγησιν  
πεποιήμενα. 'Υπετάξαμεν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς 'Αδριανοῦ

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

15

Hadrianus Minucio Fun-  
dano.

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 ἄδεσσε 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

Μινουκίῳ Φουνδανῷ.

Ἐπιστολὴν ἐδεξάμην γρα-  
φεῖσάν μοι ἀπὸ Σερηνίου  
Γρανιανοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἀν- 20  
δρός, ὅντινα σὺ διεδέξω.  
Οὐ δοκεῖ οὖν μοι τὸ πρᾶγ-  
μα ἀζήτητον καταλιπεῖν,  
ἵνα μή τε οἱ ἀνθρώποι  
ταράττωνται καὶ τοῖς συ- 25  
κοφάνταις χορηγίᾳ κακουρ-  
γίᾳς παρασχεθῆ. Ἀν οὖν  
σαφῶς εἰς ταύτην τὴν  
ἀξίωσιν οἱ ἐπαρχιῶται δύ-  
νωνται διῆσχυροίζεσθαι κατὰ 30  
τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὡς καὶ  
πρὸ βήματος ἀποκρίνεσθαι,  
ἐπὶ τοῦτο μόνον τραπῶσιν,  
ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀξιώσεσιν οὐδὲ  
μόναις βοᾶς. Πολλῷ γὰρ 35  
μᾶλλον προσῆκεν, εἴ τις  
κατηγορεῖν βούλοιτο, τοῦτο  
σε διαγινώσκειν. Εἴ τις  
οὖν κατηγορεῖ καὶ δείκνυσί  
τι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πράτ- 40  
τοντας, οὕτως διόριζε κατὰ

merito peccatorum etiam  
supplicia statues. Illud me-  
hercule magnopere curabis,  
45 ut si quis calumniac gratia  
quenquam horum postula-  
verit reum, in hunc pro sua  
nequitia suppliciis saeviori-  
bus vindices.

τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἀμαρτή-  
ματος. Ὡς μὰ τὸν Ἡρα-  
κλέα, εἴ τις συκοφαντίας  
χάριν τοῦτο προτείνοι, δι-  
αλάμβανε ὑπὲρ τῆς δεινό-  
τητος, καὶ φρόντιζε ὅπως  
ἂν ἐκδικήσειας.

# ΤΟΤ ΑΥΤΟΤ ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΟΤ

ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ ΥΠΕΡ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΣΥΓΚΛΗΤΟΝ.

1. Καὶ τὰ χῖές τε καὶ πρῷην ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν γενόμενα  
ἐπὶ Οὐρβίκου, ὡς Ἀρωμαῖοι, καὶ τὰ πανταχοῦ  
ὅμοίως ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγουμένων ἀλόγως πραττόμενα  
ξῆναγκασέ με ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὅμοιοπαθῶν ὄντων καὶ ἀδελφῶν,  
καν ἀγνοῆτε καὶ μὴ θέλητε διὰ τὴν δόξαν τῶν νομιζομένων 5  
ἀξιωμάτων, τὴν τῶνδε τῶν λόγων σύνταξιν ποιήσασθαι.  
Πανταχοῦ γάρ, ὃς ἂν σωφρονίζηται ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἢ γείτονος  
ἢ τέκνου ἢ φίλου ἢ ἀδελφοῦ ἢ ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυναικὸς κατ' ἔλ-  
λειψιν, χωρὶς τῶν πεισθέντων τοὺς ἀδίκους καὶ ἀκολάστους  
ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ κολασθῆσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐναρέτους καὶ ὄμοι- 10  
ως Χριστῷ βιώσαντας ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ συγγενήσεσθαι τῷ θεῷ  
(λέγομεν δὲ τῶν γενομένων Χριστιανῶν), διὰ τὸ δυσμετά-  
θετον καὶ φιλήδονον καὶ δυσκίνητον πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὄρμη-  
σαι, καὶ οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες, ἐχθραίνοντες ὑμῖν καὶ τοὺς  
τοιούτους δικαστὰς ἔχοντες ὑποχειρίους καὶ λατρεύοντας, 15  
ὡς οὖν ἄρχοντας δαιμονιῶντας, φονεύειν ὑμᾶς παρασκευά-  
ζουσιν. "Οπως δὲ καὶ ἡ αἰτία τοῦ παντὸς γενομένου ἐπὶ<sup>Introduction.</sup>  
Οὐρβίκου φανερὰ ὑμῖν γένηται, τὰ πεπραγμένα ἀπαγγελῶ.  
2. Γυνή τις συνεβίον ἀνδρὶ ἀκολασταίνοντι, ἀκολασταί-

*νουσα καὶ αὐτὴ πρότερον.* Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τοῦ

*Urbicus.*

*Χριστοῦ διδάγματα ἔγνω, ἐσωφρονίσθη καὶ τὸν*

*ἄνδρα ὁμοίως σωφρονεῖν πείζειν ἐπειρᾶτο, τὰ διδάγματα*

*τὸν αὐτοφέρουσα, τήν τε μέλλουσαν τοῖς οὐ σωφρόνως καὶ μετὰ*

*λόγου ὀρθοῦ βιοῦσιν ἔσεσθαι ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ κόλασιν ἀπ-*

*αγγέλλουσα. Ο δὲ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀσελγείαις ἐπιμένων ἀλ-*

*λοτρίαν διὰ τῶν πράξεων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν γαμετήν.* Ἀσεβὲς

*γὰρ ἡγουμένη τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ γυνὴ συγκατακλίνεσθαι ἀνδρί,*

*10 παρὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον καὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον πόρους*

*ἡδονῆς ἐκ παντὸς πειρωμένῳ ποιεῖσθαι, τῆς συζυγίας*

*χωρισθῆναι ἐβούληση.* Καὶ ἐπεὶ ἔξεδυστα πεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν

*αὐτῆς, ἔτι προσμένειν συμβουλευόντων, ὡς εἰς ἐλπίδα με-*

*ταβολῆς ἥξοντός ποτε τοῦ ἀνδρός, βιαζομένη ἔαυτὴν ἐπέ-*

*15 μενεν.* Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ταύτης ἀνήρ εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν

*πορευθεὶς χαλεπώτερα πράττειν ἀπηγγέλῃ, ὅπως μὴ*

*κοινωνὸς τῶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ ἀσεβημάτων γένηται, μέ-*

*νουσα ἐν τῇ συζυγίᾳ καὶ ὁμοδίαιτος καὶ ὁμόκοιτος γινομένη,*

*τὸ λεγόμενον παρ' ὑμῖν ῥεπούδιον δοῦσα ἐχωρίσθη.* Ο δὲ

*20 καλὸς κάγαθὸς ταύτης ἀνήρ, δέον αὐτὸν χαίρειν, ὅτι ἂ*

*πάλαι μετὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων εὐχερῶς*

*ἐπραττε, μέθαις χαίρουσα καὶ κακίᾳ πάσῃ, τούτων μὲν τῶν*

*πράξεων πέπαυτο καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ αὐτὰ παύσασθαι πράττοντα*

*ἐβούλετο, μὴ βούλομένον ἀπαλλαγείσης κατηγορίαν πε-*

*25 ποίηται, λέγων αὐτὴν Χριστιανὴν εἶναι. Καὶ ἡ μὲν βι-*

*βλίδιόν σοι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἀναδέδωκε, πρότερον συγχω-*

*ρησθῆναι αὐτῇ διοικήσασθαι τὰ ἔαυτῆς ἀξιοῦσα, ἐπειτα ἀπο-*

*λογήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ κατηγορίματος μετὰ τὴν τῶν πραγ-*

*μάτων αὐτῆς διοίκησιν. Καὶ συνεχώρησας τοῦτο.* Ο δὲ

*30 ταύτης ποτὲ ἀνήρ, πρὸς ἐκείνην μὲν μὴ δυνάμενος ταῦτην*

ἔτι λέγειν, πρὸς Πτολεμαῖόν τινα, ὃν Οὐρβίκος ἐκολάσατο, διδάσκαλον ἐκείνης τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθημάτων γενόμενον, ἐτράπετο διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ τρύπου. Ἐκατόνταρχον εἰς δεσμὰ ἐμβαλόντα τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, φίλον αὐτῷ ὑπάρχοντα, ἔπεισε λαβέσθαι τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ ἀνερωτῆσαι αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον εἰ Χριστιανός ἐστι. Καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, φιλαλήθη, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀπατηλὸν οὐδὲ ψευδολόγον τὴν γνώμην ὅντα, ὁμολογήσαντα ἑαυτὸν εἶναι Χριστιανὸν ἐν δεσμοῖς γενέσθαι ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος πεποίηκε, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ἐκολάσατο. Τελευταῖον δὲ ὅτε ἐπὶ Οὐρβίκου ἥχθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὁμοίως αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐξητάσθη εἰ εἴη Χριστιανός. Καὶ πάλιν τὰ καλὰ ἑαυτῷ συνεπιστάμενος διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδαχῆν τὸ διδασκάλιον τῆς θείας ἀρετῆς ὡμολόγησεν· ὃ γάρ ἀρνούμενος ὑποῖν ἦ κατεγνωκὼς τοῦ πράγματος ἔξαρνος γίνεται ἢ ἑαυτὸν ἀνάξιον ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ἀλλότριον τοῦ πράγματος τὴν ὁμολογίαν φεύγει, ὃν οὐδὲν πρόσεστι τῷ ἀληθινῷ Χριστιανῷ. Καὶ τοῦ Οὐρβίκου κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι Λούκιός τις, καὶ αὐτὸς ὃν Χριστιανός, ὄρῶν τὴν ἀλόγως οὕτως γενομένην κρίσιν πρὸς τὸν Οὐρβίκον ἔφη· Τίς ἡ αἰτία; Τοῦ τὸν μήτε μοιχὸν μήτε πόρνον μήτε ἀνδροφόνον μήτε λωποδύτην μήτε ἄρπαγα μήτε ἀπλῶς ἀδίκημά τι πράξαντα ἐλεγχόμενον, δινόματος δὲ Χριστιανοῦ προσωνυμίαν ὁμολογοῦντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ἐκολάσω; Οὐ πρέποντα εὐσεβεῖ αὐτοκράτορι οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ Καίσαρος παιδὶ οὐδὲ τῇ ἱερᾷ συγκλήτῳ κρίνεις, ὃ Οὐρβίκε. Καὶ ὃς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἀποκρινάμενος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λούκιον ἔφη· Δοκεῖς μοι καὶ σὺ εἶναι τοιοῦτος. Καὶ τοῦ Λουκίου φίσαντος Μάλιστα, πάλιν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. Ὁ δὲ καὶ χάριν

εο εἰδέναι ὡμολόγει, πονηρῶν δεσποτῶν τῶν τοιούτων ἀπηλάχθαι γινώσκουν καὶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν πορεύεσθαι. Καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τρίτος ἐπελθὼν κολασθῆναι προσετιμήσῃ.

3. Κἀγὼ οὖν προσδοκῶ ὑπό τινος τῶν ὡνομασμένων  
Justin and Crescens. ἐπιβουλευθῆναι καὶ ξύλῳ ἐμπαγῆναι, ἢ κανὸν ὑπὸ<sup>5</sup> Κρίσκεντος τοῦ φιλοψόφου καὶ φιλοκόμπου.  
 Οὐ γὰρ φιλόσοφον εἰπεῖν ἄξιον τὸν ἄνδρα, ὃς γε περὶ<sup>5</sup> ἡμῶν ἂ μὴ ἐπίσταται δῆμοσίᾳ καταμαρτυρεῖ, ὃς 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 ἴδιωτῶν πολὺ χείρων, οἱ φυλάττονται  
 10 πολλάκις περὶ ὃν οὐκ ἐπίστανται διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ψευδο-  
 μαρτυρεῖν· ἢ εἰ ἐντυχὼν μὴ συνῆκε τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς μεγαλεῖον,  
 ἢ συνεὶς πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑποπτευθῆναι τοιοῦτος ταῦτα ποιεῖ,  
 πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀγεννῆς καὶ παμπόνηρος, ἴδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀλό-  
 γου δόξης καὶ φόβου ἐλάττων ὃν. Καὶ γὰρ προθέντα με  
 15 καὶ ἐρωτήσαντα αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσεις τινὰς τοιαύτας καὶ μαθεῖν  
 καὶ ἐλέγξαι ὅτι ἀληθῶς μηδὲν ἐπίσταται, εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς βού-  
 λομαι. Καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, εἰ μὴ ἀνηνέχθησαν ὑμῖν αἱ  
 κοινωνίαι τῶν λόγων, ἔτοιμος καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῶν κοινωνεῖν τῶν  
 ἐρωτήσεων πάλιν· βασιλικὸν δὲ ἀν καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον εἴη.  
 20 Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐγνώσθησαν ὑμῖν αἱ ἐρωτήσεις μου καὶ αἱ ἐκείνου<sup>25</sup>  
 ἀποκρίσεις, φανερὸν ὑμῖν ἐστιν ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων  
 ἐπίσταται, ἢ εἰ καὶ ἐπίσταται, διὰ τοὺς ἀκούοντας δὲ οὐ  
 τολμῷ λέγειν ὁμοίως Σωκράτει, ὃς προέφην, οὐ φιλόσοφος,  
 ἀλλὰ φιλόδοξος ἀνὴρ δείκνυται, ὃς γε μηδὲ τὸ Σωκρατικὸν  
 ἀξιέραστον δὲ τιμῇ· Ἀλλ' οὕτι γε πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας τιμη-

τέος ἀνήρ. Ἀδύνατον δὲ Κυνικῷ, ἀδιάφορον τὸ τέλος προθεμένῳ, τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἰδέναι πλὴν ἀδιαφορίας.

4. "Οπως δὲ μή τις εἴπῃ· Πάντες οὖν ἔαυτοὺς φονεύ-  
Why Christians do not kill themselves. πράγματα μὴ παρέχετε, ἐρῶ, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν τοῦτο οὐ πράττομεν καὶ δι' ἣν ἔξεταζόμενοι ἀφόβως ὁμολογοῦμεν. Οὐκ εἰκῇ τὸν κόσμον πεποιηκέναι τὸν θεὸν δεδιδάγμεθα, ἀλλ' ἡ διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος· χαίρειν τε τοῖς τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ μιμουμένοις προέφημεν, ἀπαρέσκεσθαι δὲ τοῖς τὰ φαῦλα ὑσπαζομένοις ἡ λόγῳ ἡ ἔργῳ. Εἰ οὖν πάντες ἔαυτοὺς φονεύσομεν, τοῦ μὴ γεννηθῆναι τίνα καὶ μαῶτευθῆναι εἰς τὰ θεῖα διδάγματα, ἢ καὶ μὴ εἶναι τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος, ὅσον ἐφ' ἡμῖν, αἴτιοι ἐσόμεθα, ἐναντίον τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλῇ καὶ αὐτὸὶ ποιοῦντες, ἐὰν τοῦτο πράξωμεν. Ἐξεταζόμενοι δὲ οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα διὰ τὸ συνεπίστασθαι ἔαυτοῖς μηδὲν φαῦλον, ἀσεβὲς δὲ ἡγούμενοι μὴ κατὰ πάντα ἀληθεύειν, ὃ καὶ φίλον τῷ θεῷ γινώσκομεν, 15 ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀδίκου προλήψεως ἀπαλλάξαι νῦν σπεύδοντες.

5. Εἰ δέ τίνα ὑπέλθοι καὶ ἡ ἔννοια αὕτη, ὅτι εἰ θεὸν Why men are in trouble. ὄμοιογοῦμεν βοηθόν, οὐκ ἄν, ὡς λέγομεν, The evil spirits. ὑπὸ ἀδίκων ἐκρατούμεθα καὶ ἐτιμωρούμεθα, καὶ τοῦτο διαλύσω. 'Ο θεὸς τὸν πάντα κόσμον ποιήσας καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ἀνθρώποις ὑποτάξας καὶ τὰ οὐράνια στοι- 5 χεῖα εἰς αὐξησιν καρπῶν καὶ ὥρῶν μεταβολῆς κοσμήσας καὶ θεῖον τούτοις ιόμον τάξας, ἢ καὶ αὐτὰ δι' ἀνθρώπους φαίνεται πεποιηκώς, τὴν μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν πρόνοιαν ἀγγέλοις, οὓς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔταξε, παρέδωκεν. Οἱ δὲ ἀγγελοι, παραβάντες τήνδε τὴν τάξιν, 10

γυναικῶν μίξειν ἡττήθησαν καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκνωσαν, οἵ εἰσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι δαίμονες. Καὶ προσέτι λοιπὸν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος ἔαυτοῖς ἐδούλωσαν τὰ μὲν διὰ μαγικῶν γραφῶν, τὰ δὲ διὰ φόβων καὶ τιμωριῶν ὃν ἐπέφερον, τὰ 15 δὲ διὰ διδαχῆς θυμάτων καὶ θυμιαμάτων καὶ σπουδῶν, ὃν ἐνδεεῖς γεγόνασι μετὰ τὸ πάθεσιν ἐπιθυμιῶν δουλωθῆναι, καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπους φόνους, πολέμους, μοιχείας, ἀκολασίας καὶ πᾶσαν κακίαν ἔσπειραν. "Οὐεν καὶ ποιητὰ καὶ μυθολόγοι, ἀγνοοῦντες τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν γενε-20 νηθέντας δαίμονας ταῦτα πρᾶξαι εἰς ἄρρενας καὶ θηλείας καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔδυνη, ὑπερ συνέγραψαν, εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοὺς ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σπορᾷ γενομένους υἱὸντας καὶ τῶν λεχθέντων ἐκείνου ἀδελφῶν καὶ τέκνων ὅμοιώς τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνων Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Πλούτωνος ἀνήνεγκαν. 'Ονό-25 ματι γὰρ ἔκαστον, ὅπερ ἔκαστος ἔαυτῷ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἔθετο, προσηγόρευσαν.

6. "Ονομα δὲ τῷ πάντων πατρὶ θεόν, ἀγεννήτῳ ὅντι,  
Names of God  
οὐκ ἔστιν· φὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὀνόματί τι προσαγο-  
and of Christ.  
ρεύηται, πρεσβύτερον ἔχει τὸν θέμενον τὸ ὄνο-  
μα. Τὸ δὲ πατὴρ καὶ θεὸς καὶ κτίστης καὶ κύριος καὶ δε-  
5 σπότης οὐκ ὀνόματά ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν εὐποιῶν καὶ τῶν  
ἔργων προσρήσεις. 'Ο δὲ υἱὸς ἐκείνου, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος  
κυρίως υἱός, ὁ λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ συνῶν καὶ  
γεννώμενος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐκτισε καὶ ἐκό-  
σμησε, Χριστὸς μὲν κατὰ τὸ καὶ χρῖσαι καὶ κοσμῆσαι τὰ  
10 πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν λέγεται, ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸν περιέχον  
ἄγνωστον σημασίαν, ὃν τρόπον καὶ τὸ θεὸς προσαγόρευμα  
οὐκ ὄνομά ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ πράγματος δυσεξηγήτου ἔμφυτος  
τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων δόξα. 'Ιησοῦς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου

καὶ σωτῆρος ὅνομα καὶ σημασίαν ἔχει. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς προέφημεν, γέγονε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πα-15 τρὸς βουλὴν ἀποκυηθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πιστεύοντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν δαιμόνων, ὡς καὶ νῦν ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' ὄψιν γινομένων μαθεῖν δύνασθε. Δαιμονιολήπτους γὰρ πολλοὺς κατὰ πάντα τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ πόλει πολλοὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀνθρώπων τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἐπορ-20 κίζοντες κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἐπορκιστῶν καὶ ἐπαστῶν καὶ φαρμακευτῶν μὴ ἴασαντο καὶ ἔτι νῦν ἰῶνται, καταργοῦντες καὶ ἐκδιώκοντες τοὺς κατέχοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δαίμονας. 25

7. "Οθεν καὶ ἐπιμένει ὁ Θεὺς τὴν σύγχυσιν καὶ κατάλυσιν  
 The world pre-  
 served for the  
 sake of Chris-  
 tians. λοι ἄγγελοι καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ἀνθρώποι μηκέτι  
 ὕστι, διὰ τὸ σπέρμα τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὃ γινώσκει ἐν τῇ φύσει ὅτι αἴτιον ἐστιν. Ἐπεὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν, οὐκ ἀν οὐδὲ 5  
 ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἔτι ποιεῖν καὶ ἐνεργεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φαύλων  
 δαιμόνων δυνατὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πῦρ τὸ τῆς κρίσεως κατελθὸν ἀνέδην πάντα διέκρινεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὁ κατακλυσμὸς μηδένα λιπὼν ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν μόνον σὸν τοῖς ἴδίοις παρ' ὑμῖν καλούμενον Νῶε, παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ Δευκαλίωνα, ἐξ οὗ πά-10  
 λιν οἱ τοσοῦτοι γεγόνασιν, ὃν οἱ μὲν φαῦλοι, οἱ δὲ σπουδαῖοι. Οὕτω γὰρ ὑμεῖς τὴν ἐκπύρωσίν φαμεν γενήσεσθαι,  
 ἀλλ' οὐχ, ὡς οἱ Στωϊκοί, κατὰ τὸν τῆς εἰς ἄλληλα πάντων  
 μεταβολῆς λόγον, ὃ αἰσχιστον ἐφάνη. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθ' είμαρμένην πράττειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἢ πάσχειν τὰ γινό-15  
 μενα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μὲν τὴν προαίρεσιν ἔκαστον κατορθοῦν ἢ ἀμαρτάνειν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων ἐνέργειαν

τοὺς σπουδαίους, οἵον Σωκράτην καὶ τοὺς ὄμοίους, διώκεσθαι καὶ ἐν δεσμοῖς εἶναι, Σαρδανάπαλον δὲ καὶ Ἐπίκουρον καὶ τοὺς ὄμοίους ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ δυκεῖν εὐδαιμονεῖν. “Ο μὴ νοήσαντες οἱ Στωϊκοὶ καθ’ είμαρμένης ἀνάγκην πάντα γίνεσθαι ἀπεφίναντο. Ἐλλ’ ὅτι αὐτεξούσιον τό τε τῶν ἀγγέλων γένος καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός, δικαίως ὑπὲρ ὃν ἂν πλημμελήσωσι τὴν 25 τιμωρίαν ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ κομίσονται. Γεννητοῦ δὲ παντὸς ἥδε ἡ φύσις, κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς δεκτικὸν εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἀνῆν ἐπαινετὸν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν, εἰ οὐκ ἦν ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα τρέπεσθαι καὶ δύναμιν εῖχε. Δεικνύουσι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ πανταχοῦ κατὰ λόγον τὸν ὄρθιὸν νομοθετήσαντες καὶ φιλοσοφήσαντες 30 ἀνθρώποι ἐκ τοῦ ὑπαγορεύειν τάδε μὲν πράττειν, τῶνδε δὲ ἀπέχεσθαι. Καὶ οἱ Στωϊκοὶ φιλόσοφοι ἐν τῷ περὶ ἡζῶν λόγῳ τὰ αὐτὰ τιμῶσι καρτερῶς, ὡς δηλοῦσθαι ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ ὑσωμάτων λόγῳ οὐκ εὐοδοῦν αὐτούς. Εἴτε γὰρ καθ’ είμαρμένην φήσουσι τὰ γινόμενα πρὸς ἀνθρώπων 35 γίνεσθαι, ἢ μηδὲν εἶναι Θεὸν παρὰ τρεπόμενα καὶ ἀλλοιούμενα καὶ ἀναλυόμενα εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ ἀεί, ἢ φαρτῶν μόνων φανήσονται κατάληψιν ἐσχηκέναι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Θεὸν διά τε τῶν μερῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὄλου ἐν πάσῃ κακίᾳ γινόμενον, ἢ μηδὲν εἶναι κακίαν μηδὲ ἀρετήν, ὅπερ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν σώ- 40 φροντα ἔννοιαν καὶ λόγον καὶ νοῦν ἐστι.

- 8. Καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Στωϊκῶν δὲ δογμάτων, ἐπειδὴ καν-
- The world τὸν ἡζικὸν λόγον κόσμοι γεγόνασιν, ὡς καὶ ἐν  
hates the bear-  
ers of the seed. τισιν οἱ ποιηταὶ διὰ τὸ ἔμφυτον παντὶ γένει ἀν-
- θρώπων σπέρμα τοῦ λόγου, μεμισῆσθαι καὶ πεφονεῦσθαι  
5 οἴδαμεν. Ἡράκλειτον μέν, ὡς προέφημεν, καὶ Μουσώνιον  
δὲ ἐν τοῖς καθ’ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἄλλους οἴδαμεν. Ως γὰρ ἐσημά-

ναμεν, πάντας τοὺς καὶ οὐ πωσδήποτε κατὰ λόγον βιοῦν σπουδάζοντας καὶ κακίαν φεύγειν μισεῖσθαι ἀεὶ ἐνύργησαν οἱ δαίμονες. Οὐδὲν δὲ θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὸν οὐ κατὰ σπερματικὸν λόγου μέρος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς λόγου, ὅ 10 ἐστι Χριστοῦ, γνῶσιν καὶ θεωρίαν πολὺ μᾶλλον μισεῖσθαι οἱ δαίμονες ἐλεγχόμενοι ἐνεργοῦσιν· οἵ τὴν ἀξίαν κόλασιν καὶ τιμωρίαν κομίσονται ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ ἐγκλεισθέντες. Εἰ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἥδη διὰ τοῦ ὄντος Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡττῶνται, δίδαγμά ἐστι τῆς καὶ μελλούσης αὐτοῖς καὶ 15 τοῖς λατρεύουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐσομένης ἐν πυρὶ αἰωνίῳ κολάσεως. Οὕτως γὰρ καὶ οἱ προφῆται πάντες προεκήρυξαν γενήσεθαι, καὶ Ιησοῦς ὁ ἡμέτερος διδάσκαλος ἐδίδαξε.

9. *"Ina δὲ μή τις εἴπῃ τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν νομιζομένων φιλοσόφων, ὅτι κόμποι καὶ φόβητρά ἐστι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅτι κολάζονται ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ οἱ ἄδικοι, καὶ διὰ φόβου ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὸ καλὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀρεστὸν ἐναρέτως βιοῦν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀξιοῦμεν, 5 βραχυεπῶς πρὸς τοῦτο ἀποκρινοῦμαι, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν, οὔτε ἐστὶ θεός, ἢ εἰ ἐστιν, οὐ μέλει αὐτῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀρετὴ οὐδὲ κακία, καί, ὡς προέφημεν, ἄδικως τιμωροῦσιν οἱ νομοθέται τοὺς παραβαίνοντας τὰ διατεταγμένα καλά. Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄδικοι ἔκεινοι καὶ ὁ αὐτῶν 10 πατὴρ τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ πράττειν διὰ τοῦ λόγου διδάσκων, οἱ τούτοις συντιθέμενοι οὐκ ἄδικοι. Ἐὰν δέ τις τοὺς διαφόρους νόμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων προβάληται, λέγων ὅτι παρ' οἷς μὲν ἀνθρώποις τάδε καλά, τὰ δὲ αἰσχρὰ νενόμισται, παρ' ἄλλοις δὲ τὰ παρ' ἔκεινοις αἰσχρὰ καλά, καὶ τὰ καλὰ 15 αἰσχρὰ νομίζεται, ἀκούετω καὶ τῶν εἰς τοῦτο λεγομένων. Καὶ νόμους διατάξασθαι τῇ ἑαυτῶν κακίᾳ ὅμοίους τοὺς*

Eternal punishment a necessity of God's existence.

πονηροὺς ἀγγέλους ἐπιστάμεθα, οἵς χαίρουσιν οἱ ὄμοιοι γενύμενοι ἀνδρῶποι, καὶ ὁρῆντος λόγος παρελθὼν οὐ πάσας 20 δύξας οὐδὲ πάντα δόγματα καλὰ ἀποδείκνυσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν φαῦλα, τὰ δὲ ἀγαθά· ὥστε μοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ ὄμοια εἰρήσεται, καὶ λεχθήσεται διὰ πλειόνων ἐὰν χρεία ᾖ. Τανῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον ἀνέρχομαι.

10. Μεγαλειότερα μὲν οὖν πάσης ἀνδρωπείου διδασκαλίας λίας φαίνεται τὰ ἡμέτερα διὰ τὸ λογικὸν τὸ ὅλον τὸν φανέντα δι' ἡμᾶς Χριστὸν γεγονέναι, καὶ σῶμα καὶ λόγον καὶ ψυχήν. "Οσα γὰρ καλῶς ἀεὶ 5 ἐφθέγξαντο καὶ εὗρον οἱ φιλοσοφήσαντες ἵνα νομοθετήσαντες, κατὰ λόγου μέρος εὑρέσεως καὶ θεωρίας ἐστὶ πονηθέντα αὐτοῖς. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ πάντα τὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐγνώρισαν, ὃς ἐστι Χριστός, καὶ ἐναντία ἔαντοῖς πολλάκις εἶπον. Καὶ οἱ προγεγενημένοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἀνδρώπινον, λόγῳ 10 πειραθέντες τὰ πράγματα θεωρῆσαι καὶ ἐλέγξαι, ὡς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ περίεργοι εἰς δικαστήρια ἤχθησαν. Ὁ πάντων δὲ αὐτῶν εὐτονώτερος πρὸς τοῦτο γενύμενος Σωκράτης τὰ αὐτὰ ἡμῖν ἐνεκλήθη· καὶ γὰρ ἔφασαν αὐτὸν καὶνὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρειν, καὶ οὓς ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς μὴ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτόν. 15 Ὁ δὲ δαιμονας μὲν τοὺς φαύλους καὶ τοὺς πράξαντας ἄνθρακας ποιηταί, ἐκβαλὼν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ "Ομηρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητάς, παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνδρῶπους ἐδίδαξε, πρὸς θεοῦ δέ, τοῦ ἀγνώστου αὐτοῖς, διὰ λόγου ζητήσεως ἐπίγνωσιν προύτρέπετο εἰπών· Τὸν δὲ πατέρα καὶ 20 δημιουργὸν πάντων οὐδὲν εὑρεῖν ράδιον οὐδὲν εύροντα εἰς πάντας εἰπεῖν ἀσφαλές. "Α δὲ ἡμέτερος Χριστὸς διὰ τῆς ἔαντοῦ δυνάμεως ἔπραξε. Σωκράτει μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐπείσθη

ύπερ τούτου τοῦ δόγματος ἀποθνήσκειν, Χριστῷ δέ, τῷ καὶ ὑπὸ Σωκράτους ἀπὸ μέρους γνωσθέντι (λόγος γάρ ἦν καὶ ἔστιν ὁ ἐν παντὶ ὅν, καὶ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν προειπὼν τὰ<sup>25</sup> μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι καὶ δι’ ἑαυτοῦ δμοιοπαθοῦς γενομένου καὶ διδάξαντος ταῦτα), οὐ φιλόσοφοι οὐδὲ φιλόλογοι μόνον ἐπείσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειροτέχναι καὶ παντελῶς ἴδιῶται καὶ δόξης καὶ φύβου καὶ θανάτου καταφρονήσαντες· ἐπειδὴ δύναμίς ἔστι τοῦ ἀρρήτου πατρὸς καὶ οὐχὶ ἀνθρωπείου<sup>30</sup> λόγου κατασκευή.

11. Οὐκ ἀν δὲ οὐδὲ ἐφονευόμεθα οὐδὲ δυνατώτεροι ἡμῶν  
How Christians<sup>31</sup> ἦσαν οἵ τε ἄδικοι ἀνθρωποι καὶ δαιμονες, εἰ μὴ  
regard death. πάντως παντὶ γεννωμένῳ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ θα-  
νεῖν ὠφείλετο· ὅτεν καὶ τὸ ὄφλημα ἀποδιδύντες εὐχα-  
ριστοῦμεν. Καίτοι γε καὶ τὸ Ξενοφῶντειον ἐκεῖνο νῦν<sup>5</sup> 5  
πρός τε Κρίσκεντα καὶ τοὺς δμοίως αὐτῷ ἀφραίνοντας  
καλὸν καὶ εὔκαιρον εἰπεῖν ἥγούμεθα. Τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐπὶ  
τρίοδόν τινα ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν βαδίζοντα εὑρεῖν τίν τε Ἀρε-  
τὴν καὶ τὴν Κακίαν, ἐν γυναικῶν μορφαῖς φαινομένας. Καὶ  
τὴν μὲν Κακίαν, ἀβρᾶ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐρωτοπεποιημένῳ καὶ<sup>10</sup>  
ἀνθοῦντι ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων προσώπῳ, θελκτικήν τε εὐθὺς  
πρὸς τὰς ὄψεις οὖσαν, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ὅτι, ἦν  
αὐτῇ ἔπηται, ἡδόμενόν τε καὶ κεκοσμημένον τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ  
καὶ δμοίῳ τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν κόσμῳ διαιτήσειν ἀεὶ ποιήσει.  
Καὶ τὴν Ἀρετὴν ἐν αὐχμηρῷ μὲν τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ τῇ περι-<sup>15</sup>  
βολῇ οὖσαν εἰπεῖν· Ἀλλ’ ἦν ἐμοὶ πείθη, οὐ κόσμῳ οὐδὲ  
κάλλει τῷ ρέοντι καὶ φειρομένῳ ἑαυτὸν κοσμήσεις, ἀλλὰ  
τοῖς ἄιδίοις καὶ καλοῖς κόσμοις. Καὶ πάντα διτινοῦν πε-  
πείσμεθα φεύγοντα τὰ δοκοῦντα καλά, τὰ δὲ νομιζόμενα  
σκληρὰ καὶ ἄλογα μετερχόμενον εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκδέχεσθαι.<sup>20</sup>

‘Η γὰρ κακία, πρόβλημα ἑαυτῆς τῶν πράξεων τὰ προσύντα τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ ὄντως ὄντα καλὰ διὰ μηδέσεως φάσαρτῶν περιβαλλομένη (ἄφθαρτον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔχει οὐδὲ ποιῆσαι δύναται), δουλαγωγεῖ τοὺς χαμαιπετεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὰ 25 προσύντα αὐτῇ φαῦλα τῇ ἀρετῇ περιθεῖσα. Οἱ δὲ νευοηκότες τὰ προσύντα τῷ ὄντι καλὰ καὶ ἄφθαρτοι τῇ ἀρετῇ· ὃ καὶ περὶ Χριστιανῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄζλου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τοιαῦτα πραξάντων, ὅποια ἔφασαν οἱ ποιηταὶ περὶ τῶν νομιζομένων θεῶν, ὑπολαβεῖν δεῖ πάντα 30 νουνεχῆ, ἐκ τοῦ καὶ τοῦ φευκτοῦ καταφρονεῖν ἡμᾶς θανάτου λογισμὸν ἔλκοντα.

**12. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγώ, τοῖς Πλάτωνος χαίρων διδάγμα-**  
Innocence of Christians proved by their contempt of death. **σι, διαβαλλομένους ἀκούων Χριστιανούς,**  
**ορῶν δὲ ἀφόβους πρὸς θάνατον καὶ πάντα**  
**τὰ ἄλλα νομιζόμενα φοβερά, ἐνενόουν ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἐν**  
**5 κακίᾳ καὶ φιληδονίᾳ ὑπάρχειν αὐτούς. Τίς γὰρ φιλήδονος**  
**ἢ ἀκρατῆς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων σαρκῶν βορὰν ἀγαθὸν ἡγούμενος**  
**δύναιτ’ ἀν θάνατον ἀσπάζεσθαι, ὥπως τῶν αὐτοῦ**  
**ἀγαθῶν στερηθῆ, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκ παντὸς ζῆν μὲν ἀεὶ τὴν ἐν-**  
**θάδε βιοτὴν καὶ λανθάνειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπειρᾶτο, οὐχ**  
**10 ὅτι γε ἑαυτὸν κατήγγελλε φονευθησόμενον; ”Ηδη καὶ τοῦτο**  
**ἐνήργησαν οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες διά τινων πονηρῶν ἀνθρώ-**  
**πων πραχθῆναι. Φονεύοντες γάρ αὐτοί τινας ἐπὶ συκο-**  
**φαντίᾳ τῇ εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ εἰς βασάνους εἴλκυσαν οἰκέτας τῶν**  
**ἡμετέρων ἢ παῖδας ἢ γύναια, καὶ δι’ αἰκισμῶν φοβερῶν**  
**15 ἔξαναγκάζουσι κατειπεῖν ταῦτα τὰ μυθολογούμενα, ἢ αὐτοὶ**  
**φανερῶς πράττουσιν· ὃν ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲν πρόσεστιν ἡμῖν, οὐ**  
**φροντίζομεν, θεὸν τὸν ἀγέννητον καὶ ἄρρητον μάρτυρα**  
**ἔχοντες τῶν τε λογισμῶν καὶ τῶν πράξεων. Τίνος γάρ**

χάριν οὐχὶ καὶ ταῦτα δημοσίᾳ ὥμολογοῦμεν ἀγαθὰ καὶ φιλοσοφίαν θείαν αὐτὰ ἀπεδείκνυμεν, φάσκοντες Κρόνου 20 μὲν μυστήρια τελεῖν ἐν τῷ ἀνδροφονεῖν, καὶ ἐν τῷ αἴματος ἐμπίπλασθαι, ὡς λέγεται, τὰ ἵσα τῷ παρ' ὑμῖν τιμωμένῳ εἰδώλῳ, ὃ οὐ μόνον ἀλόγων ζώων αἷματα προσφράίνετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπεια, διὰ τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐπισημοτάτου καὶ εὐγενεστάτου ἀνδρὸς τὴν πρόσχυσιν τοῦ τῶν φουευθέντων 25 αἵματος ποιούμενοι, Διὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν μιμηταὶ γινόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἀνδροβιθατεῖν 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 πείνομεν, ὡς καὶ 30 νῦν διὰ τῶνδε τῶν λόγων ἡγωνίσμεθα, ποικίλως πολεμούμεθα· ἀλλ' οὐ φροντίζομεν, ἐπεὶ θεὸν τῶν πάντων ἐπόπτην δίκαιον οἴδαμεν. Εἴθε καὶ νῦν τις ἐν τραγικῇ φωνῇ ἀνεβόησεν ἐπί τι βῆμα ὑψηλὸν ἀναβάς· Αἰδέσθητε, αἰδέσθητε ἂ φανερῶς πράττετε εἰς ἀναιτίους ἀναφέροντες, καὶ τὰ 35 προσόντα καὶ ἔαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις θεοῖς περιβάλλοντες τούτοις· ὃν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ποσὸν μετουσία ἔστι. Μετάθεσθε, σωφρονίσθητε.

13. Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ μαθὼν περιβλῆμα πονηρὸν εἰς ἀπο-

The Word has  
been in all  
men.

5

ὑπὸ τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων τοῖς Χριστιανῶν θείοις διδάγμασι, καὶ ψευδολογοῦμένων ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ περιβλήματος κατεγέλασα καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξης. Χριστιανὸς εὑρεθῆναι καὶ εὐχόμενος καὶ παμμάχως ἀγωνιζόμενος ὅμολογῷ οὐχ ὅτι ἀλλότριά ἔστι τὰ Πλάτωνος διδάγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι πάντῃ ὅμοια, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, Στωϊκῶν τε καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ

F

10 συγγραφέων. "Εκαστος γάρ τις ἀπὸ μέρους τοῦ σπερματικοῦ θείου λόγου τὸ συγγενὲς ὄρῶν καλῶς ἐφθέγξατο· οἱ δὲ τάναντία αὐτοῖς ἐν κυριωτέροις εἰρηκύτες οὐκ ἐπιστήμην τὴν ἄπτωτον καὶ γνῶσιν τὴν ἀνέλεγκτον φαίνονται ἐσχηκέναι. "Οσα οὖν παρὰ πᾶσι καλῶς εἴρηται, ήμῶν τῶν 15 Χριστιανῶν ἔστι· τὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἀγεννήτου καὶ ἀρρήτου θεοῦ λόγου μετὰ τὸν θεὸν προσκυνοῦμεν καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ δὶ' ήμᾶς ἀνθρωπος γέγονεν, ὅπως καὶ τῶν παθῶν τῶν ήμετέρων συμμέτοχος γενόμενος καὶ ἴασιν ποιήσηται. Οἱ γάρ συγγραφεῖς πάντες διὰ τῆς ἐνούσης ἐμφύτου τοῦ λόγου σπορᾶς ἀμυδρῶς ἐδύναντο ὄρᾶν τὰ ὄντα.  
 "Ἐτερον γάρ ἔστι σπέρμα τινὸς καὶ μίμημα κατὰ δύναμιν δοθὲν καὶ ἔτερον αὐτὸ οὖν κατὰ χάριν τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἡ μετουσία καὶ μίμησις γίνεται.

14. Καὶ ίμᾶς οὖν ἀξιοῦμεν ὑπογράψαντας τὸ ίμῖν δοκοῦν Justin prays that προθεῖναι τουτὶ τὸ βιβλίδιον, ὅπως καὶ τοῖς this appeal be published. ἄλλοις τὰ ήμέτερα γνωσθῆ 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 ήμῶν, οὓς οὐκ ἐπίστανται τοιαῦτα ὁποῖα λέγουσιν αἰσχρὰ καταψηφίζομένους, καὶ διὰ τὸ χαίρειν τοιαῦτα 10 πράξασι θεοῖς καὶ ἔτι τινα ἀπαιτοῦσι παρὰ ἀνθρώπων τὰ ὅμοια, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ καὶ ίμῖν, ὡς τοιαῦτα πράττουσι, θάνατον ἢ δεσμὰ ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον προστιμᾶν ἑαυτοὺς κατακρίνειν, ὡς μὴ δέεσθαι ἄλλων δικαστῶν.

15. Καὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ἔθνει ἀσεβοῦς καὶ πλάνου Σιμωνιανοῦ διδάγματος κατεφρόνησα. Ἐὰν δὲ ίμεῖς τοῦτο προ-

Conclusion. γράψητε, ἡμεῖς τοῖς πᾶσι φανερὸν ἀν ποιήσαιμεν,  
 ἵνα εἰ δύναιντο μεταθῶνται τούτου γε μόνου  
 χάριν τούσδε τοὺς λόγους συνετάξαμεν. Οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἡμῶν 5  
 τὰ διδάγματα κατὰ κρίσιν σώφρονα αἰσχρά, ἀλλὰ πάσης  
 μὲν φιλοσοφίας ἀνθρωπείου ὑπέρτερα· εἰ δὲ μή, καν Σω-  
 ταδείοις καὶ Φιλαινιδείοις καὶ Ἀρχεστρατείοις καὶ Ἐπι-  
 κουρείοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τοιούτοις ποιητικοῖς διδάγμα-  
 σιν οὐχ ὅμοια, οἵς ἐντυγχάνειν πᾶσι, καὶ λεγομένοις καὶ γε-<sup>10</sup> 10  
 γραμμένοις, συγκεχώρηται. Καὶ παυσόμενα λοιπόν, ὅσον  
 ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἦν πράξαντες καὶ προσεπενξάμενοι τῆς ἀληθείας  
 καταξιωθῆναι τοὺς πάντη πάντας ἀνθρώπους. Εἴη οὖν καὶ  
 ὑμᾶς ἀξίως εὐσεβείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας τὰ δίκαια ὑπὲρ ἔαυ-  
 τῶν κρῖναι.



# ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΓΝΗΤΟΝ.

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1. Ἐπειδὴ δρῶ, κράτιστε Διόγνητε, ὑπερεσπουδακότα σε  
Introduction. τὴν θεοσέβειαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθεῖν καὶ  
The questions πάνυ σαφῶς καὶ ἐπιμελῶς πυνθανόμενον περὶ  
of Diognetus. αὐτῶν, τίνι τε θεῷ πεποιθότες καὶ πῶς θρησκεύοντες αὐ-  
τόν, τόν τε κύσμον ὑπερορῶσι πάντες καὶ θανάτου κατα- 5  
φρονοῦσι, καὶ οὕτε τοὺς νομιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
θεοὺς λογίζονται οὕτε τὴν Ἰουδαίων δεισιδαιμονίαν φυλάσ-  
σονται, καὶ τίνα τὴν φιλοστοργίαν ἔχουσι πρὸς ἄλλήλους,  
καὶ τί δῆ ποτε καινὸν τοῦτο γένος ἢ ἐπιτήδευμα εἰσῆλθεν  
εἰς τὸν βίον νῦν καὶ οὐ πρότερον, ἀποδέχομαι τε τῆς προ- 10  
θυμίας σε ταύτης, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ  
τὸ ἀκούειν ἡμῖν χορηγοῦντος, αὐτοῦμαι δοθῆναι ἐμοὶ μὲν  
εἰπεῖν οὕτως ὡς μάλιστα ἀν ἀκούσαντά σε βελτίω γενέ-  
σθαι, σοὶ δὲ οὕτως ἀκοῦσαι ὡς μὴ λυπηθῆναι τὸν εἰπόντα.

2. Ἀγε δὴ καθάρας σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προκατε-  
The heathen χόντων σου τὴν διάνοιαν λογισμῶν, καὶ τὴν  
world: the van-  
ity of its idols. ἀπατῶσάν σε συνήθειαν ἀποσκευασάμενος, καὶ  
γενόμενος ὕσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, ὡς ἀν καὶ  
λόγου καινοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡμολόγησας, ἀκροατὴς 5  
ἐσόμενος, ἵδε μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὁφθαλμοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ φρο-  
νήσει τίνος ὑποστάσεως ἢ τίνος εἴδους τυγχάνουσιν οὓς

έρειτε καὶ νομίζετε θεούς. Οὐχ ὁ μέν τις λίθος ἐστὶν ὅμοιος τῷ πατουμένῳ, ὁ δὲ ἐστὶ χαλκὸς οὐ κρείσσων τῶν 10 εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν ἡμῖν κεχαλκευμένων σκευῶν, ὁ δὲ ξύλον ἥδη καὶ σεσηπός, ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος χρῆζων ἀνθρώπου τοῦ φυλάξοντος ἵνα μὴ κλαπῇ, ὁ δὲ σίδηρος ὑπὸ ιοῦ διεφθαρμένος, ὁ δὲ ὄστρακον οὐδὲν τοῦ κατεσκευασμένου πρὸς τὴν ἀτιμοτάτην ὑπηρεσίαν εὐπρεπέστερον; Οὐ φαρτῆς ὕλης 15 ταῦτα πάντα; Οὐχ ὑπὸ σιδήρου καὶ πυρὸς κεχαλκευμένα; Οὐχ ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν λιθοξόος, ὁ δὲ χαλκεύς, ὁ δὲ ἄργυροκόπος, ὁ δὲ κεραμεὺς ἔπλασεν; Οὐ πρὶν ἢ ταῖς τέχναις τούτων εἰς τὴν μορφὴν τούτων ἐκτυπωθῆναι ἦν ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ, ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν, μεταμεμορφωμένον; Οὐ τὰ νῦν 20 ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης ὅντα σκεύη γένοιτ' ἄν, εἰ τύχοι τῶν αὐτῶν τεχνιτῶν, ὅμοια τοιούτοις; Οὐ ταῦτα πάλιν τὰ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν προσκυνούμενα δύναιτ' ἄν 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, τούτοις δουλεύετε, τούτοις προσκυνεῖτε· τέλεον δ' αὐτοῖς ἔξομοιοῦσθε. Διὰ τοῦτο μαστίτε Χριστιανοὺς ὅτι τούτους οὐχ ἡγοῦνται θεούς. Ύμεῖς γάρ, σί νῦν νομίζοντες καὶ οἰόμενοι, οὐ πολὺ πλέον αὐτῶν καταφρονεῖτε; Οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον 30 αὐτοὺς χλευάζετε καὶ ὑβρίζετε, τοὺς μὲν λιθίνους καὶ ὄστρακίνους σέβοντες ἀφυλάκτους, τοὺς δὲ ἄργυροὺς καὶ χρυσοὺς ἐγκλείοντες ταῖς νυξί, καὶ ταῖς ἡμέραις φύλακας παρακαλιστάντες, ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν; Αἵς δὲ δοκεῖτε τιμαῖς προσφέρειν, εἰ μὲν αἰσθάνονται, κολάζετε μᾶλλον αὐτούς· 35 εἰ δὲ ἀναισθητοῦσιν, ἐλέγχοντες αἴματι καὶ κνίσαις αὐτοὺς θρησκεύετε. Ταῦτ' ὑμῶν τις ὑπομεινάτω. Ταῦτα ἀνα-

σχέσθω τις ἔαυτῷ γενέσθαι. Ἐλλὰ ἀνθρωπος μὲν οὐδὲ εἰς ταύτης τῆς κολάσεως ἐκὼν ἀνέξεται, αἴσθησιν γὰρ ἔχει καὶ λογισμὸν· ὁ δὲ λίθος ἀνέχεται, ἀναισθητεῖ γάρ. Οὐκοῦν τὴν ἀναισθησίαν αὐτῶν ἐλέγχετε. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ 40 μὴ δεδουλῶσθαι Χριστιανοὺς τοιούτοις θεοῖς πολλὰ μὲν ἀν καὶ ἄλλα εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι· εἰ δέ τινι μὴ δοκοίη κἄν ταῦτα ἱκανά, περισσὸν ἥγοῦμαι καὶ τὸ πλείω λέγειν.

3. Ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἰουδαίοις θεοσε-  
The Jews: their βεῖν αὐτοὺς οἶμαί σε μάλιστα ποθεῖν ἀκοῦσαι.  
superstitious sacrifices. Ἰουδαῖοι τοίνυν, εἰ μὲν ἀπέχονται ταύτης τῆς προειρημένης λατρείας καὶ θεὸν ἔνα τῶν πάντων σέβεσθαι  
δεσπότην ἀξιοῦσι, φρονοῦσιν τὸν εἰ δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις 5 ὁμοιοτρόπως τὴν θρησκείαν προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ ταύτην,  
διαμαρτάνουσιν. Ἀγὰρ τοῖς ἀναισθήτοις καὶ κωφοῖς προσφέροντες οἱ Ἑλληνες ἀφροσύνης δεῖγμα παρέχουσι,  
ταῦθ' οὗτοι καθάπερ προσδεομένῳ τῷ θεῷ λογιζόμενοι πα-  
ρέχειν μωρίαν εἰκότως μᾶλλον ἥγοντ' ἄν, οὐ θεοσέβειαν. 10  
Οὐ γὰρ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν χορηγῶν ὃν προσδεύμεθα, οὐδενὸς ἀν αὐτὸς προσδέοιτο τούτων ὃν τοῖς οἰομένοις διδόναι πα-  
ρέχει αὐτός. Οἱ δέ γε θυσίας αὐτῷ δὲ ἅματος καὶ κνίσης 15 καὶ ὀλοκαυτωμάτων ἐπιτελεῖν οἰόμενοι, καὶ ταύταις ταῖς τιμαῖς αὐτὸν γεράρειν, οὐδέν μοι δοκοῦσι διαφέρειν τῶν εἰς τὰ κωφὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνδεικνυμένων φιλοτιμίαν, τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῆς τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνειν, τῷ γε δοκεῖν τινα παρέχειν τῷ μηδενὸς προσδεομένῳ.

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

νηστείας καὶ νουμηνίας εἰρωνείαν, καταγέλαστα καὶ οὐδε-  
5 νὸς ἄξια λόγου, οὐ νομίζω σε χρῆσιν παρ' ἐμοῦ μαθεῖν.  
Τό τε γὰρ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κτισθέντων εἰς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώ-  
πων ἂ μὲν ὡς καλῶς κτισθέντα παραδέχεσθαι, ἂ δὲ ὡς  
ἄχρηστα καὶ περισσά παραιτεῖσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἀθέμιστον;  
Τὸ δὲ καταψεύδεσθαι Θεοῦ, ὡς κωλύοντος ἐν τῇ τῶν συβ-  
10 βάτων ἡμέρᾳ καλόν τι ποιεῖν, πῶς οὐκ ἀσεβές; Τὸ δὲ καὶ  
τὴν μείωσιν τῆς σαρκὸς μαρτύριον ἐκλογῆς ἀλαζονεύεσθαι,  
ὡς διὰ τοῦτο ἔξαιρέτως 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, ἂς μὲν εἰς ἑορτάς,  
ἄς δὲ εἰς πένθη, τίς ἀν Θεοσεβείας καὶ οὐκ ἀφροσύ-  
νης πολὺ πλέον ἡγήσαιτο δεῖγμα; Τῆς μὲν οὖν κοινῆς  
εἰκαύτητος καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων πολυπραγμοσύ-  
20 νης καὶ ἀλαζονείας ὡς ὀρῶνται Χριστιανοί,  
ἀρκούντως σε νομίζω μεμαθηκέναι· τὸ δὲ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῶν  
Θεοσεβείας μυστήριον μὴ προσδοκήσης δύνασθαι παρὰ  
ἀνθρώπου μαθεῖν.

5. Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ οὔτε γῇ οὔτε φωνῇ οὔτε ἔθεσι διακε-  
The Christians: κριμένοι τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων. Οὔτε  
their customs  
and condition. γάρ που πόλεις ἰδίας κατοικοῦσιν οὔτε δια-  
λέκτῳ τινὶ παρηλλαγμένῃ χρῶνται οὔτε βίον παράσημον  
5 ἀσκοῦσιν. Οὐ μὴν ἐπινοίᾳ τινὶ καὶ φροντίδι πολυπραγμό-  
νων ἀνθρώπων μάθημα τοιοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἐστιν εὑρημένον,  
οὐδὲ δόγματος ἀνθρωπίνου προεστᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι. Κα-  
τοικοῦντες δὲ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδαις τε καὶ βαρβάρους, ὡς  
ἔκαστος ἐκληρώθη, καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἔθεσιν ἀκολουθοῦν-

τες ἐν τε ἐσθῆτι καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ, θαυμαστὴν 10  
καὶ ὅμολογουμένως παράδοξον ἐνδείκνυνται τὴν κατάστα-  
σιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν πολιτείας. Πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίας, ἀλλ’  
ώς πάροικοι· μετέχουσι πάντων ὡς πολῖται, καὶ πάντες  
ὑπομένουσιν ὡς ξένοι· πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστιν αὐτῶν, καὶ  
πᾶσα πατρὶς 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· πειθόνται τοῖς ὥρισμένοις νόμοις,  
καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις νικῶσι τοὺς νόμους. Ἀγαπῶσι πάν- 20  
τας, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων διώκονται. Ἀγνοοῦνται, καὶ κατα-  
κρίνονται· θανατοῦνται, καὶ ζωοποιοῦνται. Πτωχεύουσι,  
καὶ πλούτιζουσι 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  
ἔχθρας εἰπεῖν οἱ μισοῦντες οὐκ ἔχουσιν. 30

6. Ἀπλῶς δὲ εἰπεῖν· ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν σώματι ψυχή, τοῦτο<sup>They are the soul of the world.</sup> εἰσὶν ἐν κόσμῳ Χριστιανοί. Ἔσπαρται κατὰ  
πάντων τῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν ἡ ψυχή· καὶ  
Χριστιανοὶ κατὰ τὰς τοῦ κόσμου τόλεις. Οἰκεῖ μὲν ἐν τῷ  
σώματι ψυχή, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ 5  
ἐν κόσμῳ οἰκοῦσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου. Ἀόρατος  
ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν ὄρατῷ φρουρεῖται τῷ σώματι· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ<sup>F 2</sup>  
γινώσκονται μὲν ὅντες ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὄρατος δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ

Θεοσέβεια μένει. Μισεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡ 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-  
 ρῷ τῷ κόσμῳ, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνέχουσι τὸν κόσμον. Ἀθάνατος  
 ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν θνητῷ σκηνώματι κατοικεῖ· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ πα-  
 ροικοῦσιν ἐν φθαρτοῖς, τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀφθαρσίαν προσδε-  
 χόμενοι. Κακουργούμενη σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς ἡ ψυχὴ βελ-  
 20 τιοῦται· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κολαζόμενοι καθ' ἡμέραν πλεονά-  
 ζουσι μᾶλλον. Εἰς τοιαύτην αὐτοὺς τάξιν ἔχετο ὁ Θεός,  
 ἦν οὐ θεμιτὸν αὐτοῖς παραιτήσασθαι.

7. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπίγειον, ὡς ἔφην, εὑρημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς παρε-  
 Their religion δόθη, οὐδὲ θνητὴν ἐπίνοιαν φυλάσσειν οὔτως  
not of man,  
but of God. ἀξιοῦσιν ἐπιμελῶς, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνων οἰκονο-  
 μίαν μυστηρίων πεπίστευνται. Ἄλλ' αὐτὸς ἀληθῶς ὁ  
 5 παντοκράτωρ καὶ παντοκτίστης καὶ ἀόρατος Θεός, αὐτὸς  
 ἀπ' οὐρανῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν ἄγιον καὶ  
 ἀπερινόητον ἀνθρώποις ἐνίδρυσε καὶ ἐγκατεστήριξε ταῖς  
 καρδίαις αὐτῶν· οὐ, καθάπερ ἂν τις εἰκάσειεν ἀνθρωπος,  
 ὑπηρέτην 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 ἰδίοις  
 ὅροις ἐνέκλεισεν, οὗ τὰ μυστήρια πιστῶς πάντα φυλάσσει  
 τὰ στοιχεῖα, παρ' οὗ τὰ μέτρα τῶν τῆς ἡμέρας δρόμων εἴλη-  
 15 φε φυλάσσειν ἥλιος, ὃ πειθαρχεῖ σελήνη ἐν νυκτὶ φαίνειν

κελεύοντι, φῶ πειθαρχεῖ τὰ ἄστρα τῷ τῆς σελήνης ἀκολουθοῦντα δρόμῳ, φῶ πάντα διατέτακται καὶ διώρισται καὶ ὑποτέτακται, οὐρανοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, θάλασσα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, πῦρ, ἀήρ, ἄβυσσος, τὰ ἐν ὕψεσι, τὰ ἐν βάθεσι, τὰ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ. Τοῦτον πρὸς αὐτὸὺς ἀπέστειλεν. Ἡ Αρά γε, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἀν τις λογίσαιτο, ἐπὶ τυραννίδι καὶ φόβῳ καὶ καταπλήξει; Οὐμενοῦν· ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ πραύτητι. Ὡς βασιλεὺς πέμπων νίὸν βασιλέα ἐπεμψεν, ὡς θεὸν ἐπεμψεν, ὡς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπεμψεν, ὡς σῶζων ἐπεμψεν, ὡς πείζων, οὐ βιαζόμενος· βίᾳ γὰρ οὐ πρόσεστι τῷ θεῷ. Ἐπεμψεν ως καλῶν, οὐ διώκων· ἐπεμψεν ως ἀγαπῶν, οὐ κρίνων. Πέμψει γὰρ αὐτὸν κρίνοντα· καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν ὑποστήσεται; . . . [Οὐ χρήστος] παραβαλλομένους θηρίοις, ἵνα ἀρνήσωνται τὸν κύριον, καὶ μὴ νικωμένους; Οὐχ όρας πλείους κολάζονται, τοσούτῳ πλεονάζοντας ἄλλους; Ταῦτα ἀνθρώπου οὐ δοκεῖ τὰ ἔργα, ταῦτα δύναμίς ἐστι θεοῦ· ταῦτα τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ δείγματα.

8. Τίς γὰρ ὅλως ἀνθρώπων ἡπίστατο τί ποτ' ἐστὶ θεός,  
 The wretched state of the world before the Son of God came. πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν; Ἡ τοὺς κενοὺς καὶ ληρώδεις ἐκείνων λόγους ἀποδέχῃ τῶν ἀξιοπίστων διεισέσθαι τούτων τοιχείων τῶν ἐκτισμένων ὑπὸ θεοῦ. Καίτοι γε, εἴ τις τούτων τῶν λόγων ἀποδεκτός ἐστι, δύναται ἀν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κτισμάτων ἐν ἔκαστον διοιώσεις ἀποφαίνεσθαι θεόν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τερατεία καὶ πλάνη τῶν γούτων ἐστίν. Ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐδεὶς οὔτε εἶδεν οὔτε ἐγνώρισεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐαυτὸν ἐπέδειξεν. Ἐπέδειξε δὲ

διὰ πίστεως, ἢ μόνη θεὸν ἰδεῖν συγκεχώρηται. Ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων θεός, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα καὶ κατὰ τάξιν διακρίνας, οὐ μόνον φιλάνθρωπος 15 ἐγένετο ἀλλὰ καὶ μακρόθυμος. Ἀλλ' οὗτος ἦν μὲν ἀεὶ τοιοῦτος καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται, χρηστὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀόργητος καὶ ἀληθῆς, καὶ μόνος ἀγαθός ἐστιν· ἐννοήσας δὲ μεγάλην καὶ ἄφραστον ἔννοιαν ἀνεκοινώσατο μόνῳ τῷ παιδί.  
 Ἐν ὅσῳ μὲν οὖν κατεῖχεν ἐν μυστηρίῳ καὶ διετήρει τὴν συ-  
 20 φὴν αὐτοῦ βουλήν, ἀμελεῖν ἡμῶν καὶ ἀφροντιστεῖν ἐδόκει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκάλυψε διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἐφανέρωσε τὰ ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἡτοιμασμένα, πάντα ἄμα παρέσχεν ἡμῖν, καὶ μετασχεῖν τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ νοῆσαι ἂ τίς ἀν πώποτε προσεδόκησεν ἡμῶν;

9. Πάντ' οὖν ἥδη παρ' ἑαυτῷ σὺν τῷ παιδὶ οἰκονομηκώς,  
 Reasons why μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦ πρόσθεν χρόνου εἴασεν ἡμᾶς  
 He came so late. ὡς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀτάκτοις φοραῖς φέρεσθαι, ἥδο-  
 ναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις ἀπαγομένους, οὐ πάντας ἐφηδόμενος  
 5 τοῖς ἀμαρτύμασιν 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 αν ἔργων ἀνάξιοι ζωῆς νῦν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστότητος  
 ἀξιωθῆμεν, καὶ τὸ κατ' ἑαυτοὺς φανερώσαντες ἀδύνατον  
 εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ  
 δυνατοὶ γενηθῶμεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πεπλήρωτο μὲν ἡ ἡμετέρα  
 ἀδικία, καὶ τελείως πεφανέρωτο ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς αὐτῆς κόλασις  
 καὶ θάνατος προσεδοκᾶτο, ἥλθε δὲ ὁ καιρὸς δν θεὸς προέθε-  
 15 το λοιπὸν φανερῶσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χρηστότητα καὶ δύναμιν (ὁ τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ),  
 οὐκ ἐμίσησεν ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ ἀπώσατο οὐδὲ ἐμνησικάκησεν, ἀλλὰ

έμακρονύμησεν, ἡνέσχετο, αὐτὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀμαρτίας ἀνεδέξατο, αὐτὸς τὸν ἴδιον νίὸν ἀπέδοτο λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τὸν ἄγιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνόμων, τὸν ἄκακον ὑπὲρ τῶν κακῶν, τὸν δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκων, τὸν ἄφθαρτον ὑπὲρ τῶν φθαρτῶν, τὸν ἀζάνατον ὑπὲρ τῶν θνητῶν. Τί γὰρ ἄλλο τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἡδυνήσῃ καλύψαι ἢ ἐκείνουν δικαιοσύνη; Ἐν τίνι δικαιωθῆναι δυνατὸν τοὺς ἀνόμους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἢ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ νίῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ; Ὡς τῆς γλυκείας ἀνταλλαγῆς, ὡς τῆς ἀνεξιχνιάστου δημιουργίας, ὡς τῶν ἀπροσδοκήτων 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 δεῖξας δυνατὸν σώζειν καὶ τὰ ἀδύνατα, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐβουλίδη πιστεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ χρηστότητι αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τροφέα, πατέρα, διδάσκαλον, σύμβουλον, ἰατρόν, νοῦν, φῶς, τιμήν, δόξαν, ἴσχύν, ζωήν, περὶ ἐνδύσεως καὶ τροφῆς μὴ μεριμνᾶν.

**10. Ταύτην καὶ σὺ τὴν πίστιν ἐὰν ποθήσῃς, καταλάβοις Conclusion. ἀν πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίγνωσιν πατρός. Ὁ γὰρ θεὸς Exhortation to Diognetus to become a Christian. τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡγάπησε, δι' οὓς ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον, οἵς ὑπέταξε πάντα τὰ ἐν [τῇ γῇ], οἵς λόγον ἔδωκεν, οἵς νοῦν, οἵς μόνοις ἦ[νω] πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄραν 5 ἐπέτρεψεν, οὓς ἐκ τῆς ἴδιας εἰκόνος ἐπλασε, πρὸς οὓς ἀπέστειλε τὸν νίὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, οἵς τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλείαν ἐπηγγείλατο καὶ δώσει τοῖς ἀγαπήσασιν αὐτόν. Ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ τίνος οἵει πληρωθήσεσθαι χαρᾶς; Ἡ πῶς ἀγαπήσεις τὸν οὗτως προαγαπήσαντά σε; Ἀγαπήσας δὲ 10 μιμητὴς ἐση αὐτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητος. Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃς**

εὶ δύναται μιμητὴς ἄνθρωπος γενέσθαι θεοῦ. Δύναται θέλοντος αὐτοῦ. Οὐ γὰρ τὸ καταδυναστεύειν τῶν πλησίον οὐδὲ τὸ πλέον ἔχειν βούλεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων 15 οὐδὲ τὸ πλουτεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐστιν, οὐδὲ ἐν τούτοις δύναται τις μιμήσασθαι θεόν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλειώτητος. Ἐάλλ' ὅστις τὸ τοῦ πλησίον ἀναδέχεται βάρος, ὃς ἐν τῷ κρείσσῳν ἐστίν ἔτερον τὸν ἐλαττούμενον εὐεργετεῖν ἐθέλει, ὃς ἂν παρὰ τοῦ 20 θεοῦ λαβὼν ἔχει, ταῦτα τοῖς ἐπιδεομένοις χορηγῶν θεὸς γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων, οὗτος μιμητὴς ἐστι θεοῦ. Τότε θεάσῃ τυγχάνων ἐπὶ γῆς ὅτι θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς πολιτεύεται, τότε μυστήρια θεοῦ λαλεῖν ἄρξῃ, τότε τοὺς κολαζομένους ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ θέλειν ἀρνήσασθαι θεὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσεις καὶ θαυ- 25 μάσεις, τότε τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ κύσμου καὶ τῆς πλάνης καταγνώσῃ, ὅταν τὸ ἀληθῶς ἐν οὐρανῷ ζῆν ἐπιγνῷς, ὅταν τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἐνθάδε θανάτου καταφρονήσῃς, ὅταν τὸν ὄντως θάνατον φοβηθῆς, ὃς φυλάσσεται τοῖς κατακριθησομένοις εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, ὃ τοὺς παραδοθέντας αὐτῷ μέχρι 30 τέλους κολάσει· τότε τοὺς ὑπομένοντας ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης θαυμάσεις τὸ πῦρ τὸ πρόσ[καιρον], καὶ μακαρίσεις, ὅταν ἐκεῖνο τὸ πῦρ ἐπιγνῷς. . . .

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

Addition by another hand.  
I speak with authority. I know whereof I affirm.

στόλων γενόμενος μαζητὴς γίνομαι διδάσκα-

λος ἐθνῶν, τὸ παραδοθέντα ἀξίως ὑπηρετῶ ν

γινομένοις ἀληθείας μαζηταῖς. Τίς γὰρ ὅρ-

5 θῶς διδαχθεῖς καὶ λόγῳ προσφιλῆς γενηθεῖς οὐκ ἐπι-

ζητεῖ σαφῶς μαζεῖν τὰ διὰ λόγου δειχθέντα φανερῶς μα-

Σηταῖς, οἵς ἐφανέρωσεν ὁ λόγος φανείς, παρρησίᾳ λαλῶν,  
ύπὸ ἀπίστων μὴ νοούμενος, μιθηταῖς δὲ διηγούμενος, οἵ  
πιστοὶ λογισθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἔγνωσαν πατρὸς μυστήρια;  
Οὗ χάριν ἀπέστειλε λόγον, ἵνα κόσμῳ φανῆ<sup>10</sup> δε, ὑπὸ λαοῦ  
ἀπιμασθείς, διὰ ἀποστόλων κηρυχθείς, ὑπὸ ἐπινῶν ἐπιστεύ-  
θη. Οὗτος ὁ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, ὁ καινὸς φανείς καὶ παλαιὸς  
εὑρεθείς καὶ πάντοτε νέος ἐν ἀγίων καρδίαις γεννώμενος.  
Οὗτος ὁ ἀεί, ὁ σήμερον νίνος λογισθείς, δι’ οὗ πλουτίζεται  
ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ χάρις ἀπλουμένη ἐν ἀγίοις πληθύνεται,<sup>15</sup>  
παρέχουσα νοῦν, φανεροῦσα μυστήρια, διαγγέλλουσα και-  
ρούς, χαίρουσα ἐπὶ πιστοῖς, ἐπιζητοῦσι δωρουμένη, οἵ  
ὅρκια πίστεως οὐ δραύεται οὐδὲ ὅρια πατέρων παρορίζε-  
ται. Εἴτα φόβος νόμου ἄδεται καὶ προφητῶν χάρις γινώ-  
σκεται καὶ εὐαγγελίων πίστις ἴδρυται καὶ ἀποστόλων<sup>20</sup>  
παράδοσις φυλάσσεται καὶ ἐκκλησίας χαρὰ σκιρτᾷ. Ἡν  
χάριν μὴ λυπῶν ἐπιγνώσῃ ἀλόγος ὄμιλεῖ, δι’ ᾧν βούλεται,  
ὅτε θέλει. Ὅσα γὰρ θελίματι τοῦ κελεύοντος λόγου ἐκι-  
νήθημεν ἐξειπεῖν μετὰ πόνου, ἐξ ἀγάπης τῶν ἀποκαλυφθέν-  
των ἡμῖν γινόμεθα ὑμῖν κοινωνοί.

25

12. Οἵς ἐντυχόντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰσεσθε  
Read and heark-      ὅσα παρέχει ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν δρῶσε,  
en, and you will      οἱ γενόμενοι παράδεισος τρυφῆς, πάγκαρπον  
learn.      ξύλον, εὐθαλοῦν, ἀνατείλαντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ποικίλοις καρ-  
ποῖς κεκοσμημένοι. Ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ ξύλον γνώ-<sup>5</sup>  
σεως καὶ ξύλον ζωῆς πεφύτευται· ἀλλ’ οὐ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως  
ἀναιρεῖ, ἀλλ’ ἡ παρακοὴ ἀναιρεῖ. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀσημα τὰ  
γεγραμμένα, ὡς θεὸς ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ξύλον γνώσεως καὶ ξύλον  
ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ παραδείσου ἐφύτευσε, διὰ γνώσεως ζωὴν  
ἐπιδεικνύς· ἢ μὴ καθαρῶς χρησάμενοι οἱ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς πλάνη<sup>10</sup>

τοῦ ὄφεως γεγύμνωνται. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ζωὴ ἄνευ γνώσεως,  
οὐδὲ γνῶσις ἀσφαλῆς ἄνευ ζωῆς ἀληθοῦς. Διὸ πλησίον  
ἐκάτερον πεφύτευται. Ἡν δύναμιν ἐνδὸν ὁ ἀπόστολος,  
τήν τε ἄνευ ἀληθείας προστάγματος εἰς ζωὴν ἀσκουμένην  
15 γνῶσιν μεμφόμενος, λέγει· Ἡ γνῶσις φυσιοῖ, οὐ δὲ ἀγάπη  
οἰκοδομεῖ. Ο γὰρ νομίζων εἰδέναι τι ἄνευ γνώσεως ἀλη-  
θοῦς καὶ μαρτυρουμένης ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς οὐκ ἔγνω· ὑπὸ τοῦ  
ὄφεως πλανᾶται, μὴ ἀγαπήσας τὸ ζῆν· οὐδὲ μετὰ φύβου  
ἐπιγνοὺς καὶ ζωὴν ἐπιζητῶν, ἐπ' ἐλπίδι φυτεύει, καρπὸν  
20 προσδοκῶν. Ἡτω σοι καρδία γνῶσις, ζωὴ δὲ λόγος ἀλη-  
θής, χωρούμενος. Οὐξύλον φέρων καὶ καρπὸν [αἱ]ρῶν  
τρυγήσεις ἀεὶ τὰ παρὰ θεῷ ποθούμενα, ᾧν ὄφις οὐχ ἀπτε-  
ται· οὐδὲ πλάνη συγχρωτίζεται Εὖα οὐδὲ φεύγεται, ἀλλὰ  
παρθένος πιστεύεται· καὶ σωτήριον δείκνυται, καὶ ἀπόστο-  
25 λοι συνετίζονται, καὶ τὸ κυρίου πάσχα προέρχεται, καὶ  
κηροὶ συνάγονται καὶ μετὰ κόσμου ἄρμόζονται, καὶ διδύ-  
σκων ἀγίους οὐ λόγος εὑφραίνεται, δι' οὗ πατὴρ δοξάζεται·  
ῳ η 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 Οὐγρισσίμῳ in c. 1, 2.

On the other hand, recent critics, Ueberweg, Cavedoni, Böhringer, 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

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.

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### ABBREVIATIONS.

A=First Apology.

B=Second Apology.

D. S.=Douglass Series.

E. ad D.=Epistula ad Diognetum.

L. H.=Latin Hymns (Douglass Series).

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**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*. ΠΡΟΤΕΡΑ would be more correct than ΠΡΩΤΗ.

### 1. ADDRESS.

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

**2. Σεβαστῷ**: A translation of *Augustus*. *Augustus* was originally a religious word, usually combined by Cicero with *sanctus*. Σεβαστῷ Εὐσεβεῖ is the more common order (Volkmar).—**Καίσαρι**: For Καίσαρι, καὶ Οὐηρ. Sylburg, Ritter, Cavedoni, and Ueberweg would read καὶ Καίσαρι Οὐ. (See p. 97.)—**Οὐηρισσίμῳ**: M. Aurelius Antoninus. His name was at first M. Annius Verus. Hadrian called him playfully Verissimus.

**3. Δουκίῳ**: 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.—**φιλοσόφῳ**: Surname common to the two princes. Eusebius, who cites this passage (H. E. 4, 12), reads φιλοσόφου to balance Εὐσεβοῦς; 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. ἐραστής:** "Ἐρως is passionate love (love of the sexes); hence ἐραστής is complimentary when the object is noble. Comp. ὁ ἐρως τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης καζαρότητος, Orig. c. Celsum, 1, 26. Justin himself is called by Euseb. H. E. 4, 8: γνήσιος τῆς ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας ἐραστής.—**ἱερᾶ . . . συγκλήτῳ:** *Senatus ordo ille sanctissimus*, Quint. Declam. 329, p. 669. *Iura magistratusque legunt sanctum que senatum*, [Verg.] Aen. 1, 426. Otto comp. Cic. Div. 1, 12, 20; Hor. Od. 4, 5, 3; Iuv. 11, 29.

**5. Ψωραίων:** 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. 31. 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 ἥδη ἔργον ἀποσκευάσαι ἡμῶν νόμῳ τὴν ἐπήρειαν*. Also 9, 36.

**7. Πρίσκου:** *Ιουστῖνος Πρίσκου* simply denotes the origin, ὁ Πρίσκου would serve to distinguish, as *τοῦ (vioῦ) Βακχείου* below.—**Φλαονῖτας 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.—**εἷς αὐτῶν ὅν:** We owe the ὅν 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.—**προσφάνησιν:** 'Address.' See c. 68, 12.

**9. ἐντευξίν:** In this sense of 'petition' (originally 'interview') the word is very common in later Greek.—**πεποίηματι:** Ποιεῖσθαι with abstracts is used in the same sense as the corresponding verb. So *ἐντευξίν ποιεῖσθαι=ἐντυγχάνειν*. 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. στέργειν :** So Plato, De Republ. 6, 485 C : *τὴν ἀλήθειαν στέργειν.* *Στοργή* is natural affection, explained by Athenag. Res. 12, 49 : *όλκῆ τινι φυσικῆ καὶ στοργῆ κινούμενος.* *Στέργειν* and *ἀγαπᾶν* are often used alike, whereas *φιλεῖν*—according to Bugge and Curtius (Studien, 6, 426), fr. SVA, *suis*, ‘own’—is more familiar, *ἐρᾶν* more passionate.—**ὑπαγορεύει :** Later writers are very fond of compounds of *ἀγορεύειν* in all the tenses. ‘Ὑπαγ. ‘dictate,’ literally; then figuratively, c. 12, 31.

**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.—**παλαιῶν :** 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 ή πλάνη, καινὸν δὲ ή 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. 555) to describe a bone of the Deinotherion : *δστοῦν παλαιὸν ἀρχαῖον ποτὲ θηρός.* Comp. Hebr. 8, 13.—**ἐξακολουθεῖν :** There is possibly a touch of servility in the compound. But comp. c. 10, 16.

**4. ἤν :** ‘Εάν (*ἴην*, *ἄν*) 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 *φαῦλος* is *σπουδαῖος*, e. g. in Athenagor. Res. 19, 92.—**μὴ ἔπεσθαι :** The regular negative of the infinitive as such, that is, as a verbal noun, is *μή*. Here it is an object.

**7. καν:** *Kai εἰ*, ‘even if,’ gives an extreme case; *εἰ καὶ*, ‘albeit,’ presents a proposition as a matter of indifference, but *εἰ καὶ* varies. *Καν=καὶ ξάν* is so common a formula that it is often used where *ἄν* is not wanted, and is often simply=*καὶ*.

**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:** *Ei* here is ‘whether’=‘whether or no,’ as often; *καὶ*, ‘actually,’ ‘really.’ *Ὑπάρχειν*, originally of a ‘basis,’ ‘something to fall back on,’ fades gradually after Demosthenes into a mere copulative verb.

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

**12. οὐδὲ πρὸς χάριν ὄμιλήσοντες:** Comp. Plat. Gorg. 521 A: *πρὸς χάριν ὄμιλήσοντα . . . κολακεύσοντα*. — **ἀπαιτήσοντες:** Notice the boldness in *ἀπ-*.

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

**14. προσεληλύθειμεν:** 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 ἀνθρωπαρεσκείᾳ:** *Πρόληψις* not in its philosophical sense, but=‘prejudice,’ *prae sumptio*, Tertull. Apol. 49 (p. 111 D. S.). Comp. *κατὰ κοινὴν πρόληψιν*, Athenag. Suppl. 5, 17; combined with *φιλονεκία*, Origin, c. Cels. 1, 52. ‘*Ανθρωπαρέσκεια*, not a classic word; comp. Eph. 6, 6; Col. 3, 22.

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

**16. καθ' ἔαυτῶν=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. πείσεσθαι 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. λελογίσμεθα**: 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 (*ώς*) with the ind., as in cc. 8, 1; 12, 41; 19, 14; or the participle, c. 40, 13.—**ἐλεγχώμεθα**: "Ελεγχός ἐστι προφορὰ ἀμαρτίας εἰς τὸ μέσον φέρουσα, Clem. Alex. Paedag. 1, 9, 78.

**19. διεγνώσμεθα**: The combination of *ἴν* with subj. and ind. is rare. *Ei* must be understood with the ind. as *ἴαν* with the subj. in the combination *εἰ* w. ind. and subj.—**ἀποκτεῖναι**: The sentiment is found in Plato. Socrates says (Apol. 30 C): ἐμὲ μὲν γάρ οὐδὲν ἀν βλάψειν οὔτε Μέλητος οὔτε "Ανυτος· οὐδὲ γάρ ἀν δύνατο. The language, with its effective rhetorical position, is traditional. 'Ἐμὲ δὲ "Ανυτος καὶ Μέλητος ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν δύνανται, βλάψαι δὲ 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. δόξῃ**: *Δοκεῖν* more commonly means 'seem' than 'think'; the more usual construction would be, *μὴ ἀλογος φωνῇ δόξῃ τινὶ ταῦτα*.

**2. ἀξιοῦμεν**: 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 *ώς* 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.—**ἀποδεικνύωνται**: 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 *punitive* (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 πρέπων often. So μέλον ἔστι, c. 44, 39; ἔξον ἔστι, c. 66, 2. But comp. c. 19, 5.—**ἄλλον 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 ἄλλὰ καὶ ἡτις πικροτάτη καὶ ἀνηλεῖς τιμωρία ὑπέχειν ἀξιοῦμεν, an evident exaggeration of our passage. In his last edition Otto has accepted the conjecture of Bellios, ὡς πρέπον ἔστιν ἀλόντας (for τοὺς ἀλόντας) κολάζειν.

**5. εἰ . . . ἔχοι:** Eἰ with opt. in the protasis and the opt. and ἄν 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 ἄν. 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 ἔάν with the subj. as in the classic period, and occasional deviations are to be found in all stages.—**ἔχοι = δύναιτο.** No over-subtle distinction is to be made, as is shown by Xen. Oec. 1, 2, where ἔχομεν ἄν = δυναίμεθ' ἄν.

**6. φήμην:** Remember that to the Greeks φήμη was far more mysterious and potent than ‘rumor’ is to us.—**πονηράν:** Πονηρός = ὁ δραστικὸς τοῦ κακοῦ. II. is ‘troublesome,’ ‘mischievous,’ as φαῦλος is ‘worthless,’ ‘vile;’ used of persons or personified things. In Plato it is opposed to χρηστός, combined with ἀχρηστός, αἰσχρός.

**7. ἔαντούς = ὑμᾶς ἀντούς.** See c. 2, 16.—**οὐ οὐ κρίσει κτέ.:** 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

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, *ἄτην, πῆμα, νόσονς, αἰτίαν, δίκην καὶ κόλασιν 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 *πρόσκλησιν*, 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 ράδιως πιστεύειν διαβολῆ* (Lucian). Comp. Lat. gerundive, e. g. *de contemnenda morte*.—**εὐθύνην**=*εὐθυναν*, 'straightening of accounts,' hence 'account.'

**10. βίου καὶ λόγου**: Λόγον=μαθημάτων.—**ἄληπτον**=ἀνεπίληπτον, for which it is perhaps miswritten.—**παρέχειν**: The difference between *παρέχειν* (c. 4, 25) and *παρέχεσθαι* 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. Οὗτως**=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): *εἶπε τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης κτέ.* So Imit. Christ. 1, 13, 5: *Unde quidam* (=Ovidius) *dixit: Principiis obsta.*—**Ἄν μὴ οἱ ἄρχοντες κτέ.**: The sentiment is a rough approximation to Plato, De Rep. 5, 473 D: *ἐὰν μὴ η̄ οἱ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν η̄ 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:** “Ἐργον common, but not necessary.

**17. μαθημάτων=λόγου. — ἐπίσκεψιν:** ‘Inspection.’ — μήπως . . . δοφλήσωμεν: The MSS. have ὅπως ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγνοεῖν—αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς ὁφλήσωμεν. 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 ὡν on account of its position. For αὐτοῖς I read with Grabe αὐτοί. Otto now reads ὅπως μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐαυτοῖς. I doubt the correctness of the dative in the sense of εἰς w. acc. See Eur. Phoen. 763: πατὴρ δ’ ἐξ αὐτὸν ἀμαζίαν ὁφλισκάνει. Notice here that Justin never uses αὐτόν and the rest, but always ἐαυτόν. For Justin’s sense of responsibility, comp. Dial. c. Tr. 58: ἡς χάριτος καὶ πάντας κοινωνοὺς ἀμισθῶτὶ καὶ ἀφθόνως παρακαλῶ γίνεσθαι ὅπως μὴ καὶ τούτου χάριν κρίσιν ὁφλίσω.

**18. νομιζόντων:** ‘Think fit,’ just as οἴομαι = οἴομαι δεῖν. See Xen. Hell. 4, 7, 4 (with Breitenbach’s note); 5, 1, 15. So ἡγεῖται φέρειν, ‘thinks he must bear,’ Dial. c. T. 35.

**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: ὃ μὲν οὖν ἐμμελῶς ἡμῶν, ὃ δὲ πλημμελῶς ἐν τούτοις πᾶσι κινεῖται.—τυφλώττοντες: Not earlier than Polybius; used chiefly in a metaphorical sense. Comp. Fr. aveugler and aveuglement (different fr. cécité).—ὁφλήσωμεν: Rare and chiefly late 1 aor. of ὁφλισκάνω.

**20. αἱρεῖ λόγος:** A common classical phrase: *ratio evincit.* Comp. the use of *aiρεῖν* in the courts.

**21. Ἀναπολόγητον:** Διὸ ἀναπολόγητος εῖ, ὡς 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 δίκαια ποιῆσαι.—πρὸς θεόν: ‘Against

God.' Πρός on account of the ἀπολογεῖσθαι in ἀναπολόγητον. 'In the sight of' would be πρὸς θεοῦ.

#### 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 δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ οὐ πονηρὸν οὔτε χρηστὸν νομίζεται.—**ἄνευ:** 'Without,' is the strict negation of union, χωρίς is rather 'apart from,' 'irrespective of,' but it seems impossible to make a sharp distinction.

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

**3. ἐπει:** 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*.—**κατηγορουμένου:** 'Predicted,' 'applied.' Comp. 'category' and 'predicament.' See Athenag. Suppl. 5, 19, and especially 11, 47: *τι τὸ ὑποκείμενον καὶ τι 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. 3 (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 ὄμολογῶ εἶναι Χριστιανὸς καὶ φορῶ τὸ θεοφιλὲς ὄνομα τοῦτο ἐλπίζων εἶναι εὖχρηστος τῷ θεῷ. Of the various words for 'good,' *χρηστός* emphasizes 'kindness,' *bonté* (*bonitas*). The true etymology of *Χριστός* is given, B 6, 9.—**ὑπάρχομεν:** Quite colorless. See c. 1, 10.—**τοῦτο:** Anticipates the infinitive, as often.

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

**6. εἰ . . . εὑρισκόμεθα:** 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.—**διά τε . . . καὶ διά:** Normal position.

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

**8. ἀδικοῦντες:** *Εὑρίσκειν* is a verb of perception; hence the participle. See c. 3, 3.—**ἀγωνιᾶσαι:** 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 ἐλεγχομένους:** The generic (conditional) participle with the article regularly takes the neg. *μή*, 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 ἐννατόν=ἀδύνατον*.—**τῷ δίκῃ:** *Μετὰ δίκης* or *ἐν δίκῃ* is the rule; *δίκῃ*, Plato, Critias, 112 E; *τῷ δίκῃ*, Legg. 7, 808 E. Personification, ‘to justice,’ ‘at the hands of justice’ would be more vivid.—**δοφλήσητε:** C. 3, 19.

**10. οὐκ ἀν . . . γένοιτο:** The opt. with *ἀν* 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 *ἀν* 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 *ἀν* as it is of the Gr. future.

**11. ἢν μή τι:** ‘Unless something;’ *ἢν μηδέν*, ‘if nothing.’

**12. Καὶ γάρ:** *Kai* 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.—**ἐφ’ ὑμῶν:** *Ἐπί* with gen. often of tribunals. So *ἐπὶ δικαστῶν*.

Others wish to read *ἴξ ιμῶν*, i. e. the Pagans. Πάντας does not necessarily exclude the partitive: *τὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα ὑπάρχοντά ἰστι πᾶσι τῶν ἐν τάντῃ τῇ πόλει*, Plato, Legg. 6, 774 C.

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

**14. καίπερ . . . διφεύλετε:** *Καίπερ*, with a finite verb in the sense of *εἰ καὶ* or *καίτοι*, is very rare in the classic time. See c. 7, 7.

**18. μὴ εἶναι φήσας:** The neg. of the inf. after verbs of saying and thinking is regularly *οὐ*. Here the neg. may be explained by the conditional clause, but in this period the neg. *μή* 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 *μή*, and regularly when averment is meant (so verbs of swearing always, as *δημνύναι*). The later use of *ὅτι μή* in oratio obliqua is a part of the same development. See c. 24, 1.

**19. ὡς μηδὲν . . . ἔχοντες:** Regularly *οὐδέν*. ‘Ως 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. *οὐ*, except when the leading verb demands *μή*; 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. ‘Ως with the part. may be compared with the subjunctive of partial obliquity (e. g. *quod* w. subj.) in Latin. In this stage *μή* is often found without good reason, i. e. without a preceding imperative, inf., or the like.

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

**22. Ὡν τρόπον**: This adverbial acc. is common enough in classical Greek, very common in LXX. Justin uses it regularly instead of *οὕτως . . . ὡς*, 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 παραδίδοντα μὲν διδάσκειν, παραλαμβάνοντα δὲ μανθάνειν.* 1 Cor. 11, 23: *ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν.*—**Χριστοῦ**: Matt. 10, 33.

**24. μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι**: ‘Not to deny’ (him).—**παρακελεύονται**: ‘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.: *Illa ipsa obstinatio, quam exprobratis, magistra est.* However, the absolute use of *παρακελ.* 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).—**ἀφορμάς**: ‘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 νοὸς 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 πολλοὺς*

ἐπιγραφόμενον ψευδωνύμους θεούς, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐκ τῆς πόρης τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπιγράφεται πατέρας ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πατρός.

**31. τῶν παλαιῶν:** Depends on *οἱ δοξάσαντες* (Maran).

**32. ἀθεότητα:** Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 3, 12: *τρία ἐπιφημίζοντιν ἡμῖν ἐγκλήματα, ἀθεότητα, Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις.* Remember that the Christians were called *ἀθεοί*. The popular cry was *αἴρε τοὺς ἀθέους*. 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:** 'Aselγή' is a hard word to fix. Passow (Rost) observes that *ἀσελγής* is not used of women until the time of Plutarch and Lucian. 'Ασέλγεια, according to Gregory of Nazianz. Carm. 34, 57–8, is the opposite of *σωφροσύνη*. Calvin says (ad Gal. 5, 19): *Lascivia est tamquam instrumentum; nam qui petulanter ac dissolute se gerunt, illos Graeci vocant ἀσελγεῖς.*

**33. καταγγέλλοντι:** *Κατά* implies long-windedness, 'trumpet.'

**34. ἐκείνων:** The philosophers.—**πρὸς ὑμᾶν:** See c. 2, 17.

**35. εὐφώνως ὑβρίζοντι:** One of Justin's few telling phrases, copied by Theophil. ad Autolyc. 3, 30. Comp. also 3, 8: *εὐφωνότερον* ἔδουσι τὰς χαλεπὰς πράξεις, and 15. — **τούτους:** The gods. Depends on *ὑβρίζοντι*. Xenophanes had said hundreds of years before: *πάντα θεοῖς ἀνέθηκαν "Ομηρός Θ' Ἡσιοδός τε | ὅσσα παρ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὄνείδεα καὶ ψόγος ἔστιν.*

## 5. CHRISTIANS NO ATHEISTS.

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

**2. μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν:** The neg. *μηδέν* 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 = οὕτινες μὴ φροντίζετε.** The causal participle, like

the causal relative (c. 3, 6), has regularly *οὐ* 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. Εἰρήστεται:** This fut. perf. is often used of bold and final utterance, e. g. Eur. Ion, 760; Dem. 44, 4; Din. 1, 10. So also λελέξεται, 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 = ἐπιφανέντες.** See c. 1, 9.

**8. ως καταπλαγῆναι:** "Ωστε or ως (neg. *μή*) gives the tendency or adaptation to a result ('so as'), which is often conveniently translated 'so that' the proper rendering of ωστε (seldom ως) with the finite verb (neg. *οὐ*).—τοὺς οἱ: 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 ὄσα, Cohort. 2: τὸν ὄν. Add Clem. Alex. Protrept. 6, 70: τὸν ὄσοι, Paedag. 3, 8, 41: τῶν ὄσα, Origen, c. Cels. 1, 12: τῶν ὄσοι, and elsewhere; Euseb. H. E. 4, 16, 17: τὸν οἵ.

**9. μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι δαίμονας εἶναι φαύλους:** On *μή* see l. 4. 'Επιστασθαι 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 *εἰ* as a verb of thinking, and even in Attic it is not unfrequently found with acc. and inf. 'E. as *existimare* in Athenag. Suppl. 1, 1.

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

**15. ἐνήργησαν . . . ἀποκτείνατ:** '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. ως ἄθεον:** Sc. ὄντα.—καινὰ δαιμόνια: See Xen. Mem. 1, 1; Plat. Apol. 24 B and B 10.

**17. ἐφ' ήμάν:** As above, l. 1.

**18. ἐν:** Due to Otto.—ὑπὸ λόγου ἡλέγχθη ταῦτα: See Introd.

**19. βαρβάροις:** 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, 30. 35. 42. Comp. Origen, c. Cels. 1, 2.

**22. μὴ ὁρθῶς θεούς:** The MSS. have ὁρθούς, which Otto (after

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

**23. ἀνοσίους:** "Οσιος, in the absence of a satisfactory etymology, is hard to determine. See the commentators on Plato's Euthyphron (ἢ περὶ ὁσίου), where Jowett's 'piety' certainly seems nearer the mark than Grote's 'holiness.' "Οσιον θεράπευμα θεοῦ· ἀρεστὸν θεῷ, [Plat.] Deff. 414 A.; τὸ ὄσιον τὰ πρὸς θεὸν δίκαια καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν οἰκονομίαν μηνύει, Clem. Alex. Strom. 7, 12, 80.—ποθοῦσιν: Πόθος and ἴμερος are distinguished by Plato in a famous passage, Cratyl. 420 A.; πόθος, longing for the absent good (*desiderium*); ἴμερος, 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 ὕρεξις, ἔρως as δυσκάθεκτος πόθος. On the brachylogy, see c. 23, 5.

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

**1. Ἐνθένδε:** Otto now reads "Ἐνθεν δέ, an unnecessary change. Why make Justin any less Attic? "Ἐνθεν is regularly a relative.—καὶ ἄθεοι: *Kai* is often apparently superfluous for our idiom 'actually.'—**Καὶ δύολογοῦμεν:** *Kai* 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 ἄθεοι:** *Aθeos* takes the gen. as do other compounds of ἀν- (a privative). So ἀνεπιμίκτον with *κακίας*.

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

**5. ἐκεῖνον . . . 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 σέβειν χρὴ μόνον τὸν ταῦτα πεποιηκότα*. Add 5, 6. On the other hand, to make *τὸν στρατόν* depend on *διδάξαντα*, 'who taught us and the host of angels,' is sadly

strained. If the passage is to be emended, I would suggest  $\tau\circ\tilde{\nu}$   $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$   $\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu \dots \sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tilde{\tau}\circ\tilde{\nu}$   $\dot{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\gamma\circ\tilde{\nu}$ . The mass of similar words might have led to the dropping of  $\dot{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\gamma\circ\tilde{\nu}$ . Christ is identified with the  $\dot{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\gamma\circ\tilde{\nu}$  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  $\tau\circ\tilde{\nu}\tau\eta\circ\tilde{\nu}$   $\kappa\alpha\tau'$   $\circ\tilde{\nu}\rho\alpha\tilde{\nu}\circ\tilde{\nu}$   $\lambda\circ\tilde{\nu}\gamma\iota\kappa\eta\circ\tilde{\nu}$   $\kappa\alpha\tilde{\nu}$   $\dot{\alpha}\tilde{\chi}\alpha\tilde{\nu}\alpha\tilde{\nu}\circ\tilde{\nu}$   $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tilde{\tau}\circ\tilde{\nu}$   $\dot{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\gamma\circ\tilde{\nu}$ . As to  $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$   $\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$   $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\nu$ , every novice knows that in Gr.  $\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\circ\tilde{\nu}$  ( $\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\circ\tilde{\nu}$ ) 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. πνεῦμα τε τὸ προφητικόν:** The copulatives may be worth noticing. Father and Son are closely connected by  $\tau\epsilon \dots \kappa\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ , the Spirit coming in afterwards.  $\Pi\mu.$   $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu \pi\circ\tilde{\rho}$ . is in the third attributive position; the first being  $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu \pi\circ\tilde{\rho}\phi\eta\tau\iota\kappa\circ\tilde{\nu}$   $\pi\circ\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\mu\circ\tilde{\nu}$  ( $\sigma\mu\eta\tau\circ\tilde{\mu}\iota\alpha$ , Aristotle), the second,  $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu \pi\circ\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\mu\circ\tilde{\nu}$   $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu \pi\circ\tilde{\rho}\phi\eta\tau\iota\kappa\circ\tilde{\nu}$  ( $\delta\gamma\kappa\circ\tilde{\nu}$ ). The third is, or affects to be, easy, hence often in Herodotus and Lucian.

**8. προσκυνοῦμεν:** See c. 16, 20.

**10. παραδίδοντες:** See c. 4, 23.

## 7. THE LIFE IS THE TRUE TEST.

**1. Ἀλλὰ φήσει . . . 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  $\pi\tau\circ\tilde{\rho}\lambda\eta\psi\circ\tilde{\nu}$ .’—**Καὶ γάρ:** Elliptical. See c. 4, 12.

**4. προελεγχθέντας:** So Perionius and others for  $\pi\tau\circ\tilde{\rho}\lambda\chi\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\tau\circ\tilde{\alpha}\circ\tilde{\nu}$ , ‘aforesaid,’ which makes no satisfactory sense, whether referred to the Christians with Otto, or to the demons with Trollope. For ‘aforesaid,’  $\pi\tau\circ\tilde{\rho}\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\circ\tilde{\nu}\circ\tilde{\nu}$  would be more common.—**καταδικάζετε:** With acc. Exceptional. See c. 3, 2.

**5. δὲ τρόπον:** See c. 4, 22.

**6. τὰ αὐτοῖς:**  $\Lambda\tilde{\nu}\tau\circ\tilde{\alpha}\circ\tilde{\nu}$ , *ipsis*, instead of the reflexive *αὐτοῖς*, which

Justin does not use for *ἴαυτοῖς* (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* (*οὐδέ*), of the concessive *μή* (*μηδέ*). 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: *ῶσπερ οὐ φιλοσοφίας ἔγκλημά εἰσιν οἱ σοφισταὶ η̄ οἱ Ἐπικούρειοι η̄ οἱ Περιπατητικοὶ η̄ οἵτινές ποτ’ ἀν̄ ὕσιν οἱ φιλοδιξοῦντες, οὕτως οὐ τῶν ἀληθινῶν Χριστιανῶν ἔγκλημα οἱ μεταχαράπτοντες τὰ εὐαγγέλια κτέ.*

**12. ὡς ἄδικος :** ‘*Ως=ut.*

**13. φάνηται:** Notice the rare 2 aor. middle. The tense matches *ἔλεγχθείς=έλαν ἔλεγχθῆ.*

**14. Οὐ γάρ . . . δξιώσομεν:** 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. Λογίσασθε δτι:** ‘Count upon it (as a fact) that.’ See c. 2, 18.—*ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν*: Otto comp. Plato, Apol. 30 D: *πολλοῦ δέω ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ ἡμαντοῦ ἀπολογεῖσθαι, . . . ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν.*—*ἔφημεν=έφήσαμεν.* 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. ψευδολογοῦντες=ἐπὶ τῷ ψευδολογεῖν**, ‘on condition of lying.’—*τοῦ αἰωνίου:* Toū of the ideal standard. Comp. Soph. Ai. 473: *αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἄνδρα τοῦ μακροῦ χρῆσειν βίον | κακοῖσιν ὅστις μηδὲν ἔξαλλάσσεται.*

**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 *μετά*; Kühner, on the other hand, seems to make *μετά* 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 *μετά* is reserved for prose, and for such forms of poetry as approximate most closely to it.' Notice the standing (religious) phrase, *σὺν Θεῷ*. Athenag. (Suppl. 31, 157) refines on *μετά Θεοῦ* and *σὺν Θεῷ*. At all events *μετά* 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, *μετά* w. gen. occurs sixteen times, *σύν* only nine times.

**6. πεπεισμένοι 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 (*ὅτι*), 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 πεῖσατι δὲ οὐχὶ δοξάσατι λέγεις ποιῆσαι;*

**8. πείσαντας:** When action is to be produced, *πείθειν* takes the inf.; when belief, *ὅτι* (of objective knowledge), sometimes the inf. Here *πείσαντας* is a verb of showing. See c. 3, 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. Ραδάμανθιν καὶ Μίνω:** 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' αὐτούς:** 'Before their bar.' 'Επειδὴν ἀφίκωνται παρὰ τὸν ἀικαστήν, Plato, l. c. 524 E.

**14. κάν τοῖς αὐτοῖς:** *Kán* for *καί*, with Davis.

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

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. χιλιονταετή:** Late for *χιλιετῆ*. See Plato, Phaedr. 249 A; De Republ. 10, 615 A.

**17. Εἰ . . . φήσει 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 . . . φήσει τις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἥδε ή πλάνη ἐστὶν ἄλλον 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. 36, 170: *οἰς ἀπατῶμεν ἑαυτὸν λόγοις ἀδικοῦμεν οὐδένα*, and Arnob. 2, 53: *Sed stulte istud credimus. Quid ad vos? Ineptissime, fatue. Ubi vobis nocemus vel quam vobis facimus aut iurogamus iniuriam, etc.* Otto adds Tertull. Apol. 38 (p. 92 D. S.): *nostra iniuria est, non vestra*.

**19. μέχρις οὐ . . . 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. *μηδένα*. See Athenag. l. c.—**ἀδικοῦντες:** 'Ἐλεγχόμεθα 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*; *ἱερόν* (l. 20) is used in a wider sense.—**ταῦτα:** Sc. *εἶδωλα*. On the subject see Athenag. Suppl. 26.

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

**7. Τί γὰρ δεῖ εἰδόσιν ὑμῖν λέγειν:** A favorite rhetorical turn. *Μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βονλόμενος*, Thuc. 2, 36; *ἐπισταμένοισι εὖ οὐκ ἄν τις λέγοι*, Hdt. 7, 8, 2. See also c. 21, 20.

**8. ἀ τὴν ὅλην διατιθέασι:** 'What they do with, how they treat,

etc.' 'A is a cognate accusative (accus. of the inner object) dependent on διατιθέασι. Comp. Dial. c. T. 18: τὸν τὰ τουαῖτα διατιθέντας ἡμᾶς; Orig. c. Cels. 3, 5: πολλὰ διαθέντες οἱ πάλαι Λιγύπτιοι τὸ Ἐβραῖων γένος, and 6, 74; Plat. Legg. 5, 728 B: ψυχὴν ἀτιμότατα διατιθεῖς. Also Ep. Ecel. V. et L. ap. Euseb. II. E. 5, 1, 27 (p. 133, D. S.).

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

**15. ὅτι . . . ἐπίστασθε:** C. 5, 10.—**ἀσελγεῖς:** 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 ὥ. Ἐμβρόντησις of an *attonitus*, a stupid, staring ass, a familiar word: ὁμβρόντητε σύ, Ar. Ecel. 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 λέγεσθε, Stephan.

**20. φύλακας:** See E. ad D. 2, 2.

**21. μὴ συνορῶντας:** 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).—**δέεσθαι:** 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 προσειλήφαμεν. See c. 4, 23. Προσλαμβάνειν is rather 'to assume.'—**παρέχοντα:** Intellectual perception. See c. 3, 3.

**3. ἔκείνους:** Object of προσδέχεσθαι, 'accept.'—**προσδέχεσθαι . . . δεδιδάγμεθα:** The regular construction would be ὅτι w. finite verb. See cc. 3, 3; 5, 10.

**4. καὶ πεπείσμεθα καὶ πιστεύομεν:** See c. 8, 6.

**7. τῷ μηδενὶ . . . καλουμένῳ:** See c. 4, 9.—**θετῷ:** See B 6, 1: "Ονομα ἐτῷ πάντων πατρὶ θετόν, ἀγεννήτῳ ὄντι, οὐκ ἔστιν. —**Καὶ πάντα κτέ.**" The rest of the chapter is very important for Justin's anthropology, which seems to lack clearness and consistency.

**8. τὴν ἀρχήν:** 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.—οἱ . . . 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. καταξιωθῆναι:** Aor. as fut. See c. 12, 23. With the expression comp. c. 26, 4, and Theophil. ad Autolyc. 2, 35.—παρελήφαμεν: 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 πρᾶξαι no more than ἡ πρᾶξις, τὸ πεπρᾶχθαι 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=ἐφ’ ἡμῖν.—τὸ δὲ ἔξακολονθῆσαι: According to rigid grammar, *εἰ* 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 ἄγει:** Comp. c. 8, 6.

**19. τὸ μὴ εὑργεσθαι:** On the inf. see c. 3, 9; on μή, 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 τό) their not being kept,’ etc. Not satisfactory. Otto now edits τό.

**21. Ὁπερ . . . 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 ἄν: ‘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. Εἰργάσατ’ 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 ἄν.

**23.** πολλὰ ψευδὴ καὶ ἀθέα: See cc. 23, 14; 26, 32; B 12, 15; Athenag. Suppl. 3, 12.

**25.** ὃν οὐδὲν πρόσεστιν: 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 ὅτι; 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.’—ὑπειλήφατε: ‘Have taken up the impression,’ often of a false impression; hence it is necessary to define it. Comp. [Plat.] Deff. 413 Α: ὑπόληψις ὀρθή, and Aristot. Eth. Magn. 1, 35, 15: ἡ ὑπόληψις ἐστιν, γῆ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἐπαμφοτερίζομεν; πρὸς τὸ καὶ εἶναι ταῦτα οὕτω καὶ μὴ εἶναι.

**3.** ήμῶν . . . λεγόντων: Gen. absol., although ήμᾶς 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.** κεῖσθαι: Practical perf. pass. of τίθημι. Τέθειμαι 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: “Οπως 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. πεφροντικαμεν:** Emotional perfects denote (in conformity with the original symbolism of reduplication) not completed, but intense action. So *τεθάνμακα*, *δέδια*, 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.—**δόφειλομένου:** Comp. the famous passage in Eur. Alc. 418–9: *γίγνωσκε δὲ | ως πᾶσιν ιμῖν κατθανεῖν ὁφείλεται.* So Menan. Monos. 69: *βροτοῖς ἄπασιν ἀποθανεῖν ὁφείλεται.* Also B 11, 3: *πάντως παντὶ γενομένῳ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ θανεῖν ὁφείλετο.*

## 12. ‘AS EVER IN OUR GREAT TASKMASTER’S EYE.’

**1. Ἀρωγοὶ κτέ.:** 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:** *Taῦta* anticipates the inf. clause A 4, 4.—**ὡς:** As if he were about to use *ἰστί*, a slight want of sequence, which is more common with *ὅτι*. An example with *ὡς*, Isae. 6, 10.

**4. ἐνάρετον:** A late word.—**πρὸς δλίγον:** ‘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 *κὰν ἥρνομεθα* because it = οὐκ ἥρνομεθα. —**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: *ἴνα ἡτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἀφωρισμένοι*, l. c. 56: *ἴνα πεπεισμένοι ἡτε.*

**11. Οὖ γάρ κτέ.:** The MSS. have οὐ γάρ and a period at ἀδικοῦσι, which does not give a clear sense (unless we read *παύονται* for *πειρῶνται*, and omit the first λανθάνειν), and leaves an incredible asyndeton at εἰ ἔμαθον. Οὐ (Thirlby), with the punctuation given, makes the passage transparent.—**κειμένους = 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 ἐπείσθησαν**: Justin's favorite chain-shot style (coupled synonyms). See Introd. xxxii.—**ἐπικείμενα**: Sc. *ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ* (Trollope).

**17. δεδιέναι 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. κολάσετε**: 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 ὅν 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 *όραν*, *βλέπειν*, and the like. After *δέδοικα*, Xen. Cyr. 2, 3, 6; after *φοβοῦμαι*, Plat. Phileb. 13 A. Otto comp. 2 Cor. 12, 20, 21 (Tisch.).—**δημίων**: 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. οἵ γε**: The restrictive relative (= *qui quidem*) is often causal. Comp. B 3, 4.

**23. πρᾶξαι**: 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 *ἄν*, which H. Stephanus desiderates here. Remember, however, that *ἄν* is often dropped by accident.

**26. ὅσον καὶ:** *Kai* 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. καλλιερήσετε:** ‘Sacrifice acceptably’=‘succeed.’ The sacerdotal 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. 9.35 (*πρεσβύτατος*), 12 (*ἀρχαιωτάτην*), 21 (*πρώτους*). It is characteristic of the philology of the last century that Thirlby calls the construction *absurda Atticorum elegancia*, and avails himself of Philemon (fr. inc. 109), *Θανεῖν ἀριστόν ἔστιν ή ζῆν ἀθλίως*, to deliver an ugly blow at Bentley.

**29. οὐδένα οἴδαμεν ὄντα:** See c. 3, 3. *Oīdāmen* rare in Attic. Common form in the *κοινῇ 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.—**πατρικάς:** ‘Hereditary.’

**31. ὅσα ἄν:** The relative with *ἄν* and subj. is in some respects parallel with *ἴαν* (c. 2, 18). But observe that the relative with *ἄν* and subj. is *always* generic in prose.—*ὑπαγορεύσῃ*=*ὑπείπῃ*. See c. 2, 2.

**32. μὴ δεῖν:** Comp. c. 4, 24. Add imper. notion in *ὑπαγορεύσῃ*.—**ὅ νουνεχής:** The Stoic definition of *νουνέχεια* is *ἐπιστήμη ἐπιτευκτική τοῦ ἐκάστῳ σκοποῦ*.—**οὐχ αἱρήσεται:** So-called gnomic or sententious future.—**Γενήσεσθαι... προεπε:** *Eipēn*, in the sense of ‘say’ (not ‘order’), commonly takes *ὅτι* or *ὡς* 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; Lyeurg. 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 (*εξειπεῖν γενναῖσθαι*); 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 (*τάδ' εἶπεν*). When the *ότι* form of o. obliqua became common, it was natural that this form, which is nearest to oratio recta, should be retained.

**33. ταῦτα πάντα:** Sc. *ότι 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 ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν Χ. Ἰ.*

**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 *προεῖπεν*. 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.—**ὅπερ:** ‘The very thing which,’ ‘the very thing which is peculiarly.’ Comp. c. 18, 3.—**πρὶν η̄:** 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. Ὡν:** So called for *ξῆν*. ‘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): ‘*Ων* *ἄν*, ‘it would be possible’ (in other circumstances), but, as it is (*νῦν* *ἅπειρον*), it is im-

possible. ‘*Hν*, ‘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, *ἔδει*, *ἔχονται*, (*χρῆν*, Athenag. Suppl. 32, 158), *ἐννατὸν ἦν* (c. 39, 15; Dialog. c. T. 24). The imperf. itself is a suspended fut. of the past= *ἔμελλε* and fut. inf.

**41. λογισαμένους ὅτι:** C. 2, 18.

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

**44. εἰδότες ὅτι:** C. 3, 3.—**οὐκ ἀδύνατον:** 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 . . . φυγεῖν* has been appropriated by Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. 3, 2 (Grabe).

### 13. ‘OUR REASONABLE SERVICE’

**1. ὡς οὐκ ἐσμέν:** Depends on *τίς . . . οὐχ ὁμολογήσει*; (l. 12).

**2. ἀνενθεῆ αἷμάτων:** The plural conception is different in different languages. Comp. c. 12, 30. *Αἷματα* 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. 1348: *δεῖται γάρ ὁ Θεός, εἴπερ ἔστ' ὄντως Θεός, οὐδενός,* and Clem. Alex. Strom. 6 p. 635: *ἀνενθεῖται δὲ μόνος ὁ Θεός.* See the Second Satire of Persius.

**4. λέγω εὐχῆς:** Comp. 2 Cor. 5, 19: *τὸν λόγον τῆς καταλλαγῆς*, Hebr. 13, 22: *τοῦ λόγου τῆς παρακλήσεως*. Gregory of Nyssa distinguishes *εὐχή* and *προσευχή*: *εὐχὴ μὲν ἐστιν ἐπαγγελία τινὸς τῶν κατ' εὐσέβειαν ἀφειρουμένων, προσευχὴ δὲ αἴτησις ἀγαθῶν μετὰ ἵκετηρίας προσαγομένη θεῷ.* See my note on Pers. 2, 3. The distinction is not to be pressed.—*Ἐφ' οἷς = ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ.*—**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 κτέ.*

**5. ὅση δύναμις:** A common phrase, at every turn in Orig. c. Cels., ‘to the extent of our power.’ See cc. 55, 27; 67, 15.—

**αἰνοῦντες**: The uncompounded form is rare in Attic prose, and has a higher, more religious tone. Greg. Naz. says, l. c. 142-3: ἔπαινός ἐστιν εὗ τι τῶν ἡμῶν φράσαι, | αἰνος δ' ἔπαινος εἰς θεὸν σεβάσμιος.—**τιμὴν ταύτην**: Τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην would mean ‘this honor.’ Ταύτην is attraction from *τοῦτο* (c. 3, 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.—**ἔαυτοῖς=ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς**. See c. 2, 16.

**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 pompa*e, which were an especial abomination to the Church. See Constt. Apostt. 2, 6. ‘Solemn prayers.’

**9. ὕμνους πέμπειν**: ‘Αναπέμπειν is still more common. Comp. Clem. Alex. Paed. 3, 12, 101: *αἴνον ἀναπέμψαμεν κυρίῳ*.

**10. ποιοτήτων μὲν γονῶν**: The MSS. have γενῶν. Bunsen (Christianity and Mankind, 1, 219, note) writes: πάντων ποιητῶν καὶ γενητῶν, 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 αἴξησιν καρπῶν καὶ ώρῶν μεταβολάς, and Max. Tyr. 17, 5: κράσεις ἀέρων καὶ ζῷων γενέσεις καὶ καρπῶν φύσεις . . . θεοῦ πάντα ἔργα ή ψυχῆς λέγει κτέ.—**μέν**: *Solitarium*, i. e., μέν without δέ, but καὶ is equivalent.

**12. τίς σωφρονῶν οὐχ ὄμολογήσει**: Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 10, 43: τίς οὖν οὐκ ἀπορήσαι κτέ.

**15. ἐπὶ Ποντίου**: ‘Επί w. gen. of official dates. Comp. cc. 26, 6; 35, 25; 46, 6.—**ἐπὶ χρόνοις**: A later construction.

**16. ἐπιτρόπου**: ‘Procurator.’—**υἱὸν αὐτοῦ**: Otto now reads αὐτόν.

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

**18. δτι . . . τιμῶμεν**: C. 3, 3.—**ἀποδείξομεν**: ‘Επιδεικνύαι for effect, hence often in a bad sense, though not always (E. ad D. 12, 10), ἐνδ. 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.—ἀνθρώπῳ 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 רִבְלַתְהָן.

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

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

#### 14. THE DEMONS MALIGN CHRISTIANS.

**1. Προλέγομεν :** ‘Forewarn.’—φυλάξασθαι: ‘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. συνίημι. See the combination in B 3, 11: εἰ ἐντυχὼν μὴ συνῆκε τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς μεγαλεῖον. The use of ἐντυγχάνειν, ‘read’ (c. 26, 38), begins Plato, Lys. 214 A; Conv. 177 B; De Lege, 316 C. Observe the aor. of total negation. See c. 4, 10.

**5. ὑπηρέτας :** ‘Υπηρέτης, often of an official ‘underling,’ ‘understrapper.’ Δοῦλοι καὶ ὑπηρέται combined, in Jno. 18, 18. Comp. Lucian, Char. 17: ἄγγελοι καὶ ὑπηρέται Θανάτου, Saerif. 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. 775, Plut. 1154), and creeps into Latin in the time of Augustus. Tertull. Apol. 15 (p. 55 D. S.): *Dispice Lentulorum et Hostiliorum venustates, 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.—δν τρόπον: 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 Ashton and Waterland ἀγένητος, ‘unoriginated,’ instead of ἀγέννητος, ‘unbegotten,’ and cites a large number of passages to show that at this period God was called ἀγένητος, not ἀγέννητος. See Athenag. Suppl. 4, 15. Böhringer (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 πάλαι μὲν κτέ.:** 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.—πορνείας: See c. 12, 30.

**12. ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἀγ. θ.:** Concinnity would require νῦν ἀγαθῷ, which Otto has recently edited. But Justin is not concinnous.—έαυτοὺς 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 γάρ ἐστι 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 κτῆσις.* 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. τοὺς οὐχ ὁμοφύλους=τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους:** the neg. coalescing with the word. Otherwise μὴ ὁμοφύλονς.—καὶ . . . μή=μηδέ: Μή is regular on account of the article. See cc. 4, 9; 26, 30.—ἐστίας κοινὰς ποιούμενοι=κοινῶς ἐστιώμενοι: See c. 1, 9.

17. ὁμοδίαιτοι: 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 βασιλέων: Familiar apposition of gen. with possessive. ‘Ως restrictive, and so causal. The Greeks called the emperor *βασιλεὺς*, 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 ἥθελεν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς . . . διώκειν σοφίαν ἀπράγμονα, ἦν ἀν δῆπον ἀνθ' Ἡρακλέονς σοφιστής, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀν αὐτὸν ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν παῖδα Διός*. It may be also worth noticing that M. Aurelius says of Antoninus Pius (6, 31): *οὐ ψοφοδεής, οὐχ ὑπόπτης, οὐ σοφιστής*.
28. **δύναμις θεοῦ**: Comp. Matt. 7, 29.
- ### 15. CHRIST'S OWN TEACHINGS.
1. **τοσοῦτον**: Perhaps with reference to the brevity (*σύντομοι λόγοι*) of Christ's words.—*Ὄσ αν . . . θεῷ*: 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 ἔ δοθαλμὸς . . . πῦρ*: Matt. 5, 29. Comp. 18, 9, and Mark 9, 47.
7. *Ὄσ γὰρ . . . μοιχᾶται*: Matt. 5, 32. Comp. Luke 16, 18.

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

**11. Ὡστέ:** So Otto (3) after Davis for ὥσπερ.

**12. διγαμίας:** It is much disputed whether the forbidden marriage was simultaneous (bigamy), or successive (after death or divorce of the former partner). Simultaneous marriage (Marian) 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. μοιχεῦσαι:** 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 vult.*—**ώς οὐν τῶν ἔργων φανερῶν:** On *ώς* and *οὐν* see c. 4, 19. *Φανερῶν* sc. *ὄντων*. The participle of the gen. abs. is not freely omitted, chiefly with such adjectives as are virtually participles (*ἐκών* and *ἄκων*), or have an affinity with verbs, as *φανερῶν* here.

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

**18. ἐκ παιδῶν:** A common phrase. ‘*Ἐκ* 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.—**ἀφθοροὶ = 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:** ‘*Ἀκόλαστος* refers to want of training, *ἀκρατής* to defect of temperament (Vömel).

**24. Εἶπε δ' οὕτως:** Justin regularly uses *οὕτως* to point both ways, backward and forward. So *οὗτος*.—**Οὐκ ἡλθον . . . μετάνοιαν:** 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. Θέλει . . . αὐτοῦ:** Comp. Ezek. 33, 11. 'Εθέλω is the form in normal prose, but after a vowel and in certain formulae θέλω is often found even there, and everywhere in later Greek. θέλω ἦ=μᾶλλον θέλω ἦ. So also βούλομαι and the like. Eur. Tel. fr. 22, 2: σμίκρ' ἀν θέλοιμι, καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἔχων, | ἄλνπον οἰκεῖν βίοτον ἦ πλουτῶν νοσεῖν.

**27. Εἰ . . . ποιοῦσιν:** Matt. 5, 46 (comp. Luke 6, 32). — **ἀγαπᾶτε:** '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: συμψυχίαν δὲ τὴν ἀγάπην νόοιζομαι.

**28. καινόν:** Νέος of the organic, καινός of the inorganic; νέος of that which grows, καινός of that which is made. Here 'strange.'

**29. Ἐγώ . . . ἐπηρ. ὑμᾶς:** Matt. 5, 44; comp. Luke 6, 27 foll. On ἐπηρεαζόντων, see c. 1, 6.

**33. πρὸς δόξαν:** Comp. πρὸς χάριν, A 2, 12.—**Παντὶ . . . ποιοῦσιν:** Matt. 5, 42; Luke 6 (30), 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. κίχρημι), which was avoided.

**35. λαβεῖν:** See c. 12, 23.

**36. Υμεῖς . . . ἀφανίζει:** Matt. 6, 19, 20. — μὴ θησαυρίζετε: So I read for the ungrammatical μὴ θησαυρίζῃτε.

**37. ἔαντοις=ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς.** Comp. c. 2, 16.—**σῆς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίζει:** The concord as in old English and idiomatic English.

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

**40. κερδήσῃ:** Attic κερδάνῃ.

**43. Γίνεσθε . . . πονηρούς:** Luke 6, 35 foll., Matt. 5, 45. Γίνεσθε, 'Show yourselves.'—**χρηστοί:** See c. 4, 4.—**οἰκτίρμονες:** Of active benevolence. So Gregory of Naz. l. c. 124, 125: ἔλεος μέν

ἐστι συμπάθεια συμφορῆς, | οἳ κτος δὲ κεῦ τι τὸν πεπονθότα δράσαι.  
On ἔλεος, see Clem. Alex. Strom. 4, 6, 38.

**45. ἀμαρτωλούς:** For ἀμαρτωλούς Davis proposes ἀνθρώπους. Thirlby suggests: ἐπὶ ἀμαρτωλὸς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ πονηρούς. Otto: ἐπὶ ἀμαρτωλὸς καὶ δικαίους καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ ὄσιονς καὶ πονηρούς. Comp. D. c. T. 96.

**46. Μὴ μεριμνᾶτε . . . ἀνθρώπου:** Matt. 6, 25 foll. (Luke 12, 22–24), 31–33 and 21 (comp. Luke 12, 34). Μέριμνα means ‘anxious thought,’ an exaggeration of φροντίς, as Gregory of Naz. says, l. c. 67: φροντίς δὲ ἐλιγμός, η μέριμνα τὸ πλέον. ‘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 φύγε=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. Μή with the aor. subj. denotes total negation, ‘do not;’ μή 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:** Ei 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 ἀνεξικάκους εἶναι:** Comp. c. 3, 9. Ἀνεξικακία occurs in Plutarch. Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 34, 164: οὐ γάρ ἀπαρκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι (ἔστι δὲ δικαιοσύνη ἵστα ἴσοις ἀμείβειν) ἀλλ' ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀνεξικάκοις εἶναι πρόκειται.

**2. ταῦτά ἔστι:** See note on *οὕτως*, c. 15, 24.—**Τῷ . . . κωλύσῃς:** Luke 6, 29.

**4. ἡ τὸ ιμάτιον:** Thirlby would read *καὶ τὸ ιμάτιον*: *ἡ καὶ* would account better for the text. *Kai*, ‘even,’ because the *ιμάτιον* is the more valuable. So Matt. 5, 40: *τῷ ζέλοντι . . . τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἀφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ιμάτιον.*

**5. Ὡς δ' ἀν . . . οὐρανοῖς:** Matt. 5, 22, 41, 16.

**6. σε:** According to Otto (3d ed.) the MSS. have *σοι.*—**ἀκολούθησον:** 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. 38, 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. ἀνταίρειν:** Plat. Euthyd. 272 A. Comp. Matt. 5, 39 (Otto).

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

**13. ἀποδεῖξαι:** C. 13, 18.—**ἔχομεν:** C. 3, 5.—**ἥττηθέντες:** The following participles depend on this. ‘Overcome by.’

**14. καρτερίαν βίου παρακολουθήσαντες:** *Παρακολούθεῖν* 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. 15, 28.

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

**17. ὅλως:** ‘At all.’ See c. 29, 10.

**18. Μὴ δμόσητε . . . πονηροῦ:** Matt. 5, 34, 37 (Ja. 5, 12).

**20.** Ως δει . . . ἔπεισεν: 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.** εἰπών: The actions in *ἔπεισεν* and *εἰπών* are coincident. See c. 17, 17.—Μεγίστη . . . ποιήσαντά σε: Matt. 4, 10; Mark 12, 30. 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 supersticiosus solet, manum ori admovens, 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 slightlyingly in profane literature. So in Lucian, Merc. Cond. 231; pro Merc. Cond. 4: ἀγεννῆ λατρείαν, Nigr. 15: λατρεύειν ήδονῆ. 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, 18 foll.—Προσελθόντος αὐτῷ: The difference between *προσελθεῖν τινι* and *π. πρός τινα* is that between *adire aliquem* and *a. ad aliquem*. ‘Applied to him.’ Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 15, 59 and 18, 74.

**25.** εἰ μή: *Nisi*, ‘except.’

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

**28.** καν λέγωσιν: C. 2, 10.

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

**32.** τῶν οὐρανῶν: Hebraistic conception. To the Greek heaven was a single canopy, a single cover (VAR), 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 סָמֵךְ 'is derived from סָמֵךְ, *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 Luer. 2, 1097. Comp. further Orig. c. Cels. 6, 21.

**33.** "Ος . . . 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.** πέμπωνται: In his last ed. Otto indulges in the extraordinary solecism of πέμψωνται=πεμφθῶσιν.

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

**42.** ἐπιγνώσεσθε: A very common intensive of γιγνώσκω.

**43.** ποιῶν καρπόν: This use of ποιεῖν seems to belong to familiar language.

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

**46.** καὶ ὑφ' ὑπῶν: 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 annum*), εἰσφορά any extraordinary assessment (*stipendium temporarium*)'—Otto. Τέλος corresponds to *vectigal*, 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: ἀποτίσατε τέλος, φόρον καὶ εἰσφορὰν εὐγνωμόνως, Theoph. ad Autolyc. 1, 10: τέλη 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.): *Vectigalia 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 δὲι Καίσαρι κτέ.:** Comp. Luke 20, 22. 25, and the parallels.

**8. προσκυνοῦμεν:** Comp. c. 16, 20 and Theophil. ad Autolyc. 1, 11: *τιμήσω τὸν βασιλέα, 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 λογισμόν:* 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 κτέ.:** 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 πείθεσθαι*, Rom. 14, 14: *οἶδα καὶ πέπεισμαι*, Origen, c. Cels. 3, 41: *νομίζομεν καὶ πεπείσμεθα*.

**17. ἀπαιτηθήσεσθαι:** ’Απ- in comp.=*re(d)* of that which is due. See c. 2, 12.—*ἐμήνυστεν 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. Ὡτι . . . 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.—*ἔρμαιον*: ‘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 ἀποθνήσκειν φημὶ πάσας τὰς ψυχὰς ἐγώ· ἔρμαιον γάρ ήν ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῖς κακοῖς*, Plato, Phaedo, 107 E: *εἰ μὲν γάρ ήν ὁ θάνατος τοῦ παντὸς ἀπαλλαγῆ, ἔρμαιον ἀν τοῖς κακοῖς ἀποθανοῦσι τοῦ τε σώματος ἄμα ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν κακίας μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς*.

**5. πᾶσι γενομένοις**—*π. τοῖς γ.*: ‘All that have ever lived.’—**πᾶσι μένει**: How different from *πάντας μένει?*—**ἀπόκειται**: ‘Is in store,’ with the same tone as our English expression. Comp. Hebr. 9, 27: *ἀπόκειται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπαξ 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: *Τηρεῖν δὲν νεκυομαντεῖαι σκότῳ παραδιδόσθων*.—*αἱ ἀδιαφθόρων παίδων ἐποπτεύστεις*: Children were sacrificed and their entrails inspected, because their pure natures were supposed to give truer answers. Grabe cites Soer. II. E. 3, 13; Eus. H. E. 7, 10; 8, 14. Add Philostr. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. 7, 11: *φασὶ δὲ ὡς παῖδα θύσαις ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς ήν τὰ νεαρὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων φαίνει*. With the whole passage comp. Tertull. Apol. 23 (p. 72 D. S.): *Pueros in eloquium elidunt*, etc. ‘*Ἐπόπτευσις*’ is a Justinian word (Otto).

**9. παρὰ τοὺς μάγοις**: C. 8, 8.—*δινειροπομποί*: Pers. 2, 56–58: *Nam fratres inter aenos | somnia pituita qui purgatissima mitunt, | praecipui sunt*.—**πάρεδροι**: ‘Familiar spirits.’

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

**12. βιπτούμενοι**: In conformity with Hermann’s view that *βιπτω* is *iaciō*, *βιπτῶ* (*βιπτέω*) is *iactō*. See Curtius, Gr. Verbum, 1, 337.

**14. Ἀμφιλόχου**: The oracle of Amphiliocles (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.

**15. Πυθōν̄s:** 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 Eurynomus 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. 179 (ed. sec. 148) sqq.; Ueberweg, Hist. of Philosophy (Am. Tr.), 1, 60. —**Πλάτωνός τε καὶ Σωκράτος:** Notice the close coupling of the ‘double star’ (Emerson).

**17. παρ' Ὄμηρῳ = apud Homerum. — βόθρος:** The pit which Odysseus filled with blood to attract the souls of the dead: ἐγὼ δὲ ἀρ δέξν ἔρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ | βόθρον ὅρυξ ὕσσον τε πυγούσιον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, Od. 11, 24. 25.

**19. κᾶν . . . ἀποδέξασθε:** *Kān* is elliptical and = *vel*, e. g. Plato, Theag. 181 A. So 2 Cor. 11, 6: κᾶν ὡς ἀφρονα δέξασθε με, Theophil. ad Autolyc. 1, 13: δεῖξόν μοι κᾶν ἔνα ἐγερθέντα ἐκ νεκρῶν. Be it observed that the true ellipsis with the imperative is the notion of will that lies in the imperative—not κᾶν ἀποδέξησθε (Kühner), but κᾶν ἀποδέξασθαι ἴθέλητε. For καὶ w. imper. comp. the typical cry of Ajax: ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὀλεσσον.

**20. οὐχ ἥττον:** The neg. *oūch* 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. ἔαντῶν=ἴμετερα 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 τί:** So Grabe for *κατανοοῦντι*. K. the familiar dative of reference.—**ἀπιστότερον μᾶλλον:** There is really no pleonasm. *Mâllon* is ‘rather,’ not ‘more.’ Combine with δόξαι.—**δόξαι:** Less common in Attic than δόξειε.

**2. ή εἰ . . . μὴ υπήρχομεν:** 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. ρανίδος:** This fact has often been used to humiliate man (Pallad. Anthol. Pal. 10, 45: εἰ δὲ λόγον ζητεῖς τὸν ἀληθινόν, ξε άκο-

λάστον | λαγνείας γέγονας καὶ μιαρᾶς ρανίδος) or to glorify God (Theophil. ad Autolyc. 1, 8: ἐπλασέ σε ἐξ ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας μικρᾶς καὶ ἐλαχίστης ρανίδος). Comp. Athenag. Res. 17, 80 and M. Anton. 10, 26.

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

**5. Ἐστω . . . λεγόμενον:** Not distinguishable from λεγέσθω at this stage. Comp. ἐστωσαν 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 ἴστε προγόνων.

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

**9. πρὶν ιδεῖν:** C. 4, 13.—**γενόμενον:** 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 = ὅτι and aor. ind. —**ἐπιστεύσατε:** We should expect ἐπιστεύσατ’ ἄν. But to correct ἄν in .might be to correct Justin.

**10. ἀντειπεῖν:** ‘Maintain’ (in opposition to another), not ‘deny,’ which would give a counter-sense. Still εἰπεῖν (*άν εἰπεῖν*) would be more natural.

**13. γινομένους:** On the tense, see 1. 9.

**14. λογίσασθε ὅτι:** C. 8, 1.

**15. δίκην σπερμάτων:** Δίκη (comp. δείκνυμι), ‘way pointed out,’ ‘manner,’ ‘fashion;’ adverbial accusative. Later writers use this semi-poetical turn freely after Plato. So Max. Tyr. 2, 3: ὅριθος δίκην, and elsewhere; Athenag. Suppl. 3, 12: δίκην θηρίων, also 10, 41; Clem. Alex. Protrept. 10, 92: σκωλήκων δίκην, also Paed. 1, 6, 36. 38; 2, 1, 11; Orig. c. Cels. 5, 40: δίκην λγστῶν; 6, 53: δίκην ἀνδραποδιστῶν.—**ἄν αλυθέντα:** So Thirlby for διαλυθέντα, after abundant analogy. Others, and so Otto, finally, διαχνθέντα.

**16. ἀφθαρσίαν ἐνδύσασθαι:** A Pauline reminiscence (?). Comp. 1 Cor. 15, 53: δεῖ 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 ἀπόστολον τὸ φαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι 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 *ὅτι*. *Oi φάσκοντες* are the Stoics.

**19. οὐπερ:** C. 12, 38.—**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. παρειλήφαμεν:** So I read with Otto (3) for *προειλήφαμεν*, 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=ὅτι εἶπεν*. See 1. 9.—**τὰ ἀδύνατα . . . θεῷ:** 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. γέενναν:** Valley of Hinnom (הַרְחֵם). See Bible Dict.

**31. ἔνθα:** Always a relative in prose.—**κολάζεσθαι:** C. 3, 4.—**μέλλουσιν:** ‘Are destined.’ *Μέλλω* 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 φύσει τόδε σῆμα τέτυκται· | ρομφαῖαι, σάλπιγγες, ἄμ' ἡελίῳ ἀνιώντι· | κόσμος ἅπας μύκημα καὶ διβριμον ἥχον ἀκούσει. | φλέξει δὲ χθόνα πᾶσαν κτέ.* — ‘**Υστάσπης**: 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. 23, 6, and Lactantius, Inst. Div. 7, 15 and 18.

**3. Στωϊκοί . . . 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 . . . γενέσθαι:** ‘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.—**αὐτὸν πάλιν:** More commonly *πάλιν αὐτὸν*.

**9. θείως:** We should expect *θειοτέρως*.—**ἀποδείξεως:** 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. λέγειν) ἐκπύρωσιν γενέσθαι:** See c. 60, 14.

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

**16. χειρῶν ἔργα ἀνθρώπους:** The MSS. have *χειρῶν ἀνθρώποις*. Various emendations have been proposed. Stephanus suggests *χειρῶν ἔργοις ἀνθρώπους*. 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 restris, 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 ἀποτον πρὸς Ἑλληνας καὶ Ἑλληνικαῖς ιστορίαις χρήσασθαι, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶμεν μόνοι τῷ παραδόξῳ ταύτῃ ιστορίᾳ κεχρῆσθαι.

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

**2. γεγεννῆσθαι:** So Thirlby for γεγενηῆσθαι. Otto now says that γεγεννῆσθαι is the MS. reading.

**5. οὐ . . . καινόν τι φέρομεν:** See note on Ep. ad Diogn. 1.—**παρὰ τοὺς . . . λεγομένους νίοντος:** See c. 19, 19.

**6. νίοντος τῷ Διί:** Stress on *viontē*. Below *viontē 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. Ἐρμῆν . . . λόγον τὸν ἐρμηνευτικόν:** 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 ἐρμηνεὺς, see Preller, Gr. Myth. 1, 264 and Schol. L in Il. 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 ἐκεραύνωσεν ἡ μὴ θέμις ποιοῦντα, νῦν δὲ κατ' ἔλεον αὐθις ἀθανασίας μετείληφας.—**ἀνεληλυθένται:** Depends on ἐπίστασθε.

**13. τὸν ἔξ 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.)—**ἔφ’ ἵππου:** So Sylburg for ὑφ’ 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 Ἀριάδνην :** C. 15, 20.

**15. κατηστερίσθαι :** See the list in Tatian, 10: τις ἐστιν ὁ Βερενίκης πλόκαμος; πῶς δὲ ὁ τεθνεώς Ἀντίνους μειράκιον ἐν τῷ σελήνῃ ώραιον καθίδρυται; Clem. Hom. 5, 23: χαριζόμενοι ταῖς ἥρωμέναις κατηστέριζον αὐτάς.—**τί γάρ :** Sc. λέγομεν.

**16. οὗ :** 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 vidi: idem Claudium vidiisse se dicit iter facientem.*

**17. καὶ . . . προάγετε :** ‘You actually produce?’

**18. ἀνερχόμενον :** Actual perception, c. 19, 9.—**κατακαέντα :** 2 aor. pass. not Attic, = *κατακαυθέντα*.

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

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

**23. Ἀπείη :** Opt. of wish. The present is used when a state or process is desired, the aorist when attainment. Hence regularly *χαίρους*, *εὐδαιμονίης*, *εὐτυχοίης*, but *γένοιο*, *ξέροιο*, *τύχους*.—**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, 13.

**24. ὡς . . . 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 πατρὸς τοιούτου :** ‘A parricide and son of a parricide.’ Zeus did not kill his father; he was a *πατραλοίας*, not a *πατροφόντης*, as Thirlby remarks. But who can resist such a familiar effect?

**26. ἡδονῶν :** Depends on *ἱττω*, ‘slave of’

**27. ἐπὶ Γανυμήδην ;** ‘Ἐπί,’ ‘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 *ἴαυτοῦ*. The unemphatic possessive gen.

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 *ἔφημεν*, see c. 8, 1.

**30. δεδιδάγμεθα:** *Μαρθάνω* 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. *βιοῦντας*. *Ἀδίκους* (suggested by Billius) would be smoother.—*ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ*: 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 *κεί*. But comp. c. 2, 7. *Καί* must be joined closely to *κοινῶς*, as in *καὶ ιδίως* below.

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

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

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

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

**7. ἀγγελτικόν:** Comp. Hymn. in Merc.: *ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων ἐριούνιον ὃν τέκε Μαῖα*.—*Εἰ . . . αἰτιάσαιτο*: The ideal condition occasionally admits in the apodosis imperative and indicative forms, such as we find more frequently associated with *ἰάρ*. 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. νιοῖς καθ' ὑμᾶς τοῦ Διός:** 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 κούκ ἄγνωτά μοι**); **οὐχ ὅμοια ἀλλὰ διάφορα** is a simple statement.

**11. ὥστε μηδὲ . . . δοκεῖν**: C. 5, 8.—**τὸ ιδίον**: Dependent on *ἰδιοντα*. ‘In the peculiarity.’

**13. προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου**: ‘As the discussion goes on,’ ‘in the course of the discussion.’ So c. 34, 7 and Athenag. Suppl. 1, 4.

**15. διὰ παρθένου**: Comp. Dial. c. Tryph. 23. ‘Ἐκ’ would be more natural, and unnecessary offence has been taken at the use of **διά**, as savoring of heresy.

**16. Περσέα**: See Class. Dict.—**Ωι . . . 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. ἦδη**: ‘By this time,’ ‘now.’ “**Ηδη** differs from **νῦν** as **iam** from **nunc**. In the former the relativity is emphasized.

**5. τὸ ταύτα . . . αὐτοῖς**: The familiar compendious construction. ‘The same with them’—‘the same as they.’—**παραδεχθῆναι**: Comp. c. 21, 29.

**7. ιδίως**: C. 22, 4.

**10. πρὶν ἦ**: 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 *τά* with Ashton and Otto (3) for *διὰ* (*τῶν*).

**11. φθάσαντες = πρότερον.** See c. 12, 38.—**διὰ τοὺς . . . δαιμόνας . . . τῶν ποιητῶν:** Scholars sometimes (e. g. Rauchenstein on Lys. 12, 58) allow themselves to say that *διὰ* with the accus. is used like *διά* 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 *διά* w. acc. and gen., see Dem. 6, 6 and Constt. Apostt. 2, 24 (*διὰ δέος—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 *ὑπέρ* and *περί* (Resurr. 1, 4), *ἐν* and *περί* (Resurr. 21, 101), *κατά* and *διά* (Resurr. 11, 48; 18, 84), *ἐξ* and *παρά* (Resurr. 20, 96), *ἐπί* and *διά* (Suppl. 2, 8), *πρός* and *διά* (Suppl. 10, 40), not to speak of such familiar distinctions as *ἀπό* and *ἐξ* (Tatian, 20; Orig. c. Cels. 1, 51).

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

**13. ὅν τρόπον:** C. 4, 22.

**15. τοῦτον ἔλεγχον ποιησόμεθα:** 'This is the proof that we shall offer.' Τοῦτον *τὸν ἔλεγχον* would be 'this proof.' See c. 13, 6. On *τοῦτον*, where we should expect *τόνδε*, c. 15, 24; on *ἔλεγχον*, c. 2, 29; 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 ἀδικοῦντες:** C. 8, 19.

**3. ὡς ἄμαρτωλοι:** Sc. ὅντες.

**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.—**μῆνες:** So the Egyptians.

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

**7. ὥστ' εἶναι:** C. 5, 8.

**8. Ὁπερ:** C. 12, 38.

**9. ὅτι μὴ . . . σέβομεν:** As *μή* 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 μή*); Max. Tyr. 7, 9; 9, 5 (*ὡς μή*); 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, 38, 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 οὖν τὰ αὐτά:** The MSS. have *ὅτι γὰρ οὐ*. Sylburg omits *οὐ*; Otto reads *οὖν*. — **οἷς μὲν κτέει:** Familiar use of the relative as a demonstrative with *μέν* and *δέ*; 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 πάλαι: So Sylburg for παλαιοί.

**2. Διόνυσον τὸν Σεμέλης . . . Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Λητοῖδην:** In studying the gen. notice the frequent parallelism with adjective. ‘Son of’—the old explanation of the name γενική—however insufficient, is not uninstructive. Comp. ‘son of’ in Hebrew.

**3. ὅσα:** ‘All.’ “Οσος of number, οἵος of quality. ‘Such,’ originally of quality, is very loosely used in English.

**4. Περσεφόνην:** 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): πείσθητέ μοι νῦν, ὃ ἄνδρες "Ελληνες, μηδὲ τοὺς μύθους μηδὲ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῶν ἀλληγορήσητε· κἀν γάρ τοῦτο πράττειν ἐπιχειρήσητε, θεότης ἡ καθ' ὑμᾶς ἀνύρηται καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν. See also Athenag. Suppl. 22.—**αἰσχος** καὶ λέγειν: Comp. Eph. 5, 12: τὰ γάρ κρυφῇ γινόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἰσχρόν ἐστι 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. — θεῷ τῷ ἀγενήτῳ καὶ ἀπαθεῖ: C. 14, 9.

**9. ἔαυτούς ἀνεβήκαμεν:** C. 14, 12.—ἐπ' Ἀντιόπην: ‘Epí, ‘after,’ as above.

**11. διὰ Θέτιδος:** See Il. 1, 401–3. So Lucian, mockingly (D. D. 21, 2): εἰ μὴ ἡ Θέτις κατελείσασα ἐκάλεσεν αὐτῷ σύμμαχον Βριάρεων ἐκατόγχειρα ὅντα, καν ἐδέετο ἀν [Ζεὺς] αὐτῷ κεραυνῷ καὶ βροντῇ.

**12. μεριμνῶντα κτέ.**: ‘Solicitous that the son of Thetis should destroy.’

**14. δλέσαι:** The prose form is ἀπολέσαι. ‘Ολέσαι in a half-quotation. Comp. Il. 2, 3. 4: ἀλλ' ὅγε μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα ὡς Ἀχιλῆα | τμήσει', δλέσαι δὲ πολέας ἐπὶ τηνσίν 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 ἑαυτούς:** The reflexive is rarely expressed when the subject of the leading verb and the subject of the inf. are the same.

**5. Σίμωνα . . . Σαμαρέα:** 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 Σιμωνιανοῖ.

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

**7. δυνάμεις:** *A terminus technicus*; orig. תְּרוּמָה. 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' ὑμῶν:** Euseb. has παρ' ὑμῖν.

**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 SANCO DEO · FIDIO SACRVM	SEX · POMPEIVS · S · P · F. COL · MVSSIANVS QVINQVENNALIS DECVR BIDENTALIS DONVM · DEDIT.
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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 θεόν: He called himself *summum patrem*, according to Tertull. De Anima, 34.

14. Ἐλένην: A very common name, despite the evil omen that Aeschylus found in it (Agam. 666 Herm.).—συμπερινοστήσασαν: I read *συμπι.* with Sylburg, Maran, Braun, against the MSS. Περινοστῶ, ‘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' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ: C. 17, 3.—ἐπὶ τέγους: 'Επὶ with gen. usually of a fixed (normal) position on, hence of a regular 'stand' at. See the Lexicons s. v. *τέγος*, *οἴκημα*.—σταθεῖσαν: Comp. *prostare*. See the Lexicons.

16. ἔννοιαν: Tr. by Tertull. *injectionem*. Parallel 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. ἔξαπατῆσαι: For the inf. see A 3, 3.—οἰδαμεν=ἴσμεν.

21. ὡς μηδὲ ἀποδήσκοιεν: In normal Gr., ὡς οὐδὲ ἀποθανοῦνται or ἀποθανοῦντο. 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. μή is used as after ὅτι, c. 24, 9.

22. ἀπ' ἐκείνου: '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. ἔστι 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: Ζεοῦ δεῖ συλλήπτορος.

**27. τὸν ποιητὴν 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.—**ώς ὅντα μείζονα:** Ground assigned by Marcion. See c. 4, 18.

**28. μείζονα παρά:** C. 19, 19.

**29. ως ἐφημεν:** C. 7, 10. Euseb. has ἐφαμεν. On the form, see c. 8, 1.

**30. δν τρόπον:** 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 ἵν before φιλοσόφοις.

**33. ἐκεῖνα:** Ἐκεῖνος, like the Latin *ille*.—**μυθολογούμενα ἔργα:** These stock accusations can be found in Athenag. Suppl. c. 3; Ep. Eccl. Vicenn. et Lugdun. ap. Euseb. l. c. 5, 1, 14 (p. 130 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.

**34.** ἀνέδην: Regular adverbial formation from ἀνίημι = ἀνειμένως. Ἀναιδῆν, suggested by Morell, and once approved by Otto, is a faulty formation found in later writers for ἀναιδῶς.—σαρκῶν βορᾶς: On the plural, see c. 13, 2.

**35.** ὅτι μή: C. 24, 8.

**36.** κάν διὰ τὰ δόγματα: Κᾶν=καί. See c. 2, 7.

**37.** ἡμῖν=ἐμοί: On the case, see c. 27, 18.

**38.** 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 *novo* succumbs. Thirlby prefers μηδένα ἀδικ. — ἐκτιθέναι καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα: Καὶ 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 ἐκτιθέναι μὲν τὸ γεννηθέν, ὡς τῶν ἐκτιθέντων τεκνοκτονούντων, πάλιν δὲ τὸ τραφέν ἀναιρεῖν.

**4.** προάγοντας=προαγωγεύοντας (E. A. Sophocles).

**5.** δὸν τρόπον: C. 4, 22.

**6.** ἵππων φορβάδων: Comp. Plat. Legg. 2, 666 E: οἷον ἀθρόους πώλους ἐν ἀγέλῃ νεμομένους φορβάδας τοὺς νέους κέκτησθε. This passage of Justin is imitated by Tatian, Or. ad G. 28: παιδῶν ἀγέλας ὥσπερ ἵππων φορβάδων συναγείρειν αὐτῶν πειρωμένων, and by Clem. Alex. Paed. 3, 4, 26: μειρακίων ὥραιῶν ἀγέλαι καθάπερ Σερεμάτων παρ' ᾧν ἀμέλγονται τὸ κάλλος.

**7.** οὕτω νῦν καὶ παῖδας: Sc. ὄρῶμεν τρεφομένους. Otto (3) reads ὦὕτως, because Justin always says δὸν τρόπον . . . οὕτως, even before a consonant.

**9.** ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέγους ἔστηκεν: The MSS. have ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ ἄγους, which is supposed to be equivalent to εἰς τὸ αἰσχρῶς χρῆ-

*σθαι* 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: *ἐπὶ τέγονς ἐστᾶσι παρ' αὐτοῖς τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἑαυτῶν εἰς ὕβριν ἡδονῆς πιπράσκουσαι γυναικες καὶ παῖδες ἀρνεῖσθαι τὴν φύσιν δεδιδαγμένοι προσποιοῦνται γυναικας.*

**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 τῇ ἀθέω κτέ.:** 'Besides.'

**13. εἰ τύχοι:** 'Perhaps,' 'perchance,' a common phrase, e. g. Plato, Hipp. Min. 367 A.—**τέκνῳ:** *Téknov* 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 = ἐκτέμνονται:** 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 θεῷ (Sylburg), *ὄφις*: 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 *-τέον*) the inference is irresistible. With the tenses of continuance (present and impf.) the construction is rare in prose.

**19. ὡς ἀνατετραμμένου καὶ οὐ παρόντος κτέ.:** On the *λυχνίας ἀν-*

*τροπή*, see c. 26, 33. On the construction and negative, see c. 4, 18.

20. *προσγράφετε*: ‘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. *ὅφις*: Comp. Rev. 20, 2: *καὶ ἐκράτησε τὸν δράκοντα, τὸν ὅφιν τὸν ἀρχαῖον, ὃς ἔστι διάβολος καὶ σατανᾶς* and Dial. c. Tryph. 103: *Μωϋσῆς μὲν ὅφιν καλεῖ, ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰώβ καὶ τῷ Ζαχαρίᾳ διάβολος κέκληται καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ σατανᾶς προσηγόρευται*.—*σατανᾶς*: γράψ., ‘adversary.’ A droll etymology is given by Justin in D. c. T. l. c. *σατᾶς=παρά*, which he renders ἀποστάτης, and *νᾶς=πάντας*, ὅφις. This is only less amusing than the etymology in Theoph. ad Autol. 2, 29: *δράκων καλεῖται διὰ τὸ ἀποδεδρακέναι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ*.

3. *ἐκ τῶν ἡμ. συγγραμμάτων*: Combine with *μαθεῖν*.—*ἐρευνήσαντες*: ‘Ereunān, *indagare*, originally of tracking an animal. Comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1, 3, 21: *κατάπερ ὁ τῆς ἄγρας ἐρωτικὸς ζητήσας, ἀνιχνεύσας, ἐρευνήσας, κυνοδρομήσας αἱρεῖ τὸ θηρίον κτέ.*

6. *πρεμήνυσεν ὁ Χριστός*: Matt. 25, 41.

7. *ἡ ἐπιμονὴ τοῦ μηδέπω τοῦτο πρᾶξαι 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 ἰσυχάζειν ἐπέκειτο*. Add 3, 75; Plato, Politic. 279 C; Dem. 19, 149; 24, 9.

9. *μετανοίας*: The general term for ‘change of mind’ is *μεταμέλεια*; *μετάνοια* is ‘a change of mind for the better,’ ‘a change of heart.’ Comp. M. Anton. 8, 10: *ἡ μετάνοια ἔστιν ἐπίληψίς τις ἑαυτοῦ ὡς χρήσιμόν τι παρεικότος*, and Greg. Naz. l. c.: *τὴν δὲ μετάνοιαν πρὸς τὰ κρείσσονα στροφήν*. The difference between *μεταμέλεια* and *μετάνοια* appears in 2 Cor. 7, 10: *ἡ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀμεταμέλητον κατεργάζεται*. But Clem. Alex. Protrept. (10, 90) distinguishes *μετάνοια* κενή from *μετάνοια* γηγενή (10, 99), and Chrysostom (Homil. 15 in 2 Cor.) uses *μετάνοιῶ* for *μεταμέλομαι*.

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 15, 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: Μή 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 προδίλου.

15. η̄ ὅντα: ‘Or, if he exists.’

16. δόξῃ: C. 3, 1.

18. ἥπερ: Attracted from ὥπερ. See also c. 12, 38.

## 29. 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 ἀναληφθείσ=εἰν μὴ ἀναληφθῆ.

2. τὴν ἀρχήν: See c. 10, 8.

3. οὐκ ἔγαμοῦμεν . . . ἐν εἰρατευόμεθα: The imperfect where we should expect the present.—εὶ μή: *Nisi*, ‘except.’ Comp. c. 16, 25.—ἐπὶ παιδῶν ἀνατροφῇ: ’Επὶ w. dat. of the basis of an action. Comp. the marriage formula among the Athenians, ἐπὶ γησίων παιδῶν ἀρότρῳ, and for the Christian conception of wedlock, Athenag. Suppl. 33, 161; Clem. Alex. Paed. 2, 10. Minuc. Felix says (Octav. 31): *cupiditate procreandi aut unam scimus aut nullam*.

4. παραιτούμενοι: Favorite verb of the period.—τὸ γῆμασθαι: 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 εἰρατευόμεθα: So Otto (3) for ἐν εἰρατευόμεθα (MSS.).

6. η̄ ἀνέδην μᾶξις: C. 26, 34.—βιβλίδιον: ‘Paper,’ ‘memorial.’

**7. ἀνέδωκεν:** Notice the especial use of this compound of petitions, c. 67, 32; Plut. Mor. 1, 909 C.—**Φῆλικι:** The MSS. have Φίληκι, and below Φίληκος. See note on c. 4, 4.

**8. τοὺς διδύμους=τοὺς ὄρχεις,** as in Clem. Alex. Protrept. 2, 15.—**ἄνευ . . . τῆς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐπιτροπῆς:** The prohibition of this procedure goes back to Nerva.

**10. μηδόλως=μηδ' ὥλως.** Often written at this stage as one word.

**11. ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μείνας:** ‘By himself,’ ‘to himself,’ ‘unmarried.’ So Clem. Alex. Strom. 3, 12, 82: *ἔόξαν αὐτῷ οὐράνιον περιποιεῖ μείνας ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ* and Constt. Apostt. 3, 1: *ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς μείναι* (of a widow).

**12. Οὐκ . . . ὑπῆρχεν:** Cited by Euseb. H. E. 4, 8.

**13. ἡγησάμεθα:** In epistolary style = *ἡγούμεθα*, which Euseb. has l. c. See A 2, 14.—**Ἀντινόου:** 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 Hephaestion (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 Ἀντινόου τεμένη*. 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 φόβον:** So I read with Euseb. for *διὰ φόβον*, ‘in fear.’ See c. 23, 11. So also Otto *now*.

**15. τίς=ὅστις** as *πόθεν=όπόθεν*. See c. 15, 46.—**πόθεν ὑπῆρχεν:** Here *ὑπάρχειν* is not simply = *εῖναι*. See c. 2, 10. ‘γ. is often used of source. This is one of the passages cited to show the low origin of Antinous.

### 30. 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. Ὁπως δὲ μὴ τις εἴπῃ ἀντιθείς:** The MSS. have ἀντιτιθείς. I insert with Otto εἴπῃ (comp. B 4, 1; 9, 1), but prefer ἀντιθείς (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 ἦ:** C. 4, 13.

**7. ὅψει . . . δρᾶν:** Comp. c. 32, 18. So Plut. Vit. Cic. 2.—**γενόμενα καὶ γινόμενα:** C. 19, 9.

**8. μεγίστη . . . ἀπόδειξις:** So Orig. c. Cels. 8, 48: *αἱ προφῆται τοῖς μὴ παρέργως ἐντυγχάνουσι τῷ ἐν αὐταῖς προγνώσει ἰκαναὶ μοι εἶναι δοκοῦσι πρὸς τὸ πεῖσαι τὸν συνετῶς ἔμα καὶ εὐγνωμόνως ἀραγινώσκοντα ὅτι θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἦν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκείνοις.*

### 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 Ἰουδαίοις:** ‘Among the Jews.’ But the Greeks prefer to designate the country by the inhabitants; hence also ‘in Judea,’ as εἰς Πέρσας, ‘to Persia.’

**3. πρὶν ἦ:** 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 βασιλεύς:** The Greek says ‘King of the Egyptians,’ not ‘King of Egypt,’ a trace of his republicanism. Comp. the old *iure divino* ‘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**: 'Επειδή 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. ἀποστεῖλαι**: C. 12, 34.

**19. καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντας**: 'Although they read.' Γινώσκω the prevalent form since Aristotle.

**20. ἔχθροὺς . . . καὶ πολεμίους**: 'Εχθρός of the *animus*, whether the enemy be public or private, πολέμιος 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. 16. 95. 110. 133. See also below, c. 36, 15 and Ep. ad Diogn. 5, 27.

**21. κολάζοντες**: C. 3, 4. — δόποταν δύνωνται: In prose, *av* 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. Βαρχωχέβας**: 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 valemus*, 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 vestigio 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. εἰ μὴ ἀρνοῦτο:** Ei w. opt. after a past tense representing *εἴναι* 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 *ἄν* in o. r., it reappears in o. o. The reason why *ἄν* does not reappear when *εἴναι*, *ὄταν*, and the like, with the subj., are transferred, is to be traced to the fact that the simple subj. (without *ἄν*) 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 *προκηρο*. as a verb of showing. Comp. c. 33, 1.

**28. διὰ παρθένου:** C. 22, 15.

**32. οὐρανούς:** C. 16, 32.

**33. εἰς πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων:** *Eis* is not used with persons literally except with the plural, or as here with collectives. Comp. c. 1, 5.

**35. ἔθνῶν:** In the technical sense of 'heathen.' — **μᾶλλον:** Than the Jews. — **πιστεύειν:** Change of construction.

**36.** πρὶν ἥ: C. 4, 13.—**ἔτεσι**: Dative (locative) as measure of difference.—πεντακισχιλίους: 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 = *aὐταῖς λέξεσιν*. — Οὐκ . . . αὐτοῦ: Gen. 49, 10. 11.

**3.** ἔως ἣν ἔλθῃ: “Eως regularly (but not invariably) with aor. in the sense of ‘until.’”

**4.** φὶ ἀπόκειται = *οὗτος φὶ ἄ.*: For ἄ. comp. c. 18, 5.—**ἀπόκειται**: Sc. τὸ ἄρχειν, ἡ βασιλεία.

**5.** τὸν πῶλον 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 *aὐτοῦ*.

**6.** Υμέτερον: C. 3, 16.

**8.** ἴδιος αὐτῶν: Here *αὐτῶν* = *ipsorum*. So Plato, De Rep. 9, 580 E: ὃνόματι ἴδιῳ αὐτοῦ.

**11.** μὴ ἐκλείψειν: See c. 4, 18.

**12.** τὸ βασίλειον = *ἡ βασιλεία*. Late use (Otto).

**25.** Πῶλος γάρ τις ὄνος: 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. — **ἄγαγεν αὐτῷ**: ‘Him,’ rather than ‘to him,’ which would be *πρός* with acc.

**27.** ἀχθέντος: Might depend on *ἐπιβάς*, but it is more natural to conceive it as a gen. abs.

**28.** εἰσελήλυθεν: We should expect *εἰσῆλθεν*. — **ἔνθα**: C. 19, 21.

**29.** ἵερόν: 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.** οὗ πάσχειν ἔμελλε: *Oὗ* the familiar attraction for *ο*. On *ἔμελλε*, see c. 19, 31.

**33.** Ἡ . . . στολὴ οἱ πιστεύοντες . . . εἰσίν: Agreement with the predicate.

**36.** σπέρμα: See Introd. xxxix. The word in its entirety (*πᾶς λόγος*) is in the believers (*τοῖς πιστεύοντιν*). Other men have only a seed or germ (*σπέρμα, μέρος*). Comp. B 8, 10.

**39.** Ἡ δὲ πρώτη δύναμις . . . ὁ λόγος ἐστίν: Article in predicate and subject, a convertible proposition.

**40.** τίνα=ὅντινα: Simple for compound, as often. See c. 15, 46.

**41.** ἐν τοῖς ἔξῆς: 'In what follows in order.' So κτέ.=καὶ τὰ ἔξῆς, *et quae sequuntur*.

**42.** Ὁν τρόπον: C. 4, 22. Refers to ἐκ Θείας δυνάμεως. Justin is parenthetic to a degree.

**43.** οὐκ ἔξ ἀνθρωπείου σπέρματος: The neg. *οὐκ* on account of the contrast. Comp. c. 14, 16.

**45.** Καὶ . . . δέ: *Δέ* is the connective, *καὶ* belongs to the following word. The combination is exceptionally frequent in Justin.

**47.** Ἀνατελεῖ . . . ἐλπιοῦσιν: 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 διαδοχήν: C. 31, 38.

### 33. MANNER OF CHRIST'S BIRTH FORETOLD.

**1.** αὐτολεξεί: C. 32, 2.—**διὰ παρθένου:** C. 22, 15.—**τεχθησόμενος:** The participle is sometimes used after verbs of saying, considered as verbs of showing. See below, cc. 35, 26; 51, 35.

**3.** Ἰδοὺ . . . 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.** μέλλειν γίνεσθαι: C. 19, 31.

**8.** ἵν' ὅταν: Otto *nou* *ἵνα*. There is no end of hiatus in later Greek.—**ὅταν γένηται:** C. 31, 21.—**μὴ ἀπιστηθῆ:** In classic Greek the retention of the primary or principal tenses after the second-

ary or historical is not uncommon, and is technically called *repraesentatio*, 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 δέ τινες.

**11.** εἰποῦσιν . . . ἐληλυθέναι ἐπὶ γυναικας: 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 . . . ἔσυνουσιάσθη . . . οὐκέτι ἦν παρθένος: We should expect *ἄν* *ἦν*, but the condition may be considered logical. If not, *ἦν* = *ἔμελλεν* *ἔσεσθαι* = *ἦν* *ἄν*.

**17.** πεποίηκε: Perf. unnatural in English. The Greek perfect can be used even when the further end is dated. See B 2, 27.—*ἀποσταλεῖς*: C. 12, 34.

**18.** κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ: C. 17, 3.

**19.** εὐηγγελίσατο 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.—*εἰπών*: Coincident action.—*Ἰδοὺ . . . αὐτῶν*: Luke 1, 31. 35; Matt. 1, 21.

**21.** καλέσεις: Open form only here and there in Attic. Hellenistic writers tend to mechanical uniformity.—*αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει*: *Αὐτός* where the Greek would more naturally use *οὗτος*. See c. 50, 6.

**22.** τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ: C. 32, 5. *Λαός* is little used in classical prose.—*οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες*: Comp. Luke 1, 1 and see c. 66, 13.

**23.** τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος: The gen. on account of *ἀπομνημ*. Otherwise the accus.

**26.** γενησόμενον. See above.

**28.** ὡς Μωϋσῆς: The reference is to c. 32, 11. The kingdom is reserved for the first-born (Otto).

**31.** Τὸ δὲ Ἰησοῦς: Comp. B 6, 13.

**35.** Ὅτι . . . φήσετε: *Φημί* is seldom used with *ὅτι* in the best period; at every turn in later Greek.

**36.** θεοφοροῦνται: A late word.—*εἰ μή*: C. 10, 22.

**37.** ὑπολαμβάνω: C. 11, 2.

## 34. PLACE OF CHRIST'S BIRTH FORETOLD.

**3. Καὶ σὺ . . . τὸν λαόν μου:** (Micah 5, 2), Matt. 2, 6.

**5. ἐξελεύσεται = ἔξεισι.**

**9. Κυρηνίου:** *Kυρήνιος* 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 *ὅρ* might easily be mistaken for each other. But comp. Dial. c. T. 102. As to *ἄχρις ἀνδρωθῆ* it may be noted that *ἄν* is often omitted even in prose with temporal particles of limit ('until'). On the subj. for opt., see c. 33, 8.—**ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν:** *Kai* 'actually.'

**3. εἰς τοῦτο:** 'With reference to this.'

**4. Παιδίον . . . ὄμων:** Isa. 9, 6.

**7. προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου:** C. 22, 13.

**9. Ἐγὼ . . . οὐ καλῶ:** 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 . . . ἴματισμόν 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: *Διασυρρυμὸς τῶν ἔξω φιλοσόφων*. We do not gain much by Clem. Alex. Paed. 1, 9, 81: *διάσυρσίς ἐστι ψόγος διασυρτικός*.

**20. Κρήνον ἡμῶν:** Not in our canonical Gospels. The reference is to Isa. 1. c.: *αἰτοῦσί με νῦν κρίσιν*.

**21. ἐξήγησις . . . σταυρώσαντες . . . αὐτόν:** Comp. John 20, 25; Matt. 27, 35.

**25. ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου . . . ἄκτων:** On *ἐπὶ*, see c. 13, 15. On the (spurious) Acts of Pilate, see Euseb. H. E. 1, 9, 3.

**26.** Καὶ ὅτι = Καὶ ἵνα μάθητε ὅτι. — **καθεσθησόμενος**: Add to Veitch, who cites only Aeschin. 3, 167. On the participle, see c. 33, 1. So Dial. c. T. 49.

**27.** εἰσελευσόμενος = εἰσιών. — **προεπεφήτευτο**: The MSS. have προεφήτευτο.

**28.** Σοφονίου: Zephaniah. A lapse on the part of Justin.

**29.** Χαῖρε . . . ὑποξυγίου: Zechar. 9, 9; Matt. 21, 5.

**32.** νιόν: 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. 3, 1: ἐκ προσώπου, Constt. Apostt. 5, 20.

**2.** μὴ . . . νομίσητε: C. 15, 48.

**10.** ἴδεν ἔστιν: "Ἐστιν so called for ἔξεστιν, c. 12, 40.

**11.** μὴ νοήσαντες: C. 5, 9.

**13.** οὐδέ: So Thirlby for οὐτε.

**15.** ἔσταυρωσθαι: Inf. after verb of showing. See c. 5, 10.—  
μισοῦσιν: C. 31, 15.

### 37. THE FATHER SPEAKS.

**3.** οἶδε οἱ λόγοι: The pronoun as regularly in classic Greek.

See note on c. 47, ¶.—**Ἔγω . . . κύριον**: Isa. 1, 3, 4.

**8.** δταν λέγῃ: As the present is not generic, ὅτε λέγει would be correct, but the habit of using *ān* and the subj. with the temporal conjunctions is too strong for the Hellenist. So ξάν w. subj. is found where we should expect εἰ w. indicative.—ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός=ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου τοῦ πατρός. In his last ed. Otto inserts τοῦ προσώπου whenever ἀπό is thus used.

**9.** Ποιόν μοι . . . τῶν ποδῶν μοι: Isa. 66, 1.

**11.** Τὰς νουμηνίας . . . χειρῶν ὑμῶν . . . Ἀλλὰ . . . σου: Isa. 1, 11–15; 58, 6, 7.

**13.** δφθῆναι=φανῆναι: Hence the construction. Comp. c. 27, 18 and c. 50, 14.

### 38. CHRIST SPEAKS.

**2.** φθέγγεται: Φθέγγεσθαι and φωνεῖν are both 'utter,' but φθέγγεσθαι 'to reach the ear,' φωνεῖν 'to reach the mind.' See commentators on Od. 10, 229.—**Ἐγὼ . . . καλῇ**: Isa. 65, 2.

5. Τὸν . . . δικαιώσας με: Isa. 50, 6–8.

8. ἐνετράπηγ: A favorite word in the LXX.

9. οὐ μὴ αἰσχυνθῶ: This emphatic form of the negative (*οὐ μή*) 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 μή* 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 **בָּשָׁ** 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 *αἰσχυνθῶ*, thus combining objective and subjective negatives, but it must be remembered that *οὐ* with the subjunctive had died out (except in *μή οὐ*) before this construction came in.

10. ὅταν λέγῃ=ὅτε λέγει: Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 21, 90: ὅταν . . . ὀδύρηται, Clem. Alex. Paed. 1, 5, 15: ὅταν φῆ (bis), 1, 7, 56: ὅταν λέγῃ.

11. Αὐτοὶ . . . χεῖρας. Ἐγὼ . . . μου: Ps. 21, 16. 18; 3, 5. On *αὐτοί*, see c. 33, 21.

14. Ἐλάλησαν . . . ἔαυτόν: Ps. 21, 7 sq. *Λαλεῖν* in classic Greek a familiar word, used seriously in later times.—ἐν χείλεσιν: 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., *ὅστις* in mod. Gr.

16. Σταυρωθέντος . . . ἔαυτόν: Matt. 27, 39–43.—ώς: Is due to Hagen. Otto now reads “*Ἄτινα . . . ὅτι*, suggested by Thirlby’s “A . . . ὅτι.”

### 39. THE SPIRIT ITSELF SPEAKS.

1. λαλῆ: C. 38, 14.

2. Ἐκ γὰρ Σιών . . . πολεμεῖν: Isa. 2, 3. 4.

3. ἔξελευσεται=ἔξεισι.

4. λαόν: C. 33, 22.

6. οὐ μὴ λήψονται=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 . . . πολεμεῖν: 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. δεκαδύο=δώδεκα: 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: *Iisque*, 'and that.' — ιδιῶται: 'Unprofessional men,' explained by λαλεῖν μὴ δννάμενοι, 'no rhetoricians.' On μὴ see c. 5, 4. Otto cites Orig. c. Cels. 8, 47: οὐ πιθανὸν οὕτε τοὺς Ἰησοῦ ἀποστόλοντς, ἄνδρας ἀγραμμάτους καὶ ιδιώτας, ἀλλω τινὶ τεθαρηγέναι πρὸς τὸ καταγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸν Χριστιανισμὸν η τῷ διδείσῃ αὐτοῖς δννάμει.

12. διδάξαι: Free use of infinitive=διδάξοντες, c. 15, 24.

13. ἀλληλοφόνται: See c. 14, 15. A Justinian word.—πολεμοῦ-  
μεν τοὺς ἔχθρούς: The acc. construction is chiefly later.

14. ψεύδεσθαι: C. 8, 3.

15. ἡδέως: With ἀποθνήσκομεν.

16. Δυνατὸν . . . ἦν: C. 12, 40.

17. 'Η γλῶσσ' . . . ἀνώμοτος: Eur. Hippol. 607. The editions have ὁμώμοχ', η. Cicero's version (Off. 3, 29, 108) runs: *Iuravi lingua, mentem iniuratam gero*. One of the most notorious and best-abused verses in Greek scenic poetry. Comp. Ar. Ran. 102 al.

18. Γελοῖον ἦν δῆ: 'Ηι δῆ, which some editors read for ἵδη, is ungrammatical. The subj. can not be used to assert. 'Ην, 'it were,' as above. So also Otto, at last.

**19. συντιθεμένους καὶ καταλεγομένους:** ‘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 praeceperit?* Suet. Calig. 15: *De sororibus auctor fuit ut omnibus sacramentis adiceretur: Neque me liberosque meos cariores habebo quam Gaium et sorores.*

**21. μηδὲν ἄφθαρτον:** ‘Although.’ Μηδέν is normal, because it is in an infinitive sentence.

**23. ἐρῶντας:** ‘Enamored.’ Comp. c. 1, 2.

#### 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. Ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὁδόν:** Ps. 19, 2 foll.

**10. ἀγαλλιάσεται:** A favorite word in the LXX (=לִבְגַּע), not used in classic Greek. See the definition of ἀγαλλίασις 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 viam,* and Latin Hymns, p. 227, note.—**ώς γίγας:** Otto reads against the MSS., *ἰσχυρὸς ώς γ.,* and comp. c. 54, 41.

**13. ἔχον . . . λελογίσμεθα:** The inf. ἔχειν is not necessary. See c. 8, 1.—**ἔχον . . . οἰκείως:** ‘Appropriate.’ “*Ἐχειν* w. adverb originally of condition, afterwards of character also.”

**18. συνέλευσιν:** 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 ἀρχοντες* below.

**22. ὅσον:** C. 4, 3.—**ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς:** C. 8, 1.

**24. μετάνοιαν:** C. 28, 9.—**πρὶν ἐλθεῖν:** C. 4, 13.

**25. Εἴρηνται:** Sc. *οἱ λόγοι.*—**οῦτως:** See note on *οὖτε*, c. 47, 4.—**Μακάριος . . . αὐτόν:** Ps. 1 and 2.

**28. ἀλλ’ ᾧ:** The restrictive ἀλλ’ ᾧ (which is used everywhere in prose) occurs after negative clauses or equivalents. Madvig

and others write ἀλλ' ἡ=ἄλλο ἡ. This may have been the origin of the turn, but the consciousness of it is lost, as is shown by Plato, Phaedo, 81 B: *μηδὲν ἄλλο ἄλλ' ἡ*. Add l. c. 83 A; Apol. 33 B; Dem. [25, 68]; and 37, 53. For later writers, see 2 Cor. 1, 13; Theoph. ad Autolyc. 2, 18, 24; Clem. Alex. Strom. 1, 19, 96. 'Αλλ' ἡ occurs frequently in the LXX; Winer says, 'hin und wieder.'

**31. τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ:** C. 32, 22.

**33. ὡσεὶ:** The consciousness of condition is lost. 'As it were.'

**37. Ἰνα τι:** The ellipsis γένηται is commonly supplied. As the consciousness of ellipsis faded out, *inatī* was written as one word. Comp. δηλονότι, μηδόλως, c. 29, 8. In the Vulgate we find *īna tī* sometimes literally translated by *ut quid*, Ps. 10, 1; 84, 1. See Latin Hymns, p. 119: *Ut quid, homo, extolleris?*—**ἐφρύαξαν:** The active is confined to the LXX.

**38. καινά:** 'Strange things.' The ordinary reading is *κενά*, but *καινά* occurs in eight MSS. of the LXX.

**43. ἐκμυκτηριεῖ:** A drastic expression, which evidently belongs to popular speech. The simple *μυκτηρίζειν* is repeatedly used in the LXX. The compound *ἐκμ.* occurs also 2 K. 19, 21; Ps. 34, 19. Clem. Rom. Ep. ad Cor. 1, 39: *χλενάζουσιν ήμᾶς καὶ μυκτηρίζοντι*.—**ἐν ὁργῇ . . . καὶ ἐν τῷ θυμῷ:** Greg. Naz. gives the familiar distinction: *Θν μὸς μέν ἐστιν ἀθρόος ζέσις φρενός, | ὁργὴ δὲ θυμὸς ἔμμενων.* [Plato] Deff. 415 E: *Θν μὸς ὁρμὴ βίαιος ἄνευ λογισμοῦ, ὁργὴ παράκλησις τοῦ θυμικοῦ εἰς τὸ τιμωρεῖσθαι.*

**47. πρός με:** The only common combination of a monosyllabic preposition with the enclitic personal pronoun.

**48. Αἴτησαι:** See c. 15, 33.

**50. ἐν ῥάβδῳ:** 'En' is a Hebraism. Comp. c. 38, 14.

**51. βασιλεῖς:** The sign of the vocative, ὦ, is not omitted in classical Greek prose except under especial pressure.—**παιδεύθητε:** In this sense LXX, N. T., Patres. It is an intensification of the Greek *παιδεία* as defined in [Plat.] Deff. 416: *παιδεία δύναμις θεραπευτικὴ ψυχῆς.*

#### 41. CRUCIFIXION FORETOLD.

**4. Ἀισατε . . . ξύλου:** 1 Chron. 16, 23. 25–31; Ps. 96, 1. 2. 4–10.

**8. αῖνος:** C. 13, 5.

**13. μὴ σαλευθήτω:** *Mή* 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 . . . ξύλου:** 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 μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι:** C. 19, 31.

**2. ὡς ἥδη γενόμενα:** 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 νοῦ:* Hellenistic for *νῷ*.

**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. πρὸν ᾧ:** C. 4, 13.

**9. καὶ=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. προλεγμένων:** More commonly, *προειρημένων*.

**2. καθ' εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκην:** 'Ἡ εἰμαρμένη commonly without a substantive; *μοῖρα* is usually supplied by the grammarians, *ἱμέρα* 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 προειπεν προεγνωσμένα:** 'Because of the prediction

of things foreknown.' Observe that *προεγνωσμένα* means both 'foreknown' and 'foreordained.'

**4. διαλύομεν:** 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 συλλογισμὸν ἀναλύστων καὶ τὰς ἀμφιβολίας διαλύνονταν*. —*τὰς τιμωρίας καὶ τὰς κολάσεις*: See c. 3, 4.

**6. ἐκάστου:** Thirlby's *ἐκάστῳ* would be more elegant. Notice the position, c. 44, 35: *κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων ἐκαστον ἀμείψεσθαι κτέ.—ἀποδίδοσθαι . . . μαθόντες=στι ἀποδίδονται μ.*

**7. καὶ ἀληθὲς ἀποφαινόμεθα:** 'Having learned, we also maintain that it is true.'

**8. οὐδὲ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔστιν ὄλως:** I have restored the normal *οὐδέ* for the MSS. *οὐτε*. A solitary *οὐτε* can be due only to anacoluthon (want of sequence), which were unnatural here. On *ἐφ'* *ἡμῖν*, see c. 8, 1; explained by *προαιρέσις ἀλευθέρα* below. With *ὄλως* comp. *μηδόλως*, 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, 53: *τάδε μὲν . . . τάδε δέ*. Comp. also B 7, 30.

**10. οὗτ' ἐκεῖνος:** So for the MS. *οὐδ'*, as above.

**11. προαιρέσει:** *Προαιρέσις* is the antithesis of *ἀνάγκη*, Isocr. 1, 10.

**14. κατορθοῖ καὶ σφάλλεται:** Familiar opposites. Comp. Thuc. 2, 60: *πόλιν ὁρθουμένην . . . 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 ἡσαν:** "Αν" may be supplied from the foregoing clause, or it may have dropped out after *ἡσαν*, a common accident.

**19. φαύλων:** Otto now reads *ἀγαθῶν καὶ φαύλων*, which seems to be required by the context.

**20. πράττουσαν ἀν ἀποφαινόμεθα:** The MSS. have ἀποφαινόμεθα. I have restored, with Sylburg, the optative to match δόξαι below, and inserted ἄν. See note on l. 18. The unreal conditional sometimes runs into the ideal, c. 19, 2.—τὸ προειρημένον: C. 28.

**21. οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀρετή:** Comp. Origen c. Cels. 4, 3: ἀρετῆς μὲν ἔντελγες τὸ ἐκούσιον, ἀνεῖλες αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν.

**23. ἥπερ:** C. 12, 38.—δ ἀληθῆς λόγος: C. 3, 4.

**24. εἰμαρρένην . . . 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.

**25. τοῖς ὁμοίωσ:** Sc. ἐκλεγομένοις. Sylb. and Ashton improve the position by reading ὁμοίως τοῖς.

**27. οἷον:** ‘As for instance.’—μηδὲν δυνάμενα: C. 9, 4. Below, οὐ δυνάμενος.

**28. οὐδὲ γάρ ἦν . . . οὐδ' . . . ἐτύγχανεν:** On the omission of ἄν, see c. 12, 40.

**30. τοῦτο γενόμενος:** Sc. ἀγαθός.

**32. ἔτερον παρ' ὅ:** Comp. c. 19, 19.

#### 44. THIS DOCTRINE THE DOCTRINE OF THE PROPHETS.

**2. τῷ πρώτῳ πλασθέντι ἀνθρώπῳ:** Adam is often called the ‘protoplasm.’ Ambrose (L. H. p. 24): *Aperiens paradisum | quem protoplastus clauerat.*

**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. Λούσασθε . . . 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. Αἰτίᾳ . . . 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, 137; Arnob. 2, 64.

**24. καὶ πάντων:** *A deo omnibus.*

**27. τὰς ἀφορμάς:** 'Αφορμή, '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 σπερματικός, 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. ὅ φαμεν:** Like the Latin *quod dicimus* of coincident action. 'In that we say (in saying), we do not mean.' See Xen. Occ. 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 κτέ.:** 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 *μέλλοντα*, and beginning the apodosis with *καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ*, the difficulty would be relieved. Thus: δόγματος ὄντος παρ' αὐτῷ κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων ἔκαστον ἀμείψεσθαι (on the fut., see c. 2, 17) τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πρατομένων μέλλοντα 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' αὐτούν*, with which he connects *μέλλοντα*.

**38. εἰς ἐπίστασιν:** I have ventured to substitute this familiar word for *ἐπίτασιν*, which is supposed to mean here *ἐπίτασιν 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); *ἄγειν 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).

**39.** μέλον ἔστιν: C. 3, 4. Comp. Plat. Legg. 6, 766 C.

**41.** θάνατος ὡρίσθη κατὰ τῶν . . . ἀναγ.: Comp. c. 45, 17. Otto cites the law in Iul. Paull. Sentent. receptt. lib. 5, tit. 21, n. 3: *Qui de salute principis vel de summa rei publicae mathematicos, hariolos, haruspices, raticinatores consulit cum eo qui responderit capite punitur . . . Non tantum divinatione quis, sed ipsa scientia eiusque libris melius fecerit abstinere.*—**Ὑστάσπου:** C. 20, 1.

**42.** Σιβύλλης: C. 20, 1.

**43.** διὰ τοῦ φόβου: Contrast διὰ τὸν φόβον, c. 29, 14.—**ἐντυγχάνοντας:** C. 14, 2.

**44.** αὐτοῖς: *Ipsis.*

**45.** κατέχωσιν: On the sequence, see c. 33, 8.

**47.** καὶ ὑμῖν: See Athenag. Suppl. 9, 35.

**48.** εὐάρεστα: The contents, τὰ ἴνόντα.—**φανήσεσθαι:** On the inf., see c. 5, 11.—**Κἄν:** C. 2, 8.

**49.** κερδήσαντες ἔσόμεθα: 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, *κατακανόντες* 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.—**ἔως ἀν 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. —**ἐκ πύρωσιν:** 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. Εἰπεν . . . ἐγέννησά σε: Ps. 109, 1-3.

17. καὶ, καίπερ: *Kai* inserted at Thirlby's suggestion. A more elegant writer than Justin would have omitted the *καίπερ*, 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. τοῦσδε τοῖς λόγοις: See c. 47, 4.—οὐ πλέον 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 ἑτῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα: 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 *πρό* w. gen. for 'ago,' 'since,' is post-classic.

3. γεγεννῆσθαι: Γ. depends on λέγειν, λέγειν on εἴπωσι, for which see c. 12, 33.—ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου: C. 13, 15.

4. ὕστερον χρόνοις: 'Long afterward,' for *χρόνοις 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, 38. Λυσόμεθα for *λυσώμεθα* with Otto. See c. 43, 4 (note).

8. εἶναι ἐδιδάχθημεν: *Eἶναι* instead of *ὦτι* and finite verb. See c. 12, 7.—προεμηνύσαμεν . . . 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.—κἄν = κεί.

11. οἶον: 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. Ἀνανίας καὶ Ἄζαρίας 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: ‘Tedium.’

**15. εἶναι:** Below, c. 47, 15, *ἐπίσταμαι* takes *ὅτι*. See c. 5, 10.—**παραπούμενα:** C. 2, 3.—**προγενόμενοι:** Before Christ.—”**Ωστε . . . ἥσαν:** C. 5, 8.

**18. βιοῦντες:** See c. 16, 45.—**Χριστιανοὶ . . . ὑπάρχουσιν:** Maran has toiled over this unguarded expression of Justin.

**19. Δι’ ᾧ δ’ αἰτίαν διὰ δυνάμεως:** 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. χωρήσομεν:** 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. οἵδε:** In classic usage *οὗτος* ordinarily refers to what goes before, *οὖτε* 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, *οὖτε* of the first; and again, first and second persons shift according to the point of view, as *ηὗτε ἡ χείρ*, ‘this hand of *mine*,’ *αὕτη ἡ χείρ*, ‘this hand which I offer *you*.’ This extreme mobility was supplemented by gesture. “*Οὖτε* 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. “*Οτι*, see c. 8, 7.

**10. γενήσεσθαι:** 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-

ticle 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 ἤσθιω.

15. "Οτι δὲ φυλάσσεται κτέ.: See Tertull. Apol. c. 21; Euseb. H. E. 4, 6 (Otto).

16. ὅπως μηδεὶς . . . γένηται: C. 11, 7. On the aor. c. 4, 3.—θάνατος . . . ὄρισται: 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. 35, 4–6. Comp. Matt. 11, 5.—τρανή: A poetic word in the classic time, often used in Orig. c. Cels.

7. "Οτι τε: On τε, see c. 21, 26.

8. γενομένων ἀκτων: "Ἀκτων is Casaubon's convincing conjecture for αὐτῷ. See c. 35, 26.

9. ἀναιρεθησόμενος: C. 46, 9.

11. "Ιδε . . . ἐκ τοῦ μέσου: Isa. 57, 1 foll.

14. καὶ ἔσται ἐν εἰρήνῃ· ἡ ταφὴ κτέ.: This is Justin's punctuation. See Dial. c. T. cc. 97, 98. Commonly ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡ ταφὴ αὐτοῦ· ἥρται (Otto).

#### 49. HIS REJECTION BY THE JEWS FORETOLD.

1. Καὶ πάλιν: Sc. ἀκούσατε (c. 48, 3). — οἱ οὐ προεσδοκήσαντες: On the neg. c. 14, 16.

2. λαοὶ τῶν ἔθνων: C. 33, 22. — προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτόν: C. 16, 22.

4. παραγενόμενον=ὅταν παραγένηται.

5. ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου: C. 36, 1.—Εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι: C. 47, 4.

6. Ἐμφανῆς . . . ἐναντίον μου: Isa. 65, 1. 3. — εὑρέθην τοῖς μὴ ξητοῦσιν: See c. 27, 18. This construction of the aor. pass. is not unwarranted in classic prose.

7. ἔθνει οὖ: 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. παραγενόμενον:** 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 *διεχρήσις*.

**14. μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἀκούσαντες=εὶ καὶ μηδὲν ἥκουσαν.**

**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): *Ἐαντὸν τῷ μόνῳ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παράθεσθε.* See note on c. 14, 9.

**19. ἔαντοὺς ἀνέθηκαν:** C. 14, 12.

**20. λεχθησόμενα:** C. 33, 1.

**21. εἰεν:** Justin does not use the optative much in oratio obliqua, and here, as in C. 26, 21, he treats it as a future.

**23. βραχυεπῶς:** A Justinian word, B 9, 6.—**Οὐαὶ . . . 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. Ἀνδ' ὅν . . . ἐξιλάστεται:** Isa. 53, 12.

**7. Ἰδε γὰρ συνήσουσι:** Isa. 52, 13–15.

**8. Ὡν τρόπον:** C. 4, 22.

**10. θαυμάσονται:** Even with living beings the Attic inclines to the rule. See c. 3, 4.

**11. οἷς=οὖτοι οἵτε.**

**12. ὁψονται:** Inserted by Otto upon Thirlby's suggestion. See the LXX and Justin himself, Dial. c. T. cc. 13. 118.

**13. Κύριε . . . ἡρθη:** Isa. 53, 1–8.

**15. ὡς παιδίον:** Justin understands this to refer to the subject of ἀνηγγεῖλαμεν. See Dial. c. T. 42.

**18. παρὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπους:** C. 19, 19.

**19. εἰδὼς φέρειν:** C. 26, 20.

**22. Αὐτός:** C. 33, 21.

**24. παιδεία:** See c. 40, 51.—**εἰρήνης:** The LXX and Justin (D. c. T. 13) add ἡμῶν.

**31. Μετὰ . . . ἀπέστησαν:** Not so the canonical Gospels (Otto).

**33. ἐκ νεκρῶν . . . διδάξαντος:** Comp. Luke 24, 25 sq.

**34. ὀφθέντος 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 . . . ἔδιδαξαν: 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. Ἰνα δὲ μηνύσῃ:** On the subj., see c. 33, 8.

**2. ἀνεκδιήγητον . . . τὸ γένος:** Predicative position. 'Αν. 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. Ὄτι=quod, as cc. 42, 6; 47, 1; 48, 1; 49, 19; 50, 1 (Otto).**

**9. δῶτε:** Sc. αὐτόν. The form δῶται = δοθῆ, a monstrosity, is found in MSS. of the LXX.

**19. Ἀρατε . . . δυνατός:** Ps. 23, 7. 8.

**24. Ἰδοὺ . . . αὐτῷ:** 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 . . . προκεκηρύχθαι:** C. 30 foll. Otto now reads ἀπεδείκνυμεν for the MS. ἀποδείκνυμεν. On the inf., see c. 3, 3.

**2. πρὸν ἦ:** C. 4, 13.

**4. πίστιν ἔχειν ὡς . . . γενησομένων:** C. 23, 12.

**5. Ὡν γὰρ τρόπον:** C. 4, 22.

**6. τὰ λείποντα:** C. 32, 30.

**7. ἀπιστῆται:** 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 ἀξίων: Sc. τὰ σώματα, dependent on ἐνδύσει. On the absolute use of ἀξίων, see c. 10, 9.

**15.** προειρήσεται γενησόμενα: Participle for inf. See c. 50, 35.

**16.** Ἐρρέθη: The usual form is ἡρρήθη.

**17.** Συναχθήσεται . . . αὐτῷ: Mixed. Σ. . . . ἀναφνήσονται, Ezek. 37, 7 foll.; καὶ πᾶν . . . αὐτῷ, Isa. 45, 23. Comp. Rom. 14, 11.

**20.** γενέσθαι μέλλουσιν: On the aor., see c. 19, 31. Justin probably wrote γενήσεσθαι.

**22.** Ὁ σκάληξ αὐτῶν . . . σβεσθήσεται: Isa. 66, 24. Add σβ. to Veitch, who cites this place for παυθήσεται (rare). The LXX have τελευτήσει.

**23.** τότε . . . ὅτε: "Οτε on account of the correlative.

**25.** ἰδωσι . . . παραγενόμενον: Here of actual perception, bursting on the sight.

**27.** Ἐντελούματι . . . ὄνειδος: Mixed. Zech. 2, 6 (comp. Isa. 43, 5, 6 and 11, 12); Zech. 12, 10–12 (comp. Joel 2, 13); 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.—ὅψονται εἰς ὃν ἔξεκέντησαν: Remarkable coincidence with John 19, 37, variously interpreted by critics. The LXX have (Zech. 12, 10): ἐπιβλέψονται πρός με, ἀνδ' ὃν 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 ἀποδεῖξαι 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, 3.

**8.** τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ: C. 14, 9.

**9.** τὴν κρίσιν . . . ποιήσεται: C. 1, 9.

**10.** πρὸν ἥ: C. 4, 13.

**12. ὁρῶμεν:** We should expect *ἴωρῶμεν* (which Otto now edits), but Justin has got the thread of his long sentence tangled.  
—**τοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπους:** C. 1, 5.

**14. παραιτησαμένους:** C. 2, 3.

**15. ἔθη:** One of the MSS. has *ἔθνη*. — **αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντες:** ‘When we look at our own selves,’ i. e., the Gentile Christians. The MSS. have *ἴαυτούς*. The whole sentence from *Tίνι . . . 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. χειρῶν ἔργοις λατρεύοντας:** C. 16, 22.

**29. παραγενόμενον ἡγνόησαν:** C. 49, 4.

**30. προεῖπε . . . σωθήσεθαι:** C. 12, 32.

**32. Εἰ μὴ . . . ἐγενήθημεν:** Isa. 1, 9.

**34. ιστοροῦνται . . . γενόμεναι:** C. 50, 35.

**36. μηδενὸς . . . σωθέντος:** In classic prose *οὐδενός*.

**38. ἐνγατέρες:** Perhaps *αἱ θηγατέρες*.

**39. ἔρημον καὶ κεκαυμένην οὖσαν:** The perf. part. is treated like an adjective. A more careful writer would have said *ξ. οὖσαν καὶ κεκ.*

**40. ‘Ως . . . προεγινώσκοντο:** ‘Ως ‘(to show) how,’ as often in Greek.

**43. Ἰσραὴλ . . . ἀκροβυστίαν:** Not Isa. but Jer. 9, 26.

**44. πειθὼ 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, 35).

#### 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:** ‘Ἐπι’ ‘on the basis of,’ hence ‘with a view to.’

**4. εἰρῆσθαι 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. προεβάλλοντο:** C. 26, 2. — λεχθῆναι γενομένους: So Maran, Braun, Otto, Trollope, for the λ. λεγομένους of the MSS.—νιόνς τῷ Διὶ: C. 21, 6.

**9. δυνήσεσθαι:** The mass of infinitives is inelegant. ‘Thinking that they would be able to work men into the conviction that,’ etc.

**10. ὅμοια:** For ὥμοιως. 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 excepérunt [daemones]*.

**15. οὐκ ἐνόσουν 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 responsa in ambiguos exitus temperare* (Semisch).

**16. τὸν ἡμέτερον Χριστόν:** C. 48, 2.

**17. ὡς προέφημεν:** C. 44.

**18. ὡς προεμηνύσαμεν:** C. 32.

**19. Οὐκ ἐκλείψει . . . σταφυλῆς:** Gen. 49, 10.

**20. φῶταπόκειται:** C. 32, 4.

**25. ὄνον:** The MSS. have οῖνον, 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 η. See B 7, 33. Otto now edits εἴτε νιὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ παραγενησόμενός ἐστι η ἀνθρώπον. Comp. l. 34.

**30. ἀνελεύσεται=ἀνειστ.**

**31. μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι:** Causal. See c. 5, 9.

**32. ὄνον πῶλον:** A slip of Justin or of his LXX, probably his

own, as in Dial. c. T. 52 the words *καὶ τῷ ἔλικι τὸν πῶλον τῇσε* οὐ σὺν αὐτῷ are added.—ἄγων ἔσται=ἄξει: See c. 19, 5.

**33. καὶ νιός:** We should expect *καὶ εἰ.*

**34. ὡς προέφημεν:** C. 21.

**35. καὶ αὐτόν:** ‘Likewise?’—*ἔξ ἀνθρώπων:* So Otto for *ἀνθρώπουν*, in accordance with Justin’s fixed usage.

**37. λεχθέν:** C. 11, 1. — *διὰ παρβένου τεχθήσεται:* On the other hand, Ignat. Ep. ad Eph. 3: *ἔλαζε τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ θεοῦ ἐπράχθη.*

**38. δι’ ἑαυτοῦ:** Of himself, and not riding on a horse as Perseus (Ashton), cc. 21, 13; 22, 16.

**40. προλέλεκται:** More usual *προείρηται.*

**41. Ἰσχυρὸς κτε.:** Ps. 19, 5. See c. 40, 11.

**42. ἐκπερινοστήσαντα:** See note on c. 26, 14.

**43. ἔμαθον 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. ἐπί τινος:** C. 5, 1.

**2. τὸ σταυρωθῆναι:** C. 3, 9.—*οὐ γάρ ἐνοεῖτο αὐτοῖς:* See Ignat. 1. c.: *ἔλαζε . . . 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. σχῆματος:** ‘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 . . . γίγνονται:** Imitated by Minuc. Fel., Oct. 29.—*ἥν μὴ . . . μείνῃ:* *Méning* 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. βάναυσουργοί:** Βάναυσος is one of the untranslatables. Socially it would correspond to our ‘stoker.’ Justin combines φορτικὰ καὶ βάναυσα. Dial. c. T. 3.—εἰ μή: C. 10, 20.

**13. Τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπειον . . . ἐπονομάζετε:** Tertull. Ad Nat. 1, 12 (Otto).

**14. τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων:** Brachylogy: τ. ἀ. ζ.=τοῦ τ. ἀ. ζ.

**19. Πνεῦμα . . . κύριος:** Lam. 4, 20 (LXX).

**21. δηλοῖ, τὰ τῶν βηξίλλων:** The MSS. have δηλοῖ . . . λωμεν καὶ τῶν τροπαιών, with νιξι (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 *verillum*. The most simple is that recommended by Nolte: τὰ τῶν βηξίλλων. If Otto is right as to the space, read with him λέγω δὲ τὰ τῶν οὐηξίλλων.

**23. δεικνύντες:** Anacoluthon instead of δεικνύντων, as if he had written δι’ ἀν τὰς προόδους ποιεῖσθε, 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. ὅση δύναμις:** C. 13, 5.

**28. οἴδαμεν . . . ὄντες:** ‘We know that we are,’ c. 3, 3.—λοιπόν: C. 3, 21.—καν . . . ἀπιστῆτε: C. 2, 7. The MSS. have ἀπιστεῖτε.

## 56. THE DEMONS STILL AT WORK.

**1. ἡρκέσθησαν . . . εἰπεῖν:** A later construction.

**3. υἱοὺς τῷ Διῷ:** C. 21, 6.

**4. ὅπως:** ‘How,’ not ‘that.’

**5. ἐν παντὶ γένει:** C. 1, 5.

**7. ὡς προεδηλώσαμεν:** See c. 26.

9. ἀπατωμένους ἔχουσι: "Ἐχω=κατέχω, 'keep.'

10. Καὶ γάρ: *Etenim*.—ώς προέφημεν: 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 ως τοὺς ἄλλους κτέι.

17. εἴ τις εἶ . . . κατεχόμενος: When the participle is used in the predicate, it becomes to a greater or less extent an adjective. *Κατεχόμενος=κάτοχος*. 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 εἴαν.

18. Καί: With stress.

19. καθαιρήσατε=καθέλετε. Veitch gives no authority earlier than Polyaenus, 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: *Mή* is common after verbs of belief, c. 8, 6. On the aor. instead of fut., see c. 12, 23.

3. ὅνπερ τρόπον: C. 4, 22.—λαθεῖν . . . παραγενόμενος: C. 35, 1. *Λαθεῖν* depends on *πρᾶξαι*. '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. ἔκεινο μόνον: Anticipates the infinitive clause. Comp. c. 4, 5.

7. ἔλεοῦντες: On the synonym, see c. 15, 43.

9. τοῦ πάντως ἀποθανεῖν ὄμολογουμένου: C. 11, 10.

10. καινοῦ: Otto comp. Eccl. 9, 1: *καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν πᾶν πρόσφατον ἢ πὸ τὸν ἥλιον*.—ἄλλῃ: 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 δέ below.—καν ἐνταυτοῦ: ‘Even in the course of a year.’ But καν (=καὶ ἐν) ἐνιαντῷ would be more natural.

**13. προσέχειν:** C. 13, 22.—ἀπιστοῦσι μηδὲν εἶναι: After negative verbs the negative result is often expressed by the negatived infinitive. Disbelieving that anything is=believing that nothing is. This does not exclude the positive construction, as in Athenag. Suppl. 12: ἀπιστούμεθα θεοσεβεῖν.

**14. εἰς ἀναισθησίαν χωρεῖν:** C. 18, 2.

**15. παθῶν:** Thirlby notices the similarity to Plat. Apol. 41 D: ἀλλά μοι δῆλον ἐστι τοῦτο ὅπι ἥδη τεθνάναι καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων βέλτιον ἦν μοι. διὰ τοῦτο . . . τοῖς καταψηφισαμένοις μον καὶ τοῖς κατηγόροις οὐ πάνυ χαλεπαίνω· καίτοι οὐ ταύτη τῇ διανοίᾳ κατεψηφίζοντό μον καὶ κατηγόρουν ἀλλ’ οἰόμενοι βλάπτειν τι. A h̄ton desiderates παθῶν μέν, but antithesis is often an after-thought.

**16. ἔαυτούς:** Expressed on account of the contrast with ἡμᾶς. Otherwise: φαῦλοι ὄντες δεικνύοντιν.

**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 DEMONS.

**1. Καὶ . . . δέ:** C. 32, 45.—**ώς πρόεφημεν:** C. 26.

**5. καταγγέλλει:** ‘Proclaims.’ Comp. c. 5, 33.—**ἄλλον . . . παρά:** A familiar construction. Plat. Theaet. 156 A: τὸ πᾶν κίνησις καὶ ἄλλο παρὰ τοῦτο οὐδέν. See c. 19, 19.

**7. ὡς μόνῳ . . . ἐπισταμένῳ:** C. 4, 19.

**S. 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 Ἐφεσίων πόλεως ἡλαύνετο (comp. Eur. Med. 70); Resurr. 18, 84: ἥρτηνται τῆς ἀνοίας; Clem. Alex. Paedag. 2, 9, 79: ἀνεγερτέον τῆς κοίτης.

**16. ὑπεκκρούοντες:** Only here. Literally, ‘slyly tripping up.’ Comp. Plat. Phaedr. 288 E: ἐκκέκρουν κάς με ἵλπιδος.—**ἢν μὴ . . . ἔχωσιν:** Generic, c. 2, 6.

## 59. WHAT PLATO OWES TO MOSES.

**1. λέγομεν . . . τοῦ λόγου:** *Λέγομεν* 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. λαβάντα=στι ἔλαβε:** C. 3, 3.

**3. τὸ εἴπειν:** 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 Μωϋσέως:** Plato’s indebtedness to Moses is a not unfamiliar theme. See Clem. Alex. Strom. 1, 22, 150: *Νομένιος δὲ ὁ Πυθαγόρειος φιλόσοφος ἀντικρυς γράφει· τι γάρ ἐστι Πλάτων ἡ Μωϋσῆς ἀττικίζων.* Comp. Protrept. 6, 70: *πόθεν, ὃ Πλάτων, ἀλήθειαν αἰνίττη;* . . . *νόμους τοὺς ὅσοι ἀληθεῖς καὶ δόξαν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ παρ’ αὐτῶν ὡφέλησαι τῶν Ἐβραίων, and Orig. c. Cels. 6, 19: ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀπογινώσκω τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Φαΐδρου λέξεις ἀπό τινων Ἐβραίων μεμαθηκότα τὸν Πλάτωνα κτέ.*—**τοῦ προδεδηλωμένου πρώτου προφ.:** See cc. 31, 36; 44, 22.

**8. τὴν ἀρχήν:** C. 10, 8.

**9. Ἐν ἀρχῇ . . . ἐγένετο οὐτως:** Gen. 1, 1, sqq.

**13. "Ωστε . . . ἐμάθομεν:** C. 5, 8.

**17. Ἐρεβος:** It is barely possible that Justin may be alluding to the בְּרַאֵשׁ, ‘the evening,’ of Gen. 1, 5 (Thirlby). But see Deut. 32, 22, which Justin cites below. (Otto.)—**παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς:** Hesiod. Theog. 123: *ἐκ Χάεος δ' Ἐρεβός τε μέλαινά τε Νύξ ἐγένοντο.* (Otto.)—**εἰρήσθαι . . . οἰδαμεν:** 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.—**φυσιολογούμενον:** ‘The physiological discussion’ (Trollope). ‘The disquisition on the nature of the Son of God.’

**2. ὅτε λέγει:** See c. 38, 10. The passage occurs Plat. Tim. 36 B.C.—**Ἐξίστεν 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 )( (xii), 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. ἀναγέγραπται:** 'Stands recorded.'

**5. κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ:** C. 17, 3.

**9. γενομένην:** So for λεγομένην (Sylburg).

**11. ἐπὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ σκηνῇ:** The tabernacle was considered an image of the world (Maran). Justin's statement has no Scriptural warrant.—**Ἐὰν προσβλέπητε . . . σωθῆσεσθε:** Numb. 21, 8; comp. John 3, 14, 15.

**12. ἐν αὐτῷ:** Shall we combine ἐν αὐτῷ σωθῆσεσθε or πιστεύητε ἐν αὐτῷ? The position in John makes for the latter, which I have put in the text against the tradition.

**14. οὗτως παρέδωκεν.** **Ἄναγνούς:** So Thirlby for Οὕτως π. ἀναγνούς.

**15. μὴ ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενος:** Causal, c. 5, 4.

**17. Καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν:** Sc. παρὰ Μωϋσεώς 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.

**28. Παρ' ἡμῖν:** C. 8, 8. On the loftiness of Christian doctrine amid the humility of its professors, see Athenag. Suppl. 11, 48.

**32. ὡς συνεῖναι:** 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:** *Oὐ*, although in an infinitive complex, on account of the contrast with 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. Ὡν τρόπον:** C. 4, 22.—**ἀνεβῆκαμεν ἑαυτούς:** Comp. c. 14, 12.—

**Ἐθήκαμεν=ἔθεμεν**: Far less common in good times than **ἔθηκαν=ἔθεσαν**. On the reflexive, see c. 13, 7.

**3. πονηρεύειν**: The active is unknown to classic Greek.

**4. πεισθώσι καὶ πιστεύωσι**: C. 8, 6.

**6. βιοῦν**: C. 16, 45.—**δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται**: 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, 30: *πάντα μὲν οὖν ἀπολογόμεθα τὰ ἀμαρτήματα, οὐκέτι δέ ἐσμεν παρὰ πόδας κακοί*, and Constt. Apostt. 2, 7: *οὐ πιστεύομεν οὖν, ἀδελφοί, λουσάμενόν τινα τὸ τῆς ζωῆς λουτρὸν ἔτι πράσσειν τὰ τῶν ἀνόμων ἀσελγήματα νηστεύοντες*. Grabe cites Constt. Apostt. 7, 22: Otto, Tertull. De Bapt. 20.

**9. ἔνθα**: C. 32, 25.

**10. δν . . . ἀνεγεννήθημεν**: Cognate accusative. C. 18, 2.

**11. ἐπ' ὀνόματος κτέ.**: The importance of this early baptismal formula (Matt. 28, 19), evident in itself, has been much insisted on by theological writers.

**13. πνεύματος ἄγιον**: The article omitted, because *π. ἄ.* may be considered a proper name.—**λουτρὸν πιοιοῦνται=λοῦνται**: C. 1, 9.

**14. Καὶ γάρ**: C. 4, 12.—**Ἄν μὴ . . . οὐρανῶν**: John 3, 3–5. Scmisch 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 εἰσέλθητε**: 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 προεγράψαμεν**: C. 32, 45.

**19. ἀμαρτήσαντες**: Late for *ἀμαρτόντες*, which is the rule even in the LXX.

**20. Λούσασθε . . . ταῦτα**: Isa. 1, 16–20.

**27. Καὶ λόγον δέ**: On *καὶ . . . δέ*, see c. 44, 25.—**λόγον . . . τοῦ**

**τον**: ‘As a reason—this,’ not ‘this reason,’ **τὸν λόγον τοῦτον**. See c. 13, 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 σωθῶμεν**. In point is also the construction above: **τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ὅν (=ἢν ἀναγέννησιν) ἀνεγεννήθημεν**.

**29. ἀγνοοῦντες κατ’ ἀνάγκην**: Balanced by **μὴ ἀνάγκης τέκνα μηδὲ ἀγνοίας** (Otto).

**32. προαιρέσεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης**: C. 43, 1.

**33. ἀφέσεώς τε**: On **τε**, see c. 21, 26.—**ὑπὲρ ὅν=ὑπὲρ τόντων ἦ**: but **ὑπὲρ** is better omitted, so as to make **ὅν=ἄς** (cogn. acc.).

**34. ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ἐπονομάζεται**: Comp. l. 13 (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. "Ονομα κτέ.**: Justin flies off in the midst of his formula.—**τῷ ἀρρήτῳ θεῷ**: Comp. Max. Tyr. 8, 10: ‘Ο μὲν γὰρ θεὸς ὁ τῶν ὄντων πατὴρ καὶ ὀντιονργός, ὁ πρεσβύτερος μὲν ἡλίου, πρεσβύτερος δὲ οὐρανοῦ, κρείττων δὲ χρόνου καὶ αἰώνος καὶ πάσης φύσεως, ἀνώνυμος νομοθέταις καὶ ἀρρητος φωνῆς καὶ ἀόρατος δόξαλμοῖς.—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. μέμηνε**: Differs little from **μεμηνὼς ἀν 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 ἀσωτὸν μανίαν**: The article of a familiar standard. See c. 18, 2. **Τίν,** ‘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: **βαπτιζόμενοι φωτιζόμεθα, φωτιζόμενοι νιοποιόμεθα, νιοποιόμενοι τελειούμεθα, τελειούμενοι ἀπαθανατιζόμεθα**. In Quis dives salvabitur, 43 (cited in Euseb. H. E. 3, 24, p. 79 D. S.), Clement uses **ἔφωτισε** in the popular sense.—**ώς φωτιζομένων**: ‘On the ground that.’

**41. Καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματος δέ**: As if he had said before **ἐπ'** **ὀνόματος τοῦ πατρός**.

**42.** ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου : C. 13, 15.

**43.** πνεύματος ἀγίου : See l. 13.

**44.** τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν : This use of *κατά* becomes more and more common.—ὁ φωτιζόμενος : The candidate. After baptism ὁ φωτισθείς, 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.—ἐνήργησαν : C. 5, 15.

**4.** προσιέναι αὐτοῖς : C. 16, 24. *Aὐτοῖς ipsi*, the gods.—λοιβᾶς καὶ κνίσας : C. 24, 10.

**5.** τέλεον : ‘Thoroughly,’ often in Clem. Alex. Νεκροὶ ἄρα τέλεον ὄντες, Protr. 3, 45; ἀγαλμάτων τέλεον κωφῶν, 4, 51; τέλεον νωδοῖ, 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. : Tό with *κελεύεσθαι*, on which *ὑπολύεσθαι* depends. ‘This matter of the worshippers’ being ordered.’ Comp. Tertull. Apol. 40: *Nudipedalia populo denuntiatis*.—τοῖς ιεροῖς : 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 τουόντοις* (Braun). I have ventured to write *προσιόντας αὐτοῖς*. Comp. the preceding sentence.

**8.** τοὺς θρησκεύοντας : 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.** ἀρραβικῆ : 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 . . . ἀκουσον : Ex. 3, 5.

**17.** ἀκήκοε : We should expect *ἴκουσε*. See c. 33, 17.—κατελεθεῖν=ὅτι δεῖ κατελθεῖν, 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 συγγραμάτων ἐκείνου : The normal form would be τῶν ἐκείνου, and τῶν may have been omitted, owing to the final -των of συγγραμάτων. But comp. c. 4, 34 : κάκείνων 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 προεγράψαμεν : C. 37, 3.

**5.** Ἐγνω . . . 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.** προέφημεν : Cc. 21, 1 ; 22, 5 ; 23, 7 ; 32, 40.

**12.** ἀπόστολος : 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 μον : Ex. 3, 2. 6. 10. 14. 15.

**21.** ἐξ ἐκείνων=τῶν συγγραμάτων.

**22.** ἀναγράψαι : Aorist on account of the negative. C. 4, 10.

**23.** οἵδε 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 ἀσωμάτῳ, especially as we have εἰκόνος ἀσωμάτου below.

**26.** νῦν δέ : That is, in the Christian dispensation.

**28.** ὅστα . . . διατεθῆναι : Comp. c. 9, 9. Διατεθῆναι=παθεῖν.

**29.** Οὕτινες : C. 38, 15.

**31.** Ἐγώ . . . Ἰακώβ : Ex. 3, 2. 14, 15.

**35.** Ἰσραὴλ . . . συνῆκε : Isa. 1, 3.

**37.** Οὐδεὶς . . . ἀποκαλύψῃ : Matt. 11, 27.

**40.** ὅντος νιοῦ κτέ : 'Whereas he was the Son of God.'

**42.** ἐλέγχονται . . . ὡς . . . ἔγνωσταν : 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.** ὃς λόγος καὶ πρ. : So Otto. The MSS. have ὃς καὶ λόγος.

**49.** τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς : The Roman Empire.

**50. ὡς προείπομεν:** C. 23.—**διὰ παρθένου:** C. 22, 15.

**52. ἔξουθενηθῆναι** = **ἔξουδενωθῆναι:** Οὐδέν comes in with Aristotle and Theophrastus. 'Εξουδενώ (έω) is more common even in the LXX. The whole group is late.—**ἴνα . . . νικήσῃ:** C. 33, 8.

**54. Ἐγώ . . . σου:** Ex. 3, 14.

**56. καὶ ἀποθανόντας:** 'Though.'

**57. Χριστοῦ:** Comp. Matt. 22, 32.—**καὶ γάρ:** C. 4, 12.

**58. περὶ . . . ἔντησιν ἡσχολήθησαν:** Περὶ τι of acting and working, περὶ τινος of saying and thinking. 'Ασχολεῖσθαι περὶ 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 . . . δέ:** C. 32, 35.—**τὸ ἀνεγείρειν κτέ.**: 'And that the demons instigated the erection of the image.'—**τὸ εἰδωλον 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 ( $\tau\omega$  θεώ).

**6. ὡς προεγράψαμεν:** C. 59.—**Ἐν ἀρχῇ . . . ὑδάτων:** Gen. 1, 1.

**9. λεχθέντος ἐπιφερομένου:** Otto now edits ἐπιφέρεσθαι, and comp. c. 60, 22. But see c. 50, 35. For the thought Otto adduces Porphyr. De Antro Nymph. 10: Νύμφας δὲ Ναΐδας λέγομεν καὶ τὰς τῶν ιδάτων προεστώσας δυνάμεις . . . διὰ τοῦτο λέγων [Νουμένιος] καὶ τὸν προφήτην είρηκέναι ἐπιφέρεσθαι ἐπάνω τοῦ ὑδατος θεοῦ 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.—**πονηρευόμενοι:** See c. 61, 3.

**12. ἐννοηθέντα:** 'Having conceived the idea.'

**15. παραφέρειν:** 'Adduce;' perhaps, sneeringly, 'dish up.' Comp. Eur. I. A. 981: *αἰσχύνομαι δὲ παραφέροντος* (as it were dragging in) *οἰκτροὺς λόγοντος*.

#### 65. ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

**2. συγκατατεθειμένον:** C. 39, 19. A common word in Origen.

**3. κοινὰς εὐχάς:** Specimens in Constt. Apostt. 8, 9 sqq.

**4. ποιησόμενοι:** C. 1, 9.—**έκαυτῶν=ἱμῶν 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: διὰ τῆς εὐτόνου προσευχῆς.—**ὅπως καταξιωθῶμεν=καταξιωθῆναι:** “Οπως 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; Isae. 7, 27: διακελεύεσθαι ὅπως . . .; Lyeurg. 127: παρακελεύεσθαι ὅπως. The use of *ἴνα* 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 *ἴνα* . . .; Athenag. Suppl. 37, 173: εὐχόμεθα *ἴνα*. . . .

**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 σωθῶμεν:** On the cognate accusative, comp. c. 18, 2; on the article of the standard, c. 61, 39. Elsewhere Justin uses *aiōria* (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 κτέ.:** Here we have an account of the first communion, below of the Sunday communion (Augusti).—**τῷ προεστῶτι:** *Non tangenda rada.* 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 *κρᾶμα* seems to be rather a popular synonym for wine. Comp. Plut. Mor. 140 F: ὥσπερ τὸ κρᾶμα, καίτοι ὕδατος μετέχον πλειόνος, 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 δάξαν:** C. 41, 8.

**13. ἀναπέμπει:** Comp. c. 67, 15 and Orig. c. Cels. 5, 4. 7. 44; 8, 34, 74.

**14. ἐπὶ πολύ:** ‘At length.’—**ποιεῖται:** C. 1, 9.

**16. γένοιτο:** Our ‘so be it.’

**20. τοῖς οὖ παροῦσιν:** On the negative, see c. 4, 9.

## 66. THE EUCHARIST.

1. εὐχαριστία: By metonymy.
2. μετασχέν: Aor. on account of negative.—ξένον ἔστιν: C. 3, 9.
4. λουσαμένω τὸ . . . λουτρόν: C. 18, 2.
5. παρέδωκεν: C. 4, 22.—Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον κτέ.: This passage is a noted battle-field of the champions of transubstantiation, consubstantiation, and commemoration (Church of Rome, Lutherans, Zwinglians).

7. ὅν τρόπον: 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 ἔσχον is very common in this sense.—δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ: Commonly understood of the prayer or blessing pronounced by Christ at the time of instituting the Eucharist. The preposition παρά points to the παράδοσις, 'the transmitted word of prayer,' now become a formula. Comp. c. 13, 4.

10. σάρκες: C. 26, 34.

12. ἐδιάχθημεν εἶναι: 'That.' C. 21, 30.

13. ἀπομνημονεύμασιν: See Introduction, xxxv.—ἅ . . . 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 αἷμα 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. Μίθρα: 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 κάνδυν καὶ τὴν τιάραν οὐδὲ ἐλληνίζων τῷ φωνῇ, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἦν προπίῃ 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 εὐ-*

*ποροῦντες* below. Harnack (quoted by Otto) sees a reference to the ἀγάπαι.—τοῖς λειπομένοις: ‘Those who fall behind’ the others, ‘those that lack.’ Comp. Jas. 1, 4: ἐν μηδενὶ λειπόμενοι: 2, 15: λειπόμενοι τῆς ἐφημέρου τροφῆς.

3. σύνεσμεν: ‘We keep up familiar intercourse with one another.’

4. Ἐπὶ πᾶσι . . . προσφερόμεθα: C. 13, 4.

6. τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ 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 (*Iovis 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 δαιμονες*, see Tatian ad Gr. 9 and comp. Clem. Alex. Protrept. 5, 66: Ξενοκράτης Καρχηδόνιος οὗτος ἐπτὰ θεοὺς τοὺς πλανῆτας αἰνίττεται.

**7. συνέλευσις:** C. 40, 18.

**8. τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα κτέ.**: 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 ἐγχωρῆ:** 'So long as time permits' (Otto). The MSS. have ἐγχωρεῖ, but in the matter of *γ* and *ει* MSS. have little weight, and I have restored the normal subjunctive. See c. 8, 19. On the omission of *ἀν*, see c. 35, 2.

**10. τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος:** The Hebrew 'reader,' ἀναγνώστης, survived in the Christian Church.

**11. διὰ λόγου:** Contrast to the ἀνάγνωσις.

**13. εὐχὰς πέμπομεν:** So below, ἀναπέμπομεν. See c. 65, 13.—  
**ώς προέφημεν:** C. 65.

**15. δσῃ δύναμις:** Cc. 13, 5; 55, 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 Constat. Apostol. 8, 12: Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Θεὲ παντόκρατορ, οὐχ ὅσον ὀφείλομεν, ἀλλ' ὥστον δυνάμεθα.

**19. Οἱ εὐποροῦντες . . . γίνεται:** Otto comp. c. 14, 14 and Tertull. Apol. 39.

**20. προαιρεσιν . . . 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. παρεπιδήμοις . . . ξένοις:** Hebr. 11, 13: Ξένοι 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. κηδεμῶν 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 : ἐκείνην τὴν ἑσπέραν, ‘on and for that evening;’ Herod. 8, 86 : ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην.

**30. ήτις**: C. 38, 15.

**32. ἀπερ**: 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. λόγου καὶ ἀληθείας ἔχεσθαι**: ‘Accord with reason and truth.’ A familiar Platonic turn, as in De Rep. 9, 585 C: πρᾶγμα ἀληθείας ἔχομεν. 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.—ἀπαιτεῖν: 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 . . . γνωρίζητε**: 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 (*ἀντίγραφον*) 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 Σερίνου.

**35. βοᾶς**: Refers to the popular cries, *Christianos ad leonem*, Tertull. Apol. 40 (p. 96 D. S.).



## **THE SECOND APOLOGY.**



## 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 philospher (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).



## N O T E S.

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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 *προτέρα* by a slip (Otto).

### 1. INTRODUCTION.

**1. Καὶ τὰ χθές τε καὶ πρώην:** So I have written with Braun for δέ, which Otto justifies (after Sylburg) on the ground of its abrupt vehemence. See my note on Persius, 3, 1, and comp. Xen. Oec. init. : "Ηκουσα δέ ποτε κτέ.; Apol. Socr. init. : Σωκράτους δὲ ἄξιον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι κτέ. Some commentators have seen in δέ an intimation of a connection with the former Apology. For the very common phrase χθές τε καὶ πρώην, see the Lxx.: χθές καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν (*πρὸ τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας*) is the LXX equivalent for the Hebrew בָּשָׁלַב בָּשָׁלַב, *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.—**ῷ Πωμαῖοι:** 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. ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν:** Others with the MSS. ὑμῶν. In the choice between ἡμῶν and ὑμῶν we must be guided by the sense. The transcribers often blunder.—**δημοιοπαθῶν:** See c. 10, 26.

**6. σύνταξιν:** So Sylburg. The MSS. have *σύναξιν*. Σύνταξιν ποιήσασθαι=συντάξαι. See A 1, 9.

**7. Πανταχοῦ κτέ.:** 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 ὃς ἀν σωφρονίζηται κατ' ἔλλειψιν διὰ τὸ δυσμετάθετον καὶ οἱ φᾶλοι δάιμονες ἔχθραινοντες ἡμῖν καὶ [κακοὺς] δικαστὰς ὑποχειρίους ἔχοντες φονεύειν ἡμᾶς παρασκευάζονται. 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'** ἔλλειψιν: 'By reason of a failure in duty.'

**9. χωρὶς τῶν πεισθέντων κτέ.**: Christians when rebuked take it patiently.

**11. συγγενή σε σθαι**: So Otto for συγγενέσθαι, to match κολασθῆσθαι.

**12. λέγομεν δὲ τῶν γενομένων Χ.**: See A 59, 1.

**14. τοὺς τοιούτους**: Such as Urbicus. The article points the reference.

**16. παρασκευάζοντιν**: By means of others. The active is often used of subornation.

## 2. URBICUS.

**1. Γυνὴ . . . 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 κτέ., is wanting in our MSS. of Justin, and has been supplied from Eusebius.—συνεβίου = συνέζη: See A 16, 27.

**2. καὶ αὐτή**: 'Likewise.'

**4. σωφρονεῦν πείθειν**: A 8, 8.—**τὰ διδάγματα**: Sc. τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

**5. ἀναφέρουσα**: 'Citing.'—**τοῖς οὐ σωφρόνως**: On the neg. see A 4, 17.—μετὰ λόγου δρθοῦ: C. 7, 29: κατὰ λόγον τὸν ὀρθόν. In c. 9, 19, Christ is the λόγος ὁρθός (Otto).

**7. ἀσελγείαις**: A 4, 32.—**ἀλλοτρίαν . . . 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. ἔξεδυστωπεῖτο**: Δυσωπῆν, in the sense of 'shaming one into measures,' 'urge,' is a common word in post-classic writers. On the imperf., see A 31, 14.—**τῶν αὐτῆς**: See A 21, 28.

13. ὡς . . . ἥξοντος=λέγοντων ὡς ἥξει: 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 osculo excipimus.* See the famous letter of Hadrian in Vopiscus, Saturn. 8: *Genus hominum seditionissimum, vanissimum, 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. δπως μὴ . . . γένηται: On the sequence, see A 33, 8.

18. δμοδίαιτος καὶ δμόκοιτος: ‘Sharing his bed and board.’ For δμοδίαιτος, see A 14, 17.

19. ρεπούδιον: The short u in Latin as well as the long is regularly represented by *ov*.

20. καλὸς κάγαθός: Often used in irony, as Andoc. 1, 133.—δέον: ‘Whereas.’ C. 4, 22.

21. εὐχερώς: ‘Lightly,’ ‘readily.’

22. τούτων μέν: Μέν without δέ, and without an equivalent of δέ. 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 ἀπαλλαγείσης. Stephanus suggests μὴ βουλόμενον, more elegant, less Justinian.—κατηγορίαν πεποίηται: On π., see A 1, 9. On the perf., A 33, 17; 62, 17.

25. βιβλίδιον: A 29, 6.

26. ἀναδέδωκε: 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, ὑπέσχετο.

30. πρὸς ἐκείνην μέν: 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 exspectatur, 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. ἔαντὸν 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, 13: ἐξεταζόμενοι δὲ οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα διὰ τὸ συνεπίστασθαι ἔαντος μηδὲν φαῦλον.

**47. ὃν οὐδὲν πρόσεστι κτέ.:** Comp. a similar curt relative clause, A 10, 25.—ἀληθινῷ: ‘Genuine.’

**48. ἀπαχθῆναι:** A 31, 26.

**50. πρὸς τὸν Οὐρβ.:** The person to whom discourse is addressed is put in *πρός* with accus. So regularly with *εἰπεῖν*. The stress on the direction makes the difference from the dative.—**Tίς ή αἰτία; Τοῦ τὸν κτέ.:** Variously written. Some read *τίς ή αἰτία τοῦ . . . ἐκολάσω*, and charge the anacoluthon to Justin, who is supposed to have finished the sentence as if he had begun with *διὰ τία αἰτίαν*. Some editors mend Justin’s grammar by writing the inf. *κολάσαι*: others put *δι’ ἥν* for *τοῦ* (*τίς ή αἰτία δι’ ἥν*). *Τοῦ* seems to be = *τίνος* (*χάριν*). Otto comp. Dial. c. T. 20; add Eur. Ion, 1360. On *κολάζειν* with gen., see Thuc. 2, 74; 6, 38. I have added *τόν*, and consider *τοῦτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον* as resumptive.

**54. εὐσεβεῖ κτέ.:** Comp. A 1, 11. Ueberweg (ap. Otton.) conjectures *Εὐσεβεῖ Αὐτοκράτ.* (A. Pius) *οὐδὲ Φιλοσόφῳ* (M. Aurel.) *οὐδὲ Καισαρος παιδὶ* (Verus).

**56. Καὶ ὅς:** A remnant of Attic idiom.

**60. ἀπηλλάχθαι γινώσκων:** *Γινώσκω* as a verb of thinking (*γνώμη*, ‘opinion’) takes the inf.; ‘convinced that.’ Euseb. has *ἐπεῖπε*.

**61. τῶν οὐρανῶν:** Suspicious. Euseb. has *τὸν θεόν*.

**62. Καὶ . . . δέ:** 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 ἡμέτερος διδάσκαλος*, and the beginning

of c. 9: *ἴνα δὲ μή τις εἴπῃ*. 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. Κάγῳ οὖν κτέ.**: 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.—**κἄν = καὶ**, which Euseb. has. See A 2, 7.

**3. Κρίσκεντος**: Crescens (pr. Crēscēns). On *ī = ē*, see A 4, 4. The nom. is *Κρίσκης*. So *κλίμης* = 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: *Κρίσκης οὖν ὁ ἐννεοτέύσας τῷ μεγάλῳ πόλει, παιδεραστείᾳ μὲν πάντας ὑπερίμεγκεν, φιλαργυρίᾳ δὲ πάννυ προσεχής ἦν. Θανάτου δὲ ὁ καταφρονῶν οὕτως αὐτὸς (so I read for αὐτὸν) ἐδεδίει τὸν θανάτον ὡς καὶ Ιουστῖνον, καθάπερ καὶ ἐμέ, ὡς κακῷ τῷ θανάτῳ περιβαλεῖν πραγματεύσασθαι κτέ.*—**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 ἀλλά τις φιλοσώματος*.

**4. ὅς γε**: A 12, 22.

**5. ἂ μὴ ἐπίσταται**: *Μή* is the negative of the characteristic relative (generic).—**καταμαρτυρεῖ**: A 4, 25.—**ῶς . . . ὄντων**: A 4, 19.

**6. πρὸς χάριν καὶ ἥδονήν**: A 2, 12.

**7. Εἴτε . . . ή 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. ἐντυχών**: A 14, 3.—**τοῖς τοῦ Χρ. διδάγμασι**: C. 2, 4.—**κατατρέχει**: So our ‘run down,’ A 4, 25; Clem. Alex. Paed. 1, 5, 20.

**9. ιδιωτῶν**: ‘Unphilosophical gentry,’ A 39, 10.—**πολύ**: Even more common than the more analogical *πολλῷ* (dat. of measure), which Euseb. has.

**10. οὐκ ἐπίστανται**: Above *μή ἐπίσταται*. The negative often shifts according to the general principle laid down A 4, 9.

**11.** ἐντυχῶν μὴ συνῆκε: A 14, 3.—τὸ . . . μεγαλεῖον: ‘Grandeur,’ greatness that makes itself felt. Acts 2, 11; Luke 1, 49; Clem. Rom. 1 Ep. ad Cor. 26: τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς ἐπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ. Τὸ . . . μεγαλεῖον, from Euseb. for τῷ . . . μεγαλείῳ of the MSS.

**14.** ἐλάττων: ‘Slave.’—προθέντα: So Euseb. The MSS. προταθέντα.—Καὶ γάρ: A 4, 12.

**15.** ἐρωτήσαντα . . . ἐρωτήσεις: A 18, 2. The order is: βούλομαι ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι προθέντα με καὶ μαθεῖν καὶ ἐλέγξαι ὅτι κτέ. — μαθεῖν = ὅτι ἔμαθον: A 5, 11.

**16.** ὅτι . . . μηδὲν ἐπίσταται: A 24, 9. The regular negative below.

**17.** ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω=ἴν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἀ. λ.: A common brachylogy. So Lys. 13, 81: ὡς δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τοὺς μάρτυρας.—εἰ μὴ ἀνηγέρθησαν: ‘If they have not been reported to you.’—αἱ κοινωνίαι τῶν λόγων=αἱ κοινολογίαι: ‘Debates.’

**18.** ἔτοιμος: Sc. εἴμι. We should hardly expect the omission, which is not very common in the first person.—ἐφ' ὑμῶν: 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 ἐγνώσθησαν: Καὶ belongs more properly to *ai* ἐρωτήσεις. If it be taken with ἐγν., tr. ‘actually.’—ὑμῖν: A 27, 18.

**22.** εἰ καὶ ἐπίσταται: Καὶ, ‘really.’ More elegant would be ἐπίσταται μέν.—οὐ τολμᾷ: The condition is merely for form’s sake, hence the negative οὐ. But, apart from that, when *μέν* and *δέ* are both in the protasis of a conditional sentence, the condition consists in the incongruity of the two co-ordinates, and οὐ is regularly found when fact is contrasted with fancy.

**24.** δείκνυται: Sc. ὡν.—ὅς γε: A 12, 22.—μηδὲ . . . τιμῷ: Characteristic and causal.

**25.** Ἄλλ' οὕτι γε: Plato, De Rep. 10, 595 C: Ἄλλ' οὐ γάρ πρό γε ἀληθείας τιμητέος ἀνήρ.—οὕτι: By litotes (A 22, 10) stronger than οὐδέν.

**26.** Κυνικῷ: There be Cynics and Cynics. The Cynic of Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and Maximus Tyrius was a very different person from the Cynic of Lucian and Justin Martyr.—ἀδιάφορον τὸ τέλος: ‘Indifference,’ ‘stable equilibrium.’ Comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. 2, 129: τέλος οὗτος εἶναι τὴν ἀδιάφορίαν ἔφη, τὸ δὲ ἀδιάφορον ἀπλῶς ἀδιάφορον ἀπολείπει. Origen is sneering at phi-

losophers when he says, c. Cels. 4, 26: *οἱ ταῖς χαμαιτύπαις ἀδιαφόρως προσιόντες*, διδάσκοντες δὲ καὶ μὴ πάντως παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον

(pet term in philosophy) *τοῦτο γίνεσθαι* (comp. Athenag. Suppl. 32, 159).—**προθεμένῳ**: ‘Having set up for himself.’ So Nolte, and after him Otto, for *προεμένῳ*. Comp. Plut. Comp. Dion. 3: *μόνος ἔνα προῦθετο σκοπὸν τὴν πάτριον ἀποδοῦναι* ‘Praevariorū πολιτείαν.

#### 4. WHY CHRISTIANS DO NOT KILL THEMSELVES.

**1. έαυτούς**: A 2, 16.—**φονεύσαντες**: ‘Kill and.’ In English we do not subordinate an imperative notion.

**2. ἥδη**: ‘Forthwith.’—**παρὰ τὸν θεόν**: A 8, 8.

**3. πράγματα μὴ παρέχετε**: ‘Don’t trouble us’ with killing you. On *παρέχειν*, see A 3, 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: ὡ δειλοί, εἰ θέλετε ἀποθνήσκειν, κρημνοὺς ἡ βρόχους ἔχετε.*

**5. πεποιηκέναι . . . δεδιδάγμεθα**: Inf.=Ṅτι, A 21, 30.

**6. ἀλλ’ ἦ**: 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 *προσειλήφαμεν* (*παρειλήφαμεν*).

**9. Εἰ . . . φονεύσομεν**: ‘If we are to,’ A 8, 17.—**τοῦ μὴ γεννηθῆναι**: An obvious correction of Sylburg’s for *τοῦ καὶ*.

**11. ὅστον ἐφ’ ἡμῶν**: A 40, 22.—**ἐναντίον τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλῇ**: See c. 7.

**12. καὶ αὐτοί**: A 54, 35.—**ποιοῦντες . . . πράξωμεν**: *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 ἀν ᾧ νῦν πεποίηκεν ἐπραξεν*. 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. φίλον:** "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 δέ τινα ὑπέλθοι . . . κτέ.:** Another common objection. Comp. Arnob. 2, 76: *Cur persecutiones patitur perpeti vos 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. Institt. Div. 5, 21.

**4. διαλύσω:** A 43, 4.

**5. τὰ οὐράνια στοιχεῖα:** 'The heavenly bodies,' as, for instance, Ep. ad D. 7.

**6. ὡρῶν μεταβολάς:** So Thirlby for μεταβολαῖς. A 13, 10.

**7. τούτοις νόμον:** So Thirlby for τοῦτον.—καὶ αὐτά: 'Likewise.' A 54.

**8. φαίνεται πεποιηκώς:** A 12, 37.

**9. ἐπὶ τούτοις 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, 30.

**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. ὅν ἐπέφερον:** Thirlby restores *ὅν*, dropped on account of the last syllable in the preceding word.

**15. θυμάτων καὶ θυμιαμάτων:** 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.'—**Ονόματι κτέ.:** 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 *δαιμονες* as equivalent to *ἄγγελοι*, here the *δαιμονες* 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.’—*ἀγενήτῳ*: A 14, 9.—*ὄντι*: Causal.

**2. ὃ γὰρ ἀν καὶ ὀνόματί τι:** I have restored *τι*. Such absorptions by a preceding syllable are very common (*νημαγραφία*, *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 *ἢ γὰρ αὐτός*, Otto *ὄνομά τι* (*cuiuscunque 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,’ *κύριον ὄνομα*, so called because it is the only ‘name proper.’ God has no such name. Comp. A 10, 7; 63, 1, and Orig. c. Cels. 1, 25: *ἢ γάρ ἀορίστως ὁμολογοῦσι τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα τὸ ὁ Θεός ἢ καὶ μετὰ προσθήκης τῆς ὁ δημιουργὸς τοῦ κόσμου.* Comp. 5, 35: *Σκυθιστὶ γάρ τὸ προσηγορικὸν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Αἴγυπτιστὶ καὶ πάσῃ διαλέκτῳ γῆ ἔκαστος ἐντέθραπται ὄνομάζων, οὐχ ἀμαρτήσεται.*

**6. προσρήσεις:** ‘Appellations.’ So also Plato. *Προσηγορία* is the grammatical term for a common noun or appellative. Comp. *προσαγόρευμα* below.—**Ο δὲ νιὸς ἐκείνου:** Regularly *ὁ νιὸς ὁ ἐκείνου*. See A 62, 21.

**8. γεννώμενος:** The Codex Claromontanus has *γενόμενος*, and so Scaliger. A much discussed passage which I leave to professional theologians. Semischl identifies *συνών* with the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος*, *γεννώμενος* with the *λόγος προφορικός*. See Introduction, xxxix.—**τὴν ἀρχήν:** A 10, 16.—**ἔκτισε καὶ ἐκόσμησε:** The temptation to read *ἔχρισε* with Grabe is very strong.

**9. κατὰ τὸ καὶ χρῖσαι:** So Scaliger for the *κατὰ τὸ κεχρῖσθαι* (*κεχρῖσθαι*) of the MSS. Such a shifting of the voice and the subject is extremely awkward, *Χριστός* belonging to *κεχρῖσθαι*, *τὸν Θεόν το κοσμῆσαι*. Still, comp. Thuc. 6, 34: *πείθεσθε τᾶλλα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐτοιμάζειν καὶ παραστῆναι παντὶ κτέ.*

**10. δι' αὐτοῦ:** Comp. Hebr. 2, 10: *Δι' ὄν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὐ τὰ πάντα.*—**καὶ αὐτός:** A 54, 35.

- 11.** δν τρόπον: A 4, 22.
- 12.** ἔμφυτος 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 κτέ.: Comp. A 33, 21. Perhaps Justin, as other Fathers, associated the name with the Gr. *iāsθai* also (Otto). See c. 23, 18.
- 14.** Καὶ γάρ: A 4, 12.
- 15.** ὡς προέφημεν: A 23, 9, and 63, 20.
- 16.** ἀποκυνθείς: Not a classic word, c. 46, 21.
- 17.** ἐπὶ καταλύσει: I have inserted *ἐπὶ* with Perionius, but the simple dat. is not hopeless. Comp. Thuc. 1, 123 (*ἀφελίᾳ*); 3, 82 (*τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κακώσει . . . πλεονεξίᾳ*); 6, 33 (*ξυμμαχίᾳ*). See Classen. For *ἐπὶ*, see Index.—**ώς καὶ νῦν:** So with Otto for *Καὶ νῦν, ως* having been absorbed by the preceding *-ων*.
- 20.** ἐπορκίζοντες κτέ.: We should expect *ἐξορκίζοντες* and *ἐξορκιστῶν*, but *ἐπορκισταὶ* is found Dial. c. T. 85, and *ἐπορκιστής* is the word used in Constat. 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 *ἐπορκιστῶν* alone, but see A 6, 4.
- 24.** καὶ ἔτι νῦν ἴωνται: Comp. Tertull. Apol. 23.27. 32. 37 (Otto).—**καταργοῦντες:** A favorite Pauline word, Rom. 3, 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 ὄστι: Annihilation not of being, but of power (Ash-ton).
- 4.** δ γινώσκει κτέ.: A difficult passage. ‘As it stands, it must be construed thus: δ (sc. τὸ σπ. τῶν Χρ.) γινώσκει (sc. δ Θεός) ὅτι (sc. τὸ σπέρμα τ. Χρ.) ἐν τῇ φύσει (=τῷ κόσμῳ) αἴτιόν ἐστι (sc. τοῦ αὐτὸν . . . i. e. τὸν Θεόν . . . μὴ ποιῆσαι τὴν συγχ. καὶ κατάλ. τ. π. κόσμου’) (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 κατέχοντι τὸν κόσμον. Otto understands *αἴτιον* as = *αἴτιον τοῦ εἶναι*. Braun takes

*aītior* 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 τέκνα φύσει ὄργης*. This view needs no criticism. Thirlby and others consider the passage corrupt. For *aītior* Seegar suggests *κρείττον*, Nolte *τὸ iatikón* or *τὸ διαιτῶν*, *l'élément conservateur*. “*Αξιον* would be easier and not unnatural. Comp. A 10, 9: *ἐὰν ἀξιον εἴαυτον δεῖξωσι*.

**5. οὐκ ἀν 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 26, 34. “*Αν* may have been dropped, *ἀνέδην ἀν* or *παντ' ἀν*, though it is not necessary.

**9. μηδένα:** Where the earlier language would have used *οὐδένα*. — *ἄλλ' η*: A 40, 27. — *τὸν μόνον*: We should expect *μόνον τὸν*. *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. προαιρεσιν κτέ.:** A 43, 14.

**21. μὴ νοήσαντες:** Causal.

**22. γίνεσθαι ἀπεφήναντο:** 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 δέ μοι καθ' εἰμαρμένην πολλάκις ὀρεγόμενος, πολλάκις ἀποθνήσκεις*; *ἀπόθνησκε τῷ κόσμῳ, ζῆθι τῷ θεῷ*: *οὐκ ἐγενόμεθα πρὸς τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀποθνήσκομεν δι' ἔαυτούς*. *ἀπώλεσεν ήμᾶς τὸ αὐτεξούσιον*. See also Theophil. ad Autol. 2, 27.

**23. τὴν ἀρχήν:** A 10, 8.

**24. τὴν τιμωρίαν:** ‘*The punishment*’ (due).

**25. κομίσονται:** Attic *κομιοῦνται*. 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 *ἰξῆν*, and the subject to be shifted in *εἰχε* to *ἡ φύσις*. The use of *ἥν* would better explain *οὐκ* in the protasis of a conditional sentence, *οὐκ ἥν = ἀδύνατον ἥν*. If any change is to be made, I read with Thirlby *εὶς οὐ καί*, and do not accept, with Otto, his alternative *εὶς οὐκ ἄν*.

**30. τάδε μὲν . . . τῶνδε δέ:** A 43, 9.

**32. ὡς δηλοῦσθαι:** A 21, 24.

**33. ἀρχῶν καὶ ἀσωμάτων:** Because they admit the necessity of fate and deny the existence of *ἀσώματα*, denying that the *ἀρχαῖ* are *σώματα* (Ashton).—**οὐκ εὐοδοῦν:** More grammatically, *μή εὐοδοῦντας*, *μή* on account of the inf. A 2, 4, the participle on account of the verb of showing, A 3, 3.—**Εἴτε γὰρ . . . ἐστι:** 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 κακίᾳ*);

(1) or that virtue and vice are nothing.’

The conclusion is chiastically 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 μηδέν* (*φύσιονσι* understood), and inserts *καί*. For the sense of the passage, which certainly lacks clearness, comp. A 28, 13 foll.; 43, 16 foll.—**Εἴτε . . . ἦ:** A not uncommon irregularity.

**34. φήσουσι:** See A 8, 17.—**πρὸς ἀνθρώπων:** A 2, 17.

**35. παρὰ τρεπόμενα:** So the Codex Claromontanus. The Regius has *παρατρεπόμενα*. On this use of *παρά*, see A 20, 9.

**36. ἡ φθαρτῶν:** I have inserted *ἥ* before *φθαρτῶν*, easily dropped after *ἀεί*.

**37. αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν κτέ.**: Supply *κατειληφέναι* out of *κατάληψιν ἰσχηκέναι*. 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 δὲ δογμ.:** A 26, 22.—**κἄν:** See A 2, 7.

**3. οἱ ποιηταί:** See Max. Tyr. Diss. 10: *τίνες ἄμεινον περὶ θεῶν διέλαβον, ποιηταὶ ή φιλόσοφοι;*

**4. μεμισῆσθαι . . . οἰδαμεν:** For *μεμισημένους 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, 155) represents him as exiled from Ephesus. He if not a ‘Stoic,’ was the spiritual ancestor of the Stoics. See Ueberweg, l. c. 1, 42: ‘The Stoics reproduced the doctrine of Heraclitus.’—**ώς 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 καذ̄ ἡμᾶς = ἐν τοῖς νῦν.*—**Μουσῶνιον:** 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 καذ̄ ἡμᾶς:** ‘Among the men of our time.’ *Καذ̄ ἡμᾶς* loosely used like *νῦν*, A 29, 19.—**ἐσημάναμεν:** The better form is *ἐσημήναμεν*: ‘a less frequent than *η* in Attic, if correct’ (Veitch). The reference is to c. 7, 17.

**7. κἄν διπωσδήποτε:** ‘No matter after what fashion.’ *Κἄν* sc. *ὅπωσδήποτε σπουδάζωσιν.* See A 2, 7.

**9. εἰ τοὺς οὐ:** *Oὐ* 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,’ *οὐ ἔστι* being = *τοῦτ' ἔστι.*—**σπερματικοῦ λόγου:** 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 ἅπερ ἐδίδαξε διὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐγκατεσπαρκένας ταῖς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς.*

**12. κόλασιν καὶ τιμωρίαν:** A 3, 4.

**13. κομίσονται:** See c. 7, 25.

**16. ἐσομένης:** As if he had not written *μελλούσης* before. A slip for *ἔσεσθαι*.

#### 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 comminemur, quae est ignis arcani subterraneus ad paenam thesaurus, proinde decachinnamur.* — **φόβητρα:** A 5, 7. See Keim, Celsus' Wahres Wort, S. 36, 1.

**3. κολάζονται:** A 3, 4.

**6. βραχυεπῶς:** A 49, 23.

**7. οὐτε ἔστι 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. ἔκεινοι:** Sc. *οἱ νομοθέται*. — **καὶ ὁ αὐτῶν πατήρ:** God. For *καὶ* we should expect *οὐδέ*. '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 *αὐτούς*.

**12. συντιθέμενοι:** A 39, 19.

**13. προβάληται:** 'Bring forward,' by way of objection.—**παρ'** *οἷς μέν:* 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' ἄλλαχοῦ καλά*.

**17. διατάξασθαι:** A 5, 10.

**19. δρθὸς λόγος:** Comp. c. 2, 5. 'Ο δρθὸς λόγος is not necessary. See note on *πιεῦμα ἄγιον*, A 61, 43.

**21. ὥστε 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 κτέ.:** 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 ὄλον, third attributive position.

**4. καὶ σῶμα κτέ.**: Justin is a dichotomist, that is, recognizes σῶμα and ψυχή only. Hence Neander has suspected this passage of being an interpolation. But σῶμα and ψυχή 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 πονηθέντα**: The periphrasis with the aor. participle is rare, c. 44, 49.

**7. αὐτοῖς**: A 27, 18.

**8. καὶ ἐναντία**: *Kai*, 'actually.'

**9. οἱ προγεγενημένοι**: With Thirlby, for *οἱ προγεγραμμένοι*. Comp. A 46, 15.—**κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον**: Formerly combined by Otto with *οἱ προγεγενημένοι*. 'After the manner of men,' 'by ordinary human generation.' He now combines with *πειραθέντες*, and translates *humano modo*.

**12. εὐτονώτερος**: A 65, 5.

**13. καὶ γὰρ . . . αὐτόν**: *Kai* belongs to *αὐτόν*. See A 4, 12.—**καὶνὰ δαιμόνια**: A 5, 16.

**14. μὴ ἡγεῖσθαι**: On the neg., see A 4, 18.

**15. 'Ο δὲ δαιμόνιος**: 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. 'Ο δέ' is Socrates as represented by Plato. This use of δέ, referring to the subject of the preceding sentence, is irregular. Notice the coincidence in time of *ἰκβαλών* and *ἐδίδαξε*.—**καὶ τοὺς πρ.**: It were better to omit *kai* or *τούς* (Maran).—**παραιτεῖσθαι**: A 2, 3.

**18. θεοῦ . . . τοῦ ἀγνώστου**: Acts 17, 23.—**λόγου 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 εὑρεῖν τε ἔργον καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς πάν-*

τας ὑδύνατον λέγειν. The variation is as great as in some of the citations from the Memoirs.

**21.** ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστός: A 48, 2.

**22.** ἐπείσθη: For ἐπιστεύθη of the MSS. (Sylburg).

**25.** ἐν παντὶ: Παντὶ is masculine (Otto).

**26.** δροιοπαθοῦς: C. 1, 4. The word occurs also Acts 14, 15; Jas. 5, 17.

**27.** οὐ 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: φιλόλογίᾳ τε ἀνυτικώτατά ἐστι τὰ τοιάδε χωρία . . . Φιλόλογος οὖν τις εἴ σύ, ἔφη, φιλεργὸς δὲ οὐδαμῶς οὐδὲ φιλαλήθης, οὐδὲ πειρᾶς πρακτικὸς εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ σοφιστής.

**28.** Ιδιῶται: A 39, 10.

**30.** δύναμίς ἐστι: Sc. ὁ Χριστός οր τὰ Χριστοῦ. Comp. 1 Cor. 1, 24: Χριστὸν Θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ Θεοῦ σοφίαν, and Ep. ad Diogn. 7, 32: ταῦτα ἀνθρώπου οὐ δοκεῖ τὰ ἔργα, ταῦτα δύναμίς ἐστι Θεοῦ.

**31.** Κατασκευή: *Emendatio palmaris* of Pearson for τὰ σκεύη. Comp. Dial. c. Tr. 58: κατασκευὴ λόγου.

## 11. HOW CHRISTIANS REGARD DEATH.

**1.** Οὐκ ἀν δὲ οὐδέ: Comp. c. 7, 5.

**3.** παντὶ κτέ.: The rhythm is reminiscential; θανεῖν for ἀποθανεῖν is poetic or late in Attic. Comp. Eurip. Alc. 419: ὡς πᾶσιν ἡμῖν κατθανεῖν ὄφειλεται. Justin may have written κατθανεῖν as a quotation. Comp. δλέσαι, A 25, 12. In his last ed. Otto makes the same suggestion, and cites further, Eur. Alc. 782; Androm. 1272; Aegei fragm. ap. Stob. Flor. 98, 8.

**5.** τὸ Ξενοφώντεον: So I accent with Göttling, and so does Otto now. The famous passage occurs in Xen. Mem. 2, 1, 21 foll. The dialogue is attributed by Xenophon himself to the sophist Prodicus. Since well worn. See Cic. Off. 1, 32, 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 Ἡρακλέα ἄγει ἐν τῷ μύθῳ ἄρτι ηβάσκοντα καὶ ἀνδριζόμενον ἐπὶ διττὰς ὁδούς, Ἀρετὴν καὶ Ἡδονὴν ἐπιστήσας ἡγεμόνας ἐκατέρᾳ τῇ ὁδῷ· ἡ μὲν αὐτῷ σοβαρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἡ δὲ εὐσχήμων ἰδεῖν, βαδίζουσα ἥρέμα, φεγγομένη μονσικῶς, βλέμμα πρᾶσιν, ἀμπεχόνη ἀπλῆ· ἡ δὲ δευτέρα, θρυπτική,

ἐπίχριστος, χλαυδίοις ἐξηνθισμένη, βλέμμα ἵταμόν, βάδισμα ἄτακτον, φωνὴ ἄμουσος. 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. τρίοδον:** Cic. l. c., *cum duas cerneret vias*. These two, with the one he is on, make up the *τρίοδος*, 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 ἡς φέρετον τὰ ὄδώ.

**10. ἔρωτοπεποιημένῳ:** ‘Made up to inspire passion’ occurs nowhere else. There is no end of such formations in later Greek. Observe the false reduplication (instead of ἔρωτοποιημένῳ) which is found occasionally in MSS. and editions of the classic writers, e. g. *ιπποτετρόφηκεν*, Lycurg. c. Leoer. 139 ; *ἀδοπεποιημένῃ*, Xen. Anab. 5, 3, 1 ; *ἡριστοπεποίηντο*, Xen. Hell. 4, 5, 8.

**11. τῶν τοιούτων:** Of the ornaments (Otto). Left vague on purpose.—**θελκτικήν τε κτέ.**: Maran wishes to leave out *πρός*, and understands ὄψεις of the eyes of Vice, comparing Xen. ὅμιλα ἔχειν ἀναπεπταμένα. Comp. the *βλέμμα ἵταμόν* of Max. Tyr. But how was the *πρός* smuggled in? Nor is εὐθὺς so clear as on the hypothesis that the ὄψεις are the eyes of the beholder. Εὐθὺς *πρὸς τὰς ὄψεις* 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 22, 10.

**12. ἦν αὐτῇ ἐπηταὶ κτέ.**: Justin gives nothing but the general drift.

**15. ἐν αὐχμηρῷ 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: εὐπρεπῆ τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἐλευθέριον φύσει . . . ἐσθῆτι λευκῷ. **Μέν**: as if he intended to say: ἐν αὐχμηρῷ μὲν τῷ προσώπῳ, ἐν αὐχμηρῷ δὲ τῷ περιβολῷ.

**17. ἑαυτόν=σαυτόν.**

**18. Καὶ πανθ' ὄντινον:** Justin speaks in his proper person.

**20. ἄλογα:** Sylburg conjectures ἀλγεινά, Pearson ἄκοσμα. The former is the better, but not conclusive.—εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκδέχεσθαι :

‘Obtains happiness.’ Thirlby suggests *ενδέαμονεῖν εὐδέχεσθαι*, ‘may be happy,’ but makes no change.

**21. πρόβλημα:** Ashton desiderates *περιβλημα*.—**έαυτῆς τῶν πρ.:** Irregular position for *τῶν έαυτῆς 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. *εἰσί*, ‘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 νουνεχῆ:** So Thirlby for *οὖν ἔχη*. Otto comp. A 46, 23: *ὅ νουνεχῆς καταλαβεῖν δυνήσεται*; Tatian, Or. ad Gr. 39: *χρὴ τὸν νουνεχῆ συνεῖναι*.

**31. ἔλκοντα:** Belongs to *νουνεχῆ*. ‘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 . . . φονευθησόμενος:** A classic passage, cited by Euseb. H. E. 4, 8. The Gentile view is given by Tertull. Apol. 27 (p. 81, D. S.): *quidam dementiam existimant*, etc., and 50 (p. 112, D. S.): *desperati et perditū existimamur*, and Min. Fel. Oct. 8: *homines desperatae factionis*. Of especial interest in this connection is the opinion of M. Aurelius himself, 11, 3: *τὸ δὲ ἔτοιμον τοῦτο* (i. e. readiness to die), *ἴνα ἀπὸ ἴδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχηται, μή κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν* (sheer contrariness), *ώς οἱ Χριστιανοί, ἀλλὰ λελογισμένως καὶ σεμνῶς καί, ὥστε καὶ ἄλλον πεῖσαι, ἀτραγῳδῶς.*

**5. ὑπάρχειν:** ‘Live.’

**6. ἀνθρωπίνων σαρκῶν:** Euseb. has ἀνθρωπείων. See A 26, 34.

**7. ὅπως τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθῶν στερηθῇ:** On *αὐτοῦ=ipsius*, see A 21, 28: *στερηθῆ*: subj. after opt. with *ἄν*, as often on account of the equivalency of the latter to present and fut. ind. Euseb. has *τῶν έαυτοῦ στερηθείη επιθυμιῶν*, more strictly regular.

**8. ἐκ παντός:** ‘By all means.’—*ζῆν μέν*: Euseb. omits *μέν*, but comp. A 13, 10, where the contrast is interrupted, as it were, by *καὶ*.

**9. ἐπειρᾶτο:** We should expect *πειρῶτο*, but comp. A 19, 2, on the shifting of the point of view from ideal to unreal.—*οὐχ ὅτι γε*: ‘Not that,’ ‘much less.’

**10. κατήγγελλε:** So with Eusebius for *κατήγγειλε*, and so Otto now. *Καταγγείλαι* would be the normal construction. K. ‘denounce,’ late.

**11. ἐνήργησαν . . . πραχθῆναι:** A 5, 15.

**12. Φονεύοντες:** Conative present participle.

**13. εἴλκυσαν:** 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 πρόσεστιν:** 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=παιδοκτονεῖν** (Otto).

**22. τὰ ἵσα:** More naturally *ἵσα* (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; Porphyr. De Abstin. 2, 56.

**23. προσράίνετε:** So after Thirlby for *προσράίνεται*, and so Otto now. The difference in pronunciation between *ε* and *αι* was very slight. In fact *ε* was called *ξ ψιλόν* (simple *ε*), to distinguish it from *αι*.

**25. πρόσχυσιν . . . ποιούμενοι:** A 1, 9.—*τὰν φονευθέντων*: The *bestiarii*. Human sacrifices were prohibited by Hadrian, Porphyr. De Abstin. 2, 56 (Ashton).

**27. γενόμενοι:** So I have written for *γενόμενοι* to match the other participles.

**28.** Ἐπικούρου μέν : Another μέν *solitarium*.

**32.** ἐπόπτην : Sc. ὅντα. Comp. Clem. Rom. 1 ad Cor. 55, 6 : τὸν πανεπόπτην δεσπότην, θεὸν τῶν αἰώνων, with Harnack's note.

**33.** Εἴθε καὶ νῦν τις ἐν τρ. φ. . . . ἀνεβόησεν : The MSS. have : Εἴ . . . 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 ἦν is ungrammatical; Krabinger's further emendation, ἀναβοήσειν, 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 : *Aἰσχύνομαι* takes the participle in its causal or conditional sense, the inf. when the action is dependent. *Aἰσχύνομαι* ἐπαιτῶν, 'I am ashamed because I beg,' 'I beg to my shame;' *aἰσχύνομαι* ἐπαιτεῖν, 'I am ashamed to beg' (*ὑπ'* *αἰσχύνης* *οὐκ* ἐθέλω *ἐπαιτεῖν*). In the conditional relation infinitive and participle may be equivalent: *οὐκ* ἀν *αἰσχυνοίμην* *ἐπαιτῶν* = *εἰ* *ἐπαιτοίην* = *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; *αἰσχύνη* may precede or follow. Comp. Clem. Alex. Protrept. 2, 14: *οὐκ* *αἰδούμενος* λέγειν ἡ προσκυνεῖν *οὐκ* *αἰσχύνεσθε*, and 10, 102: *εἰ* *ἐξ* *αἰδῶ* καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ ἀφροδίτην ἐνθειάζετε, ἀκολονθούντων *αὐτοῖς* *αἰσχύνη* καὶ ὄρμῃ καὶ κάλλος καὶ συνουσία, and Paed. 2, 6, 52: *τὰ* *αἰδοῖα* *τοῦ* ἀνθρώπου *αἰδοῦς*, *οὐκ* *αἰσχύνης* *κατηξιωμένα*.

**35.** ἀναφέροντες : 'Attributing,' 'ascribing.'

**36.** ἁντοῖς = ὑμῖν *αὐτοῖς*. In Otto's third ed., by an unlucky error of the types, *θεοῖς* has been omitted after *ὑμετέροις*. — **περιβάλλοντες** = *περιτιθέντες*. See c. 11, 25 (Otto).

**37.** *τούτοις* : The Christians.—*ῶν*: Refers to *τὰ προσόντα*. The sentence is very awkward. Ashton would rewrite: *ῶν* (referred to *τούτοις*) *οὐδενὶ* *οὐδὲ* *ἐπὶ ποσὸν* *αὐτῶν* or *ῶν* *οὐδὲν* *οὐδὲ* *ἐπὶ ποσὸν* *αὐτοῖς* *μέτεστι*, which I should prefer. Comp. A 11, 25.

### 13. THE WORD HAS BEEN IN ALL MEN.

**1.** Καὶ γάρ : *Kai* with *γάρ*.—**περίβλημα** : 'Disguise.'

**2.** **περιτεθειμένον** : More commonly *περικείμενον*.

**4.** **ψευδολογουμένων** : 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). — **δέξης**: The MSS. and editions have a comma after δέξης. Thirlby and Maran would insert καὶ, or change κατεγέλασα into καταγελάσας (Otto). The asyndeton is not unbearable in Justin.

**6. εὐχόμενος . . . ὁμολογῶ**: 'I confess that I boast.' Ομολογῶ rarely takes the part.=**ὅτι**. So Isoer. 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 μεῖζον ἱαντοῦ (=τοῦ ἱαντοῦ) λαβεῖν. For other examples of brachylogy in Justin, see A 5, 24; 20, 7; 23, 4; 55, 14.

**10. Ἔκαστος γάρ τις κτέ.**: '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 γεγένηται μὴ τοῦ Θείου λόγου ἐπιδημήσαντος ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν κανὸν διλύγον καιρὸν δεδυνημένων δέξασθαι τὰς τοιάσδε τοῦ Θείου λόγου ἐνεργείας.—**ἀπὸ μέρους**: B 10, 24.

**12. αὐτοῖς**: *ipsis=sibimet ipsis.*—**ἐν κυριωτέροις**: 'In weightier matters.'

**13. ἄπτωτον**: So I write with Lange, Thalmann and Goez for ἄποπτον. Braun and Otto (2) rely on the gloss of Hesychius: ἄποπτος ἀσφαλῆς, βέβαιος, perhaps for ἄπτωτος, which is rare enough to deserve a note. So Otto also suspects now, and translates ἄποπτον not *firmam*, but *sublimiore*. With ἄπτωτον comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. 2, 2, 9: τὴν γοῦν ἐπιστήμην ὁρίζονται φιλοσόφων παῖδες ἔξιν ἀμετάπτωτον ὑπὸ λόγου. 'Ανύποπτον 'above suspicion' would not be bad, especially in connection with ἀνέλεγκτον. Comp. Tatian, ad Gr. 31: ἀνυπόπτους παρ' ὑμῶν τὸν ἐλέγχοντας λαμβάνω. Thirlby suggests ἐποπτικήν.

**14. Ὅσα οὖν κτέ.**: 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. — **ἥμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν**: Article, as regularly in appositions with personal pronouns.

**15. ἀγεννήτου**: See A 14, 12.

**16. μετὰ τὸν θεόν**: Comp. A 6, 5 and 13, 17.

**18. ιασιν ποιήσηται:** A 1, 9.

**20. ἀμυδρῶς:** ‘But dimly.’ In Greek the notion ‘only’ is often left to be made out by the reader.

**21. Ἐτερον . . . καὶ ἔτερον = ἔτερον μέν, ἔτερον δέ.** — **κατὰ δύναμιν:** ‘According to capacity,’ ‘susceptibility’ (Otto).

#### 14. JUSTIN PRAYS THAT THIS APPEAL BE PUBLISHED.

**1. ἀξιούμεν:** A 3, 2.—**ὑπογράψαντας:** We say ‘endorse.’

**2. βιβλίδιον:** 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 ἐκάστουν αἰτίαν πονηρευσαμένουν.* 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 τό:** So Perionius and others for διό.

**7. γνωριστικόν:** For γνωριστόν (Sylburg).

**8. διὰ τὸ ἡμῶν κτέ.:** 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 τό as a διττογραφία, we get the adversative sense needed, καταψηφίζομένους=‘while condemning;’ or, to rewrite the passage, διὰ τὸ ἡμῶν μὲν . . . καταψηφίζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ χαίρειν κτέ.

**11. ὡς:** Inserted by Thirlby.

**12. προστιμᾶν:** So for πρόστιμον (Thirlby).—**δέεσθαι:** 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: *κατεγέλασα*.—**προγράψητε :** ‘Authorize the publication.’

**3. φανερὸν ἀν ποιήσαιμεν :** I have inserted *ἀν*, dropped as often. Krabinger reads: *ἀν ποιήσομεν*.

**5. συνετάξαμεν :** ‘Have composed,’ c. 1, 6. Aor. short-hand of perf.

**7. ἀνθρωπείου :** On the form see c. 10, 1.—**εἰ δὲ μή :** A 15, 53.—**καν :** ‘At all events.’—**Σωταδείοις :** 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. Φιλαινιδείοις :** 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 ἐπινοῶν*. Clem. Alex. Protrept. 4, 61, speaks of the heathen as *ἐπ' ἵσης ἐγγραφόμενοι τὰ Φιλαινίδος σχήματα ὡς τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἀθλήματα*.—**Αρχεστρατείοις :** The MSS. have *όρχηστρικοῖς*. The true proper name, long desiderated, has been restored by Von Leutsch. Archestratus of Gela or Syracuse composed a famous poem on Good Living (*ἡδυπάθεια*), 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 *ἀδομένοις*. The MSS. have *γεν*. which Thirlby explains as ‘acted.’

**11. λοιπόν :** A 3, 21.—**ὅστον ἐφ' ἥμīν ἥν :** A 40, 21.

**13. Εἴη :** ‘May it be that.’—**ὑμᾶς :** So Sylburg for *ἱμᾶς*.

**14. εὐσεβείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας :** Comp. c. 2, 55; A 2, 1; 3, 11; 12, 22.—**ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν=ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν**, in the same spirit in which he said, A 8, 1: *λογίσασθε δὲ ὅτι ὑπὲρ 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.).



# **THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.**



## 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 *Apographon 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.

## NOTES.

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Bunsen's Analysis: Christianity and Mankind, 4, 174.

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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.
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III. The <i>Christians</i> { they are the soul of the world.....	C. 6.
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IV. { The wretched state of the world before the Son of God came.....	C. 8.
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Conclusion. Exhortation to Diognetus to become a Christian.....	C. 10.

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To the Epistle is appended a fragment by another hand, the conclusion of a *Cohortatio ad Gentes* of some unknown author, *fortasse Hippolyti* thinks Bunsen.

### 1. INTRODUCTION. THE QUESTIONS OF DIOGNETUS.

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 Φῆλιξ*, 26, 25: *κράτιστε Φῆστε*.—**Διόγνητε:** 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. θεοσέβειαν:** 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: *αὕταρκες ἐφόδιον αἰώνων Θεοσέβειαν*. *Θεοσέβεια* may be used of heathens (*Θεοσέβής* occurs repeatedly in Plato), but, on the other hand, *θρησκεία* is seldom, *δεισιδαιμονία* never employed of Christians, as Otto observes. In *θρησκεία* the notion of ceremony is prominent. So c. 2, 36: *αἴματι καὶ κνίσας θρησκεύετε*. Comp. Plut. Mor. 140 C: *περιέργοις θρησκείαις καὶ ξέναις δεισιδαιμονίαις*. Add Greg. Naz. l. c.: *θρησκείαν οἶδα καὶ τὸ δαιμόνων σέβας, | ή δ' εὐσέβεια 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. ὑπερορῶστι:** Differs in tone from *καταφρονῦσι*. It is loftier, and hence more galling, as a slight is worse than an insult. Comp. Orig. c. Cels. Praef. 2: *καταπεφρονηκέναι καὶ μεγαλοφυῶς ὑπερεωρακέναι τοὺς κατηγόρους*.—**θανάτου καταφρονῦσι:** For examples of contempt of death, see B 2 and 12.

**6. τῶν Ἑλλήνων:** In the wider sense of ‘Gentiles.’

**7. δεισιδαιμονίαν:** 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 δεισιδαιμονεστέρονς ὥμας 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 ἴδιας δεισιδαιμονίας.* It is not a *vox mediae significationis* in Theophr. Char., who defines it as *δειλία πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον*, nor in Max. Tyr., who says (20, 6): ὁ μὲν εὐσεβὴς φίλος Θεῷ, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαῖ μων κόλαξ Θεοῦ. Comp. Clem. Alex. Protrept. 2, 25: ἀκρότητες ἀμαθίας ἀθεότης καὶ δεισιδαιμονία, and 10, 96: δεισιδαιμονίας ἀθεοὶ 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 ἄλλήλους:** 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: *superstitione nova et maleficia*; 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 Praed. Petri ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. 6, 5, 41: Τὰ γάρ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰονδαίων παλαιά, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ καινῶς αὐτὸν τρίτῳ γένει σεβόμενοι Χριστιανοί. — **γένος ἡ 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, inlicitae ac desperatae factionis . . . plebem profanae  
coniurationis . . . latebrosa et lucifugax natio*; c. 9: *sacraria  
impiae coitionis*. The Christians themselves seem to have been equally at a loss. Comp. Tertull. ad Nat. 1, 8: *tertium ge-  
nus* (neither heathen nor Jews). See Keim, l. c., S. 72, 1.

**10. εἰς τὸν βίον:** ‘Into the world,’ *vita 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, 3: *πάντη τε καὶ πανταχοῦ ἀποδεχόμεθα.* ‘I am glad to observe this your earnest desire.’ — **τε:** With Bunsen for γε.

**12. χορηγοῦντος:** A suitable and common word for the Giver God: *τοῦ διδόντος Θεοῦ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς καὶ μὴ διειδίζοντος.* Comp. Clem. Alex. Protrept. 1, 7: *ἐπιφανεῖς ὡς διδάσκαλος ἵνα τὸ ἀεὶ ζῆν*

ως θεὸς χορηγός γένεται, and c. 3, 12. See lexicon for the word and its origin, the generosity of which survives in the transfer.

**13.** ὡς μάλιστα ἀν ἀκούσαντά σε: Ἀκούσαντα for ἀκοῦσαι, 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): τίς γὰρ καὶ ἄλλος, εἰ μὴ πάντη νήπιος, ταῦτα ἴγειται θεοὺς ἀλλὰ μὴ θεῶν ἀναθῆματα 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. 3, 7: θαυμαστὸν δὲ οὐδὲν ξύλα καὶ λίθους ἴγεισθαι τὰ ξύλα τοὺς ἀμαθεστάτους, καθὰ δὴ καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων οἱ ἀνόητοι λίθους μὲν ὄρωσι τὰς στήλας, ξύλα δὲ τὰς δέλτους, ἐξυφασμένην δὲ πάπυρον τὰς βίβλους. For a very similar strain, see Clem. Alex. Protrept. c. 4.

**1. καθάρας σεαυτόν . . . ἐσόμενος:** Comp. Eph. 4, 20–24, and 2 Cor. 5, 17: κανὴ κτίσις (Otto).

**3. συνῆθειαν:** Habit of thought.—**ἀποσκευασάμενος:** As it were a burden or troublesome piece of luggage. Comp. Athenag. Suppl. 2, 6; 9, 36.

**4. ὡς ἀν . . . ἐσόμενος:** The participle with ἀν (a post-Homeric combination) represents either the indicative with ἀν or the op-

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, *ώς ἄν . . . ισόμενος* might fairly be interpreted as a change of construction from *ώς ἄν . . . γενόμενος*. Comp. Xen. Cyr. 1, 4, 23: *ώς ἄν . . . στησομένονς*, 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: *τις οὐκ ἄν καταμέμψοιτο*; fut. part. with *ἄν*: Orig. c. Cels. 3, 70. See c. 4, 18.

**6. οὐδε μὴ μόνον:** Not *ἴδης*, as the notion is really positive. Comp. Thuc. 4, 17, 3: *λάβετε αὐτοὺς μὴ πολεμίους κτέι*. ‘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. ύποστάσεως:** Gen. of material. ‘Substance.’ Below we have *ὑλή*. Here *εἰδος*, below *μορφή*.—**τυγχάνουσιν:** Sc. *ὄντες*, as c. 5, 17: *ἐν σαρκὶ τυγχάνονται*, and c. 10, 22: *τυγχάνων ἐπὶ γῆς*.

**8. ἔρειτε:** Corresponds to *καλεῖτε* below. ‘E. is a late form for the present. Examples in Veitch; none classic, but comp. Soph. O. C. 596. Lachmann would read *αινεῖτε*.—**δ οὖν τις:** *Tiς* 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 ιοῦ:** Personification. Comp. A 53, 45. So *ὑπὸ σιδήρου καὶ πυρός* below.

**13. οὐδέν:** Adverbial.

**16. δ μέν:** On the relative, see A 24, 12.

**17. πρὶν ή . . . ἐκτυπωθῆναι:** A 4, 13. 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 μορφὴν τούτων:** Sc. *τῶν θεῶν*.—**ἔκαστον:** So Maran for *ἔκαστος*.

**19. ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν:** I have added *ώς*, but even thus the sense

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 (*ἡν*) of each artificer to mould the material as he liked? This Lachmann tried to get by reading for *ἔτι 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. *ἡν μεταμεμορφωμένον* by *transformabatur*—a version which requires no criticism.

**21. τοιούτοις:** Stephanus prefers *τούτοις*. With the whole passage comp. A 9, 9.

**26. τέλεον = τελέως:** ‘Perfectly,’ ‘absolutely.’ Comp. A 29, 4. Otto comp. Ps. 113, 8: *ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς γένουντο οἱ ποιοῦντες αὐτὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς*. You become perfectly like them, equally senseless, equally bereft of true life. The MSS. have *τέλεόν τε \** *ἴξομοιοῦσθε*. Bunsen reads *ἴξομοιοῦτε*, and translates: ‘And, in short, you treat them like the gods themselves.’

**27. Διὰ τοῦτο:** ‘On account of this’ (your infatuation).

**28. Υμεῖς 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 οὓς η 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: ‘*Υμεῖς γάρ αἰνεῖν* (for *οἱ νῦν*) *νομίζοντες καὶ σεβόμενοι κτέ.* : ‘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.

**30. χλευάζετε καὶ θρίζετε:** *Χλ.* combined with *μυκτηρίζειν*, Clem. Rom. 1 Ep. ad Cor. 1, 39.

**31. ἀφυλάκτους:** Emendation of Stephanus for *ἀφυλάκτως*.

**32. χρυσοῦς ἔγκλείσοντες:** Every one will remember how Dionysius ‘conveyed’ the golden mantle of Jupiter’s statue. Cic. N.

D. 3, 44, 83; Clem. Alex. Protrept. 4, 52: *Διονύσιος μὲν γὰρ ὁ τύραννος ὁ νεώτερος θαιμάτιον τὸ χρύσεον περιελόμενος τοῦ Διὸς ἐν Σικελίᾳ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ἔρεον περιτιθέναι, χαριέντως φήσας τοῦτο ἀμεινον εἶναι τοῦ χρυσίου καὶ θέρους κουφότερον καὶ κρύον τοις ἀλεινότερον.* For the higher Stoic view, see Pers. 2, 61.—**ταῖς νυξὶ:** In classic Greek prose, *τὰς νύκτας* or *τῆς νυκτός*, although analogies are not wanting for the dative.

**33. παρακαθιστάντες:** So with Krenkel for *παρακαθίσαντες* on account of the other present participle *ἐγκλείοντες*. Comp. A 9, 20: *φύλακας τοιούτονς καθιστάναι.*—**Ἄις δὲ δοκεῖτε τιμαῖς προσφέρειν =ταῖς τιμαῖς ἃς κτέ.**

**35. 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. ε. ‘put to shame,’ Otto ‘beschimpfen.’

**36. ταῦθ' ὑμῶν 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 (=δεῖ and inf.). Comp. Plato Legg. 800 B, 801 D, 820 E; Theact. 170 D; Polit. 295 D.

**39. Οὐκοῦν τὴν ἀναισθησίαν αὐτῶν:** The MS. has *οὐκ οὖν τὴν αἰσθησιν αὐτοῦ* ε. ‘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. Küller 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 ἄν : "Αν is often dropped by accident after μέν.  
Restored by Lachm.

**42.** κἄν ταῦτα=vel haec : 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.** αὐτούς : Sc. Χριστιανούς.

**4.** καὶ θεὸν ἔνα τῶν πάντων σέβεσθαι δεσπότην ἀξιοῦσι, 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 . . . σέβειν καὶ δεσπότην ἀξιοῦσι φρονεῖν. Stephanus reads καὶ εἰ, and proposes to add κτίστην after πάντων. Otto reads ως θεόν, and makes the sentence an ἀνανταπόδοτον, 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.] venerari dominumque existimare (φρονεῖν) volunt, [recte sentiunt].* Φρονεῖν as *existimare* is, to say the least, rare. Comp. Orig. c. Cels. 4, 36. Hoffmann reads φρονεῖν ἄν, a conjecture which is not so hopeless as Otto thinks. Bunsen, after Lachmann, κτίστην θεόν, and independently, φρονίμως for φρονεῖν; Hilgerfeld, καλῶς for καὶ εἰς.—τῶν πάντων : Sc. θεῶν according to Otto's interpretation, who cites Dial. c. Tryph. 55 : ὁ θεός σου θεὸς τῶν θεῶν ἐστι, 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 θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ οὗτος οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπάρχων κύριος οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ

χειρῶν ἀνθρωπίνων θεραπεύεται προσδεόμενός τινος, αὐτὸς διδοὺς πᾶσιν ζωὴν καὶ πνοὴν καὶ τὰ πάντα.

**12. οὐδενὸς ἀν . . . προσδέοιτο:** The opt. gives the tone of moral conviction, and has more color and warmth than the indicative. See A 4, 10.

**17. ἐνδεικνυμένων:** So Steph. for ἐνδεικνύμενοι or -μένοις. On ἐνδ. see A 13, 18.—**τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα:** So Stephanus for τῶν μὴ δυναμένων.

**18. τῷ γε:** So Stephanus for τῷ 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 μὲν μὴ δυναμένων τῆς τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνειν, τῶν δὲ δοκούντων παρέχειν τῷ μηδενὸς δεομένῳ. ‘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 μὲν 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 μήν:** Often in transitions, which involve the meeting of objections.—**ψοφοδεές:** Lit. ‘Starting at every noise,’ ‘skittishness,’ ‘shyness.’

**3. ἀλαζονείαν καὶ . . . εἰρωνείαν:** Comp. Bekker, Anekd. Gr. 243, 20: εἰρωνεία τὸ ἐναντίον ἐστὶ τῇ ἀλαζονείᾳ, ὅταν δυνάμενός τις ποιῆσαι φάσκῃ μὴ δύνασθαι· ἀλαζὼν γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐπὶ πλέον τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κομπάζων καὶ αὐξῶν, εἴρων δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ ἥπτον ἄγων καὶ μειῶν. Here, however, εἰρωνεία is equivalent to ‘shuffling,’ ‘hypocrisy.’

**5. οὐ νομίζω:** Οὐ restored by Stephanus, dropped by reason of the preceding λόγοι.

**6. Τό τε:** It is not necessary to write τὸ μέν in order to match τὸ δέ below. Such shiftings occur in the best Greek. Comp. Xen. Cyr. 6, 1, 4.

**7. ἀ μὲν . . . ἀ δέ:** A 24, 12.

**8. πῶς οὐκ ἀθέμιστον:** So Gebhardt. The MS. has οὐ θέμις ἐστί, and we expect a negative. Hence Lachmann μέθης. The

editors are generally content with dropping *οὐ*. Steph. conj. *οὐκ ἀπέμιτόν εστι*.

**13. παρεδρεύοντας**: For the word Otto comp. 1 Cor. 19, 13: *οἱ τῷ Συσιαστηρίῳ παρεδρεύοντες* (v. l. *προσεδρεύοντες*), and 7, 35: *εὺ πάρεδρον τῷ κυρίῳ*. Here scornfully, ‘dancing attendance on.’ Comp. *πάρεδροι*, ‘familiar spirits.’ A 18, 9.—**ἀστροις**: The Jews counted from night to night (*νυχθήμερον*). The diurnal period began for them when three stars of moderate size appeared above the horizon (Bochl). Observe the chiasm (χιασμός) in the position of *ἀστροις καὶ σελήνῃ*



*μηνῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν.*

**14. παρατήρησιν . . . ποιεῖσθαι**: Comp. Gal. 4, 10: *ἱμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτούς*.

**15. τὰς οἰκονομίας θεοῦ κτέ.**: Comp. Cic. N. D. 1, 2, 4.

**16. καταδιαιρεῖν**: The force of *κατά*, as in *καταλέγειν*, of minute completeness, ‘to make an exact distribution.’—**πρὸς τὰς αὐτῶν ὄρπιάς**: ‘According to their own desires.’ It is not necessary to read *αὐτῶν* with Bunsen. See A 21, 28.—**ἄς μὲν . . . ἄς δέ**: As above, 1, 7.—**έορτάς**: Feasts, such as Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles.

**17. πένθη**: Fasts, such as Day of Atonement, Lev. 23, 27–32.

**18. ἡγήσαιτο δεῖγμα**: The MSS. have *ἡγήσεται τὸ δεῖγμα*. I have followed Lachmann in restoring the normal grammar, as the article is irregular, and the future with *ἄν* 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 ἄν . . . καταχρίσονται*, and Athenag. Suppl. 31, 157: *ώς ἄν . . . μενοῦμεν*, and Clem. Alex. Paedag. 1, 5, 17: *εἰκότως ἄν πάντες κεκλήσονται μαθηταί*, and 1, 6, 47: *οὐ γὰρ τὸ αἷμα ἄν ποτε προήσεται φωνήν*.—**κοινῆς**: Common to Jew and Gentile.

**19. εἰκαστήτος καὶ ἀπάτης**: ‘Vanity and error’ (Otto).

**20. ὁς**: Not in the MSS.; more readily dropped than *ὅτι*, which Otto has inserted.

**21. ιδίας 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. ἔθεσι:** ‘Customs,’ rather than ‘habits,’ as Bunsen translates. To avoid any misapprehension, the author explains below: *τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἔθεσιν κτέ.*

**4. βίον παράσημον:** II. 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 ήμετέρας πολυπραγμοσύνης* (of the Athenians).

**6. μάθημα τοιοῦτ’:** 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 γάρ ἐπίγειον, ὡς ἔφη, εὑρημα τοῦτ’ αὐτοῖς παρεδόθη*: the last words *τ. a. π.* being the same as *ἔστιν εἰρημένον*. An utterly untenable position. Combine *αὐτοῖς ἔστιν* and *ἐπιτοίᾳ . . . εὑρημένον*. ‘This doctrine which they have (of theirs) is not one invented by a certain contrivance and excogitation of meddlesome men.’

**7. προεστᾶσιν:** ‘Champion.’ Comp. c. 7, 2: *οὐδὲ θυητὴν ἐπίνοιαν φυλάσσειν . . . ἀξιοῦσι* (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 ‘Ρώμην τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῷ παροικούσῃ Κόρινθον*, and Epist. Eccl. Smyrn. ap. Euseb. 4, 15, 3 (p. 109, D. S.).

**15. Γαμοῦσιν ὡς πάντες:** But the *διγαμία* is excluded. See A 15, 12 (Otto).—**καὶ τεκνογονοῦσι:** *Kai* added by Bunsen.

**16. οὐ δίπτουσι:** A 27, 1; 29, 1.

**17. παρατίθενται:** The regular word for setting a table.—**ἀλλ’ οὐ κοιτην:** So Maran. The MSS. have *κοινήν*, ‘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 uxores*. For the contrast with the heathen, see A 27; for *τράπεζαν κοινήν*, comp. A 14, 16: *ἔστι ἀς κοινὰς μὴ ποιούμενοι*.—**Ἐν σαρκὶ τυγχάνουσι:** Sc. *ὄντες*, c. 2, 7. For the sentiment, comp. 2 Cor. 10, 3; Rom. 8, 12. 13.

**18.** ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύονται: Comp. Phil. 3, 20: ἡμῶν τὸ πολιτεύμα 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*; Athénag. Suppl. 11, 47: οὕτως ἐκκεκαθαριέσθαι εἰσὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὡς ἀντὶ τοῦ μισεῖν τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ἀγαπᾶν.

**21.** Ἀγνοοῦνται . . . ζωοποιοῦνται: Comp. 2 Cor. 6, 9: ὡς ἀγνοούμενοι καὶ ἐπιγινωσκόμενοι· ὡς ἀποθνήσκοντες καὶ ἴδον ζῶμεν.

**22.** Πτωχεύονται . . . περιστεύονται: Comp. 2 Cor. 6, 10: ὡς πτωχοί, πολλοὺς δὲ πλούσιοντες· ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοντες καὶ πάντα κατέχοντες. The novice is reminded that *πτωχός* is ‘poor’ in its most desperate signification.

**24.** Ἀτιμοῦνται . . . δοξάζονται: 1 Cor. 4, 10: ὑμεῖς ἔνδοξοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄτιμοι.

**25.** Λοιδοροῦνται, καὶ εὐλογοῦσιν: Comp. 1 Cor. 4, 12: λοιδορούμενοι εὐλογοῦμεν.

**26.** Ἀγαθοποιοῦντες . . . κολάζονται: Comp. 1 Pet. 3, 17.

**27.** κολαζόμενοι χαίρουσιν: Comp. 2 Cor. 6, 10: ὡς λυπούμενοι, ἀεὶ 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: ἄλες γάρ εἰσι τηρητικοὶ τῶν τῆς ἐπὶ γῆς συστάσεως τοῦ κέσμου οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ συνέστηκε τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ὅσον οἱ ἄλες οὐ τρέπονται.

**1.** Ἀπλῶς: ‘In fine.’

**5.** Χριστιανοὶ . . . κόσμου: Comp. Jno. 17, 11. 14. 16: οὗτοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἰσὶν . . . οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου.

**6.** Ἄόρατος ἡ ψυχὴ κτέ.: Otto comp. [Plato] Axiochus, 365: ἡμεῖς γάρ ἐσμεν ψυχή, ζῶον ἀθάνατον, ἐν θυητῷ καθειργμένον φρονρίῳ.

**8.** μένοντες: So Steph. for μὲν ὄντες.

**9.** θεοσέβεια: In contrast to the parade of Pagan and Jewish θρησκεία. See c. 1, 2. Comp. A 6, 8: λόγῳ (= πιένματι) τιμᾶν,

and Rom. 12, 1: λογικὴ (=πνευματικὴ) λατρεία (Otto).—Μισεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡ σάρξ: 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. 3, 65, and the commentators on Pers. 2, 63: *scelerata—pulpa*.

**13. τοὺς 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. Ἐγκέκλεισται . . . 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. Max. Tyr. 15, 5: τὸ μὲν σῶμα συνέχεται, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ συνέχεται.

**15. ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ τῷ κόσμῳ:** Comp. Plato, Phaedo, 62 B: ὡς ἐν τινὶ φρουρᾷ ἐσμεν οἱ ἀνθρώποι.

**17. σκηνώματι:** A familiar figure. Comp. Sap. 9, 15: γεῶδες σκῆνος, 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. Κακουργούμενη . . . βελτιοῦται:** Here *ἡ ψυχή* is the soul which is called on to eat and drink in Luke 12, 19. It is the *ἐπιθυμία* or ‘appetite.’ The notion is old and common. The commentators quote Heraclitus: ἔνθα γῇ ξηρή, ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη, and the proverb: *ταχεῖα γαστὴρ λεπτὸν οὐ τίκτει 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 ὁρᾶς ὅσῳ πλείονες κολάζονται, τοσούτῳ πλεονάζοντας ἄλλονς*, such an interpretation is fanciful. The increase of the number of the Christians is a sufficient betterment for the purpose of the passage.

**21. τοι αὐτην:** So Lachmann for *τοσαύτην*, ‘so important.’—**τάξιν:** Comp. Plato, Phaedo 1. c.: ὡς ἐν τινὶ φρουρᾷ ἐσμεν οἱ ἀνθρώποι καὶ οὐ δεῖ δὴ ἑαυτὸν ἐκ ταύτης λένειν οὐδὲ ἀποδιδράσκειν.

**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 ἔφην: C. 5, 6.

2. ἐπίνοιαν: ‘Fancy,’ ‘device.’

3. οἰκονομίαν . . . πεπίστευνται: Comp. 1 Cor. 9, 17: *οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευμαι*; Theophil. ad Autolyc. 1, 12: [ὁ βασιλεὺς] τρόπῳ τινὶ οἰκονομίᾳ πεπίστευται.

4. αὐτός: ‘Of his own accord’ (Otto). A common use.

7. ἐνίδρυσε καὶ ἐγκατεστήριξε: ‘Planted and established.’

8. ἀνθρωπος: So I read with Bunsen for ἀνθρώποις. Comp. below: ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἄν τις λογίσαιτο, but πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔπειψε.

9. ὑπηρέτην . . . ἡ ἄγγελον ἡ ἀρχοντα: Looks like a climax, but Otto says that it is a subdivision, thus:

{ ἡ τινα τῶν διεπόντων τὰ ἐπίγεια = ἄγγελον  
ὑπηρέτην { ἡ τινα τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ διοικήσεις = ἀρ-  
χοντα.

On ὑπηρέτης, 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. φ τὸν οὐρανοὺς ἔκτισεν: 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. ἥλιος: 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: ἥλιός τε καὶ σελήνη.—φ . . .

ὑποτέτακται: ‘By whom all things have been set in order (*οὐρανοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς*) and have had their bounds definitely fixed (*θάλασσα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ θαλάσσῃ*), 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 ὁ πέταξε πάντα τὰ*

ἐν τῷ γῇ, and B 5, 5: τὰ ἐπίγεια ἀνθρώποις ὑποτάξας.—ἐν ν.  
So I read for the poetic νυκτὶ: but comp. 2, 32.

**21. ἀπέστειλεν:** Changed afterwards into the vague ἐπεμψεν.  
See A 12, 34.—**ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἄν τις λογίσαιτο:** See 1. 8.

**23. ἐπιεικείᾳ:** This is the word that Matthew Arnold admires so much, ‘sweet reasonableness.’ See [Plato] Deff. 412 B: ἐπιείκεια δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων ἐλάττωσις· μετριότης ἐν συμβολαῖσις· εὐταξία τῆς ψυχῆς λογιστικὴ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ καὶ αἰσχρά.—**πραῦτητι:** A later form for πραότητι. Comp. 1 Cor. 4, 21: ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν ἀγάπῃ πνεύματί τε πραότητος. On the word comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. 4, 6, 36: πραεῖς δέ εἰσιν οἱ τὴν ἀπιστον μάχην τὴν ἐν τῷ ψυχῇ καταπεπανκότες θυμοῦ καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῶν τούτοις ὑποβεβλημένων εἰδῶν. Πραότητι 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 ἀνθρωπον πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπεμψεν, and Bunsen has put ἀνθρωπον in his text, after Lachmann. ‘Ως θεόν: Because God is good and loving. See below 1. 26: βίᾳ γὰρ οὐ πρόσεστι τῷ θεῷ. Otto comp. 1 Jno. 4, 8: ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη ἔστιν.

**25. ὡς σώζων . . . οὐ κρίνων:** Jno. 3, 17: οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν νίὸν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἵνα κρίνῃ τὸν κόσμον ἀλλ' ἵνα σωθῇ ὁ κόσμος δὶ' αὐτοῦ.

**28. κρίνοντα:** ‘As judge.’ Lachmann reads κρινοῦντα. 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 ὀπτασίᾳ αὐτοῦ. Παρουσία, ‘coming,’ ‘advent.’

**29.** There is a break in the MSS. with this note: Οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ εὗρον ἐγκοπήν, 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 ἀνενδοιάστως παραδοκῶντας (*sic: καραδοκοῦντας?*) τὸν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότας οὐδὲν τοπαράπαν ἔστι τὸ ἐκφοβεῖν ἢ δουλαγωγεῖν δυνάμενον. Οὐχ ὅρᾶς γὰρ πολλαχοῦ κεφαλοτομομένονς τε καὶ σταυρομένονς καὶ παραβαλλομένονς θηρίοις κτέ. (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.—[Οὐχ ὁρᾶς]: 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 ἐλθεῖν:** On *πρίν*, A 4, 12: *αὐτόν = τὸν λόγον* (emphatic).—**H:** Passionate, like the Latin *an*, ‘Then,’ ‘What!’ a brief *reductio ad absurdum*. The MS. had *η*, the quiet interrogative.

**4. οἱ μέν 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 *οὗ*, especially in later Greek, just as we use ‘where’ for ‘whither.’ Here it may be considered even more elegant than *οὗ*, as the fire is to be the abiding-place. See Breitzenbach on Xen. Hell. 2, 3, 54. For a parallel to this Christian unmannerliness, see A 12, 8.

**6. θδωρ:** Thales.

**7. ἀποδεκτός:** Perhaps better accentuated thus, as a verb, than *ἀπόδεκτος* as an adjective.

**9. ἀποφαίνεσθαι θεόν:** Otto tr. as if = *ἀποφαίνειν ἔαντὸ θεόν*, *se declarare deum*. Unwarranted. The general subject *τις* is to be supplied for *δύνατο* from the general drift. Steph. would read *δύναιτ' ἄν* 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 Pseudomantidis.

**11. ἐγνώρισεν:** ‘Knew.’ So Stephanus, Bunsen, and others. Otto contends for ‘made known.’ Comp. Eph. 1, 9; 6, 19, and *αὐτὸς ὁ ἔαντὸν ἐπέδειξεν*. So too Dorner.

**12. ἦ μόνη:** ‘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 ὑπόθεσιν ἀγνωμοσύνης ποιεῖσθαι· εἰ γάρ μακρόθυμος καὶ κολάζει πάντως.

**16. χρηστός**: See A 16.—**ἀόργητος**: See note on θυμός, A 40, 44.

**18. ἄφραστον** = **ἀνέκφραστον**.—**ἀνεκοινώσατο**: For ἦν ἐκοινώσατο, Steph. Otto reads *ταύτην*.

**19. Ἐν ὅσῳ**: ‘In all the time,’ with more emphasis on the length than in *ἐν* φ., and here = ἔως, ‘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 βουλήν**: Bunsen reads *αὐτοῦ* unnecessarily. See A 32, 22.

**22. πάνθ' ἄμα παρέσχεν ἡμῖν**: Rom. 8, 32: πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ἡμῖν χαρίσεται;

**23. καὶ ιδεῖν καὶ νοῆσαι ἢ τίς κτέ.**: ποιῆσαι. *Tīz* ἀν. So Beuerer's transcript and the Strasburg codex. Stephanus reads ἀκοῦσαι, Maran κατανοῆσαι, Bunsen νοῆσαι, which would match ἐγώρισε above: ἢ 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 εἰρηκώς ἢ τίς οὐκ ἀν ὥκνησε τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φέγγασθαι;

## 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 . . . χρόνον**: I have accepted Lachmann's restoration. According to the other editors, the eighth chapter ends with the words: Πάντ' οὖν γέδει παρ' ἑαυτῷ σὺν τῷ παιδὶ οἰκονομικῷ, and the ninth chapter: Μέχρι μὲν οὖν κτέ. Lachmann has fused the two sentences, and made the slight change of γέδει into γέδη, οἰκονομικῷ into οἰκονομηκώς (late for φέγγασθαι)—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.—οἰκονο μη κώς: Comp. the use of *οἰκονομία* in Eph. 1, 10; 3, 9; 1 Tim. 1, 4. Οἰκονομικῶς, the ordinary reading, is translated by Stephanus *oeconomica 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. καιρόν. The MS. has *νοῦν*. The emendation is due to Van Hengel.

**7.** ἐλεγχθέντες . . . ἀνάξιοι: Sc. ὄντες.

**9.** ἀξιωθῶμεν: Sc. τῆς ζωῆς.—τὸ καθ' ἔαντοὺς . . . ἀδύνατον: With this use of *κατά* comp. ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς Χριστός = ὁ ἡμέτερος Χ. A 42, 11.

**11.** γενηθῶμεν = γενώμεθα.—πεπλήρωτο: On the omission of the augment, see B 2, 23. 'Επει with the pluperfect emphasizes the full completion, generally with a conceived interval.

**13.** ἥλθε δὲ ὁ καιρός: Comp. Tit. 3, 4, 5: ὅτε δὲ ὁ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἐπεφάνη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Θεοῦ, οὐκ ἔξ ἔργων τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὡν ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἔαντοῦ ἔλεος ἐσωσεν ἡμᾶς.

**14.** Ὡ 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 benevolentiam unicus sit amor dei.* On Ὡ 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 ὡθέω.'

**17.** ἡνέσχετο, αὐτὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀμαρτίας ἀνεδέξατο: The MS. had ἡνέσχετο λέγων κτέ.: Lachmann reads ἐλεῶν, I omit with Heselec. Otto considers the whole passage an awkward gloss from Isa. 53, 4, 11: οὗτοι τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει . . . τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει.

**18.** τὸν ἴδιον νίδον . . . ἀπέδοτο: Rom. 8, 32: ὃς γε τοῦ ἴδιον νιοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων παρέδωκεν αὐτόν.—ἀπέδοτο: The

active would be more natural. The middle is ordinarily used for ‘sell.’—λύτρον: To fit ἀπαγομένους (Otto).

19. τῶν ἀνόμων: So Otto for ἀνόμων.

20. τὸν δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκων: 1 Pet. 3, 18: ἐπαθεν δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων.

22. καλύψαι: Comp. Jas. 5, 20: καλύψει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν.

24. Ὡς τῆς γλυκείας ἀνταλλαγῆς: Comp. A 9, 18.

26. ἵνα . . . κρυβῇ: “Ina where we should expect *τοῦ* or *τὸ* with inf. ’Εκρύβην is a late form.

28. τὸ ἀδύνατον τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως: Above, l. 9, we had *τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτούς ἀδύνατον*.

30. δυνατόν: Sc. ὄντα.—ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων: From our proved importance 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. ἔαν 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: ἐπιποθήσαις καὶ λάβοις (opt. of wish).

2. πρῶτον μέν: To this corresponds ’Επιγνοὺς δέ.

3. ἡγάπησε: Jno. 3, 16: οὕτως γὰρ ἡγάπησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν κόσμον κτέ., and 1 Jno. 4, 9: ἐν τούτῳ ἐφανερώθη ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ.—δι’ οὓς ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον: Comp. A 10, 9; B 2.

4. ὑπέταξε: See c. 7.—τὰ ἐν τῷ γῇ: The MS. had τὰ ἐν \*. Sylburg and Otto insert τῷ γῷ, Bochl., Hefele, Lachmann, αὐτῷ.

5. ἄν[νω] πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅρᾶν: Bunzen reads αὐτόν unnecessarily,

*αὐτὸν* being = *ipsum*. Lachm. *οὐρανόν* from a supposed *compendium scripturae oὐρανοῦ*. Comp. the familiar Ovidian verse: *os homini sublime dedit, etc.*

6. ἐκ τῆς ιδίας εἰκόνος: Gen. 1, 27. — πρὸς οὓς ἀπέστειλε: C. 7, 20: *τοῦτον πρὸς αὐτὸνς ἀπέστειλεν*.

7. τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλείαν: C. 9, 10: *τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*. Comp. c. 5, 19: *ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύονται*.

9. Ἐπιγνούς: Sc. τὸν πατέρα.—**Η πῶς ἀγαπήσεις**: 1 Jno. 4, 19: *ἥμεῖς ἀγαπῶμεν αὐτὸν ὅτι αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἡγάπησεν ἡμᾶς*.

10. Ἀγαπήσας δέ: Comp. 1 Jno. 4, 11, 12 and 20, 21.

20. θεὸς γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων: Stephanus comp. the Greek proverb: *ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον δαμόνιον*. So Caecil. Stat. apud Symmach. Ep. 2, (Obolostat. 5, v. 264 Ribb.): *Homo homini deus est, si suum officium sciat.*

21. μιμητής: Comp. A 10, 5: *τοὺς τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ μιμουμένους*, and Max. Tyr. 6, 2: *πῶς οὖν γένοιτο ἀν ὅμοιοι ἄνθρωποι Διός*; *μιμούμενοι αὐτοῦ τὸ σωστικὸν καὶ φιλητικὸν καὶ πατρικὸν δὲ τοῦτο*.

22. πολιτεύεται: Here ‘rules.’

24. θαυμάσεις: The middle is the accepted form of the fut. in classic Attic.

26. ἐπιγνώσις: I have restored the normal form. Ἐπιγνώση (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 *Oὐξένα κτέ.*, which of itself gives rise to suspicion: *καὶ ᾧδε ἐγκοπήν 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

has also been laid on the textual citation of Paul, and the change from the second person singular to the second person plural in the address, and on the difference of style and vocabulary.

### 11. I SPEAK WITH AUTHORITY. I KNOW WHEREOF I AFFIRM.

**1. ἀποστόλων γενόμενος μαθητής:** May have been said in a narrower or in a wider sense.

**5. προσφιλής:** So Maran for *προσφιλεῖ*, which seems to be the reading of the MSS.

**7. ἐφανέρωσεν:** Sc. *αὐτά*. Comp. 1 Tim. 3, 16.

**8. διηγούμενος:** Lachm. reads *διηχούμενος*.

**12. Οὗτος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς:** 1 Jno. 1, 1; 2, 13. 14.—**ὁ καινὸς . . . παλαιός:** A 2, 3.

**14. ὁ σήμερον:** With Lachm. for *σ.* Comp. Ps. 2, 7; Luke 3, 22.

**18. ὅρκια πίστεως:** So Lachm. for *ὅρια πίστεως*.

**21. χαρά:** So Lachm. for *χάρις*. The eye of the transcriber anticipated here as above.

### 12. READ AND HEARKEN AND YOU WILL LEARN.

**1. ἐντυχόντες:** A 14, 3.

**5. Ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ . . . τόπῳ κτέ.:** Gen. 2, 9. This allegorical style is not found in the first part of the Epistle.

**15. Ἡ γνῶσις . . . οἰκοδομεῖ:** 1 Cor. 8, 1.

**19. ἐπ' ἐλπίδι . . . προσδοκῶν:** 1 Cor. 9, 7. 10.

**23. οὐδὲ πλάνη κτέ.:** I have followed Bunsen with Hollenberg. Ordinarily: ὡν ὄφις οὐχ ἅπτεται οὐδὲ πλάνη συγχρωτίζεται· οὐδὲ Εἶνα φεύρεται κτέ.

**24. παρθένος πιστεύεται:** In Paradise Eve is a virgin. Otto cites Justin, Dial. c. Tryph. 100: *παρθένος γὰρ οὖσα Εἶνα καὶ ἄφθορος*.

**26. κηροί:** ‘Wax candles,’ used by the Christians when they met under cover of the night to avoid persecution, afterwards retained by day for various reasons. Importance was attached to the arrangement of these tapers from the middle of the third century on (Otto). Bunsen reads *κλῆροι*, Lachm. proposed *πηροί*, Sylburg *καιροί*.—**καὶ μετὰ κόσμου:** Bunsen inserts *πάντα* between *καὶ* and *μετά*, Credner reads *μετακόσμια*.—**ἄρμόξονται:** So Otto for *ἀρμόζεται*.



# G R E E K   I N D E X.

**A**=First Apology.

**B**=Second Apology.

**D**=Epistle to Diognetus.

- ἀγαθοποιεῖν, D 5, 26.  
 ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι, A 40, 10.  
 ἀγαπᾶν, A 15, 27; B 13, 16.  
 ἀγγελική στρατιά, A 52, 11.  
 ἄγγελοι ἀγαθοί, A 6, 7.  
     φαῦλοι, B 7, 2.  
     πονηροί, B 9, 18.  
 ἀγέννητος, A 14, 8, 12; 25, 8; 49,  
     18; 53, 8; B 12, 17; 13, 15.  
 ἀγωνιᾶν, A 4, 8.  
 ἀγωνίζεσθαι, A 14, 4; 58, 11.  
 ἀδεῶς, B 12, 27.  
 ἀδιάφθορος, A 18, 7.  
 ἀδιάφορον τέλος, B 3, 26.  
 ἀδοξίᾳ πατρικαὶ, A 12, 30.  
 ἀθεος, with gen., A 6, 2.  
 ἀθεότης, A 4, 32.  
 αἰδεῖσθαι, with part., B 12, 34.  
 αἴματα, A 13, 2.  
 αἰνεῖν, A 13, 5.  
 αῖνος, A 41, 8; 65, 11.  
 αἱρεῖ λόγος, A 3, 20.  
 αἰσχος καὶ λέγειν, A 25, 4.  
 αἰτεῖν, A 15, 33; 35, 11; 40, 48.  
 αἰτεῖσθαι, D 1, 12.  
 αἰτήσεις πέμπειν, A 13, 12.  
 ἀκολασταίνειν, B 2, 1.  
 ἀκύλαστος, A 9, 18; 15, 23.  
 ἀκούειν ὅτι, A 2, 8.  
     ώς, A 35, 1; 51, 17. 22.  
     with part., A 11, 1; B  
         12, 2.  
 ἀκριβὴς καὶ ἔξεταστικὸς λόγος, A  
     2, 13.  
 ἀλαζονεία, D 4, 3. 20.  
 ἀλαζονεύεσθαι, D 4, 11.

- ἀληθῆς λόγος, A 3, 5; 5, 12.  
 ἀληπτος=ἀνεπιληπτος, A 3, 10.  
 ἀλλὰ μή . . . γε, D 4, 1.  
 ἀλλ' ᾧ, A 40, 28; 57, 10; B 4, 6;  
     7, 9.  
 ἀλλαγὴ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους, A  
     23, 9.  
 ἀλληλοφόνοι, A 14, 15.  
 ἀλληλοφόνται, A 39, 13.  
 ἀλλοεθνής, A 53, 37.  
 ἄλλος παρά, A 19, 19; 26, 28; 58, 6.  
     τῶν ἄλλων ἀγγέλων, A 6, 6.  
 ἀλλότριον ποιεῖσθαι, B 2, 8.  
 αἰλογισταίνειν, A 46, 1.  
 ἀλογος—ὅρμη, A 2, 15.  
     φωνή, A 3, 1.  
     ἄλογον πάθος, A 5, 3.  
 ἀμαρτάνειν, 1 aor., A 61, 19.  
 ἀμείβεσθαι, 'requite,' A 44, 35.  
 αμήν, A 65, 16.  
 ἄμορφος ὥλη, A 10, 9.  
 ἀμυδρῶς ὁρᾶν, B 13, 20.  
 ἀν omitted (regular), A 12, 40; 33,  
     15; 39, 16; 43, 29.  
     (irregular), A 10, 22;  
         19, 9.  
     with fut. ind., D 4, 17.  
     with fut. part., D 2, 4.  
 ἄν=ἐάν, A 2, 4; 3, 14.  
 ἀναγεννᾶσθαι, A 61, 10. 11.  
 ἀναγινώσκειν, A 31, 19.  
 ἀναγράφειν, A 27, 18; 60, 4; 63,  
     22.  
     ὄνον ἐν μυστηρίοις, A  
         54, 26.  
 ἀναδέχεσθαι τὸ βάρος, D 10, 18.  
 ἀναδιδόναι, A 29, 7; 67, 32; B 2,  
     26.

- ἀναισθησία, Α 18, 3 ; 57, 14.  
 ἀναίτιος θεός, Α 44, 22.  
 ἀναλύεσθαι εἰς πῦρ, Α 20, 4.  
 ἀναπέμπειν αἴνον καὶ δόξαν, Α 65,  
     13.  
     εὐχάριστας, Α 67, 15.  
 ἀνάπτηρος, Α 22, 17.  
 ἀναπολόγητος, Α 3, 21 ; 28,  
     12.  
 ἀναπτύζειν εἴαντὸν τῷ θεῷ, Α 14,  
     12 ; 25, 9 ; 49, 19 ; 61, 1.  
 ἀνατρέπειν, Α 27, 19.  
 ἀνατροπή λυχνίας, Α 26, 33.  
 ἀνατροφή παιδῶν, Α 29, 3.  
     ἀνατροφαῖ πονηραί, Α 61,  
     31.  
 ἀναφέρειν εἰς τινα, Α 27, 16 ; B 5,  
     24 ; 12, 35.  
     ‘cite,’ B 2, 5.  
     ‘report,’ B 3, 17.  
 ἀνδριάς, Α 26, 9.  
 ἀνδροβατεῖν, B 12, 27.  
 ἀνδρόγυνοι, Α 27, 8.  
 ἀνδροῦσθαι, Α 31, 28 ; 35, 2.  
 ἀνδροφονεῖν, B 12, 21.  
 ἀνδροφόνος, Α 29, 2 ; B 2, 51.  
 ἀνεγείρειν, ‘erect,’ Α 26, 9.  
 ἀνέδην—αἱ ἀνέδην μίξεις, Α 26, 34 ;  
     29, 6 ; B 7, 8.  
 ἀνεκδίηγητος, Α 51, 2.  
 ἀνέλεγκτος, Α 7, 13 ; B 13, 13.  
 ἀνέλευσις εἰς οὐρανόν, Α 26, 1.  
 ἀνενδέης, Α 13, 2 ; 57, 12.  
 ἀνεξικακος, Α 16, 1.  
 ἀνεπίμικτος, Α 6, 4.  
 ἄνευ, Α 4, 2.  
 ἀνέχεσθαι, with inf., D 2, 36.  
 ἀνθεῖν, B 11, 11.  
 ἀνθρώπαρέσκεια—δειπνισμόνων, Α  
     2, 14.  
 ἀνθρώπειος, fem., B 10, 1 ; 15, 7.  
 ἀνθρώπινος, fem., Α 11, 2.  
 ἀνθρώπως ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, Α 30, 2 ;  
     54, 35.  
 ἀνόσιος, Α 5, 23.  
 ἀνταίρειν, Α 16, 9.  
 ἀντιτιθέναι, Α 30, 1.  
 ἀντιτυπεῖν, Α 8, 9.  
 ἀνωνύμαστος θεός, Α 63, 1.  
 ἀξιέραστος, B 3, 25.  
 ἀξιόπιστος, D 8, 3.  
 ἀξιος, with dat., A 10, 10.  
     absolute, A 52, 13.  
 ἀξιων, A 3, 2, 8 ; 7, 12, 15 ; 23,  
     6 ; B 14, 1.  
 ἀρογητος, Α 16, 2 ; D 8, 16.  
 ἀπαγειν (to death), Α 31, 26 ; B 2,  
     48, 59.  
 ἀπαθανατιζειν, Α 21, 16. 30.  
 ἀπάθεια, B 1, 11.  
 ἀπαθής, Α 25, 8 ; 57, 12.  
 ἀπαιτεῖν, Α 2, 12 ; 17, 17 ; 68, 9 ;  
     B 14, 10.  
 ἀπαλλασσειν (intrans.), Α 44, 20.  
 ἀπαράβατος—είμαρμένη, Α 43, 24.  
 ἀπέραντος αἰών, Α 28, 6.  
 ἀπερινόητος, D 7, 7.  
 ἀπιστεῖν μῆ, Α 57, 13.  
 ἀπλῶς, Α 67, 24.  
 ἀπό : αφ' ἐαυτοῦ, sua sponte, Α 43,  
     29.  
     ἀπ' ἑκίνον (of a sect), Α 26,  
     22 ; B 8, 1 ; 11, 27.  
     ἀπὸ μέρους, B 10, 24 ; 13, 10.  
     ἀπὸ προσώπου, Α 36, 2 ; 47,  
     4 ; 49, 5 ; 53, 31.  
 ἀπό=ἀπὸ προσώπου, Α 37, 8 ; 44, 6.  
 ἀποβλέπειν, Α 18, 1.  
 ἀποδεικνύαι ὅτι, Α 12, 27 ; 13, 18.  
     part., A 3, 3.  
     inf., 36, 14 ; 52, 2 ; 54,  
     4.  
 ἀποδεκτός, Α 43, 10 ; D 8, 7.  
 ἀποδέχεσθαι, with gen., D 1, 10.  
 ἀποθανεῖν τὸν κοινὸν θύνατον, Α  
     18, 2.  
 ἀποκεῖσθαι, Α 18, 5 ; 32, 4.  
 ἀποκόπτειν=ἴκτεμνειν, Α 27, 15.  
 ἀποκυνεῖν, A 46, 21 ; B 6, 16.  
 ἀπολογίαν φέρειν, B 12, 28.  
 ἀπομνημονεύειν, A 33, 23.  
 ἀπομνημονεύματα, A 66, 13 ; 67, 8.  
 ἀποπτος (?), B 13, 13.  
 ἀποσκευάζεσθαι, D 2, 3.  
 ἀποστέλλειν, with inf., A 39, 13.  
 ἀπόστολος I. X., Α 12, 34 ; 63, 24 ;  
     comp. 63, 12.  
 ἀποτάττεσθαι, Α 49, 18.  
 ἀποτιθέναι, A 67, 21.  
 ἀποφαίνεσθαι, A 20, 18 ; 43, 7 ; 57,  
     15 ; B 7, 22.

ἀργυροκόπος, D 2, 16.  
 ἀρκεῖσθαι, A 7, 15; 29, 11.  
     with inf., 56, 1.  
 ἀρρητοποιός, A 27, 8.  
 ἄρρητος θεός, A 61, 38.  
     πατήρ, B 10, 30.  
 ἀρχηγέτης, A 28, 1; 31, 24.  
 ἀρχήν, τὴν ἀρχήν, A 10, 8. 16; 19,  
     12; 28, 10; 29, 3; 59, 8; B 6,  
     8; 7, 23.  
 ἀρωγοὶ καὶ σύμμαχοι, A 12, 1.  
 ἀσελγής, A 4, 32; 9, 15.  
 ἀσκεῖν βίον, D 5, 4.  
 ἀσχολεῖσθαι περί τι, A 63, 58.  
 ἀσωτος μανία, A 61, 39.  
 ἀτακτος φορά, D 9, 3.  
 ἀτύραχος, A 46, 19.  
 ἀτρεπτος θεός, A 13, 20.  
 ἀτοπος, A 29, 12.  
 αὐν πάλιν, A 20, 4.  
 αὐτεξούσιον, B 7, 22.  
 αὐτοκράτωρ, A 1, 1.  
 αὐτολεξεί, A 32, 2; 33, 1; 59, 5.  
 αὐτός emphatic, D 7, 4.  
     for οὗτος, A 33, 21.  
 αὐτοῦ for αὐτοῦ, A 32, 22;  
     40, 31. Comp. A 4, 34;  
     21, 28; 40, 18; B 2, 12;  
     9, 10; 13, 12; D 4, 16.  
     ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, A 40, 39; 67, 7.  
     καὶ αὐτός. See καὶ.  
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Brun J







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